Viktoria Serzhanova¹

The Evolution of the Conception of Sovereignty

Keywords: the notion of sovereignty, the genesis and evolution of the sovereignty concept, the scope of state sovereignty and its performance, national basic laws, constitutional principles.

Słowa kluczowe: pojęcie suwerenności, geneza i ewolucja koncepcji suwerenności, zakres suwerenności państwa i jej wykonywania, narodowe ustawy zasadnicze, wartości i zasady konstytucyjne.

Abstract

Since the concept of sovereignty was created till nowadays it has been undergoing permanent transformation. Presently, the consequences of this phenomenon follow from the intensive influence of the processes of regional integration and globalization on the way states function in the modern world and political reality. Therefore, contemporary states have to face and manage in practice not only the change of the notion of sovereignty itself and its scope, which is natural during its several centuries' evolution, but they also have to cope with serious effects and far-reaching impact of these transformations on their political systems and legal orders, as well as all other areas of their functioning, including the contents of their national basic laws and fundamental constitutional principles. Non-depending on the degree and activeness with which the states involve themselves into the abovementioned processes, they have to naturally make themselves open to them anyway, which is frequently reflected first and foremost in the texts of the national basic laws and the way their main values and principles are interpreted. The anal-

¹ ORCID ID: 0000-0002-8824-7192, Ph.D., D.Sc., The Department of Systems of European States, Institute of Law Science, College of Social Sciences University of Rzeszów, e-mail: viktoria@ur.edu.pl.

ysis of the changing concept and scope of contemporary states' sovereignty has become the main objective of the hereby paper. Its subject focuses on the analysis of the origin and development of the notion of sovereignty, as well as other related to it concepts, along with their impact on the way contemporary states function.

Streszczenie

Ewolucja koncepcji suwerenności

Od chwili powstania pojęcia suwerenności do czasów nam współczesnych koncept ten stale ulega przemianom. Obecnie zjawisko to stanowi konsekwencję intensywnego wpływu procesów integracji regionalnej i globalizacji na sposób, w jaki państwa funkcjonują we współczesnym świecie i rzeczywistości politycznej. Stąd państwa współczesne muszą stawić czoła i poradzić sobie w praktyce nie tylko ze zmianą samego pojęcia suwerenności i jej zakresu, co stanowi naturalną konsekwencję procesu jej wielowiekowej ewolucji, ale także z daleko idącym oddziaływaniem tych procesów na ich ustroje polityczne, systemy prawne oraz inne obszary ich funkcjonowania, w tym także na narodowe ustawy zasadnicze i zasady konstytucyjne. Niezależnie od stopnia, w jakim państwa angażują się w powyższe procesy, muszą one w sposób naturalny otworzyć się na nie, co najczęściej znajduje swoje odzwierciedlenie przede wszystkim w tekstach ich ustaw zasadniczych oraz w wykładni ich fundamentalnych wartości i zasad konstytucyjnych. Analiza rozumienia zmieniającego się pojęcia i zakresu suwerenności państwa stanowi cel niniejszego opracowania. Jego przedmiot natomiast koncentruje się wokół genezy i ewolucji pojęcia suwerenności oraz związanych z nim koncepcji, jak również ich oddziaływania na sposób funkcjonowania państw współczesnych.

I. Introductory remarks

Currently, we are observers of the constantly changing political and constitutional reality which is taking place in contemporary states as a result of the dynamic changes they are experiencing in connection with the processes of globalization and regional integration. The relationship between these phenomena is obvious and nowadays does not raise any doubts, while the scope of changes related to these processes is subject to constant verification, be-

cause it depends on the degree of involvement of individual national states in them, which is uneven².

