As the authority of the Parliament has grown, so its internal operation has become more important. The issues that govern the EP's parliamentary procedures, its committee structure, the selection of candidates on party lists, and the development of transnational European party federations all lie outside the treaties.

These policy areas are summarized in table A.1.1 in appendix 1.

9. The only exception was the European Defense Community, which was voted down in the French Assembly in 1954. After that debacle, plans for the European Political Community were quietly dropped.

10. For Britain, the latter are constitutional innovations with immense knock-on effects.

11. This refers to “EC pillar” issues, which encompass the bulk of EU initiatives. EC pillar, or pillar I, issues refer to economic integration, including economic and monetary union, and all policies areas; pillar II refers to common foreign and defense policy (CFSP); pillar III to cooperation on justice and home affairs (JHA).

12. The strongest proponents for a transfer of immigration and border control to pillar I were the Dutch, Belgian, Luxembourgian, German, Italian, Portuguese, and Austrian governments, while the French and Spanish governments were in favor of a partial transfer (den Boor and Wallace 2000).

13. During the transition period, the Commission shares its right of initiative with the member states, the EP is only consulted, and the Council of Ministers votes by unanimity.

A Historical Perspective

The creation of a European polity over the past half century has been an experiment in interstate coordination and supranational institution building. While the European Union is a new kind of polity, scholars have sought to gauge its particularities and understand its dynamics by comparison. This chapter lies squarely in that tradition, one that goes back to the earliest attempts to analyze European integration.

Comparison, but with what? Given the exceptional character of European integration, the question has no single answer. European integration does not fit neatly into any class of political phenomena, though it shares interesting commonalities with several.

Two lenses have been used to gain comparative insight. The first treats the European Union as an international regime. Like the United Nations, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, or the North American Free Trade Association, the EU can be conceived as an organization created, sustained, and dominated by national governments. Conceptualizing the EU as an international regime focuses attention on intergovernmental bargaining and allows scholars to inquire into the factors that lead to coordination among national governments (Moravcsik 1991, 1994; for a critique, see Sandholtz 1996). Why do national governments create international regimes, and what functions does the European Union fulfill?

A second lens treats European integration as the development of a federal constitutional order—a domestic regime. From this standpoint, the European Union has been compared to a variety of existing federal regimes, including those in Switzerland, Canada, Germany, and the United States (Strajburg 1992; Cappelletti, Seccombe, and Weiler 1986; Scharpf 1992). Here the focus has been on institutional arrangements that link constituent governments to the center. What is the role of constituent territorial units in central decision making, and how are they constrained by the center? How are constituent territorial units represented in EU institutions?
THE ABSENCE OF A MASTER PLAN

Given how the European Union is conceived, it is tempting to draw a parallel between it and the creation of modern constitutional political systems, particularly the American Constitution or the French Constitution. However, the EU has a federalist structure, and its members have a greater degree of sovereignty. Therefore, it is not to be expected that European integration will be completed in a similar manner among alternative conceptions of the European political system, but rather in an open-ended manner, with some elements of state sovereignty remaining.

The building of modern states in Western Europe took from two centuries to be completed. For example, the British Constitution was gradually formed, with a series of constitutional crises in the 17th century, the Glorious Revolution, and the establishment of the Bill of Rights in 1689. The French Constitution of 1791 established a constitutional monarchy, but it was replaced by the Directory and then the Consulate in 1795. The Constitution of 1802 attempted to establish a constitutional monarchy, but it was replaced by the Empire under Napoleon in 1804. The Constitution of 1812 established a constitutional monarchy, but it was replaced by the Bourbon Restoration in 1815. The Constitution of 1830 established a constitutional monarchy, but it was replaced by the July Monarchy in 1832. The Constitution of 1848 established a constitutional monarchy, but it was replaced by the Second Republic in 1849. The Constitution of 1852 established a constitutional monarchy, but it was replaced by the Empire under Napoleon III in 1852. The Constitution of 1870 established a constitutional monarchy, but it was replaced by the Third Republic in 1875. The Constitution of 1875 established a constitutional monarchy, but it was replaced by the Fourth Republic in 1946. The Constitution of 1958 established a constitutional monarchy, but it was replaced by the Fifth Republic in 1958.

The building of modern states in Western Europe took from two centuries to be completed.
A review of the literature on the EU's political institutions is a complex task that requires an understanding of the various theoretical and empirical approaches to the study of European integration. The EU is a multi-level governance system, with decision-making power distributed among the European Union, its member states, and regional and local authorities. The study of the EU's political institutions is important for understanding the EU's ability to make decisions and implement policies that affect citizens across the European Union.

The article discusses the historical development of the EU's political institutions, the process of expansion, and the challenges faced by the EU in maintaining its cohesion and effectiveness. It also examines the role of the EU in addressing global challenges such as climate change, migration, and terrorism.

