

# Contents

## Part I The authority of European law

<b>The authority of European law: Do we still believe in it? .....</b>	<b>3</b>
Joseph H. H. Weiler	
1 The concept of “authority” .....	3
2 Reasons for the current stress on the authority of EU law .....	5
3 Material welfare and the authority of EU law.....	5
4 Values and the authority of EU law .....	7
5 Two ostensibly conflicting sets of values .....	8
6 Democracy, human rights and the rule of law: An inextricable triad.....	9
7 Active citizenship, clientelism and the sense of rights and duties .....	10
8 Diversity as European strength .....	12
9 No <i>demos</i> , no democratic accountability, no democratic representation: the democratic deficit.....	13
10 The role of the court .....	17

<b>The Court of Justice of the European Union as the guardian of the authority of EU law: A networking exercise.....</b>	<b>21</b>
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------

Koen Lenaerts	
1 Introduction .....	21
2 The dialogue between the Court of Justice and the national courts of the Member States .....	21
3 The dialogue between the national courts of the Member States .....	25
4 Conclusion .....	30

## Part II The impact of legislation on the authority of EU law

<b>A view from the European Commission .....</b>	<b>33</b>
Karen Banks	
1 Lobbyists, delegated and implementing acts, and subsidiarity.....	33
2 Quality of legislation.....	36

<b>Can the authority of EU law be taken for granted? A tale of principles and realities .....</b>	39
Giorgio Maganza	
1 Introduction .....	39
2 Can the law-making affect the authority of EU law? .....	41
3 What is most likely to affect the authority of EU law? .....	45
4 Conclusion .....	49
<b>A view from Parliament .....</b>	51
Diana Wallis	
1 Introductory remarks .....	51
2 The politician as legislator .....	52
3 Democracy and transparency .....	53
4 The parliamentary legislative process .....	54
5 Contrasting example of the European Parliament legislative process .....	55
6 End thoughts .....	57
<b>Part III The authority of EU law: A view from Constitutional and Supreme Courts</b>	
<b>L'autorité du droit de l'Union européenne – Le point de vue d'un juge français .....</b>	61
Jean-Marc Sauvé	
1 Les juges français ont élaboré des mécanismes d'articulation qui limitent les risques de conflit entre le droit européen et le droit national .....	62
2 Cette œuvre prétorienne ne suffit toutefois pas à aplanir toutes les difficultés .....	66
<b>A view from the Danish Supreme Court in light of the <i>Ajos</i> Judgment .....</b>	73
Lars Hjortnæs	
1 Brief introduction to the <i>Ajos</i> judgment and background of the case .....	73
2 Interpreting Danish law in conformity with EU law .....	76
3 The binding effect of a principle of EU law .....	79
4 Perspectives .....	84
<b>EuGH-EGMR-BVerfG: Von der Multipolarität zum Verbund der Gerichtsbarkeiten im Bereich des Grundrechtsschutzes .....</b>	87
Christine Langenfeld	
1 Vorbemerkung .....	87
2 Der Gerichtsverbund im Bereich des Grundrechtsschutzes – Marksteine der Rechtsprechung des Bundesverfassungsgerichts .....	88
3 Herausforderungen und Zielsetzungen des Gerichtsverbunds im Bereich des Grundrechtsschutzes .....	106
4 Schlussbemerkung .....	110
<b>The authority of EU law as viewed from a National Court: The United Kingdom .....</b>	113
Lord Thomas of Cwmgiedd	

1	Introduction.....	113
2	The role of courts .....	113
3	The perceived position of the CJEU in relation to UK political and public opinion.....	116
4	The case law in relation to age discrimination .....	117
5	The need to reconsider the approach of courts .....	118
6	The development of a separate UK EU jurisprudence .....	121

