

# THE EUROPEAN REPUBLIC IS UNDER CONSTRUCTION

## Completing Political Union: How the Euro-Union could work

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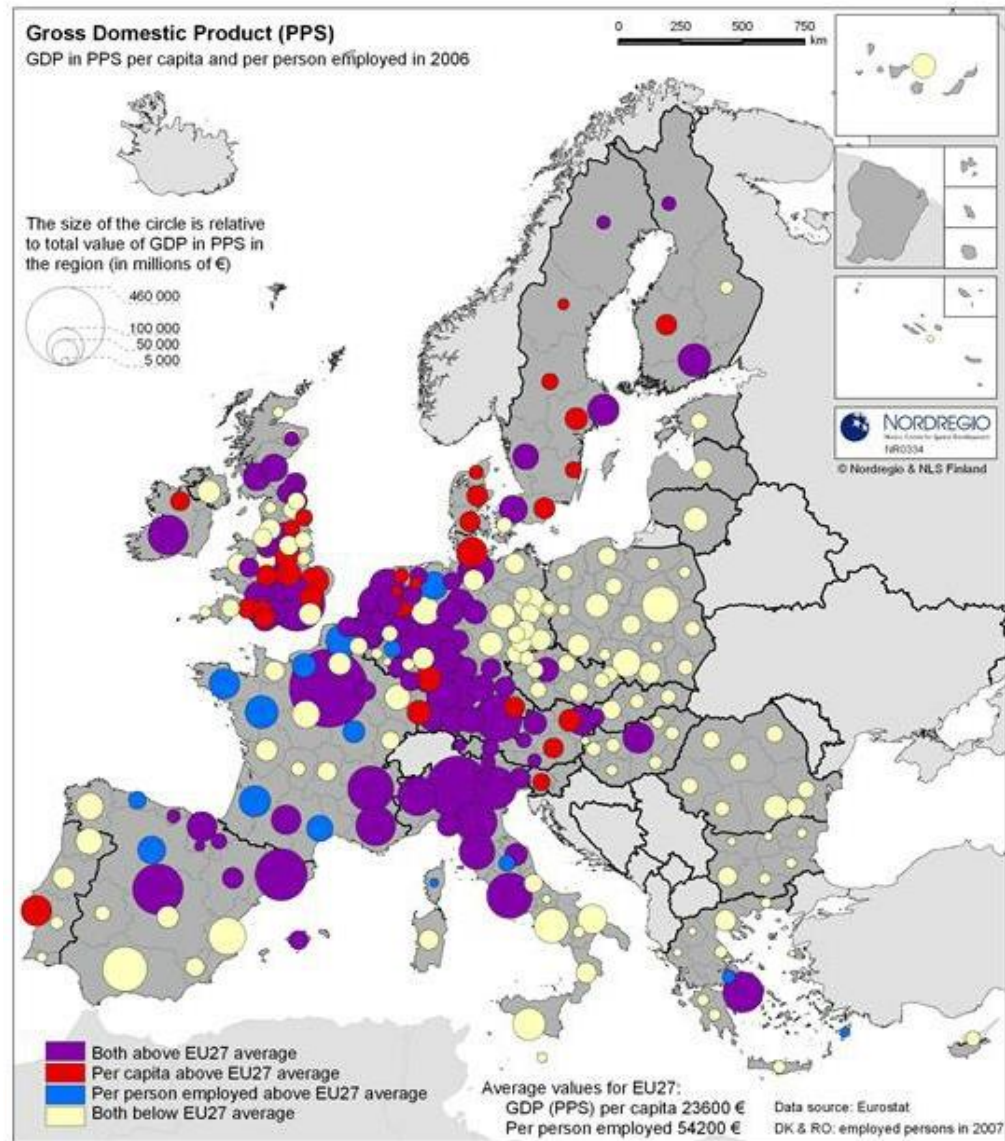
Section ECO

# Where are we?

Post-crisis? Successfully through crisis?

- Storm coming back? *Greccident*?
- No fiscal/ monetary backstop
- No common deposit scheme for banks
  
- Did we waste the crisis?
- Incremental disintegration?

# Gross Domestic Product across EU27



# Making economic and political space congruent

- Euroland: aggregated economy
- One “national account” for Euroland
- No export competition
- European industries are transnational clusters
- Political and social rights don't go along
- Industrial/ economic space is not in synch with polity/ policy space and working relations

# Proposal

- Report „Genuine banking union“ 2012
- (update March 2015)
- Glienicker Gruppe, September 2013
- Eiffel Group, February 2014
- Eurozone/ EU 28
- „Catch 22“: the system cannot reform!

# Key requests for Political Integration

Redesign of European parliamentarism:

- Eurozone-Parliament (Glienicker)?
- Or sub-entity EU Parliament (Eiffel)?
- Right to initiate legislation for EP?
- Bi-cameralism? Which chambers? Art. 13 Lisbon Treaty?
- Interparliamentary assembly?
- Pro rata? Proportionality?

# Social Sciences Research

Normative request: transnational parliament cooperation

→ overcome democracy deficit

- Move out of “more/less” Europe
- End national Parliaments vs. EP rhetoric
- Horizontal vs. Vertical
- democracy, no longer integration
- Uniting citizens, not integrating states
- Equality, not solidarity
- Equal European citizenship

# But: empirical evidence

- Institutional inertia
- National parliaments no interest in Europe
- Better scrutiny of European policy making
- But no “binding” of decision making
- Lisbon will not alter status
- COSAC: not working



# Improving accountability?

## Bundestag: “Congress of Eurozone”?

people affected by decisions across German borders without voice in the “polity system”

→ **democratic deficit**

Polity space and policy space not congruent!

- Extension of “solidarity” beyond state borders: fiscal union?
- Karlsruhe?
- No taxation without representation

→ Systemic deadlock!

# Democratic solutions?

- Techno-structure: no policy chance  
→ against polity (populism)
- transnational democratic interdependence

National democratic  
legitimacy

Local democratic  
legitimacy



Transnational democratic  
legitimacy

# Res Publica Europaea

## *Republic* concept

De-construction of the notion of sovereignty:

- Sovereignty is an „individual principle“  
→ citizens are sovereign, not *people* (Hans Kelsen, Jean Bodin)

“Gemeinwohlbindung” = normative ground of the notion of *republic*

“commitment to common welfare”

- One fundamental request: **political and social equality** for all citizens of the Euro-Union

# Principle of Political & Social Equality

Provides three-fold leverage effect

- 1.) political equality with respect to elections: same voting conditions for the EP elections
- 2) same tax rules for all citizens (income tax, fortune tax); *and companies....*
- 3) same access and eligibility to social rights (i.e. European Unemployment Insurance)

# Generational dynamics

- No more finalité
- European hypertext *bottom up*
- Radical democracy concepts - transnational
- Civic identity – principle of civic égalité accepted
  - Study 2013: 70% Europeans for European minimum wage; 58% Germans
- “Horizontal Europe”: discourse not based on countries, but transnational distribution top-down

# Good news

- Cultural basis for transnational European democracy among citizens is there
  - Civic identity among Europeans measurable
  - Access to same social rights accepted on basis of common citizenship
- unfortunately, national and EU-elites have not yet understood this!

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