#### Faculté de Droit Sciences Politiques



# The Values of the European Union: Elements of a European Identity

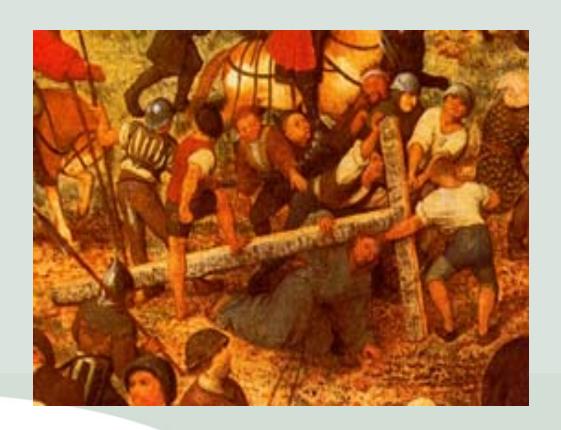


Pr. Quentin Michel





When an event occures, we are not necessary aware of it...





#### Why defining values?

#### Formally necessary to

- 1. Consider the candidature of an State
- 2. Suspension of certain rights of a Member State in case of violation of EU values



### Considering the candidature of an new Member State

October 2011: Commission opinion on the application for accession to the European Union by the Republic of Croatia

The Commission considers that Croatia meets the political criteria and expects Croatia to meet the economic and acquis criteria and to be ready for membership by 1 July 2013. Membership requires the continued respect of the values on which the Union is founded as well as the commitment to promoting them



## Suspension of certain rights of a Member State in case of violation of EU values





#### Used once against Austria in 2000

#### **Moment in EU History:**

14 Member States decided to embark on a diplomatic boycott of Austria if extreme-right populist Jörg Haider was included in a governing coalition

EU Treaties did not include dedicated provision to act ... even though Europe was understood to be a community with shared values.



## Provisions on potential sanctions have been included in Article 7 of the EU Treaty in 2001 by the Nice Treaty

The so-called **four steps** approach:

- Initiative could be taken by the Parliament, Council or the Council
- Council could decide that there is a « clear **risk** of a serious breach by a Member State of the values »
- European Council could decide « existence of a serious and persistent **breach** »
- Council could « suspend certain of the **rights** deriving from the application of the Treaties



#### Never used but Hungary might be the first ...

Constitutional changes and other laws weaken the independence of the judiciary, media and the central bank have been adopted by the new Government (Fidesz)

Does it constitute a breach of EU values?

- European Commission has expressed concerns twice and might to decide to consider Hungary ineligible for EU cohesion Funding.

Will not be based on article 7

No fines available for budget deficit (not in the Eurozone)



Parliament: Guy Verhofstadt, president of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE), called for sanctions against Hungary Unfortunately, the time has come to apply it to protect democracy and fundamental rights in Hungary and in the EU today, and avoid setting a dangerous precedent as well as a bad example for aspirant countries wishing to join the Union.

Still looking for a majority to act...



French Foreign Minister Alain Juppé told national television on January 3 that "the situation is problematic in Hungary".

No others Member States reactions



## Are values necessary to define a EU identity?



#### Formally not defined by EU treaties

Only one reference in the preamble stating that resolved to implement a common foreign and security policy including the progressive framing of a common defence policy, which might lead to a common defence ..., thereby reinforcing the European identity and its independence in order to promote peace, security and progress in Europe and in the world,



#### **EU** identity

- A synonym of citizenship?
- An element of its citizenship?
- No formal cross references in the treaties between values and identity or citizenship



#### Focusing on EU values



## Before the values ... some principles introduced in 1991 by the Maastricht Treaty but not defined

#### Article F of TEU

- 1. The Union shall respect the national identities of its Member States, whose systems of government are **founded** on the **principles of democracy**.
- 2. The Union shall respect fundamental rights, as guaranteed by the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms signed in Rome on 4 November 1950 and as they result from the constitutional traditions common to the Member States, as general principles of Community law.



## Principles listed in 1997 by the Amsterdam Treaty

Article 6 of TEU

The Union is **founded** on the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law, principles which are common to the Member States.



## Principles transformed into values by the Lisbon Treaty (Article 2)

The Union is **founded on the values** of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities.

These values are **common** to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail.



#### Attempt to explain the mutation

Content of both provisions are almost equivalent. The add-on of Lisbon consists essentially in the **externality** of the value as mentioned in its article 3:

The Union's aim is to promote peace, its values and the well-being of its peoples. ....

In its relations with the wider world, the Union shall uphold **and promote its values** and interests and contribute to the protection of its citizen



#### Two sentences establishing a values hierarchy?

Sentence one: EU essentials values

Sentence two: three possibilities

- 1. New values add to essentials values Tolerance, non discrimination
- 2. Implementing values linked to essentials values

  Equality and equality between women and men,
  rule of law and justice, freedom and pluralism
- 3. Something else ... principles

  Principles defining the EU society sharing common values (not to be promoted externally)



#### EU values are not restrained to Article 2

Recognition of the rights, freedoms and principles set out in the **Charter of Fundamental** Rights of the European Union

Same legal value as the Treaties (Article 6.1 TFE). Divided in six sections:

- Dignity, freedoms, equality, solidarity, citizen's rights (democracy) and justice (rule of law)



## The Charter exception invoke by Poland and United Kingdom

#### Protocol 30 Article 1:

The Charter does not extend the ability of the Court of Justice of the European Union, or any court or tribunal of Poland or of the United Kingdom, to find that the laws, regulations or administrative provisions, practices or action of Poland or of the United Kingdom are inconsistent with the fundamental rights, freedoms and principles that it reaffirms.

