

Dr. Ronald Schindler

Lecture Notes: Outlines



Grey Towers Castle (Arcadia University, Glenside PA)



Dr. Ronald J. Schindler and President Jerry Greiner

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[Resume](#)

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[Resume](#)

[Syllabus for Introduction to Philosophy](#)

[Syllabus for Occupational Ethics](#)

[Syllabus for Twentieth Century Philosophy and the Moral Question of Evil](#)

[Syllabus for Contemporary Moral Problems](#)

[Introduction to Philosophy Questions](#)

Syllabus for *Introduction to Philosophy*: Subject to further Amendments as needed!

Arcadia University
Introduction to Philosophy; PL 150.2

COURSE DESCRIPTION

We will explore philosophical problems, such as truth, justice, mind and person, surveying the discipline and identifying such particular philosophical specialties within as logic, ethics, epistemology, and metaphysics. Too, I will emphasize that there is a practical aspect to philosophy from changing our individual lives to our collective identities. So, philosophy also encompasses contemporary issues of class, gender, and race in a world that has no stable moral focal point.

Further, you will be given a historical model of the major events that mark the transition between the thinkers studied. I will unmask your prejudices and biases. The intent is to instruct you in critical thinking, reading, rhetoric, and writing. I intend to arm you with a critical theory to be engaged as functional and ethical "citizens of the world." Critical thought is always a preparation for affirmative action in demonstrating social responsibility to your fellow humans in a quid pro quo for your 'inalienable' rights founded in nature. I will compel the student to think about the public good and the current issues of world culture in moving beyond a position of mere egotistical self-interest to one of rich diversity. The study of classic works provides us with the groundwork on which to build a reasonable criticism of the forces of multiculturalism and modernism that have been a boon for our material lives but have impoverished the spirit in our age of World Alienation where the post-modern ideologies have deconstructed the given truths of the Judeo-Christian ethos and problematic Enlightenment ideals. Too, there are issues of equity versus efficiency in the distribution of the earth's limited bounty.

TEXTS

Baird, Forrest. *Philosophic Classics: FROM PLATO TO DERRIDA*
(the class text, whose assignments I will mark by an asterisk, that is the sign *)
Darwin, Charles. The Origin of Species (and Handout)
Freud, Sigmund. Civilization and its Discontents (and Handout)
Locke, John. The Second Treatise of Government (and Handout)
Machiavelli, Niccolo. The Prince (and Handout)
Pirsig, Robert. ZEN AND THE ART OF MOTORCYCLE MAINTENANCE: AN INQUIRY INTO VALUES
(and Handout)
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. The Social Contract

GRADES

Tests as needed. There will be exit interviews given during the finals period. I will review each student's work and together we will determine the earned grade for the semester.

READING ASSIGNMENTS

Dates that follow are approximations.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS AND CLASS EXERCISE **(film presentation of Sophie's Choice)**

I. Ancient Greek Philosophy

Pirsig, Robert (Phaedrus the Sophist), *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*. Schindler's Handout

II. Hellenistic Philosophy

Plato, *Republic*, Book VII
Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*
Epicurus, *Principal Doctrines*

III. Christianity and Medieval Philosophy

Augustine, *City of God*

IV. Modern Philosophy

Machiavelli, Niccolo. *The Prince*
Hobbes Thomas. *Leviathan*.
Locke, John. *The Second Treatise of Government*
Newton, Sir Isaac. Schindler's Handout
Montesquieu, Charles. Schindler's Handout
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *The Social Contract*
Kant, Immanuel. Schindler's Handout
Smith, Adam. *The Wealth of Nations*, to be compared to Milton Friedman's *Capitalism and Freedom*, Schindler's lecture with no readings and Handouts on Smith and Friedman.

V. Nineteenth Century Philosophy

Hegel Georg Wolfgang Friedrich. *Phenomenology of Spirit*
Marx, Karl. *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts*; *The Communist Manifesto*;
and *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*; and *Grundrisse*
Darwin, Charles. *The Origin of Species*, excerpts; and Thomas Malthus, *On Population*;
Schindler's lecture on Malthus with no readings
Nietzsche, Friedrich. *Twilight of the Idols*

VI. Twentieth Century Philosophy

Dubois, W.E.B. *The Souls of Black Folks*. Excerpts in handout.
Einstein, Alfred. *The General Theory of Relativity* (handout to be discussed in conjunction
with Sir Isaac Newton)
Freud, Sigmund. *Introductory Lectures to Psychoanalysis*. Schindler's lectures with no readings
Freud, Sigmund. *Civilization and Its Discontents*
Husserl, Edmund. *Phenomenology* (to be read in conjunction with Hegel)
Heidegger, Martin. *An Introduction to Metaphysics*, Chapter I, in conjunction with Hegel
Sartre, Jean-Paul. *Existential Psychoanalysis* in conjunction with Hegel and Heidegger Schindler's
lecture with no readings.
Handouts and excerpted readings for Husserl, Heidegger, Sartre, Arendt, Rawls, and Habermas
Arendt, Hannah. *The Human Condition*
Rawls, John. *A Theory of Justice*, his model to be discussed through the term with respect to social
contract theory. Handouts.

VII. Twenty-First Century

Gore, Al. *An Inconvenient Truth* (film)
Habermas, Juergen. Handout.

ATTENDANCE MANDATORY

As I am narrating a moral story about our civilization, absences from class will mean that you will not be able to follow the thread of my arguments since each unit is part of the emergent whole. Even one absence will put you out of the flow of the course. I have built the course upon the foundations of principles that I develop from session to session. Remove one session and the whole narrative collapses.

VERBAL INSTRUCTIONS WILL HAVE THE FORCE OF A CHANGE IN THE SYLLABUS!

All Students Must Maintain an Updated Portfolio of Papers and Tests.

Syllabus for Occupational Ethics; PL 165.1

Arcadia University
Occupational Ethics; PL 165.1
SYLLABUS: SUBJECT TO FURTHER REVISIONS

TEXTS

Hoffman, Michael, Robert Frederick and Mark S. Schwartz. BUSINESS ETHICS: Readings and Cases in Corporate Morality.

Marx, Karl. The Communist Manifesto.

Friedman, Milton. Capitalism and Freedom.

Gore, Al. An Inconvenient Truth.

Pirsig, Robert M. ZEN AND THE ART OF MOTORCYCLE MAINTENANCE. Recommended Reading

Terkel, Studs. Working. Recommended Reading

COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES

We will examine key theories of classical political economy to recognize what are the key ethical issues in the corporate business world of capitalist America. Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus, and Karl Marx are key figures in defining current day economic doctrines of laissez-faire philosophy by Milton Friedman, and as practiced by Ben Bernanke in the Federal Reserve Bank. The Invisible Hand, Social Darwinism, and historical materialism will be critical concepts we will examine, considering present-day issues of public policy and concern for the equitable distribution of ideologically depicted "scarce" resources. Your input will be critical as we will do role playing from an "original position" in which we will collectively draw up a social contract for the just society in the classroom as the democratic polity writ small.

My first lecture will be theoretical and general. We will read the Marx treatise and Milton Friedman's classic response by the second session. The second and third sessions will canvass the topic of the relevance of Marxist categories of historical materialism to address issues of *fairness* in evaluating the consequences of the inordinate concentration of wealth in this capitalist business civilization in the hands of the privileged few. Is democracy workable in a society where there is not an equitable distribution of what, in fact, are bountiful resources? The student will be able to share her work experiences with the class.

You will be given a historical paradigm of the major premises and values of the Enlightenment.

They are the moral bases of what can be called modernism and the American business civilization within the context of the Atlantic democratic republics. Do these foundations of our republic support the multinational global village that has emerged with the industrial and information revolutions? My intent is to instruct you in critical thinking, reading, rhetoric, and writing. I will unmask your biases and prejudices. The intent is to prepare you to be functional and ethical "citizens of the world." Critical thought is always a preparation for affirmative action in demonstrating social responsibility to your fellow humans in exchange

for your "inalienable" rights given by nature. You will be compelled to think about the public good and the issues of world culture in moving beyond a position of mere egotistical self-interest.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS, WITH SHOWING OF THE FILM: AL GORE'S AN INCONVENIENT TRUTH

I. A General Theory of Occupational Ethics; Rules stating the nature of the game will be reviewed

Hoffman, Introduction to Business Ethics (the text). Rawls, John. "Justice as Fairness" (In Readings, Part I, 1)

The Communist Manifesto and the Grundrisse

Milton Friedman's Capitalism and Freedom

The course, then, will follow the text.

II. Ethics and Business Decision Making

Is there any justification for greed as a moral value if it results in a profitable corporation where all benefit economically? When does a business enterprise engage in racketeering? RICO statute will be reviewed.

Handouts.

Gore, Al. An Inconvenient Truth.

Josephson, Michael. "Teaching Ethical Decision Making and Principled Reasoning."

III. Agency, Legitimacy, and Responsibility

We will discuss individual conscience and social responsibility.

Friedman, Milton. "The Social Responsibility of Business is to Increase Its Profits."

IV. Governance and Self-Regulation

We will discuss issues of power and public accountability.

Nader, Ralph, Mark Green and Joel Seligman. "Who Rules the Corporation?"

V. Employee Rights and Duties

What are the human rights of a worker?

Duska, Ronald. "Employee Rights."

VI. The Modern Workplace: Transition to Equality and Diversity

Issues of affirmative action and reverse discrimination will be studied in class.

Hettinger, Edwin C. "What is Wrong with Reverse Discrimination?"

Pojman, Louis P. "The Moral Status of Affirmative Action."

VII. The Consumer

Does the Western ideology of consumerism conflict with the leading of the good life?

Galbraith, Kenneth John. "The Dependence Effect."

VIII. The Environment

Do future generations have rights against the depredations of nature by current corporate practices to maximize profits whatever the costs and deficits imposed on our global habitat?

Hoffman, Michael W. "Business and Environmental Ethics."

IX. Racketeering

What constitutes a continuous, criminal enterprise? The case of Microsoft. Handouts.

X. International Business

Do multinational corporations change the nature of the discussion of moral paradigms based on the nation-state?

De George, Robert T. "Ethical Dilemmas for Multinational Enterprise: A Philosophical Overview."

Velasquez, Manuel. "International Business, Morality, and the Common Good."

XI. Emerging Ethical Issues

How has the information revolution changed the nature of discourse on the democratic character of our post-industrial society?

De George, Richard T. "Business Ethics and the Information Age."

XII. The Moral Corporation: Reflections and Challenges

What will be the role of multinational corporations in shaping our political ethics and world view?

Liedtka, Jeanne M. "Feminist Morality and Competitive Reality: A Role for an Ethic of Care?"

XIII. Zen and the Protestant Work Ethic

Robert M. ZEN AND THE ART OF MOTORCYCLE MAINTENANCE

PEDAGOGY AND PROTOCOL

I lecture on the background of each text to put it into historical context. You are to keep a **portfolio** of all your papers and quizzes.

ATTENDANCE MANDATORY!

GRADES

There will be four quizzes (five percent each) and four tests (ten percent each). Final (forty percent). Extra credit exercises throughout the semester. *Teacher very student sympathetic.*

VERBAL INSTRUCTIONS HAVE THE FORCE OF A CHANGE IN THE SYLLABUS.

ADDENDUM

As I am narrating a moral story about our civilization, absences from class will mean that you will not be able to follow the thread of my arguments since each unit is part of the emergent whole. Even one absence will put you out of the flow of the course. I have built the course upon the foundations of principles that I develop from session to session. Remove one session and the whole narrative collapses.

Play the game by the rules and the course will be a blend of high rewards with cumulative learning over the term in a context of reciprocity. Learning should be pleasurable.

NOTA BENE: You are to keep a portfolio of all papers and quizzes. Oral instructions will often amend assignments, concerning the papers and lecture topics. As I lecture in narrative form, lectures do not devoutly follow due dates of readings. You must follow the story I am relating that integrates many themes; hence, what you will be given cannot be correlated one to one with a due date for a reading. You will have to discipline yourself to listen carefully and then the narrative will form a whole, emerging from the parts. If there is a change in date, I will give you notice either orally or in written form, or both.

