WE

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF LAW

COURSE OUTLINE

LAWS 4102 Controversies in Rights Theory

PREREQUISITES: Fourth year honours standing – strictly enforced

TERM: Winter 2014

Day & Time: Wednesdays 2:35 – 5:25

Room: River Building 3112

INSTRUCTOR: Dr. Amy Bartholomew

CONTACT

Office: D581 LA (Loeb)

Office Hours: Fridays 2:30 to 4:00

Email: <u>Amy_Bartholomew@carleton.ca</u>

Telephone: 520-2600 x. 3696

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request the processes are as follows:

Pregnancy obligation: write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details visit the Equity Services website: http://www2.carleton.ca/equity/

Religious obligation: write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details visit the Equity Services website: http://www2.carleton.ca/equity/

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your *Letter of Accommodation* at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*) at http://www2.carleton.ca/pmc/new-and-current-students/dates-and-deadlines/

You can visit the Equity Services website to view the policies and to obtain more detailed information on academic accommodation at http://www2.carleton.ca/equity/

The fourth year seminar in controversies in rights theory will focus in the winter term 2014 on challenges to and promises of human rights in 'late' modernity by analyzing recent theoretical literature on their universality, relationship to democracy, and to political (and other) power. In particular, we will ask whether a deliberative democratic approach in the Habermasian tradition to human rights and democracy is capable of addressing objections and critiques of rights raised by Karl Marx, Hannah Arendt and by relativism, postcolonialism, and the 'new communists'. This literature is famously challenging and typically pitched at a highly abstract level. So, please be prepared for a demanding seminar that will likely challenge your analytical skills. The 'challenge' will be rewarded, I believe, in the development of a better justified position in relation to human rights and better strategies and skills for dealing with political and legal theory.

SEMINAR:

This is a fourth year honours seminar. As a seminar, there will be virtually no lecture component. I view it as an intensive 'reading seminar' or 'reading group' the success of which is dependent on you, each member of the seminar, as well as upon me. I will attempt to guide the discussion where I think it needs guidance. I will also set the context for debates, where necessary. And, I will debate with you and sometimes (be prepared) suggest you need to rethink matters, or, even, that I think you are wrong. But, this seminar is a *completely collective project* for which we are all responsible and should be embraced as such by each of you. If you do not wish to be part of a participatory seminar that concentrates on theoretical literature, please don't take this seminar!

You absolutely must read everything, carefully, for the seminar, before the seminar. The success of a seminar depends on informed, lively and critical student participation. Regular attendance in seminar is necessary, <u>but not sufficient</u>, to constitute participation. The participation mark is a solid 20% of your overall mark so, please make the most of it. The foundation for informed participation (not to mention evaluation and critique) is close study of the readings before the class in which they are assigned and coming to seminar with summaries of the material and questions to be addressed.

EVALUATION:

Evaluation will be based on the following combination of seminar participation and written work.

1. Participation mark based on weekly seminar participation. 20%

The participation mark is a *composite mark* evaluating your performance over the entire term and with respect to discussion leadership, weekly seminar participation, and summaries of the literature prepared for seminar each week. You are expected to participate in seminar on the basis of having read and reflected seriously on the literature and issues each week. Please come to seminar **with your readings**, **your summary** of the readings (see below), **and a question, an objection, or an issue** you would like to discuss and be prepared to discuss it with the seminar. Our discussion will focus on making sense of and evaluating the claims the literature makes.

2. Weekly summaries of the readings. 10%

For weeks 2 through 11 please prepare a summary (not an outline) of each reading that is (ideally) no longer than 2 pages (single-spaced) that includes a list of key words, proper citation, and your name. Also, pose at least one question (on any of the readings) for the seminar possibly to address. Put this on a separate sheet, typed out twice, with your name on each half so you can hand one copy to me and one to your discussion group. You may use the summary to inform your seminar participation and then hand it in to me at the end of each seminar. I will not mark these summaries except to register that you have handed them in and that they

are indeed summaries of the literature. They are for your preparation and capacity-building. They will also help you prepare for and write the essays and take-home examination.

