## Junior Colloquium: Liberalism and Its Discontents

Tuesdays and Thursdays 10:20-11:40a Spring 2016 CSS 371

Instructor: Kerwin Kaye

Office: PAC 105

Office Hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 1-2pm (and by appointment)

Email: kkaye@wesleyan.edu

#### **Class Description:**

This course presents an overview of social and political theories developed in the post-World War II period. It focuses particular attention upon developments within Liberal political theory during this time, examining this scholarship both for the insights it offers and for the ways in which these ideas have been used to obscure oppressive social relations. Considering the general contours of the Liberal tradition — particularly its relationship to forms of social domination such as colonialism, racism, class inequality, and gender and sexual oppression — the course moves through an examination of canonical thinkers who have challenged, contributed to, or appropriated Liberal social thought. Taking the ruminations of Nazi jurist Carl Schmidt as a problematic yet demanding provocation, the course asks in part how successfully Liberal theorists have resolved the dilemmas Schmidt identifies within Liberalism (or if, indeed, authoritarian tendencies pervade Liberal social thought, as Schmidt contends). Theorists within the Liberal tradition such as Friedrich Hayek, Hannah Arendt, and Jürgen Habermas are joined by critics such as Franz Fanon, Carole Pateman, and Michel Foucault in this critical overview of contemporary Liberal social theory. Through this examination of recent interventions in Liberal thinking regarding the social, the class is meant to provide an opportunity to think through ways in which various contemporary approaches to social issues both invoke and reformulate political debates of long standing.



Auschwitz, 1945



Hiroshima, 1945



Algeria, 1962



Jackson, Mississippi 1961



New York City, 1970



London, 1979

### **Course Requirements**

There are four requirements for the class:

- —attend all classes and be prepared to discuss the assigned readings
- —a series of eight response papers (approximately 2-3 pages each) written in relation to the daily readings. Four of these are to be completed before Spring Break, and four after. Your first paper should address one of the first three days of reading (Jan 26<sup>th</sup>, Jan 31<sup>st</sup>, or Feb 2<sup>nd</sup>), and your final paper should address one of the last three days of reading (May 2<sup>nd</sup>, May 4<sup>th</sup>, or May 9<sup>th</sup>). You do not need to address all of a given day's readings in your response, but you must address readings that constitute at least 15 pages
- —a proposal for your final paper, including both topic and annotated bibliography of at least three key sources. The proposal is due on Thursday, March 2<sup>nd</sup>
- —a 15-20 page final paper. The final paper is due on Wednesday, May 17<sup>th</sup> at 5pm.

Response papers must be written on readings that we have not yet discussed, and must be emailed to me by 6pm on the day prior to our discussion. No response papers will be accepted on a given reading after we have discussed it in class. In the case of the final paper, late papers will be accepted only in extreme circumstances (documented medical emergency, etc.).

### **Paper Guidelines**

Response papers should do three things:

- (1) summarize the author's argument
  - (2) think through the implications of the author's argument for at least one contemporary situation (highlighting the usefulness and/or shortcomings of the author's framework)
  - (3) offer your own opinion/analysis. Response papers will be graded based upon the your ability to grasp and present an author's analysis, to usefully apply their framework, and the depth and insight you display in your own assessment of their work

When emailing me your paper, send it both as an attached file *and with the text pasted into the body of the email* (in case I have difficulty with the attachment).

Late papers will suffer as grade deduction as follows: between 15 minutes and 1 hour (3.5%); between 1 hour and 2 hours (5%); between 2 and 24 hours (10%); each additional day follows the same rate of loss (3.5% after the first 15 minutes, up to 10% more each day). Maximum lateness penalty = 50%.

Please double-space all of your papers, and use one inch margins on all sides. Please also use Times New Roman (12 point) as your font.

Plagiarism will not be excused; if in doubt, provide a citation.

#### **Grading**

Class attendance/participation: 20%

Eight response papers: 5% each (40% total)

Final paper proposal and biblio: 5% Final paper: 35%

### **Course Materials:**

Course materials are available via a Dropbox link: www.dropbox.com/sh/uv5gfdp9zt8y369/AAAnGaBX3UipS6QtWOpbiO4va?dl=0

Several books are also available at Broad Street Books and on reserve in the library:

Carole Pateman - The Sexual Contract

Jürgen Habermas - The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere

Carl Schmitt - Political Theology, The Concept of the Political, The Crisis of

Parliamentary Democracy (three books)

Hannah Arendt - On Revolution

Friedrich Hayek - The Road to Serfdom

Michel Foucault - The Birth of Biopolitics

Samuel Moyn - The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History

Didier Fassan - Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present

### **Use of Electronic Devices within the Classroom**

I allow the use of electronic devices only for purposes of taking notes or looking at course materials. Please, no web surfing of any sort (unless requested!).

