

Prof. Jean Cohen
Office: 729 IAB
Office Hours:
Class meets in: Room 413 IAB

Spring 2013
POLS G4610
Monday 4-5 or by appt.
Tuesday, 2:10-4:00 pm

Contemporary Continental Political Thought

This course will compare and contrast theories of secularization, legitimacy, the autonomy of the political, democracy and political theology in the works of the following key continental political theorists: Hannah Arendt, Ludwig Feuerbach, Jurgen Habermas, Hans Kelsen, Claude Lefort, Karl Marx, Pierre Rosanvallon, Carl Schmitt, and Max Weber.

Books Ordered at Book Culture

Hannah Arendt, On Revolution
Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato, Civil Society and Political Theory
Ludwig Feuerbach, The Essence of Christianity
Jurgen Habermas, Legitimation Crisis,
Jurgen Habermas, Between Naturalism and Religion
Jurgen Habermas, Between Facts and Norms
Gerth and Mills, eds. From Max Weber
Carl Schmitt, The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy; Political Theology; Political Theology II
Pierre Rosanvallon, Democratic Legitimacy: Impartiality, Reflexivity, Proximity
Tucker, ed., The Marx-Engels Reader
Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion

Books on reserve at Lehman Library

Arendt, On Revolution
Arendt, Between Past and Future
Hans Blumenberg, Legitimacy of the Modern Age
Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato, Civil Society and Political Theory
Ludwig Feuerbach, The Essence of Christianity
Habermas, Legitimation Crisis; Between Facts and Norms,

Jurgen Habermas and Joseph Ratzinger, The Dialectics of Secularization

E. Mendieta and VanAntwerpen, The Power of Religion in the Public Sphere: Butler, Habermas, Taylor, West

Claude Lefort, Democracy and Political Theory

Gerth and Mills, eds, From Max Weber

Carl Schmitt, Political Theology

Carl Schmitt, Roman Catholicism and Political Form

Carl Schmitt, The Concept of the Political

Carl Schmitt: The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy

Pierre Rosanvallon, Democratic Legitimacy

Tucker, Ed., The Marx/Engels Reader

Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion; The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, Economy and Society Volumes 1 and 2

Requirements

Students are required to attend class, do the readings for each session and participate in discussion. Graduate students will do a term paper (no more than 15 pages) and undergraduates will do a midterm and a final exam (take home) due the last day of class. I will also expect in-class presentations by those willing to volunteer.

Syllabus

Jan. 22 Introduction to Course

**The Critique of Religion, Secularization and Autonomy of the Political:
The Classics**

2. Jan 29 The Inversion Critique

*Ludwig Feuerbach, The Essence of Christianity, (pp. 1-58,170-184,197-211, 247-278)

*Karl Marx, "On the Jewish Question" (pp.26-52); "Contribution to a Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right: Introduction, (pp. 53-65) in Tucker, ed., The Marx/Engels Reader

Recommended

Jean L. Cohen, Class and Civil Society: The Limits of Marxian Critical Theory (U. of Mass. Press, 1982)

3. Feb 5 The Sociology of Religion

*Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion, pp. 1-150, 207-222

Recommended

* Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism

4. Feb. 12 Typology of Legitimation

Max Weber, "Politics as a Vocation"; in Gerth and Mills, eds., From Max Weber

*Weber, "Types of legitimate Domination", Economy and Society, Vol. I, pp. 212-254;

*Weber, "The Transformation of Charisma in a Democratic Direction," 266-271, *Weber, Economy and Society, Vol. I;

*Weber, "The Nature and Legitimacy of Territorial Political Organizations", pp. 901-910; "Charisma and its transformations", pp. 1111-1130, 1139-1141, 1148-1156, Economy and Society, Volume II

Recommended

*Jean L. Cohen, "Max Weber and the Dynamics of Domination, Telos, (No. 14, Winter, 1972), pp. 63-86

*John Patrick Diggins, Max Weber: Politics and the Spirit of Tragedy

*Jurgen Habermas, The Theory of Communicative Action, Vol. 1

*Andreas Kalyvas, Max Weber, Carl Schmitt and Hannah Arendt, Democracy and the Politics of the Extraordinary, 29-78

* Duncan Kelly, The State of the Political: Conceptions of Politics and the State in the Thought of Max Weber, Carl Schmitt and Franz Neumann (OUP)

*W. Schluchter, The Rise of Western Rationalism

The Revival of Political Theology: Early 20th c Debates

5-6. Feb19-26 Political Theology a la Carl Schmitt

*Carl Schmitt, The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy, Political Theology, Roman Catholicism and Political Form, pp.3-39 (on courseworks); Political Theology II

Recommended

*Jean L. Cohen and Andrew Arato, ‘The Historicist Critique: Carl Schmitt, *Reinhardt Koselleck and Jurgen Habermas’ in Civil Society and Political Theory

*Ernst-Wolfgang Bockenforde, “The Concept of the Political: A Key to Understanding Carl Schmitt’s Constitutional Theory” in David Dyzenhaus (ed.) Law and Politics: Carl Schmitt’s Critique of Liberalism” Durham: Duke UP 1998 37-55.

