Accession treaty, as contract, 44 Accountability, of European Commission or European Union, 194, 198, 203 Ackerman, Bruce, 45 Acquis communautaire principle, 41, 43–44, 46, 56 and Britain's acceptance of Community's own resources, 123 entrenchment of, 48–49	Berlin summit (1999), 127 Big bang strategy, 53 Britain. See United Kingdom "Bruges group," 25 Buchanan, J. M., 206, 207, 220 Budget of European Union, 133–34 incidence of, 113–17 and incomplete contracts, 111 (see also Theory of incomplete contracts)
Agenda-setting game, 88	literature on, 112–13
Aggregate uncertainty, in European	projections for future of, 128-30
integration, 37–38, 40, 55, 59n.15 Agricultural Fund, 119, 120–22, 127	and redistribution, 109–10, 111–12, 113, 117–28, 134–35
Agriculture Council, 139	way out of deadlock on, 130-33
Aid policies, 10. See also Agricultural Fund;	Budget referenda, 204
Common Agricultural Policy; Redis-	Bush, George, Jr., 9
tribution; Social Fund	Bush, George, Sr., 9
Ambiguities, in relationship between	
constitutions, 2	California, referenda in, 211
Amsterdam Treaty, 125, 129, 151, 173	CAP. See Common Agricultural Policy
Aristotle, 205	Centralization, of EU institutions, 27–28,
Assignment problem, 241–46	42, 245
Assumption, about rationality and goals, xvi	Chamber of Parliamentarians, 240, 245–46, 254
Assurance Game, and war, 6	Charter of Fundamental Rights of the
Austria	European Union, 62, 77, 78, 252
and EU budget incidence, 115	citizen rights under, 78-79, 80, 243
threat position of, 124	and Convention, 79-80
Autonomy, popular desire for, 20	preamble to, 81
	Checks and balances, 19-20, 241, 254
Banzhaf index or measure, 87-88, 100,	Chicken Game, and war, 6
105n.9	Chirac, Jacques, 169, 198, 240
Bargaining	Cicero, 205–206
and constraints on moving ahead, 51 under rule of unanimity, 46–48	Citizen rights within European Union, 77–80. <i>See also</i> Rights
Benelux states	Citizenship, 61, 62, 253
and EU budget incidence, 115	in European Union, 67–70
threat position of, 124	and European Union structure, 61
r 30-110-1 0-5, 1-1	

Citizenship (cont.) and referenda, 240, 249, 249–50, 250–51 and immigration, 63, 83n.4 and rights, 80 optimal with dispersed populations and as support for peace, 11-15 heterogeneous preferences, 66–67 and unanimity rule, 246 optimal with heterogeneous preferences, Constitution, US 63 - 65and homogeneity, 81 optimal with heterogeneous preferences and state sovereignty, 82 and separated communities, 65-66 Constitutional changes, budgetary impact optimal with homogeneous preference, of, 129-30 62 - 63Constitutional constraints Civil Protection Council, 143 on form of gradualism in integration Clausewitz, Carl von, 19 process, 52-56 Coalition, formation of, 183 on moving ahead, 49-52 Codecision procedure, 89, 90–91, 92, 94, on reversal, 46-49 96, 97, 99-100, 139, 140, 151 Constitutional Convention, US (1787), 34 inefficiency of, 97-99 selection of delegates for, 82 and USC principle, 103 Constitutional entrenchment, of goal-Collective choice procedures, xv oriented evolution, 41-45, 49 Collective decision-making, external costs Constitutional political economy, 61 of, 64 Constitutional rights. See Rights College of Commissioners, 179, 199n.3 Constitutional rules Cologne European Council (1999), 16 principles for, 86 Committee of Permanent Representatives. vs. values, 253 Constitutional and statutory initiatives at See Coreper EU level, 221-25 Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), 69, "Constitution for Europe," 38, 41. See also 239, 240 and EU budget, 114, 119-22 European Constitution expenditures on, 244 Constitution-making, and evolving nature Common Foreign and