THEORIES OF ECONOMICS

1. **Benevolence** (David Hume and social sensibility)
2. **Natural Law Theory: Laissez faire economics** (Adam Smith and the Invisible Hand and Immanuel Kant's Deontological Categorical Imperative)
3. **Historical Materialism: Socialism** (Karl Marx and class analysis)
4. **Social Darwinism** (Thomas Malthus and Malthusian economics)

5. **Utilitarianism** (Jeremy Bentham and the liberal state; majority rule and the greatest good to the greatest number)
6. **Keynesian economics** (John Maynard Keynes and the welfare state)
7. **The Chicago School or Monetarism** (Milton Friedman and the free marketplace equated with democracy as coterminous concepts)
8. **Communitarianism** (John Rawls and the Veil of Ignorance)
9. **Alienation** (Studs Terkel and the American Work Ethic)
10. **Consequentialism** (Elizabeth Anscombe)
11. **Environmentalism** (Al Gore)

TEXTS

1. **An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding** (Hume, 1748)
2. **The Wealth of Nations** (Adams, 1776)
3. **The Communist Manifesto** (Marx, 1848) and **The Paris Manuscripts** (Marx, 1844)
4. **On Population** (Malthus, 1799)
5. **Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation** (Bentham, 1789)
6. **The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money** (Keynes, 1935)
7. **Capitalism and Democracy** (Friedman, 1962)
8. **A Theory of Justice** (Rawls, 1971)
9. **Working** (Terkel, 1974)
10. **An Inconvenient Truth** (Gore, 2007)

UNITS OF ANALYSIS

1. Individual versus society (the public good)
2. Levels of analysis in business and ethics
 - a. Individualism versus social responsibility; the gene, the individual, and the species
 - b. Collectivism (totalitarian societies of the likes of the Soviet Union and the Third Reich)
 - c. Communitarianism of Rawls (utopia--an ideal state)

METHODOLOGIES

1. Memetics: economic ideas evolve historically as a process with no end, but with the production of greater efficiencies in species' adaptation to the world environment by being more inclusive of formerly marginalized groups).
2. Eugenics: sociobiology and evolutionary psychology versus behaviorism (learned behaviors). Culture and ethics coevolve progressively.
2. Class Analysis: mode of production. Species emancipation and the End of World Alienation
3. Felicific Calculus: happiness metrically evaluated (utilitarianism).
4. Social Contract Theory: natural rights written into nature: negotiate them--or revolution (reason or common sense--an Enlightenment ideal).
5. The Free Marketplace: Greed is good.
6. Discursive Will Formation: universal consensus through discourse.
7. Pure Reason: The Categorical Imperative (Internal Dialogue: Conscience and the Structure of the Mind).
8. Dialectics: The history of civilization progresses by its own inner logic progressively.
9. Interviewing
10. Legal Realism
11. Environmental Activism and Personal Responsibility
12. Game Theory

THEMES

1. Capitalism is the "best" of all possible "bad" systems.
2. Social Democracy is the "worst" of all possible "good" systems.
3. Thesis (Capitalism), Antithesis (Socialism), Synthesis (Participatory Democracy).

KEY IDEAS OF THE UNITS OF ANALYSIS

1. David Hume (**benevolence**)
2. Adam Smith (**The Invisible Hand and sympathy**)
3. Immanuel Kant (**The Golden Rule**)
3. Thomas Malthus ("**the fittest**")
4. Jeremy Bentham (**the majority and hedonism**)
5. Karl Marx (**class analysis and historical materialism**)
6. John Maynard Keynes (**the welfare state**)
7. Milton Friedman (**ethical egoism**)
8. John Rawls (**the public good of the least advantaged citizen**)
9. Studs Terkel (**alienation as an attitude toward work in America with its consequences**)
10. Juergen Habermas (**discursive will formation**)
11. Kenneth Arrow (**Prisoner's Dilemma**)

SYLLABUS: *TWENTIETH CENTURY PHILOSOPHY and the MORAL QUESTION OF EVIL*

Arcadia University

20th Century Philosophy and the Moral Question of Evil; HN390

READINGS: Text and Books

I. Text:

Baird, Forrest E and Walter Kaufmann. TWENTIETH-CENTURY PHILOSOPHY

II. Books:

Du Bois, W.E.B. The Souls of Black Folk
Freud, Sigmund. Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis
Freud, Sigmund. Civilization and Its Discontents
Wiesenthal, Simon. The Sunflower
Arendt, Hannah. Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil
Neiman, Susan. EVIL IN MODERN THOUGHT

THEMES OF THE COURSE

The twentieth century has been the most violent in man's history. There are certain recurrent ideas, often pernicious, that are dominant. There is the issue of radical evil in man. Too, the word totalitarianism brings to mind nationalism, racism, and imperialism to sum up the virulence of ideologies in conflict. Most of our thinkers are radically skeptical about man's possibilities about the inevitability of progress and concomitantly democracy for the coming generations. The most pessimistic thinker is Du Bois, who believed that the twentieth century was an age of racism in which people of color suffered oppression because of the capitalist political economy.

The class will be discussing the social philosophy of rich and poor, issues of fairness in the distribution of the bounty of capitalism, and what are the entitlements of human beings not only to claim political rights, but to demand jobs worthy of their talents and the attendant quality of life. Hence, we must delve into the human mind to see what are its innate capabilities in tandem with how improvements in the environment can make optimum the good life for all.

The course will be rich in theory with practical applications. Evil will be explored in its metaphysical, natural, and moral dimensions. Especial attention will be given to a study of Auschwitz.

TESTS AND QUIZZES

There will be eight quizzes, given randomly, over the course of the semester. All quizzes are open book. There will be no final.

Attendance is mandatory.

ASSIGNMENTS

In the first week, I will show the movie *Sophie's Choice* by the third class session.
Rawls, John. A Theory of Justice, and Husserl, Edmund. The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology (textbook),
DuBois, W.E.B. The Souls of Black Folk (*in toto*),
Heidegger, Martin. An Introduction to Metaphysics and Building Dwelling Thinking (textbook),
Gadamer, Hans-Georg. Truth and Method (textbook),
Sartre, Jean Paul. Existentialism is a Humanism (textbook),
De Beauvoir, Simone. The Second Sex (textbook),
Foucault, Michel. Truth and Power (textbook)
Habermas, Juergen. The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity (textbook),
Freud, Sigmund. Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis (excerpts),
Civilization and Its Discontents (*in toto*),
Wiesenthal, Simon. The Sunflower (*in toto*),
Arendt, Hannah. Eichmann in Jerusalem (*in toto*)
Neiman, Susan. EVIL IN MODERN THOUGHT.

Nota bene: All dates are good faith approximations.

FINAL GRADE

I will determine the final grade by a blend of quizzes, meaningful classroom participation, and obviously mandatory attendance.

Syllabus : Contemporary Moral Problems

Arcadia University

TEXTS

Arthur, John. Morality and Moral Controversies: Readings in Moral, Social, and Political Philosophy.

Goldhagen, Daniel. A Moral Reckoning.

King, Martin Luther. "Letter from Birmingham Jail".

Marx, Karl. Communist Manifesto.

Wiesenthal, Simon. The Sunflower: On the Possibilities and Limits of Forgiveness.

COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES

I.

This course will examine the nature of moral reasoning concerning the relevance of applying consistent, rigorous and rational ethical standards to present-day personal and social decisions. The first lecture will be introductory to set up guidelines for the course. The next three lectures will discuss in depth Simon Wiesenthal's The Sunflower. The theme is *forgiveness* of others who have profoundly wronged and shamed us to injure our self-validation and personal sense of integrity.

Further, you will be given a historical model of the major events of the Enlightenment. I will unmask your prejudices and biases. The intent is to instruct you in critical thinking, reading, rhetoric, and writing. I intend to arm you with a critical theory to be engaged as functional and ethical "citizens of the world." Critical thought is always a preparation for affirmative action in demonstrating social responsibility to your fellow humans in a quid pro quo for your "inalienable" rights founded in nature. You will be compelled to think about the public good and the current issues of world culture in moving beyond a position of mere egotistical self-interest. The study of classic works provides us with the groundwork on which to build a reasonable criticism of the forces of multiculturalism and modernism that have been a boon for our material lives but have impoverished the spirit in our age of alienation where the post-modern ideologies have deconstructed the given truths of the Judeo-Christian ethos and Enlightenment ideals.

II. There will be a two to four page paper (1) and a quiz (1) due on the twenty-eighth of January.

You will address the question of forgiving by putting yourself in Simon Wiesenthal's shoes. You will then give a personal example of how you dealt with shaming and forgiving in a past episode in your life by an Other. Together, we will try to develop general moral principles of right conduct in a variety of scenarios.

III. Classical Theories of Morality

The next topic, during the week of the twenty-eighth of January, will be the relevance of Marxist categories of historical materialism to address issues of *fairness*, the theme of this unit, in evaluating the consequences of the inordinate concentration of wealth in this capitalist society. Is democracy workable in a society where there is not an equitable distribution of bountiful resources (economic equity)? The Communist Manifesto will be read by the twenty-eighth of January. **A quiz (2) and a two to four page position paper (2) will be due on the sixth of February.** You will evaluate the validity of Marx's analysis.

We will, then, use the text as a guideline for lectures.

Selected Readings

Hobbes, Thomas. Leviathan

IV. Contemporary Perspectives

In this lecture series, I will discuss the historically problematic relationship between Catholics and Jews. Goldhagen, in his A Moral Reckoning, charges that the Church and its doctrines qua institution bear a direct burden of guilt for religious anti-Semitism and the Holocaust over its institutional history and needs to atone and reconcile with the aggrieved party. The nature of restitution, if any, demanded will be discussed. The themes of religious toleration, pluralism, a democratic society, and free speech will be raised in this context.

Goldhagen, Daniel. A Moral Reckoning.

O'Neill, Onara. "Kant and Utilitarianism Contrasted".

V. The Sources and Grounds of Morality

Can moral arguments be grounded on discursive will formation to form a democratic consensus of the will of all in a political state? That is the basis of the Enlightenment that reason has an inherent *telos* to effect a universal humanitarianism. Write a position paper (3) on that proposition. ***There will be a quiz (3), too, that Tuesday.***

N.B. Quizzes made into a term paper worth forty percent of the total grade, that is the equivalent of two quizzes and two papers.

Hume, David. "Morality Is Based on Sentiment".

VI. Capital Punishment

Is human life sacrosanct so that even the most heinous crimes against humanity can be forgiven? How about the sociopathic "loser" who simply commits a crime against society? What is its status in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania?

Gregg v. Georgia. "The Death Penalty".

VII. Abortion

We will be discussing the landmark Supreme Court Case of *Roe v. Wade*.

When is life, life? Issues of the conflict of religion and science as institutions will come to the fore.

Roe v. Wade. "The Constitutional Right to Abortion".

VIII. Justice and Economic Distribution

Does concentrated wealth deny the sovereignty of the people and preclude the practice of democracy in the American Republic? **Write a position paper (4) on your evaluation of that apparent contradiction. A quiz (4) will be given. Both events will transpire on Thursday.**

Hume, David. "Of Justice."

Locke, John. The Second Treatise of Government. Excerpt.

Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels. The Communist Manifesto (excerpts).

Rawls, John. A Theory of Justice.

IX. Free Speech

Is the First Amendment the most important of the Bill of Rights?

Dershowitz, Alan M. "Political Correctness, Speech Codes, and Diversity".

Mill, John Stuart. "Of the Liberty of Thought and Discussion".

Sekulow, Jay A. and Jerry Berman. "Internet Censorship: A Debate".

X. Affirmative Action and Reparations

Is affirmative action compatible with fairness if it signifies reverse discrimination? What do you think of the idea of collective guilt? **Write a position paper (5) based on personal experience.**

Arthur, John. "Racism and Reparations".

Rachels, James. "Reverse Discrimination".

XI. Equality and Difference

Have women arrived at their just status in American society?

Wright, Robert. "Feminists, Meet Mr. Darwin".

XII. Violence, Terrorism and War

Do the ends justify the means? We will contrast Machiavelli and Martin Luther King.

