



Programme

Crisis: Interdisciplinary Perspectives

Thursday, November 23rd – Friday, November 24th, 2017

Annual
10th Conference
of the Cluster of Excellence
"The Formation of Normative Orders"

Goethe University Frankfurt am Main, Campus Westend, Building „Normative Ordnungen“
Registration and Programme: www.normativeorders.net/jahreskonferenz

NORMATIVE ORDERS
Exzellenzcluster an der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main

GOETHE
UNIVERSITÄT
FRANKFURT AM MAIN

Partner



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POINT SUD

Preface

Dear Colleagues,
Students,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

We cordially welcome you to our 10th annual conference, to which we have given the title, „Crisis: Interdisciplinary Perspectives.“ This refers to the fact that one cannot think about normative orders today without using the language of crisis, be it in economic, political, or ecological respects. In particular, we ask what our method of analyzing normative orders can contribute to our understanding of crisis. The purpose of this conference is to open up this new space of questions for a general discussion.

One of the most quoted lines these days is from Hamlet: “The time is out of joint.” After 1989, our societies rallied round the grand narratives of development towards an ever more progressive realization of prosperity, justice, and democracy, in accordance with liberal social models and in conjunction with a peaceful international order. Now, such optimistic self-understandings have been replaced by ever stronger feelings and expressions of anxiety and fear – often in what appear to be distorted and highly disturbing, antidemocratic forms.

The transdisciplinary method for analyzing normative orders that has been the core of our research for the last ten years allows us to grasp these developments in a differentiated manner. Not only does it allow us to analyse the institu-

tional incongruities that arise from the fact that ever more pressing global problems lack the appropriate transnational and supranational institutions to address them; it also points to the fact that our societies seem to lack even the appropriate normative language to address these challenges.

In this conference, we seek out and discuss various ways to reflect conceptually upon these dysfunctionalities and normative contradictions. As is customary during our annual conferences, we have organized three panels that explore the various dimensions of crisis from the perspective of our three respective research areas. This year, they are supplemented by a keynote by Prof. Hauke Brunkhorst (Europa-Universität Flensburg) whose work on transnational legal, economic and political crises is a cornerstone of current research on crisis.

In our three panels, we discuss central themes of our research with a number of distinguished speakers. We are very happy to welcome this year (in the order of their talks) Prof. Albenaz Azmanova (Brussels School of International Studies, Kent University), Prof. Chris Hann (Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale), Dr. des. Judith Blume (Göttingen University) and Prof. Vivienne Jabri (King’s College London). From among the members of the Cluster, we will have contributions from Dr. Brian Milstein, Prof. Bernhard Jussen, Prof. Christopher Daase, Dr. Stefan Kroll and ourselves.

We would also like to express our sincere gratitude to the coordinators of research areas two and three, Prof. Andreas Fahrmeir, Prof. Gunther Hellmann, Prof. Stefan Kadelbach and Prof. Susanne Schröter, for organizing the panels.

Furthermore, we would like to cordially thank all those who have contributed to making this conference possible, especially our great staff.

The following pages are meant to introduce the speakers, chairs, panels, and lectures of this year’s conference. We wish you all a stimulating conference, with instructive lectures and thought-provoking debates.

Rainer Forst and Klaus Günther

Thursday,
November
23rd, 2017

2:15 p.m. – 2:30 p.m., Ground floor Room
01+02

**Opening of the Annual Conference 2017:
Normative Orders in Crisis**

Opening Address

*Prof. Dr. Klaus Günther & Prof. Dr. Rainer
Forst (Directors of the Cluster of Excellence
“The Formation of Normative Orders”)*

2:30 p.m. – 4:30 p.m., Ground floor Room
01+02

Panel I – Conceptions of Crisis

*Chair: Rebecca Caroline Schmidt
(Managing Director of the Cluster of Excel-
lence “The Formation of Normative Orders”)*

Dr. Brian Milstein (Goethe University)

**What Does a Legitimation Crisis Mean
Today?**

*Prof. Dr. Albena Azmanova (Brussels
School of International Studies, Kent
University)*

**Crisis of Crisis: On Normative and Insti-
tutional Stuckness**

*Prof. Dr. Rainer Forst & Prof. Dr. Klaus
Günther (Directors of the Cluster of
Excellence “The Formation of Normative
Orders”)*

**Normative Crisis: Conceptual and Diag-
nostic Remarks**

4:30 p.m. – 5:00 p.m., Ground floor Lobby
Coffee and Cake

5:00 p.m. – 6:30 p.m., Ground floor Room
01+02

Keynote Address:

**Normative Orders in Crisis – Conditions
of Democratic Solidarity within the
Capitalist World System**

*Prof. Dr. Hauke Brunkhorst
(Europa-Universität Flensburg)*

Friday, November 24th, 2017

10:30 a.m. – 12:30 p.m., Ground floor Room
01+02

**Panel II – Historical Interpretations in
Crisis – The Search for Concepts beyond
the Secularization Paradigm**

*Chair: Prof. Dr. Annette Warner
(Goethe University)*

*Prof. Dr. Chris Hann (Max Planck Institute
for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale)*

