

*Integration Through Crises:*

*The Impact of European Green Deal Policies on EU Integration*

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Footnotes:

<sup>1</sup> Mark Gilbert, *European Integration: A Political History* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2021), 40.

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert, *European Integration*, 187.

<sup>3</sup> Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, *Summary for Policymakers*, in *Climate Change 2021: The Physical Science Basis. Contribution of Working Group I to the Sixth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*, ed. V. Masson-Delmotte et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 3–32.

<sup>4</sup> Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES), *Summary for Policymakers of the Global Assessment Report on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services of the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services*, edited by S. Díaz et al. (Bonn: IPBES Secretariat, 2019), 11.

<sup>5</sup> United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), *Emissions Gap Report 2023: Broken Record – Temperatures Hit New Highs, Yet World Fails to Cut Emissions (Again)* (Nairobi: UNEP, 2023), 9.

<sup>6</sup> European Environment Agency (EEA), *European Climate Risk Assessment: Advancing the EU Adaptation Strategy* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2024), 13–15.

<sup>7</sup> European Environment Agency, *European Climate Risk Assessment*, 13–15.

<sup>8</sup> European Commission, *Communication from the Commission: The European Green Deal*, COM(2019) 640 final (Brussels, 2019), 2.

<sup>9</sup> Claire Dupont et al., “Three Decades of EU Climate Policy: Racing toward Climate Neutrality?” *WIREs Climate Change* 15, no. 1 (2024): 8.

<sup>10</sup> Secretariat of the Commission, *Bulletin of the European Communities*, no. 10 (September–October 1972), vol. 5, 16.

<sup>11</sup> Sebastian Oberthür and Claire Dupont, “The European Union’s International Climate Leadership: Towards a Grand Climate Strategy?” *Journal of European Public Policy* 28, no. 7 (2021): 1095–1114.

<sup>12</sup> Nathalie Tocci, *A Green and Global Europe: A Strategic Agenda for the EU in a Changing World* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2022), 2.

<sup>13</sup> European Commission, *The European Green Deal*, 1–24.

<sup>14</sup> Mark Gilbert, *European Integration*, 1.

<sup>15</sup> Jan-Hendrik Meyer, “Pushing for a Greener Europe: The European Parliament and Environmental Policy in the 1970s and 1980s,” *Journal of European Integration History* 27, no. 1 (2021): 57.

<sup>16</sup> Charlotte Burns, “The European Parliament,” in *European Union Politics*, 7th ed., ed. Michelle Cini and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borragán (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 128.

<sup>17</sup> Rüdiger K.W. Wurzel, Duncan Liefferink, and Maurizio Di Lullo, “The Council, European Council and Member States,” in *Environmental Policy in the EU: Actors, Institutions and Processes*, 4th ed., ed. Andrew Jordan and Viviane Gravey (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021), 75; Alexander Bürgin, “The European Commission: A Climate Policy Entrepreneur,” in *Handbook on European Union Climate Change Policy and Politics*, ed. Tim Rayner, Kacper Szulecki, Andrew J. Jordan, and Sebastian Oberthür (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2023), 93; Ludwig Krämer, “The Court of Justice of the European Union,” in *Environmental Policy in the EU: Actors, Institutions and Processes*, 4th ed., ed. Andrew Jordan and Viviane Gravey (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021), 110.

<sup>18</sup> Laurent Warloutzet, “A Social Europe with a Greener Perspective: The Evolution of the Delors Commission Around 1989,” *Studi Storici* 1 (2021): 189.