Frey, R.G. and Christopher W. Morris. "Terrorism".

Machiavelli, Niccolo. The Prince. (Schindler's exposition of its contemporary meaning.)

XIII. Civil Disobedience and the Rule of Law

When must authority be opposed by peaceful means? by any means necessary?

King, Martin Luther. "Letter From Birmingham Jail". (research article on web site)

Rawls, John. "Civil Disobedience and the Social Contract".

PEDAGOGY

I lecture on the background of each text to put it into historical context. Your job is then to explicate the key passages of each work. In the quizzes, quotations are the focus. Too, your papers must have at least **four quotations** to indicate the seriousness of intent on your part in critically reading the assigned materials.

GRADES

N.B. Grades will follow format of school's norms as described in catalogue. There will be five papers and five quizzes for a total of ten units. Each unit is equal.

ALL PAPERS WILL ONLY BE FROM PRIMARY READINGS. YOU WILL NOT BE ALLOWED TO USE SECONDARY SOURCES (UNLESS OTHERWISE SPECIFIED), RESEARCH PAPERS FROM THE INTERNET, AND/OR CLIFFS NOTES. AN F FOR THE COURSE AND DISCIPLINARY HEARINGS COULD BE THE CONSEQUENCES.

ATTENDANCE IS MANDATORY!

ADDENDUM

As I am narrating a moral story about our civilization, absences from class will mean that you will not be able to follow the thread of my arguments since each unit is part of the emergent whole. Even one absence will put you out of the flow of the course. I have built the course upon the foundations of principles that I develop from session to session. Remove one session and the whole narrative collapses.

NOTA BENE: You are to keep a portfolio of all papers and quizzes. Oral instructions will often amend assignments, concerning the papers and lectures.

SUMMARY REMARKS TO DATE

THEORIES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

1. Natural Law Theory: Laissez faire economics (Adam Smith and the Invisible Hand)
2. Historical Materialism: Socialism (Karl Marx and class analysis)
3. Social Darwinism (Thomas Malthus and Malthusian economics)
4. Utilitarianism (Jeremy Bentham and the liberal state; majority rule and the greatest good to the greatest number).
5. Keynesian economics (John Maynard Keynes and the welfare state)
6. The Chicago School or Monetarism (Milton Friedman and the free marketplace equated with democracy as coterminous concepts).
7. Communitarianism (John Rawls and the Veil of Ignorance)
8. The Golden Rule (Immanuel Kant)

TEXTS

1. **The Wealth of Nations** (1776)
2. **The Communist Manifesto** (1848) and **The Paris Manuscripts** (1844)
3. **On Population** (1799)
4. **Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation** (1789)
5. **The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money** (1935)
6. **Capitalism and Democracy** (1962)
7. **A Theory of Justice** (1971)
8. **The Metaphysics of Morals** (1797)

UNITS OF ANALYSIS

1. Individual versus society (the public good)
2. Levels of analysis in business and ethics
 - a. Individualism versus social responsibility
 - b. Collectivism (totalitarian societies of the likes of the Soviet Union and the Third Reich)
 - c. Communitarianism of Rawls (utopia--an ideal state)

METHODOLOGIES

1. Memetics: economic and moral ideas coevolve historically as a process with no end, but with the production of greater efficiencies in species' adaptation to the world environment by being more inclusive of formerly marginalized groups).
2. Eugenics: sociobiology and evolutionary psychology (inherited behaviors) versus behaviorism (learned behaviors). Culture and ethics coevolve progressively.
2. Class Analysis: mode of production
3. Felicific Calculus: happiness metrically evaluated.
4. Social Contract Theory: natural rights written into nature: negotiate them--or revolution (reason or comm sense--an Enlightenment ideal)
5. The Free Marketplace: greed is good.

6. Discursive Will Formation: universal consensus on norms of right conduct through discursive will formation.
7. Utilitarianism

THEMES

1. Capitalism is the "best" of all possible "bad" systems.
2. Social Democracy is the "worst" of all possible "good" systems.
3. Thesis (Capitalism), Antithesis (Socialism), Synthesis (Participatory Democracy).

KEY IDEAS OF THE UNITS OF ANALYSIS

1. Immanuel Kant (**the Kingdom of Ends**)
2. Adam Smith (**The Invisible Hand**)
3. David Hume (**benevolence**)
4. Thomas Malthus ("**the fittest**")
5. Karl Marx (**class analysis and historical materialism**)
6. John Maynard Keynes (**the welfare state**)
7. Milton Friedman (**ethical egoism**)
8. John Rawls (**the public good of the least advantaged citizen**)

THOUGHT EXPERIMENT

The Prisoner's Dilemma. You and your cohort have robbed a bank. The police apprehend you. You are put into separate rooms to compel a confession. You, as an individual, have to make a rational decision. If you both do not rat each other out, you both go free. If you both confess, you get seven years each. If you keep silent, but your partner fingers you, you get ten years and he gets three. What do you do?

Apply to a business decision in which you and a competitor both have invented a unique product that would put your company at a much lower rate of profits if you both develop it for the marketplace. If you both withhold the development, you both remain unprofitable. If you withhold and he develops that product, you go broke and he becomes rich, and vice versa. What do you, if you work independently of each other?

A Moral Reckoning?

Goldhagen raises several hypotheses, questions, and indictments of Europe in general and the Roman Church in particular. The reckoning he has in mind concerns the obligation of the Church to apologize to the Jews for the Holocaust and do restitution and make reparations for the harm caused by that institution over two millennia, climaxing with its complicity in the Holocaust. He makes a case that we will examine. Many Catholic members of the clergy in England and the United States have made a similar argument from within the Church. However, Goldhagen, the son of Holocaust survivors, offends many, including Jews, who find him bold and intrusive in demanding such a comprehensive moral reckoning. His credentials are that of a Harvard University scholar and political scientist, not a theologian, in which field he has no training.

Visit his site at www.goldhagen.com

We must start with certain working concepts. Goldhagen charges the following:

1. The roots of anti-Semitism lie in the charge of the collective guilt of the Jews in having killed God (Deicide). The Jews in Israel considered Jesus, a Jew himself, a radical rabbi, who indeed wanted to chase the money changers from the temples. He threatened the legitimacy of the Roman empire's occupation because he said the allegiance of the people was owed to God and not Rome. Pontius Pilate ordered his execution by crucifixion which was the standard mode of exercising capital punishment. There are no reliable written recorded first-hand accounts of the actual historic deed. Oral tradition arose by the end of the first century to render an unverifiable account of his death. Indeed, he was a martyr, even by Jewish accounts, but not accepted as the messiah.
2. There has been central to Church doctrine the charge of a collective blood guilt imposed on the Jews for the murder of God. Vatican II dismissed this charge, yet Church officials continue to slander Jews during Easter with that accusation. It is written into the very liturgy of the Church that has not yet been expunged. Why not?
3. The Gospels are devastatingly anti-Semitic, particularly Paul, John, and Matthew. They are based on false and falsified historical accounts that have been proven not possible to have happened.
4. Why did not the Roman Catholic Church help their Jewish brethren? It professes love; yet they watched or even directly participated in the murders. They could have used the weapon of excommunication to moderate the killings. They excommunicated carte blanche all communists during Pope Pius XII's reign, although most communists, despite their nominal atheism, posed no direct threat to the Church's scope of operation or practice of religious tenets, except for Poland where the Church challenged Caesar's power. To further attack the Jews as agents of Bolshevism is false. Stalin purged the Jews during the thirties from the highest positions of power. He himself was as antisemitic as Hitler, but with the mind that the Jews had proven talented, useful and productive citizens in his regime. Hence, he believed, out of cold calculation, that the Jews should at least be allowed the dignities of citizenship and the practice of a profession.
5. The Jews have been portrayed as enemies of the Church. They are responsible for everything from materialism to Judeo-Bolshevism. Too, the false libeling of the Jewish people as having committed child ritual murders for their religious practices is ludicrous and pernicious. By demonizing the Jews over two millennia, they have desensitized Christian attitudes toward Jews by making them less than human. The racist ideology of Hitler became easier to implement with racial cleansing of the German blood. There is a parallel in the Society of Jesus, who until recently would not accept converted Jews into their society. They had to be free from the taint of descent from the Devil himself, that is, racially pure.

6. Supersessionism. The New Testament transcends the Old. Old means flawed and outmoded. Why have not the Jews accepted Jesus as their savior and messiah? Why are they so stubborn and rigid in their inflexible adherence to their Bible?

7. Papal infallibility. The Church is a hierarchical organization that has been unwilling to accept change in its structure. It is an absolute monarchy with its head infallible in his statements. How can Jews dialogue as equals when your partner in dialogue does not recognize your position as valid to a comparable degree?

8. Pope Pius XII has been proven to be an anti-Semite by his statements and attitude since 1919. The Vatican, because of the Concordat, immediately recognized Hitler and gave his regime a legitimacy that otherwise it might not have enjoyed in the comity of nations. This recognition consolidated Hitler's power.

9. Using Roman Catholic sources, Goldhagen documents the complicity and participation of the Roman Catholic Church in the killing or eliminationist operations in the field. It has never come to a self-understanding that the structure of the Church and part of the Church's doctrines promote a deep prejudice of Jews.

10. Goldhagen demands an apology, reparations, and the structural reform of the Church itself so that pluralism can prevail with religious tolerance and free speech as the predominant values in the scheme of a new world order. The Church has not full come to grips with modernism, the ideals of the Enlightenment that all people have moral standing, materialism, science and technology, and democracy because these forces threaten its political position as the last absolute monarchy in the Atlantic world of free republics. Why does it support some of the most backward, oppressive regimes in the third world?

11. The crux of the Roman Catholic Church's crisis in dealing with a multicultural world is that it is a political state and at the same time a religious institution that advocates loving thy neighbors as you would love yourself. Political dicta often contradict that posture.

12. Americanism. The Roman Catholic establishment conducted itself nobly and ethically during the second world war. They constantly urged Roosevelt and Pope Pius XII to take action. It is a lie to say that no one knew about the genocide during the war. By 1942, through diplomatic channels, every head of state, including the Vatican's, had documentary evidence of the daily slaughter. In general, there was indifference. That included American Jews, to a degree, who did not become aroused until 1944. By then, the game was up. I attribute this indifference to institutional inertia and "passing the buck" syndrome.

These issues will be "worked through" over many generations by people acting in good faith through discursive will formation in which the unforced force of the best argument will prevail. Not all parties to the discussion will be fully happy with the reconciliation, which is, ultimately, a process of healing and compromise, interminably.

Introduction to Philosophy Final Test

Name_____

ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS WITH AUTHOR and TEXT Only

Some quotations are paraphrased for literary purposes.

1. "In order therefore that the social pact should not be an empty formula, it contains an implicit obligation which alone can give force to the others, that if anyone refuse to obey the general will he will be compelled to do so by the whole body, which mean nothing else than that he will be forced to be free;..."

2. "Those who hide their complete freedom from themselves out of a spirit of seriousness or by means of deterministic excuses, I shall call cowards; those who try to show that their existence was necessary, when it is the very contingency of man's appearance on earth, I shall call stinkers."

3. "And now it is to be expected that the other of the two 'Heavenly Powers', eternal Eros, will make an effort to assert himself in the struggle with his equally immortal adversary. But who can foresee with what success and with what result?"

4. "But the annual revenue of every society is always precisely equal to the exchangeable value of the whole annual produce of the industry, or rather is precisely the same thing as the exchangeable value. As every individual, therefore, endeavors as much as he can to employ his capital in the support of domestic industry, and to direct that industry this its produce may be of the greatest value, every individual necessarily labors to render the annual revenue of the society as great as he can. He generally, indeed, rather neither intends to promote the public interest, nor know how much he is promoting it. By preferring the support of the domestic to that of foreign industry, he intends only his own security; and by directing that industry in such a manner as its produce may be of the greatest value, he intends only his own gain, and he is in this led by an *invisible hand*."

Italics are that of the professor's.

I read the following quote in class. Identify the author and the text.

