

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

Confusion about the differences between the Council of Europe (the parent body of the European Court of Human Rights) and the European Union is commonplace amongst the general public. It even affects some lawyers, jurists, social scientists and students. This book will enable the reader to distinguish clearly between those human rights norms which originate in the Council of Europe and those which derive from the EU, vital for anyone interested in human rights in Europe and in the UK as it prepares to leave the EU. The main achievements of relevant institutions include securing minimum standards across the continent as they deal with increasing expansion, complexity, multidimensionality and interpenetration of their human rights activities. The authors also identify the central challenges, particularly for the UK in the post-Brexit era where the components of each system need to be carefully distinguished and disentangled.

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Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-02550-9 — Human Rights in the Council of Europe and the European Union
Steven Greer , Janneke Gerards , Rose Slowe
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HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

Achievements, Trends and Challenges

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Cambridge University Press
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CAMBRIDGE
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University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India
79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

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www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107025509

DOI: 10.1017/9781139179041

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First published 2018

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Greer, Steven, 1956–, author. | Gerards, J. H. (Janneke H.), author. | Slowe, Rosie, 1991–, author.

Title: Human rights in the Council of Europe and the European Union : achievements, trends and challenges / Steven Greer, University of Bristol, Janneke Gerards, Universiteit Utrecht, The Netherlands, Rosie Slowe, Middle Temple and University of Bristol.

Description: New York : University of Cambridge Press, 2017. | Series: Cambridge studies in European law and policy | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017042296 | ISBN 9781107025509 (hardback : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Human rights–European Union countries. | European Union. | Council of Europe.

Classification: LCC KJE5132 .G73 2017 | DDC 342.2408/5–dc23 LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2017042296>

ISBN 978-1-107-02550-9 Hardback

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To our families and significant others

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SERIES EDITORS' PREFACE

The protection of human rights in Europe is the concern of many bodies, but first and foremost of the Council of Europe and the European Union. This important work by Steven Greer, Janneke Gerards and Rose Slowe discusses the achievements of these two bodies; identifies the central trends of expansion, increasing complexity, multidimensionality and interpenetration; and sets out the challenges facing these organisations with regard to matters such as their separate identity and autonomy' or coordination and harmonisation and divergence or convergence.

After an historical and conceptual discussion, the institutional structure, policy, and key treaties of the Council of Europe are examined, and then the case law of the European Court of Human Rights. Attention then turns to the European Union's institutional framework and to its internal and external policy areas focussing on fundamental rights, before moving on to the fundamental rights case law of the European Court of Justice. The summary and conclusion present the central insights of the book, noting in particular the successful institutionalisation of the respective missions of the Council of Europe and of the European Union in both the political and legal spheres. Constitutional pluralism is particularly relevant for the judicial realm in which problems and dilemmas typically arise in an extremely focused manner.

This book is most stimulating in its approach and in its analysis, offering valuable insights into the relationship between the Council of Europe and the European Union, which separately but also in various ways together set the standard for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Europe and act as guardians of the rule of law. This work will be invaluable for all who are interested in the interaction between these two bodies and in the interaction between the centralised judiciaries that they have established.

We very much welcome this book, the 29th volume in the Cambridge Studies in European Law and Policy series, which makes a major, timely

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and welcome contribution to the literature on European human and fundamental rights law. Policymakers, lawyers, judges, academics and graduate students will in particular profit from its analysis of bodies and case law, which are alas all too often confused and misunderstood, even in media which should know better.

Laurence Gormley
Jo Shaw

P R E F A C E

In our experience, the general public, some of our students and even some of our colleagues are confused about the differences between the Council of Europe (CE), the parent organisation of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) and the European Union (EU), in human rights and other fields. This has been compounded as interaction between the two organisations has increased, particularly over the past decade or so. The literature is also dominated by separate studies, largely concerning their respective legal systems. As a result, more integrated accounts of the full range of relevant activities are increasingly required. This is the primary objective of this book. In what follows we seek to describe, explain, compare and contrast the human rights institutions, procedures, norms and policies of both organisations and to identify and discuss core achievements, trends and challenges.

Various key concepts, rarely sharply distinguished, litter the discourse, including ‘human rights’, ‘fundamental rights’, ‘basic rights’ and ‘fundamental freedoms’. But, for reasons given later, the term ‘human rights’ provides, on balance, the best point of reference, hence the title of this study. We begin in Chapter 1 by reviewing the largely separate post-Second World War histories of the forty-seven member CE and the series of organisations which eventually became the twenty-eight, and in the wake of Brexit soon-to-become twenty-seven, member EU. Chapter 2 then considers the institutional framework and human rights policy of the CE, especially its premier treaty, the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and the ECHR’s core institution, the ECtHR. Chapter 3 summarises the case law of the ECtHR, Chapter 4 reviews the relevant institutional framework and the human and fundamental rights activities of the EU, while Chapter 5 considers the rights jurisprudence of the European Court of Justice (ECJ), the EU’s principal judicial tribunal. Synthesising these observations and conclusions, Chapter 6 summarises how human rights in the CE and EU might be better understood and their prospects enhanced. Chapters 2 and 3 were written by Steven Greer,

Chapter 4 by Rose Slowe and Chapter 5 by Janneke Gerards. Responsibility for the others was shared.

