

Contents

<i>Table of Cases</i>	ix
<i>Table of Legislation</i>	xi
1. Introduction	1
I. Constituent Power as an Extra-Legal Phenomenon	4
II. Constituent Power as a Procedurally Regulated Activity	8
III. The Relationship between Derived and Original Constituent Power	13
IV. Plan of the Book	17
2. Back to Rousseau	29
I. Constituent Power, Rousseau, and Direct Democracy	30
II. Law, Sovereignty, and Government	35
III. Rousseau's Executive Power	40
IV. Rousseau, Theorist of Constituent Power	44
V. Assembling the Constituent People	50
VI. Conclusion	54
3. Sieyès <i>via</i> Rousseau	56
I. Constituent Power Before Sieyès	57
II. Sieyès' Views	60
III. Sieyès' Supreme Constitution	65
IV. Constructing the Constituent Subject	68
V. Sieyès' Constituent Jurisdiction	71
VI. Conclusion	75
4. Between Law and Revolution	77
I. The Legal (Un)Authorization of Constituent Power	79
II. Constituent Instructions and Representation	85
III. Primary Assemblies as the Constituent Power in Action?	93
IV. Conclusion	100
5. Of Constituent Nations	101
I. Farewell to the Sovereign People?	102
II. The Constituent Nation in Action	106
III. The Making of the Venezuelan Constitution of 1811	114
IV. Constituent Power and War: The Making of the Colombian Constitution of 1886	119
V. Conclusion	126

6. The Identity and Limits of the Constituent Subject	127
I. Of Revolutions and Constituent Monarchs	129
II. The Exclusive Constitution-Making Power of the Nation	132
III. Concretizing the Constituent Nation	142
IV. Constituent Power, Natural Law, and the Common Good	151
V. Conclusion	159
7. Rejecting Constituent Power	161
I. Between the Right of Resistance and Constituent Power	162
II. Jovellanos and the Doctrine of the Historical Constitution	166
III. The Doctrinaires and the Sovereignty of Reason	172
IV. The Doctrinaires and the Adoption of the Constitution of 1845	179
V. Conclusion	183
8. The Material Constitution	186
I. The Disaggregation of the Constituent and the Amending Power	189
II. Constitutional Super-Legality and Constituent Power	194
III. The Formal and the Material Constitution	199
IV. Towards a Normative Conception of the Material Constitution	203
V. Beyond Kelsen and Schmitt?	209
VI. The Production of the Material Constitution	216
VII. Conclusion	223
9. Sovereignty and Dictatorship	226
I. Between Sovereignty and Constituent Power	228
II. The State as the Nation	232
III. Sovereignty vs Sovereign Dictatorship	239
IV. Of Omnipotent Things	248
V. Conclusion	259
10. The Juridical People	262
I. The People as Co-Legislator	264
II. Between Electorate and People	271
III. Beyond Constituent Power in Venezuela, 1999	280
IV. Constituent Referendums and Judicial Review	289
V. Conclusion	293
11. Conclusion	295
I. Constituent Power through Time	296
II. The Road Ahead	301
III. Final Words: Constituent Power as Law?	304
<i>Bibliography</i>	307
<i>Index</i>	323