

**William E. Scheuerman**

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**Main Intellectual Interests**

Modern political thought, twentieth-century European political and social thought, legal theory and the rule of law, democratic theory, international political and legal theory.

**Education**

Ph.D. in Political Science, Harvard University, 1993  
Doctoral Dissertation: Reason, Radicalism, and the Rule of Law: The Frankfurt School and the Crisis of Modern Law (Committee Members: Judith N. Shklar, Seyla Benhabib [co-chairs]; Michael Sandel, Bonnie Honig)  
University of Frankfurt, 1990-91  
B.A. in Philosophy, Yale University, 1987  
University of Munich, 1985-86

**Previous Positions**

Professor of Political Science and Affiliated Professor of Law, University of Minnesota, 2003-5.  
Associate Professor, University of Minnesota, 2000-3  
Associate Professor, University of Pittsburgh, 1998-2000  
Assistant Professor, University of Pittsburgh, 1993-1998

**Grants, Awards, Fellowships**

Fulbright Research Professorship (Germany), Fall 2016  
Humboldt Renewed Research Fellowship, August 2016  
OVPIA, Indiana University, Faculty Exchange with Hamburg University, Summer 2013  
Framing the Global Fellow, Indiana University, Center for Global Change, Summer 2011  
Resident Fellow, Institute for Advanced Studies, Indiana University, 2009-10  
New Frontiers in the Arts & Humanities Grant, Indiana University, 2008  
College Arts & Humanities Institute Grant, Indiana University, 2008  
Thank a Teacher Award, University of Minnesota, 2003  
Rockefeller Fellow, Center for Human Values, Princeton, 2002-3  
Ford Foundation Summer Grant for Curriculum Development, University of Minnesota, 2001  
Choice Outstanding Academic Title, 2000 (for [Carl Schmitt: The End of Law](#))  
Phi Sigma Tau Guest Lecturer, Department of Philosophy, University of Georgia, 1998  
German Marshall Fund Research Fellowship, 1998

Alexander von Humboldt Fellowship, 1997-98  
 Friedrich Ebert Research Fellowship (declined), 1997  
 Spitz Prize for the Best Book in Liberal Democratic Theory, Conference for the Study of Political Thought, 1996  
 Foundations of Political Theory First Book Award, APSA, 1995  
 Hewlett International Travel Grant, Summer 1996 and Summer 1993  
 Mellon Fellowship, 1991-92  
 German Academic Exchange Program (DAAD) Scholarship, 1990-91  
 Krupp Fellowship, Center for German & European Studies, Harvard, 1990-91  
 Graduated summa cum laude, Yale, 1987  
 Thomas Annis Award for Excellence in German and English, Yale, 1987  
 Elected to Phi Beta Kappa, 1986  
 Riggs Award for Excellence in the Humanities, Yale, 1984  
 German Department Book Award for Excellence, Yale, 1984

### **Teaching**

Introduction to Political Theory, Modern Political Ideologies, Modern Political Theory, Political Thought of the Enlightenment, Nineteenth-Century Political Thought, Twentieth-Century Political Thought, Contemporary Political Thought, Democratic Theory, Democracy in a Global Age, International Political Theory, Rule of Law (undergraduate); Democratic Theory, Globalization and the Fate of Democracy, Introduction to the Study of Politics, Political Thought of the Enlightenment, Rule of Law, Twentieth-Century Political Thought, as well as numerous specialized seminars (focusing on Critical Theory, Frankfurt School, Habermas, Marx, Schmitt, Weber, others) (graduate).

### **Publications**

#### Books

The End of Law: Carl Schmitt in the Twenty-First Century, 2<sup>nd</sup>. expanded ed. (London: Rowman Littlefield International, 2019)

Key Concepts: Civil Disobedience (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018).

Spanish edition: Desobediencia civil (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2019).

Japanese edition: (Kyoto: Jimbunshoin, forthcoming).

The Realist Case for Global Reform (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2011).

Hans J. Morgenthau: Realism and Beyond (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2009). (Key Contemporary Thinkers Series).

High-Speed Society: Social Acceleration, Power and Modernity (University Park: Penn State

Press, 2009), co-editor with Hartmut Rosa.

Frankfurt School Perspectives on Globalization, Democracy and the Law (New York & London: Routledge, 2008). (Part of Routledge Studies in Social and Political Thought series). [Paperback 2012].

Liberal Democracy and the Social Acceleration of Time (Baltimore & New York: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

From Liberal Democracy to Fascism: Legal and Political Thought in the Weimar Republic (Boston: Humanities Press, 2000), co-editor with Peter Caldwell. (Part of Studies in Central European History series, ed. Roger Chickering).

Carl Schmitt: The End of Law (Lanham, MD. & Oxford, UK: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999, 1<sup>st</sup> ed.). (Part of Twentieth Century Political Thinkers series, ed. Jean B. Elshtain and Kenneth Deutsch)

The Rule of Law Under Siege: Selected Essays of Franz L. Neumann and Otto Kirchheimer, editor (Berkeley & London: University of California Press, 1996). (Part of Weimar and Now series, ed. Martin Jay).

Between the Norm and the Exception: The Frankfurt School and the Rule of Law (Cambridge & London: MIT Press, 1994). (Part of Contemporary German Social Thought series, ed. Thomas McCarthy [Paperback edition, March 1997]).

Cambridge Companion to Civil Disobedience, editor (New York: Cambridge University Press, in preparation [under contract]).

### Journal Articles

“Can Political Institutions Commit Civil Disobedience?” Review of Politics (forthcoming). [refereed].

“Donald Trump meets Carl Schmitt,” Philosophy and Social Criticism (forthcoming, 2019).

“Critical Theory and the Present Crisis,” Constellations, Vol. 26, No. 3 (2019).

“Constituent Power and Civil Disobedience: Beyond the Nation State?” Journal of International Political Theory, Vol. 15, No. 1 (2019). [refereed].

“Liberal Democracy’s Crisis: What a Forgotten ‘Frankfurter’ Can Still Teach Us,” Jus Politicum. Revue de droit politique (forthcoming, 2019); also: Berlin Journal of Critical Theory,

Vol. 2, No. 3 (2018).

“Die Globalisierung von Carl Schmitt?” Kritische Justiz, Vol. 50, No.1 (2017).

“Recent Critical Theory: Down on Law?” Constellations, Vol. 24, No. 1 (2017) [refereed].  
(Portuguese translation in Dissonancia: Revista de Teoria Critica, Vol. 3 [2019]).

“Civil Disobedience in the Shadows of Postnationalization and Privatization,” Journal of International Political Theory, Vol. 12, No. 3 (2016) [refereed].

“In Defense of Democratic Proceduralism,” Philosophy and Social Criticism, Vol. 42, No. 7 (2016) [invited].

“Digital Disobedience and the Law,” New Political Science, Vol. 38, No. 3 (2016) [refereed].  
(German translation in Westend: Neue Zeitschrift fuer Sozialforschung, Vol. 14, No. 1 [2017]).

“Recent Theories of Civil Disobedience: An Anti-Legal Turn?” Journal of Political Philosophy, Vol. 23, No. 4 (2015) [refereed].

“Hermann Heller and the European Crisis: Authoritarian Liberalism Redux?” European Law Journal, Vol. 21, No. 3 (May 2015) [invited].

“Whistleblowing as Civil Disobedience: The Case of Edward Snowden,” Philosophy and Social Criticism, Vol. 40, No. 7 (September 2014). [refereed] (German translation in Mittelweg 36 [March-April 2014]; Spanish translation in Signos Filosóficos, No. 32 [2014]).

“Cosmopolitanism and the World State,” Review of International Studies, Vol. 40, No. 3 (2014). [refereed].

“Capitalism, Law, and Social Criticism,” Constellations, Vol. 20, No. 4 (2013) [refereed].  
(Reprinted in Habermas and the Law, ed. Hugh Baxter [Ashgate, 2017]; German translation in Zeitschrift für die kritische Theorie, Nos. 38-39 [2014]).

“The Realist Revival in Political Philosophy, or: Why new is not always improved,” International Politics, Vol. 50, No. 6 (2013) [refereed].