In a nutshell, the core thesis of this book is as follows. The central achievements of the CE and the EU in the human rights field are the successful institutionalisation of their respective missions in both political and legal spheres. This, in turn, has contributed significantly to the effective securing, although not evenly or unproblematically, of at least minimum human rights standards across the continent. The central trends are their expansion and their increasing complexity, multidimensionality and interpenetration. The central challenges concern how this could, and should, be properly understood and coherently, legitimately and effectively managed, particularly with respect to two clusters of issues, both descriptive and normative, which represent the flip sides of the same coin. First, to what extent, if at all, are the autonomy, separate identity and divergence of the CE and EU in these arenas likely to be preserved as the twenty-first century progresses, and to what extent should they be? Second, to what extent, if at all, are more integration, interdependence, convergence and harmonisation likely and desirable? Our main conclusion is that, while none of the four models which, in principle, map the landscape – ‘unification’, ‘separate development’, ‘organic convergence’, and ‘constitutional pluralism’ – applies uniformly in all spheres, the most pressing challenges lie in the judicial realm, where, broadly speaking, constitutional pluralism provides the best paradigm for analytical, normative and policy-making purposes.

This book appears at a time of significant developments. The transnational protection of human rights in Europe, particularly on the legal front, is said to be at a cross roads with the centre of gravity in flux. For more than a decade, the CE failed to solve the ECtHR’s burgeoning case overload. Significant improvements only started to appear in 2014. But it is not yet clear whether the crisis has been resolved or merely alleviated. In any case, important questions concerning the Court’s effectiveness, authority and legitimacy and its relationship with the deepening and widening rights mission of the EU, remain. By contrast, the organisations which evolved into the EU took little formal interest in human rights for their first forty or so years. Then, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, these issues rose to the top of the agenda raising thorny questions about how this new priority might, and should, be reconciled with existing goals and the relationship it should have with the long-standing human rights activities of the CE to which all member states of the EU also belong. A much-lauded attempt by the EU to accede to the ECHR

stalled, perhaps permanently, when, in 2014, the ECJ ruled it incompatible with the EU's foundational treaties. The continent has also been rocked by turbulence on other fronts in recent years, including, of potentially most relevance for this study, the impact of the global economic crisis of 2008, mass migration, an increase in the frequency of (mostly jihadi) terrorist incidents, the United Kingdom's decision to leave the EU and legitimacy problems stemming from these and other sources including Euro- and rights-scepticism.

Before proceeding, we would like to thank the following organisations and individuals without whose assistance and support this project would have been much more difficult to accomplish. Panos Koutrakos and Pat Capps commented on earlier drafts. Lewis Graham, Dom Morton and Eliza Jones assisted with the citations in Chapter 3. Dom also compiled the Bibliography and Table of Abbreviations while Eliza assembled the Table of Cases. Adriana Suarez helped edit some of the footnotes to Chapter 5. Hana Nasif, Raeesa Rajmohamed and Georgia Tetlow assisted with proofreading. The Strasbourg respondents cited in Chapter 2 shed valuable light on the CE's activities not available in published sources. The usual disclaimers apply. The University of Bristol Law School enabled Steven to take study leave, the Nuffield Foundation provided a small grant for the Strasbourg interviews and the staff at Cambridge University Press offered expert assistance and advice. Finally we owe much gratitude to our families and significant others for their patience and forbearance.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-02550-9 — Human Rights in the Council of Europe and the European Union
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ABBREVIATIONS

ACP	Afro-Caribbean Pacific
AFET	Foreign Affairs Committee of the European Parliament
AGs	EU Advocates General
ALDE	Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe
Brexit	UK withdrawal from EU
CDDH	Council of Europe Steering Committee for Human Rights
CE	Council of Europe
CEAS	Common European Asylum System
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CEEC	Committee of European Economic Co-operation
CFR	EU Charter of Fundamental Rights
CFR-CDF	Network of Independent Experts on Fundamental Rights
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CM	Council of Europe Committee of Ministers
CODEXTER	Council of Europe Committee of Experts on Terrorism
CPT	European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
DPC	Data Protection Convention
DPD	Data Protection Directive
EC	European Communities European Conservatives Group
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
ECxit	UK withdrawal from the ECHR
ECJ	European Court of Justice (refers both to the tripartite Court of Justice of the EU as an institution, and to the Court of Justice as part of this institution)
ECPT	European Convention for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
ECSR	European Committee on Social Rights
ECtHR	European Court of Human Rights
EEA	European Economic Area

EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EIDHR	European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights
EIGE	European Institute for Gender Equality
ENI	European Neighbourhood Instrument
ENO	European Network of Ombudsmen
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
EP	European Parliament
EPP	European People's Party
ESC	European Social Charter
ESM	European Stability Mechanism
ETUC	European Trade Union Confederation
EU	European Union
EUMC	European Monitoring Centre for Racism and Xenophobia
EURATOM	European Atomic Energy Community
EUROFOUND	European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions
EUSRHR	EU Special Representative for Human Rights
FC	Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities
FRA	EU Fundamental Rights Agency
FRONTEX	European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders
FRP	Fundamental Rights Platform
Grexit	Greek withdrawal from EU
HRC	UN Human Rights Council
IGC	Intergovernmental Conference
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IOE	International Organisation of Employers
IPA	Instrument for Pre-Accession
ISP	Internet Service Provider
LIBE	Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NLO	National Liaison Officer
ODIHR	OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human rights
OEEC	Organisation for European Economic Co-operation
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PACE	Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
QMV	Qualified Majority Voting
SEA	Single European Act
SOC	Socialist Group

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TEEC/TEC	Treaty establishing the European Economic Community
TEU	Treaty on European Union
TFEU	Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
TRNC	Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
UEL	Group of the Unified European Left
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees
UNSC	UN Security Council

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Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-02550-9 — Human Rights in the Council of Europe and the European Union
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