

POLS 266: Sovereignty

Spring 2014

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MW 11:30-1:00

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Sovereignty has been a central organizing principle of international relations for the past three centuries. The concept has also featured prominently in modern democratic theory and liberal ethics, as exemplified in notions of popular sovereignty and the sovereign self. Changes in recent decades, however, have led many to challenge traditional notions of sovereignty. Contestations over sovereignty tend to fall along three general axes.

- First, there is tension between normative principles of sovereignty and political reality. Claims to popular and/or state sovereignty may have normative appeal, but they are often violated in practice.
- A second axis reflects the tension between sovereignty's use as a source of political emancipation and its use as ideological cover for state impunity and unjust exclusion. On one hand the principle of sovereignty has provided a cornerstone for anti-imperial movements and for assertions of national self-determination. On the other hand, claims to state sovereignty have shielded abusive governments from international sanction, while appeals to popular sovereignty have been used to disregard grievances of noncitizens who are detrimentally affected by democratic policies
- A third axis of contestation involves debate about whether globalization is undermining sovereignty or merely reconstituting sovereignty in new forms.

This course seeks to provide a theoretical and historical baseline for evaluating these different dimensions. We will read and discuss early European texts on sovereignty by authors such as Bodin, Hobbes and Rousseau. We will then move on to discuss sovereignty within contemporary international relations and democratic theory. We will examine how the concept has been adapted to new contexts and predicaments as well as how it has been implicated in post-colonial politics. Finally, we will explore theoretical efforts to imagine a post-sovereignty politics.

Books

There are three books to purchase:

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*

Stephen Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*

Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*

Assignments:

- 1) Participation
- 2) Response Questions
- 3) Two take-home midterm essay exams
- 4) 15 page final paper

*** Failure to complete all of these assignments will result in a failing grade for the course. ***

NOTE: Students who think they may need accommodations in this course because of the impact of a disability are encouraged to meet with me privately early in the semester. Students should also contact Rick Webb, Coordinator, Office of Disabilities Services (rwebb@haverford.edu, 610-896-1290) to verify their eligibility for reasonable accommodations as soon as possible. Early contact will help to avoid unnecessary inconvenience and delays.

Course Schedule (subject to change)

Jan 22 W **First Class - Introductions**

PART ONE: EARLY THEORIZATIONS OF SOVEREIGNTY

Jan 27 M **Bodin**
Jean Bodin, *On Sovereignty*, Edited and Translated by Julian H. Franklin (NY: Cambridge University Press, 1991). ix-xxviii, 1-44

Recommended

Nicholas Onuf, "Sovereignty: Outline of a Conceptual History," *Alternatives* 1991, vol.16, 425-46

Jan 29 W **Hobbes I**
Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Chapters 1-6 (skim), 11, 13-17

Feb 3 M **Hobbes II**
Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Chapters 17-30 (especially 17-21, 30)

Feb 5 W **Popular Sovereignty**
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "On the Social Contract" (Books I-II)
Available at: <http://www.constitution.org/jjr/socon.htm>

Feb 10 M **Rousseau and Sieyès**
Rousseau’s “On the Social Contract” (Book II; Book IV, Chapters 1-3, 9)
Emmanuel Sieyès, “What is the Third Estate?”

Feb 12 W **Hannah Arendt and the French and American Revolutions**
Arendt, *On Revolution*, 141-215

Feb 17 M **Perpetual Peace**
Immanuel Kant, “Essay on Perpetual Peace”

PART TWO: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Feb 19 W **Westphalia and its Predecessors**
Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*, 34-58.
Philbot, *Revolutions in Sovereignty*, 3-10, 75-122

Feb 24 M **International Society**
Reading on Hugo Grotius
Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society; A Study of International Politics*, New
York, Columbia University Press, 1977, 3-76.