These phenomena affect not only the states which are at the stage of choosing their path of development and consolidation of democratic system mechanisms, but also the most stable state organisms with a shaped constitutional and political tradition, because the mentioned processes of globalization and integration in a certain way enforce them to make major or smaller changes. They are probably the most important factors influencing the manner and effectiveness of contemporary states' functioning, their political systems and forms of government, their legal orders, the shape and scope of their functions, the content of their basic laws as fundamental legal acts regulating the above matters, and – what is of fundamental importance – their sovereignty³.

² More extended about it see: V. Serzhanova, S. Sagan, *Wpływ procesów integracji europejskiej na konstytucje narodowe*, „Gdańskie Studia Prawnicze” W kręgu historii doktryn politycznych i prawnych oraz konstytucjonalizmu, księga jubileuszowa profesora Andrzeja Sylwestrzaka, 2012, vol. XXVII, ed. D. Szpoper, p. 307 & seq.

³ From the point of view of constitutional law and the theory of the state, the analysis of this issue cannot be overestimated, as the provisions on sovereignty are often found in the basic laws. And even if this matter is not directly determined in them, its understanding undoubtedly results from their axiology, values and constitutional principles. For more details on the impact of globalization and European integration processes on contemporary states see: V. Serzhanova, *Modern State in the Era of Globalization and European Integration*, [in:] Zborník príspevkov z 2. ročníka Jarnej Školy Doktorandov UPJŠ, Košice 2015, pp. 13–19; V. Serzhanova, S. Sagan, *The Influence of the European Integration and Globalization Processes on a Contemporary State* “Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Jurisprudentia” 14/2010, Alba Iulia 2011, pp. 219–229. Compare also: K. Działocha, *Poszukiwanie formuły suwerenności państwa-członka UE w polskiej nauce prawa*, [in:] *Instytucje prawa konstytucyjnego w dobie integracji europejskiej*. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana prof. Marii Kruk-Jarosz, eds. J. Wawrzyniak, M. Łaskowska, Warsaw 2009, pp. 45–62; *idem*, *Suwerenność i ponadnarodowość a integracja europejska*, ed. J. Kranz, Warsaw 2006, *passim*; K. Wojtyczek, *Przekazywanie kompetencji państwa organizacjom międzynarodowym. Wybrane zagadnienia prawnokonstytucyjne*, Cracow 2007, p. 284 & seq., *idem*, *Przekazywanie kompetencji organów władzy sądowniczej podmiotom międzynarodowym*, [in:] *Instytucje prawa...*, pp. 426–440; M. Ziółkowski, *Europeizacja konstytucji – rekonstrukcja znaczenia*, [in:] *Europeizacja konstytucji państw Unii Europejskiej*, ed. K. Kubuj, J. Wawrzyniak, Warsaw 2011, p. 24. Among the newest elaborations dedicated to the issue of sovereignty in the context of the UE membership it is worth mentioning a collective work *Suwerenność państwa członkowskiego Unii Europejskiej*, ed. P. Stawarz, T. Wallas, K. Wojtaszczyk, Warsaw 2017, *passim*.

These processes have an extremely significant impact on the understanding of sovereignty and its scope, and thus also on the goals, scope and manner of performing functions by modern states, which in turn also affects their shape, efficiency and way of functioning. In my opinion, the modern concept and scope of sovereignty is a very significant issue and is closely connected with the objectives and functions of the state and the ways of exercising them. These are closely related subjects, or rather aspects of the same matter, when analyzed from the perspective of constitutional law and the science of the state. Hence, their coherent analysis is necessary to be able to be tempted to draw credible conclusions about the functioning of contemporary states from the perspective of their sovereignty, which is significantly influenced by regional integration processes and – more broadly – also globalization.

The purpose of this study, devoted to the abovementioned issues, is to analyze the contemporary understanding of sovereignty, made in confrontation with the genesis and primary comprehension of this concept and its evolution over the centuries, and moreover, to show its impact on the forms and areas of states' functioning, in particular on the scope and manner of performing their basic functions in the era of globalization and regional integration.