5. "Everything which the political economist takes from you in life and in humanity, he replaces for you in *money* and in *wealth*; and all the things which you cannot do, your money can do. ...All passions and all activity must therefore be submerged in *greed*."

6."Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class...a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as...at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole."

7."This baboon thereby implies that the *increase of humanity* is a purely natural process, which requires *external restraints, checks*, to prevent it from proceeding in geometrical progression. This *geometrical reproduction* is the natural reproduction of mankind. He would find in history that population proceeds in very different relations, and that the overpopulation is likewise a historically determined relation, in no way determined by abstract numbers or the absolute limit of the productivity of the necessities of life, but by limits posited rather by *specific conditions of production*...Ricardo immediately and correctly confronted him with the fact that the quantity of grain available is completely irrelevant to the worker if he has no *employment*..."

Italics are that of the author's.

8."In some few cases there has been what we must call retrogression of organisation. but the main cause lies in the fact that under very simple conditions of life a high organization would be of no service--possibly would be of actual disservice, as being of a more delicate nature, and more liable to be put out of order and injured."

9."In the early Middle Ages, when the church was indeed, above all, a menagerie, the most beautiful specimens of the "blood beast" were hunted down everywhere; and the noble Teutons, for example, were 'improved.'...He had become a 'sinner,' he was stuck in a cage, imprisoned among all sorts of terrible concepts...full of hatred against the springs of life, full of suspicion against all that was still strong and happy. In short, a 'Christian'."

Professor slightly modified grammar.

10."A nature reserve preserves its original state which everywhere else has to our regret been sacrificed to necessity. Everything, including what is useless and even what is noxious, can grow and proliferate there as it pleases. The mental realm of phantasy is just such a reservation withdrawn from the reality principle."

11. *Natura Non Facit Saltum*

12. "Power must check power."

13. "Those who live outside of the mythos are insane."

14. "A specter is haunting Europe... the specter of communism."

15. "It is not without reason that he seeks out and is willing to join in society with others who are already united, or have a mind to unite, for the mutual preservation of their lives, liberties, and estates, which I call the general name 'property.'"

16. "The obligation of subjects to the sovereign is understood to last as long, and no longer, than the power lasts, by which he is able to protect them. For the right men have by nature to protect themselves, when none else can protect them, can by no covenant be relinquished. ..."

17. "There is therefore a purely civil profession of faith, the articles of which it is the business of the sovereign to determine not exactly as religious dogmas, but as sentiments of sociability, without which it is impossible to be either a good citizen or a loyal subject."

18. "Ambition must check ambition."

19. "It is true that a point was reached when the republic could no longer be governed by the laws of Rome. But it has always been the case that those good laws responsible to the expansion of a small republic, turn out to be a burden since it has succeeded in expanding far beyond its former bounds. This occurs because the nature of these original laws was such as to produce a great people, rather to than to govern it."

20. "I therefore assert that sovereignty, being only the exercise of the general will, can never be transferred, and that the sovereign, which cannot be other than a collective entity, cannot be represented except by itself; power can be delegated, but the will cannot."

THREE PAPERS: TOPICS (2-4 pages)

1. Fifty-six men signed the Declaration of Independence, authored by Thomas Jefferson. Yet, Frederick Douglass and Lucretia Mott spoke for constituencies not covered by its principles. How did they appeal to the central doctrines and revolutionary ideas of Jefferson to make a case for their respective constituencies? and who were they? You are to include in your paper the reasons why Jefferson, Mott and Douglass incorporated Lockean natural law theory into their ideas. What is the nature of Locke's influence? From your own personal beliefs, are arguments based on natural law theory credible for our own times?

2. How can Marx and the major themes of the Communist Manifesto be applied to your personal experiences as a worker and/or student? For instance, you may talk about your encounters with discrimination based on age, sex, race, class, and ethnic identity. How much must Marx be updated to make his analysis of the capitalist mode of production a relevant frame of analysis for explaining your current situation in life? Write in terms of concepts of alienation, theory of labor power and its exploitation, private versus individual property, employers' and or university's responsibilities, and "just" profits and/or tuition. Is a student union feasible at Temple University to organize power for the people?

3. Elie Wiesel wrote the classic work of the Holocaust called NIGHT. Can one give an objective account of a major historical event if one is a victim? In other words, can we make any scientific observations of a universal nature from the perspective of one man's personal tragedy? In what way is Wiesel's account of interest to us today? What kind of a man wrote this book of his adolescent experiences?

4. Compulsory Rewrite No. 1

I have reconstructed the essay's format as follows. This essay differs in terms of terminological boundaries from the first two page papers; hence, we will be considering it a singular, second and final term assignment. No one is exempt from this paper no matter what grade you received on the first homework. The essay is not to exceed four pages in its ultimate formulation. There will be two papers on Marx and the Wiesel/Dr. King dialogue. The latter essays will be two pages each.

Part One: The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are two aspects of the first American Revolution. What issues did they resolve? What documents are pertinent to the second American Revolution? Conclude this section of your paper with an analysis of how John Maynard Keynes influenced the third American Revolution of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the New Deal's policies.

Part Two of the essay will be a comparison of the three revolutions and how it helped to form an American identity. Is natural law theory the thread that ties together these three critical periods in our history? Do you feel as if you are an American who has his/her full rights? If not, what do we have to undertake as a national collectivity to ensure that all partake of the benefits of our society? The following three events will define the subject matter of your essay.

- a. The American Revolution as a response to English oppression
- b. Reconstruction as a response to the problem of mainstreaming freed blacks and the victory of the North over the South in the Civil War
- c. The New Deal as a response to a world depression

THIS PAPER WILL USE MATERIALS DISCUSSED ONLY IN THE CLASS, TEXTS, AND MY WEB SITE NOTES. NO OTHER POSSIBILITIES ARE PERMITTED. TO DO OTHERWISE, YOU RISK FAILURE FOR THE PAPER AND POSSIBLY THE COURSE FOR PLAGIARISM.

History does repeat itself. What would Wiesel say to us in this class about our reading list? Does reading the classics prepare us for life when a historical cataclysm really does happen?

In your conclusion, create an imaginary dialogue between the living Wiesel and the martyred Dr. Martin Luther King about the nature of the rationality of humankind and the effectiveness of legislation of civil rights laws.

EXTRA CREDIT (0-5 Points)

SCHINDLER'S LIST

Oskar Schindler found himself in a state of nature during WWII. He was responsible personally for the safety of 1,100 of his Jewish workers whom he harboured from the extermination center of Auschwitz--at great personal risk.

Can his behavior be described by Lockean principles of rationality of the trustee/beneficiary relationship? Or is that a fiction? Does an understanding of the natural laws of the universe describe his heroic conduct and that of his wife, Emilie? For example, he was a radical atheist and nominal member of the Nazi party, his wife a devout Roman Catholic. Thus, morality can be seen in religious and nonreligious people. Obviously, other motivations must be taken into account.

We have talked about overdetermination in which several factors impinge upon an individual to form his behavior. Could he have been driven by unconscious factors?

Thus, ask the following questions?

1. What is the moral of the movie?!
2. Why did Oskar Schindler, who was a self-centered opportunist politically and economically, risk his life for strangers? When and why did he get involved?
3. Put yourself in his place. What would you have done? Would you have the will to act on your initial impulses? Do you have the faculty of mature judgement to have been able to understand that historical circumstances and the necessity to be and act responsibly?
4. Are there any universal principles, derived from natural law theory, that can be applied to troubled areas in the world today? Make such a statement your conclusion.

THE JOKE

For extra credit, I ask Temple University students, can you tell a joke? For up to five points on your final grade, tell me a detailed personal joke or a personal parapraxis with its psychoanalytical meaning, drawn from our readings, classroom discussions, or life experiences. It must be humorous, relatively clean, and not insulting of any minority group.

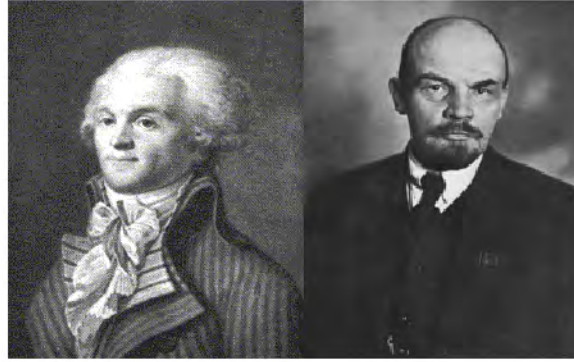
Example:

I related this assignment orally to a class last semester. They understood, except for one French student, who asked must the joke be sexual. The class howled with laughter. They hurt her secondary narcissism because even after I explained to her why they laughed she did not understand. The defense mechanism of repression was in effect. In my own frustration, I asked her, "You really don't get it!" She ran to the director of the program to lodge a complaint, in tears. Together, we repaired her injured ego. But I believe to this day she does not understand that behind a joke lies dammed up libido. She is not stupid but has to block out unacceptable feelings of her sexuality by denying its existence. How unfortunate.

KAFKA

Kafka's *The Trial* is, arguably, considered the greatest novel of the twentieth century. In the church, Josef K. meets a priest, who relates to him the parable of the doorkeeper. There are layers of meaning in terms of what Kafka is describing to his reader. What is the riddle that Kafka is relating to the reader through his alter ego in Josef K.? Is life just and does Kafka imply that there is no final judgment other than stipulated in a highly compromised way in statutory law in the world here and now? Has God fled Kafka's universe, leaving man adrift, radically alone in his despair? Is there any hope in finding laws that orient people to righteous conduct in the book's philosophy? In conclusion, tell me what criteria make this novel a classic.

WRITE AN ORIGINAL FOUR-PAGE PAPER DUE THE LAST CLASS DAY OF THIS SEMESTER.



Modernism and the Enlightenment

The emergence of the General Man who through his common sense can govern himself politically

1637-1787—and beyond

1. This period saw the triumph of science and reason over tradition and religion.
2. The world changes from mercantile to commercial capitalism as fixed wealth changes to fluid capital, revolutionizing the capitalist mode of production.
3. Dynastic states become expansionist, nationalistic states with imperialist designs to build empires. Parliamentary democracy becomes a factor in world politics.
4. There is popular sovereignty with a limited but expanding electorate, meaning that literate white men of property can vote and choose representation, particularly in the Netherlands, France, England, the thirteen colonies and the United States they become, and to a lesser extent Switzerland. Russia is the major exception.
5. The rule of law emerges, and codified norms instruct people universally on right and wrong behavior. An emphasis on individual rights emerges based on deductions from natural law.
6. Imperialism leads to global warfare.
 - a) France and England develop a world rivalry.
 - b) England and Spain likewise.
 - c) Russia under Peter and Catherine the Great expands its interests to the Pacific Ocean and becomes a transcontinental empire.
7. The bourgeois class triumphs and replaces feudal lords, who become marginalized. Factories replace guild production and home production. There is mass production of commodities where people sell their labor power which itself is a commodity for sale.
 - a) Slaves, women, children, and indentured servants become commodities in the new world order, with slavery the "peculiar institution" based on racism; otherwise, blacks would have to be emancipated.

b) Adam Smith wrote *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) and Thomas Malthus wrote *On Population* (1798), the former concerning the revolutionary character of capitalist marketplaces with the social and technical division of labor; the latter vividly describing the devastating consequences of laissez-faire capitalism in creating conditions of war, famine, and disease, with an invocation for the state not to intervene but to allow natural processes to weed out the unfit (i.e., the powerless).

8. Modern ideas of natural law subvert religious authority. Each man through his reason can become morally autonomous. There is a law above the written law of men, which can be seen in nature and is accessible to reason and the scientific method. Deism is the doctrine of a naturalized God, and deified nature is accessible to the common man through his understanding the workings of natural law.

9. Agriculture is revolutionized and people are dispossessed from the land with improvements in agricultural techniques and the institutions of primogeniture and entail; many move to the cities. In the colonies, urbanization is just beginning. Philadelphia is the biggest city in the British colonies, but is provincial in nature with only ten thousand people. London has one million.

