

# Contents

<i>List of Contributors</i>	ix
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xi
<b>Prologue: The Changing Nature of Selection Procedures to the European Courts</b>	1
<i>Michal Bobek</i>	
1. The Topic	1
2. The Structure	6
3. The Themes	17
4. Acknowledgements	23
<b>1. Not Quite the Bed that Procrustes Built: Dissecting the System for Selecting Judges at the Court of Justice of the European Union</b>	24
<i>Henri de Waele</i>	
1. Introduction	24
2. Staffing the System: The Selection of Selectors	28
3. Preparing Nominations to the EU Courts: National Pre-selection Procedures	32
4. Practical Dynamics: The <i>Modus Operandi</i> of the 255 Panel and the CST Committee	35
5. Position Within the Union's Institutional Architecture	43
6. The System in Action—Experiences So Far	44
7. Conclusion	49
<b>2. Judicial Performance, Membership, and Design at the Court of Justice</b>	51
<i>Damian Chalmers</i>	
1. Introduction	51
2. Judicial Performance and the False Dilemma of Judicial Independence and Judicial Accountability	52
3. The Transitional Period and the Establishment of a Template for the EU Legal Order	56
4. Constitutional in Form and Functional in Substance: The Institution of an Autonomous Legal Order from 1970 Until Maastricht	59
5. Managing and Generalizing the Legal Order: From Maastricht to Lisbon	65

6. Integration and Rights: Legally Onwards from Lisbon?	71
7. Conclusion	75
<b>3. Selecting the European Union's Judges: The Practice of the Article 255 Panel</b>	<b>78</b>
<i>Jean-Marc Sauvé</i>	
1. Objectives Pursued by Establishing the Panel	79
2. The Operation of the Panel	80
3. Evaluation of the Role of the Panel	82
<b>4. The Real Test—How to Contribute to a Better Justice: The Experience of the Civil Service Tribunal</b>	<b>86</b>
<i>Georges Vandersanden</i>	
1. A Specific Committee for a Specific Tribunal	86
2. Questions and Reflections from the Practice	89
3. Some Final Considerations	92
<b>5. (S)electing Judges for Strasbourg: A (Dis)appointing Process?</b>	<b>95</b>
<i>Koen Lemmens</i>	
1. Introduction	95
2. Selecting a Judge for Strasbourg: The Convention's Legal Framework and the Problematic Practice	97
3. The Council of Europe's Side of the Selection Process	100
4. The National Side of the Process	109
5. Conclusion	117
<b>6. Selecting Strasbourg Judges: A Critique</b>	<b>120</b>
<i>David Kosar</i>	
1. Introduction	120
2. Breadth and Depth of the Problem	122
3. The Good	127
4. The Bad	129
5. The Ugly	149
6. How to Attract Top Candidates?	156
7. Conclusion	160
<b>7. On the Democratic Legitimacy of Europe's Judges: A Principled and Comparative Reconstruction of the Selection Procedures</b>	<b>162</b>
<i>Armin von Bogdandy and Christoph Krenn</i>	
1. Introduction	162
2. Concurring Democratic Principles in the EU and the Council of Europe	166
3. Judicial Selection for the ECtHR and the CJEU: A Democratic Reconstruction	170
4. Conclusion	180

<b>8. Can Judicial Selection Secure Judicial Independence?: Constraining State Governments in Selecting International Judges</b>	181
<i>Aida Torres Pérez</i>	
1. Introduction	181
2. The Independence of the International Judiciary	183
3. The Dominance of State Governments in Selecting International Judges	188
4. Mechanisms for Constraining State Governments	190
5. Concluding Remarks	200
<b>9. How Transparent is Transparent Enough?: Balancing Access to Information Against Privacy in European Judicial Selections</b>	202
<i>Alberto Alemanno</i>	
1. Introduction	202
2. Comparing the Panels' Roles in Selecting Europe's Judges	205
3. How the Advisory Panels are Transforming the Selection of European Judges	208
4. The Challenge of Transparency in Judicial Selection	211
5. Towards More Transparency in Judicial Selection	217
6. Conclusion: Transparency as a Recipe for Effectiveness, Legitimacy, and Accountability of Judicial Selection	219
<b>10. Spillovers in Selecting Europe's Judges: Will the Criterion of Gender Equality Make it to Luxembourg?</b>	222
<i>Bilyana Petkova</i>	
1. Introduction	222
2. The Concept of Legitimacy: As Elusive as an Eel	224
3. Horizontal Spillovers Between the CJEU and the ECtHR	229
4. Vertical Spillovers	239
5. Conclusion	242
<b>11. Selection, Appointment, and Legitimacy: A Political Perspective</b>	244
<i>R. Daniel Kelemen</i>	
1. Introduction	244
2. Do European Courts Face a Legitimacy Crisis?	246
3. Maintaining the Democratic Pedigree	251
4. Conclusion	257
<b>12. The Legitimization Strategies of International Judges: The Case of the European Court of Human Rights</b>	259
<i>Mikael Rask Madsen</i>	
1. Introduction	259
2. Overcoming the Problem of Legitimacy	263

3. The Legitimization of International Courts: The Case of the ECtHR	268
4. Conclusion: Implications for Judicial Selection to the ECtHR	276
<b>Epilogue: Searching for the European Hercules</b>	<b>279</b>
<i>Michal Bobek</i>	
1. Hercules. Or Hermes? Or Was It Pallas Athena?	279
2. The 255 Panel and the Advisory Panel: A Comparison	281
3. The 'More Precisely Explained' Criteria	288
4. The Remaining Thorn: Transparency and Control	294
5. Thou Shalt be Made in (Whose?) Image	298
6. The Paradox of Success? Open Competitions, Fewer Candidates?	303
7. Coda (Française)	306
 <i>Select Bibliography</i>	 310
<i>Index</i>	321