Feb 26 W **Sovereignty as Organized Hypocrisy I**
Krasner, *Organized Hypocrisy*, Chapters 1, 2

Mar 3 M **Sovereignty as Organized Hypocrisy II**
Krasner, *Organized Hypocrisy*, Chapters 3-5, 8

Mar 5 W **Review, Catch up**

March 9-16: SPRING BREAK

PART THREE: ADAPTATIONS AND EXCEPTIONS

- Mar 17 M **Pseudo-Sovereignty and African Independence**
Gerard Kreijen, “The Transformation of Sovereignty and African Independence: No Shortcuts to Statehood” in *State, Sovereignty and International Governance* (45-108)
James Ferguson, “Paradoxes of Sovereignty and Independence: ‘Real’ and ‘Pseudo-’ Nation-States and the Depoliticization of Poverty,” in *Global Shadows* , 50-68.
- Mar 19 W **Indigenous Sovereignty**
Peter d-Errico, “Sovereignty: A Brief History in the Context of U.S. ‘Indian law’”. Available at: <http://www.umass.edu/legal/derrico/sovereignty.html>
Frank Pommersheim, “International Law Perspective: A New Model of Indigenous National Sovereignty,” in *Broken Landscape: Indians, Indian Tribes, and the Constitution*, 259-294.
John Wunder (ed.), *Native American Sovereignty (Native Americans and the Law)* (Selections)
Linda Medcalf, “The Quest for Sovereignty”
Vine Deloria, Jr., “Self-Determination and the Concept of Sovereignty”
- Mar 24 M **Pooled Sovereignty: the European Union**
Readings TBA
- Mar 26 W **New Frontiers: The Arctic and Space**
Duvall, Raymond and Havercroft, Jonathan (2008) Taking sovereignty out of this world: space weapons and empire of the future. *Review of International Studies*, 34, (4), 755-775
Shelagh D. Grant, “Defining the parameters” in *Polar Imperative: A History of Arctic Sovereignty in North America*, 5-24
Scott G. Borgerson, “Arctic Meltdown: The Economic and Security Implications of Global Warming,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 87, No. 2 (Mar. - Apr., 2008), pp. 63-77

- Mar 31 M **Globalization and Sovereignty**
 John Agnew, *Globalization and Sovereignty*, Chs 1, 3.
 Ian Clark “The Sovereign State” in *Globalization and International Relations Theory*, Oxford University Press, 1999.
 David Held, “The Changing Structure of International Law: Sovereignty Transformed,” in *Global Transformations Reader*. Available at: <http://politybooks.com/global/pdf/GTReader2eHeld.pdf>
- Apr 2 W **Sovereignty and Political Theology**
 Andrew F. March, “Genealogies of Sovereignty in Islamic Political Thought” (293-320)
 Additional Readings TBA
- Apr 7 M **Sovereignty Under Attack**
 Barak Mendelsohn, “Sovereignty Under Attack: The International Society Meets the al Qaeda Network,” *Review of International Studies* 31:1 (January 2005), 45-68.
 Grygiel, “the Costs of Respecting Sovereignty”
 Krasner, “The Day After”

Guest: Barak Mendelsohn

PART FOUR: RETHEORIZATIONS

- Apr 9 W **Sovereignty and the Exception**
 Carl Schmitt, “Introduction” and “Definition of Sovereignty” in *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*
 Giorgio Agamben, “The Paradox of Sovereignty”

Optional Additional reading (that might help you understand)
 Steven DeCaroli, “Boundary Stones: Giorgio Agamben and the Field of Sovereignty”
 William Rasch, “From Sovereign Ban to Banning Sovereignty”

- Apr 14 M **Habermas**
Habermas, “Popular Sovereignty as Procedure,” in *Between Facts and Norms*, (463-90)
Habermas, “The European Nation-State: On the Past and Future of Sovereignty and Citizenship” (397-416)
Timothy Mitchell, “Nationalism, Imperialism, Economism: A Comment on Habermas” (417-424)
- Apr 16 W **No Class**
- Apr 21 M **Paradoxes of Popular Sovereignty**
Ana Paulina Ochoa Espejo, “Paradoxes of Popular Sovereignty: A view from Spanish America,” *The Journal of Politics*, 74, 4 (2012), 1053-1065
Ana Paulina Ochoa Espejo, “Popular Sovereignty,” in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Political Thought*
Bernard Yack, “Popular Sovereignty and Nationalism,” *Political Theory*, 29 (4): 517-536.
- Apr 23 W **Post-Sovereignty I**
Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*, 7-71
- Apr 28 M **Post-Sovereignty II**
Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*, 73-133
- Apr 30 W **Last class: Catch up and review**