A Concept of Eurasia

*Dr. des. Judith Blume
(Göttingen University)*

**Reprint, Revision, Renew. Der Umgang
mit Krisen im Medium Sammelbild-
album**

*Prof. Dr. Bernhard Jussen
(Goethe University)*

**Bildbasierte Versuchsanordnungen. Von
der Krise des Säkularisierungspara-
digmas zur Suche nach neuen Modellen
historischer Argumentation**

12:30 p.m. – 1:30 p.m., Room 5.01 and
Lounge

Lunch Snack

1:30 p.m. – 3:30 p.m., Ground floor Room
01+02

**Panel III – The Crisis of the
'Liberal World Order'**

*Chair: Prof. Dr. Stefan Kadelbach
(Goethe University)*

*Prof. Dr. Vivienne Jabri
(King's College London)*

**Crisis and World Order: A Postcolonial
Political Ontology**

*Prof. Dr. Christopher Daase
(Goethe University)*

**The Contradictions of the Liberal World
Order**

Dr. Stefan Kroll (Goethe University)

**The Crisis of the Liberal World Order:
And the Politics of its Defense**

3:30 p.m.

End of the Annual Conference 2017



Thursday,
November 23rd, 2017

2:30 p.m. – 4:30 p.m.

Ground floor Room 01+02

Panel I –
Conceptions
of Crisis



Chair: Rebecca Caroline Schmidt

Rebecca Caroline Schmidt studied law focusing on criminal law, criminal procedural law and sentencing law at Goethe University Frankfurt am Main. Between 2007 and 2012, she worked as a research associate with Professor Dr. Klaus Günther in the fields of legal theory, criminal law and criminal procedural law as well as from 2010 until 2012 as a research associate and research coordinator with Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. Andreas von Hirsch focusing on the theory and ethics of criminal law. She gained legal experience as an intern with Freshfields Bruckhaus Deringer and management experience as coordinator of several research projects at Goethe University.

The term “crisis” is currently the most pervasive term used to describe the state of national as well as international normative orders. But what exactly does it mean to use this term? When does talk of a crisis arise, when can a normative order be said to be in crisis, and what forms of crisis are there? Can a focus on the normative dimension shed new light on social crises? These are the questions this panel seeks to address.

Brian Milstein provides a diagnosis of our current situation in which the “legitimation crisis” of a faltering hegemony turns into a “justification crisis” as a result of societies lacking the normative and political resources to replace the old order. Albenaz Azmanova analyses the condition

she proposes to call a “crisis of crisis” to further illuminate the cognitive and evaluative dimensions of what characterizes a state of normative “stuckness.” Rainer Forst and Klaus Günther present a conceptual typology of crisis, including two forms of normative crisis—i.e., justification crises of a first and a second order—and they explore how such forms of crisis appear and play out in the legal realm.

Since November 1st 2012, she has been Managing Director of the Cluster of Excellence “The Formation of Normative Orders”.

While being responsible for the “Frankfurter Stadtgespräche”, she initiated and coordinated during the second funding period a series of further public outreach formats with various cooperation partners – among them exhibitions and/or framework programmes as for example the scientific-artistic project “Sense of Doubt. Resisting Oblivion” – in order to enhance the dialogue between research topics at the Cluster and society. (Klaus Günther, Rainer Forst, Rebecca

Caroline Schmidt (Hg): *Eine Publikation zum Ausstellungsprojekt Sense of Doubt. Wider das Vergessen. Mit der Videokonstausstellung memórias inapagáveis*. Berlin: Revolver Publishing 2015.)

Lecture 1

Brian Milstein: What Does a Legitimation Crisis Mean Today?

The 2016 Brexit vote and the election of Donald Trump came as a shock, not only to the world at large but to the citizenries of the UK and US. While some anticipated that the political aftermath of the 2007/8 financial crisis might boil over into some kind of “legitimation crisis,” these events represented something quite specific. I argue we can speak of a justification crisis as a pathological iteration of a legitimation crisis: it occurs when an order of political hegemony begins to falter, but society cannot marshal the resources necessary to replace it. If the political public sphere is found corrupted or otherwise unable to facilitate deliberative processes of opinion and will-formation, and yet the mechanisms of aggregative democracy remain in place, dis-

contented citizens are left to vote on the basis of snap judgments and prejudices untested by criteria of reciprocal and general justification. This scenario can render the political system prone to erratic decision-making, which appear democratic in form, yet which remain unrecognizable as the product of a general democratic will. Present-day tendencies toward justification crisis are not so much failures of democracy as “failures of failures of democracy.” Nevertheless, if left unaccounted for, they risk a more general loss of faith in democratic institutions.



Brian Milstein...