A potential discrimination between EU citizens?



Adhesion to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (article 6.1 TEU)

Fundamental rights....as they result from the constitutional traditions common to the Member States, shall constitute **general principles** of the Union's law.

Included since the Maastricht Treaty



## Are values equally implemented by the Member States?

Short analysis of certain values as defined by the EUT and the Charter

#### **Human Rights, Human Dignity**

Right to life

Right to marry and right to found a family

#### **Equality**

Equality between women and men



# When does life start: legal abortion?

	Member	Principle	Since	Regime
	State	37	1074	D 11' (1st Ond . '
	Austria	Yes	1974	Deadline (1st or even 2nd trimester in case of physical or mental risks)
		Yes	1990	Deadline (1st or even 2nd trimester if risk of death
	Belgium			of the woman) + the distress must be described by
				the demander
	Bulgaria	Yes	1990	Deadline (1st or even 2nd trimester if malformation
		100	2330	of the foetus)
	Cyprus	Yes	1974	Rape or medical reasons (no legal deadline)
	Czech	Yes	1986	Deadline (1st trimester, can be extended if rape)
	Republic		2500	Demande (1 minoster, can be entended if rape)
	Germany	Yes	1995	Deadline (1st trimester)
	Denmark	Yes	1973	Deadline (1 trimester)
	Delimark	Yes	1985	Deadline, in case of rape or medical reasons (until
	Ci	165	1965	14th week if serious risks for the mother's health,
	Spain			22 <sup>nd</sup> if risks of malformation of the foetus)
	Ti et e e t e	37	1000	
	Estonia	Yes	1998	Deadline (1st trimester)
		Yes	1970	Deadline, for rape or health, economical or social
	Finland			reasons (1st trimester or before 24th week is foetus
				is malformed, 20th week if demander is under 17
				y-old)
	France	Yes	1975	Deadline (1st trimester) + distress must be
				described by the demander
	Greece	Yes	1986	Deadline (1st trimester, can be extended if rape)
	Hungary	Yes	2000	Deadline (1st trimester, can be extended if rape)
	Ireland	No, but	1983	Risk of death of the woman
		exceptions		
	Italy	Yes	1998	Deadline (1st trimester)
	Latvia	Yes	2002	Deadline (1st trimester)
	Lithuania	Yes	1982	Deadline (1st trimester)
	Luxembourg	Yes	1978	Deadline, for rape or health, economical or social
				reasons
	Malta	No		
	Netherlands	Yes	1981	Deadline (2nd trimester)
		Yes	1956	Deadline, only for rape, foetus malformation,
	Poland		(1997)	risks of death of the woman (1st trimester)
	Portugal	Yes	2007	Deadline, only for rape or health reasons (10th
			200,	week)
	Romania	Yes	1989	Deadline (1st trimester)
	Slovakia	Yes	1986	Deadline (1st trimester, may be extended if rape)
	Slovenia	Yes	1977	Deadline (10 <sup>th</sup> week)
	Sweden	Yes	1974	Deadline (18th week)
	United-	Yes	1967	Deadline, for rape or health, economical or social
	Kingdom		1,00	reasons (2 <sup>nd</sup> trimester)
	Kinguom	l		reasons (2 trinicater)



#### When does life end?

- Euthanasia is authorised under certain conditions only in Netherlands, Belgium and Luxemburg

#### Right to marry and right to found family

Gay and lesbian marriage is authorized only in Sweden, Netherlands, Spain,
 Portugal and Belgium, however and others MS offer particular forms of « contractual relationship »



## Lesbian and gays marital status available

Table 4: Gay marriage

Member	Principle
State	
Austria	No, but civil union (2010)
Belgium	Yes (2003)
Bulgaria	No
Cyprus	No
Czech	No, but civil union (2006)
Republic	
Germany	No, but civil union (2001)
Denmark	No, but civil union (1989)
Spain	Yes (2005)
Estonia	No
Finland	No, but civil union (2002)
France	No, but civil union (1999)
Greece	No
Hungary	No, but civil union (2009)
Ireland	No, but civil union (2011)
Italy	No
Latvia	No
Lithuania	No
Luxembourg	No, but civil union (2004)
Malta	No
Netherlands	Yes (2001)
Poland	No
Portugal	Yes (since 2010)
Romania	No
Slovakia	No
Slovenia	No, but civil union (2005)
Sweden	Yes (2009)
United-	No, but civil union (2005)
Kingdom	