You may fail to write summaries <u>one week</u> between week 2 and week 11 without loosing marks. Therefore, failure to hand in 8 complete sets of summaries on time (or submitting summaries that are clearly inept) over the course of seminar will result in a 1% loss for each week you do not hand them in.

3. 2 short essays 5 -6 pages (max.) (double-spaced) 10% for the first essay, 15% for the second, for atotal of 25%.

The first short essay must be written for weeks 3, 4, or 5. This is indicated on the syllabus with a "*1".

The second short essay must be written for weeks 6, 7, or 8. This is indicated with a "*2".

Each short essay is <u>due the Friday following the seminar in which we discuss the relevant literature</u> (<u>in other words, 2 days later</u>), <u>by 3pm</u>. No late essays will be accepted unless you discuss the matter with me ahead of time and have a very good reason.

The short essays should evaluate some aspect of the literature for the relevant week. Your evaluation must be based on a clear, concise, demonstration that you understand the literature but it should also go beyond mere description or summary of the literature. The paper should be conceptual in nature, not merely empirical. The short essays will be marked on the basis of **demonstrated understanding of the main themes in** *all* **of the literature for that week,** the thoughtfulness of the issue(s) chosen for consideration, and the evaluation and argument provided. Writing style, grammar, proper citation etc. will count in your mark.

Please provide a title page for your essay that includes your name, student number, date, course number, and an indication of which essay (first or second) is being submitted. Please number your pages. I will return your marked essays in seminar within two weeks of their submission. If you are not in seminar that day, I will leave them in the main Law Dept office for you to pick up.

4. Take-home examination or research essay 45%. Due Wednesday 11 April before 4pm

The take-home examination will be distributed in the final seminar. It is due on Wednesday 11 April before 4pm. Late exams will result in failure in the course in the absence of a medical excuse that I judge to be adequate. You may submit your exam as an email attachment so long as: (1) you get it to me before 4pm on the due date, and (2) **you** take the responsibility for any technological failures. In other words, late exam answers will not be accepted. The take home examination will pose a question and ask you to integrate and assess the literature we have read and discussed this term. You will not be required to do outside research for the examination. But, you will be expected to have mastered a wide swath of the literature. The exam answer should be approximately 3500 words (about 10 pp double spaced, Times New Roman 12). It may be no longer than 4000 words (about 12 pp double spaced).

You may do a research essay instead of the take home examination. If you choose this option please clear the subject with me by March 7. The research essay must draw on an area of research related to the course. You will be required to do research beyond the readings in the course. The essay must be original to this course. The research essay should be about 5000 words (about 15 pp. double spaced) and no more than 5500 words (about 18 pages double-spaced) not including endnotes. It is due Wednesday 11 April before 4pm. Late essays will result in failure in the course in the absence of a medical excuse

that I judge to be adequate.

GENERAL RULES:

Failure to complete any aspect of the requirements may result in failure in the course.

<u>Plagiarism</u> will not be tolerated. There is a zero tolerance policy on plagiarism which means that any act of plagiarism – whether intentional or inadvertent – will be taken directly to the Dean.

The OED (Oxford English Dictionary) defines plagiarism as follows: "The action or practice of taking someone else's work, idea, etc., and passing it off as one's own; literary theft."

Plagiarism includes failing to use quotation marks around quoted material, even if one provides a citation, or providing an inadequate citation such as failing to provide a page number for quoted material.

For more information on how to cite, in order to avoid inadvertent plagiarism, check: http://www1.carleton.ca/studentaffairs/academic-integrity/ Another very useful source is: http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize

Please note: The seminar schedule, readings and the precise tasks for seminar participation are subject to change.

