

List of publications

Dr. Luke Dimitrios Spieker

Date: December 2025

Monographs

1. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, *EU Values Before the Court of Justice. Foundations, Potential, Risks* (Oxford University Press, 2023)

Awarded the UACES Best Book Prize, the Otto Hahn Medal by the Max Planck Society, and the Wilhelm Bender Dissertation Prize by Goethe University Frankfurt. Shortlisted for the German Thesis Award ('Deutscher Studienpreis').

Cited by Advocate General Ćapeta in Case C-769/22, *Commission v Hungary (Valeurs de l'Union)*, Fn. 81, 84, 86

Reviews: Tom L. Boeckstein, *Modern Law Review* 87 (2024), 1380-1384; Frank Schorkopf, *Transformativer Interventionismus*, *Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts* 149 (2024), 564-576

Contributions to Journals

(*editorial peer review, **double-blind peer review)

2. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Competence confusions: Why the vertical division of competences does not constrain the Court's interpretation of EU law, *European Constitutional Law Review* 21 (2025), 1-44 (first view) **
3. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Pushing for trans rights: How the Court of Justice can turn the EU into a 'Freedom Zone' for trans citizens, *Common Market Law Review* 62 (2025), 1337-1372 **
4. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Was Grimm wrong? Putting the over-constitutionalization of EU law to the test, *German Law Journal* 26 (2025), 416-448 **

Awarded the Best Article Prize, Arbeitskreis Europäische Integration e.V. (AEI)
5. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios** and Ferdinand Weber, *Commission v Malta: A "Miracle" of Union citizenship?*, *European Law Review* 50 (2025), 487-501 *

– Ein „Wunder“ der Unionsbürgerschaft?, *JuristenZeitung* 80 (2025), 612-622 German version of No. 5
6. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios** and Ferdinand Weber, Bonds without belonging? The genuine link in international, Union, and nationality law, *Yearbook of European Law* 43 (2024), 56-94 **

– Band ohne Verbundenheit? Der "genuine link" im Völker-, Unions- und Staatsangehörigkeitsrecht, *Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts* 150 (2025), 242-329 extended German version of No. 6
7. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Debunking the reference champion: On uses, non-uses, and misuses of preliminary references by German courts, *European Law Open* 4 (2025), 254-285 **

8. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Die Europäischen Union: ein Freiheitsraum für trans* Menschen?, *Europäische Zeitschrift für Wirtschaftsrecht* 36 (2025), 112-124
9. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Trust the Treaties! Why protecting EU values does not require Treaty change, *Zeitschrift für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht* 84 (2024), 745-760 *
10. Leloup, Mathieu and **Luke Dimitrios Spieker**, Rethinking Primacy's Effects: On Creating, Avoiding and Filling Legal Vacuums in the National Legal System, *Common Market Law Review* 61 (2024), 913-958 **
11. von Bogdandy, Armin and **Luke Dimitrios Spieker**, Transformative Constitutionalism in Luxembourg? How the Court can Support Democratic Transitions, *Columbia Journal of European Law* 29 (2023), 65-92 *
 - Constitucionalismo transformador en Luxemburgo. Cómo el tribunal puede apoyar las transiciones democráticas, in Mariela Morales Antoniazzi et al. (eds.), *Caminos y estándares para la transición en Venezuela* (Valencia: Tirant lo Blanch, 2024), pp. 321-373 Spanish translation of No. 11
12. von Bogdandy, Armin and **Luke Dimitrios Spieker**, Article 2 TEU as a Tool for Democratic Transitions, *Dyskurs Prawniczy i Administracyjny* (2023), 141-160 **
13. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, The conflict over the Polish disciplinary regime for judges – an acid test for judicial independence, Union values and the primacy of EU law, *Common Market Law Review* 59 (2022), 777-812 **
14. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Werte, Vorrang, Identität: Der Dreiklang europäischer Justizkonflikte vor dem EuGH, *Europäische Zeitschrift für Wirtschaftsrecht* 33 (2022), 305-313
15. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, "The importance of being earnest": On frank words and missed opportunities in the CJEU's A.B. judgment, *Quaderni Costituzionali* (2021), 435-438
16. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Framing and managing constitutional identity conflicts: On how to stabilize the *modus vivendi* between the Court of Justice and national constitutional courts, *Common Market Law Review* 57 (2020), 361-398 **

