

**Dilemmas of Democracy in Europe**  
*International Workshop*  
*London, June 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2006*

*Venue:*

University of Westminster, Boardroom  
309, Regent Street  
London W1

*Organized by:*

Centre of the Study of Democracy at the University of Westminster  
EIF, Institute for European Integration Research, Austrian Academy of Sciences  
Law School at Birbeck College, University of London

*Since the Treaty of Maastricht, the need to democratize the European Union has been discussed both by political and academic circles. The debates on the European Constitution and the adoption of this Constitution by the IGC in June 2004 marked a significant step in these debates and were meant as a crucial progress towards a more democratic European Union. However, the rejection of the Constitution by a majority of French and Dutch voters has precipitated a deep crisis within this project if not its end. While a frantic and, at least up to now, rather perplexed search for provisional solutions of this situation has started all over the EU, it seems at least equally worthwhile and necessary to question the conditions and possibilities for European democracy on a more fundamental level. The conference aims to tackle that problem by focussing on three central themes: SOVEREIGNTY, FINALITY, AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE. Over two days, international scholars from different academic disciplines will discuss the impact of these key concepts on the future of European integration.*

*Friday, June, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2006,  
10.00 a.m.*

**Opening:**

*Ambassador Mag. Dr. Emil Brix, Austrian Ministry for Foreign Affairs  
Dr. Ilse König, Austrian Ministry for Education, Science, and Culture*

*10.30 – 01.30 p.m.*

**Which finality for the European Union?**

*Convenor: Chantal Mouffe, Centre for the Study of Democracy, University of Westminster*

Since the rejection of the European Constitution in France and the Netherlands the disagreements about the nature of the European project have come into the open. Not only is there a wide gap between the 'eurosceptics' for whom the EU can at the most be conceived as a vast area of free trade, accompanied eventually by the exigency of respecting human rights and those who believe in the need of advancing in the process of European integration. Even among those who accept the need for more integration there are wide differences concerning the nature and the scope of this integration and the kind of institutions that it requires. What should be the modalities of this integration? What kind of political Europe is possible and desirable? It is urgent to have a serious discussion about the possible models of European integration according to the different visions of the European project? This panel will examine the many different meanings of federalism, focusing on their consequences for the political union that they would create. Special attention will be given to the different levels at which democracy should be exercised in the EU and the ways it could be enhanced.

*Speakers:*

Sonja Puntischer Riekmann, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna  
Kalypso Nicolaïdis, University of Oxford.  
Ulrich Preuss, Humboldt University, Berlin

*Discussants:*

Donald Sassoon, Queen Mary and Westfield College , University of London  
Thomas Ferenczi, Le Monde, Paris/ Brussels

3.00 p.m.-6.00 p.m.

## **Democratising Europe's Post Sovereign law?**

*Convenor: Michelle Everson, Birkbeck College*

### Democratising Europe's Post Sovereign law?

European law is not a 'sovereign' legal order. Although it is recognised by national legal systems as a 'supreme' body of law, the source of European law remains contested. This gives rise to a paradox within European legal systems:

- 1) European law has no formal sovereignty, but is, in its operation, a 'higher' law than national law.
- 2) National law and constitutional traditions are formally supreme, but cede to European law in practice.

The formal concept of sovereignty no longer has practical relevance within European legal systems. This conclusion raises various questions about the status of modern laws, and, more particularly, raises renewed doubts about the relationship between law and democratic political process:

- 1) In the absence of formal sovereignty, the embedded and organic link between national law and national democratic process (the sovereign polity and its sovereign law) has been severed. Are there new European legal doctrines, which compensate for this missing democratic link?
- 2) Equally, however, at European level, European law works without any clear connection to a single political constituency (no sovereign European polity). Given this fact, has European law identified new means to democratise itself?

This strand within the conference will investigate post-sovereign law in the light of these questions.

### *Speakers*

Christian Joerges, European University Institute, Florence

Inger-Johanne Sand, Universities of Copenhagen and Oslo

Jan Barcz, University of Warsaw

### *Commentators*

Dario Castiglione, University of Exeter

Johannes Pollak, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

*Saturday, June, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2006*

*10.00 a.m. – 01.00 p.m.*

### **European Publics**

*Convenor: Monika Mokre, Austrian Academy of Sciences*

The need for and lack of European Public Sphere have been increasingly discussed during the last decade. Theoretical and empirical studies have tackled the subject out of different perspectives whereby relations between these strands often lacked. Out of a normative-theoretical perspective, the concept of a European Public Sphere has been closely related to different understandings of democracy and, consequently, led to differing understandings of the functions of a political public sphere and equally differing claims for its institutional set-up. Empirical studies came to contradictory results with regard to the existence, non-existence and/or emergence of a European public sphere due to similar differences in their concepts and operationalisations.

The panel takes as its starting point the assumption that a plurality of European publics forms the European public sphere. It aims at bringing together perspectives on European publics dealing with the different *spaces* that can be envisaged for publics in Europe (regional, national, supranational, global/ unified, split, overlapping) and the *functions* for European democracy we can, consequently, define for them. In this way, the often very fuzzy claim for a European public sphere shall be clarified by the analytical separation of two qualities of European publics frequently confounded with each other.

#### *Speakers*

Oliver Marchart, University of Basel

Hans-Jörg Trenz, ARENA, Oslo

Noortje Marres, University of Amsterdam

#### *Discussants*

Bo Stråth, European University Institute, Florence

Emil Brix, Austrian Association of Research

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