Department of Politics, Goldsmiths, University of London

Beyond All Reason PO53011B

Level 3, .5 CU. Autumn Term 2007-08

Convenor: James Martin Lecture: Thursday 2-3, RHB 137A

Tutors: James Martin Seminar: Thursday 3-4, RHB 355

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Office Hours Thurs 10-12noon (Autumn)

Course Outline

Politics is often conceived as the attempt to rationally control our collective life. Yet so much of human existence seems utterly irrational: intercommunal violence and civil conflict, genocide, social inequality and environmental degradation. For all its hopes of a rational politics, modern life since the Enlightenment has often seemed to be *beyond* all reason. But can politics be rethought to embrace the limits of rationality, to face up to the horrors of human destructiveness? If so, can it avoid succumbing to irrationality? How then might we cope with the possibility of enmity and violence? This course surveys efforts to conceptualise the political and its relationship to Reason and unreason from Emmanuel Kant to Hannah Arendt. It examines classic ideas of freedom and community, power and critique, asking how we might conceive of political life without recourse to 'rational foundations'.

Aims

The Aims of the course are to:

- survey a range of key political philosophies from Kant to Arendt
- reflect on debates over the meaning of 'the political' and its relationship to ideas of Reason
- examine concepts such as freedom and community, power and critique and their enduring significance for contemporary political life

Outcomes

By the end of the course, students will be able to:

- demonstrate in speech and writing critical knowledge and understanding of key political philosophers from Kant to Arendt
- communicate in writing debates over the meaning of 'the political' and its relationship to Reason
- discuss and evaluate concepts such as freedom and community, power and critique and their enduring significance for contemporary political life

Assessment

One essay of four thousand words answering one question from a list provided at the end of this course-guide. The essay counts for 100% of your overall mark. The deadline for this essay, as with all autumn term third year half-units without exams, will be in the first week of the spring term – see the departmental handbook for details.

Course Web Site

There is a web site dedicated to this course on the College 'Virtual Learning Environment', learn.gold. Please enrol on the site in order to receive any mailings about the course and to download handouts or make use of helpful web links.

Reading

The essential course text is:

 T. Carver and J. Martin (Eds), <u>Palgrave Advances in Continental Political Thought</u>. Palgrave, 2006

An alternative, worth considering, is:

• R. Simons (ed), <u>From Kant to Levi-Strauss: The Background to Contemporary Critical Theory.</u> Edinburgh University Press, 2002.

Lecture Outline

- 1. Politics and Reason: the Enlightenment (4 Oct 2007)
- 2. Getting critical: Immanuel Kant (11 Oct 2007)
- 3. Accentuate the negative: G.W.F. Hegel I (18 Oct 2007)
- 4. Freedom ... within reason: G.W.F. Hegel II (25 Oct 2007)
- 5. Working for a hard living: Karl Marx I (tba Nov 2007)
- 6. Put your money where your mouth is: Karl Marx II (15 Nov 2007)
- 7. Up up ... and away: Friedrich Nietzsche (22 Nov 2007)
- 8. A question of being: Martin Heidegger (29 Nov 2007)
- 9. Decision time: Carl Schmitt (6 Dec 2007)
- 10. Return to the classics: Hannah Arendt (13 Dec 2007)

Seminars

Seminars are the best way for you to work out, as you go along, whether you understand what you have been reading and hearing in lectures. You need to prepare by reading the available materials and by coming to the class with any questions about issues that need to be resolved.

You will be expected to have read at least one item by the thinker from the reading list plus the relevant chapter from the <u>Continental Political Thought</u> book prior to attending the seminar. This is the only way you can turn up to the class informed of the discussion and able to participate.

The aim of the seminar is to clarify the theoretical issues raised in relation to the thinkers and to establish the practical relevance of their ideas.

- 1. Kant and the Critique of the Elightenment (11 Oct 2007)
- 2. Hegel: Reason as an historical phenomenon (25 Oct 2007)
- 3. Marx: Capitalism as metaphysics (15 Nov 2007)

- 4. Nietzsche and Heidegger: Overcoming metaphysics (22 Nov 2007)
- 5. Schmitt and Arendt: Totalitarianism (6 Dec 2007)

Readings

The following is an indicative reading list only. Please look in the College library and in the UoL Library for other items of relevance. Prior to the seminar, please read at least one of the thinker's own works plus the relevant chapter from the <u>Continental Political Thought</u> book, where possible. Items marked with a star (*) are available only in the UoL library.

The Enlightenment

Besier, Enlightenment, Revolution and Romanticism.

