

Neortodoksinė politinė teorija

*VU Tarptautinių santykių ir politikos mokslų institutas
Politikos mokslų bakalauro studijų programa
2017/18 m. m. rudens semestras*

Prof. dr. Alvydas Jokubaitis, dr. Linas Jokubaitis

Priėmimo valandos:

Pirmadienis,
17.30 – 18.30
110 kab.

Politikos teorijos katedra

Kurso tikslas – supažindinti su įtakingais filosofais, kurie savo pažiūromis netelpa į nusistovėjusių politinių ideologijų ortodoksijos rėmus. Pasirinkti autoriai leidžia pamatyti neišnaudotas požiūrio į liberaliąją demokratiją galimybes. Jų pasirinkimą lemia du pagrindiniai veiksniai: iškritimas iš nusistovėjusios politinės ortodoksijos rėmų ir dabartinę Vakarų liberaliąją demokratiją suprasti padedančios idėjos. Kurso branduolį formuoja Leo Strausso, Carlo Schmitto ir Alexandre Kojève darbai. Kiti autoriai jiems padarė įtaką, diskutavo arba išvystė jų idėjas.

Kurso apimtis – 16 seminarų.

Kurso reikalavimai - Studentas privalo parašyti rašto darbą (25 000 spaudos ženklų su tarpais). Įvertinimą sudaro:

aktyvumas seminaruose - nuo 0 iki 3 balų,

rašto darbas - nuo 0 iki 3 balų,

egzaminas raštu – nuo 0 iki 4 balų

Seminarų temos:

1. Įvadinis seminaras.

2. Leo Strauss: iššūkių politinės filosofijos disciplinai.

Leo Strauss, Natural Right and History, Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1953, p. 9 – 80.

Literatūra:

Drury Shadia, *The Political Ideas of Leo Strauss*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988.

Meier Heinrich, *Leo Strauss and the Theologico-Political Problem*, trans. Harvey J. Lomax, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Pangle Thomas, *Leo Strauss: An Introduction to His Thought and Intellectual Legacy*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.

Smith Steven, *Reading Leo Strauss: Politics, Philosophy, Judaism*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

3. Carl Schmittas: kas yra politiškumas?

Carl Schmitt, The Concept of the Political, The University of Chicago Press, 2007, p. 19-37; 58-68.

Literatūra:

Böckenförde, Ernst-Wolfgang, „The Concept of The Political: A Key to Understanding Carl Schmitt's Constitutional Theory“, David Dyzenhaus (sud.) *Law as Politics: Carl Schmitt's Critique of Liberalism*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998.

Freund, Julien, „Schmitt's Political Thought“, *Telos* 102, 1995, 11–42.

Ulmen. Gary L., „The Sociology of the State: Carl Schmitt and Max Weber State“, *Culture and Society*, 1 (1), 1985, 3–57.

Gottfried, Paul, *Carl Schmitt*. London: The Claridge Press, 1990.

4. Carl Schmittas: liberalizmo ir demokratijos konfliktas.

Carl Schmitt, *The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy*, MIT Press 1988, p. 22-50.

Literatūra: Kennedy, Ellen, *Constitutional Failure: Carl Schmitt in Weimar*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

Mouffe, Chantal (sud.), *The Challenge of Carl Schmitt*, London, New York: Verso, 1999.

Habermas, Jürgen *The New Conservatism: Cultural Criticism and the Historians' Debate*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1989.

Müller, Jan-Werner, *A Dangerous Mind: Carl Schmitt in Post-War European Thought*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003.

5. Alexandre Kojève: pono ir vergo dialektika

Alexandre Kojève, *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel. "Lectures on the Phenomenology of Spirit"*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1969, 31-70.

Literatūra:

Descombes, Vincent, *Modern French Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Kleinberg, Ethan, *Generation Existential: Heidegger's Philosophy in France, 1927–1961*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005.

Geroulanos, Stefanos, *An Atheism that Is Not Humanist Emerges in French Thought*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010.

6. Carlas Schmittas: romantinė dvasios struktūra.

Carl Schmitt, *Political Romanticism*, MIT Press 1986, p. 78-108.

Literatūra:

Stephen Holmes, *Anatomy of Antiliberalism*. Cambridge; Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996.

