

# THE TELOS

# INSTITUTE

**THE 2010 TELOS CONFERENCE:**

**FROM LEIFERWORLD TO BIOPOLITICS: EMPIRE IN THE AGE OF OBAMA**

**NEW YORK CITY**

**JANUARY 16th -17th 2010, 8:30 AM- 5:00PM**

IN THE CONTEXT OF A DRAMATIC REORGANIZATION OF THE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG STATE, MARKET, AND SOCIETY, THE 2010 TELOS CONFERENCE WILL TURN ITS ATTENTION TO COMPETING ACCOUNTS, BOTH THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL, OF THE NEW MODALITIES OF ADMINISTRATION, DOMINATION, AND POWER. FACING THE AUTHORITARIAN STATE AND A POLITICIZED MARKET AS WELL AS A TRANSFORMATION OF INTERNATIONAL POWER RELATIONS, HOW DOES ONE "DEFEND SOCIETY"?

---

## SPEAKERS

**RUSSELL BERMAN  
ARYEH BOTWINICK  
JAY GUPTA**

**PAUL GOTTFRIED  
TIM LUKE  
MICHAEL LEDEEN**

**MICHAEL MARDER  
ADRIAN PABST  
DAVID PAN**

---

TO REGISTER, PLEASE VISIT THE TELOS WEBSITE AT [WWW.TELOSPRESS.COM](http://WWW.TELOSPRESS.COM)  
**LIMITED SEATING! DON'T MISS THIS SPECIAL EVENT!**

## FROM LEIFEWORLD TO BIOPOLITICS: EMPIRE IN THE AGE OF OBAMA

In the context of a dramatic reorganization of the relationships among state, market, and society, the 2010 Telos conference will turn its attention to competing accounts, both theoretical and empirical, of the new modalities of administration, domination, and power. Facing the authoritarian state and a politicized market, how does one “defend society”?

The conference will address the extension of politicized control into ever greater realms of social life. What theoretical tools are available? How can we trace the process historically? Classical Critical Theory of the mid-twentieth century described a “totally administered society” in which an elaborate bureaucracy combined with a “culture industry” in order to eliminate spontaneity. Yet some viewed the era of deregulation (and the paradigms of postmodernism) as a rollback of administration and homogeneity. Do we now face the return to the strong state and a repoliticization of society in the name of left populism in the United States? Or has it been the transition from the old mass media to the Internet that has reshaped the dynamic of politics and culture?

Meanwhile, the brief moment of a presumed single superpower and unilateralism is shading into an international disorder of multiple power conflicts among strong states,

no longer confronted with human rights expectations or a democratization agenda. The resurgent control of society has taken on global proportions: China, Russia, North Korea, Iran, and Venezuela. How does international power operate in new forms of empire? Have “military-industrial complexes” been replaced by cultural hegemonies, defined by the spread of languages and religions? Do developments such as political Islam or Chinese nationalism indicate that “society” has been the hidden driver of state power all along? What about the shared “liberal” and “realistic” assumption that economic liberalization will produce political opening and democratization? Has state capitalism in the East responded better to the global economic crisis than market capitalism in the West?

Presentation topics will include themes such as: theories of domination in Critical Theory, post-structuralism, and other traditions (e.g., Schmitt, Arendt, Agamben); executive authority (Schmitt) and the defense of society against “biopolitics” (Foucault); “civil rights” or “human rights”; terrorism, the war on terror, and continuities from Bush to Obama; the structural transformation of the press and of public criticism; new technologies of power; populism, elites, and the new class; “smart power” and the role of intellectuals; traditions, religion, and resistance.

# **DIRECTIONS**

---

## **LOCATION:**

The TELOS Conference will be held at the Puck Building, located at 295 Lafayette Street, on the southeast corner of Houston and Lafayette Streets in the Soho neighborhood of Manhattan. The conference will be held on the 4th floor.

## **BY SUBWAY:**

6 train to Bleecker Street station. Coming from uptown, The Puck Building is visible from all exits. From downtown, walk one block south and cross Houston Street.

N or R trains to Prince Street station. Walk two blocks east to Lafayette Street and one long block north to Houston Street.

B, D, F or V trains to Broadway-Lafayette Street station. The Puck Building is visible from all exits.