...is a research associate and lecturer at the Chair of International Political Theory, Cluster of Excellence “The Formation of Normative Orders”, Goethe University Frankfurt, where he works on questions related to crisis theory and the concept of crisis in social and political thought. He studied politics at the New School for Social Research, where he received the Hannah Arendt Memorial Award in Politics for his dissertation work on Kant, Habermas, and the pathologies of the modern international state system. Milstein previously held postdoctoral fellowships at the Collège d’études mondiales in Paris and the Freie Universität Berlin, and his work has appeared

in the *European Journal of Philosophy*, *European Journal of Political Theory*, and *Philosophy & Social Criticism*. He is author of *Commercium: Critical Theory from a Cosmopolitan Point of View* (Rowman & Littlefield International 2015), and he recently finished editing a volume of dialogues between Nancy Fraser and Rahel Jaeggi, *Capitalism: A Conversation in Critical Theory* (Polity Press, forthcoming).

Lecture 2

Albena Azmanova: Crisis of Crisis: On Normative and Institutional Stuckness

In the aftermath of the 2007-2009 economic meltdown, a discourse about a profound social crisis, including a terminal crisis of capitalism, emerged from both ends of the left-right political divide. A decade later, the fears from, and hopes for, a transformative crisis have given way to calls for building resilience. This discursive shift from crisis to resilience is symptomatic of a situation I name 'crisis of crisis' – coping with crisis without addressing its structural roots. Efforts to cope with the crisis have entailed (1) the institutionalisation of the situation of crisis into a new status quo; (2) the normalisation of perceptions of crisis into a new common-sense; (3) the valorisation of crisis-generated experiences of injustice into normative assets. I will adumbrate the

cognitive and evaluative dimensions of normativity particular to the crisis-of-crisis state, with attention to the way emancipatory critique and criticism are being disabled, and will shed some light on the mechanisms of institutionalisation that block emancipatory political mobilisations.



Albena Azmanova...

...is Associate Professor of Political Theory at the University of Kent, where she teaches courses in democratic theory and political economy. Her writing is dedicated to bringing the critique of political economy (back) into critical social theory. Her research ranges from theories of judgment and justice to the dynamics of contemporary capitalism and its effect on ideological orientation and electoral mobilisation. Among her recent publications are *The Scandal of Reason: A Critical Theory of Political Judgment* (Columbia University Press 2012), *Reclaiming Democracy: Judgment, Responsibility and the Right to Politics*, ed. with Mihaela Mihai (Routledge 2015); *The*

Right to Politics, Philosophy and Social Criticism 42 (2016), and *Empowerment as Surrender: how women lost the battle for emancipation as they won equality and inclusion*, in *Social Research* 83/3 (Fall 2016). She is currently working on a book manuscript titled *The Crisis of 'the Crisis of Capitalism'* tracing the mutation of neoliberal capitalism into a novel modality of capitalism.

Lecture 3

Rainer Forst & Klaus Günther: Normative Crisis: Conceptual and Diagnostic Remarks

In these remarks, we show how the methodology developed in the Cluster allows us to analyse crises of normative orders in a productive and innovative way. Following Schleiermacher, we define crisis as the “time that is the boundary between two different orders of things”—that is, a time in which an old order is no longer seen as a possible or valid option and yet no new order lies in sight. Above all, we are interested in a particular category of such crises, which we call “normative crises.” These arise when a given order is normatively questioned and rejected, but the standards for conceiving of a new order remain heavily contested. In our view, this is more than a legitimation crisis; rather, it is a *justification crisis*. Here we distinguish two forms

of it: *first-order* justification crises occur when there is deep disagreement about the language of justification to speak and find solutions in; *second-order* justification crises occur when the very framework of the justification community is questioned, such as in matters of transnational character that can no longer be resolved within the framework of national orders. In such crises, the normative order itself is questioned—its boundaries and its very nature.

We will demonstrate these notions of crisis by putting them to use in the legal field. A legal order is often the most contested normative order in a situation of crisis. It begins with small violations or bypassing of valid norms without any

legal consequences and ends with a blatant or clandestine suspension of a whole legal regime—as can be seen, for example, in the handling of the recent Euro and refugee crises. That there is a state of exception requiring new measures is one of the common justifications. We shall read these phenomena as indications of a justification crisis.



Rainer Forst...