II. Genesis and Evolution of the Concept of Sovereignty

In the subject literature, it is widely believed that the term 'sovereignty' was borrowed from the French language and comes from the word *souverain* (actually from the Old French *soverain*), which means 'ruler', 'ruling'. Etymologically, it is derived from the Latin *superus*, which in English means 'superior' or, as some other sources say, from *superānus* – 'dominant'⁴.

The concept of sovereignty and the principle of state sovereignty began to take shape in the Middle Ages. They were related and became the result of the struggle for the independence of state power and the domination of monarchs over political forces and centers of external and internal power, including in particular supranational factors (papacy and empire) and centrifugal

⁴ See: *Słownik wyrazów obcych*, elaborated by L. Wiśniakowska, Warsaw 2004, p. 894; compare: V. Serzhanova, S. Sagan, *Nauka o państwie współczesnym*, 3rd ed., Warszawa 2013, p. 44.

internal forces, such as the existence of competing power centers (feudal lords) within the then feudal state⁵.

The concept of sovereignty, which is a historical category, has naturally undergone an evolutionary process, as a result of which it has been subject to changes in the rhythm of the development of international relations and changes occurring within a state⁶. The concept of state sovereignty was particularly normatively grounded in the absolute state, which idea was connected with the cult of a state.

A modern elaboration of the definition of sovereignty is attributed to Jean Bodin⁷. However, it seems that it can be associated with the previously living Marsilius of Padua. For according to Andrzej Sylwestrzak, the doctrine of Jean Bodin's sovereignty arose precisely on the basis of his inquiries: "The idea of sovereignty of people found its continuator in the work of J.J. Rousseau, and the very concept of sovereignty as fundamental to the organization of the state, gave basis to J. Bodin's considerations a little earlier"⁸. Marsilius of Padua formulated the theory of the 'sovereignty of the people', which in his opinion should be one of the basic principles of state organization. State power should be based on the will of the sovereign people, which in turn means the participation of all citizens in the appointment of state authorities and in creating of law. In this sense, the sovereignty of the people is a guarantee of citizens' freedoms. He made the idea of people's rule the foundation of his treatise *Defender of Peace* (originally in Latin: *Defensor Pacis*) of 1324. By the concept of the people he meant all the people living in the state with total rejection of state differences and privileges. Jean Bodin creatively developed these thoughts, recognizing sovereignty as an immanent feature of the state. Sovereign power is independent and unlimited, and in his opinion it is defined by the following features: continuity, indivisibility, inalienability,

⁵ More broadly see: V. Serzhanova, S. Sagan, *Nauka...*, p. 44. Compare: M. Gulczyński, W.J. Wołpiuk, *Spór o suwerenność*, Warsaw 2001, *passim*.

⁶ See.: V. Serzhanova, S. Sagan, *Nauka...*, p. 45.

⁷ Jean Bodin, *On Sovereignty. Six Books of the Commonwealth*, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform 2009, or a newer edition of the original title J. Bodin, *The Six Bookes of a Commonweale. A Facsimile Reprint of the English Translation of 1606, Corrected and Supplemented in the Light of a New Comparison with the French and Latin Texts*, Harvard 2014, *passim*.

⁸ A. Sylwestrzak, *Historia doktryn politycznych i prawnych*, Warsaw 2007, p. 137; see also A. Pieniążek, *Suwerenność. Problemy teorii i praktyki*, Warsaw 1979, p. 45 & seq.

unlimitedness, unconditionality and independence. Like Marsilius of Padua, he believed that the main feature of sovereignty is the power to legislate⁹.

In his treaty of 1762 entitled *The Social Contract, or Principles of Political Law* (French: *Du contrat social ou Principes du droit politique*) Jean-Jacques Rousseau¹⁰ presented the theory of a social contract based on the concept of universal sovereignty, defined as indivisible and legally non-transferable. His theory of universal sovereignty includes the concept of 'general will', which is more than the sum of the will of individual persons¹¹. Rousseau argues that a person as a separate entity can be selfish and put his own benefits and self-interest over the general good. However, as a member of this general, he gets rid of selfishness in order to contribute to the creation of the general will, which is in itself universal sovereignty.