10. There is a constant struggle between the centers of power and local interests. The thirteen colonies were much like thirteen nations, where initially power and hence sovereignty resided in the separate states. The Age of Enlightenment sees increasing concentration of power in the center and the rise of professional bureaucrats. The concept of federalism emerges out of the necessity for a strong state, particularly for conducting foreign affairs and building a banking system with international credit. A strong state means that a country can engage in Realpolitik. Might makes right. Politics consequently becomes amoral, scientific, and expansionist, although there is in America an ideology of equality and republican virtue in the civil society. *The Federalist Papers* (1788) by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay argue for a strong state and the Constitution.

11. The signers of the Declaration of Independence claim to be disinterested, speaking for mankind or a General Interest; in fact, they are either landed property owners with slaves or wealthy merchant traders. Too, there are many lawyers. Citizens, however, are vocally irreverent in local politics. The common man believes that all men are equal before a deified nature, and God is actually naturalized through the praxis of science. This doctrine is called Deism.

12. The Cromwellian and Glorious Revolutions in England establish the dominance of Parliament in politics. There is a concept of the universal right of men to revolt against arbitrary authority. France followed the colonies in revolting, but there was a social revolution in which a bourgeois revolution was made. Antecedent to the American and French revolutions, there was the revolution in England in the seventeenth century, which did have an effect on the American revolution. These rights are "natural" and can be deduced by reasoned (educated) men. These laws are transcendent, not man-made but writ large in nature. Some even argue (Deism) that they are reflective of God's will. The average citizen is aware of his rights and interests, that is, very commercially and money-oriented. This cultural trait is true to this day. The Protestant ethic is based on the notion of a chosen, elect people who are deemed "saved" if they accumulate wealth. Wealth is a sign of God's Providence. This fusion of religion and money-making has consummated itself today in Christian fundamentalism. Too, multinational corporations have changed the definition of state sovereignty.

13. In the colonies, people hold up for esteem a natural elite of character who feel themselves the only ones fit to govern. These are men of substance, that is, property. The concept "gentleman" is prevalent to describe this category/class of disinterested rulers who govern for the sake of duty and patriotism rather than for personal gain or profit. Of course, this notion is more myth than reality. Americans have always been money- and achievement-oriented and fashioned a very materialistic society. Too, the worker began to sell his labor power for a subsistence wage in what is called the capitalist mode of production. Americans have a tradition of not wanting to pay taxes, which was the paramount issue in the colonial assemblies before the 1776 revolution. The assemblies exercised veto power over the budget and the salaries of the executive. Taxation without representation became the battle cry of the War of Independence.

14. There was an international division of labor in which the colonies supplied England with raw materials for finished products. It was called the Manchester System. Americans resented being kept backward and not allowed to develop their manufacturing capabilities. The impetus toward self-sufficiency economically impelled revolutionary change. The colonies were developing an American identity. England was too far away to have an impact on day to day life. When England started to tax the colonies arbitrarily without the balancing of such actions by representation, a revolutionary movement developed and eventually nationhood. Too, England employed a double standard in the application of the laws that violated the colonies' sense of fairness or an innate intuition of justice. The colonists believed that the contract with England was solely through the king. He held a revocable trusteeship. John Locke and subsequently Thomas Jefferson propounded the idea of a social contract rooted in nature.

15. Equality versus freedom. Equality is a substantive, social issue and freedom a formal, political standing in civil society. You can be free before the eyes of the law or God but not equal because you do not have the means for human self-realization. Obviously, we cannot say all people enjoy the empirical manifestations of equality. The real issue is that of equality of opportunity in contrast to equality of outcome. That distinction has defined the politics of affirmative action.

16. Representative democracy became a revolutionary notion in which the basic tenet is that the rulers need the consent of the governed to exercise power. There was a natural right to revolution based on the insights of reason and common sense.

RIDDLES

These major thinkers/fictional characters all had a major contradiction in their worldviews that undermined their view toward the way the world really works. How does one resolve the dilemma in each case?

1. Adam Smith

The Wealth of Nations is a canonical statement about laissez-faire capitalism and the political philosophy of liberalism in the late eighteenth century. It certainly complements John Locke's *Second Treatise* and Jefferson's Declaration of Independence. Natural law theory is the undercurrent binding these interlocking world views. Smith propounded the view of homo oeconomicus. Man is the sovereign individual/unit in the political economy where the aggregate of all individuals, supposedly with each person rationally pursuing his naked self-interest, will advance the general good. An Invisible Hand regulates these mass of conflicting interests in the social and technical division of labor into a harmonious public good. The intrinsic moral precept argues that this scheme of things inevitably brings about the happiness and advancement of mankind. But the question is, how can individual selfishness provide a standard of sound political polity that is virtuous and democratic?

Hint: Of course, today, Smith is a forefather of supply side economics. The message is anti-state in that it disavows the welfare entitlements from the government as subverting the will to work of individuals. Taxation is theft. Legally (constitutionally), corporations of the Fortune 500 exemptions will stimulate production, leaving individual middle-class citizens the burden to pay taxes happily because they are fully employed and supposedly leading the good life, measured by income and wealth. If you are rich, then you have been virtuous, runs the argument. If you are poor, then you have been leading a life of sin. This theory of a "natural" elite made sense in the 18th century. Can we find these axiomatic statements of laissez-faire capitalism and the Invisible Hand empirically and normatively valid for today's life? So, the translation of a political philosophy must have a very different meaning from another era. This difference would not have been within Smith's capabilities to foresee.

2. John Locke

Locke believed that man had the capacity to be free through using the inductive/deductive method of the natural sciences applied to moral sciences, and man invariably by his calculations would come to the right decision. If man is so rational, why does he constantly wage war on his fellow man?

Hint: Science and morality have different methodologies for arriving at truth. Sciences produce laws, while morality produces judgments subject to man's free will and second-guessing; hence, man is unpredictable with all the stimuli that impinge upon his environment internally and externally and are not controllable as in a laboratory. Violence can be a means to a just end--Realpolitik and the just war demonstrate that precept of the human condition, particularly in the relations among nation-states.

3. "Sophie"

Sophie in the movie *Sophie's Choice* survived the most horrible ordeal on earth in her experience at Auschwitz. Why did she self-destruct at the pinnacle of her success?

Hint: She had internalized the values of the commandant as being subhuman. Combine this sense with guilt over the death of her two children; she felt she had failed in her duty as a mother. The death instinct prevailed in that she could not find redemption through love or exercise the will to power to create a new life under an entirely new set of circumstances. She lived in the past because of her post-traumatic stress disorder. So, she was reliving past conflicts and her maladaptations to them in the concentration camp and applying them to New York City. She could not help but have an unhappy consciousness because she had internalized the values of being a bad mother and a Slav subhuman in a totally confined

environment. She never unlearned her maladaptive behaviors. She was divided against herself because she had not therapeutically experienced a catharsis to purge her traumatic memories.

4. Thomas Jefferson

Jefferson said that all men are created equal. Yet, he advocated the end of the trafficking in slavery, while justifying the institution. If you believe in the equality of all men universally as deduced from human laws, how can you keep people in bondage?

Hint: Jefferson had a racist view of blacks as not assimilable to the white population; hence, he thought, if freed, they would out of revenge initiate a barbarous, race war with genocidal implications for both races.

5. Karl Marx

If you are conditioned by your class, how do you rise above your determined status in society?

Hint: With increasingly severe crises in overproduction, the capitalist system will break down. A vanguard goes over to the class of the future. Marx had a messianic complex because he believed that he had the key to the future in his scientific socialism which predicted general trends in the epochs of history. He would be the Moses to lead his people to the Promised Land. It was no less than his historical duty.

6. Friedrich Engels

Engels was a wealthy industrialist who turned against his class and advocated the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Why does one bite the hand that feeds him? Too, he believed that history unfolded mechanistically. Yet, he and Marx played the role of great historical agents. How do you reconcile opposite premises about history's workings. How can you be an agent in a predetermined history?

Hint: In the theory of dialectical materialism, Engels believed man could engineer history. He believed that the bourgeoisie were an impediment to a socialist society, and to a higher ethical political economic social form of life whereby in the mode of production the exploitation of man by man would end. Hence, you could bring heaven to earth by destroying a class whose domination of the forces of production hindered the emancipation of the species. The workers by sheer force of numbers already unconsciously controlled the means of production. They simply had to be shown the blueprint to initiate the revolution to expropriate the appropriators. Crises in overproduction would lead to self-questioning of class position and questioning of the equitable distribution of the collectively created wealth of a nation. In short, property is theft, especially at the heights of the economy.

7. Sigmund Freud

Freud believed that unconscious conflicts dictate our behavior unbeknownst to us. Yet, Freud through self-analysis overcame his own conflicts. How could he resolve his Oedipus complex without the help of a trained doctor who would help him in his "after-education" to overcome the infantile residues of his behavior? If he was damaged, how could he heal himself fully without the help of psychoanalysis, the field he subsequently developed after his own nervous breakdown went into remission? In other words, how do you cure yourself before there is the prescribed therapy available? Is it a non sequitur to determine the cure based on the recovery after the fact (post hoc), reversing cause and effect?

Hint: He used the inductive/deductive method of science to perform a self-analysis of his dreams and the parapraxes in his own behavior. From his self-observations in which he objectified himself with clinical detachment, he formulated hypotheses which he generalized from himself to the world at large.

8. Walt Whitman

Whitman expressed his homo-erotic instincts through his poetry. He rejected human contact. What validity can we give to a man who is psychosexually dysfunctional and lives surrogately by masturbating fantasies and poetry? Do the socially maladjusted at the genius level have special insights that the so-called normal people do not?

Hint: Whitman sublimated his sexual neuroses into great poetry; hence, he is remembered as a great poet and not as a "deviant."

9. Charles Darwin

If all species are doomed by nature to extinction, why does man struggle with nature with his instruments of science and technology to prolong life and civilization? There is a level of analysis problem concerning macro- and microbiological units, the individual and the species that create the preconditions for evolution and the subsequent by modification over time. There are synchronic and diachronic issues that are blind, random, and violently chaotic, yet lead to higher and more complex forms of life to civilization itself but without an intentional design by a conscious causal agency. Evolution is engineering by trial and error internal to the dynamics of its self-organizing principles and natural selection of the fittest, not any metaphysics where miracles occur.

Hint: Sexual selection, the drive of Eros, compels individual men who are fit to reproduce to form heterosexual unions. Too, man defines himself by his free will and the existential span of his lifetime, rather than that of a species which might last millions of generations and cannot even be grasped by the average mind in terms of his possibilities or philosophical/ethical implications. But even ideas are acknowledged to have an evolution--the field of memetics.

10. Mohandas Gandhi

We live in a world where might makes right. Gandhi said that the cities corrupt man. Yet a deindustrialized country cannot compete in the world marketplaces and will not have the surplus capital to have a research and development program for your military/industrial complex. Are morality and politics basically incompatible in this modern, interdependent world?

Hint: Science and religion are incompatible. The scientific/technical elite of a nation will shunt aside considerations of religious morality once there is an economic takeoff point. If that threshold is not reached, the country will stay backward and at the mercy of predatory states in the practice of Realpolitik, where religious values are considered worldviews of the meek to be exploited. Gandhi did not understand Hitler, Stalin, and Tojo. Moral people cannot convert profoundly evil people to do good because they have different ways of looking at the world.

11. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X

King believed there must be a broad alliance with all groups on the political spectrum to have an effective program of civil disobedience. If your alliance is too encompassing, you alienate black nationalists. If you include black nationalists, you alienate white moderates who have the money. What is to be done?

Hint: The broader an alliance the more compromises the leaders have to make, at the risk of the organization fragmenting into its constituent parts because the underlying principles that unify and inspire have been too diluted. A great leader must find an Archimedean point between extremes to be pragmatic, live to fight another day, until gradually you do overcome.

Malcolm X was a black nationalist who was the political antithesis of King. He was an exclusivist. He believed black suffering is unique. How could whites, then, empathize? If you try to set up a nation within a nation, you remove yourself from the power centers, which will then be less likely to respond to militant demands. If they do not respond, is revolutionary violence justifiable to attain your goals? Do the means subvert the end if violence becomes undertaken for its own sake instead of for substantive egalitarian goals. A commonly defined enemy in the white man tends to polarize politics. Malcolm X rejected hate politics in the last year of his life.

