

THE THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC INTEGRATION

*Constructing the EU
as a Union of States and Citizens*



Jaap Hoeksma



**THE THEORY OF
DEMOCRATIC INTEGRATION**

*Constructing the EU
as a Union of States and Citizens*

Jaap Hoeksma



THE THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC INTEGRATION

Constructing the EU as a Union of States and Citizens

Jaap Hoeksma

ISBN: 9789462404595 (softcover/paperback)

ISBN: 9789462404762 (e-book)

Published by:

Wolf Legal Publishers (WLP)

PO Box 313

5060 AH Oisterwijk

The Netherlands

E-Mail: info@wolfpublishers.nl

www.wolfpublishers.com

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission of the publisher. Whilst the authors, editors and publisher have tried to ensure the accuracy of this publication, the publisher, authors and editors cannot accept responsibility for any errors, omissions, misstatements, or mistakes and accept no responsibility for the use of the information presented in this work.

© Jaap Hoeksma / WLP 2018

**THE THEORY OF
DEMOCRATIC INTEGRATION**

*Constructing the EU
as a Union of States and Citizens*

Jaap Hoeksma

Theory of Democratic Integration

Executive Summary

The theory of democratic integration (TDI) is the first political theory to account for the dual character of the EU as a Union of States and a Union of Citizens. The new theory argues that the aim of the EU is not to become either a state or an organisation of states, but rather to function as a European democracy. In fact, the TDI demonstrates that the EU can only work as a transnational European democracy, if it is perceived and presented as a Union of States and Citizens.

The TDI brings about a revolutionary breakthrough in EU research inasmuch as that it replaces the traditional paradigm of states in the study of the EU with the civic template of democracy and human rights. From the civilian perspective, it seems obvious that, if two or more democratic states agree to share the exercise of sovereignty in a number of fields in order to attain common goals, the organisation they establish for this purpose should be democratic too. In contrast to other international organisations the EU can be defined as a union of states and citizens, in which the citizens are entitled to participate both in the national democracies of their countries and in the common democracy of the Union.

Simultaneously, the TDI sheds fresh light on the way in which sovereignty works in the EU. Whereas the prevailing Westphalian theory emphasises that sovereignty has to be one and indivisible, the functioning of the EU is based on the shared exercise of sovereignty. Defying the argument of economists that sharing sovereignty is a zero sum game, the TDI argues that shared sovereignty is reinforced sovereignty. The member states strengthen their position in the world by sharing the exercise of sovereignty in the framework of the Union. The manner, in which the euro has been saved after the financial crisis of the past decade, forms a compelling example of the effectiveness of shared sovereignty.

In the analysis of the TDI, the present shortcomings in the democratic governance of the EU have to be attributed to the transition of the Union from an organisation of democratic states to a democratic Union of States and Citizens. However, the normative demand, which the TDI requires the EU to meet, is that the Union should not only consist of democratic states based on the rule of law, but should also function as a constitutional democracy of its own.

The Theory of Democratic Integration, which will be presented in this treatise, is the first political theory to account for the dual character of the EU as both a Union of States and a Union of Citizens. The new theory brings about a revolutionary breakthrough in EU research as it replaces the traditional Westphalian paradigm of states with the civic perspective of democracy and the rule of law. From this perspective there is no point in governing an organisation of democratic states in an undemocratic manner. At the same time it is equally self-evident that, if two or more democratic states agree to share the exercise of sovereignty in a number of fields with a view to attain common goals, the organisation they establish for this purpose should be democratic too.

The Copernican revolution, engendered by the theory of democratic integration, is not only of academic interest. It also has great practical consequences. The first concrete result of the new theory is that it provides for the first-ever scientific definition of the EU. Moreover, it overcomes the longstanding stalemate in the debate about the future of Europe. Finally, it empowers the EU to tell the Story of Europe from the citizens' perspective in a captivating narrative as the journey from a soulless EU to a living European democracy.