The later development of the concept of sovereignty in modern times was undoubtedly influenced by the concept of fully independent states, shaped by the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, ending religious wars in Europe. Sovereignty was first and foremost conceived as the supremacy of a state comprehended abstractly, the people or another ruler exercising this power (e.g. a monarch) over all norms of internal law, and the full freedom of the state to conduct foreign policy, as well as actual and, postulatively, also legal possibility of the subject exercising sovereignty to take political decisions, against which there is no legal possibility of appeal to a higher instance¹².

III. Contemporary Understanding of Sovereignty

The modern understanding of the concept of sovereignty is very different from the meaning given to it on the basis of the concept of fully independent states.

⁹ Marsilius of Padua, *The Defender of the Peace*, Cambridge 2012, passim. Deeply and competently the thoughts of Marsilius of Padua is discussed by A. Wójtowicz, *Model władzy państwowej Marsyliusza z Padwy*, Katowice 1977, passim. Compare: V. Serzhanova, S. Sagan, *Nauka...*, p. 45 & seq.

¹⁰ See: J.J. Rousseau, *The Social Contract, or Principles of Political Law: Also, a Project for a Perpetual Peace*, reprint: Forgotten Books 2018, passim.

¹¹ For this reason, it is sometimes referred to as a collectivist or holistic concept rather than an individualist one.

¹² See: M. Gulczyński, W.J. Wołpiuk, *Spór...*, passim.

The most concise and apt definition of sovereignty seems to have been formulated by Ludwik Ehrlich, according to whom 'state sovereignty is its self-reliance, i.e. legal independence from any external factors, and full control, i.e. its competence to normalize all relations within the state'¹³. The concept of nation sovereignty also means the right of every nation to an independent state existence (the self-determination of nations), to choose the form of state and government¹⁴. Therefore, it is such a factual state in which the center of political decision, representing the state authority, is free from any interference as to the content of the taken decisions¹⁵. In contemporary states, the center of political decisions is usually vested in the hands of a political party or a coalition of parties which have won parliamentary elections in democratic procedures, while in non-democratic states it is vested in the hands of an informal group, e.g. a military one¹⁶. In democratic states, the sovereign is usually the nation that exercises the supreme power either indirectly, through its representatives in elected representative bodies (e.g. parliament, local government), or through the institutions and forms of direct democracy (e.g. referendum).

Contemporary states do not have absolute sovereignty, especially if understood as economic self-sufficiency of states – autarky. This is interestingly explained by Władysław Zamkowski: 'Absolute independence could be an attribute of the only state on the globe, if it existed. But then postulating its independence would make no sense. Identifying independence with self-sufficiency (autarky) or isolation from other states is similarly irrational'¹⁷.

¹³ L. Ehrlich, *Prawo narodów*, Kraków 1947, p. 104.

¹⁴ See: J. Tyranowski, *Integralność terytorialna, nienaruszalność granic i samostanowienie w prawie międzynarodowym*, Warsaw–Poznań 1990, p. 189 & seq. This issue, in particular the subject and object scope of the right to self-determination, are comprehensively and competently analyzed by: W. Żbikowski, *Samostanowienie narodów w prawie międzynarodowym*, "Zeszyt Studenckich Kół Naukowych Wydziału Prawa i Administracji UAM" 2015, nr 5, pp. 237–256. See also: M. Perkowski, *Samostanowienie w prawie międzynarodowym*, Warsaw 2001, *passim*; K. Bobrowski, *Prawo do samostanowienia narodów w prawie międzynarodowym – aktualna wykładnia*, „Krytyka Prawa”, 2015, t. VII, pp. 23–49; J. Kluza, *Prawo do samostanowienia narodów w świetle integracji europejskiej*, „Chorzowskie Studia Polityczne” 2016, nr 12, pp. 127–139.