In the end, there is a choice between the legal and pragmatic political style of King and the ideological and violent style of Malcolm X.

12. Elie Wiesel

Wiesel suffered the loss of his family and neighbors during the Holocaust. His book, *Night*, is both a therapeutic accounting of his personal experiences and a memorial and testimony to the suffering of Jews during World War II. But how can a person's subjective views be held up as an objective mirror of a complex, empirical phenomenon, the Shoah?

Hint: In undergoing this personal pain, does he exhibit the sin of pride in laying claim to the historical exceptionalism of the Jews in still surviving as a collective entity? As he is Jewish, does he presume too much in claiming he is speaking to the ages and refuting the existence of God? Can we truly explain genocide scientifically? Or at best should we attempt to understand the connection between racism and the will to power to eliminate whole categories of people. I think Wiesel's claims to truthfulness apply strongly to himself as he is a direct participant/victim of the Holocaust, while being the protagonist of his own novel. The understanding of the Holocaust by a witness must be conducted by independent researchers. You as an individual can never wholly encompass a complex sociopolitical phenomenon with "all the facts," because they exist largely outside your singular life.



Introductory Lecture to Adam Smith (1723-1790)

Adam Smith wrote the classic work, *The Wealth of Nations*, in 1776. Many scholars consider this work the definitive articulation of laissez-faire capitalism, for the following reasons.

I. The technical and social division of labor

Managers of capital stock segment work into its component parts using specialized machines. This organization has a multiplier effect on the mass production of commodities. The medium of exchange is money, which is also a fluid commodity. Work, however, is monotonous, repetitious, and detailed in nature. Smith talks about the efficiency of labor, but does not deny the psychological effect of alienation on the worker. His point of view is strictly that of the employer of capitalism. Socially, there are buyers and sellers of capital in the free marketplace where everybody has equal information and can make a rational decision as to how to act. They theoretically have parity; in fact, they do not.

Manufacturers, merchants and bankers, factory workers, and farmers make up the producers in society.

II. Commodities

Commodities can be either abstract (labor) or concrete (artifacts of production) in nature.. Goods and services (education) and gold and silver (mercantilism versus free trade) together comprise the wealth of a nation. Money is concrete (it can be handled, and its physical transfer enables commercial transactions); labor is abstract (it is initially only a concept). A person can exchange money for life's necessities and luxuries. "In this popular sense, therefore, labor, like commodities, may be said to have a real and a nominal price. Its real price may be said to consist in the quantity of the necessities and conveniences of life which are given for it; its nominal price, in the quantity of money. The laborer is rich or poor, is well or ill rewarded, in proportion to the real, and to the nominal price of his labor."

III. Profit and Price

"The value which the workmen add to the materials, therefore, resolves itself in this case into two parts, of which the one pays their wages, the other the profits of their employer upon the whole stock of materials and wages which he advanced. He could have no interest to employ them, unless he expected from the sale of their work something more than what was sufficient to replace his stock to him; and he could have no interest to employ a great stock rather than a small one, unless his profits were to bear some proportion to the extent of his stock." "Wages, profit, and rent, are the three original sources of all revenue as well as all exchangeable value. All other revenue is ultimately derived from some one or other of these." The market price is determined by unconstrained supply and demand.

IV. Natural Price

The market price (nominal value) is measured against the natural price (the labor theory of value). "The natural price itself varies with the natural rate of each of its component parts, of wages, profit, and rent, and in every society this rate varies according to their circumstance, according to their riches or poverty, their advancing, stationary, or declining condition." And what is the natural price of commodities? "The whole quantity of industry annually employed in order to bring any commodity to a market, naturally suits itself in this manner to effectual demand. It naturally aims at bringing always the precise quantity thither which may be sufficient to supply, and not more than supply, that demand."

V. Political Economy

The state has an obligation to collect revenue to render public services. In a minimalist state no private individual would otherwise find to his profit to pursue.

VI. Mercantilism versus Free Trade

Gold and silver bullion are the measure of the fixed wealth of a nation. In free trade, Smith argues that there are no national borders that enjoy restrictive tariffs as in mercantilism, for capitalism is commercial and fluid in its dynamic. In laissez-faire capitalism, he argues for global competition. Colonialism is inherent in the worldview of capitalism, for its market must be worldwide. So, whether mercantile or commercial in character, nation-states will seek colonies to exploit their natural resources cheaply, and sell their goods and services dearly. Profit is the name of the game. Smith argues for the supremacy of the commercial form of capitalism because it is based on real growth and the development of a middle class with entrepreneurial values, rather than on the master mentality that exploits the peasant societies of third world countries. "The commodities of Europe were almost all new to America, and many of those of America were new to Europe. A new set of exchanges, therefore, began to take place which had never been thought of before, and which should naturally have proved as advantageous to the new, as it certainly did to the old continent. The savage injustice of the Europeans rendered an event, which ought to have been beneficial to all, ruinous and destructive to several of those unfortunate countries." "The two principles being established, however, that wealth consisted in gold and silver, and that those metals could be brought into a country which had no mines only by the balance of trade, . . . Its two great engines for enriching the country, therefore, were restraints upon importation, and encouragements to exportation." So, Smith realized that imperial ventures could very well bankrupt a country's treasury and the collective morality of its people. The true wealth of nations lies in its technical and social division of labor with expanding commercial opportunities and profits and the talents and skills of its working people achieved through education. He would prove very prescient, particularly as the American Revolution was in progress.

After World War II, Smith's prognostications proved true and Great Britain sank into a modest power as its empire dissolved.

VII. The Invisible Hand

In *The Wealth of Nations*, Smith boldly asserts "But the annual revenue of every society is always precisely equal to the exchangeable value of the whole annual produce of the industry, or rather is precisely the same thing with that exchangeable value. As every individual, therefore, endeavours as much as he can to employ his capital in the support of domestic industry, and so to direct that industry that its produce may be of the greatest value, every individual necessarily labours to render the annual revenue of the society as great as he can. He generally, indeed, neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it. By preferring the support of the domestic to that of

foreign industry, he intends only his own security; and by directing that industry in such a manner as its produce may be of the greatest value, he intends only his own gain, and he is in this led by an invisible hand." In short, the public market regulates the apparent random private transactions of individuals rationally pursuing their selfish, but enlightened economic interests.

Smith believes this invisible hand is like a machine that produces a cornucopia of goods and services. He acknowledges that much of this wealth is inherently meretricious, but the desires are created by human conventions and customs, not by emanation from natural laws. He is thus much in the vein of David Hume in terms of a theory of sentiments. His key idea is that of an impartial observer. Individuals identifies by imagination with the standpoint of a collective other in the sense of seeing himself through this philosophical vehicle. That identification provides us a faculty of judgment to measure the aesthetic value of things to individuals; these values are often relative to time and physical circumstances. Smith does not necessarily believe that the ceaseless pursuit of a better life can lead to happiness; to the contrary, the effect may be to create insatiable desires.

For Smith, the success of the commercial system over mercantilism lay in free competition. Laws should not restrain trade. Natural justice protected private property through the emergence of the judiciary as a branch of government independent of Parliament and the King. The rule of law guaranteed that all participants in economic life would be equally protected. This provided a great impetus to diligence and industry by businessmen, knowing that the fruits of entrepreneurs' labors would enjoy natural liberty and the surety of positive laws. Commercial and mercantile capitalism both constrained the feudal order as agrarian laws were modernized to rationalize food production through agrarian science and technology, with rents to be reinvested in development of fertile lands for a growing population.

But the factory system was not to come for another generation, to the detriment of the common workers both in the cities and on the land. The former class became impoverished until the rise of the labor union movement. Of course, capitalists would argue that unions were monopolies of labor, causing its price to rise and constraining the untrammelled expansion of profits. That story of class warfare was to be taken up by Marx and other socialist thinkers preceding and following him.

In *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Smith claims that sympathy contributes to the wealth of nations because those of opulence "are led by an invisible hand to make nearly the same distribution of the necessaries of life, which would have been made, had the earth been divided into equal portions among all its inhabitants, and thus without intending it, without knowing it, advance the interest of the society . . . and afford means to the multiplication of the species." Laborers are driven not solely by self-interest, but also by a desire to be seen well in the eyes of other people. Hence, a degree of sympathy for your fellow man does enter into the picture at the work scene, and the source of that sympathy is imagination.

VIII. Public Policy

Taxation, according to Smith in *Wealth of Nations*, is inflationary, for it raises the cost of labor and hence of commodities in general. Monopolies and corporations act against the public interest. They are so powerful they can intimidate Members of Parliament. "Taxes imposed with a view to prevent, or even to diminish importation, are evidently as destructive of the revenue of the customs as of the freedom of trade." Government must promote public works, where it is only the mechanism available to absorb the risk no private individual would undertake, such as road work and defense.

IX. Education

"If the authority to which he is subject resides in the body corporate, the college, or university, of which he is a member, and in which the greater part of the other members are, like himself, persons who either are or ought to be teachers, they are likely to make common cause, to be all very indulgent to one another,

and every man to consent that his neighbor may neglect his duty, provided he himself is allowed to neglect his own. In the university of Oxford, the greater part of the public professors have, for these many years, given up altogether even the pretense of teaching." Here Smith is saying that university professors, in general, acting in the capacity of agents of a corporate entity will not exert themselves to the fullest if there is no competition and there are no sanctions for derelictions in performing duties.

X. Summary Points

Smith made major contributions to the study of the political economy in his time, which was pre-Industrial Revolution. Contrary to current ideological beliefs, he was a friend of the common man and was concerned by his being beaten down into an idiot-like existence because of harsh working conditions. Smith thought that the elements of the political class who engaged in conspicuous consumption were unfit to govern. He propounded the Law of Accumulation and the Law of Population. Reduced to its simplest terms, he believed that commercial capitalism produced a static society that limited its growth potential. Capitalists had to accumulate capital through profits in order to develop industry. Expansion of industry led to a need for more labor, entailing more workers with higher wages. Those wages drove up the cost of production to the extent that eventually profits fell to a norm or equilibrium point, frustrating the political economy's long-term growth. Thus there was a closed cycle that stymied the takeoff of capital needed to develop a middle class, as understood in Smith's time.

Smith basically believed in free trade, particularly to keep the price of foodstuffs down by importing them from mainland Europe. The Law of Population says that as small businesses augment their profits, part of these profits will go to raise the minimum wage. With more wages, workers will have larger families. The increased labor supply will drive down wages again to a subsistence level. Hence, trends tended to be cyclical, always returning to an equilibrium minimum wage in that labor was a factor of production and hence a mere commodity. The capitalist would pay the worker only enough to reproduce his kind to maintain an adequate labor force. Consumption drove the economy; thus, consumers and their demand created a supply of products and services to meet their needs and desires and, yes, to improve the standard of living. Government had more of a role in Smith's philosophy than is generally acknowledged. It was to provide for the general welfare and have charitable components, such as creating housing for the poor, because Great Britain was undergoing urbanization. Smith was a decent man who was not above condemning rich men for their prodigal ways at the expense of the public good.

Adam Smith had a deep influence on Marx. Smith had an evolutionary perspective on how the division of labor historically stimulated economic growth. Marx picked up on that theme in a historical materialist perspective that emphasized class conflict. Smith emphasized human benevolence and disposition toward justice as his point of reference. Cooperation would be essential for a society to develop with the communal harmony necessary for a collective consensus that smoothed over class differences, which Smith considered secondary. Smith's evolutionary rather than revolutionary approach allowed for differences to be worked out in the marketplace where there would always be imperfect information. Hence, political decisions could only be partial and could best be attacked by a minimalist state.

XI. The Psychoanalysis of Money: Post-Adam Smith Considerations

In our society, money equals power equals sex, and that adds up to status.

1. There is a fetish element to the commodity of money. People of wealth take on fantastic qualities as the heroes of our society based on this one criterion. This is the fallacy of mistaking the part for the whole. The relationship between things replaces the relationship between people. Having money becomes mistaken for being an individual of virtue. In fact, there is no significant correlation. It is part of the American ideology.