Awarded the Common Market Law Review Prize for Young Academics
17. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Werteverteidigung im Binnenmarkt? Das ungarische Transparenzgesetz auf dem Prüfstand des EuGH, *Europäische Zeitschrift für Wirtschaftsrecht* 31 (2020), 854-858
18. von Bogdandy, Armin and **Luke Dimitrios Spieker**, *Reverse Solange* 2.0: Die Durchsetzung europäischer Werte und die unions- und strafrechtliche Verantwortung nationaler Richter, *Europarecht* 55 (2020), 301-332 *
19. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Breathing Life into the Union's Common Values: On the Judicial Application of Article 2 TEU in the EU Value Crisis, *German Law Journal* 20 (2019), 1182-1213 **

Awarded the second place ('honourable mention') of the Ius Commune Prize
20. von Bogdandy, Armin and **Luke Dimitrios Spieker**, Countering the Judicial Silencing of Critics: Article 2 TEU Values, *Reverse Solange*, and the Responsibilities of National Judges, *European Constitutional Law Review* 15 (2019), 391-426 **

- Contra los jueces que silencian las críticas. Los valores del artículo 2 TUE, *Reverse Solange* y las responsabilidades de los jueces nacionales, in Daniel Sarmiento et al. (eds.), *El future de la Unión Europea. Retos y desafíos* (Oñati: IVAP, 2021), 25-62 ^{Spanish translation of 20}
 - I valori dell'Articolo 2 del TUE, la *Reverse Solange* e la responsabilità dei giudici nazionali, *Percorsi Costituzionali* (2020), 347-388 ^{Italian translation of 20}
21. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Does Article 15 ECHR Still Matter in Military Operations Abroad? The UK government's "Presumption to Derogate" – Much Ado about Nothing?, *Zeitschrift für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht* 79 (2019), 155-183 **

Contribution to Edited Volumes

22. Nikolas Eisentraut, Jonas Botta, Friederike Gebhard and Hannah Ruschemeier (eds.), *Grundgesetz-Kommentar* (2026) (in preparation)
- Art. 62 GG
 - Art. 64 GG
23. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Constitutional homogeneity, in Rainer Grote, Frauke Lachenmann and Rüdiger Wolfrum (eds.), *Max Planck Encyclopedia of Comparative Constitutional Law* (Oxford: OUP, 2026) (in preparation)
24. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Union citizenship, in Andrea Biondi and Oana Stefan (eds.), *Elgar Encyclopedia of European Law* (Cheltenham: Elgar) (in preparation)
25. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Article 2 TEU: Origin and place in the EU legal edifice, in Giuseppe Martinico and John Morijn (eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union* (Cambridge: CUP) (in preparation)
26. von Bogdandy, Armin und **Luke Dimitrios Spieker**, The Constitutional Principles of European Society, in Jürgen Bast und Armin von Bogdandy (eds.), *The Constitutional Law of European Society* (Oxford: OUP 2026) (forthcoming) (pre-print als MPIL Research Paper No. 2025 - 20, [SSRN](#))
27. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, From regression to restoration: The dynamic role of Union values in reinstating constitutional democracy, in Paulina Starski (eds.), *A Playbook for Reinstating the Rule of Law* (Oxford: Hart, 2026) (forthcoming)
28. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Primary Law as Pyramid. The Case for Substantive Hierarchies in EU Primary Law, in Alezini Loxa and Luigi Lonardo (eds.), *The Legal Reasoning of the Court of Justice of the EU: A Normative Assessment* (Oxford: OUP, 2025) (forthcoming) (pre-print als MPIL Research Paper No. 2025 - 18, [SSRN](#))
29. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Beyond Identity. On Common Values as Judicial Communication Channels in the EU, in Anastasia Iliopoulou-Penot and Francesco Martucci (eds.), *Les rapports entre les juges constitutionnels nationaux et la CJUE/National constitutional judges and the CJEU* (Brussels: Bruylant, 2025), 107-136
30. von Bogdandy, Armin and **Luke Dimitrios Spieker**, Die Verfassungsprinzipien, in Armin von Bogdandy und Jürgen Bast (eds.), *Unionsverfassungsrecht. Eine Neubestimmung anhand der Grundlagen im EU-Vertrag* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2024), 123-178
31. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Il rinvio pregiudiziale nell'ordinamento tedesco: tre sfide per i "campioni del rinvio", in Ferraro Fabio and Iannone Celestina (eds.), *Il rinvio pregiudiziale* (Torino: Giappichelli, 2024), 381-422

32. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Beyond the Rule of Law: How the Court of Justice can Protect Conditions for Democratic Change in the Member States, in Anna Södersten and Edwin Hercock (eds.), *The Rule of Law in the EU: Crisis and Solutions* (Stockholm: SIEPS, 2023), 72-78
33. von Bogdandy, Armin and **Luke Dimitrios Spieker**, EU Values as Constraints and Facilitators in Democratic Transitions, in Michal Bobek et al. (eds.), *Transition 2.0* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2023), 113-142
34. von Bogdandy, Armin and **Luke Dimitrios Spieker**, How the European Rule of Law Can Support Democratic Transitions: On the Criminal Responsibility of Biased Judges, in *ECB Legal Conference 2021. Continuity and change – How the challenges of today prepare the ground for tomorrow* (Frankfurt a.M.: ECB, 2022), 197-210
35. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Protecting Union Values in Judicial Procedures: On How to Turn Article 2 TEU Into a Judicially Applicable Provision, in Armin von Bogdandy et al. (eds.), *Defending Checks and Balances in EU Member States. Taking Stock of Europe's Actions* (Berlin: Springer, 2021), 237-268
36. Skordas, Achilles and **Luke Dimitrios Spieker**, Supranational Law, in Anne Peters (ed.), *Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law* (Oxford: OUP, 2021)
37. von Bogdandy, Armin and **Luke Dimitrios Spieker**, Protecting Fundamental Rights Beyond the Charter: Repositioning the *Reverse Solange* Doctrine in Light of the CJEU's Article 2 TEU Case Law, in Michal Bobek and Jeremias Prassl (eds.), *The EU Charter of Fundamental Rights in the Member States* (Oxford: Hart, 2020), 525-546
38. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Die Identitätskontrolle des BVerfG und ihr Verhältnis zum Schutz der nationalen Identität durch den EuGH, in Matthias Klatt (ed.), *Jurisdiktionskonflikte* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2015), 111-144

Working Paper

39. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, From Moral Values to Legal Obligations – On How to Activate the Union's Common Values in the EU Rule of Law Crisis, MPIL Research Paper No. 24, 2018

Contributions to Other Media

40. von Bogdandy, Armin and **Luke Dimitrios Spieker**, Overcoming Objections to Overcome the Hungarian Veto: A Rejoinder to Dawson and van den Brink, *Verfassungsblog* (31 August 2025)
41. von Bogdandy, Armin and **Luke Dimitrios Spieker**, Overcoming the Hungarian Veto: Advancing Europe's Geopolitical Agency, *Verfassungsblog* (13 June 2025)
42. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, It's solidarity, stupid! In defence of *Commission v Malta*, *Verfassungsblog* (7 May 2025)
43. Karpenstein, Ulrich und **Luke Dimitrios Spieker**, Warum sich die Bundesregierung in Brüssel für einen Stimmrechtsentzug Ungarns einsetzen muss, *FAZ-Einspruch* (20 April 2025)
44. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Tackling the Union's "Orbán Problem" Now: Seizing Momentum, Reviving Article 7 TEU, Sharpening Conditionality *Verfassungsblog* (10 April 2025)
45. Kaiser, Lena, Andreas Knecht and **Luke Dimitrios Spieker**, European Society Strikes Back: The Member States Embrace Article 2 TEU in *Commission v Hungary*, *Verfassungsblog* (26 November 2024)