¹⁵ This issue is competently discussed by A. Ławniczak, *Istota władzy państwowej i jej formy*, Wrocław 2010, p. 59 & seq.

¹⁶ See: V. Serzhanova, S. Sagan, *Nauka...*, p. 44.

¹⁷ W. Zamkowski, *Dyktatura, suwerenność, demokracja. Podstawowe, teoretyczne problemy struktury i funkcjonowania władzy państwowej PRL*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk

Currently, sovereignty should be considered to a large extent in the context of the states' functioning in the international space. In international relations, the states' sovereignty coincides with its subjectivity in international law and determines the situation of states in the international community. The principle of sovereignty is the basic principle of modern international law and means the state's ability to be a subject of international law and obligations through independent, full, undivided and self-exercise of state competences, taking into account international interdependencies and the freedom to transfer (limit) these competences to international organizations, remaining in conformity with the international law¹⁸.

The principle of sovereignty has been regulated and found its norms in many acts and documents of international law, among others: in the United Nations Charter of 1945¹⁹, The Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States of 1970²⁰, Statutes of Regional Organizations, such as the Organization of American States (OAS)²¹ and the Organization of African Unity (OAU)²², as well as in many multilateral agreements of a universal nature, e.g. in the introductions to the

1974, p. 105. This work, though written from the perspective of the Marxists' doctrine, in some fragments still preserves its cognitive value.

¹⁸ Compare: M. Gulczyński, W.J. Wołpiuk, *Spór...*, passim.

¹⁹ The United Nations Charter of 26 June 1945, <https://www.un.org/en/charter-united-nations> (27.10.2019).

²⁰ The Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations was adopted by the resolution 2625 (XXV) of the General Assembly on 24 October 1970, <https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/3dda1f104.pdf> (27.10.2019).

²¹ Charter of the Organization of American States, 119 U.N.T.S. 3, signed on 30 April 1948 in Bogotá, entered into force December 13, 1951; amended by Protocol of Buenos Aires, 721 U.N.T.S. 324, O.A.S. Treaty Series, No. 1-A, entered into force Feb. 27, 1970; amended by Protocol of Cartagena, O.A.S. Treaty Series, No. 66, 25 I.L.M. 527, entered into force Nov. 16, 1988; amended by Protocol of Washington, 1-E Rev. OEA Documentos Oficiales OEA/Ser.A/2 Add. 3 (SEPF), 33 I.L.M. 1005, entered into force September 25, 1997; amended by Protocol of Managua, 1-F Rev. OEA Documentos Oficiales OEA/Ser.A/2 Add.4 (SEPF), 33 I.L.M. 1009, entered into force January 29, 1996, http://www.oas.org/en/sla/dil/inter_american_treaties_A-41_charter_OAS.asp (27.10.2019).

²² Charter of the Organization of African Unity, 479 U.N.T.S. 39, signed on 25 May 1963, entered into force Sept. 13, 1963 – http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/africa/OAU_Charter_1993.html (27.10.2019).

Vienna Conventions: on Diplomatic Relations from 1961²³, on Consular Relations from 1963²⁴ and on the Law of Treaties from 1969²⁵, Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe Final Act of 1975²⁶.

It is worth noting that the United Nations Charter states that this organization is based on the principle of sovereign equality of all its members, while the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States declares that all states enjoy equal sovereignty and have equal rights and responsibilities, and are equal members of the international community, regardless of economic, social, political or other differences.

The most important elements which make up the contemporary comprehension of the concept of sovereignty include: territorial sovereignty, independence and interference-free political, social and economic system, as well as a possibility of coexistence with other nations on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. It goes without saying, that in the modern world, the main factors influencing the shape of sovereignty to a greater extent are: the processes of globalization and regional integration, especially visible on the European continent, as well as the loss of the monopoly on the possession and disposal of weapons by national states²⁷.