Hyland et al (eds), The Enlightenment: a source book and reader

Israel, Radical Enlightenment

Kant, 'An Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment?' (1784) in Kant, Political Writings (1991)

Kramnick (ed), The Enlightenment Reader

Munck, The Enlightenment

Porter, The Enlightenment

Immanuel Kant

Kant <u>Critique of Pure Reason</u> (1781/1787), trans. Guyer and Wood, 'Preface' and 'Introduction' (A and B)

'An Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment?' (1784) in Kant, Political Writings (1991)

'On the Common Saying "This May be True in Theory But it does not apply in practice" (1793) in Kant, Political Writings (1991)

Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals (1785), trans. Gregor. (1997)

Williams, Howard, 'Immanuel Kant', ch. 2 of Carver and Martin (eds), <u>Palgrave Advances in Continental</u> Political Thought.

Acton, Kant's Moral Philosophy

Allison, Idealism and Freedom: Essays on Kant's Theoretical and Practical Philosophy

Beiner and Booth (eds), Kant and Political Philosophy: the Contemporary Legacy

Beiser, The Fate of Reason: German Philosophy from Kant to Fichte

Bohman and Lutz-Bachmann, Perpetual Peace: Essays on Kant's cosmopolitan Idea

Bowie, Introduction to German philosophy

Caygill, A Kant Dictionary

Critchley, Continental Philosophy: A Very Short Introduction

Gardner, Routledge Philosophy Guidebook to Kant and the Critique of Pure Reason

Guyer (ed), The Cambridge Companion to Kant

Guyer, Kant and the Experience of Freedom

Mulhall, Liberals and Communitarians

Rawls, A Theory of Justice

Rawls, Political Liberalism

Riley, Will and Political Legitimacy

Ross and McWalter (eds), Kant and His Influence

Seidler, Kant, Respect and Injustice: the Limits of Liberal Moral Theory

Walsh, Kant's Criticism of Metaphysics

James, 'Kant and Hegel on the Right of Rebellion', <u>History of Political Thought</u>, vol. 27, no. 2 (2006): 331-48

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel

Hegel <u>Lectures on the Philosophy of World History</u> (1830), Introduction.

<u>Phenomenology of Spirit</u> (1807), trans. Miller (1977), Section B, Ch. 4 A 'Independence and Dependence of Self-Consciousness: Lordship and Bondage'.

The Science of Logic (1812), trans. Miller (1969), 'Introduction' and Ch. 1 'Being'.

Elements of the Philosophy of Right (1821), ed. Wood (1991), 'Preface'; Section 2, 'Civil Society', §§ 182-208; Section 3, 'The State', §§ 257-9.

Burns, Anthony, 'G.W.F Hegel', ch. 3 of Carver and Martin (eds), <u>Palgrave Advances in Continental</u> Political Thought.

Avineri, Hegel's Theory of the Modern State

Beiser (ed), The Cambridge Companion to Hegel

Beiser, <u>Hegel</u>

Browning (ed), Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit

Browning, <u>Hegel and the History of Political Philosophy</u>

Cristi, Hegel on Freedom and Authority

Dallmyr, GWF Hegel: Modernity and Politics

Decker, 'Right and Recognition: Criminal Action and Intersubjectivity in Hegel's early Ethics', <u>History of Political Thought</u>, vol. 22, no. 2 (2001): 300-316.

Houlgate, An Introduction to Hegel

Hutchings, Hegel and Feminist Philosophy

Inwood, Hegel

Kierans, 'The Concept of Ethical Life in Hegel's Philosophy of Right', <u>History of Political Thought</u>, vol. 13, no. 3 (1992): 417-35.

Knowles, Hegel and the Philosophy of Right

McCarney, Hegel on History

Pelczynski (ed) Hegel's Political Philosophy

Plant, Hegel

Riedel, Between Tradition and Revolution: the Hegelian Transformation of Political Philosophy.

Sembou, 'Hegel's idea of a Struggle for Recognition: the Phenomenology of Spirit', <u>History of Political Thought</u>, vol. 24, no. 2 (2003): 262-81.

Shklar, Freedom and Independence

Stern, Hegel and the "Phenomenology of Spirit"

Stewart (ed), The Phenomenology of Spirit Reader

Taylor, <u>Hegel and Modern Society</u>

Karl Marx

Marx 'Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right' (1843), in McLellan (ed). Karl Marx Selected Writings.

'On the Jewish Question' (1844), in Karl Marx Selected Writings.

Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, in McLellan (ed). Karl Marx Selected Writings.