**The authority of EU law: The case of horizontal application of  
fundamental rights .....** 123

Maciej Szpunar

1	Introductory remarks.....	123
2	Interpretation of fundamental rights and general principles of law as a challenge to the authority of EU law .....	125
3	Autonomy of EU law .....	125
4	General principles in horizontal situations .....	126
5	What does “horizontal application” mean?.....	126
6	The effect of Art. 51 of the Charter.....	127
7	Do the general principles of EU law matter after the Charter became a binding instrument? .....	128
8	May the general principles of EU law apply in horizontal situations?.....	128
9	Consistent interpretation of national law: limits resulting from <i>non contra legem</i> .....	131
10	Legal certainty for individuals .....	131
11	Conclusions.....	133

**Part IV Remaining and new obstacles to the single market rules:  
Does the economic crisis justify a weakening of the authority  
of EU law?**

**The authority of the law: Some personal reflections on the internal  
market and European integration.....** 137

Marc van der Woude

1	Introduction.....	137
2	When did it go wrong? .....	139
3	Some uncertainties .....	143
4	Dealing with uncertainty.....	145

**The authority of EU law: What does it require and why is it fading? .....** 149

Hans-Jürgen Hellwig

1	Introduction.....	149
2	Constitutive elements of the authority of the law .....	150
3	Realism as a precondition for respecting the authority of the law .....	151
4	The Monetary Union.....	153
5	Migration.....	154
6	A Europe of variable geographic composition and various speeds .....	154

7	Intergovernmental versus community solutions . . . . .	155
8	Enforcement . . . . .	157
9	Public support . . . . .	159
10	The reaction of EU institutions . . . . .	160
	<b>“Questions identitaires” as challenges to the single market . . . . .</b>	163
	Luis Ortiz Blanco	
	<b>Protectionism in Central and Eastern Europe and the EU Internal Market: the case of retail . . . . .</b>	169
	Ilya G. J. Bruggeman and Christian Verschueren	
1	Introduction . . . . .	169
2	The rise of protectionism and populism . . . . .	170
3	Protectionism against Western retailers in Central and Eastern Europe . . .	173
4	Economic impact of protectionism . . . . .	176
5	Filing cases for infringements against EU law . . . . .	178
6	Prevention is better than cure . . . . .	183
7	Conclusion: The Single Market more important than before? . . . . .	188
	<b>Part V The Economic and Monetary Union as an illustration of “the incomplete union”: The authority of EU law stuck half-way between supranational and national sovereignty</b>	
	<b>Die Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion als Herausforderung der Autorität des Unionsrechts . . . . .</b>	195
	Peter-Christian Müller-Graff	
1	Zur Bedeutung der Frage nach der Autorität des Unionsrechts . . . . .	195
2	Die Befolgung des Rechts der Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion als Herausforderung für die Autorität des Unionsrechts . . . . .	201
3	Antworten auf die Herausforderungen . . . . .	212
	<b>The need to complete the EMU: cui bono? . . . . .</b>	221
	Gerolf Annemans	
1	Introduction . . . . .	221
2	Establishing an EU Finance Minister . . . . .	222
3	Turning the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) into a European Monetary Fund (EMF) . . . . .	223
4	Expansion of the Euro area . . . . .	224
5	Further convergence of tax policies . . . . .	226
6	Risk-sharing and risk-reduction . . . . .	226
7	Conclusions . . . . .	228
	<b>Completing v. rethinking the European Monetary Union? . . . . .</b>	231
	Pierre-Henri Conac	
	<b>Completing v. rethinking the European Monetary Union? . . . . .</b>	235
	Bernd Kaltenhäuser	
1	Foundations of the Monetary Union . . . . .	235