“Von Präsidenten und Monarchen. Barack Obamas ‘Krieg gegen den Terror’,” Mittelweg 36, Vol. 22, No. 1 (February-March 2013) [invited]. (English version: <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2013-03-07-scheuerman-en.html>)

“Good-Bye to Radical Reformism?” Political Theory, Vol. 40, No. 6 (2012)[refereed].

“Realism and the Kantian Tradition: A Revisionist Account,” International Relations, Vol. 26,

No. 4 (2012) [refereed].

“Emergencies, Executive Power, and the Uncertain Future of US Presidential Democracy,” Law & Social Inquiry Vol. 37, No. 3 (Summer 2012) [invited].

“Realists Against the Nation State,” Transnational Law and Contemporary Problems, Vol. 20, No. 1 (2011) [invited].

“Deudney’s Neorepublicanism: One World or American First?” International Politics, Vol. 47, No. 5 (2010) [refereed].

“The (Classical) Realist Vision of Global Reform,” International Theory, Vol. 2, No. 2 (2010) [refereed].

“Realism and the Critique of Technology,” Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Vol. 14, No. 4 (December 2009). [refereed].

“Postnational Democracies without Postnational States? Some Skeptical Reflections,” Ethics & Global Politics, Vol. III (2009) [refereed]. (Also in Political Legitimacy and Democracy in Transnational Perspective, ed. Rainer Forst and Rainer Schmalz-Bruns [Oslo: ARENA: Centre for European Studies]).

“Against Normative Tone-Deafness,” Soziale Systeme, Vol. 14, No. 1 (2008) [Comment on Niklas Luhmann] [refereed].

“Torture and the ‘New Warfare,’” Constellations, Vol. 14, No. 4 (December 2008) [refereed] (Spanish translation in El Cronista del Estado Social y Democrático de Derecho [2009]; Portuguese translation in Tortura na Era dos Direitos [San Paolo: Edusp, 2014]).

“All Power to the (Stateless?) General Assembly!” Constellations, Vol. 14, No. 1 (December 2008) [invited].

“Realism and the Left: The Case of Hans J. Morgenthau,” Review of International Studies, Vol. 34 (2008) [refereed].

“Was Morgenthau a Realist? Revisiting Scientific Man vs. Power Politics,” Constellations, Vol. 14, No. 4 (December 2007) [refereed].

“Präsidentendémokratie und Ausnahmezustand in den USA nach dem 11. September,” in Mittelweg 36 (December 2007) [invited].

“Emergency Power,” Annual Review of Law and Social Science, Vol. 2 (2006) [refereed].

- “Carl Schmitt and the Road to Abu Ghraib,” Constellations, Vol. 13, No. 1 (2006) [invited].
- “Emergency Powers and the Rule of Law After 9/11,” Journal of Political Philosophy, Vol. 14, No. 1 (2006) [refereed]. [Reprinted in Emergency Law, Vol. II, ed. Sakia Hufnagel and Kent Roach (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013)].
- “Time to Look Abroad? The Legal Regulation of Emergency Powers” [Comment on Sanford Levinson], Georgia Law Review (Spring, 2006) [invited].
- “Busyness and Citizenship,” Social Research, Vol. 72, No. 2 (Summer 2005) [invited]. [Reprinted as “Citizenship in an Age of Speed” in High Speed Society: Social Acceleration, Power, and Modernity].
- “American Kingship? Monarchical Origins of Modern Presidentialism,” Polity Vol. 37, No. 1 (January 2005) [refereed]. [Reprinted in Revista Latinoamericana de Política Comparada, No. 7 (2013)].
- “International Law as Historical Mythology,” Constellations, Vol. 12, No. 4 (December 2004) [invited].
- “Democratic Experimentalism or Capitalist Synchronization? Critical Reflections on Directly-Deliberative Polyarchy,” Canadian Journal of Law & Jurisprudence, Vol. 22, No. 1 (January 2004) [refereed].
- “Cosmopolitan Democracy and the Rule of Law,” Ratio Juris, Vol. 15, No. 4 (December 2002) [refereed]. (Reprinted in Global Democracy and Global Exclusion, ed. Ronald Tinnevelt and Helder de Schutter [Cambridge: Blackwell’s, 2010]).
- “Rethinking Crisis Government,” Constellations,” Vol. 9 (December 2002) [invited].
- “Constitutionalism in an Age of Speed,” Constitutional Commentary, Vol. 19, No. 2 (2002) [refereed].
- “Motorized Legislation? Statutes in an Age of Speed,” Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie, Vol. 88, No. 3 (2002) [refereed].
- “Liberal Democracy and the Empire of Speed,” Polity, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Fall 2001) [refereed].
- “Franz Neumann –Legal Theorist of Globalization?” Constellations, Vol. 8 (2001). [Abridged version also appeared in Kritische Justiz, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Winter 2001)] [refereed].
- “False Humanitarianism? U.S. Advocacy of Transnational Labor Standards,” Review of International Political Economy, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Autumn 2001) [refereed].

“Reflexive Law and the Challenges of Globalization,” Journal of Political Philosophy, Vol. 9, No. 1 (2001) [refereed].

“The Economic State of Emergency,” Cardozo Law Review, Vol. 21, Nos. 5-6 (2000) [invited]. [Spanish translation forthcoming in Pensamiento Juridico (Colombia)].

“The Twilight of Legality? Globalization and American Democracy,” Global Society, Vol. 14, No. 1 (2000) [refereed].

“Free Market Anti-Formalism: The Case of Richard Posner,” Ratio Juris, Vol. 12 (1999) [refereed].

“Economic Globalization and the Rule of Law,” Constellations, Vol. 6 (1999) [refereed].

“Globalization, Exceptional Powers, and the Erosion of Liberal Democracy,” Radical Philosophy, No. 93 (1999) [refereed].

“After Legal Indeterminacy? Carl Schmitt, and the National Socialist Legal Order, 1933-36,” Cardozo Law Review, Vol. 19 (1998) [student refereed].

“The Unholy Alliance of Carl Schmitt and Friedrich A. Hayek,” Constellations, Vol. 4 (1997) [refereed]. [Abridged version appeared in Germany in Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie, No. 70 (1997)].

“Revolutions and Constitutions: Hannah Arendt’s Challenge to Carl Schmitt,” Canadian Journal of Law and Jurisprudence, Vol. X, No. 1 (1997) [invited].

“Legal Indeterminacy and the Origins of Nazi Legal Thought,” History of Political Thought, Vol. XVII (winter 1996) [refereed].

“Carl Schmitt’s Critique of Liberal Constitutionalism,” Review of Politics, Vol. 58 (1996) [refereed].

“Critical Legal Studies in Germany: The Legacy of the Early Frankfurt School” [Contribution to symposium on Rolf Wiggershaus’ The Frankfurt School], Constellations, Vol. 2 (1995) [invited].

Majority Rule and the Environmental Crisis: Critical Reflections on the German Debate,” German Politics & Society, No. 35 (1995) [refereed].

“Is Parliamentarism in Crisis? A Response to Carl Schmitt,” Theory and Society, Vol. 24 (1995) [refereed].

“The Rule of Law and the Welfare State: Towards a New Synthesis,” Politics & Society, Vol. 22 (1994) [refereed].

“The Demise of the Early Frankfurt School” [Introduction to Franz Neumann and Herbert Marcuse, “The Theory of Social Change”], Constellations, Vol. 1 (1994) [invited].

“The Rule of Law Under Siege: Carl Schmitt and the Death of the Weimar Republic,” History of Political Thought, Vol. XIV (1993) [refereed]. [Reprinted in Richard Whatmore, ed., Intellectual History, Vol. II (London: Taylor & Francis, 2015)].

“Neumann v. Habermas: The Frankfurt School and the Case of the Rule of Law,” Praxis International, Vol. 13 (1993) [refereed].

“Modernist Anti-Modernism: Carl Schmitt’s Concept of the Political,” Philosophy and Social Criticism, Vol. 19 (1993) [refereed].

#### Articles in Edited Volumes

“Why Not Uncivil Disobedience?” in Cambridge Companion to Civil Disobedience (New York: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

“Frankfurt School,” in Cambridge Companion to the Rule of Law, ed. Martin Loughlin and Jens Meierhenreich (New York: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

“Law and the Liberalism of Fear,” in Between Utopianism and Realism: The Political Ideas of Judith N. Shklar, ed. Sam Ashenden and Andreas Hess (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019).