46. Morijn, John and **Luke Dimitrios Spieker**, The Silent Majority Has Found Its Voice: Five Questions to John Morijn and Luke Dimitrios Spieker, *Verfassungsblog* (22 November 2024)
47. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Kein Mut zur Lücke! Plädoyer für eine Zustimmungspflicht des Bundesrates bei Änderungen des BVerfGG, *Verfassungsblog* (22 October 2024)
48. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Dismissing the Genuine Link by Disregarding Constitutional Principles: Why the Court should not follow Collins' Opinion in Commission v Malta, *Verfassungsblog* (9 October 2024)
49. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, The Lighthouse of EU law Shines on the Polish Constitutional Tribunal: Neutralising its Obstruction, Substituting its Function, Supporting the Transition, *Verfassungsblog* (26 June 2024)
50. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, „Unterschätzt die europäischen Verträge nicht!“ Warum wir keine Vertragsreform zum Schutz europäischer Werte brauchen, www.mpg.de (5 June 2024)
51. von Bogdandy, Armin and **Luke Dimitrios Spieker**, Viewpoint: “Democracy can be dismantled more quickly than it can be restored”, *MaxPlanckResearch* 1/2024, 14-19
52. von Bogdandy, Armin and **Luke Dimitrios Spieker**, Die schwierige Rückkehr zum Rechtsstaat, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (15 November 2023)
53. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, *Berlaymont* is back: The Commission invokes Article 2 TEU as self-standing plea in infringement proceedings over Hungarian LGBTIQ rights violations, *EU Law Live* (22 February 2023)
54. von Bogdandy, Armin and **Luke Dimitrios Spieker**, How to Set Aside Hungarian Cardinal Laws: A Suggestion for a Democratic Transition, *Verfassungsblog* (18 March 2022)
55. von Bogdandy, Armin and **Luke Dimitrios Spieker**, Restoring the Rule of Law Through Criminal Responsibility, *Verfassungsblog* (10 December 2021)
56. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, The Court gives with one hand and takes away with the other: The CJEU's judgment in Miasto Łowicz, *Verfassungsblog* (26 March 2020)
57. **Spieker, Luke Dimitrios**, Commission v. Poland – A Stepping Stone Towards a Strong “Union of Values”?, *Verfassungsblog* (30 May 2019)
58. von Bogdandy, Armin and **Luke Dimitrios Spieker**, Countering the Judicial Silencing of Critics: Novel Ways to Enforce European Values, *Verfassungsblog* (6 March 2019)

List of talks and presentations

Dr. Luke Dimitrios Spieker

Date: December 2025

Selected Taks and Presentations

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| 14/11/2025 | Lecture: 'Trust, Solidarity, Democracy: Towards a republican Union citizenship after Commission v Malta?' Durham European Law Institute (DELI), Durham University |
| 27/9/2025 | Presentation: 'Rethinking the protection of EU values: what is on the horizon?' European Law Unbound Conference, Charles University Prague |
| 26/9/2025 | Presentation: 'Intrusions, irritations, impulses? The relationship of EU law and Member State diversity in the area of nationality law' European Law Unbound Conference, Charles University Prague |
| 22/5/2025 | Presentation: 'Challenging the narrative(s): What kind of democracy for the EU and its Member States?' ICON-S Benelux Brussels |
| 12/5/2025 | Conversation with Paolo Carozza on Militant Democracy Law & Society Institute, Humboldt University Berlin |
| 27/3/2025 | Comment on Primacy Conference: The Limits of EU Integration Through Law? The Foundations Revisited, Joint Anniversary Law Conference by the College of Europe and the European Law Review College of Europe, Bruges |
| 17/3/2025 | Lecture: 'Union citizenship and Member State nationality: an ambivalent relationship' Hertie School, Berlin |
| 13/3/2025 | Presentation: 'The Judicial Enforcement of Article 2 TEU, Article 2 Values: New Perspectives' Conference: ENACTING Scuola Superiore di Sant'Anna, Pisa |
| 20/1/2025 | Introduction, MPIL Book Conversation – Unionsverfassungsrecht Humboldt University Berlin |
| 6/1/2025 | Presentation: 'Debunking the reference champion. On uses, non-uses, and misuses of preliminary references by German courts' Law & Society Institute, Humboldt University Berlin |
| 25/11/2024 | Presentation: 'European society strikes back! Commission v Hungary (Valeurs de l'Union), Case C-769/22 - Hearing of 19 November 2024' MPIL Monday Meeting MPIL, Heidelberg |
| 23/10/2024 | Presentation: Dieter Grimm, Die demokratischen Kosten der Konstitutionalisierung Kolloquium Öffentliches Recht und Theorie Humboldt University Berlin |
| 14/10/2024 | Presentation: 'EU Values as a Tool for Litigation: Practical Insights' Hungarian Helsinki Foundation, Budapest |
| 14/10/2024 | Book Talk: 'EU Values Before the Court of Justice' CEU Democracy Institute, Budapest |