- <sup>19</sup> Brigitte Leucht and Jan-Hendrik Meyer, “A Citizens’ Europe? Consumer and Environmental Policy,” in *Reinventing Europe: The History of the European Union, 1945 to the Present*, ed. Brigitte Leucht, Kiran Klaus Patel, and Laurent Warlouzet (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2023), 212; Christoph Knill, Yves Steinebach, and Xavier Fernández-i-Marín, “Hypocrisy as a Crisis Response? Assessing Changes in Talk, Decisions, and Actions of the European Commission in EU Environmental Policy,” *Public Administration* 97, no. 3 (2019): 375.
- <sup>20</sup> Viviane Gravey and Andrew Jordan, “New Policy Dynamics in More Uncertain Times?” in *Environmental Policy in the EU: Actors, Institutions and Processes*, 4th ed., ed. Andrew Jordan and Viviane Gravey (London: Routledge, 2021), 335.
- <sup>21</sup> Burns et al., *EU Environmental Policy in Times of Crisis*, 12.
- <sup>22</sup> Some authors use the term neofunctionalism instead of supranationalism. For the sake of consistency, this paper uses the term “supranationalism”. Supranational institutions are entities which emerged from the transfer of sovereignty from nation states to an international organization, for example the EU-COM.
- <sup>23</sup> Wurzel, Liefferink, and Di Lullo, “The European Council, the Council and the Member States,” 267–268.
- <sup>24</sup> Jeffrey Rosamond and Claire Dupont, “The European Council, the Council, and the European Green Deal,” *Politics and Governance* 9, no. 3 (2021): 357.
- <sup>25</sup> Eliska Ullrichova, “New Intergovernmentalism: European Council and Environmental Policy,” *Journal of European Integration* (2024), 16.
- <sup>26</sup> Nathalie Tocci, *A Green and Global Europe*, 169.
- <sup>27</sup> Sebastian Oberthür and Claire Dupont, “The European Union’s International Climate Leadership: Towards a Grand Climate Strategy?” 1109; Teresa Fajardo del Castillo, “From Climate Diplomacy to Green Deal Diplomacy,” in *Deploying the European Green Deal*, 1st ed. (London: Routledge, 2024), 171.
- <sup>28</sup> Josephine van Zeben and Arden Rowell, *A Guide to EU Environmental Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 26.
- <sup>29</sup> Evert Meijers and Dominic Stead, “Policy Integration: What Does It Mean and How Can It Be Achieved? A Multi-Disciplinary Review,” presented at the Berlin Conference on the Human Dimensions of Global Environmental Change, 2004, 1.
- <sup>30</sup> Meijers and Stead, “Policy Integration,” 1.
- <sup>31</sup> European Commission, *Communication from the Commission*, 19.
- <sup>32</sup> Regulation (EU) No 347/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 17 April 2013, recital 7.
- <sup>33</sup> Etienne Bassot and Ariane Debyser, “Setting EU Priorities, 2014–19: The Ten Points of Jean-Claude Juncker’s Political Guidelines,” European Parliamentary Research Service Briefing (October 2014): 5.
- <sup>34</sup> European Commission, *REPowerEU Plan: Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the European Council, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions*, COM(2022) 230 final (Brussels, 18 May 2022), 1.
- <sup>35</sup> European Commission, *NextGenerationEU Green Bonds Allocation and Impact Report 2024* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2024), 7.
- <sup>36</sup> European Commission, *NextGenerationEU Green Bonds Allocation and Impact Report 2024*, 7.
- <sup>37</sup> Pascal Saint-Amans, *Broader Border Taxes: A New Option for European Union Budget Resources*, Bruegel Policy Brief No. 06/2024 (Brussels: Bruegel, 2024), 2.
- <sup>38</sup> This mechanism is spelled out in Art. 2 of the Council Decision (EU, Euratom) 2020/2053 of the Council of the EU. It also includes an annual lump sum reduction for poorer Member States.
- <sup>39</sup> Definitive adoption (EU, Euratom) 2024/207, percentage calculation by the author.