2. In the period of capitalist accumulation, the acquisitive personality, with all its unpleasant characteristics, becomes dominant in the political economy as both role model and power broker.
3. There are anal sadistic traits that can be attributed to the capitalist as he spurs the growth of the wealth of a nation. Unfortunately, after legitimate economic goals are attained, these characteristics pervade other spheres of society as well.
4. The authoritarian personality remains fixated at the anal stage of development. Sublimation ensues with an individual's love of acquiring money perceived as respectability. The captain of industry emerges from this ideology of American success stories. There follows the deep repression of sadistic and masochistic impulses. Psychoanalysis recovers "lost" memories in the struggle for power (and control) in the nuclear family. The patient sees that forbidden objects of love are displaced onto substitutes, such as money. Individuals are particularly susceptible to nervous disorders during times of economic crises. The repressed issues forth in the form of damaged individuals, dysfunctional in every domain of society.



Milton Friedman (1912-2006)

Capitalism and Freedom (1962)

Friedman operated within the constructs of natural law theory. He believes in the sanctity of contracts and property. He advocated an updated version of nineteenth-century liberalism called laissez-faire economics. He opposed the economic doctrines of mercantilism, the physiocrat philosophy, and collectivism (= socialism, that is, dictatorship). Freedom and ethics are found in an open marketplace unconstrained by government interference, which must be minimal and only when necessary. He contends that the best way to overcome discrimination suffered by marginal groups in our society is to exercise their free choice in the marketplace, as he defines it.

The view has been gaining widespread acceptance that corporate officials and labor leaders have a "social responsibility" that goes beyond serving the interest of their shareholders or their members. This view shows a fundamental misconception of the character and nature of a free economy. In such an economy, there is one and only one social responsibility of business—to use its resources and engage in activities designed to increase its profits so long as it stays within the rules of the game, which is to say, engages in open and free competition, without deception and fraud. Similarly, the "social responsibility" of labor leaders is to serve the interests of the members of their unions. It is the responsibility of the rest of us to establish a framework of law such that an individual in pursuing his own interest is, to quote Adam Smith again, "led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was not part of his intention. Nor is it always the worse for the society that it was no part of it. By pursuing his own interest, he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it. I have never known much good done by those who affected to trade for the public good." (*Capitalism and Freedom*)

Let us divide his book into key categories.

Monetary Policy

Each individual knows his own interest best. There are to be no corporate taxes; rather capital gains and dividends are to be passed on to the shareholders who will be responsible for what is due. There is to be monetary liquidity at a federal level, which means every level of government to prevent depressions. Friedman says the Great Depression was a crisis of liquidity. He believes in balanced budgets, free trade, and floating currency rates to create unimpeded cash flows. He argues that the welfare state subtracts freedom of choice from the individual, which leads to economic control by bureaucracies in the government, in turn captured by special interest groups that disempower the individual.

Education

Friedman advocates vouchers so that people have choice for either public or private schools. He emphasizes education, not welfare measures, as the escape route for the poor. There should be no laws against discrimination (e.g., no affirmative action), because he believes the market punishes economically those who discriminate.

Licensure in Occupations

The producers of a good or service, such as medical personnel, control supply, and hence the price of entry into the field monopolistically so that quality control really is undercut. The basic reason to control entry into a field is not the pursuit of excellence but price control to guarantee a high income. In the end, the worst off are left with insufficient or no services. Thus abolish licensing and let the marketplace decide who is fit to endure through fair competition.

Income

Friedman believes in taxing individuals, not corporations, so as to distribute capital gains to create more money in the economy—liquidity. There is to be no inheritance tax but a flat income tax. He claims that special interest groups control welfare agencies and their institutions so as to keep the poor poor through the administration of things—socialism. The graduated income tax punishes those who perform meritoriously and innovatively in the economy and is a disincentive to take risks to fashion the means to make more capital by change. He hammers at the minimum wage as interference in the sanctity of the contract between worker and management, foreclosing income opportunities for the poor. Something is better than nothing in the short term.

Conclusion

The Great Recession of 2008 has Keynes's ideas triumph over Friedman and the supply side economists.



John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946)

The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money (1936)

Let us critically review the following quotation from this classic work of the welfare state that was so integral in Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal.

... the existing theory of unemployment nonsense. In a depression...there was no wage so low that it could eliminate unemployment. Accordingly, it was wicked to blame the unemployed for their plight. The second proposition proposed an alternative explanation about unemployment and depression. This centered upon aggregate demand—i.e. the total spending of consumers, business investors, and public agencies. When aggregate demand was low, sales and jobs suffered. When it was high, all was well. (*The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*)

The Great Depression was a crisis of liquidity. The purchasing power of the people had fallen so that there was an oversupply of goods and services that resulted in deflation and a general collapse of the political economy. The economy had to be pump primed by the state. That is called demand side economics, as opposed to supply side economic theory from Adam Smith to Milton Friedman. Was it collectivist in nature? Yes! Was it socialistic? Yes! Was it communist totalitarian in purpose? No! By manipulating the money supply and the interest rates, a society could spend its way out of a Great Depression—even with indefinite budget deficits. World War II, of course, ended the Great Depression by creating full employment in a total war where the industrial plant had a shortage of workers. That was inflationary. Inflation is the hidden cost and risk of deficit spending. The state must maintain its credit and credibility in tandem with its fiscal responsibilities. The Federal Reserve Bank performs exactly such responsibilities.

Keynes was for the free floating of currencies and the abolition of the gold standard. Money had to be cheap and ready to print in paper form—not gauged to an arbitrary standard of the fetish commodity of gold that has no inherent value and rather impracticable in large quantities. Keynes was concerned about social justice and the right of all workers, globally, to have a job and a decent quality of life. He assumed man was cooperative by nature and rejected the Social Darwinist premises of his opponents, who lacked the flexibility in thought to develop new programs to meet an unprecedented crisis that threatened the very legitimacy of democracy and its capitalist civilization. He argued that capitalism could reform itself with socialistic measures and that these reforms did not lead down the road to communist dictatorship.

In the election of Barack Obama, Americans will see a variation implemented of the New Deal. Basically, President elect Obama plans to spend his way out of a deep recession. It is economics, dummy. That issue propelled Obama into office in these extraordinary times.



Key Concepts and Generalizations:

The Pedagogy of Studying Depressions

Students will have learned by the culmination lesson the steps in understanding and building a theoretical model. The first step entails a definition of primitive terms. Terms, in their relationships, form concepts. The empirical assemblage of concepts gives us testable hypotheses or at least partial hypotheses. With further investigations, the students should be able to make generalizations as to the mechanisms of the major events in history. Generalizations are global statements that have universal validity measured in terms of probability. In this case, students will have researched the Great Depression. At the highest level, students, after years and decades of study, may find law-like properties operating in the political economy. That is not necessarily a realistic goal for students in an introductory course. However, the teacher must make them aware of such rare phenomena. There might be a scholar in the making, sitting in the class. By an interactive approach, the great teacher discovers and develops such talent as an ideal. Before having a theory, the student must find the limits of a problem. In this instance, teacher and students can investigate the Great Depression of 1929 to 1941. As a baseline, historians define a depression as an instance where 25 percent of the workforce are unemployed.

Let students write a creative essay on the relationship of money, employment, and interest rates, engineered by the Federal Reserve Board. Reading on-line, let them use copies of the *Wall Street Journal* to render an assessment of the state of health of the economy in today's world. They can place this essay on a listserv so that all can partake of an electronic forum to exchange ideas.

General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money

Problem I. Great depressions are caused by oversupply on a worldwide scale in capitalism. Hence, commodities, including labor power, must be dumped (including labor by layoffs) to attain your market price. That will lead to deflation; hence, there will not be a profit.

Are there circumstances where producers can be subsidized by government to stabilize the supply and demand curves of the free marketplace in a democratic society?

Generalizations:

A. People run to the banks to salvage their savings accounts during economic crises. However, there are no funds in the banks because bankers have lent out their capital to speculators who are betting that the economy will continue "hot" in the stock market. There is then a crisis of overproduction. Hence, deflation is the result. The stock market in 1929 "crashed," real estate ventures soured, and the banks failed.

B. The American economy in 1929, when it collapsed, initiated a world recession because American banks were the world bankers, who lent money to develop other nation's economies, and brokers of stocks to the world, through the New York Stock Exchange. When Americans defaulted on their loans for imports, including capital from investors both domestic and from abroad, their credit expired. The American promissory note no longer had universal validity. The cycle began when Germany defaulted on its World War I war debts (the punitive payments).

C. Pegging the currency to the gold standard did not help fend off the 1929 debacle. It is not gold that holds up a banking system, since it is only a commodity with a price. It is full faith and credit in the integrity of government and business by the people that maintains the monetary system and the repayment of debt by redeeming promissory notes issued by the government and corporations. By removing the gold standard, the government effected an inflationary outcome by flooding the money markets with fresh volumes of cash.

D. Deficit spending can stimulate the economy and promote economic growth. That means that the government will indefinitely allow budget deficits. That is a key assumption of the demand side economics of John Maynard Keynes. If you put people back to work, there will be absorption of surplus inventory and generation of more taxes because the population base has been expanded and its attendant buying power permits the resumption of "normal" consumption.

Hypotheses

1. By manipulating interest rates and money supply through the Federal Reserve Board, its chairperson can stimulate the economy.

2. If government employs people, then they will have the purchasing power to regenerate new businesses with the dispensation of credits from Washington to start up venture capital firms.

Definitions and assumptions

1. A depression can be defined as 25 percent unemployment of the work force. Americans endured that for more than ten years. There was the danger of political, economic, and social revolution. Just examine the Huey Long phenomenon in Louisiana.

2. Aggregate supply and demand: define the price of a good or commodity by the intersection of the two curves.

3. The New Deal is Franklin Delano Roosevelt's application of Keynesian principles to the creation of government organizations by the executive branch to stimulate the economy (pump priming, to give one example).

4. The Invisible Hand is a theme that runs from Adam Smith to Milton Friedman. It is a mechanism that allows the sovereign people, who are rational, to pursue their own economic interests selfishly because only they know best what they want and where in the division of labor they will take their jobs. In the marketplace, if the mass of people have full information and an open market with no externalities such as restrictive monopolies or prohibitive tariffs, then they will all benefit economically and be happy. They will rationally find the niche in the political economy that is most profitable in payoff and most conducive to actualizing the potential of their talents. There is a complementarity of interests in the marketplace in the final analysis, with an acceptable level of unemployment to keep wages constrained.

5. The price of money is to be determined not by gold but by the strength of the economy. That is a psychological and sociological measure by the people of their belief in capitalism, not only to produce to satisfy consumer wants but to redeem debt. Currencies must be floated on the international marketplace in competition with all other currencies. That is why the "value" of the dollar varies continuously. It, too, is simply a commodity, that is a price that has a supply and demand curve.

6. The technical and social division of labor entail the empirical validation of the existence of an Invisible Hand regulating the political economy. Classical economics assumes that each worker seeks a niche in work world suited to his talents. Since each person is unique, every job will have its requisite, qualified worker suiting his talents to piece work.

7. The culmination is Taylorism, assembly line mass production of goods and services. Again, from each worker following his egotistical interests, the public good emerges.

8. Conspicuous consumption is the motivation of the capitalist and the laborer, who belie the assumption that profits will be plowed back into the industrial infrastructure, to create a greater market until it is global in scope. People spend money redundantly to evidence their status in society.

9. A commodity is a produced artifact that takes on an aura of its own to haunt the consumer and producer. Money is a commodity. It "takes over" people's lives like an addiction.

10. Keynesian economics holds that active government intervention in the marketplace and monetary policy is the best method of ensuring economic growth and stability. For example, the government might applying creative budget deficits to stimulate production to get people employed. When an economy breaks down, the ethical duty of the state is to intervene and lower interest rates while increasing the money supply with the willingness to run a budget deficit indefinitely.