“Die Krise der liberalen Demokratie. Was ein in Vergessenheit geratener ‘Frankfurter’ uns lehren kann,” in Kritische Theorie der Politik, ed. Paul Sörensen and Ulf Bohmann (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2019).

“Time and the Separation of Powers,” in Oxford Handbook of Time and Politics, ed. Klaus Goetz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019 [online] [print forthcoming]).

“Critical Theory and the Law,” in Routledge Companion to the Frankfurt School, ed. Peter Gordon, Espen Hammer, Axel Honneth (New York: Routledge, 2019).

“Political Realism and Global Reform,” in Edinburgh Companion to Political Realism, ed. Robert Schuett and Miles Hollingsworth (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018).

“States of Emergency Beyond the Nation State?” in Vienna Lectures on Legal Philosophy, ed.



Christoph Bezemek and Alexander Somek (Oxford: Hart, 2018).

“Getting Past Schmitt? Realism and the Autonomy of Politics,” in Politics Recovered: Essays on Realist Political Thought, ed. Matt Sleat (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018).

“Morality and the Nation-State,” in Global Citizenship, ed. Roland Bernecker and Ronald Grätz (Göttingen: Steidl, 2018; German version 2017).

“Executive and Exception,” in Handbook on Global Constitutionalism, ed. Anthony Lang and Antje Wiener (Cheltenham: Elgar, 2017).

“Recognition, Redistribution, and Participatory Parity: Where’s the Law?” in Feminism, Capitalism, and Critique: Essays in Honor of Nancy Fraser, eds. Banu Bargu and Chirara Bottici (New York: Palgrave, 2017).

“States of Emergency,” in Oxford Handbook of Carl Schmitt, ed. Jens Mehrenreich and Oliver Simons (New York: Oxford University Press, online, 2014; print version, 2016).

“Extra-Legality From Above and From Below,” in Critical Theories of Crisis in Europe: From Weimar to the Euro, ed. Paul F. Kjaer and Niklas Olsen (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016).

“Human Rights Lawyers v. Carl Schmitt,” in Human Rights in Emergencies, ed. Evan Criddle (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

“More Fragments of an Intellectual Autobiography: Hans J. Morgenthau;” also, “Morgenthau Responds: ‘Has There Been Any Progress in International Relations Theory Since Thucydides?’” in Return of the Theorists: Dialogues with Great Thinkers in International Relations, ed. Ned Lebow, Hidemi Suganami, Peer Schouten (London: Palgrave, 2016).

“Taking Snowden Seriously: Civil Disobedience in an Age of Total Surveillance,” in The Snowden Reader (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015), ed. David Fidler; also; in American Political Thought: A Norton Anthology, ed. Isaac Kramnick and Theodore Lowi (New York: Norton, 2018) [Reprint of Philosophy and Social Criticism article listed above.]

“From Global Governance to Global Stateness,” in The Concept of the State in International Relations: Philosophy, Sovereignty, and Cosmopolitanism, ed. Peter M.R. Stirk (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

“Professor Kelsen’s Amazing Disappearing Act,” in European Émigré Scholars and the Foundations of Political Science, ed. Felix Roesch (London: Palgrave, 2014).

“Rethinking Realism on Rights,” in The Philosophical Dimension of Human Rights, ed. Claudio Corradetti (New York: Springer, 2012).

“Jürgen Habermas: Postwar German Political Debates and the Making of a Critical Theorist,” in Political Philosophy in the Twentieth Century: Authors and Arguments, ed. Catherine Zuckert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

“Politische Justiz in Zeiten des ‘War on Terror’,” in Kritische Verfassungspolitologie. Das Staatsverständnis von Otto Kirchheimer, eds. Robert Chr. Van Ooyen and Frank Schale (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2011).

“Der Republikanismus der Aufklärung im Zeitalter der Globalisierung,” in Transnationalisierung der Volkssouveränität, ed. Oliver Eberl (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 2011). (Italian translation in Democrazia Transfrontaliera [Turin: Trauben 2011]).

“Staatsrecht,” in Das Habermas Handbuch, ed. Hauke Brunkhorst, Regina Kreide, and Christina Lafont (Stuttgart: Metzler Verlag, 2009). (English version in The Habermas Handbook [NY: Columbia University Press, 2017]).

“Global Governance without Global Government? Jürgen Habermas on Postnational Democracy,” in Das Staatsverständnis von Jürgen Habermas, ed. Gary Schaal (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2009); also, in Habermas: International Library of Essays in the History of Social and Political Thought, ed. K. Günther, C. Joerges, and C. Ungureanu [Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011).

“Theoretical Missed Opportunity? Hans J. Morgenthau as Critical Realist,” in Political Thought and International Relations: Variations on a Realist Theme, ed. Duncan Bell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

“The Center Cannot Hold” [Comment on Benedict Kingsbury], in NOMOS XLIX Moral Universalism And Pluralism, ed. Melissa Williams and Henry Richardson (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

“Presidentialism and Emergency Government,” in Emergencies and the Limits of Legality, ed. Victor Ramraj (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) [refereed]. [An abbreviated German translation in Staats-Gewalt: Ausnahmezustand und Sicherheitsregimes. Historische Perspektiven, eds. Alf Lüdtke and Michael Wildt (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2008)].

“Introduction,” co-authored with Hartmut Rosa, in High-Speed Society: Social Acceleration, Power and Modernity.

“Carl Schmitt and Hans Morgenthau: Realism and Beyond,” in Reconsidering Realism: The Legacy of Hans J. Morgenthau, ed. Michael Williams (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

“Critical Theory Beyond Habermas,” in Oxford Handbook of Political Theory, ed. John Dryzek, Bonnie Honig, and Anne Phillips (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). [Czech translation in

Filosoficky casopis, 2006).

“Economic Globalization and the Rule of Law,” in International Library of Essays in Law and Legal Theory: Constitutionalism & Democracy, ed. Richard Bellamy (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). [Reprint of article listed above.]

“Franz L. Neumann: Legal Theorist of Globalization?” in International Library of Essays in Law and Society: Law in Social Theory, ed. Roger Cotterrell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). [Reprint of article listed above.]

“Rethinking Crisis Government,” in Terror, Culture, Politics: 9/11 Reconsidered, ed. Terry Nardin (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006) [substantially expanded version of article published under same title].

“Critical Theory and the Challenge of Ethical Pluralism,” in The Many and the One: Religious and Secular Perspectives on Ethical Pluralism in the Modern World, ed. Richard Madsen and Tracy Strong (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003) [refereed].

“Emergency Powers and the Compression of Space and Time,” in Israel Yearbook on Human Rights, Vol. 33 ed. Yoram Dinstein and Fania Domb (Amsterdam: Kluwer Legal Publishing, 2003) [invited].

“Franz Neumann: Rechtstheoretiker der Globalisierung?” in Franz Neumann: Rechtsstaat und Demokratie im Kapitalismus, ed. Matthias Iser and David Strecker (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2002). [German translation of “Franz Neumann –Legal Theorist of Globalization?”] [invited].

“Unsolved Paradoxes –Conservative Political Thought in Adenauer’s Germany,” in Confronting Mass Democracy and Industrial Technology: German Political and Social Thought from Nietzsche to Habermas, ed. John P. McCormick (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002) [refereed].

“Die politische Theorie der Eliten: Joseph Schumpeter,” in Politische Theorie der Gegenwart I, ed. Gary Schaal and Andre Brodocz (Stuttgart: UTB, 2002; revised for 3<sup>rd</sup>. ed, 2015.) [invited].

“Global Law in our High-Speed Economy,” in Rules and Networks: The Legal Culture of Global Business Transactions, ed. Volkmar Gessner, Richard Applebaum, Wm. Felstiner (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2001) [refereed].

“Carl Schmitt: una fuente desconocida en la teoría elitista de la democracia de Joseph Schumpeter?” in Hacia Carl Schmitt: Ir-resuelto?, ed. Carlos Mallorquin (Puebla, Mexico: Autonomous University of Puebla, 2001). [Spanish translation of Chapter Seven of Carl Schmitt: The End of Law] [invited].

