

POSC 359

Cosmopolitanism

Winter 2012

Class Hours: TTH 1:15-3:00

Classroom: Willis 211

Professor: Mihaela Czobor-Lupp

Office: Willis 418

Office Hours: TUESDAY, 3:30-6:00 and WEDNESDAY, 4:00-6:00

Course Description

In the 18th century, Immanuel Kant, an important representative of the Enlightenment, argued in favor of a cosmopolitanism order. This was meant to guarantee eternal peace, namely, the perpetual elimination of war in the relationships among states. An important element, Kant argued, of cosmopolitan law is the right to hospitality. In the 20th century, as a witness to the horrors of totalitarianism, Hannah Arendt criticized the nation-state form not being able to guarantee their human rights to minorities and refugees. Arendt argued that, the main reason for such a failure was that the moment the notion of human rights was created in the 18th century it was reduced to the rights of the citizen. Humanity was reduced to one's belonging to a people. This raises the issue of what happens when citizenship is taken away from the people. Do they cease to be human? Who is to guarantee their rights as human beings? Can we speak of humanity or this is just "nonsense on stilts"? This course is going to address some of these questions and puzzles. In view of this we will take the following steps.

First, we will critically discuss Kant's view of cosmopolitanism. We will also read Sankar Muthu's interpretation of Kant's view of cosmopolitanism, who argues that this is different from (European/Western) imperialism. We will also read Benhabib's and Habermas' interpretations of Kant's cosmopolitanism. The intention will be to pave the way, through interpretations of Kant's philosophy, to ways in which discourse ethics argues for the construction of post-national forms of solidarity and for cosmopolitanism.

Second, before, we move to a discussion of Benhabib's and Habermas' arguments for cosmopolitanism, we will learn about Arendt's argument about the right to have rights. This is important, because it will help us to better see the complexities and the dilemmas that characterize arguments for human rights. Arendt sees the right to have rights as the fundamental right that any human being is entitled to in virtue of the fact of simply being human. She defines this as the right to have a place in the world, to belong to a political community, where one's opinions and speech are meaningful and one's actions can make a difference, where one's human dignity is recognized. However, it is not at all clear how such a right would be guaranteed. As Benhabib argues, this entails that Arendt's moral universalism needs to be doubled by a legal universalism.

Third, we will explore Habermas' argument for constitutional patriotism. This refers to the creation of solidarity among strangers from their attachment to the making of a constitution, which Habermas discusses mostly in the context of the European Union. One fundamental communitarian criticism of Habermas' constitutional patriotism is that this provides too thin of an identity as the ground for common citizenship. Only a *common culture*, which is provided by reflective imagination and forms of fictionalization and myth that are open to discussion and debate, would be able to create solidarity among strangers thus supporting their patriotic attachment to a constitution.

Fourth, in the attempt to answer such communitarian criticisms, will discuss Seyla Benhabib's view of cosmopolitan federalism. Benhabib assumes that there is a strong connection between culture and politics and that culture and imagination can play an important role in the creation of cosmopolitanism. This would be the result of a complex cultural dialogue through which people negotiate and renegotiate their identities and values. One important assumption that Benhabib makes in her argument for cosmopolitanism is the contemporary disaggregation of citizenship. This refers to the fact that people "develop and sustain multiple allegiances and networks across nation-state boundaries." Migration plays an essential role in making such citizenship possible. This suggests that one important aspect of post-national forms of democratic solidarity refers to the cultural and political role of foreigners in contemporary societies.

Fifth, we will end the course with an exploration of the different roles that foreigners play in contemporary democratic societies, as well as their contribution to the coming into being of what Bonnie Honig calls democratic cosmopolitanism. We will wrap up the class with a discussion of the role of foreigners in American democracy.

Course objectives

1. To understand why cosmopolitanism is an issue at all in the contemporary world.
2. **To explore and understand different arguments for cosmopolitanism, such as**, Kant's argument for cosmopolitanism, Habermas' argument for constitutional patriotism and European citizenship, Benhabib's argument for cosmopolitan federalism, and Honig's argument for democratic cosmopolitanism;
3. To understand **the role that culture** can play in the coming into being of cosmopolitan forms of identity;
4. To understand the role of **migration and foreigners** in the contemporary development of post-national forms of democracy;

Achieving Course Objectives:

We will learn about different types of cosmopolitanism and about different ways of arguing in favor of post-national forms of democracy by reading the following books:

1. Immanuel Kant, *Political Writings*, translated by H.B. Nisbet, Cambridge University Press, 2000, ISBN: 9780521398374
2. Seyla Benhabib, *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents, and Citizens*, Cambridge University Press, 2004, ISBN: 9780521538602
3. Jacques Derrida, *Of Hospitality*, Stanford University Press, 2000, ISBN: 100804734062
4. Julia Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, Columbia University Press, 1991, ISBN: 0231071574
5. Bonnie Honig, *Democracy and the Foreigner*, Princeton University Press, 2001, ISBN: 0691114765

We will also watch two movies: *Inch'Allah Dimanche* (Screenings on January 29 and 30) and *Strictly Ballroom* (Screening on February 26 and 27), and read fragments from a novel by the Turkish writer, Orhan Pamuk, *Istanbul: Memories and the City*

Course Requirements:

1. **One research paper (90%)** (The paper should identify and address a puzzle related to the topic of the course - cosmopolitanism, foreigners and democracy, migration, refugees, human rights, nationalism, (cosmopolitan) culture and politics. It should also engage secondary literature.)
 - (i) **A two-paragraph proposal that you will discuss in advance with me (10%), due January 19**
 - (ii) **First draft of the paper (8-9 pages) (15%), due February 7.**
 - (iii) **One in-class presentation of your work-in-progress (15%) on February 9 and 14. Each presentation should be no more than 10 minutes and you should be prepared to defend your argument and to answer questions from the audience for about 5 minutes.**
 - (iv) **Second draft of the paper (15-16 pages) (20 %), due February 28.**
 - (v) **Final version of the paper (30%), due March 9 (by 5 PM). Please, leave a hard copy in the box, outside my office.**
2. **Class participation (10%).**

What is Expected from the Students?

Students will be expected to read, think, form arguments and counter-arguments, understand the fundamental concepts, and participate (in a critical and creative manner) in class discussion. That means that students must keep up in their reading assignments and attend class regularly. Students must be fully prepared *at all times* to discuss the arguments and concepts from the previous readings. The best students will be knowledgeable, critical but balanced in their critical assessments, and will develop coherent and sound arguments that they can defend in their essays, in their exams, and in class discussion.

Academic dishonesty:

"All assignments, quizzes, and exams must be done on your own. Note that academic dishonesty includes not only cheating, fabrication, and plagiarism, but also includes helping other students commit acts of academic dishonesty by allowing them to obtain copies of your work. You are allowed to use the Web for reference purposes, but you may not copy material from any website or any other source without proper citations. In short, all submitted work must be your own.

Cases of academic dishonesty will be dealt with strictly. Each such case will be referred to the Academic Standing Committee via the Associate Dean of Students or the Associate Dean of the College. A formal finding of responsibility can result in disciplinary sanctions ranging from a censure and a warning to permanent dismissal in the case of repeated and serious offenses.

The academic penalty for a finding of responsibility can range from a grade of zero in the specific assignment to an F in this course.

SCHEDULE OF CLASSES AND READINGS:

January 5: Course Overview and Introduction

Reading: Immanuel Kant, *Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose* in *Political Writings*

January 10: Kant on Cosmopolitanism

Reading: Immanuel Kant, *Eternal Peace* in *Political Writings* and Sankar Muthu, *Humanity and Culture in Kant's Politics* (e-reserve)

January 12: *Cosmopolitanism or Imperialism?*

Reading: Sankar Muthu, *Kant's Anti-Imperialism: Cultural Agency and Cosmopolitan Right and Pluralism, Humanity, and Empire in Herder's Political Thought*

Suggested Reading: Johann Gottfried Herder, *This Too a Philosophy of History for the Formation of Humanity* (e-reserve)

January 17: *Contemporary interpretations of Kant's Cosmopolitanism*

Reading: Seyla Benhabib, *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents, Citizens*, Chapter 1 and Jürgen Habermas, *Kant's Idea of Perpetual Peace: At Two Hundred Years' Historical Remove* (e-reserve)

January 19: *The right to have rights*

Reading: Hannah Arendt, *The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man* (e-reserve) and Seyla Benhabib, *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents, Citizens*, Chapter 2

January 24: *Habermas on Post-National Forms of Democracy*

Reading: *The Postnational Constellation and the Future of Democracy* and *Euroskepticism, Market Europe, or a Europe of (World) Citizens*

Suggested Reading: Gerard Delanty, *The Idea of Cosmopolitan Europe: On the Cultural Significance of Europeanization* and Jennifer Mitzen, *Reading Habermas in Anarchy: Multilateral Diplomacy and Global Public Spheres*

January 26: *Habermas on the European Union and European Citizenship*

Habermas, *The European Nation-State: On the Past and Future of Sovereignty and Citizenship* and Benhabib, *The Claims of Culture*, Chapter One (e-reserve)

January 31: *Culture and Politics*

Reading: Benhabib, *The Claims of Culture*, Chapters Two and Three, and Orhan Pamuk, *Istanbul: Memories and the City* (selections) (e-reserve)

February 2: *The Transformation of Citizenship*

Reading: Benhabib, *The Claims of Culture*, Chapter 5 (e-reserve) and *The Rights of Others*, Chapter 4

February 7: Disaggregated Citizenship and Cosmopolitan Federalism
Reading: Benhabib, *The Rights of Others*, Chapter 5 and Conclusions

February 9: Presentation of student projects for papers

February 14: Presentation of student projects for papers

February 17: The Foreigner Question
Reading: Jacques Derrida, *Of Hospitality*, pages 3-75

February 21: Hospitality and Foreigners
Reading: Derrida, *Of Hospitality*, pages 75-157 and Julia Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, Chapter One, *Toccata and Fugue for the Foreigner*

February 23: Foreigners, Converts, and Peregrines
Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, Chapters Two, Three, Four

February 28: The Rights of Man or the Rights of the Citizen?
Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, Chapters Five, Six, and Seven

March 1: The Strangers in Us
Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, Chapter 8 and Conclusions
Bonnie Honig, *Democracy and the Foreigner*, Chapter One

March 6: The Foreigner as Immigrant
Honig, *Democracy and the Foreigner*, Chapter Three

March 8: The Foreigner as Citizen
Honig, *Democracy and the Foreigner*, Chapter Four and Five