Security Policy, 44 of European Union, 39-41 Common Market, 118 Consultation procedure, 89, 93, 94, 96, 97, and EU budget incidence, 115, 119 99, 102-103, 105n.15, 139 "Common pool problem," 243-44 Contract, constitution as, 205 Community method, of legislative policy-Contractarian political philosophy, 32, making, 160 206-207 "Community's own resources," 122 Contracts, incomplete, 110–11, 120 Competitive federalism, 25-26, 34, 39-40. Convention of EU members (2002, 2003), See also Federalism vs. competition within single-market Convention on the Future of Europe, and nexus, 30-31 election of and efficiency, 31-34 European Commission, 169 and minimax criterion, 31 Convention for the Protection of Human opposition to, 25 Rights and Compromises, and direct democratic Fundamental Freedoms, 62, 77, 252–53 decision-making, 210 and Charter, 79-80 Conciliation Committee, 91, 96, 97–99, 103 citizen rights under, 77-78, 80 Confederation Coordination and citizenship, 66, 66-67 cross-Council, 143, 147 and European Council, 141 horizontal vs. vertical, 164n.4 European Union as, 68-69, 70, 239-40, ex post vs. ex ante, 140, 158 241, 253-54 Coreper (Committee of Permanent and hierarchical coordination, 160 Representatives), 141, 153–55, 158, 160, and principles of constitutional design, 86 162 - 63

and European Council, 155 and contract theory, 206-207 "Correlates of war" program research, 12 and expressive vs. instrumental voting, Council formations, 139 sectoral, 141, 143 and European demos (public), 203–204, Council of Ministers. See European 216 - 17Council fiscal referendum at EU level, 225-28 Cox, Pat, 183 and information as control, 209-11 and institutional foundation, 207-208 Decentralized federations, 39 and interest groups, 212 Decision-making procedures of EU, 101and mandatory referenda on European 104. See also Sectoral policy-making in Constitution, 219-21 EU; Voting rules and Wicksellian connection between analysis of, 87-89 public services and tax prices, 217-19 bargaining in, 46-48, 51 Discount rates, 55 constitutional rules for, 253 Discretionary action, 251 Divided government, in parliamentary and direct democracy, 204-205 (see also Direct democracy in EU decisionmode of selection, 193-94 Double-hat scheme, 97, 103 making) and distribution of preferences, 70 Dual executive, 199 and enlargement, 85-86 and equal representation of EU citizens, Economic integration, as reducing 99 - 101probability of war, 11-12 and inefficiency of co-decision, 97-99 Economic and Monetary Union, 197 and institutional structure of EU, 89-97 Economic nationalism, 28 **EC Treaty** sectoral structure of, 139-140 (see also Sectoral policy-making in EU) Article 269 of, 133 unanimous, 44–45, 93 (see also Unani-Article 313 of, 254 mous decision making) Electoral college system, 196 Energy Council, 148, 149-50, 154, 156 Declaration of Laeken, xv, 237, 254 Defense issues, 16-17 Engrenage (spillover) principle, 52-53 de Gaulle, Charles, 121 Enlargement of EU Deliberation process, in direct democracy, and decision-making procedures, 85-86, 93-96, 102 Deliberative democracy, 14 and EU budget debates, 109, 128-29 Environment Council, 148, 149, 150, 151-Delors Commissions, 173 Democracy. See also Majoritarian 52, 154, 156 democracy; Majority-voting Erhard, Ludwig, 215 European Central Bank, 238 deliberative, 14 and design of federal system, 13-14 European Coal and Steel Community and European Constitution 18 and acquis communautaire, 43 and war-making, 7-9, 19-20 budget of, 136n.21 Democratic deficit, 81-82, 198, 203-204, European Commission, 58–59n.11 accountability of, 194, 198 Denmark, as "eurosceptic," 203 in decision-making, 89-91, 93, 97, 97-98, Direct democracy in EU decision-making, 99, 102–103, 105n.15, 127 204-205, 228, 248-51 and democratic pressures, 13-14 and Aristotelian conception of aristocelection of, 169-76 (see also Executive racy, 205-206 election for EU) vs. centralization of power, 254 and entrenchment of acquis for constitutional changes, 208 communautaire, 48 constitutional and statutory initiatives at initiation of legislation reserved to, 151 EU level, 221-25 majority vote in, 176

