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 developed in new direction, such as in recent demands for “food sovereignty” and “ecological sovereignty,” as well as in efforts to interrogate the application of sovereignty in post-colonial contexts. 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* (this will be available in bookstore later)

**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)

**Tu 18 Jan**    **First Class - Introductions**

**PART ONE: EARLY THEORIZATIONS OF SOVEREIGNTY**

**Th 20 Jan**    **Bodin**

Recommended

**Tu 25 Jan**    **Hobbes I**
Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Chapters 1-6 (skim), 11, 13-17
Th 27 Jan  **Hobbes II**  
Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Chapters 17-30 (especially 17-21, 30)

Tu 1 Feb  **Popular Sovereignty**  
Available at: [http://www.constitution.org/jjr/socon.htm](http://www.constitution.org/jjr/socon.htm)

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

Tu 8 Feb  **Popular Sovereignty / Divided Sovereignty**  
Hamilton, *Federalist 15, 16, 23*  

Th 10 Feb  **Perpetual Peace**  
Immanuel Kant, Essay on Perpetual Peace  
[http://perpetualpeaceproject.org/resources/](http://perpetualpeaceproject.org/resources/)  
[http://perpetualpeaceproject.org/resources/kant.php](http://perpetualpeaceproject.org/resources/kant.php)  
The Idea of Perpetual Peace  

**REQUIRED:**  Feb 10, 7pm, Stokes Auditorium. Perpetual Peace Project Lecture  
**OPTIONAL:**  Feb 11 Recorded Interactive Perpetual Peace Workshops (3 workshops over course of the day)

Tu 15 Feb  **Arendtian interpretations of French and American Sovereignty**  

**PART TWO: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

Th 17 Feb  **Westphalia and its Predecessors**  
Philbot, *Revolutions in Sovereignty*, 3-10, 75-122

Recommended

Tu 22 Feb  **International Society**  
Reading on Hugo Grotius  

Th 24 Feb  **Sovereignty as Organized Hypocrisy I**  
Krasner, *Organized Hypocrisy*, Chapters 1, 2

Tu 1 Mar  **Sovereignty as Organized Hypocrisy II**  
Krasner, *Organized Hypocrisy*, Chapters 3-5, 8

Th 3 Mar  **Constructivism and Catch up**  

March 4 - 13  **Spring Break**

15 Mar  TBA
17 Mar  No Class

Tu 22 Mar  **Pseudo-Sovereignty and African Independence**  

Recommended  
Th 24 Mar  Indigenous Sovereignty


John Wunder (ed.), Native American Sovereignty (Native Americans and the Law) (Selections)


J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, Hawaiian Blook: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity, v-vii, 171-196

Tu 29 Mar  Pooled Sovereignty: the European Union


Th 31 Mar  Sovereignty Under Attack


Additional reading TBA

Guest: Barak Mendelsohn

Tu 5 Apr  Sovereignty and the Exception

Carl Schmitt, “Definition of Sovereignty” in Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty

Agamben, “The Paradox of Sovereignty”

Th 7 Apr  Globalization and Sovereignty I


John Agnew, Globalization and Sovereignty, Chs 1, 3.
Tu 12 Apr  Habermas
Habermas, “Popular Sovereignty as Procedure,” in *Between Facts and Norms*, 463-90
Habermas, reading on post-national constellation

Th 14 Apr  Globalization and Sovereignty I!

Tu 19 Apr  Adapting the Concept: Food Sovereignty
Michael Windfuhr and Jennie Jonsén “Food Sovereignty: Towards Democracy in Local Food Systems” (including Appendix). Available at: http://www.ukabc.org/foodsovereignty_itdg_fian_online.pdf

Th 21 Apr  Post-Sovereignty
Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*, 7-71

Tu 26 Apr  Post-Sovereignty
Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*, 73-133

Th 28 Apr  last class (Catch up)