In the context of understanding sovereignty, it seems extremely important to distinguish the concept of limiting sovereignty from the concept of limiting its exercise. For, the latter consists in the state's voluntary surrender of a certain range of its sovereign power and transferring it to international and supranational entities. Such transfer usually occurs through the conclusion of an international agreement, on the basis of which the state assumes obligations to act, abolish or inactivate, which does not limit its right to act vis-

²³ Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations done on 18 April 1961, http://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9_1_1961.pdf (27.10.2019).

²⁴ Vienna Convention on Consular Relations done on 24 April 1963, http://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9_2_1963.pdf (27.10.2019).

²⁵ Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties done on 23 May 1969, http://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/1_1_1969.pdf (27.10.2019).

²⁶ Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe Final Act of 1975, signed by 35 heads of states and governments on 1 August 1975 in Helsinki, <https://www.osce.org/helsinki-final-act?download=true> (27.10.2019).

²⁷ See more broadly: V. Serzhanova, S. Sagan, *Nauka...*, p. 46 & seq.

à-vis other countries as an entity of international law. An example of such an international organization of a highly integrated character and very broad competences is the European Union, which was organized as a supranational body, but it operates solely on the basis and within the scope of competences which the member states have delegated to it on a voluntary and controlled basis. However, the member states retain their right to decide on the extent of their participation in the operation of the EU. This kind of limiting the scope of sovereignty, which should be emphasized, on the basis of absolute voluntariness on the part of the member states, is a natural consequence of regional integration processes, particularly visible and strong on the European continent.

IV. Conclusions

The contemporary concept of states' sovereignty and its exercise undergo a constant process of transformation. The consequences of this phenomenon result from the intense impact of regional integration processes and globalization on them. Therefore, modern states have to face in practice not only the change of the concept of sovereignty itself and its scope, which is a natural effect of the process of its multi-centurial evolution, but also to cope with the serious effects and far-reaching impact of these transformations on their national constitutions, political systems and legal orders, as well as all other areas of their functioning. The scale of these changes depends on the degree of activeness with which states involve themselves in these processes. Nevertheless, states have to naturally open themselves to these processes, which is often reflected primarily in the texts of national basic laws, including provisions regarding their sovereignty and the way the constitutional values and fundamental principles are interpreted. The changing concept and scope of sovereignty of contemporary states, resulting from the processes of regional integration and globalization, also affect their shape, goals, as well as the functions and manner of their performing²⁸. The processes of limiting the exercise of state sovereignty and the voluntary transfer of part of it to inter-

²⁸ More extendedly see: V. Serzhanova, *Functions of Contemporary States*, "Przegląd Prawa Konstytucyjnego" 2018, no 6 (46), pp. 295–312.

national and supranational organizations, including military alliances, have an impact on constitutional regulations. There is not only a reduction in the influence of states on the implementation of their functions and a change in the way they are performed, but also the blurring of clear boundaries between them. In the constantly changing political and legal reality, this is an ever newer and more serious challenge for modern states, especially in respect of compliance with their legal orders, including the content of the provisions of their fundamental laws.

