

[Preliminary Syllabus – Subject to Change]

Humboldt University in Berlin

Summer 2006

### **Locating Sovereignty in the Political Sphere**

Thursdays, 12:00 to 14:00 in Room 001, Universitätsstr.3b

Instructor: Mark Axelrod, Visiting Lecturer ([mark.axelrod@duke.edu](mailto:mark.axelrod@duke.edu))

Office Hours: Thursdays, 10:30 to 11:30 [local coffee shop...recommendations welcome]. Please email me if you want to meet at a different time. I will be traveling during a few weeks to conduct research in Geneva and Brussels, but will respond by email as frequently as possible.

#### Introduction

The notion of sovereignty has been used to describe political systems for at least 400 years. This course will explore sovereignty and the locus of power in different political systems. The basic introduction will start from social contract theory (Locke/Hobbes), followed by some readings on the history of sovereignty. Following that introduction to the concept, we will disaggregate the concept, exploring what people or groups act as sovereigns in different political systems. Finally, we will look at international relations and international legal literature that has debated sovereignty between nations.

#### Learning Objectives

By the end of this course, you will be able to:

- Define sovereignty in multiple ways.
- Compare and contrast existing definitions, and evaluate which is most appropriate.
- Identify who is sovereign in a variety of different settings.
- Recognize how the notion has changed over time.
- Explain the complex relationship between legal sovereignty and power.
- Analyze current political events in light of the theories we study. In addition, you will be able to understand how these theories may be applicable for predicting future events.
- Apply theories of sovereignty to your careers in law, policy, and politics.

#### Course Meetings

We will meet weekly and class will focus on discussion of the readings for that week, and their application to historical events. You are expected to prepare, attend, and participate each week. Please contact me in advance if you are not able to be there.

#### Grading and Assignments

All written assignments can be submitted in hard copy in class or by email to [mark.axelrod@duke.edu](mailto:mark.axelrod@duke.edu). If you send me a draft at least two weeks prior, I will provide brief comments before the paper is due. You are also encouraged to discuss the project with me during office hours.

[Grading details follow on the next page.]

1. Attendance, preparation, and participation (**10% of the final grade**)
2. 2-5 page descriptive paper answering “Where does sovereignty lie in a particular political situation (of your choosing)?” **due June 22** (10%)
3. Proposal for the final paper – topic of your choice – **due by June 15** (20%)
4. 10-12 page final paper – **due July 13** (60%, but will count for 80% if you do better on the final paper than the proposal) [I am leaving Berlin immediately after our last class. I cannot guarantee that you will get a grade if I do not receive your paper the week before.]

### Course Readings

All required readings are available at the copy center. I will also place them online for two weeks prior to the assignment date at: [www.duke.edu/~mla6/sovereignty](http://www.duke.edu/~mla6/sovereignty) You may have to save some of the TIF files to the computer in order to read past the first page. I am working on this technical problem, and will let you know if I can solve it. If you would prefer, I can also make you a compact disc with all of the readings. In addition, you will benefit greatly by keeping track of news/current events. In some sense, this material will be the empirical basis for our class discussions. I will also be happy to recommend supplementary readings on topics that interest you, or on which you are writing the course paper.

### Schedule and Readings

#### ***Part I. Introduction***

##### **April 27: What is sovereignty?**

- How does sovereignty arise? and when can it emerge? [sovereignty as dependent variable]
- What does sovereignty affect? [sovereignty as independent variable]
- Why should we study sovereignty in political science and law?

##### *Reading:*

1. Hobbes, Thomas, and Michael Joseph Oakeshott. 1962. *Leviathan; or, The matter, forme and power of a commonwealth, ecclesiasticall and civil, Collier classics in the history of thought*. New York,: Collier Books. (Chapters 18,19,and 21)

2. Locke, John, and Peter Laslett. 1988. *Two treatises of government. Student ed, Cambridge texts in the history of political thought*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ; New York: Cambridge University Press. (Chapters IX-XII and XVI in the Second Treatise)

3. Poggi, Gianfranco. 1978. *The development of the modern state : a sociological introduction*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. (Chapter 1, especially pages 11-15)

#### ***Part II. History of Sovereignty and the nation-state*** (May 4 and May 11)

##### **May 4: The rise of sovereignty**

- What came before the concept of sovereignty? How/why did our present version emerge?