'Preface' to <u>A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy</u> (1859), in McLellan (ed). <u>Karl Marx Selected Writings</u>.

Capital, vol. 1, Ch. 1.

[See also these items in the multi-volume Marx-Engels: Collected Works]

Macdonald, Bradley J, 'Karl Marx', ch. 4 of Carver and Martin (eds), <u>Palgrave Advances in Continental Political Thought</u>.

Avinieri, The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx.

Balibar, The Philosophy of Marx.

Ball and farr (eds), After Marx.

Callinicos, Marxism and Philosophy.

Carver (ed), The Cambridge Companion to Marx

Carver, Marx and Engels.

Carver, Marx's Social Theory.

Carver, The Post-Modern Marx.

Cowling and Martin (eds), <u>Marx's Eighteenth Brumaire</u>: (Post) <u>Modern Interpretations</u>.

Fine, Marx's Capital.

Geras, Marx and Human Nature.

Larrain, Marxism and Ideology.

Levin, Marx, Engels and Liberal Democracy.

Lukes, Marxism and Morality.

Maguire, Marx's Theory of Politics.

McLellan, The Thought of Karl Marx.

Neocleous, 'The Political Economy of the Dead Marx's Vampires', History of Political Thought, vol. 24, no. 4 (2003): 668-84.

Pierson, Marxist Theory and Democratic Politics.

Sayer, Capitalism and Modernity.

Thomas, Alien Politics.

Wilde, Marx and Contradiction.

Friedrich Nietzsche

Nietzsche Beyond Good and Evil (1886), esp 'Part Nine: What is Noble?'

> On the Genealogy of Morals (1887), esp. 'First Essay: "Good and Evil", "Good and Bad"

The Anti-Christ (1888)

Twighlight of the Idols (1889), esp 'How the "Real World" at Last Became a Myth'

Babst, Gordon A., 'Friedrich Nietzsche', ch. 5 of Carver and Martin (eds), Palgrave Advances in Continental Political Thought.

Ansell-Pearson, An Introduction to Nietzsche as a Political Thinker.

Cate, Friedrich Nietzsche.

Coole, 'The Politics of reading Nietzsche', Political Studies vol. 46, no. 2 (1998): 348-63.

Donaldson, 'Hierarchy and Ontological Dualism: Rethinking Gilles Deleuze's Nietzsche for Political Philosophy', History of Political Thought, vol. 23, no. 4 (2002): 654-69.

Hales, Nietzsche's Perspectivism.

Kofman, Nietzsche and Metaphor.

Magnus and Higgins (eds), The Cambridge Companion to Nietzsche.

Owen, Maturity and Modernity.

Patten, Nietzsche, Feminism and Political Theory.

Robinson, Nietzsche and Postmodernism.

Thiele, Nietzsche and the Politics of the Soul.

Martin Heidegger

Heidegger <u>Being and Time</u> (1927) trans. Macquarrie & Robinson, Blackwell (1962): §§ 1-4

(introduction), §§ 25 - 27 (chapter 4), §§ 46 – 54 (Division II, chapter 2)

'Letter on Humanism' in Basic writings

What is philosophy? (1955)

The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays, trans. William Lovitt., 1977

Wingenbach, Edward, 'Martin Heidegger', ch. 6 of Carver and Martin (eds), <u>Palgrave Advances in</u> Continental Political Thought.

Beistegui, Heidegger and the Political – Dystopias,

Caputo, Demythologizing Heidegger

De Bestegui, The New Heidegger

Derrida, Of Spirit - Heidegger and the Question

Habermas and McCumber. "Work and Weltanschauung: The Heidegger Controversy from a German Perspective" <u>Critical Inquiry</u> Vol. 15, no. 2 (1989): pp. 431-56

Hatab, Ethics and Finitude: Heideggerian Contributions to Moral Philosophy

Mulhall, Heidegger and "Being and Time"

Pattison, The Later Heidegger

Polt, A Companion to Heidegger's "Introduction to Metaphysics",

Rabinbac, 'Heidegger's Letter on Humanism as Text and Event', New German Critique 62 (Spring - Summer, 1994): 3-38

Ryle, Gilbert. 'Sein Und Zeit', Mind 38, no. 151 (1929): 355-70

Stewart, 'The Doubtful Polis: The Question of Politics in Heidegger's *Being and Time*', <u>History of Political Thought</u>, vol. 23, no. 4 (2002): 670-86.