# Saturday Schedule

8:30-8:55      **Coffee**

9:00 - 9:15      **Introduction**  
Russell Berman, Stanford University, USA

## **Plenary 1: Bureaucracy, Market, and Society, Room A**

Moderator: David Pan

9:15-10:30      **Party Rule and Managerial Government: A Necessary Link**  
Paul Gottfried, Elizabethtown College, USA  
**The Spectacle of Power**  
Adrian Pabst, University of Kent, UK

## **Session 1: Obama and Empire, Room A**

Moderator: Michael Marder

10:45-12:00      **Affective Autonomy: El Salvador, the United States and the Crisis of Citizenship**  
Dalton Anthony Jones, Bowling Green State University, USA  
**Obama in the Age of the Political Eschaton**  
Adam Staley Groves, European Graduate School  
**The Second Twenty Years Crisis**  
Omer Moussaly, University of Quebec, Canada

## **Session 2: The Subject of the Managerial State, Room B**

Moderator: Jay Gupta

10:45-12:00      **After Guilt: Self -Mastery, Technology, and a New Superego Imperative**  
Benjamin Fong, Columbia University, USA  
**Happiness and the Program of Neoliberal Governmentality**  
Samuel Binkley, Emerson College, USA  
**Waking up with Obama or the morning after...**  
Jeremy Fernando, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

## **Lunch - Plenary 2: Friends and Enemies in Iran, Room A**

Moderator: Russell Berman

12:15-1:00      **Iran and the War Against the West**  
Michael Ledeen, Freedom Scholar at the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, USA

## **Session 3: Biopolitics and the Global Order, Room A**

Moderator: Joseph Bendersky

1:15-2:45      **Biopower and Ecopower**  
Robert Marzec, Purdue University, USA  
**Geopolitics and Geoeconomics**  
Klaus Solberg Soilen, Blekinge Institute of Technology, Sweden  
**On Autogenic War: The Case of the US Army's Human Terrain System**  
Mike Hill, State University of New York, Albany, USA  
**Carl Schmitt's Dual Concept of the 'Total State'**  
Anthony Court, University of South Africa, South Africa

**Session 4: Political Traditions, Room B**

Moderator: Adrian Pabst

- 1:15-2:45      **A Socialist Critique of Baudrillard: Wrong Turns from the *Telos* Years**  
Richard Gilman-Opalsky, University of Illinois, Springfield, USA  
**On 'Left Spinozism'**  
Neil Turnbull, Nottingham Trent University, UK  
**Whither the Southern Tradition?**  
Peter Candler, Baylor University, USA

**Session 5: Sovereignty and Exception, Room A**

Moderator: Paul Gottfried

- 3:00-4:30      **Biopolitics Today: Identities and Power in a Neurobiological Era**  
Maurizio Meloni, University of Nottingham, UK  
**Nuclear State of Exception: Reading an Extension of Foucault's Concepts of Biopower and Biopolitics in Agamben and the Nuclear Age**  
Jeffrey Bussolini, CUNY, USA  
**The Exception and the Rule -Fictive, Real, Critical**  
Ulrike Kistner, University of South Africa, South Africa  
**Present While Absent: From Derrida's Metaphysics to Agamben's Biopolitics and Beyond**  
David Kishik, Manhattan Community College, USA

**Session 6: Political Action, Room B**

Moderator: Tim Luke

- 3:00-4:30      **The Stingray and the Insect: Obama and the Making of Critical Citizenship**  
Elisabeth Anker, George Washington University, USA  
**A Reappraisal of the Political Philosophy of Vaclav Havel**  
David Brennan, Bond University, Australia  
**Anarchist Traditions: Contours of a Contemporary Global Revival**  
Mohammed Bamyeh, University of Pittsburgh, USA  
**The Audience Problematic**  
Peter Oliver

**Plenary 3: Empire and Political Will, Room A**

Moderator: Russell Berman

- 4:45-6:15      **Imperial Germany and Modern China: Authoritarian Capitalism, Democracy, and War**  
Joseph Bendersky, Virginia Commonwealth University, USA  
**Carl Schmitt on the Relation between Representation and Metaphysics in a Multi-polar World**  
David Pan, University of California, Irvine  
**Reclaiming the Lifeworld: Toward an Ontology of Political Will**  
Micheal Marder, University of Saskatchewan, Canada

Dinner: Tototonno's Pizzeria Napolitana  
7:00-10:00

# Dinner

*Totonno's*

*Pizzeria Napolitano*

461 2nd. Ave.  
(Between 26th and 27th)  
New York, NY 10016  
(212) 213-8800

Cocktails at 7pm

Dinner at 8pm

# Sunday Schedule

9:30-9:55      Coffee

## **Plenary 4: Politics and Values, Room A**

Moderator: David Pan

10:00-11:30      **Shakespeare in Advance of Hobbes: Pathways to the  
Modernization of the European Psyche**  
Aryeh Botwinick, Temple University, USA  
**Values or Virtues?: The Future of Normative Discourse**  
Jay A. Gupta, Mills College, USA  
**Environmentality as Empire: The Politics and Values of Critical Climatology**  
Tim Luke, Virginia Tech, USA