Literature

- Bobrowski K., *Prawo do samostanowienia narodów w prawie międzynarodowym – aktualna wykładnia*, „Krytyka Prawa” 2015, t. VII.
- Bodin, *On Sovereignty. Six Books of the Commonwealth*, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform 2009.
- Bodin J., *The Six Bookes of a Commonweale*. A Facsimile Reprint of the English Translation of 1606, Corrected and Supplemented in the Light of a New Comparison with the French and Latin Texts, Harvard 2014.
- Działocha K., *Poszukiwanie formuły suwerenności państwa-członka UE w polskiej nauce prawa*, [in:] *Instytucje prawa konstytucyjnego w dobie integracji europejskiej. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana prof. Marii Kruk-Jarosz*, eds. J. Wawrzyniak, M. Laskowska, Warsaw 2009.
- Ehrlich L., *Prawo narodów*, Kraków 1947.
- Gulczyński M., Wołpiuk W.J., *Spór o suwerenność*, Warsaw 2001.
- Kluza J., *Prawo do samostanowienia narodów w świetle integracji europejskiej*, „Chorzowskie Studia Polityczne” 2016, nr 12.
- Ławniczak A., *Istota władzy państwowej i jej formy*, Wrocław 2010.
- Marsilius of Padua, *The Defender of the Peace*, Cambridge 2012.
- Perkowski M., *Samostanowienie w prawie międzynarodowym*, Warsaw 2001.
- Rousseau J.J., *The Social Contract, or Principles of Political Law: Also, a Project for a Perpetual Peace*, reprint: Forgotten Books 2018.
- Serzhanova V., *Functions of Contemporary States*, „Przegląd Prawa Konstytucyjnego” 2018, No. 6 (46).
- Serzhanova V., *Modern State in the Era of Globalization and European Integration*, [in:] *Zborník príspevkov z 2. ročníka Jarnej Školy Doktorandov UPJŠ*, Košice 2015.
- Serzhanova V., Sagan S., *Changes in the Constitutions of the European States in Connection with the Integration Processes*, [in:] *Perspectives for the Development of Constitu-*

- tional Law in the Conditions of Integrating. Section of Constitutional Law. English Part, Collection of Papers from the International Scholastic Conference "Law as a Unifying Factor of Europe – Jurisprudence and Practice (21–23 October 2010)"*, Bratislava 2011.
- Serzhanova V., Sagan S., *Nauka o państwie współczesnym*, 3rd ed., Warsaw 2013.
- Serzhanova V., Sagan S., *The Influence of the European Integration and Globalization Processes on a Contemporary State*, "Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Jurisprudentia" 14/2010, Alba Iulia 2011.
- Serzhanova V., Sagan S., *Wpływ procesów integracji europejskiej na konstytucje narodowe*, „Gdańskie Studia Prawnicze” *W kręgu historii doktryn politycznych i prawnych oraz konstytucjonalizmu, księga jubileuszowa profesora Andrzeja Sylwestrzaka*, ed. D. Szpoper, 2012, vol. XXVII.
- Suwerenność i ponadnarodowość a integracja europejska*, ed. J. Kranz, Warsaw 2006.
- Suwerenność państwa członkowskiego Unii Europejskiej*, eds. P. Stawarz, T. Wallas, K. Wojtaszczyk, Warsaw 2017.
- Sylwestrzak A., *Historia doktryn politycznych i prawnych*, Warsaw 2007.
- Wojtyczek K., *Przekazywanie kompetencji organów władzy sądowniczej podmiotom międzynarodowym*, [in:] *Instytucje prawa konstytucyjnego w dobie integracji europejskiej. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana prof. Marii Kruk-Jarosz*, Warsaw 2009.
- Wojtyczek K., *Przekazywanie kompetencji państwa organizacjom międzynarodowym. Wybrane zagadnienia prawnokonstytucyjne*, Kraków 2007.
- Wójtowicz A., *Model władzy państwowej Marsyliusza z Padwy*, Katowice 1977.
- Zamkowski W., *Dyktatura, suwerenność, demokracja. Podstawowe, teoretyczne problemy struktury i funkcjonowania władzy państwowej PRL*, Wrocław- Warsaw -Kraków- Gdańsk 1974.
- Ziółkowski M., *Europeizacja konstytucji – rekonstrukcja znaczenia*, [in:] *Europeizacja konstytucji państw Unii Europejskiej*, ed. K. Kubuj, J. Wawrzyniak, Warsaw 2011.
- Żbikowski W., *Samostanowienie narodów w prawie międzynarodowym*, "Zeszyt Studenckich Kół Naukowych Wydziału Prawa i Administracji UAM" 2015, No. 5.