Wolin (ed), The Heidegger Controversy: a critical reader

Young, Heidegger, Philosophy, Nazism

See also http://del.icio.us/heidegger

Carl Schmitt

Schmitt The Concept of the Political

The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy

Cristi, Renato, 'Carl Schmitt', ch. 8 of Carver and Martin (eds), <u>Palgrave Advances in Continental</u> Political Thought.

Balakrishnan, The Enemy: An Intellectual Portrait of Carl Schmitt.

Cristi, 'Carl Schmitt on Liberalism, Democracy and Catholicism', <u>History of Political Thought</u>, vol. 14, no. 2 (1993): 281-300.

Cristi, Carl Schmitt and Authoritarian Liberalism (1998)

Kelly, The State of the Political.

McCormick, Carl Schmitt's Critique of Liberalism.

Mouffe (ed) The Challenge of Carl Schmitt.

Rasch, 'Conflict as a Vocation: Carl Schmitt and the Possibility of Politics', <u>Theory, Culture and Society</u>, vol. 17, no. 6 (2000).

Scheuerman, 'Legal Indeterminacy and the Origins of Nazi Legal Thought: the Case of Carl Schmitt', History of Political Thought, vol. 17, no. 4 (1996): 571-90.

Scheuerman, 'The Rule of Law Under Siege: Carl Schmitt and the Death of the Weimar Republic', History of Political Thought, vol. 14, no. 2 (1993): 265-80.

Slomp, 'The Theory of the Partisan; Carl Schmitt's Neglected Legacy', <u>History of Political Thought</u>, vol. 26, no. 3 (2005): 502-19.

Hannah Arendt

Arendt 'What is Freedom?' (1960), in The Portable Hannah Arendt, ed Baehr (2000)

<u>The Human Condition</u>, 'Prologue'; Ch. 2 'The Public and the Private Realm'; Ch. 6 'The Vita Activa and the Modern Age'.

'Total Domination' in <u>The Origins of Totalitarianism</u> (1951); also in <u>The Portable Hannah Arendt</u>, ed Baehr (2000)

Tsao, Roy, T. 'Hannah Arendt', ch. 11 of Carver and Martin (eds), <u>Palgrave Advances in Continental Political Thought</u>.

Bergen, The Banality of Evil.

Canovan, Hannah Arendt: A Reinterpretation of Her Political Thought.

Fine, Political Investigations: Hegel, Marx, Arendt.

Hill (ed), Hannah Arendt: The Recovery of the Public World.

Honig (ed), Feminist Interpretations of Hannah Arendt

Schaap, 'Guilty Subjects and Political Responsibility: Arendt, Jaspers and the Resonance of the German Question in Politics of Reconciliation', <u>Political Studies</u> vol. 49, no. 4 (2001): 749-66.

Villa (ed), The Cambridge Companion to Hannah Arendt.

Villa, Politics, Philosophy, Terror: Essays on the Thought of Hannah Arendt.

Williams, 'Love and Responsibility: A Political Ethic for Hannah Arendt', <u>Political Studies</u> vol. 46, no. 5 (1997): 937-50.

Assessment

One assessed essay of 4 thousand words. The essay counts for 100% of your overall mark.

The essay tests, in part, all the outcomes indicated at the start of this guide.

Essays must be submitted with the following format:

- Include your student number BUT NOT your name
- Use a word processor to type it: use Times New Roman or Arial font, no larger than 12 pt, black
- Double-space your lines
- Add a full bibliography of all textual sources at the end, in alphabetical order
- Use a recognised referencing system (ie either footnotes or Harvard style): be consistent
- Spell check before you submit it; read it through, too

You may submit an outline of your chapter to your tutor in advance of the submission date and arrange to discuss your proposed argument. Drafts will <u>not</u> be read.

The essay must answer one question from the list, below:

- 1. Did Kant successfully overcome the theoretical problems associated with the Enlightenment?
- 2. Are Hegel's views on the state consistent with his philosophy?
- 3. Is Marx's work an extension or a departure from Hegel's philosophy?
- 4. In what sense(s), according to Marx, is ideology necessary to the functioning of capitalism?
- 5. Can we have freedom without Reason? Discuss in relation to Hegel **OR** Nietzsche **OR** Heidegger.
- 6. Does Nietzsche offer a libertarian or an authoritarian style of politics? Explain your answer.
- 7. Does Heidegger's 'fundamental ontology' offer an acceptable view of how to live without metaphysics?
- 8. Evaluate the contemporary relevance of Schmitt's conception of 'the political'?
- 9. Assess Arendt's appeal to a Greek model of political life.