*Giovanni Sartori, “The Essence of the Political in Carl Schmitt” in Journal of Theoretical Politics (1989) 63-75.

*David Dyzenhaus, “Friend and Enemy: Schmitt and the Politics of Law” in Legality and Legitimacy: Carl Schmitt, Hans Kelsen and Hermann Heller in Weimar. Ch. 2.

7. Mar 5 A Critique of and Kelsen’s Alternative to Schmitt

*Hans Blumenberg, “Political Theology I and II” in The Legitimacy of the Modern Age, pp. 89-102 (on courseworks)

*Hans Kelsen, On the Essence and Value of Democracy (on courseworks)

Democratic Legitimacy and Popular Sovereignty as Procedure

8-9. Mar 12 & 26 Procedural Democracy, Legitimacy and Popular Sovereignty

No class on March 19: Spring Recess

*Jurgen Habermas Legitimation Crisis

*Jurgen Habermas, “Transcendence”, pp. 67-91 in Eduardo Mendieta, ed., Religion and Rationality and Introduction, by Mendieta in Ibid, pp. 11-28 (on courseworks)

*Jurgen Habermas, Between Facts and Norms, chapters 3, 8, and Appendix I. “Popular Sovereignty as Procedure”;

*Jurgen Habermas, “Three Normative Models of Democracy”, “On the Internal Relation between the Rule of law and Democracy” in The Inclusion of the Other, pp. 239-264 (on courseworks)

Recommended:

*Rainer Forst, “The Rule of Reasons: Three Models of Deliberative Democracy”, in Ratio Juris

*Cohen and Arato, Civil Society and Political Theory, chapter 4, pp. 178-200, chapters 8, 9

*Thomas McCarthy, “Legitimacy and Diversity: Dialectical Reflections on Analytical Distinctions”

Revisions and Debates

10. April 2 Post-Secularism

*Ernst Bockenforde, “The Rise of the State as a Process of Secularization” in Bockenforde, State Society and Liberty, pp.26-46 (on courseworks)

*Habermas, “Pre-political Foundations of the Constitutional State?” and “Religion in the Public Sphere” in Habermas, Between Naturalism and Religion, 101-147

*Richard Bernstein, “Naturalism, Secularism and Religion: Habermas’ Via Media” Constellations, (17/1 March 2010), pp. 155-167 (on courseworks)

Recommended

*Christina Lafont, “Religion and the Public Sphere” (courseworks) Philosophy and Social Criticism 2009 35:127

*Nadia Urbinati, “Laicite in Reverse: Mono-Religious Democracies and the Issue of Religion in the Public Square”, Constellations (17/1 March 2010), pp. 4-21.

Alternative Conceptions of Democracy, the Autonomy of the Political and Political Theology

11–12. April 9-16 Republican Democracy?

*Hannah Arendt On Revolution (selections)

* Samuel Moyn, *Sam Moyn, “Hannah Arendt on the Secular” (105 vol. 35, no. 3 Fall 200) 71-96 (on courseworks)

Recommended

*Hannah Arendt, “What is Authority?” and “What is Freedom?” in Between Past and Future, pp. 91-143.

*Andrew Arato, “Forms of Constitution-Making and Theories of Democracy” in Arato, Civil Society, Constitution, and Legitimacy, (Rowman & Littlefield) 2000 pp.229-256

*Seyla Benhabib, “Models of Public Space: Hannah Arendt, The liberal Tradition and Jurgen Habermas in Calhoun, ed., Habermas and the Public Sphere

*Hauke Brunkhorst, “Equality and Elitism in Arendt” in The Cambridge Companion to Hannah Arendt, Chapter 9, pp.178-200

*Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato, “The Normative Critique: Hannah Arendt” in Civil Society and Political Theory

*Jeremy Waldron, “Arendt’s Constitutional Politics” in Villa, ed., The Cambridge Companion to Hannah Arendt, pp. 192-209

13. April 23 Democracy and the Empty Place of Power

*Claude Lefort; “The Question of Democracy” in Democracy and Political Theory, pp.9-20, “The Permanence of the Theologico- Political?” in Democracy and Political Theory, pp. 213-255 (on courseworks)

*Andrew Arato, “The Return of Political Theology” (on courseworks)

Recommended

* essays by Rosanvallon, Flynn Arato, Breckman and Moyn in “Claude Lefort: An Intellectual and Political Memorial” Special section of Constellations 19/1 March 2012

*Stefan Rummens, “Deliberation interrupted: Confronting Jurgen Habermas with Claude Lefort,” Philosophy and Social Criticism(34/4 may 2008) pp. 383-309

*Bernard Flynn, The Philosophy of Claude Lefort

14. April 30th The Conundrums of Democratic Legitimacy

*Pierre Rosanvallon, Democratic Legitimacy: Impartiality, Reflexivity, Proximity (selections)