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14.00 **ATAUM, Europ. Research C. Ankara**

13 main hypotheses, why Democracy needs more Europe and Europe needs more Democracy

1. Democracy faces paradoxical times: In the same moment, where it's value for good governance is universally recognized, many citizens get more and more the impression, that it's substance is eroding.
2. National democracies got too small for the big things and too big for the small ones.
3. In order to restore its power democracy has to go transnational, at least continental.
4. The European Union is in its deepest double crises: For many Europeans it became a "Des-union", where the disintegrative forces get stronger than the integrative ones. Never ever the Union was in many dimensions more divided.
5. Its output legitimacy is gone; the input legitimacy was always extremely weak. The way today's EU is functioning it produces nationalisms, new egoisms and new tensions between the people and the countries. It cannot serve neither the majority of all Europeans nor the interests of the global world.
6. The Euro-Union would need a Political Union, the majority of the Governments did not want to establish. "With the lost of the balance between markets and democracy the EU lost its soul" (Delors 2010)
7. Many see the way the Euro-Union is organised as incompatible with a democratic polity; too big are the structural differences, too big the suffering of too many imposed by the way the Euro has to be saved.
8. The European-Union's power branches are out of their balance; the EuCourt (lux) interprets the Treaty as a Constitution and in a market-

only logic, no national government can (socially) contradict or correct and the Council of Min. are structurally unable to correct. Policy becomes polity; democracy is fading away.

9. The treaty-based federation with its executive domination and its "integration by law" does not serve the integration, the social and economic well fare anymore and undermines democracy. The EU was thought to protect national democratic achievements, not to put them in danger.
10. We need to come back to the roots (1946-50): a new beginning with a real federal constitution making process, ratified by the majorities of the peoples as well as the states, establishing a equal two chamber-system (One representing the peoples, the other the states by senators elected by the national parliaments, European wide referenda, more decentralisation and possible opting-out-possibilities).
11. Like this we bring back the citizens in the European Integration; overcoming the integration of states by the integration of the peoples and we start to build a real citizens based transnational, continental democracy.
12. This way we can increase again the integrative capacity of the EU/European community (towards its todays as well as tomorrows members) and combine unity with diversity without to much centralisation as well as uniformisation.
13. In order to give this alternative a realistic chance the way Europe should be integrated has to become an issue of everybody. As an elite project, it will not survive. As a citizens project it could get a second chance. The longer we wait, the more difficult it will be!

Literature:

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Olaf v. Cramme, Democratic politics in a European Union under stress, Oxford, 2014