European Commission (cont.) and federation, 254 in policy coordination, 160, 161 majority-voting within, 52 and sectoral division, 143 opaque decision process in, 247 and taxation power, 134 qualified majority in, 199n.1, 246 European Community, 43 and voting by veto, 133, 247-48 European Constitution European Court of Human Rights, 78 Bill of Rights of, 230n.23 European Court of Justice, 44 and Charter, 79-80 British proposal to increase powers of, and competitive federalism, 25-26 (see also Competitive federalism) and changes in Constitution, 220 democratic approval of, 205 and conflicts over rights, 252 as emergent structure, 26-27, 34-35 and entrenchment of acquis and evolving nature of EU, 39-41 communautaire, 48 fiscal referenda in, 227 European Economic Community goals proclaimed in, 238 budget of, 113 and institutionalizing peace, 18 and Common Market, 118 issues arising in, xv-xvi European identity, 18, 20, 77 and liberal interpretation of rights, 252 European Investment Bank, 129 mandatory referenda on, 219-21 European Parliament, 70 and nation-state sovereignties, 82-83 and budget initiative, 128 as outcome of dynamic two-player game, composition of determined by protest 27 - 29vote, 198 planned division of, 129-30 and confederation, 240, 253-54 purpose of, 1 as coordination mechanism, 151-53, 158referendum on, 208, 251, 254 59, 160-61, 162 and decision-making, 89, 90, 91, 96, 99, and subsidiarity, 245 values vs. rules in, 253–54 102, 103 European Constitutional Convention elections to as "second-order national debate preceding, 254 contests," 193 and direct democracy, 208, 251 and federation, 254 and institutionalization of peace, 3-4 makeup of (since 1979), 176-79 and taxation, 134, 244 multiple-round elections in, 199n.4 European Constitutional Group, 240, 245and optional referendum, 222 in plans for election of Commission, 169 European Convention for the Protection of and referenda, 249 Human Rights and Fundamental in scenarios on election of Commission, Freedoms. See Convention for the 179-94, 197 Protection of Human Rights and secret ballot for, 181 Fundamental Freedoms Protection of and sectoral division, 143, 159 Human Rights and Fundamental slight influence of, 203 Freedoms and taxation, 134 European Council (Council of Ministers), and Wicksellian unanimity, 131 European public (demos), 203–204 58n.11, 141 changes in structure of, 164n.7 and direct democracy, 216-17, 228 and confederation, 253-54 European Social Fund. See Social Fund as coordination mechanism, 155–58, 158, European Union 159, 160, 161, 163 accountability of, 203 and Council formations, 139, 158 (see also allocation of responsibility in, 13 Sectoral policy-making in EU) and assignment problem, 241-46 (see also and decision-making, 89–90, 91, 93, 96, Confederation; Federation) budget of, 109-10, 113-35 (see also Budget 97, 99, 102, 103, 105n.15, 127 and European Commission election, 173 of European Union)