...is Professor of Political Theory and Philosophy at the Goethe University Frankfurt. He is Co-Director of both the Research Cluster "The Formation of Normative Orders" and the Centre for Advanced Studies "Justitia Amplificata" and is a member of the Directorate of the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities in Bad Homburg. He has previously taught at the Free University Berlin, the New School for Social Research in New York and Dartmouth College. His work in moral and political philosophy focuses on questions of practical reason, justice and toleration; his major publications are *Contexts of Justice* (Suhrkamp 1994, Univ. of California Press 2002), *Toleration in Conflict* (Suhrkamp 2003,

Cambridge UP 2013), *The Right to Justification*, (Suhrkamp 2007, Columbia UP 2012), *Justification and Critique* (Suhrkamp 2011, Polity Press 2013), *The Power of Tolerance* (with W. Brown, Columbia UP 2014), *Justice, Democracy and the Right to Justification* (with Replies by Critics; Bloomsbury 2014) and *Normativity and Power* (Suhrkamp 2015, Oxford UP 2017). In 2012 he received the Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Prize of the German Research Foundation. He is a member of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences, Associate Editor of *Ethics*, a member of the Executive Editorial Committee of *Political Theory* and serves on the boards of numerous other international journals. He is co-editor of the book

series "Theorie und Gesellschaft" and "Normative Orders" (Campus).



Klaus Günther...

...born in 1957, is Professor of Legal Theory, Criminal Law and Law of Criminal Procedure in the Faculty of Law at the Goethe University Frankfurt. Since 2007 he has been Co-Director of the Cluster of Excellence "The Formation of Normative Orders". He is a member of the board of directors of the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt and Permanent Fellow of the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities of the Goethe University in Bad Homburg.

Klaus Günther studied philosophy and law in Frankfurt. From 1983 to 1996 he was a research assistant and university assistant in Frankfurt in, *inter alia*, a DFG-funded legal theory work-

ing group (Leibniz-Programme) with Jürgen Habermas, where he received his doctorate in 1987. His habilitation in 1997 was followed by appointments to professorships at the EUI Florence and at the universities of Rostock and Zurich, which he declined. Guest professor at SUNY at Buffalo (2000), Corpus Christi College Oxford (2001), École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (2003), London School of Economics (2003) and Sciences Po (2016).

His most important publications include:

Der Sinn für Angemessenheit (1988; English translation: *The Sense of Appropriateness*, 1993; Por-

tuguese translation 2004) and *Schuld und kommunikative Freiheit* (2005). He is co-editor of the book series "Normative Orders" (Campus).



Thursday,
November 23rd, 2017

5:00 p.m. – 6:30 p.m.

Ground floor Room 01+02

Keynote Address:

Normative Orders in Crisis – Conditions of Democratic Solidarity within the Capitalist World System

It is a truism that modern capitalism at once is the most productive and the most destructive economic system ever. To stay alive, capitalism needs as much state-intervention as socialism. The capitalist state can fulfil this function only as a self-interested agency that has constitutive and corrective functions also for non-capitalist spheres of life. Moreover, in a long course of social struggles, revolutions and civil wars, the

capitalist state was forced to become democratic and to integrate two incompatible principles: capitalism and democracy. The incompatibility was moderated after World War II by democracy with socialist characteristics. However, the democratic and social state has suffered from two problems: secular stagnation and horizontal inequality. Democracy with socialist characteristics was white, male, and heterosexual. Fighting horizontal inequality, the New Left triggered one of the most consequential cultural revolutions of world history. However, at the same time aggressive neoliberalism, politically and theoretically well prepared, took its chance and changed the direction of the evolution against democracy and socialism. The last 40 years witnessed a dramatic

increase of social class differences and a transnationally enhanced threefold U-turn of constitutionalism from public power to private property, from public law to private law, and from legal formalism to legal dynamism. The outcome was a vicious circle of injustice: the permanent devaluation of political and personal rights through social injustice that blocks all possibilities of democratic change of social and political injustice. The world economic crisis of 2008 reinforced the circular downfall, consumed the scarce resources of solidarity, and caused a legitimation crisis of normative orders. Technocratic incrementalism apparently comes to an end, but what comes then?



Hauke Brunkhorst...

...is Senior-Professor at the Europa-Universität Flensburg, Germany. 1996-2015 Professor of Sociology Europa-Universität Flensburg. 2009-2010 Theodor Heuss Professor New School for Social Research, New York. Studies in German literature, philosophy, biology, education and sociology in Kiel, Freiburg and Frankfurt. Since 1979 Visiting Professorships for Sociology and Philosophy at Universities of Kassel, Osnabrück, Mainz, Berlin (FU), Frankfurt, Vienna, Aarhus, Duisburg. Research Fellowships at Institute for Advanced Studies Vienna (1985), Kulturwissenschaftliches Institut Essen (1994-1996), Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris (2005). Marie-

Curie Seminar on Security and Citizenship in Europe at University of Wales, Aberystwyth. Clough Lecture on European Constitutionalism 2013. Europa Preis of European University 2017. Books: *Solidarität. Von der Bürgerfreundschaft zur globalen Rechtsgenossenschaft*, Frankfurt, Suhrkamp (stw) 2002 (English MIT Press 2005); *Karl Marx: Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte – Kommentar*, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp 2007; *Legitimationskrisen. Verfassungsprobleme der Weltgesellschaft*, Baden-Baden: Nomos 2012; *Kritik und Kritische Theorie. Programme, Personen, Positionen*, Baden-Baden: Nomos 2014. *Das doppelte Gesicht Europas - Zwischen Kapi-*

talismus und Demokratie, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp 2014; *Critical Theory of Legal Revolutions – Evolutionary Perspectives*, New York/ London: Bloomsbury 2014.