### **Disability Resources**

I am happy to accommodate concerns regarding disabilities. Wesleyan also asks that the following statement be included in all course syllabi:

Wesleyan University is committed to ensuring that all qualified students with disabilities are afforded an equal opportunity to participate in and benefit from its programs and services. To receive accommodations, a student must have a documented disability as defined by Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the ADA Amendments Act of 2008, and provide documentation of the disability. Since accommodations may require early planning and generally are not provided retroactively, please contact Disability Resources as soon as possible.

If you believe that you need accommodations for a disability, please contact Dean Patey in Disability Resources, located in North College, Room 021, or call 860-685-5581 for an appointment to discuss your needs and the process for requesting accommodations.

#### **Key Dates**

Wednesday, February 1<sup>st</sup>: first response paper due by 6pm (prior to this date is fine) Thursday, March 2<sup>nd</sup>: proposal for final paper due (with annotated bibliography)

March 10<sup>th</sup> through March 27<sup>th</sup>: mid-semester recess

Tuesday, May 9<sup>th</sup>: last day of class

Wednesday, May 17<sup>th</sup>: final paper due by 5pm

### **Schedule and Assigned Readings:**

### **Week 1: Revisiting the Classic Tradition**

Thursday, January 26<sup>th</sup>:

Losurdo, Domenico. 2011. <u>Liberalism: A Counter-History</u>, pp. 1-50, 67-93 (76 pgs)

#### Week 2: Revisiting the Classic Tradition, continued

Tuesday, January 31<sup>st</sup>:

Pateman, Carole. 1988. The Sexual Contract, pp. 1-18, 39-76, 116-53 (94 pgs)

Thursday, February 2<sup>nd</sup>:

Habermas, Jürgen. 1989 [1962]. <u>The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere</u>, pp. 1-5, 14-43, 57-67, 102-40 (83 pgs)

#### Week 3: Carl Schmitt's Anti-Liberalism



Carl Schmitt, 1888-1985

Tuesday, February 7<sup>th</sup>:

Vinx, Lars. 2014. "Carl Schmitt," <u>Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy</u>, pp. 1-4 (3 pgs)

Schmitt, Carl. 2005 [1922]. <u>Political Theology</u>, pp. 5-15, 29-37, 46-52, 59-66 (34 pgs)

Schmitt, Carl. 2007 [1927]. <u>The Concept of the Political</u>, pp. 19-58, 69-79 (51 pgs)

Thursday, February 9<sup>th</sup>:

Schmitt, Carl. 1985 [1923]. <u>The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy</u>, pp. 1-50 (50 pgs)

Agamben, Giorgio. 2005. <u>State of Exception</u>, pp. 1-5, 19-22, 86-7 (9 pgs)

### Week 4: Hannah Arendt, part 1: Totalitarianism / The Political and the Social







Hannah Arendt, 1906-1975

## Tuesday, February 14<sup>th</sup>:

D'Entreves, Maurizio Passerin. 2014. "Hannah Arendt," <u>Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy</u>, pp. 1-4 (3 pgs)

Arendt, Hannah. 1973 [1951]. <u>The Origins of Totalitarianism</u>, pp. 305-26, 460-79 (41 pgs)

Arendt, Hannah. 2006 [1963]. <u>Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil</u>, pp. 3-20, 105-9, 135-8, 148-50, 230-33, 244-52, 267-79 (55 pgs)

## Thursday, February 16<sup>th</sup>:

Arendt, Hannah. 2000 [1958]. "What is Freedom?" <u>The Portable Hannah Arendt</u> (excerpt from <u>Between Past and Future</u>), pp. 438-61 (24 pgs)

Arendt, Hannah. 1984 [1963]. "The Revolutionary Tradition and Its Lost Treasure," in <u>Liberalism and Its Critics</u> (excerpt from <u>On Revolution</u>), pp. 239-63 (22 pgs)

### Week 5: Hannah Arendt, part 2: Public vs. Private / The Right to Have Rights

Tuesday, February 21<sup>st</sup>:

Arendt, Hannah. 2000 [1964]. "Labor, Work, Action," in <u>The Portable Hannah Arendt</u> (excerpt from <u>Amor Mundi</u>), pp. 167-81 (15 pgs)

Arendt, Hannah. 2000 [1958]. "The Public and the Private Realm," in <u>The Portable Hannah Arendt</u> (excerpt from <u>The Human Condition</u>), pp. 182-230 (36 pgs)

Arendt, Hannah. 2000 [1959]. "Reflections on Little Rock," in <u>The Portable Hannah</u> <u>Arendt</u>, pp. 231-46 (16 pgs)

Arendt, Hannah. 2000 [1963]. "The Social Question," in <u>The Portable Hannah Arendt</u> (excerpt from <u>On Revolution</u>), pp. 247-77 (29 pgs)