2 The evolution of the EMU .....	236
3 Future perspectives .....	237

## **Part VI Current Threats to the rule of law in the EU: The fundaments on which the authority of EU law rests**

<b>Article 7 TEU and the rule of law mechanism: A dissuasive weapon or a paper tiger? .....</b>	241
Inger Österdahl	
1 Introduction .....	241
2 Article 7: The mother of all mechanisms? .....	241
3 Expulsion from the EU? .....	246
4 What's in the Rule of Law Framework? .....	250
5 Conclusion: A persuasive paper tiger? .....	257
<b>Upholding the rule of law for the future of Europe .....</b>	261
Emmanuel Crabit	
1 The rule of law cannot be taken for granted .....	261
2 The rule of law is essential for the application of EU law .....	264
3 The rule of law is crucial for economic growth .....	266
4 The rule of law is a key component of the debate on the future of Europe .....	268
<b>Développements récents du cadre juridique de l'Union européenne pour faire face aux menaces pour les valeurs démocratiques dans les États membres .....</b>	271
Maria José Rangel de Mesquita	
1 Remarques introductives .....	271
2 Evolutions du cadre juridique de l'Union pour faire face aux menaces pour les valeurs de l'Union européenne .....	273
3 Remarques (critiques) conclusives et réflexions pour l'avenir .....	285
<b>Les attaques terroristes et l'état d'urgence en France .....</b>	291
Francis Lamy	
1 L'état d'urgence : un régime donnant temporairement certains pouvoirs renforcés de police administrative aux préfets et au ministre de l'intérieur, qu'ils utilisent, s'ils l'estiment nécessaire .....	292
2 Mise en œuvre de l'état d'urgence .....	294
3 Appréciation sur l'état d'urgence .....	297
4 Conclusion .....	300
<b>Current threats to the rule of law in the EU: The foundation on which the authority of EU law rests .....</b>	301
Pauliine Koskelo	
1 Introductory remarks .....	301
2 The rule of law and judicial independence as a key pillar of it .....	302
3 Constitutional guarantees: And the importance of a solidly rooted constitutional culture .....	303

4 Access to an independent judiciary as an element of EU law .....	304
5 The concept of judicial independence.....	305
6 The EU context.....	306

## **Part VII The crisis of the European project undermining the authority of EU law: The EU in search for legitimacy**

<b>The EU, democracy and institutional structure: Past, present and future.</b> .....	311
Paul Craig	
1 Introduction.....	311
2 Institutional structure and democracy: The past.....	313
3 Institutional structure and democracy: The present .....	314
4 Institutional structure and democracy: The future—four constraints.....	316
5 Institutional structure and democracy: The paradox.....	330
<b>Legitimität und Finalität des europäischen Projekts.</b> .....	335
Wolfgang Heusel	
1 Das Legitimitätsproblem der Union: Ursachen und Wirkung .....	336
2 Die künftige Entwicklung der EU: „ever closer Union“ oder „united in diversity“?.....	343
<b>Europa muss noch enger zusammenwachsen.</b> .....	347
Katarina Barley	
<b>Quo vadis Europe? The future of Europe under pressure</b> .....	351
Wiebe de Vries	
1 Introduction.....	351
2 Europe's future in uncertain times .....	353
3 The rule of law in Europe is challenged.....	354
4 Scenarios for the future of Europe .....	354
5 The future of the EU at the crossroads .....	356
<b>The European Union's never-ending search for legitimacy</b> .....	359
Pedro Silva Pereira	
1 The EU's search for legitimacy: introductory remarks.....	359
2 The “democratic deficit” in the EU: Reality and perception .....	360
3 Three core reasons for the “democratic deficit” in the EU.....	361
4 “Democratic deficit” in the EU: What can we do about it? .....	363
5 For a true and meaningful European dimension of the European elections .....	363
6 Strengthening the link between the vote of the citizens and the decisions of the European institutions .....	365
7 Ensuring enough room for political alternatives and democratic choices at national level within the economic governance of the Eurozone .....	367
8 Time for a “democratic offensive” in the European Union.....	368

<b>L'UE: quelle légitimité ? Quel avenir ? . . . . .</b>	371
Jean-Luc Sauron	
1 Quelle légitimité ? . . . . .	371
2 Quel avenir ? . . . . .	372
<b>The role of government and trust in the market economy . . . . .</b>	375
Nadja König and Ludger Schuknecht	
1 Introduction . . . . .	375
2 Core tasks of government: Some conceptual issues . . . . .	376
3 The role of government and trust in the market economy: Some stylised facts . . . . .	379
4 The link between trust and government activities . . . . .	391
5 Conclusions . . . . .	393