Panel II –

Historical Interpretations in Crisis – The Search for Concepts beyond the Secularization Paradigm

Friday,
November 24th, 2017

10:30 a.m. – 12:30 p.m.

Ground floor Room 01+02

Every historical interpretation is dependent on the macro-historical frame in which it is situated. This frame predetermines the range of topics studied, how studies are intellectually assessed, and the distribution of scholarly attention. For the last 250 years, historical scholarship has adhered to a silent agenda known as the “secularization paradigm,” which tailors historical material in accordance with a universalist macro-historical

frame: “Antiquity – Middle Ages – Modernity.”

Today, scholars broadly agree that both the secularization paradigm and the frame to which it is tied are fatally flawed. They are now viewed as artifacts of a particular episode within the modern history of knowledge, which extended from the 18th century to the end of the Cold War.

At the same time, this broad consensus on the inadequacy and historicity of this paradigm and its macro frame has not led to a successful reconfiguration of historical concepts—despite the rise of discourses such as “postcolonialism,” “post-secularism,” and “provincializing Europe.” For an undertaking as fraught with political controversy

as the interpretation of the past, this inertia of an obsolete conceptual framework represents a severe crisis of orientation.

This panel approaches this present crisis of historical conceptions from several angles: Hann offers a proposal for a broad conceptual redesign, while Blume will reflect on comparable crises a century earlier, and Jussen will explore standards for discovering alternative macro-historical structures.



Chair: Annette Warner

Annette Warner (last name in publications: Imhausen) studied mathematics and chemistry (Erstes Staatsexamen 1996) at Mainz University and Egyptology at Mainz University and the FU Berlin. She completed her doctoral dissertation in the history of mathematics at Mainz University with David Rowe. Annette Warner was a post-doc at the Dibner-Institute for the History of Science and Technology in Cambridge, Mass., and a Junior Research Fellow at Trinity Hall (Cambridge, England). From 2006 until 2008 she was assistant professor (Juniorprofessorin) at Mainz University. Since 2009 she is professor for the history of early science at Frankfurt University and Principal

Investigator in the Cluster of Excellence “The Formation of Normative Orders”. Her research focuses on ancient Egyptian mathematics and its cultural context. Her recent publications include *Mathematics in Ancient Egypt: A Contextual History* (Princeton University Press 2016) and (together with Tanja Pommerening) *Translating Writings of Early Scholars in the Ancient Near East, Egypt, Greece and Rome: Methodological Aspects with Examples* (De Gruyter 2016).

Lecture 1

Chris Hann: A Concept of Eurasia

A concept of Eurasia has been vigorously promoted in recent decades in a series of historical works by anthropologist Jack Goody, who emphasizes the “merchant cultures” that emerged as the principal agent of connectivity across the landmass (and throughout the Indian Ocean World) from the Bronze Age onwards. This lecture will consider the extent to which Goody’s materialist emphasis on production, consumption and exchange, plus new technologies of communication (the invention of writing), can be fruitfully spliced with investigations of the political and religious dimensions that Goody himself tended to neglect (such as those addressed in “Axial Age” theories).

It will be argued that the resulting Eurasia-centric synthesis is superior to the Eurocentrism which has dominated social theory since the contributions of Marx and Weber.



Chris Hann...

...was born in Cardiff in 1953. He studied Politics, Philosophy and Economics at Oxford and Social Anthropology at Cambridge. His first book was based on his PhD: *Tázlár: a Village in Hungary*, Cambridge UP 1980. Later he carried out fieldwork in Poland (*A Village Without Solidarity: Polish peasants in years of crisis*, Yale UP 1985) and in Turkey (*Turkish Region. State, Market and Social Identities on the East Black Sea Coast*, James Currey, 2000, with Ildikó Bellér-Hann). After holding teaching positions in the UK at the Universities of Cambridge and Kent (Canterbury), Chris Hann moved in 1999 to Halle an der Saale, as a Founding Director of the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology. He currently con-

tinues field research in rural Hungary, has another unfinished ethnographic project in Xinjiang, N-W China, and leads several research groups in economic anthropology. He is a Member of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and in 2015 was awarded the Rivers Memorial Medal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (London).

Lecture 2

Judith Blume: Reprint, Revision, Renew. Der Umgang mit Krisen im Medium Sammelbildalbum

Als Gratisbeigaben zu Markenprodukten, die seit den 1870er Jahren ausgegeben wurden, sind Sammelbilder und ihre Alben nicht nur ein zentraler Bestandteil der modernen Konsum- und Markenkultur, sondern auch eine wichtige Quelle gesellschaftspolitischer Entwicklungen, der entsprechenden normativen Ordnung und ihrer jeweiligen populären Bebilderung. Fast zeitgleich mit dem deutschen Kaiserreich entstanden, begleiteten sie die Weimarer Republik, den Nationalsozialismus sowie die neu gegründeten Staaten der DDR und BRD.