SEMINAR SCHEDULE

1. Introduction and Administrivia

Jan. 8

2. A History of Human Rights

Jan. 15

Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007). Read at least the Introduction, pp. 57-58; and chapters 3, 4, and 5. RSV

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[&]quot;Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by the instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean."

¹ "Plagiarism, n," Oxford English Dictionary. Third Edition, June 2006.

<u>Part One: The Perplexities of Human Rights and Contemporary Versions of the "Hermeneutic of Suspicion"</u>

3.Marx: Rejection or Critical Reception of Rights? Jan. 22 *1

Karl Marx, "On the Jewish Question," in Robert C. Tucker, *The Marx-Engels Reader* (New York: WW Norton, 1972), 24-52. RSV

Supp:

Bill Bowring, "Socialism and Rights: A Reply to David Renton's 'Do Socialists Still have an Alternative Concept of Rights?" On the Critical Legal Thinking blog at: http://criticallegalthinking.com/2013/11/19/socialism-rights-reply-david-rentons-socialists-still-alternative-concept-rights/

Amy Bartholomew, "Should a Marxist Believe in Marx on Rights?" in Ralph Miliband and Leo Panitch eds. *The Socialist Register 1990: Retreat of the Intellectuals* (London: Merlin Press, 1990), 244-264.

4.Arendt: Laying the basis for the "right to have rights" and a critique of the "rights of man" Jan. 29 *1

Arendt, Hannah. [1966] (New Edition) *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, "The Decline of the Nation State and the End of the Rights of Man," pp. 267-302, and intro p. ix . San Diego/New York: Harvest/Harcourt. On Rsv.

Supplementary:

Seyla Benhabib, *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents and Citizens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), ch. 2 "The Right to Have Rights: Hannah Arendt on the Contradictions of the Nation-State," 49-69.

Menke, Christoph. 2007. "The 'Aporias of Human Rights' and the 'One Human Right': Regarding the Coherence of Hannah Arendt's Argument." *Social Research* 74, no. 3: 739-762.

Isaac, Jeffrey C. 1996. "A New Guarantee on Earth: Hannah Arendt on Human Dignity and the Politics of Human Rights." *American Political Science Review* 90, no.1.

Fraser, Nancy. 2004. "Hannah Arendt in the 21st Century." *Contemporary Political Theory* 3: 253-261.

Cohen, Jean. L. 1996. "Rights, Citizenship and the Modern Form of the Social: Dilemmas of Arendtian Republicanism," *Constellations* 3, no.2: 164-189.

Birmingham, Peg. 2006. *Hannah Arendt and Human Rights: The Predicament of Common Responsibility*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press.

Agamben, Giorigo. 2000. "Beyond Human Rights," in *Means without Ends: Notes on Politics* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 15-26. Rsv.

Parekh, Serena. (2004). "A Meaningful Place in the World: Hannah Arendt on the Nature of Human Rights." *Journal of Human Rights* 3, no.1: 41-53.

Cohen, Jean. L. and Andrew Arato (1992). *Civil Society and Political Theory*. Cambridge, The MIT Press.

Isaac, Jeffrey C. (2002). "Hannah Arendt on Human Rights and the Limits of Exposure, or Why Noam Chomsky Is Wrong about the Meaning of Kosovo." *Social Research* 69, no. 2: 505-537.

May, Larry and J. Kohn, Eds. (1997). *Hannah Arendt: Twenty Years Later*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

5.Postcolonial Critiques of Rights

Feb. 5 *1

Kapur, Ratna. 2006. "Human Rights in the Twenty-First Century: Take a Walk on the Dark Side." *Sydney Law Review* 28: 665-687.

Mutua, Makua. 2004. "The Complexity of Universalism in Human Rights," in Ándras Sàjo ed., *Human Rights With Modesty: The Problem with Universalism* (The Netherlands: Brill NV): 51-64. Copy

Supplementary:

Narayan, Uma. 1998. "Essence of a Culture and a Sense of History: A Feminist Critique of Cultural Essentialism." *Hypatia* 13, no. 2: 86-106.

