EUROPEAN STUDIES SEMINAR:

DEMOCRATIC ACCOUNTABILITY IN THE NEW EUROPE

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Topic

Is there a “democratic deficit” in Europe? Political decisions are increasingly delegated to insulated, non-majoritarian institutions, national bureaucracies, constitutional courts, central banks, and international organizations. In what sense are administrators, judges, diplomats, and chief executives democratically accountable? What are the political consequences? The course looks to positive and normative theory, as well as empirical material drawn from European integration, West European political development, and Central European democratic transitions—with assistance from visiting senior European scholars.

Logistics

This seminar will meet Tuesdays from 2:15 to 4 p.m. Several sessions will be rescheduled to Thursdays at the same time. Enrollment is limited, with preference given to Government Department graduate students. Auditors are not permitted, except by special invitation.
Requirements

1. **Short Papers:** Each student must write two concise essays of no more than 1500 words based on the weekly readings or some subset thereof. A sign-up sheet will be circulated. Two copies of this essay must be e-mailed to Professors Moravcsik and Skach, respectively, by 5 pm on the Monday preceding the class in question. Hard copies will be acceptable as temporary substitutes only in cases of emergency.

2. **Summaries:** Each student is required to write summaries of at least two readings for distribution to the whole class, and thereby to participate in a note pool.

3. **Research Paper:** A final research paper of appropriate scholarly length is due on Friday, 19 January, at 5 p.m. by e-mail as above. This paper must be based on a topic and brief prospectus approved by Profs. Moravcsik and Skach. Prospectuses are due before 8 December. We strongly encourage earlier submission.

4. **Participation and Grading:** Grades will be based on the final research paper (66%), short papers and class participation (34%).

Materials

Readings are subject to change in consultation with visiting faculty. Books recommended for purchase are marked with an asterisk and should be available at the COOP. (*) Readings available electronically are marked with two asterisks (**). To access these readings through Hollis, go to http://lib.harvard.edu and find JSTOR or ProQuest under electronic journals. (Note: JSTOR works best with Netscape as your browser, rather than Internet Explorer.) Some are found in other electronic sources.
SYLLABUS

19 September  INTRODUCTION (125 pp.)

Andrew Moravcsik and Cindy Skach


26 September  ELITES AND PUBLICS IN THE INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT (256 pp.)

Bernard Manin (CNRS/Paris), Richard Tuck, Andrew Moravcsik and Cindy Skach


* Bernard Manin, *The Principles of Representative Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), Introduction (pp. 1-7), Chapter 2 (pp. 42-44, 67-93 only), Chapters 4-6 (pp. 132-235), Conclusion (pp. 236-238).

Hanna Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), Chapters 6, 7, 10 (pp. 112-167, 209-240.)
Recommended:


3 October

CONCEPTUALIZING AND MEASURING DEMOCRACY
(268 pp.)

Robert Putnam (Harvard Government and KSG) and Cindy Skach


Recommended:


David Collier and Robert N. Adcock, “From Concepts to Observations: the Validity of Measurement,” manuscript. (approx. 40 pp.).
DELEGATION AND DEMOCRACY
(240 pp.)

Andrew Moravcsik and Cindy Skach


* David Epstein and Sharyn O’Halloran, Delegating Powers: A Transaction Cost Politics Approach to Policy-Making under Separate Powers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 1-51, 77-85, 232-244. (We recommend the remainder to those interested in formal derivation and quantitative testing of these propositions.)


Recommended:

Arthur Lupia, “Delegation of Power” (Available as a pdf file at http://weber.ucsd.edu/~alupia/) (approx. 10 pp.)


17 October

CONSTITUTIONALIZING INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: PROBLEMS OF SCOPE, DIVERSITY, AND SOVEREIGNTY
(334 pp.)

Robert Keohane (Duke University) and Andrew Moravcsik


* Fritz Scharpf, Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic? (Oxford 1999), Chs. 1 and Conclusion. (pp. 6-43; 187-204)


Recommended:


Andreas Hasenclever, Peter Mayer, and Volker Rittberger, Theories of International Regimes (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997).


Benjamin Barber, Jihad vs. McWorld: How Globalism and Tribalism are Reshaping the World (New York: Ballantine, 1995),


26 October
(Thursday)

THE COUNTER-MAJORITARIAN PROBLEM IN US CONSTITUTIONAL LAW (265 pp.)

Cindy Skach and Mark Tushnet (Georgetown Law School)


Alexander Bickel, *The Least Dangerous Branch: The Supreme Court at the Bar of Politics* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1962), Chapter 1. (pp. 1-33).


Recommended:


2 November
(Thursday 1-3 pm)

TRANSNATIONAL GOVERNANCE IN THE EU – PART 1

Andrew Moravcsik and Philippe Schmitter (EUI)

* Philippe Schmitter, *How to Democratize the European Union...And Why Bother?* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), complete. (133 pp.)

* Fritz Scharpf, *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, April 1999), remaining chapters. (pp. 44-186)


** Oliver Gerstenberg and Charles Sabel, “Globalisation and Deliberative Democracy,” unpublished paper. To be e-mailed to the participants.


** Lars-Erik Cederman, “Nationalism and Bounded Integration: What it Would Take to Construct a European Demos” (Unpublished Paper, European University Institute, 2000). To be distributed by e-mail.

**Recommended:**


**7 November**

TRANSNATIONAL GOVERNANCE IN THE EU – PART II

Andrew Moravcsik, Philippe Schmitter (EUI) and Joseph Weiler (HLS)

(Same as 2 November)
WHAT’S LEFT? GLOBALIZATION AND MACROECONOMIC AUTONOMY

Cindy Skach and Geoffrey Garrett (Yale)


Carlos Boix, Political Parties, Growth and Equality, Chs 2-4.

Recommended:


21 November

**AGENDA CONTROL AND PARLIAMENTARY POWER IN THE EUROPEAN UNION**

**Andrew Moravcsik and George Tsebelis (UCLA)**


Debate between Moser and Tsebelis in *APSR*.


28 November PARLIAMENTS AND PARTISAN MAJORITIES

Cindy Skach and Michael Laver (Trinity College, Dublin)


5 December THE EMERGENCE AND EVOLUTION OF CONSTITUTIONAL COURTS

Andrew Moravcsik, John Ferejohn (Stanford/NYU) and Pasquale Pasquino (CNRS/NYU)

New Ferejohn and Pasquino manuscript.


12 December

**TRANSNATIONAL CONSTITUTIONALIZATION IN EASTERN EUROPE**

Cindy Skach and Jan Zielonka (EUI/Leiden)


19 December

**EXTENDED SESSION: PRESENTATION OF STUDENT PAPERS**

Andrew Moravesik and Cindy Skach