citizenship in, 61, 67-70 (see also External costs of collective decision-Citizenship) making, 64 "closer to citizens" as goal of, xv, 237, 254 Externalities as confederation, 68-69, 239-40, 241 (see from migration, 67-68 also Confederation) negative, 4, 72, 73 decision-making in, 87-97, 101-104 (see also Decision-making procedures of EU; Fair (Banzhaf) index of power, 100. See also Voting rules) Banzhaf index or measure Falklands war, 9 democratic deficit in, 81–82, 198, 203– 204, 247 Federalism (federation). See also electing executive for, 169-76, 179-98 (see Competitive federalism also Executive election for EU) autonomy from, 20 enlargement of, 85-86, 93-96, 102, 109, and citizenship, 67 128 - 29and co-decision procedure, 92 ever-closer union as objective of, 42–43, and constitutional activity, 39-41 51, 56 and constitution-making, 39-40 evolving nature of, 39-41, 49 and direct participation of citizens, 211 and external wars, 20 and EU decision-making, 99 institutional structure of, 89-97, 239-41 and EU, 70, 240, 253, 254 (see also Confederation; Federation) and executive election proposal, 170-71 as open-ended, 37-38, 40, 41 fiscal, 58n.8, 242 and original six members, 43, 45 and nonhierarchical coordination, 160 purpose or goals of, 1-5, 16-19, 238 and principles of constitutional design, 86 questions on, 10 and referendum, 249, 250 rights in, 61, 74-80 (see also Rights) and rights, 76 and sectoral Council formations, 139 (see rightist opponents of, 25 also Sectoral policy-making in EU) as support for peace, 11–15 as solution to yesterday's problem, 10 Firm, purpose of, 1-2 and strong president, 241 Fiscal federalism, 58n.8, 242 and taxation power, 134, 226 (see also Fiscal referendum at EU level, 225-28 Flexibility clause, 251 Taxation) "Europe's Constitutional Opportunity" Florence European Council (1996), 156 (Buchanan), 25 Fontaine, Nicole, 183 Europe vs. United States, in relationship France between politicians and citizens, 81 and Common Market, 118 Europhiles, 50, 51, 52, 57 and EU budget incidence, 115 as "eurosceptic," 203 Europhobes, 50, 51, 52 and financing of CAP, 119-22 Euroscepticism, 40, 50, 203 and feeling of inexorability, 49 political corruption in, 215 Executive election for EU, 169–70 and redistribution, 117 conclusions on, 196-99 Free-rider problem counterfactual analysis of, 170-72 and state, 206 and election of current Commission, 172and war-making, 9–10 76 Free trade, benefits of, 21 proposed method of, 194–96 Free-trade area in Europe, 3 scenarios for, 179-94, 197-98 Functional overlapping competing Executive model, 91 jurisdictions (FOCJ), 22n.10 Exit right, and referenda, 249-50 Exit threats, and financial arrangements, Game theory cooperative vs. noncooperative, 87 Expressive voting, 8-9, 13, 17, 21n.8, 213, and European Constitution as outcome of 228 two-player game, 27-29

Game theory (cont.) and citizenship, 63, 83n.4 and minimax criterion, 31 and EU decline in population, 67 in sectoral policy-making, 140, 148, 151-European political leaders vs. voters on, 81 52, 156, 161–63 Incomplete contracts, theory of, 110–11, and war, 6 General Affairs Council, 139, 140, 140-41, India, partitioning of from Pakistan, 11 Initiatives, 204. See also Direct democracy 148-50, 158, 160, 161-62 and European Council, 155, 156 in EU decision-making German Basic Law (GG), and EU Treaty, in European Union, 210-12, 221-25 and representative democracy, 209 Germaneness rule, 165n.20 Institutional design, analysis of, 87–89 Institutionalization of peace, 4, 13, 15–19, Germany and Common Market, 118 20 and EU budget incidence, 115 Institutional structure of EU, 89–97 political corruption in, 215 Integration, negative and positive, 54 and redistribution, 117, 127 Interest groups, 212 threats not feasible for, 124 Intergovernmental Conference, 205 voter turnout in, 213 Ionnina compromise, 104n.2, 125 Goal-oriented