“Social Democracy and the Rule of Law,” in From Liberal Democracy to Fascism: Legal and Political Thought in the Weimar Republic (2000) [refereed].

“Introduction,” in From Liberal Democracy to Fascism: Legal and Political Thought in the Weimar Republic (2000) [refereed].

“Between Radicalism and Resignation: Democratic Theory in Habermas’ Between Facts and Norms,” in Habermas: A Critical Companion, ed. Peter Dews (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999) [refereed]; also in Habermas: Sage Masters in Social Theory, ed. David Rasmussen and James Swindal (London: Sage, 2002); also in Discourse and Democracy: Essays on Habermas’s Between Facts and Norms, ed. Kenneth Baynes (Albany: SUNY Press, 2002). [Portuguese translation in Revista Brasileira de Ciencia Politica, No. 13 (2014)].

“Globalization and the Fate of Law,” in Recrafting the Rule of Law, ed. David Dyzenhaus (Oxford: Hart, 1999) [refereed]. [Swedish translation in Fronesis (December 2003)].

“Die stille Revolution im amerikanischen Recht,” in Das Recht der Republik, ed. Peter Niesen and Hauke Brunkhorst (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1999). [German translation of “Free Market Anti-Formalism: The Case of Richard Posner”] [invited].

“Revolutions and Constitutions: Hannah Arendt’s Challenge to Carl Schmitt,” in Law as Politics: Carl Schmitt’s Critique of Liberalism, ed. David Dyzenhaus (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998). [Reprint of article listed above] [refereed]; also in Arendt and Law, ed. Marco Goldoni and Christopher McCorkindale (London: Routledge, 2017).

“Introduction,” in The Rule of Law Under Siege: Selected Essays of Franz L. Neumann and Otto Kirchheimer (1996) [refereed].

### Review Articles

“Judith N. Shklar as Theorist of Political Obligation,” European Journal of Political Theory (forthcoming).

“Jürgen Habermas and the Fate of Democracy,” Boston Review ([www.bostonreview.net](http://www.bostonreview.net)) (April 12, 2017).

“Edward Snowden and the Ethics of Whistleblowing,” Boston Review ([www.bostonreview.net](http://www.bostonreview.net)) (May 2014).

“The Frankfurt School at War,” Foreign Affairs (July-August 2013). [Japanese translation, Foreign Affairs Report, September 2013].

“Barack Obama’s War on Terror,” Constitutional Commentary, Vol. 28 (Spring 2013).

“Democracy as Spectator Sport,” Radical Philosophy, No. 167 (May-June 2011).

“The Frankfurt School and American Social Thought,” International Studies Quarterly, Vol. 12, no. 4 (2010).

“Global Governance without Global Government? Habermas on Postnational Democracy,” Political Theory, Vol. 36 (2008).

“Final Words?” German Law Journal, Vol. 7, No. 2 (2006).

“Is Republican Regulation the Answer to Globalization?” University of Toronto Law Journal, Vol. 52 (2002) [invited].

“Down on Law: The Legacy of Carl Schmitt,” Boston Review (April-May 2001) [invited].

“Globalization and Democratic Theory,” Polity, Vol. XXIII, No. 2 (Winter 2000) [invited].

“The Return of Weimar,” History of Political Thought, Vol. XIX (Winter 1998) [invited].

“The Rule of Law at Century’s End,” Political Theory, Vol. 25, No. 5 (1997) [invited].

“Constitutionalism and Difference,” University of Toronto Law Journal, Vol. 47 (1997) [invited].

“Missed Opportunity? The German Constitutional Debate,” German Politics & Society, No. 31 (1994) [invited].

“Carl Schmitt and the Nazis,” German Politics & Society, No. 23 (1991) [invited].

“The Politics of Socialism Reconsidered,” Praxis International, Vol. 8 (1988) [invited].

### Critical Exchanges

“Some Skepticism About World Government Skepticism” (April 20, 2018)  
<http://wgresearch.org/some-skepticism-about-world-government-skepticism/>

“What Edward Snowden Can Teach Theorists of Civil Disobedience,” Philosophy and Social Criticism, Vol. 42, No. 10 (2016). [refereed].

“Response to Rahul Sagar, “Against Moral Absolutism: Surveillance and Disclosure After Snowden,” Ethics & International Affairs (online exclusive) (ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org) (June 22, 2015).

“Globalization, Constitutionalism, and Sovereignty,” Global Constitutionalism, Vol. 3, No. 1 (2014) [refereed].

“Speed, States, and Social Theory: A Response to Hartmut Rosa,” in Constellations, Vol. 10 (2003) [invited].

“Among Enemies: A Debate about the Meaning of Carl Schmitt’s Legal Theory” [Exchange with Gopal Balakrishnan], Boston Review (Summer 2001) [invited].

“The Fascism of Carl Schmitt: A Response to George Schwab,” German Politics & Society, No. 29 (1993) [invited].

### Encyclopedia Articles

“Carl Schmitt,” in The Cambridge Habermas Lexicon, eds. Amy Allen and Eduardo Mendieta (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

“Franz L. Neumann,” in The Cambridge Habermas Lexicon, eds. Amy Allen and Eduardo Mendieta (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

“Radical Reformism,” in The Cambridge Habermas Lexicon, eds. Amy Allen and Eduardo Mendieta (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

“Realismus,” in Encyclopedia of Jewish History and Culture, Vol. 5, ed. D. Diner (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2014).

“Reinhold Niebuhr,” Encyclopedia of Political Thought, ed. Michael Gibbons (Oxford, Blackwell’s, 2014).

“Frankfurt School,” in Encyclopedia of Law and Society (London: Sage, 2007).

“Carl Schmitt,” in Encyclopedia of Law and Society (London: Sage, 2007).

“Franz L. Neumann,” in Dictionary of American Economists (Devon U.K.: Thoemmes, 2006).

“Globalization,” in Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (<http://plato.stanford.edu>) (2002; updated 2010; 2013) [refereed].

“Critical Theory” (with Seyla Benhabib), Encyclopedia of Democracy, ed. Seymour Martin Lipset (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Books, 1995) [invited]; reprinted in Political Philosophy: Theories, Thinkers, Concepts, ed. Seymour Martin Lipset (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Books, 2001).

## Book Reviews

Review of Candice Delmas, A Duty to Resist: When Disobedience Should Be Uncivil, Contemporary Political Theory (forthcoming, 2019).

Review of Richard Ned Lebow, ed., Max Weber and International Relations, Max Weber Studies, Vol. 18, No. 2 (2019).

Review of Anne M. Kornhauser, Debating the American State: Liberal Anxieties and the New Leviathan, 1930-1970, Perspectives Vol. 15, No. 4 (2017).

Review of Hans Joas and Wolfgang Knöbl, War in Social Thought: Hobbes to the Present, International History Review, Vol. 39, No. 1 (2017).

Review of Ira Katznelson, Fear Itself: The New Deal and the Origins of our Time, Perspectives, Vol. 12, No. 2 (2014).

Review of Georg Sorenson, A Liberal World Order in Crisis: Choosing Between Imposition and Restraint, Perspectives, Vol. 11, No. 3 (2013).

Review of Luis Cabrera, ed., Global Governance, Global Government, Political Studies Reviews Vol. 10, No. 3 (2012).

Review of Samuel Moyn, The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History, Perspectives, Vol., 8, No. 1 (2011).

Review of Furio Cerutti, Global Challenges for Leviathan: A Political Philosophy of Nuclear Weapons and Global Warming, Millennium, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2010).

Review of Daniele Archibugi, The Global Commonwealth of Citizens, Perspectives (2009).

Review of Bertell Ollman and Tony Smith, ed. Dialectics for the New Century, New Political Science 31 (2009).

Review of John Yoo, Powers of War and Peace: Constitution and Foreign Affairs After 9/11, Perspectives, Vol. 4, No. 3 (2006).

Review of Christian Joerges and Navraj Singh Ghaleigh, Darker Legacies of Law in Europe, in Rebels Zeitschrift (2006) [reprint of "Final Words?"].

Review of Hauke Brunkhorst, Solidarity: From Civic Friendship to Global Legal Community, Ethics & International Affairs, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Fall 2005).