# The right to divorce

Table 3: The right to divorce

Table 5: The right to divorce					
Member	Principle	Regime			
State					
Austria	Yes	Adversary, by consent, de facto separation (3 years)			
Belgium	Yes	Adversary, by consent, de facto separation (2 years)			
Bulgaria	Yes	Marital breakdown or consent			
Cyprus	Yes	Adversary (listed causes)			
Czech	Yes	Marital breakdown			
Republic					
Germany	Yes	Failure of the marriage			
Denmark	Yes	Adversary, consent, de facto separation (2 years)			
Spain	Yes (since 1981)	Consent			
Estonia	Yes	Consent			
Finland	Yes	Failure of the marriage, de facto separation (2 years)			
France	Yes	Adversary, consent, de facto separation (6 years)			
Greece	Yes	Adversary, consent, de facto separation (4 years)			
Hungary	Yes	Failure of the marriage, consent, de facto separation (3 years)			
Ireland	Yes (since 1996)	De facto separation (4 years)			
Italy	Yes (since 1970)	Adversary (listed causes), consent, de facto separation (3 years)			
Latvia	Yes	Adversary (listed causes), consent, de facto separation (3 years)			
Lithuania	Yes	Adversary (listed causes), consent, de facto separation (1 year)			
Luxembourg	Yes	Adversary (listed causes), consent, de facto separation (3 years)			
Malta	Yes (since 2011)	De facto separation (4 years)			
Netherlands	Yes	Failure of the marriage			
Poland	Yes	Marital breakdown			
Portugal	Yes (since 1977)	Adversary, consent, de facto separation (6 years)			
Romania	Yes Adversary, consent				
Slovakia	Yes	Marital breakdown (listed causes)			
Slovenia	Yes	Failure of the marriage			
Sweden	Yes	Consent, de facto separation (2 years)			
United-	Yes	Adversary, de facto separation (2 or 5 years)			
Kingdom					



### Gender non discrimination

Member State	Principle inserted in	Implementing instruments
Austria	Constitution, Law	Quotas, gender mainstreaming policy <sup>1</sup>
Belgium	Constitution, Law	Quotas, gender mainstreaming, creation of specific authorities (Secretary of State, Institute)
Bulgaria	Constitution, Law	Specific authorities (Commission)
Cyprus	Constitution, Law	
Czech	Constitution, Law	Quotas, specific authorities (Council, Committee,
Republic		Ombudsman)
Germany	Constitution, Law	Quotas, gender mainstreaming
Denmark	Constitution, Law	Gender mainstreaming, specific authorities (Ministry)
Spain	Constitution, Law	Quotas, gender mainstreaming, specific authorities (Institute)
Estonia	Law	Specific authorities (Office, Commissioner)
Finland	Law	Quotas, gender mainstreaming, specific authorities (permanent parliamentary commission)
France	Constitution, Law	Quotas, specific authorities (High Authority)
Greece	Constitution, Law	Quotas, gender mainstreaming, specific authorities (General Secretariat)
Hungary	Constitution, Law	Quotas, gender mainstreaming, specific authorities (Authority, Directorate, Office)
Ireland	Law	Gender mainstreaming, specific authorities (Division)
Italy	Constitution, Law	Quotas, gender mainstreaming, specific authorities (Department, Committee, Commission)
Latvia	Law	Specific authorities (Department, Division)
Lithuania	Constitution, Law	Quotas, gender mainstreaming, specific authorities (Interministerial Commission)
Luxembourg	Constitution, Law	Quotas, gender mainstreaming, specific authorities (Ministry)
Malta	Constitution, Law	Quotas, specific authorities (Commission)
Netherlands	Constitution, Law	Quotas, gender mainstreaming, specific authorities (Ministry, Commission)
Poland	Constitution	Quotas, specific authorities (parliamentary committee)
Portugal	Constitution, Law	Quotas, specific authorities (Commission)
Romania	Constitution, Law	Gender mainstreaming, specific authorities (commissions, Agency, Council)
Slovakia	Law	Specific authorities (Office, Committee)
Slovenia	Law	Quotas, specific authorities (offices)
Sweden	Law	Quotas, gender mainstreaming, specific authorities (Ministry, Directorate, Commission, Ombudsman)
United-	Law	Quotas, gender mainstreaming, specific authorities
Kingdom		(Ministry, Commission, Unit)



#### The reference to God in the EU treaties

Question has been raised during the debate on the EU Constitution (Convention 2002)

#### Favor a reference to the Christian inheritance

- The necessity to establish the christianity of the EU base to reject the candidature of certain states
- -Fundamental values that transcend « human laws »
  Base to prohibit abortion

#### Against clear separation between states and religions

- Religious choices should not be promoted
- Religions should remain the privacy of individual



## A compromize provision has been included in the Preamble

DRAWING INSPIRATION from the cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe, from which have developed the universal values of the inviolable and inalienable rights of the human person, freedom, democracy, equality and the rule of law,

Religions and not God

Religion<u>S</u> (Christian, Muslim, Jew) and Humanist (philosophy of the Enlightenment) and Cultural (Roman and Greek)



#### To conclude: United in diversity

- Informal motto of the EU
- EU fundamental values allow a certain diversity in their implementation by Member States

In others words...