- <sup>40</sup> European Commission, “Plastics Own Resource,” accessed January 8, 2025, [https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/eu-budget/long-term-eu-budget/2021-2027/revenue/own-resources/plastics-own-resource\\_en](https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/eu-budget/long-term-eu-budget/2021-2027/revenue/own-resources/plastics-own-resource_en).
- <sup>41</sup> European Commission, *Communication from the Commission*, 15.
- <sup>42</sup> European Commission, *Communication from the Commission*, 15.
- <sup>43</sup> European Commission, “NextGenerationEU,” accessed January 8, 2025, [https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/eu-budget/eu-borrower-investor-relations/nextgenerationeu\\_en](https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/eu-budget/eu-borrower-investor-relations/nextgenerationeu_en).
- <sup>44</sup> Alina Dobрева, “Reform of the EU System of Own Resources: State of Play,” *EPRS European Parliamentary Research Service*, June 19, 2023.
- <sup>45</sup> European Commission, “EU Budget: Commission Puts Forward an Adjusted Package for the Next Generation of Own Resources,” press release, June 20, 2023.
- <sup>46</sup> European Commission, “EU Budget: Commission Puts Forward an Adjusted Package for the Next Generation of Own Resources.”
- <sup>47</sup> Richard Pomfret, *The Economic Integration of Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2023), 27.
- <sup>48</sup> Mark Gilbert, *European Integration*, 5.
- <sup>49</sup> Rüdiger K.W. Wurzel, Duncan Liefferink, and Maurizio Di Lullo, “The European Council, the Council and the Member States,” 266.
- <sup>50</sup> Gastón Medici-Colombo, “The European Green Deal and the Energy Charter Treaty: Chronicle of a Breakup Foretold?” in *Deploying the European Green Deal: Protecting the Environment Beyond the EU Borders*, ed. Mac Camphuis Erroja and Xavier Fernández-Pons (Abingdon: Routledge, 2024), 137.
- <sup>51</sup> European Commission, “Overview Provided in the Annex to Regulation EU/2023/857.”
- <sup>52</sup> European Council, “European Council Conclusions EUCO 169/14” (Brussels, October 23–24, 2014), 1.
- <sup>53</sup> European Commission, *Communication from the Commission*, 6.
- <sup>54</sup> European Commission, “Commission Calls on Member States to Improve Their National Energy and Climate Plans to Ensure Collective Achievement of the EU’s 2030 Targets,” December 18, 2023.
- <sup>55</sup> Nathalie Tocci, *A Green and Global Europe*, 110–111.
- <sup>56</sup> Andrew Jordan, Harro van Asselt, Frans Berkhout, Dave Huitema, and Tim Rayner, “Understanding the Paradoxes of Multilevel Governing: Climate Change Policy in the European Union,” *Global Environmental Politics* 12, no. 2 (2012): 44.
- <sup>57</sup> European Commission, *Communication from the Commission*, 20.
- <sup>58</sup> Mark Leonard, Jean Pisani-Ferry, Jeremy Shapiro, Simone Tagliapietra, and Guntram Wolff, *The Geopolitics of the European Green Deal*, Policy Contribution No. 04/2021 (Brussels: Bruegel, 2021), 2.
- <sup>59</sup> Knill, Steinebach, and Fernández-i-Marín, “Hypocrisy as a Crisis Response,” 364.
- <sup>60</sup> Claire Dupont and Sebastian Oberthür, “The Council and the European Council: Stuck on the Road to Transformational Leadership,” in *The European Union in International Climate Change Politics: Still Taking a Lead?*, ed. Rüdiger Wurzel, James Connelly, and Duncan Liefferink (London: Routledge, 2016), 69.
- <sup>61</sup> Christopher J. Bickerton, Dermot Hodson, and Uwe Puetter, “The New Intergovernmentalism: European Integration in the Post-Maastricht Era,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53, no. 4 (2015): 705.
- <sup>62</sup> Dupont and Oberthür, “The Council and the European Council,” 66.
- <sup>63</sup> Rüdiger Wurzel, Duncan Liefferink, and Maurizio Di Lullo, “The European Council, the Council and the Member States,” *Environmental Politics* 28, no. 2 (2019): 249.

<sup>64</sup> Eliska Ullrichova, “New intergovernmentalism: European council and environmental policy,” 6.

<sup>65</sup> Rasmus Grand Berthelsen, “Mounting Discontent Augurs Badly for EU Green Deal,” *Politico*, September 26, 2023, <https://www.politico.eu/article/discontent-eu-green-deal-climate-change-backlash/>;

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<sup>66</sup> European Commission, “Competitiveness,” February 26, 2025, [https://commission.europa.eu/priorities-2024-2029/competitiveness\\_en](https://commission.europa.eu/priorities-2024-2029/competitiveness_en).

<sup>67</sup> Alice Bertram, “Simplification Promised, Uncertainty Delivered: How the EU Omnibus Packages Roll Back the Green Deal,” *Verfassungsblog*, March 20, 2025, <https://verfassungsblog.de/eu-omnibus-csrd/>.