Review of Campbell Craig, Glimmer of a New Leviathan: Total War in The Realism of Niebuhr, Morgenthau, and Waltz; Christophe Rohde, Hans J. Morgenthau und der weltpolitische Realismus, Constellations, Vol. 10, No. 5 (2005).

Review of Bernhard Schlink & Arthur Jacobson, ed. Weimar Jurisprudence, International Journal of Constitutional Law, Vol. 2 (2003).

Review of John P. McCormick, Carl Schmitt's Critique of Liberalism: Against Technology as Politics, European Journal of Philosophy, Vol. 6 (1998).

Review of Simone Chambers, Reasonable Democracy: Jürgen Habermas and the Politics of Discourse, American Political Science Review Vol. 91 (1997).

Review of Ira Katznelson, Liberalism's Crooked Circle: Letters to Adam Michnik, Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 112 (1997).

Review of Mitchell Cohen, The Wager of Lucien Goldmann: Tragedy, Dialectics, and a Hidden God, Journal of Politics, Vol. 58 (1996).

Review of Karl Löwith, Martin Heidegger & European Nihilism, German Politics & Society, No. 39 (Summer 1996).

Review of Manfred Wiegandt, Norm und Wirklichkeit, German Politics & Society, No. 38 (Spring 1996).

Review of Martin Heidegger: Politics, Art, Technology, ed. Karsten Harries and Christoph Jamme, German Politics & Society No. 37 (Winter 1995).

Review of Hans-Georg Betz, Radical Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe, Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 110 (1995).

Review of Ingo Müller, Hitler's Justice: The Courts of the Third Reich, German Politics & Society, No. 29 (1993).

### Translations

Claus Offe, "Franz Neumann's Concept of Social Power," Constellations, Vol. 10 (2003) (with Christiane Wilke).

Erhard Denninger, "'Security, Diversity, Solidarity' Instead of 'Freedom, Equality, Fraternity,'" and J. Habermas, "Remarks on Denninger's Triad of Security, Diversity and Solidarity,"



Constellations, Vol. 7 (2000) (with C. Long).

Jürgen Habermas, "Bestiality and Humanity: A War on the Border Between Morality and Legality," Constellations, Vol. 6 (1999) (with C. Long).

Ingeborg Maus, "The 1933 'Break' in Carl Schmitt's Theory," Canadian Journal of Law and Jurisprudence Vol. 10 (1997) (with Anke Grosskopf).

Translator of substantial portion of The Rule of Law Under Siege.

#### Other Professional Publications

"Pigeon-holing Prague?" Philosophy and Social Criticism, Vol. 43, No. 3 (2017).

Editor, Special Section, "Fiftieth Anniversary of Habermas' Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere," Political Theory, Vol. 40, No. 6 (2012).

Editor, Special Section, "War and Peace in Postwar German Thought," Constellations. Vol. 14, No. 4 (2011).

Editor, Special Section on "Europe vs. the USA?" Constellations, Vol. 14, No. 3 (2007).

"Iris Marion Young, 1949-2006," Political Theory, Vol. 34, No. 6 (2006).

Co-Editor, Special Section on "Carl Schmitt and International Law," Constellations, Vol. 11 (2004).

Editor, Special Section on "Law in the Global Economy," Constellations, Vol. 8 (2001).

#### Interviews

"Cuatro maneras de entender la desobediencia civil," El Huffington Post (June 19, 2019). ([https://www.huffingtonpost.es/entry/cuatro-maneras-de-entender-la-desobediencia-civil\\_es\\_5d09545de4b0f7b744288a27](https://www.huffingtonpost.es/entry/cuatro-maneras-de-entender-la-desobediencia-civil_es_5d09545de4b0f7b744288a27)).

"Has the Word 'Resistance' Become Overused?" Interview on "The Show," KJZZ Phoenix (September 25, 2018) <https://kjzz.org/content/704015/has-word-resistance-become-overused>

"Whistleblowing," Hinterfragt-Der Ethik Podcast (June 21, 2015) ([www.ethik.uzh.ch/hinterfragt.html](http://www.ethik.uzh.ch/hinterfragt.html)) (podcast).

"Why is Whistleblowing on the Rise?" Irish Times (December 16, 2014). (<https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/unthinkable-why-is-whistleblowing-on-the-rise-1.2034303>)

“Les nouveaux rythmes de la politique dans la sociétés a grande vitesse,” *Multitudes* (46) (2011), pp. 191-92 ([https://www.cairn.info/revue-multitudes-2011-3-page-191.htm?try\\_download=1#](https://www.cairn.info/revue-multitudes-2011-3-page-191.htm?try_download=1#)).  
 “Frihid til politik eller frihed til forbrug?” *Information* (March 30, 2004), p. 11 (<http://www.information.dk/2004/03/frihed-politik-frihed-forbrug>).

### Other Public Interventions

“Trump’s ‘Get it Done Faster’ Emergency” (February 18, 2019)  
<https://verfassungsblog.de/president-trumps-get-it-done-faster-emergency/>

“Civil Disobedience in the Age of Trump” (October 24, 2018)  
<http://www.publicseminar.org/2018/10/civil-disobedience-in-the-age-of-trump/>

“The GOP’s Antidemocratic Fetish Runs Deep,” *Boston Review* (February 14, 15, 2017)  
<http://bostonreview.net/politics/william-e-scheuerman-gops-anti-democratic-fetish-runs-deep>

“What is Political Resistance?” (February 16, 2017)  
<http://www.publicseminar.org/2017/02/what-is-political-resistance/>

Other short articles in *Dissent*, *In These Times*; op-ed pieces for *Bloomington Herald Times*, *Huffington Post*, *Indianapolis Star*, *Yahoo News*; letters to editor in *Dissent*, *IndyStar*, *Nation*, *New Republic*, *New York Times*, *New York Times Book Review*; quoted and/or referenced in *The Atlantic*, *Berliner Zeitung*, *Bookforum* (Omnivore), *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Huffington Post*, *IMER* (Mexican Public Radio), *Spiegel*, *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, *Washington Post*, elsewhere.

### Media Appearances

Various for MSNBC, Indiana Public Media (WTIU/WFIU), CBS4 (Indy), Fox59 (Indy).

### **Scholarly Presentations**

“The Political Logic of Authoritarian Populism,” Law Faculty, University of Catanzaro (Italy), May 17, 2019 [invited].

“Judith Shklar and the Critique of Legalism,” Conference on Exile and Rightlessness: Émigré Scholars and the Birth of Human Rights Discourse, Barnard College, May 2, 2019 [invited].

“State Civil Disobedience as Crisis Response?” Panel on “Crises and the Transformation of Political Order,” ISA, Toronto, March 30, 2019.

“Civil Disobedience and the European Crisis,” Postdoctoral Dialogue Series, Normative Orders, Frankfurt University, March 13, 2019 [postdoc workshop devoted to my recent work on civil

disobedience; invited].

“Progressive Realism: Possible, But Cogent?” Workshop on Realism, Liberalism, History, Duke University, February 9, 2019 [invited].

“Can Political Institutions Commit Civil Disobedience,” Law Faculty, University of Oslo, October 22, 2018 [invited].

“Civil Disobedience and Constituent Power: Beyond the Nation State?” ARENA Center for European Studies, University of Oslo, October 23, 2018 [invited]; Workshop on Protest, Disobedience, and Constituent Power, University of Hamburg, May 15, 2017 [invited]; Conference on Philosophy and the Social Sciences, Prague, May 18, 2017; Workshop on Enlightenment and Critical Theory, Deakin University, Melbourne, August 2, 2017 [invited].

“Arendt’s Crisis in the Republic in the Age of Trump,” Roundtable Participant, APSA, Boston, August 30, 2018.

“Liberal Democracy’s Crisis: What a Forgotten ‘Frankfurter’ Can Still Teach Us,” *Constellations* Conference, Columbia University, December 1, 2018 [invited]; Conference on “Hermann Heller, Franz L. Neumann, Otto Kirchheimer: Trois pensées réformatrices du droit,” Sorbonne, Paris, June 13, 2018 [invited]; also, Conference on Philosophy and Social Sciences, Czech Academy of Science, Prague, May 19, 2018.

“Digitales Whistleblowing: eine neue Form des zivilen Ungehorsams?” Free University of Berlin, May 15, 2018 (in German).