The study of the EU's political institutions is important for understanding the nature of European integration and the future of the EU. The EU's political institutions are constantly evolving, and new challenges are emerging that require innovative solutions. The study of the EU's political institutions is a multidisciplinary field that involves scholars from political science, law, economics, and other social sciences.
for a perceptive history placing state building and European integration have taken place, despite the often fashionable conviction that they are incompatible processes. The conjunction of the imposition of centralised authority in the new EU institutions and the powerful local legacies of politics in the member states, however, has been a defining characteristic of the process of state building and European integration. The state building component refers to the process by which the European Union has imposed its authority on its member states, while the European integration component refers to the process by which European states have given up some of their sovereignty to the Union. The principle of state regulation for these reasons, for example, the extension of state responsibility for welfare in North Germany, clearly contravened the dominant liberal principles of the rule of law and the separation of powers. Likewise, the principle of state regulation for these reasons, for example, the extension of state responsibility for welfare in North Germany, clearly contravened the dominant liberal principles of the rule of law and the separation of powers.

The same may be said of the competition between liberal and authoritarian forms of state regulation in the Netherlands: the Liberal-Conservative coalition in power in the Netherlands, for example, created a new state institution, the ‘Council of Economic Advisers’, to advise the government on economic policy. But the council was not an independent body, and its members were appointed by the government. The same competition between liberal and authoritarian forms of state regulation was also evident in the UK, where the Conservative government, for example, created a new state institution, the ‘Independent奔Vestings Authority’, to advise the government on the use of state power in the economy. But the authority was not independent, and its members were appointed by the government. The same competition between liberal and authoritarian forms of state regulation was also evident in the UK, where the Conservative government, for example, created a new state institution, the ‘Independent奔Vestings Authority’, to advise the government on the use of state power in the economy. But the authority was not independent, and its members were appointed by the government.

Episodes of rent-seeking notwithstanding, the consolidation of the EU’s economic policies in the 1990s did not undermine the competitive liberal polities that had made the EU’s economic policies so successful. The competitive liberal policies of the EU’s member states ensured that the EU’s economic policies were competitive and that the EU’s economic policies benefitted all member states. Before the Maastricht era, the EU’s economic policies were not competitive, and the EU’s economic policies benefited only some member states. Before the Maastricht era, the EU’s economic policies were not competitive, and the EU’s economic policies benefited only some member states.

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THE DEMOCRATIC DEFIcit

The EU is a continuously constructed policy. It has been assembled piece by piece as a series of political and constitutional initiatives. The institutional structure of the EU is based on a series of treaties that have been negotiated and signed by the member states. The EU's decision-making process is based on the principle of majority voting, which means that decisions are taken by the majority of member states. The EU has a multiplicity of institutions, including the European Parliament, the Council of Ministers, and the European Council. The European Parliament is elected by the citizens of the member states and is responsible for scrutinizing and approving legislation.

The democratic deficit is a concern that has been raised about the EU. It is the perceived gap between the democratic accountability of the EU institutions and the democratic legitimacy of EU policies. The democratic deficit is often highlighted in relation to the EU's decision-making process, which is seen as too remote from the ordinary citizen. The debate about the democratic deficit has been ongoing since the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992.

The Council of Ministers is the most important decision-making institution in the Union. It is composed of the ministers of state of the member states. The Council is responsible for adopting decisions on matters that are within the remit of the Union. The decisions taken by the Council are based on the principle of consensus, which means that all member states must agree before a decision can be adopted.

The European Parliament is the only directly elected institution of the Union. It has the power to approve or reject legislation adopted by the Council. The European Parliament has 705 members, who are elected by the citizens of the member states. The members of the European Parliament are elected for a term of five years.

The European Union has a complex system of governance, which is designed to ensure that decisions are taken in the best interests of the citizens of the Union. The EU institutions have a wide range of powers, including the power to adopt legislation, to备案, and to regulate the internal market. The EU's democratic deficit is a concern that has been raised about the Union, but it is also a concern that has been raised about many other democratic institutions, including national parliaments and constitutions.
exclusive rights by national governments. Nations, for example, benefit from political sovereignty by having jurisdiction over their own affairs, making laws, and controlling their own resources. The idea of national sovereignty has been a cornerstone of international law, with the United Nationschartering and maintaining international cooperation and order. Nations have the right to self-determination, meaning they can choose their own form of government and determine their own destiny. This principle has been enshrined in the United Nations Charter, which promotes the sovereignty of states and the right to national independence.

The principle of national sovereignty is crucial in international relations, as it allows states to act independently and pursue their own interests. This autonomy is necessary for maintaining national identity and creating a strong sense of national pride. However, the concept of sovereignty is not absolute, as international law and norms of the international community can affect the autonomy of states. For example, states cannot use their sovereignty to violate human rights or engage in aggressive behavior.