evolution, constitutional Iraq war, 9 entrenchment of, 41-45, 49 Ireland, partition of, 11 Goals of European Union. See Purpose or Iron and Steel Council, 143 goals of European Union Gradualism, 52, 53-54 and Common Market, 118 and limitations on size of each step, 56 political corruption in, 215 without reversals, 55-56 apparent unforeseen implications of, 54-Jenkins Commission, 173 Justice and Home Affairs Council, 143 Great Britain. See United Kingdom Greece, and redistribution, 122, 123-24 Kant, Immanuel and contract theory, 206, 207 Habeas corpus protections, 75 on democracy and "perpetual peace," 7 Hamilton, Alexander, 207 Laeken, Declaration of, xv, 237, 254 Hayek, Friedrich von, 26 Hayes-Renschaw, Fiona, 141, 143 Locke, John, 206, 207 Helsinki European Council (1999), 16, 139, Log-rolling, 46, 47, 209 147, 155, 156 Luxembourg compromise (1966), 93, 121, Heterogeneity of preferences costs of, 68-70 Maastricht Treaty (Treaty of the European optimal citizenship with, 63-67 Union), 28, 46, 151, 173, 245 and rights, 74 preamble of, 42 and rights (EU), 80, 81 and resistance of status quo, 49 Hierarchical policy coordination, 158, 159, Mad cow disease, agreement on combating, 156 High Representative for the Common Madison, James, 34, 207, 214 Foreign and Security Policy, 16–17, 140 Majoritarian democracy, and Hobbes, Thomas, 206 constitutional rights, 73-74 Hybrid (federation-confederation) Majority-voting, 70. See also Qualified structure, 240-41, 249 majority rule bargaining and position-trading under, Ideologues, 50 Ifo Institute, xv and citizenship, 64, 65, 65–66 within Commission, 94, 176 Immigration. See also Migration

on constitution, 219 Optimal citizenship with heterogeneous within Council of Ministers, 52, 94 preferences, 63-65 and double majority of voters and states, Optimal citizenship with heterogeneous 204 preferences and separated communities, increasing recourse to, 57 simple dual (SD), 99, 104, 105n.17 Optimal citizenship with homogeneous and stability, 101 preferences, 62-63 Market Council, 143 Opt-out option, 250 Marxist socialism, demise of, 25 Overcrowding, costs of, 67–68 "Own resources," 122, 134 Maximin criterion, 31 Migration. See also Immigration Pakistan, partitioning of from India, 11 and citizenship, 66 within EU, 67-68, 69-70 Pareto criterion and redistribution, 242–43 and acquis communautaire, 48 Military decision-making, 16–17 and competitive federalism, 32 Mitterrand, François, 52, 59n.15 Parliamentary method of legislative Mobility. See also Migration policy-making, 160 across borders, 76, 80 Parliamentary model, 169, 170-71, 172, and citizenship, 67-68 192, 194, 195, 196, 198, 198n.1 Penrose-Banzhaf measure (PBM), 87-88, Monetary policy, relocation of authority over, 18 105n.9 Monnet, Jean, 3, 52 Plebiscites, 222 Monotonicity, 38, 49, 50, 56-57 Policy coordination, competing views of, Munich conference (2003), xv, xvi, 237 159 - 60Political failure Nash bargaining solution, 152, 162 European Union as counterweight to, 19 Nationalism and voting as expressive, 8–9 war as, 5-11, 17 forces reflecting, 28 and political competition, 12 Political legitimacy, under contract theory, Nation states, transfer of attachment from, Portugal, and redistribution, 122, 123-NATO, 16, 17, 22n.12 Negotiation set, 152 Position-trading, 46–48 Netherlands, and EU budget incidence, Power index approach, 87-89 115 Pragmatists, 50, 52 Nice reforms, 92-93, 101 Presidential model, 169, 170, 171, 194-96, Nice Summit (December 2000), 85, 128 Nice Treaty (2000), 151, 169, 173, 181, 195 evolutionary approach toward, 199n.2 NOMINATE algorithm, 170, 178–79, 181 Principal-agent relationship Nonrequired