“Some Skepticism About World Government-Skepticism,” Legitimacy of Transnational Orders Conference, Boston College, Boston, April 13, 2018 [invited].

“Response to Critics,” Roundtable on Scheuerman’s Civil Disobedience, Ostrom Workshop, Indiana University, February 16, 2018.

“Recent Frankfurt Critical Theory: Down on Law?” Sao Paolo Critical Theory Conference, CEBRAP (Sao Paolo, Brazil), October 30, 2017 [invited].

Discussant on Jose Rodrigo Rodriguez, “Perversion of Law: Six Cases,” Sao Paolo Critical Theory Conference, CEBRAP (Sao Paolo, Brazil), October 31, 2017 [invited].

“Constituent Power and Disobedience: From the European Enlightenment to the Global Present,” Keynote Lecture, Workshop on Enlightenment and Critical Theory, Deakin University, Melbourne, August 3, 2017 [invited].

Discussant, Law and Politics of New Experimentalism Workshop, LSE, London, May 22, 2017

[invited].

“Emergency Powers Beyond the Nation State,” Keynote Lecture, Violence, Security, and Democracy: A Symposium, Purdue University, April 20, 2017 [invited].

“Civil Disobedience: An Anti-Legal Turn?” Political Theory Colloquium, Seoul National University, Seoul, March 30, 2017 [invited].

“Crises and Extra-Legality: From Above and From Below,” Political Theory Colloquium, Seoul National University, Seoul, March 31, 2017; Copenhagen Business School, December 12, 2014. Conference on European Crises from Weimar to the Present [invited].

“Digitaler und ziviler Ungehorsam,” Forschungskolleg Humanwissenschaften, Goethe University, Bad Homburg (public lecture, in German), December 15, 2016 [invited].

“What’s so Bad about Legalism?” Critical Theory Colloquium, November 11, 2016, Northwestern University; Freedom Today Conference, University College Dublin, June 7, 2016 [invited].

“Civil Disobedience in the Shadows of Postnationalization and Privatization,” University of Frankfurt Political Theory Colloquium, October 18, 2016; Notre Dame Political Theory Colloquium, January 29, 2016; Conference on Rethinking Political Authority, University College, Dublin, November 21, 2015.; University of Pennsylvania Political Theory Symposium, October 2, 2015 [invited].

“Getting Past Schmitt? Political Realism and the Autonomy of Politics,” Amsterdam University, Department of Philosophy, September 28, 2016 [invited].

“Civil Disobedience: Beyond the Nation State?” Symposium (with Robin Celikates, Jeffrey Isaac) Discussant (and Organizer), Indiana University, April 1, 2016.

“Carl Schmitt goes Global?” Legal Theory Lecture series, Law Faculty, University of Vienna, December 1, 2016; King’s College (London), Conference on Transnational Sovereignties: Constellations, Processes, Contestations, March 17, 2016 [invited].

“Civil Disobedience: Ethical, Legal, Political Perspectives,” Roundtable Participant, May 23, 2015, Conference on Philosophy and the Social Sciences, Czech Academy for Sciences.

“Digital Disobedience and the Rule of Law,” May 9, 2015, Conference on Civil Disobedience Beyond the State, ACUD, Berlin (Humboldt University) [invited].

“America’s Unfinished Democracy,” Phi Beta Kappa Address, Spring Initiation Banquet, Indiana University, April 14, 2015.

“Edward Snowden’s Lessons: Against the Anti-Legal Turn in Theories of Civil Disobedience,” January 19, 2015, Centre for Ethics, University of Toronto; Center for Law, Society, and Culture Colloquium, Indiana University Law School, March 5, 2015 [invited].

“Recent Theories of Civil Disobedience,” University College, Dublin, October 18, 2014, Conference on Conscience and Conscientious Objection in Contemporary Public Life [invited].

“Professor Kelsen’s Incredible Disappearing Act,” Valparaiso Law School, June 28, 2014. Luncheon Plenary. Conference on “Kelsen in America” [invited].

“Edward Snowden: Civil Disobedience for an Age of Total Surveillance,” Department of Philosophy, University of Memphis, February 7, 2014; Conference on Philosophy and the Social Sciences, Prague, May 23, 2014; York University, Department of Politics, May 27, 2014 [invited].

“From Bavaria to Berlin: Carl Schmitt on Emergency Powers,” York University, Department of Politics, May 27, 2014 [invited].

“Barack Obama’s War on Terror,” Center for Constitutional Democracy, Indiana University, September 26, 2013.

Panelist, “Can You Hear Me Now? Edward Snowden and the NSA,” CAGS and IU Law School, Indiana University, September 6, 2013.

Discussant, “Roundtable on Jean L. Cohen’s Globalization and Sovereignty,” APSA Annual Meeting, Chicago, August 30, 2013.

Presenter, “Globality: Critical Reflections,” Conference on Globality, Danish Institute for International Studies, June 16-17, 2013 [invited].

Panelist, “The Future of Political Theory,” MPSA, Chicago, April 12, 2013.

Discussant, “Clinton Rossiter’s Constitutional Dictatorship,” Berlin Colloquien zur Zeitgeschichte (Berlin), November 30-December 1, 2012 [invited].

“Presidentialism and Emergency Government: From Bush to Obama,” Einstein Forum (Potsdam), November 29, 2012 (Conference Keynote) [invited].

“Global Democracy and the Antistatist Fallacy,” Colloquium on Philosophy & Society, Centro Studi Americani (Rome), October 11, 2012 [invited]; also, Political Theory Symposium, Stanford University, October 26, 2012 [invited]; ISA Workshop on Global Government, San Francisco, April 2, 2013; Political Theory Luncheon, IU, March 29, 2013; Conference on

Philosophy and the Social Sciences, Prague, Czech Republic, May 23, 2013.

“The Realist Revival in Political Philosophy, or How Classical IR Realism Got Realism Right,” Conference on Reorienting Realism: Context, Crisis, and Critique, Edinburgh, June 23, 2012 [invited].

“Realist Readings (and Misreadings) of Kant,” Conference on Cosmopolitanism and International Relations Theory, Darmstadt University, March 1, 2012 [invited]; also, British International Studies Association Meeting, Edinburgh, June 21, 2012.

Discussant, Realist Ethics Panel, International Studies Association, San Francisco, April 1, 2012.

“Law, Capitalism, and Social Criticism,” Sussex University (UK), Program in Social and Political Thought, December 9, 2011 [invited]; also, Prague Conference on Philosophy and Social Sciences, Czech Academy of Sciences, May 12, 2012.

“Reconsidering Realism on Rights,” APSA Annual Meeting, September 4, 2011; also, La Sapienza University (Rome), October 12, 2012.

“Who’s Afraid of the World State?,” IU Political Theory Symposium, September 16, 2011; University of Florence, Department of Philosophy, May 9, 2011 [invited]; Prague Conference on Philosophy and the Social Sciences, Czech Academy for Sciences, May 12, 2011; Missouri State University, Baird Memorial Lecture, April 11, 2011; International Studies Association Meeting, Montreal, March 18, 2011; Northwestern University, Political Theory Workshop, February 21, 2011 [invited]; Inaugural Keynote Lecture, Center for Advanced International Studies, University of Sussex, May 8, 2012 [invited].

“From Bavaria to Berlin: A Political Genealogy of Carl Schmitt’s Theory of Emergency Powers,” Michigan State University, Perspectives on Prerogative Conference, March 26, 2011 [invited].

Organizer and participant in roundtable, “Who’s Afraid of World Government?” International Studies Association Meeting, March 16, 2011, Montreal.

Commentator, “Carl Schmitt in Weimar Workshop,” German Studies, Indiana University, November 13, 2010.

Panelist and Discussant, Executive Power Symposium, University of Texas Law School, April 9-10, 2010 [invited].

“What Cosmopolitans Can Learn from Classical Realists,” Yale University, Political Theory Symposium, October 14, 2009 [invited]; also at Mershon Center, Ohio State, November 13, 2009; University of Iowa Law School, March 5, 2010 [invited]; Czech Academy for Sciences,

Prague, May 12, 2010.

“Marx or Bismarck? The German Origins of International Realism,” Cornell University, New Directions in Postwar Conservative Thought Conference, October 2, 2009 [invited].