Hugo Ball, „Carl Schmitt's Political Theology“, *October* Fall 2013, Vol. 146, 65-92.

Karl Löwith, „The Occasional Decisionism of Carl Schmitt“. *Martin Heidegger and European Nihilism*, (sud. Richard Wolin). New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.

7. Leo Strauss: kas yra nihilizmas?

“German Nihilism”, *Interpretation. A Journal of Political Philosophy*, 1999, 26 (3), p. 353–378.

Literatūra:

Rausching, Hermann *The Revolution of Nihilism, Warning to the West*, New York, Alliance Book Corporation Longmans, Green & Co., 1939.

Strauss, Leo, „Relativism“, *Relativism and the Study of Man* (sud. Helmut Schoeck ir James W. Wiggins), New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1961.

Strauss, Leo, „Existentialism“ *Interpretation. A Journal of Political Philosophy*, 1995, 22 (3), p. 303-320.

Altman, William H. F. „Leo Strauss on "German Nihilism": Learning the Art of Writing“, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 68 (4), 2007, 587-612.

8. Carl Schmittas: neutralizacijų ir depolitizacijų epocha.

Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, The University of Chicago Press, 2007, p. 69-79; 80-96.

Literatūra:

McCormick, John, P. Carl Schmitt's Critique of Liberalism: Against Politics as Technology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Meier Heinrich, *Carl Schmitt and Leo Strauss: The Hidden Dialogue*, trans. Harvey J. Lomax, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Freund Julien, „Schmitt's Political Thought“, *Telos* 102, 1995, 11–42.

9. Leo Strauss: proto ir tikėjimo konfliktas

Leo Strauss, „Reason and Revelation“, Meier, Heinrich, 1995, *Carl Schmitt and Leo Strauss: The Hidden Dialogue*, trans. Harvey J. Lomax, Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 141-180.

Literatūra:

Leo Strauss, Jerusalem and Athens (1950). paskaitos, audio.

https://leostrausscenter.uchicago.edu/sites/default/files/courses/Jeru%26Athens_Agreement_1950-10-25_SERV.mp3

https://leostrausscenter.uchicago.edu/sites/default/files/courses/Jeru%26Athens_Conflict_1950-11-08_SERV.mp3

Leo Strauss, *Religion and Commonweal* (1963). paskaita, audio.

https://leostrausscenter.uchicago.edu/sites/default/files/courses/Religion-Commonweal_1963-01-27-02_SERV_0.mp3

Kim Sorensen, *Discourses on Strauss: Revelation and Reason in Leo Strauss and His Critical Study of Machiavelli*, Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame, 2006.

Kim Sorensen, "Revelation and Reason in Leo Strauss", *The Review of Politics*, 2003, No. 3, p. 383-408.

Susan Orr, *Jerusalem and Athens: Reason and Revelation in the Works of Leo Strauss*, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1995.

10. Alexandre Kojève: kas yra autoritetas?

Alexandre'as Kojève, *The Notion of Authority*. Verso Books, 2014.

Literatūra:

Alexandre Kojève, *Outline of a Phenomenology of Right*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007.

Nichols, James H., *Alexandre Kojève: Wisdom at the End of History*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007.

Drury, Shadia, *Alexandre Kojève. The Roots of Postmodern Politics*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.

11. Robert Spaemann: asmenybės išnykimas

Robert Spaemann, „In Defence of Anthropomorphism“, „On Human Dignity“, In: *A Robert Spaemann Reader. Philosophical Essays on Nature, God and The Human Person*, Ed. by D.C. Schindler, J. Schindler, Oxford University Press, 2015.

Literatūra:

Robert Spaemann, *Paradoxes of Love*, paskaita, video.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NkCHTiGeTjQ>

Rober Spaemann, *Persons, The Difference between „Someone“ and „Something“*, Oxford University Press, 2006, p. 5 - 40.

Robert Spaemann, *Happiness and Benevolence*, Notre Dame, London: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000, p. 92 – 118.

Holger Zaborowski, *Robert Spaemann's Philosophy of the Human Person. Nature, Freedom, and the Critique of Modernity*, Oxford University Press, 2010.