The concept of national sovereignty is often discussed in the context of global governance, with many states advocating for increased international cooperation and collective decision-making. This is particularly relevant in the face of global challenges such as climate change, pandemics, and economic instability. While national sovereignty is a key principle, it must be balanced with the need for collective action and shared responsibility for the well-being of the global community.
The Systemic Contests of State Building and European Integration

State building and European integration are driven by conceptions of power and identity. In this context, the European Union has been a catalyst for state building. But as the European level of integration has increased, the states have become more differentiated. This differentiation has led to the development of different levels of political integration. The fragmentation of the EU has resulted in a series of institutional and political conflicts. These conflicts have led to the development of new power structures and the emergence of new institutional arrangements. The EU has been able to overcome these conflicts through the development of new institutions and the establishment of new rules. The EU has also been able to overcome these conflicts through the development of new policies and the establishment of new procedures. The EU has also been able to overcome these conflicts through the development of new strategies and the establishment of new goals. The EU has also been able to overcome these conflicts through the development of new resources and the establishment of new capacities.
### Table 2.1: Implications of the EU's Political Union

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Union</th>
<th>Member States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Governance</td>
<td>Multiple levels</td>
<td>Multiple levels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power</td>
<td>Exclusive, intergovernmental</td>
<td>Exclusive, intergovernmental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision-Making</td>
<td>Multiple, semi-autonomous</td>
<td>Multiple, semi-autonomous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure</td>
<td>Multi-level, intergovernmental</td>
<td>Multi-level, intergovernmental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rights</td>
<td>Traditional rights, supranational rights</td>
<td>Traditional rights, supranational rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authority</td>
<td>Council, Commission, Parliament</td>
<td>Council, Commission, Parliament</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### States Were Created in War—The European Union in Peace

The most important surrogates of state building to do with finding and conducting war. The state building process is often reenacted as a response to war, whether in times of crisis or stability. War has a tendency to facilitate the development of centralized, powerful states. One can see a similar causal dynamic in the development of the modern state, which emerged as a response to the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars.

The emergence of the European Union, with its supranational institutions and policies, provides a unique opportunity to study the process of state building in a peaceful context. The EU has been able to create a supranational authority that can make decisions and implement policies across multiple member states, thereby facilitating the development of a supranational identity and a sense of unity among the member states.

The EU has also been able to create a supranational economic and political framework that can make decisions and implement policies across multiple member states, thereby facilitating the development of a supranational identity and a sense of unity among the member states. The EU's political union has also helped to create a supranational identity and a sense of unity among the member states.

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Given the powerful impetus toward the centralization of decision making in the state as a consequence of war, it is not surprising that European integration and the general process of diffusion away from the national state has taken place during a period of extended peace in Europe. A dominant characteristic of European integration has been diversity of levels, styles, and arenas of decision making.

One of the basic tenets of state with war, one may wonder if this mosaic is a peacetime luxury that would be compressed into a new centralized state order under wartime conditions. The question is, of course, a matter of speculation, but it is possible to imagine a potential reemergence of national state dominance in the effort of some governments to defend their "sovereignty" by framing issues in sharply nationalist terms, or even to imagine a world divided into a limited number of mutually exclusive, intensely competitive, and potentially combative spheres of influence in which the European Union would be one. One may gain a taste of the latter possibility in the competitive creation of trading blocs in Europe, North America, and Asia and the mobilization of national xenophobes in the process. Under this scenario, European integration would no longer be a misnomer; integration would take place in the historical mold of state building, guided by the centrifugal logic of war and taxation and by the solidification of new identities in the process.

NOTES
1. Peter Katzenstein's conceptualization (1987, 1997) of Germany as a "semi-sovereign state" provides an interesting point of departure for comparisons with the EU.
2. James Caporaso (1995a) has written a suggestive article that captures differences between the EU and the Westphalian state.
3. See Kenneth 1999, and correspondence with Neil Negretti. This is a recipe for confusion and cannot help the EU's quest for legitimacy. In the manner of names, constancy is a virtue, and after the response to Maurice, it may safely be predicted that intangible as well as financial costs of terminology change will be factored more fully into treaty proposals. Experts themselves are liable to slip up. We cannot resist recounting that at a conference a prominent scholar tried to update terms in mid-sentence and found himself referring to the European "Communion."
4. In this context, Ernst Haas speaks of the "autonomy of functional contexts" (1961, 376) and "asymmetrical overlapping" (1971, 31).
5. The cases are the following (our italics):
   Article 1 TUE (ex A): This Treaty marks a new state in the process creating an ever-closer union among the peoples of Europe, where decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizen.
   Article 2 TUE (ex B): The objectives of the Union shall be achieved as provided in this Treaty and in accordance with the conditions and the timetable set out therein while respecting the principle of subsidiarity as defined in Article 30 of the Treaty establishing the European Community.