“Postnational Democracies without Postnational States?” University of Frankfurt, October 24<sup>th</sup>, 2008 [invited]; Czech Academy for Sciences, Prague, May 15, 2009; also, University of Jena (Germany), July 14, 2009 [invited].

Chair, APSA Roundtable, “Clinton Rossiter’s Constitutional Dictatorship: Still Relevant for the ‘War on Terror’?”, September 6, 2009.

“Majority Rule and the Environmental Crisis: Some Critical Reflections,” Workshop on the Workshop Meeting, Indiana University, June 14, 2009.

Panel Discussant, “Anatomy of Constitutional Crises,” APSA Annual Meeting, August 30, 2008.

“Torture and the ‘New Wars’,” International Seminar on Torture, University of Sao Paulo, Brazil, February 26, 2008 [invited]; also, Purdue University, April 14, 2008 [invited]; Conference on Philosophy and the Social Sciences, May 17, 2008; IU Center for Constitutional Democracy, November 13<sup>th</sup>, 2008 [all in invited].

“Morgenthau and the Bomb,” ISA Annual Meeting, San Francisco, March 29, 2008.

Panel Discussant, “Rethinking the Communist Manifesto,” IU Democracy Consortium Conference, February 1, 2008.

“Global Governance without Global Government? Habermas on Postnational Democracy,” IU Political Theory Luncheon, November 30, 2007.

Panel Discussant, “Uses and Abuses of Rule of Law,” APSA Annual Meeting, September 1, 2007.

“What is Globalization?” International Studies Summer Institute, Indiana University, July 13, 2007; also, Indiana University Mini-University, June 2008; Indiana University, Winter University, February 21, 2009.

Discussion Leader, “Transitions to Rule of Law: How to Get There?” Democracy and the Modern World Conference, Indiana Democracy Consortium, June 29, 2007.

“Presidential Power in an Age of Terror,” Keynote Address, Indiana University Center for Law, Society, and Culture, April 5, 2007.

Panel Chair, “Gender in the Structure of Government,” Conference on Constituting Equality, Indiana University Law School, March 23, 2007.

“Presidentialism and Emergency Powers,” National University of Singapore, January 5, 2007 [invited]; also, at Max-Planck Institut for History, Göttingen, Germany, March 10, 2007 [invited]; Conference on Philosophy and Social Sciences, Prague, May 10, 2007; Purdue University, April 14, 2008 [invited].

“Realism and the Left: The Case of Hans J. Morgenthau,” University of Chicago Political Theory Workshop, May 8, 2006 [invited].

“What’s Social Acceleration?” West European Studies Lunch Talks, Indiana University, April 5, 2006.

Discussant, Hannah Arendt on Judgment Conference, Indiana University, March 25, 2006.

“Emergency Powers and the Rule of Law after 9/11,” presented at University of Texas Constitutional Studies Luncheon, February 14, 2006 [invited].

“Carl Schmitt and the Road to Abu Ghraib,” presented at University of Texas, February 13, 2006 [invited]; Georgetown University, Constitutional Law and Theory Colloquium, March 14, 2006; also at Conference on Conservative Thought in West Germany After 1940, April 2, 2006, Cornell University; Department of Philosophy, University of Kentucky, February 2, 2007 [all invited].

“Globalization and the Antinomies of Habermasian Deliberative Democracy,” presented at Conference on Philosophy and Social Sciences, May 18, 2005, Czech Academy for Sciences, Prague; also, at University of Chicago, May 8, 2006 [invited].

“Karl Popper’s Open Society: Sixty Years Later,” presented at Princeton University, April 7<sup>th</sup>, 2005 [invited].

“Carl Schmitt and Hans Morgenthau: The Hidden Dialogue,” presented at Cornell University, German Studies Colloquium, April 22, 2005; McGill University, Department of Political Science, December 9, 2004; at Vanderbilt University, Lecture Series on the Holocaust and Other Genocides, October 28, 2004; at Conference on Hans Morgenthau, University of Wales, October 9, 2004 [invited talks].

“Law and Human Rights in a Time of Crisis,” University of Minnesota International Relations Colloquium, September 13, 2004.

“International Law as Historical Myth,” American Political Science Association, September 2004. Organizer of panel, “Carl Schmitt: Theorist of Globalization?”



Presented “American Kingship: Monarchical Origins of Modern Presidentialism,” Columbia University, Conference on Rethinking State and Popular Sovereignty, October 17, 2003; also Faculty Works in Progress, University of Minnesota Law School, February 19, 2004; Department of Political Science, Indiana University, February 19, 2005 [invited].

Commentator, “Crisis in Judgment in Weimar Panel,” German Studies Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, September 19, 2003.

Presented “Constitutionalism in An Age of Speed,” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 2003. Organizer of panel, “Critical Perspectives on Constitutionalism.”

Presented “Liberal Democracy’s Time,” Center for Human Values, Princeton University, November 20, 2002; also, Department of Political Science, New School, February 13, 2003; Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, March 18, 2003; [in German] University of Frankfurt, January 16, 2004 [invited].

Commentator on Stanford Levinson, “Torture,” Public Seminar in Ethics and Public Affairs, Princeton, November 21, 2002 [invited].

Presented “Rethinking Crisis Government,” Conference on “Antiterrorism and the Law,” Princeton University, Center for Law & Public Affairs, May 14, 2002 [invited]; also, at APSA Annual Meeting, Boston, September 2002.

Presented “Cosmopolitan Democracy and Regulatory Law,” International Studies Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, March 26, 2002.

Presented “Global Law in our High Speed Economy,” Workshop on “Democracy and the Rule of Law Under the Pressures of Globalization,” Social Sciences Division, University of Frankfurt, January 12, 2002 [invited].

Presented “Globalization and Law,” Center for 21<sup>st</sup> Century Studies, University of Wisconsin (Milwaukee), November 9, 2001 [invited].

“A New Human Rights Agenda?: Changing Dimensions of Human Rights Advocacy,” MacArthur Consortium Summer Institute, Writing Workshop Discussant, University of Wisconsin (Madison), June 21, 2001.

Presented “Liberal Democracy and the Empire of Speed,” University of Minnesota Political Theory Colloquium, March 16, 2001; also, at University of Toronto Political Theory Colloquium, May 4, 2001 [invited]; at Conference on Philosophy and Social Sciences, Czech Academy for Sciences, Prague, May 23, 2001; at Political Science Department, University of

Wisconsin (Madison), December 13, 2001 [invited] .

Presented “Franz Neumann –Legal Theorist of Globalization,” Conference on “Franz L. Neumann’s Legacy: The Defense of the *Rechtsstaat* in Times of Changing Capitalism,” American Academy/Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft/ FU Berlin, December 1-2, 2000 [invited].

Presenter on “Post-Nationalism and Globalization,” Colloquium on “Constitutionalism, Democracy, and Citizenship: Current Debates,” University of Exeter, November 24-25, 2000 [invited].

Commentator on “Multinational Corporations and Non-Governmental Organizations: Codes of Conduct,” Conference on “Work and Social Citizenship in a Global Economy,” University of Wisconsin (Madison), November 10-11, 2000 [invited].

Presented “Reflexive Law and the Challenges of Globalization,” Annual Meeting of the APSA, Washington, D.C., August 30, 2000.

Presented “Transnational Labor Standards and the Rule of Law,” Annual Meeting of the Law & Society Association, Miami, May 26, 2000.

Chair and Discussant on panel, “Beyond Toleration,” Annual Meeting of the Law & Society Association, Miami, May 28, 2000.

Presented “Globalization and the Fate of Law,” Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota (Twin Cities), December 13, 1999; also, at Department of Political Science, Ohio State University, January 21, 2000 [invited talks].

Presented "Critical Theory and the Challenge of Pluralism," Ethikon Institute and University of California at San Diego, June 25-27, 1999 [invited].

Presented "Global Law in our High-Speed Economy," International Institute for the Sociology of Law, Onati, Spain, June 17-19, 1999 [invited].

Discussant at “German Ideologies Since 1945 Conference,” Remarque Institute, New York University, April 30-May 1, 1999 [invited].