Asad, Talal. 2000. "What Do Human Rights Do? An Anthropological Enquiry *Theory & Event*, 4, no. 4.

Asad, Talal. 1996. "On Torture, or Cruel, Inhuman, and Degrading Treatment." *Social Research* 63: 1081

Davis, Michael C. 1998. "Constitutionalism and Political Culture: The Debate Over Human Rights and Asian Values." *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 11: 109-147.

Benhabib, Seyla. 2002. "'Nous' et les 'Autres' (We and the Others): Is Universalism

Ethnocentric?" in Benhabib, Seyla. *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era*, pp.24-48. Princeton: Princeton UP.

Ingram, James. D. 2005. "Can Universalism Still be Radical? Alain Badiou's Politics of Truth." *Constellations* 12, no. 4: 561-573.

Kennedy, David. 2001. "The International Human Rights Movement: Part of the Problem?" *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, 15.

Cheah, Pheng. 1997. "Posi(ion)ing Human Rights in the Current Global Conjuncture. *Public Culture* 9:233-66

Fitzpatrick, Peter. (2004). "Terminal Legality? Human Rights and Critical Being". *Critical Being: Law, Nation and the Global Subject*. Peter Fitzpatrick and Patricia Tuitt eds. Aldershot, Ashgate: 119. K3242 .C75 2004

Mutua, Makua. "Savages, Victims and Saviors: The Metaphor of Human Rights," *Harvard International Law Journal* 42, no.1 (2001): 201-254.

Burke, Roland. 2010. *Decolonization and the Evolution of International Human Philadelphia*, University of Pennsylvania Press.

Asad, Talal. "On the Limits of Human Rights," http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6wyl6I_3-BU Sloane, Robert D. 2001. "Outrelativizing Relativism: A Liberal Defense of the Universality of International Human Rights," *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law*, 34: 560.

Baxi, Upendra. 1998. "Voices of Suffering and the Future of Human Rights," *Transnational Law and Contemporary Problems* 8: 98.

6. The New Communists and Rights

Feb. 12 *2

Ranciere, Jacques. 2004. "Who is the Subject of the Rights of Man?" *South Atlantic Quarterly* 103, no. 2/3: 297-310.

Douzinas, Costas. 2010. "Adikia: On Communism and Rights," in *The Idea of Communism*, eds.Douzinas, Costas and Slavoj Zizek, pp. 81-100. London and New York: Verso Press. Copy

Supplementary:

Ranciere, Jacques. 2006. "Democracy, Republic, Representation." *Constellations* 13, no. 3: 297-307.

*Balfour, I. and E. Cadava (2004). "The Claims of Human Rights: An Introduction." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 103, no. 2/3: 277-297.

*Ingram, James D. 2005. "Can Universalism Still be Radical? Alain Badiou's Politics of Truth." *Constellations* 12, no. 4: 561-573.

Badiou, Alain. 2002. Ethics: An Essay on the Understanding of Evil. London and New York, Verso.

Badiou, Alain. The Communist Hypothesis.

Brown, Wendy. 2004. "Human Rights as the Politics of Fatalism," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 103:451

Deranty, Jean-Phillipe. 2004. "Agamben's Challenge to Normative Theories of Human Rights" *Borderlands* 3, no.1.

Zizek, S. (1999). "Against the Double Blackmail." *New Left Review* I/234(March/April): 76-82.

Fine, Robert. "Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights: Radicalism in a Global Age," *Metaphilosophy* 40, no. 1, 2009: 8-23. Addresses the "negative dialectic" of Douzinas and Zizek.