Eignen sich Sammelbilder als populärkulturelles Medium generell dafür, Geschichte auch jenseits der altbekannten politischen Zäsuren zu

schreiben, werde ich in diesem Vortrag mit dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs ein zentrales Datum der gesellschaftspolitischen Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts ins Zentrum rücken. Wie schlägt sich die normative Krise des Endes des Nationalsozialismus in einem populärkulturellen Medium nieder, das als zentraler Bestandteil nationalsozialistischer Alltagskultur gelten kann? Wie gingen Firmen, aber auch Sammlerinnen und Sammler mit der in die Krise geratenen normativen Ordnung um? Wie unterschieden und verbanden sich Wiederaufnahme, Veränderung und Neuanfang?



Judith Blume...

...studierte Geschichte, Germanistik und Empirische Kulturwissenschaft in Tübingen, Hamburg und Aix-en-Provence. 2017 wurde sie mit dem Thema „Wissen und Konsum. Eine Geschichte des Sammelbildalbums 1860–1952“ am Historischen Seminar der Goethe-Universität promoviert. Bis 2017 arbeitete sie im Teilprojekt „Ikonologie der Geschichtswissenschaft“ des Exzellenzclusters „Die Herausbildung normativer Ordnungen“ an der Goethe-Universität, erst als Stipendiatin und anschließend als wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin. Von 2013 bis 2015 war sie Kuratorin der Jubiläumsausstellung „Ich sehe wunderbare Dinge. 100 Jahre Sammlungen der Goethe-Universität“. Seit

Februar 2017 ist sie Referentin für Ausstellen an der Zentralen Kustodie der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen. Schwerpunkte ihrer Arbeit sind Bild-, Wissens- und Konsumgeschichte, populäre Kultur, akademische Sammlungen und interdisziplinäre Lehrformate.

Lecture 3

Bernhard Jussen: Bildbasierende Versuchsanordnungen. Von der Krise des Säkularisierungs- paradigmas zur Suche nach neuen Modellen historischer Argumentation

Die unbestrittene Krise des Säkularisierungsparadigmas und damit – unausweichlich – des dominierenden geschichtswissenschaftlichen Makromodells hat schon seit Jahrzehnten zur Diskussion um räumliche und zeitliche Alternativmodelle geführt, so für die europäische Geschichte „Alteuropa“ oder „Vormoderne“, „Euromediterraneum“ oder zunehmend „Eurasien“. Der Erfolg ist bislang gering. Zu fest sitzt das alte Paradigma, das die säkulare pluralistische Zivilgesellschaft als „Ende der Geschichte“ unterstellte und epochale Pfadentscheidungen auf diesem Weg mit Stichworten wie „Renaissance“, „Reformation“, „Entdeckung des Individuums“, „Aufklärung“ markierte.

Dieser Beitrag schlägt vor, die Suche nach neuen Modellen und alternativen Zäsuren durch eine für Historiker ungewohnte Materialentscheidung zu forcieren. Die Geschichtswissenschaft nutzt einen nur sehr kleinen Medienausschnitt für ihre Modellbildung – zumeist pragmatische Schriftlichkeit, Chroniken, Viten und einige Traktatsorten. Alles andere wird nur additiv verwendet, wenn nicht weggelassen. Der Beitrag skizziert, wie vertraute geschichtswissenschaftliche Großthemen sich verändern, wenn die politische oder religiöse Geschichte des lateinischen Europa ausschließlich mit Blick auf visuelle Medien beobachtet wird, wenn also jedes Thema nur mit Blick auf die ästhetischen Diskurse entwickelt werden kann.



Bernhard Jussen...

...studierte Geschichte, Philosophie und Katholische Theologie in München und Münster. Nach der Promotion („Künstliche Verwandtschaft als soziale Praxis“) arbeitete er als wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter am Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte in Göttingen, wo er sich 1999 habilitierte („Zur Semantik der mittelalterlichen Bußkultur“). Seit 2001 war er zunächst Professor für Mittelalterliche Geschichte in Bielefeld, ehe er 2008 an die Goethe-Universität wechselte. Prof. Jussen war Research Fellow am Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin und am Dept. for Art History der Harvard University, ferner Gastprofessor in Ann Arbor, Michigan, und an der École Normale

Supérieure in Paris. Im Jahr 2007 erhielt er den Leibniz-Preis der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft. Jussen ist Principal Investigator des Exzellenzclusters „Die Herausbildung normativer Ordnungen“. Seit 2016 leitet er das Mittelalterzentrum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Friday,
November 24th, 2017

1:30 p.m. – 3:30 p.m.