Presented "The Economic State of Emergency," at “International Conference on Carl Schmitt,” sponsored jointly by Columbia University, Cardozo Law School, New School, New York, April 23-25, 1999 [invited].

Presented "Unsolved Paradoxes: German Conservatism in the Adenauer Period," Symposium on “50th Anniversary of the Federal Republic,” Rice University, March 19, 1999 [invited].

Presented "Globalization and the Fate of Law," Phi Sigma Tau (Graduate Honors Society) Guest Lecture, Department of Philosophy, University of Georgia, February, 19, 1999 [invited].

Presented "Globalization and the Rule of Law," May 11, 1998, Conference on Philosophy and Social Sciences, Prague, Czech Republic; also, at New School for Social Research, October 17, 1998 [invited].

Presented "Globalization and the Law, APSA" American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston, September 1998. Organizer of panel, "The Fate of the Rule of Law."

Presented "The Unholy Alliance of Hayek and Schmitt," Symposium on "Law and Democracy in Honor of Ingeborg Maus," University of Frankfurt, Frankfurt, October 10, 1997 [invited].

Presented "Decisionism and Legal Indeterminacy: The Case of Carl Schmitt," "Critical Theory and Modernity" Congress, University of Michigan, October 4-6, 1996 [invited].

Organizer of panel, "Habermas and the Rule of Law," APSA Annual Meeting, San Francisco, September 1996. Presented "Habermas and the Fate of Representative Democracy: Some Critical Reflections."

Presented "Hannah Arendt's Challenge to Carl Schmitt," at "Contested Terrains: Social Conflict & Critique" Conference, Czech Academy of Science, Prague, May 20-25, 1996.

Chair and Organizer of panel, "From Liberal Democracy to Fascism: Political and Legal Thought in the Weimar Republic," APSA meeting, Chicago, September 1995.

Discussant on Panel, "Max Weber," APSA Meeting, September 1995.

"An Unholy Alliance? Carl Schmitt and Friedrich Hayek," Presented at the 17th World Congress of the International Society for Legal and Social Philosophy, Bologna, June 1995.

"Carl Schmitt's Critique of Liberal Constitutionalism," presented at Annual Meeting of Midwestern Political Science Association, Chicago, April 1995.

Chair of Panel, "Democracy, Communication, and Legitimacy," Midwestern Political Science Meeting, Chicago, April 1995.

"Democratic Theory and the Environmental Crisis," presented at "Democracy: Identity and Difference Conference," Czech Academy of Science, Prague, April 1994.

"Is Parliamentary Democracy in Crisis? A Response to the German Theorist Carl Schmitt," presented for West European Studies Program, University of Pittsburgh, February 22, 1994.

"A Crisis of Parliamentarism? The Weimar Debate," Northeastern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Newark, November 1993.

"The Rule of Law in Crisis?" presented Government Department Political Theory Colloquium, Harvard University, April 23, 1993.

"Neumann vs. Habermas: The Case of Legal Formalism," presented at Legal Theory Study Group, directed by Jürgen Habermas, University of Frankfurt, December 13, 1990.

### **Service to Department**

Director of Graduate Studies (2019-); Executive Committee (INTL), Chair (2019-20); Executive Committee (INTL), 2018-19; Chair, Personnel Committee, (2018); International Politics Recruitment Committee, 2017-8; Political Theory subfield chair (2017-18); Personnel Committee, 2015-16; Director of Graduate Studies, 2010-15; International Governance Faculty Recruitment Committee, 2015-16 (INTL); Human Rights Faculty Recruitment Committee, 2014-15 (INTL); Ad Hoc Committee on 2<sup>nd</sup> Year Paper Review, 2014-15; Graduate Committee, 2008-9; Comparative Politics Recruitment Committee (Fall 2008); Graduate Committee, 2006-7; Department Personnel Committee, 2006-8; Personnel Committee Chair, Spring 2008; Political Theory Subfield Chair (2008-9); Director of Undergraduate Studies (2004-5 at UMN); Political Theory Subfield Chair (2003-4 at UMN); Merit Committee (2003-4 at UMN); Graduate Admissions Coordinator (2001-2 at UMN); Graduate Admissions Committee (numerous times, at both PITT and UMN); Chair's Advisory Committee (numerous times at PITT); Department Financial Aid Committee (numerous times, PITT); many others.

### **Service to College and University**

SGIS Tenure and Promotion Committee, 2017-18; College Graduate Advisory Committee, 2015-16; Kinsley Dissertation Selection Committee, 2015; College Tenure Committee, 2013-15; Patten Selection Committee Member, 2011-14, Patten Selection Committee Chair, 2013-14; Indiana Democracy Consortium Steering Committee, 2007-8; West European Studies Executive Committee, 2006-2009; Promotion and Tenure Committee (2004-5 at UMN); University Sabbatical Leave Committee (2003-4 at UMN); Dean's Ad Hoc Advisory Committee on Tenure (PITT, 1998-99); Dean's Undergraduate Committee (PITT, 1995-97).

### **Service to Profession**

Co-Director of the annual conference on "Philosophy and the Social Sciences," meeting under the auspices of the Institute for Philosophy, Czech Academy for Sciences, Prague. This is a major interdisciplinary and international meeting of philosophers, political theorists, and social scientists working in the critical theory tradition, 2006-18.

Commentator, Conference on Alison McQueen's Political Realism in Apocalyptic Times, Political Science Department, Stanford University, October 27, 2012.

Chief organizer for international conference on “Transnational Democracy at the Crossroads? The EU Constitutional Crisis,” December 2, 2006.

Organized (with Bill Rasch) international conference on “Old Europe, New Orders: Post 1945 German Thought on War, Peace, and International Law,” March 27-29, 2009.

Manuscripts Reviewed:

American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, American Political Thought, Australian Journal of Philosophy, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Central European History; Constellations, Contemporary Political Theory, Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, Cultural Critique, Economy and Society, Ethics and International Affairs; European Journal of International Relations, European Journal of Political Theory, German Politics & Society, Global Constitutionalism, Global Policy, Global Society, Governance, History of Political Thought, Inquiry: Interdisciplinary Journal of Philosophy, International Journal of Constitutional Law, Journal of Moral Philosophy, International History Journal, International Political Sociology, International Relations, International Spectator (Rome), International Studies Quarterly, International Theory, Journal of Global Ethics, Journal of Human Rights, Journal of Political Philosophy, Journal of Politics, Law and Philosophy, Law & Social Inquiry; Law & Society Review, Millennium, Moral Philosophy and Politics, New Political Science, Perspectives on Political Science, Philosophy & Social Criticism, Political Studies, Political Theory, Policy Studies Journal, Political Studies, Politics & Policy, Polity, Praxis International, Raison Politique, Review of International Political Economy, Res Publica, Review of International Studies, Review of Politics, Southern Journal of Philosophy, Theory & Society, Time & Society; book manuscripts reviewed for Ashgate, Bloomsbury, Brill, Cambridge University Press (multiple), Columbia University Press (multiple), Cornell University Press (multiple), Edinburgh University Press (multiple), Palgrave, University of Pittsburgh Press, Oxford University Press (multiple), Polity Press (multiple), Princeton University Press (multiple), Routledge (multiple), St. Martin’s, Springer, Stanford University Press, SUNY Press. Research grant proposals reviewed for various public agencies (in Austria, Canada, Czech Republic, Israel, Netherlands, others).

#### Editorial Activity

Book Review Editor, Constellations, 1998-2006.

Editorial Council, Constellations, 1998-

Editorial Board, European Journal of Political Theory, 2005-

International Advisory Board, International Relations, 2015-

Editorial Board, Time & Society, 2010-19

Editorial Board, Review of Politics, 2012-

Editorial Board, Journal of International Political Theory, 2013-

Editorial Board, Berlin Journal of Critical Theory, 2018-

#### Professional Affiliations

American Political Science Association

APSA Foundations for Political Theory  
Caucus for a New Political Science  
Foundations of Political Theory  
International Studies Association

Other

Chair, Foundations of Political Theory, APSA, First Book Prize  
(1999-2000)

Chair, Political Theory Section (Section 19), Midwestern Political Science Association  
Conference, April 2004

Chair, Contemporary Political Theory (Section 43), Midwestern Political Science Association,  
Conference, April 2016.