

Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	x
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xi
Introduction: Questioning What Makes the EU Viable	1
1 The Problem of Viability in a Compound Polity	7
1.1 Introduction	7
1.2 Viability as defined in relation to the 'Rules of the Game' of politics	8
1.3 Scenarios of viability in a compound polity	15
1.4 The theory of the compound polity and the issue of the units' sovereign status	20
1.5 Comparing the EU with other political systems	24
1.6 Conclusion	31
2 Developing an Analogical Comparison between the EU and the Antebellum US Republic	32
2.1 Introduction	32
2.2 The attraction of transatlantic comparison	33
2.3 The caesura of the Civil War: The overlooked significance of antebellum political conflict	37
2.4 Comparing viability in the EU and antebellum US: A question of <i>praxis</i> not preconditions	43
2.5 Conclusion: Learning through analogy	51
3 Comparing How the Rules of the Game are Contested	53
3.1 Introduction	53
3.2 Viability and the conflict over the rules of the game of politics in the antebellum US	54

3.3	Contesting the rules of the game in the EU	63
3.3.1	Dual federalism v. joint federalism	66
3.3.2	A constitution for popular government v. a treaty system	67
3.3.3	A project for freedom v. a project for undefined ever closer union	69
3.3.4	A single fault line v. multiple fault lines	70
3.3.5	A party system and Supreme Court arbitrator v. politics of treaty reform and council arbitration	71
3.4	Conclusion	73
4	The Struggle to Maintain a Compound System: Creating and Contesting the Rules of the Game in European Integration	74
4.1	Introduction	74
4.2	The construction of the rules of the game of European politics, from the ECSC to the EEC	75
4.2.1	The Coal and Steel Community	76
4.2.2	The European Economic Community	79
4.3	After the EEC: Unexpected constitutionalization (ECJ), the first enlargement (UK) and democratic consolidation (Mediterranean enlargement)	81
4.3.1	The impact of the court on the rules of the game	82
4.3.2	British accession: Opening up the Pandora's box of domestic politics	86
4.3.3	The Mediterranean enlargement round: Defining the Community's democratic values	93
4.4	Maastricht and after: Questioning the purpose and nature of integration	97
4.5	Two steps forward but how many back? European integration's dynamic equilibrium	107
4.6	Conclusion	112

5 Contrasting and Explaining the Viability of Two Compound Systems	113
5.1 Introduction	113
5.2 American dual federalism (with the highest functions of government) v. European joint federalism (with the most numerous)	115
5.3 A constitution for popular government v. a treaty system	118
5.4 A project for freedom (the union as a means to an end) v. a project for undefined ever closer union (integration as an end in itself)	125
5.5 A single fault line v. multiple fault lines	131
5.6 A party system and Supreme Court arbitrator v. politics of treaty reform and Council arbitration	138
5.7 Conclusion: Recognizing what makes the EU viable	150
6 The Future Evolution of the EU Compound Polity: The Obstacles to Voluntary Centralization	152
6.1 Introduction	152
6.2 Dynamic equilibrium: A self-reinforcing process?	154
6.3 Compound polities and the problem of representing both states and individuals	161
6.4 How to manage the voluntary centralization of representation	169
6.5 The political process needed for justifying voluntary centralization	173
6.6 Conclusion	180
Conclusion: Implications for EU Studies and the Debate over the Future of Integration	182
Applying the insights of this study	184
Notes	189
Bibliography	206
Index	224