Ground floor Room 01+02

Panel III –

The Crisis of the
'Liberal World Order'



Chair: Stefan Kadelbach

Born 1959; 1979-84 studies of literature and law at Tuebingen and Frankfurt; 1986 studies at Academy of Administration in Speyer and Hague Academy of International Law, 1987/88 at University of Virginia; 1984-87 preparatory civil service; 1991 dissertation (Dr. jur.) on peremptory norms of public international law; 1996 PhD (habilitation) on administrative law under the influence of EU law; 1997-2004 professor (tenure) at the University of Muenster (Westphalia). Guest professor and lecturer at the University of Virginia (1999), the European University Institute (2000), the Institute of State and Law of the Russian Academy of Sciences (2002/03) and at Chuo

University Tokyo (2004). Since 2004 at Goethe University Frankfurt. Director of the Institute of Public Law, member of the Cluster of Excellence "The Formation of Normative Orders". Since 2014 Rapporteur of the International Law Association's Human Rights Committee.

The panel deals with the question what the revival of the national and the reactionary mean for the concept of international order. Theories of not too distant a past described a "New World Order" as a system of closely co-operating, like-minded states acting in a globalised and cosmopolitan spirit. For such concepts, the outcome of some referenda and elections, a strengthened populist right in many states and enhanced national egotism in foreign relations during the past months have come as an existential threat to a peaceful order, even though antagonist descriptions and first indicators triggering dystopian visions date further back. The dominance of "the West" seems to be endangered and with it, it appears, the international rule of law. Contribu-

tions to this panel will address contradictions and self-deceptions in such a narrative, demonstrate that the "liberal world" has always been a fragile notion and that elements of the liberal construct of order have even been used to its disadvantage. The question will be what such analyses contribute to a better understanding of the present crisis and whether lessons can be learned.

Working Fields:

Constitutional law, public international law and EU law, with an emphasis on foreign relations powers, federalism, multi-level governance, human rights and theory of international law.

Lecture 1

Vivienne Jabri: Crisis and World Order: A Postcolonial Political Ontology

Liberal understandings of the international order are largely framed in terms of a universalist ontology, one that has no limits beyond those attributed to the constraints of an anarchical structure that is nevertheless historically tamed by the rules and norms of affiliation. The so-called 'crisis' is attributed to the emergence of political forces in the West deemed to have rejected globalisation in favour of a 'return' to nationalist or protectionist politics. Irrespective of the questionable assumptions related to the genesis of this crisis, what is evident is that the West remains the assumed self-inscribed author of the international and its discursive and institutional trajectories as we move further into our

late modernity. The aim of this paper is not only to provide a critique of such a perspective, but to ask, as I have done in my writings, what does the international look like when seen from the vantage point of the postcolonial international? When seen thus, the liberal international order is complicit in the enactment of twenty-first century modes of colonisation the enabling conditions for which emerge precisely from the historical normative structuring of the international in hierarchically ordained terms that render the postcolonial vulnerable and always precarious. At the same time, the postcolonial international can be seen as struggling to re-instantiate the limits of the international, the recent transgressions of

which, through militarised interventionism, have indeed generated the crisis of the present.



Vivienne Jabri...

...is Professor of International Politics in the Department of War Studies, King's College London, Coordinator of the Research Centre for International Relations, and Director of the ESRC London Interdisciplinary Social Science Doctoral Training Partnership. Her research draws on and develops critical, poststructural, and postcolonial social and political theory, with particular reference to international theory. Her current research and writing focus on war/violence and conceptions of political community and the limits of the international. She serves on the Editorial Boards of the journals *International Political Sociology*, *Security Dialogue*, and the ISA's

Journal of Global Security Studies. Her books include *Postcolonial Subject: Claiming Politics/Governing Others in Late Modernity* (Routledge, 2012), *War and the Transformation of Global Politics* (Palgrave Macmillan 2007 and 2010), *Discourses on Violence* (Manchester University Press 1996), and *Mediating Conflict* (Manchester University Press 1990). She has also published in leading International Relations journals, including the *European Journal of International Relations*, the *Review of International Studies*, *International Political Sociology*, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, *Security Dialogue*, *Peacebuilding*, and *International Theory*.

Lecture 2

Christopher Daase: The Contradictions of the Liberal World Order

For years the liberal international order was seen challenged by emerging authoritarian powers like China, India and Russia. Now it turns out that world order is rather undermined from within, i.e. by states which once championed the ideas of international liberalism: international institutions, free trade, human rights and democracy. But it would be shortsighted to blame only Trump and the Brexiteers for these developments. Rather we have to investigate more closely the inherent contradictions of liberal internationalism, its promises and lies, its benefits and faults to understand its current crisis.



Christopher Daase...