referenda, 204 and war-making, 7 Normalized Banzhaf index (NBI), 88, 100 and referendum, 249 Prisoner's Dilemma Game, and war, 6, 9-Nullification option, 250 Objective, of ever-closer union, 42–43, 51, Prodi, Romano, 134 Prodi Commission, 173, 176, 197 Ochlocracy, 206 Public choice theory Opinion polls, 8, 21n.6 and coalitions of interests, 10 and euroscepticism, 40-41 OPOV (one-person-one-vote) principle for EU, 86, 100, 101, 102, 104, 240, 248 and incidence of budget, 117 Optimal citizenship with dispersed and voting procedures, 248 and war impulse, 9 populations and heterogeneous preferences, 66–67 Public economics, and purpose of EU, 3

Public good, in definition of citizenship, 62 on EU policies at national level, 249-50 on European Constitution, 205, 219-21, Public goods and EU budget, 109, 112, 114-15, 130, 134 in European Union, 210–12, 248–49 EU's failure to provide, 239 fiscal or budget, 204, 225 and parliamentary governments, 170 nonrequired, 204 and parliamentary vs. presidential optional statutory, 222-23 systems, 196 and representative democracy, 209 question of level of provision of, 241– required (mandatory), 204, 205, 221 Religions Purpose or goals of European Union, 1, and rights, 76 and voting rule, 72-73 vs. description of actual policies and Required referenda, 204 practices, 2 Right of exit, 128 as force for peace, 3–5 Rights, 61, 70–74 as institutionalizing peace, 4, 16-19 in European Union, 74-77, 252-53 and public economics, 3 in European Union (national vs. and purpose of firm, 1–2 European), 77–80 and heterogeneous interests, 74 Qualified majority rule, 125, 246, 246 and immigration or emigration, 67, 68 abstruse logic of, 248 and majoritarian democracy, 73-74 and budget, 124-25, 130 permanence of needed, 207 on constitution, 219 as relative, 74, 78 in European Council, 94, 199n.1 of religion, 73 and secession, 120-21 to secede, 249-50 supermajority, 18 and structure of European Union, 61 and veto power, 132 Riviera ownership, as example, 68 and vote weighting, 131 Roll-call votes, 181 Rome, Treaty of. See Treaty of Rome Ratification procedure, for revision, 44 Rotating presidency, 241 Rational actor analysis, of war, 5-6 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 206, 207 Rational choice theorists, and direct Santer, Jacques, 197 democracy, 208 Rawls, John, 207 Santer Commission, 173 Rawlsian veil of ignorance. See Veil of Schroeder, Gerhard, 169, 198, 240 ignorance Secession Redistribution and autonomy, 20, 22n.15 and EU budget, 109-10, 111-12, 113, and referenda, 249-50 117-28, 134-34 threat of, 128 and EU politics, 211 Sectoral policy-making in EU, 139–41, and parliamentary vs. presidential 144-47, 158-61 systems, 196 vs. cabinet policy-making, 145-46, 158 question of level of, 242–43 and countervailing mechanisms for in rational actor analysis of politics, 5-6 coordination, 147-58, 159 regional, 216-17 rise of, 141-44 tariffs as, 21 Separation of powers, 195, 208 Referenda, 45. See also Direct democracy in Servius, 205–206 Seville European Council (2002), 139, 143, EU decision-making in California, 211 147, 159 and confederation, 240, 249, 249-50, Simple dual (SD) majority voting, 99, 104, 250 - 51105n.17 on constitutional amendments, 250-51 Single European Act, 46, 125

compromise leading to, 47	Threat
negotiation leading to, 52	as budget influence, 112
Single Market Program, 93	financial concessions from, 123, 124
and counterfactual scenarios, 192, 197	Tocqueville, Alexis de, 14-15
Sinn, Hans-Werner, 243	Trade issues, 10
Social Affairs Council, 139	"Traditional own resources," 122
Social budget, 119–20	Transfer of attachment, from nation-state