- 11/7/2024 Presentation: 'Vertraut den Verträgen! Sinn und Unsinn einer Vertragsreform zum Schutz der Unionswerte' | Workshop: 'Formelle und Materielle Dimensionen europäischer Rechtsstaatlichkeit' | Humboldt University Berlin
- 23/5/2024 Presentation: 'EU Values as a Tool for Litigation: Practical Insights' | Conference: Litigating change: training lawyers on the EU rule of law acquis | Centre for Social Sciences (CSS), Centre of Excellence of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest
- 24/10/2024 Presentation: 'Between regression and transition: The dynamic role of Union values in restoring constitutional democracy' | Re:constitution Alumni Meeting | Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin
- 25/4/2024 Presentation: 'Zukunft der EU' | Workshop: Stärkung der Rechtsstaatlichkeit zum Schutz von Grundwerten und Demokratie | Ständige Arbeitsgruppe – Europaministerkonferenz der Länder | Europäische Akademie, Berlin
- 22/3/2024 Book Talk: 'EU Values Before the Court of Justice' | Centre de droit européen, Université Panthéon-Assas (Paris 2), Paris
- 4/12/2023 Book Talk: 'EU Values Before the Court of Justice' | STALS (Sant'Anna Legal Studies), Pisa [online]
- 23/11/2023 Presentation: 'Unionswerte vor dem EuGH' | Sitzung der Ständigen Arbeitsgruppe der Europaministerkonferenz der Länder | Landesvertretung Schleswig-Holstein, Berlin
- 24/7/2023 Presentation: 'How to use Article 2 TEU in infringement procedures' | Legal Brief: C-769/22, Commission vs Hungary | RECLAIM, Brussels
- 18/4/2023 Presentation: 'Beyond the Rule of Law: How the Court can protect conditions for democratic change in the Member States' | Conference: The Rule of Law in the EU: Crisis and Solutions | SIEPS, Stockholm
- 3/6/2022 Presentation: 'Transformative Constitutionalism in Luxembourg How the Court Can Support Democratic Transitions' | Conference: Reshuffling the institutional framework for the protection of the rule of law in Europe: the EU as a guardian of the rule of law | KU Leuven

Other Outreach

- 8/5/2025 Eleanor Spaventa and Luke Dimitrios Spieker discuss the 'golden passports' case, EU Law Live (8 May 2025), <https://eulawlive.com/podcast/eleanor-spaventa-and-luke-dimitrios-spieker-discuss-the-golden-passports-case/>
- 22/5/2025 Valeurs de l'Union – In Conversation with Luke Dimitrios Spieker, Review of Democracy (22 April 2025), <https://revdem.ceu.edu/2025/04/22/valeurs-de-lunion/>
- 23/5/2024 Interview mit Patrick Cramer - Wie zerbrechlich ist unsere Demokratie? (23 May 2024), <https://www.mpg.de/21968947/demokratie-in-gefahr>