NO SEMINAR ON FRIDAY FEBRUARY 19 READING WEEK

<u>Part Two: Discursive Universalism and Human Rights: Challenges to the 'Hermeneutics of Suspicion'</u>

7. Discursive Universalism in Politics, Law, and Constitutional Rights Feb. 26 *2

Habermas, Jürgen. 2001. "Constitutional Democracy: A Paradoxical Union of Contradictory Principles?" *Political Theory* 29: 766-781.

Chambers, Simone. (2004). "Democracy, Popular Sovereignty and Constitutional Legitimacy." *Constellations* 11, no. 2: 153-173.

Supplementary:

Introduction to Habermas's Critical Theory

Forst, Rainer. 1996. "Justice, Reason and Critique: Basic Concepts in Critical Theory" in *Handbook of Critical Theory*, ed. David. Rasmussen. Oxford Blackwell: 138-162. copy Habermas, Jürgen 1999. "Introduction," *Ratio Juris* 12, no.4: 329-335. CUL Habermas, Jürgen. 1996. "Paradigms of Law," *Cardozo Law Review* 17: 771. CUL [Also in: Habermas, Jürgen. 1998. "Paradigms of Law." In *Habermas on Law and Democracy: Critical Exchanges*, edited by Michel Rosenfeld and Andrew Arato, 13-25. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.] Focus on his 'proceduralist paradigm'.

Interview with Jürgen Habermas, Youtube ht

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jB16ALNh18Q&feature=relate

d

Rummens, Stefan. (2007). "Democratic Deliberation as the Open-Ended Construction of Justice." *Ratio Juris* 20, no.3: 335-354.

Habermas, Jürgen. 1996. "Three Normative Models of Democracy," in Benhabib, Seyla, ed. *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 21-30.

Seyla Benhabib, "Toward a Deliberative Model of Democratic Legitimacy," in Benhabib, ed. *Democracy and Difference*, 67-94.

Habermas, Jürgen 2008. "On the Architectonics of Discursive Differentiation: A Brief Response to a Major Controversy". In *Between Naturalism and Religion: Philosophical Essays*, ed. and trans. Ciaran Cronin, pp. 77-98. Cambridge: Polity.

Habermas, Jürgen. 1994. "The Normative Deficits of Unification," in Jürgen Habermas, *The Past as Future*, trans. and ed. Max Pensky (Lincoln: University of Nebraska), 33-54.

Baynes, Kenneth. 2009. "Discourse Ethics and the Political Conception of Human Rights." *Ethics and Global Politics* 2, no.1 : 1-21, just read pp. .

Kalyvas, Andreas. 2005. "Popular Sovereignty, Democracy, and the Constituent Power," *Constellations* 12, no. 2: 223-244.

Honig, Bonnie. (2007). "Between Decision and Deliberation: Political Paradox in Democratic Theory." *American Political Science Review* 101, no. 1: 1-17.

Chambers, Samuel. A. (2004). "Giving Up (on) Rights? The Future of Rights and the Project of Radical Democracy." *American Journal of Political Science* 48(2): 185-200.

Brady, John. 2004. "No Contest? Assessing the Agonistic Critiques of Jürgen Habermas's Theory of the Public Sphere." *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 30, no.3: 331-354.

Cronin, Ciaran. 2006. "On the Possibility of a Democratic Constitutional Founding: Habermas and Michelman in Dialogue." *Ratio Juris* 19(3): 343-369.

Habermas, 2003. "On Law and Disagreement," Ratio Juris, 16, no. 2: 187-194, esp. 193-194. Wendy Brown. 2000. "Suffering Rights as Paradoxes," *Constellations* 7, no. 2: 230-241. Habermas, "Postscript", *Between Facts and Norms*

8. Discursive Universalism and Human Rights Mar. 5 *2

Habermas, Jürgen. 1998. "Remarks on Legitimation through Human Rights." *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 24:157-171

Habermas, Jürgen. (2008). "The Constitutionalization of International Law and the Legitimation Problems of a Constitution For World Society." *Constellations* 15, no.4: 444-455.