*Reading:*

1. Poggi, Gianfranco. 1978. *The development of the modern state : a sociological introduction*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. (Chapters [2](#) and [3](#))
2. [Spruyt, Hendrik, \*Institutional Selection in International Relations: State Anarchy as Order\*. International Organization, 1994. 48\(4\): p. 527-57.](#)  
Additional Recommended Reading (files available on request):  
[Downing, Brian M., \*The military revolution and political change : origins of democracy and autocracy in early modern Europe\*. 1991, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. xii, 308 p. \(Chapter 2\)](#)

**May 11: Different sovereignties in the modern world**

- Are there competing possibilities?
1. [Herbst, Jeffrey Ira. 2000. \*States and power in Africa : comparative lessons in authority and control, Princeton studies in international history and politics\*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. \(Chapter 1\)](#)
  2. Everyone should select one of the following 3 chapters from the aforementioned book:
    - a. [Chapter 2: Pre-colonial sovereignty](#)
    - b. [Chapter 3: Sovereignty under European rule](#)
    - c. [Chapter 4: The post-colonial sovereign](#)

***Part III. Power Relations at Home – Disaggregating the Domestic Sovereign*****May 18: Sovereigns and Veto Players**

- How are authority relationships configured in different political systems?
- Who acts as the sovereign within a democratic government?

*Readings:*

1. [Bendix, Reinhard. 1978. \*Kings or people : power and the mandate to rule\*. Berkeley: University of California Press.](#) (introduction and conclusions)
2. [Tsebelis, George. 2002. \*Veto players : how political institutions work\*. Princeton, N.J.: Russell Sage Foundation; Princeton University Press. \(Chapter 1\)](#)

Additional Recommended Reading (files available on request):

Poggi, [Ch4](#) and [Ch5](#)

**May 25: Federalism I: Varieties of Decentralization**

- How is sovereignty allocated across geographic space?
1. Read one of the following:
    - a. [Treisman, Daniel. Unpublished Manuscript. "Defining and Measuring Decentralization: A Global Perspective," available from UCLA website.](#)
    - b. [Rodden, Jonathan. 2004. Comparative Federalism and Decentralization: On Meaning and Measurement. \*Comparative Politics\* 36 \(4\):481-500.](#)
  2. Read one of the following:

- a. [Treisman, Daniel. 1999. \*After the deluge : regional crises and political consolidation in Russia\*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. \(Chapter 2\)](#)
- b. [Scharpf, Fritz W. 1988. The Joint Decision Trap: Lessons from German Federalism and European Integration. \*Public Administration\* 66:239-78.](#)

Additional recommendations (files available on request):

- a. [Lijphart, Arend. 1999. \*Patterns of democracy : government forms and performance in thirty-six countries\*. New Haven: Yale University Press. \(Chapter 10\)](#)
- b. [Tsebelis, George. 2002. \*Veto players : how political institutions work\*. Princeton, N.J.: Russell Sage Foundation; Princeton University Press. \(Chapter 6\)](#)

### **June 1: Federalism II: Fiscal Federalism**

- How does monetary allocation affect the ability to rule?

Readings:

1. [Symposium on the Political Economy of Federalism, especially notes by Weingast \(6-11\), Inman \(11-16\), Rose-Ackerman \(17-19\), Bednar \(19-21\), Litvack and Rodden \(24-28\) and Remmer/Wibbels \(28-31\), APSA-CP. Newsletter of the Organized Section in Comparative Politics of the APSA. Vol. 11 \(winter 2000\), no. 1. \)](#)
2. [Treisman, Daniel. 1999. \*After the deluge : regional crises and political consolidation in Russia\*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. \(Chapter 7\)](#)

### **June 8: Executive-Legislative Relations and Courts/Bureaucracies**

- How is sovereignty allocated between branches of a government?