Social contract. See Contractarian political	to European entity, 54
philosophy	Transport Council, 139
Social Fund, 118, 120, 122	Treaty of Amsterdam, 125, 129, 151, 173
Sovereignty, complexity and division of,	Treaty of the European Union. See
14–15	Maastricht Treaty
Spain	Treaty of Maastricht. See Maastricht Treaty
and redistribution, 117, 122, 123–24, 127	Treaty of Nice. See Nice Treaty
terrorist murders in, 80-81	Treaty of Rome, 111, 118–19
Spillover (engrenage) principle, 52–53	and agricultural fund, 120
Spillovers	collective decision rules of, 124-25
from political failure, 4	as incomplete contract, 111
from provision of goods and services, 242	preamble of, 42
"Splicing of issues," 46	1
Square-root dual majorities, 100–101, 104	Unanimous decision making (unanimity
Square-root rule, 100	rule), 44–45, 70, 93
Status quo bias, 98	and confederation, 246
Strategic voting, 21n.7	deviation from, 94
Structural funds, 227	in election of European Commission,
Structural policy, and EU budget, 114	172–73
Subsidiarity principle, 42, 245–46	and EU budget, 119, 125, 126–27, 130
Supermajority voting, 18	instability of in Council, 101
Sweden	negative assessment of, 57
and EU budget incidence, 115	and position-trading, 46-48
as "eurosceptic," 203	and rights, 207
threat position of, 124	status quo favored by, 49-52
Switzerland	Wicksellian, 131
and direct vs. representative democracy,	Undercrowding, costs of, 67-68
212	Unions of nations, conflict between, 10
and fiscal curbs on representatives, 225	United Kingdom (Britain)
and initiative vs. optional referendum,	and EU budget incidence, 115
223	as "eurosceptic," 203
and national demos, 216, 217	and EU as state, 40
political corruption in, 215	and mad-cow disease agreement, 156
signature-collection time limits in, 225	political corruption in, 215
voter turnout in, 213	and redistribution, 117, 122, 123
and Wicksellian hypothesis, 217-18	referendum in, 211
Symbolic voting. See Expressive voting	and Single European Act, 52
	and Treaty of Maastricht, 42
Tabellini, Guido, 30, 58n.8, 109, 126	voter turnout in, 213
Taxation, 134, 226, 228	United States
EU level and national, 243-45	and direct vs. representative democracy,
and public services (Wicksellian	212
connection), 217-19, 244	and fiscal curbs on representatives, 225
Taxation Matters Council, 143	and initiative vs. optional referendum,
Thatcher, Margaret, 9, 25, 47, 52, 58n,15	223

United States (cont.)
political corruption in, 215
presidential election in (2000), 196
relationship between politicians and
citizens in (vs. Europe), 81
voter turnout in, 213
and Wicksellian hypothesis, 217
United States Constitution. See
Constitution, US
USC (union of states and of citizens)
principle for EU, 86, 99, 102, 103, 104

VAT (value added tax), 226-27, 228 "VAT own resources," 122, 123 Veil of ignorance, 21n.8, 64, 65, 75, 76, 242 Veto and budget procedure, 130 by Council formation, 153-54 referendum as, 209 and small minorities, 246 voting by, 131-33, 135, 246-48 Vote-trading, 46 Voting and economic model of politics, 14 as expressive, 8-9, 13, 17, 21n.8, 213, 228 strategic, 21n.7 supermajority, 18 Voting rules, 246-48. See also Majorityvoting; Qualified majority rule; Veto choice of, 70-74 in Commission, 176, 197 for European Union, 85-86, 101-104 roll-call vs. secret ballot, 181 Voting by veto, 131–33, 135, 246–48

Wallace, Helen, 141, 143
War
and domestic democratic politics, 19–20
EU as preventing, 4–5, 238
as political failure, 5–11
Weimar Republic, 224
Wicksell, Knut, 34, 207
Wicksellian connection between public
services and tax prices, 217–19, 244
Wicksellian unanimity, 131

Yugoslavia partitioning of, 11 top-down federalism of, 20