Supplementary:

Jeffrey Flynn, "Two Models of Human Rights: Extending the Rawls-Habermas Debate," in James Gordon. Finlayson and Fabian Freyenhagen_eds., *Habermas and Rawls: Disputing the Political* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 247-264.

Habermas, Jürgen. 2010. "The Concept of Human Dignity and the Realistic Utopia of Human Rights." *Metaphilosophy* 4, no.4 : 464-480.

Flynn, Jeffrey. 2003. "Habermas and Human Rights: Law, Morality, and Intercultural Dialogue." *Social Theory and Practice* 29: 431-457 CUL

Benhabib, Seyla. 2008. "The Legitimacy of Human Rights," *Daedalus* Summer: 94-104. Habermas, Jürgen. 1997. "Kant's Idea of Perpetual Peace, with the Benefit of Two Hundred Years' Hindsight." In *Perpetual Peace: Essays on Kant's Cosmopolitan Ideal*, edited by James Bohman and Mathias Lutz-Bachmann, 113-153. Cambridge, Ma.: The MIT Press.

Abdel-Nour, Farid. 2004. "Farewell to Justification: Habermas, Human Rights and Universalist Paul Healy (2006). "Human Rights and Intercultural Relations" *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 32 (no.4) 513-541.

Benhabib, Seyla. 2009. "Claiming Rights Across Borders: International Human Rights and Democratic Sovereignty." *American Political Science Review* 103(4): 691-704.

Benhabib, Seyla. 2008. "The Legitimacy of Human Rights," *Daedalus* Summer: 94-104.

Moon, Donald J. 2003. "Rawls and Habermas on Public Reason: Human Rights and Global Justice". *Annual Review of Political Science* 6:257-74

Pogge, Thomas. 2000. "The International Significance of Human Rights," *The Journal of Ethics* 4: 45-69.

9. Right to Justification and Anti-Domination

Mar. 12

Forst, Rainer. 1999. "The Basic Right to Justification: Toward a Constructivist Conception of Human Rights," *Constellations* 6, no.1: 35-60. CUL

Supplementary:

Forst, Rainer. 2010. "The Justification of Human Rights and the Basic Right to Justification: A Reflexive Approach." *Ethics* 120(July): 711-740, just read 711-720; 727 very bottom – top 729. CUL

10. MARCH 19: Professor Away. Catch up! Read ahead!

Part III. Theoretical Contestations and Applications:

11. Aboriginal communities, ecological rights, and Habermasian theory Mar. 26

Michael Rabinder James, "Tribal Sovereignty and the Intercultural Public Sphere," *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 25, no. 5 (1999): 57-86.

Robin Eckersley, "The Discourse Ethic and the Problem of Representing Nature," *Environmental Politics* 8, no. 2 (1999): 24-49.

12. Where do you stand? Apr. 2

- a. Forst (week 9) v. Kapur and Mutua (week 4) In addition to the Forst essay we have already read, please read: Forst, Rainer. 2011. "The Power of Critique." *Political Theory* 39, 118-123.
- b. Habermas (weeks 7 and 8) v. Douzinas (week 6)

Supplementary:

Andrew Robinson and Simon Tormey. 2009. "Resisting 'Global Justice': Disrupting the Colonial 'Emancipatory' Logic of the West," *Third World Quarterly* 30, no.8: 1395-1409. CUL Ingram, James. D. 2008. "What is A Right to Have Rights? Three Images of the Politics of Human Rights." *American Political Science Review* 102, no. 4: 401-416.

Rostboll, Christian. F. 2009. "Dissent, Criticism, and Transformative Political Action in Deliberative Democracy," *Critical review of international social and political philosophy* 12, no. 1: 19-36.

Brady, John. 2004. "No Contest? Assessing the Agonistic Critiques of Jürgen Habermas's Theory of the Public Sphere." *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 30, no.3: 331-354.