...is Professor for International Organizations at Goethe University Frankfurt and Deputy Director of the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF). Previously he held the Chair in International Relations at the University of Munich and was Senior Lecturer at the University of Kent at Canterbury as well as Director of the Programme on International Conflict Analysis at the Brussels School of International Studies. Educated at Universities in Hamburg, Freiburg and Berlin, he became SSRC-MacArthur Fellow in International Peace and Security and was Research Fellow at Harvard University and the RAND Corporation in Santa Monica, CA. His research centres on theo-

ries of international relations, security issues and international institutions. As member of the Cluster of Excellence "The Formation of Normative Orders" at the University of Frankfurt he currently works on changing patterns of legitimacy with regard to the use of force, rule and resistance in international politics, and the informalization of international relations.

Lecture 3

Stefan Kroll: The Crisis of the Liberal World Order: And the Politics of its Defense

The debate on the liberal world order, and its crisis, is plagued by two big puzzles. The first is the issue of what are the values and expectations that make the liberal order. The second concerns the actors that constitute the liberal world. While the presentation will address both facets of the debate, the facet of norms as well as the facet of community, the vantage point will be the question of inclusion and exclusion. The crisis of the liberal order to a large degree is a crisis of the community of liberal states. While some important actors seem to distance themselves from this community, like the US under President Trump, other actors refer to elements of the liberal order from the outside, like for example China in the context of free trade. The aim of this presenta-

tion is to take a closer look at the defenses of elements of the liberal order. In many cases these defenses do not weaken the crisis but rather deepen the fragility of the liberal order as a formation of norms and collective identity. The aim of this presentation is to point out the risks but also the potentials of this fragility for the emergence and application of international norms.



Stefan Kroll ...

...is postdoctoral researcher at Goethe University Frankfurt and the Cluster of Excellence “The Formation of Normative Orders”. Prior to this appointment, Kroll worked at the LOEWE Research Focus “Extra-Judicial and Judicial Conflict Resolution” (Frankfurt), the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity (Göttingen), the Munk School of Global Affairs (Toronto), and the Max Planck Institute for European Legal History (Frankfurt). Trained in social sciences, Kroll studies norms in international relations, informality in law and international politics as well as the politics of international law. Stefan Kroll has published in edited volumes

and international peer reviewed journals. He is co-editor of the special issue of the *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 2017 entitled “Politik und Verantwortung”. Kroll received several grants and scholarships. In 2011, his work was awarded the Otto-Hahn-Medal of the Max Planck Society.

The Cluster

The Frankfurt Cluster of Excellence “The Formation of Normative Orders” explores the development of normative orders with a focus on contemporary conflicts concerning the establishment of a “new world order”. The network is funded by the national “Excellence Initiative” and combines a series of research initiatives in Frankfurt and the surrounding area. The Cluster is based at Goethe University in Frankfurt am Main.

The Research Programme

Normative orders play a decisive role in conflicts over a just and fair economic order and the realisation of peace, human rights and democracy. These orders serve to justify a system of political rule and a specific distribution of goods and life chances. The Cluster investigates how such orders are handed down, modified, institutionalised and practised over long periods of time. In the second funding phase, researchers from the fields of philosophy, history, political science, legal studies, anthropology, economics, theology and sociology will focus greater attention on the question of how justifications assert themselves in the reality of social power relationships. The Cluster is divided into three research areas:

I. The Normativity of Normative Orders:

Origins, Vanishing Points, Performativity

With the onset of modernity, the formation of normative orders itself becomes normative – that is, it becomes reflexive and produces critical standards and procedures for examining normative orders. As a result, normative orders become exposed to persistent revision which compels them to change from within. At the same time, normative orders, viewed from a dialectical perspective, produce one-sided justifications or justifications that immunise themselves against criticism and likewise generate discursive power. This is the core idea of the first research area which examines the ‘Normativity of Normative Orders’ with regard to its reflexivity, the genesis of normativity and how it is constituted through narratives, art and the media.

II. The Dynamics of Normative Orders:

Rupture, Change, Continuity

The projects of the second research area deal with the transformation of normative orders, whether it be long-term change or change brought about by conflicts between competing orders. On the one hand, the goal here is to develop possible models of transformation; on the other hand, the focus is on the consolidation of normative orders following periods of crisis and radical change. On the programme are case studies on postrevolutionary situations in antiquity up to the transformations currently taking place in North Africa. A further focus is on historical and contemporary

constellations in which revitalised religious and nonreligious discourses engage in negotiation over normative orders. A special point of interest is the broad spectrum of Islamic movements.

III. The Plurality of Normative Orders:

Competition, Overlapping, Interconnection

A variety of competing patterns of order exists at the supranational level. A possible global security order is also an inherently plural construct whose realisation is being pursued by a variety of means. Companies and international organisations are involved in this endeavour in addition to states. The aim of the third research area is to engage in empirical research and normative reflection on new types of legitimisation of transnational orders. This also involves the recognition that different types of legitimisation and legitimacy of supranational orders compete with each other. Thus a political order is often legitimised by recourse to democratic participation, though also with reference to public interests or social development.

People

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(Chair in Political Theory and Philosophy)

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