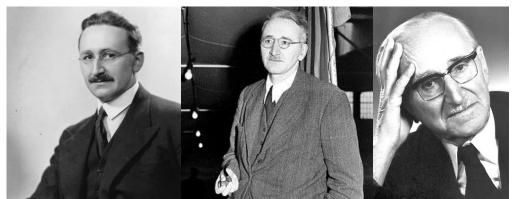
# Thursday, February 23<sup>rd</sup>:

Arendt, Hannah. 1994 [1943]. "We Refugees," in <u>Altogether Elsewhere</u>, pp. 110-9 (10 pgs)

Arendt, Hannah. 1973 [1951]. <u>The Origins of Totalitarianism</u>, pp. 267-302 (36 pgs) Agamben, Giorgio. 2008. "Beyond Human Rights," *Social Engineering*, 15: 90-5 (6 pgs)

Cornelisse, Galina. 2010. "Immigrant Detention and the Territoriality of Universal Rights," in The Deportation Regime, pp. 100-22 (22 pgs)

## Week 6: Friedrich Hayek and the Triumph of Capital Final paper proposal with annotated bibliography due March 2<sup>nd</sup>



Friedrich von Hayek, 1899-1992







Ayn Rand, 1905-1982

## Tuesday, February 28<sup>th</sup>:

Caldwell, Bruce. 2011. "The Life and Times of Friedrich Hayek." (Reprinted from The Heritage Foundation) (2 pgs)

Hayek, Friedrich. 2001 [1944]. <u>The Road to Serfdom</u>, pp. 65-111, 134-170, 210-38 (111 pgs)

## Thursday, March 2<sup>nd</sup>:

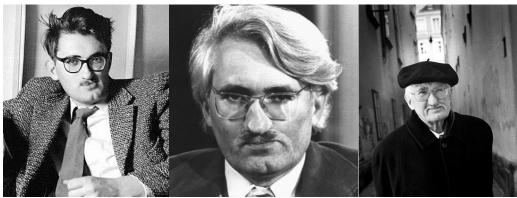
Rand, Ayn. 1999. Excerpts from <u>The Foutainhead</u> and "The Virtue of Selfishness," in The Ayn Rand Reader, pp. 3-17, 70-9, 144-8 (28 pgs)

Duggan, Lisa. 2013. "Optimistic Cruelty," Online publication:

http://socialtextjournal.org/periscope\_article/optimistic-cruelty (2 pgs)

Friedman, Milton. 2002 [1962]. <u>Capitalism and Freedom</u>, pp. 15, 161-176, 190-202 (30 pgs)

### Week 7: Jürgen Habermas and the Public Sphere



Jürgen Habermas, 1929-

## Tuesday, March 7<sup>th</sup>:

Thomassen, Lasse. 2010. <u>Habermas: A Guide for the Perplexed</u>, pp. 5-11 (6 pgs) Habermas, Jürgen. 1989 [1962]. <u>The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere</u>, pp. 141-80, 201-26 (65 pgs)

Habermas, Jürgen. 1973. "What Does a Crisis Mean Today? Legitimation Problems in Late Capitalism," *Social Research*, 40(4): 643-67 (25 pgs)

Habermas, Jürgen. 1986. "The New Obscurity: The Crisis of the Welfare State and the Exhaustion of Utopian Energies," translated by Phillip Jacobs, *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, 11: 1-18 (18 pgs)

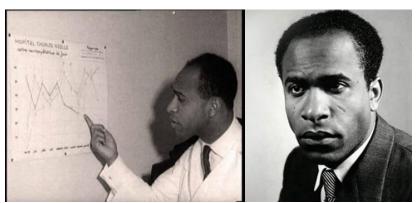
# Thursday, March 9<sup>th</sup>:

Fraser, Nancy. 1990. "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," *Social Text*, 25/26: 56-80 (22 pgs)

Warner, Michael. 2014. "Public/Private," in <u>Critical Terms for the Study of Gender</u>, pp. 358-92 (35 pgs)

#### **Midsemester Recess!**

### Week 8: Frantz Fanon, Decolonialization, and Human Rights



Frantz Fanon, 1925-1961



Lila Abu-Lughod

### Tuesday, March 28<sup>th</sup>:

Harb, Sirène. 2008. "Franz Fanon," in <u>International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences</u>, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, pp. 99-100 (2 pgs)

Fanon, Frantz. 2004 [1961]. <u>The Wretched of the Earth</u>, pp. 1-62, 249-51, 293-6, 311-6 (77 pgs)

Hart, Benji. 2015. "In Support of Baltimore; or, Smashing Police Cars is Logical Political Strategy," in <u>Taking Sides:</u> Revolutionary Solidarity and the Poverty of <u>Liberalism</u>, pp. 129-36 (8 pgs)