Readings: (Read one of these two pairs of chapters, and be prepared to share your thoughts with the rest of the class)

Executive-Legislative Relations

1. [Shugart, Matthew Soberg, and John M. Carey. 1992. \*Presidents and assemblies : constitutional design and electoral dynamics\*. Cambridge \[England\] ; New York: Cambridge University Press. \(Chapter 1\)](#)
2. [Lijphart, Arend. 1999. \*Patterns of democracy : government forms and performance in thirty-six countries\*. New Haven: Yale University Press. \(Chapter 7\)](#)

Courts and Bureaucracies

1. [Lijphart, Arend. 1999. \*Patterns of democracy : government forms and performance in thirty-six countries\*. New Haven: Yale University Press. \(Chapter 12\)](#)
2. [Tsebelis, George. 2002. \*Veto players : how political institutions work\*. Princeton, N.J.: Russell Sage Foundation; Princeton University Press. \(Chapter 10\)](#)

### **June 15: Weak and Failed States**

- What happens when there is no sovereign authority?

*Readings:*

1. [Jackson, Robert H., and Carl G. Rosberg. 1982. Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and the Juridical in Statehood. \*World Politics\* 35 \(1\):1-24.](#)
2. [Herbst, Jeffrey. 1996/7. Responding to State Failure in Africa. \*International Security\* 21 \(3\):120-44.](#)

#### ***Part IV. Sovereignty in international relations – Legal and Political Approaches***

##### **June 23: The unitary state and Juridical Sovereignty**

- What is the unitary actor assumption and does it represent reality? (Waltz)
- What is the difference between legal and political notions of sovereignty?

*Readings:*

1. [Gross, Leo. 1948. The Peace of Westphalia, 1648-1948. \*American Journal of International Law\* 42 \(1\):20-41.](#)
2. [Osiander, Andreas. 2001. Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth. \*International Organization\* 55 \(2\):251-87.](#)

##### **June 30: Hierarchy and Influence between states**

- Are all states really the same?
- How has the concept of sovereignty been “broken”?
- How do the notions of sovereignty and power relate?

*Readings:*

1. [Krasner, Stephen D. 1999. \*Sovereignty : organized hypocrisy\*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. \(chapter 1\)](#)
2. [Lake, David. 2003. The New Sovereignty in International Relations. \*International Studies Review\* 5:303-23.](#)

##### **July 6: Varieties of Colonialism**

- How do sovereigns subjugate other sovereigns?
- What are the different varieties of colonialism and their effective differences?

*Readings:*

1. [Keene, Edward. 2002. \*Beyond the anarchical society : Grotius, colonialism and order in world politics, LSE monographs in international studies\*. Cambridge, UK ; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press. \(Chapter 3\)](#)
2. [Wendt, Alexander, and Daniel Friedheim. 1995. Hierarchy under Anarchy: Informal Empire and the East German State. \*International Organization\* 49 \(4\):689-721.](#)
3. Revisit Herbst readings, especially Chapter 2

##### **July 13: Post-conflict reconstruction**

- How is authority re-established following intrastate and interstate conflict?

*Readings:*

1. Ikenberry, G. John. 2001. *After victory : institutions, strategic restraint, and the rebuilding of order after major wars*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. (Chapter 1, if available)

2. [Allies post-World War II Peace Treaty with Bulgaria](#)

**July 20: Delegating Sovereignty to International Institutions and Course Wrap-up**

- Why would a sovereign state willingly give up power to an international institution?

*Readings:*

1. [Lake, David. Unpublished. "Delegating Divisible Sovereignty: Some Conceptual Issues"](#)
2. [Treaty Establishing the Commonwealth of Independent States](#)
3. Revisit Krasner (1999)