12. Ernst Jünger: *kaip būti savimi šiuolaikinėje visuomenėje?*

Ernst Jünger, *The Forest Passage*, Candor, NY: Telos Press Publishing, 2013, p. 19 – 74 (10 – 28 skyriai).

Literatūra:

Eugene Guerster-Steinhausen, „The Prophet of German Nihilism - Ernst Juenger“ *The Review of Politics*, Volume 7, Issue 2 April 1945, 199-209.

Roger Woods, *Ernst Jünger and the Nature of Political Commitment*, Akademischer Verlag Heinz, 1982.

Ernst Jünger, *Eumeswil*, Marsilio Publishers, 1993.

Federico Campagna „Ernst Jünger, the Forest Anarch“
<http://anarchistnews.org/content/ernst-j%C3%BCnger-forest-anarch-federico-campagna>

13. Karl Löwith: *pažangos idėja*

Karl Löwith, *Meaning in History*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1949. Introduction, p. 1 – 19. Conclusion, p. 191 – 203.

Literatūra:

K. Löwith, *Nietzsche's Philosophy of the Eternal Recurrence of the Same*, Berkely: University of California Press, 1997.

K. Löwith, *From Hegel to Nietzsche. The Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Thought*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.

J. A. Barash, „The Sense of History: On the Political Implications of Karl Löwith's Concept of Secularization“, *History and Theory*, 1998, Vol. 37, No.1, p. 69 – 82.

R. Gashe, „The Reminders of Faith. On Karl. Löwith's Conception of Secularization“, *The Multidimensionality of Hermeneutic Phenomenology*, 2013, Vol, 70, p, 339-558.

14. Leo Strauss: pažanga ar sugrīžimas?

Leo Strauss, *An Introduction to Political Philosophy*. “Progress or Return? The Contemporary Crisis in Western Civilization”, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989, p. p. 249-310.

Literatūra:

Strauss Leo, *The Living Issues of German Postwar Philosophy*, Meier H., Leo Strauss and the Theological – Political Problem, trans. M. Brainarce, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Smith Steven B, (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to Leo Strauss*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Zuckert Catherine and Michael Zuckert, *The Truth about Leo Strauss*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Pangle Thomas, Leo Strauss's Perspective on Modern Politics", *Perspectives on Political Science*, 2004 Fall, p. 197–203.

McAllister Ted, *Revolt against Modernity: Leo Strauss, Eric Voegelin & the Search for Postliberal Order*. Lawrence, KS: UP of Kansas. 1996.

15. René Guénon: Vakarų krizė.

René Guénon, *The Crisis of the Modern World*, Tran. M. Pallis, A. Osborne, R.C. Nicholson, N.Y. Hillsdale: Sophia Perennis, 2001. The Social Chaos, p. 69 – 79. Material Civilization 82 – 95.

Literatūra:

The Essential René Guénon. Tradition and the Crisis of Modernity. Ed. by J. Herlichy, World Wisdom, 2009.

Robin Waterfield, *René Guénon and the Future of the West*, Hallisdale NY: Sophia Perennis, 2002.

Paul Chacornac, *The Simple Life of René Guénon*, tran. C. Bethell, Hillsdale NY: Sophia Perennis, 2001.

16. Eric Voegelin: politinė ir dvasinė Vakarų ateitis

„The Spiritual and Political Future of the Western World“, *The Collected Works of Eric Voegelin*, Vol. 33, The Drama of Humanity and Other Miscellaneous Papers 1939 – 1985, Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2004, p. 67-88.

Literatūra:

Jeffrey C. Herndon, *Eric Voegelin and the Problem of Christian Political Order*, Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2007.

Federici Michael, *Eric Voegelin: The Restoration of Order*, ISI Books, 2002.

Barry Cooper, *Eric Voegelin and the Foundations of Modern Political Science*, Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1999.

Eric's Voegelin's Significance for the Modern Mind, ed. Ellis Sandoz, Louisiana State University, 1999.

Rašto darbas

Rašto darbui gali būti pasirinkta bet kuri tema, susieta su dėstomo dalyko objektu. Temos pasirinkimas turi būti suderintas su dėstytoju.

Rašto darbas privalo atitikti Vilniaus universiteto Tarptautinių santykių ir politikos mokslų instituto Tarybos patvirtintus reikalavimus.