Moyn, Samuel. 2010. <u>The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History</u>, pp. 84-119 (36 pgs)

View: *The Battle of Algiers* (available both via YouTube and in our Dropbox folder)

### Thursday, March 30<sup>th</sup>:

Fanon, Frantz. 1969 [1959]. "Algeria Unveiled" (chapter from <u>A Dying Colonialism</u>) in <u>The New Left Reader</u>, pp. 161-85 (25 pgs)

Abu-Lughod, Lila. 2013. Do Muslim Women Need Saving? pp. 143-172 (30 pgs)

### Week 9: Michel Foucault, part 1: Revisioning Power and Freedom





Michel Foucault, 1926-1984

Barbara Cruikshank

## Tuesday, April 4<sup>th</sup>:

Hegburg, Krista. 2008. "Michel Foucault," in <u>International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences</u>, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, pp. 182-3 (1 pg)

Foucault, Michel. 1978. <u>The History of Sexuality, volume 1</u>, pp. 3-35, 92-109, 135-59 (72 pgs)

Kulick, Don, and Deborah Cameron. 2003. "A Nutshell Version of Foucault's Concept of Power," in <u>Language and Sexuality</u>, pp. 112 (1 pg)

Kaye, Kerwin. 2011. "A Distinctly non-Definitive Glossary of Foucauldian Terms" (4 pgs)

# Thursday, April 6<sup>th</sup>:

Cruikshank, Barbara. 1999. <u>The Will to Empower: Democratic Citizens and Other Subjects</u>, pp. 1-70, 104-21 (88 pgs)

Hartman, Saidiya. 1997. <u>Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in</u> Nineteenth-Century America, pp. 115-24 (10 pgs)

#### Week 10: Michel Foucault, part 2: Birth of Biopolitics

Tuesday, April 11<sup>th</sup>:

Foucault, Michel. 2008 [2004]. <u>The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France</u>, pp. 27-100, 117-57 (86 pgs)

Brown, Wendy. 2003. "Neoliberalism and the End of Liberal Democracy," *Theory and Event*, 7(1): 1-3 (3 pgs)

# Thursday, April 13<sup>th</sup>:

Foucault, Michel. 2008 [2004]. <u>The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France</u>, pp. 189-92, 215-325 (93 pgs)

Brown, Wendy. 2015. "The Gender of *Homo Oeconomicus*," in <u>Undoing the Demos</u>, pp. 99-107 (9 pgs)

#### Week 11: Humanitarian Reason



Didier Fassin

Miriam Ticktin

## Tuesday, April 18<sup>th</sup>:

Fassin, Didier. 2012. <u>Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present</u>, pp. 1-82, 161-99, 223-57 (156 pgs)

## Thursday, April 20<sup>th</sup>:

Ticktin, Miriam. 2005. "Policing and Humanitarianism in France: Immigration and the Turn to Law as State of Exception," *interventions*, 7(3): 347-68 (21 pgs)

### Week 12: Human Rights — The Last Utopia?



Samuel Movn



Ali Miller



Inderpal Grewal

## Tuesday, April 25<sup>th</sup>:

Moyn, Samuel. 2010. <u>The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History</u>, pp. 1-83, 158-75, 212-27 (115 pgs)

# Thursday, April 27<sup>th</sup>:

Miller, Alice. 2004. "Sexuality, Violence against Women, and Human Rights: Women Make Demands and Ladies Get Protection," *Health and Human Rights*, 7(2): 16-47 (26 pgs)

Grewal, Inderpal. 2005. "'Women's Rights as Human Rights': The Transnational Production of Global Feminist Subjects," in <u>Transnational America</u>, pp. 121-57 (37 pgs)

### Week 13: Postcolonial Queer Critique





Ileana Rodríguez

Chandan Reddy

Tuesday, May 2<sup>nd</sup>:

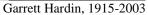
Rodríguez, Ileana. 2009. Liberalism at its Limits, pp. 1-94 (94 pgs)

Thursday, May 4<sup>th</sup>:

Reddy, Chandan. 2011. <u>Freedom with Violence: Race, Sexuality, and the US State, pp. 134-81 (44 pgs)</u>

## Week 14: Liberal Ecology?







John Bellamy Foster

Tuesday, May 9<sup>th</sup>:

Hardin, Garrett. 1968. "The Tragedy of the Commons," *Science*, 162 (13Dec): 1243-8 (5 pgs)

Magdoff, Fred and John Bellamy Foster. 2010. "What Every Environmentalist Needs to Know about Capitalism," 61(10): 1-30 (28 pgs)

Ball, Terence. 2006. "Democracy," in <u>Political Theory and the Ecological Challenge</u>, pp. 131-47 (17 pgs)

Final paper due: Wednesday, May 17<sup>th</sup>, 5pm