The Concept

Capitalism is the theory and practice of the mass production of goods and services through the instruments created by the factory and agrarian revolutions. In its last manifestation, information has become a commodity, too. Capitalism is a revolutionary force in technology and science that united the world by standardizing practices in the production of goods and services to allow mass consumption in a marketplace that is global to get the best possible price in optimum quantities. The pricing system rationalizes the distribution of scarce goods and services in their commodity form. Theoretically, capitalism is democratic because all people can be players in the marketplace. In practice, there are gross inequities in wealth, leading to the unfair allocation of incomes. It is a value judgment as to the assessment of what is unfair and what in political terms, such as taxes, can be done to redress wrongs. In the last instance, capitalism's intrinsic systemic failure has been its inability to distribute its goods and services equitably. The state then must intervene; hence, there really is the primacy of the exercise of the political organs of government.



Immanuel Kant (1724-1804)
***Critique of Pure Reason* (1781)**

Now, it is easy to show that there are actually in our knowledge such necessary and, in the strictest sense, universal (consequently pure a priori) judgments. Would we have an example from science, we have only to turn to any proposition in mathematics; while, as for the most ordinary common sense, there is obviously to hand, by way of instance, the proposition that every change must have a cause, where the very notion cause so manifestly implies necessity (of connexion with an effect) and strict universality (of rule), that it would be altogether lost did we derive it, like Hume, from our conjoining what simply follows with what simply precedes, through the mere habit of experience, and the consequent simple custom of connecting ideas (where the necessity could only be subjective). Besides demonstrating the actual existence in our knowledge or principles a priori by a reference to fact, we might even a priori prove as much. We might demonstrate, that is, the indispensable necessity of such principles to the very possibility of experience. For how should there be any certainty of experience, were all the rules in it only empirical and (consequently) contingent? It was hardly possible, evidently, to allow any such rules the name of first principles. But it may suffice here to have demonstrated the fact of the possession of the pure cognition on our part, together with the signs of the latter. Nay, not merely judgments, but even certain ideas, may claim for themselves a priori origin (*Critique of Pure Reason*)

Immanuel Kant exploded with intellectual vigor on reading David Hume's *Inquiry Concerning Human Nature*, in which Hume appeared to destroy metaphysics as having no basis in reality or experience. Kant awoke from his "dogmatic slumbers" to write a rebuttal that took up the major part of his productive life. Kant criticized Hume's radical skepticism in which the latter said he did not even believe in causality in general. That left a world of pure contingency, in which events happened randomly without reason. Kant effected a revolution in philosophy, in which moral reason (noumenon) incorporates the object world (phenomenon) into one comprehensive system. This system was absolute in that he said the nature of Mind and Being-in-the-world is indivisible. The philosopher could not logically or empirically divide them.

Kant said that all experience comes from knowledge. That was his Copernican revolution in philosophy to redeem it from the junkyard to which Hume had apparently relegated it. He said that there are phenomena, known by the scientific method, and noumena. Phenomena are the product of the categories of mind that are a priori or synthetically a posteriori, in which things like time and space can be intuited. Concepts like God (unknowable!—THERE SIMPLY HOLD NO PROOFS OF GOD THAT ARE TENABLE THROUGH LOGIC), free will, causality are noumena in that they have to exist in the mind to organize reality. Metaphysics means "beyond physics" in reality. Noumena are things-in-themselves that can be never known, such as the nature of reason and reasoning itself. Nonetheless there are inherent artifacts of pure reason that can be known by rational self-examination.

Concerning morality, Kant was seeking the grounds of morality rather than the content itself. For instance, he fashioned the Categorical Imperative: act as if the maxim of your action should be made into universal law. This notion became the basis of his *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788).

That is a general abstraction that has no content, making the imperative problematical. For instance, he dictated never telling a lie regardless of the consequences. Following that logic, he would have turned over Jews to the Nazis, which in reality he never would have done because of his favorable view of Jews; his emotional life was deeply repressed and affected his judgments on action. He loved women; yet he died a virgin. His bride was the pursuit of wisdom.

In his third magnum opus, the *Critique of Judgment* (1790), Kant talks of the sublime and the beautiful that the mind apprehends without thinking. For instance, he thought that nature was a unity and consistent so as to make science possible. This springs forth from his concepts of the sublime and beautiful. Yet we know from quantum theory that nature is chaos at the subatomic level. Again, he writes problematically to save metaphysics, the study of the grounds of the knowable.

Let us review three critical texts.

1. In *The Critique of Pure Reason*, Kant deals with the concept of thinking. Thinking, in his exposition, is reifying of experience. The categories of reason are a priori. Reason is embedded in the psyche to organize sensory perception into a story, which are synthetic a priori in nature in that the mind englobes the object world.

2. In *The Critique of Practical Reason*, there are analytic a priori categories of understanding that are given to man in his free will. Also he is given an intuitive grasp of cause and effect, space and time, and so forth. These categories of the understanding result in an ethos of duty in which the individual, by his actions, legislates morality for mankind and the world in the Kingdom of Ends. The individual is to treat his fellow man as an end, never as a reified means, for that exemplifies bad will. His goal is a world republic with just conduct and civic virtue the defining terms. He does emphasize the importance of property as a natural right that signifies the good citizen and good man.

3. In *The Critique of Judgment*, Kant studies the field of beauty and the sublime, ultimately climaxing in the experience of reason and perception in harmony. The world is the unity of the diverse. Harmony thus is an important concept to peruse in the work.

Goodness can found the worthy autonomous human being who is a dialectical blend of man, citizen, and state. There is no state of nature. The moral human being is the definition of the authentic individual. The person creates her own self through a sublimation of thinking, willing, and judging that are inseparable from action simultaneously. Intuition and feeling let us have insight into what objects are of value in pursuing as an end, including property ownership and education through a lifetime. There is a hierarchy of values writ large into nature and reason.

Kant's most famous maxim is the absolute command: Never lie! Of course, that injunction can lead to personal crises in which the particular situation dictates actions different from a universal abstraction. After all, individuals do live in the here and now, not in some philosophical utopia. Absolute values are always vulnerable to abuse and can lead to atrocious deeds that contradict the ideal of the good will. In summary, moral maxims engender an assumption of legislating ethical commands to mankind that are in harmony with the laws of nature and reason's nature. Kant demonstrates a rationalism that is ahistorical, a lacking in theory engendering that both Hegel and Marx took on the critical task of reconstructing

Kant's views on the right to revolution are highly constrained. He believed that the state embodied the rule of law. To be lawless, or to be in a state of anarchy, would be worse than suffering the tyrant. However, if freedom itself as expressed through the rule of law broke down into a war of all against all, then individuals could revolt to put his Enlightenment ideal into effect, namely, the just ruler.



George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831)
***Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807)**

Key Quote:

For this consciousness has been fearful, not of this or that particular thing or just at odd moments, but its whole being has been seized with dread; for it has experienced the fear of death, the absolute Lord. In that experience it has been quite unmanned, has trembled in every fibre of its being, and everything solid and stable has been shaken to its foundations. But this pure universal movement, the absolute melting-away of everything stable, is the simple, essential nature of self-consciousness, absolute negativity, *pure being-for-self*, which consequently is *implicit* in this consciousness. This moment of pure being-for-self is also *explicit* for the bondsman, for in the lord it exists for him as his *object*. Furthermore, his consciousness is not this dissolution of everything stable merely in principle; in his service he *actually* brings this about. Through his service he rids himself of his attachment to natural existence in every single detail; and gets rid of it by working on it. (*Phenomenology of Spirit*)

Hegel's philosophy of language describes the stages of consciousness in both individuals and cultures.

There is a progression of the mind from sensory perception, to understanding, and then to reason, consummated in the German state as *Geist*. The mechanism is the Dialectic, with its highest manifestation Freedom in the bureaucratic state as revealed by codified laws.

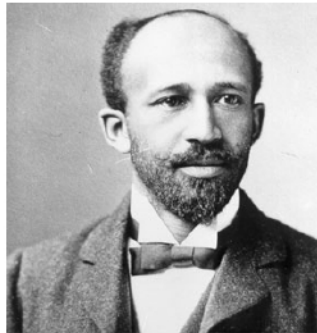
The Dialectic in Hegel's philosophy of consciousness works with a pattern of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. The Unhappy Consciousness is pathological until freedom removes its constraints. The consciousness is "for itself and in itself," which means that an individual entity or collectivity must have self-awareness as history unfolds ineluctably toward its end.

Hegel addresses the problem of the objectification of the Other in the master/slave relationship, evidenced in alienation from the Spirit. The individual achieves freedom through the activity of work. How can we know the Other? Through work, there comes about a state of mutual recognition and reciprocity. There might be moments when historic actors kill the hostile Other to win freedom. There is a celebration of the French Bastille Day and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1791), which has a universal application.

In Hegel's logic of history the forces in the conflict among cultures culminate in the Absolute, the universe of freedom where contradiction in the contingency of existence reconciles itself to the ideals of emancipation. The Absolute is the *Rechtsstaat*, which is the rule of law in the civil service in an era where modern Germany is emerging under Napoleonic domination. Germany becomes "great" as it rids itself of the tyrant and expands beyond its borders, fashioned during the Middle Ages, because it embodies *Geist* and virtue and is not corrupt like the French occupiers.

Phenomenology is the study of appearances in contrast to reality. The philosopher has to ascertain the logic of the phenomenon by recovering the "lost" self through labor and ultimately by dialoguing with others. The master is very dependent on the slave. Hence, slavery provides a thesis in history; work is its antithesis; and killing the master and appropriating his property becomes the synthesis of the Happy Consciousness in which subject and the object become transcended into a unity and history ends. The stages of history can be described progressively as mythology, metaphysics, and science. Mythology is religious fundamentalism in which history has its most abstract disembodiment. Metaphysics is the study of the ultimate nature of reality in general. Particularity and emancipation come with science as it objectifies reality by controlling nature and human nature. The Dialectic blends these contrasts of parts into the emergent whole, which is a series of overlapping dynamic events.

Hegel is a reaction to Enlightenment reason of Immanuel Kant, whose thinking is purely abstract and archetypal. Hegel reformulates reason in a dialectical form where the real is rational and the rational is real. Marx believed that both Kant and Hegel had it wrong. Reason is illusory and gives us ideology when it is fictionally presented in a world where social productivity creates a society's labor value. This labor value is the residue of class conflict culminating in the communist society where all contradictions have been overcome.



William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1868-1963)

Du Bois wrote *The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches*, a classic empirical social science study of the condition of black people in the United States, at the turn of the twentieth century. Except for an elite minority, the plight of the black masses was deplorable. What emerged from this work was the concept of a double consciousness in blacks; they were alienated by biological racism from the mainstream of the white population in both the industrial North and the semi-feudal South, in a hereditary caste system that was not broken until the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s during Lyndon B. Johnson's presidency.

Double consciousness describes the self-divided by an awareness of being black and looking at oneself as a thing or object from a black person's perception of being reified by white hate and loathing. Given their distressed economic condition in which education was almost entirely limited to manual training because of white misconception of blacks' limited intelligence, black people developed a conception of being a stranger in their own house. Du Bois believed that the top tenth of the black educated would lead the masses through liberal education into the promised land of a biracial democracy with equality in rights institutionalized in practice. By recovering your pride and hence the alienated self-consciousness of blacks from being defined by the Other (the oppressive white man with his system of racial apartheid), a true emancipation would be the result.

Du Bois borrowed heavily from Hegel's master/slave relationship, in which even the master is the slave when he is dependent on stereotyping and hence objectifying the Other. He himself lives in a delusional world with a presumption of racial superiority that is not biological but politically and economically

conditioned. Du Bois became a radical who would accept nothing less than full constitutional rights for himself and his race. His main concepts pivoted about racism, classism, nationalism, and imperialism. He saw a forthcoming struggle with international characteristics; hence, he was heavily influenced by Marx's Dialectic and historical materialism.

Du Bois felt ambivalent in the white world. He believed that white people viewed him as an object and that he would never be given respect or due recognition for his accomplishments. White people viewed all black people generically, as deviant from a human, white norm. This situation could only be overcome by education and racial struggle (even violence in which the oppressed kill the master). The Subject/Object schizoid personality in the black soul had to be sublimated by constructing a new man—the African American—who would attain Freedom. Race, class, achievement, and culture were the criteria for the Absolute in Freedom. The oppressed had to confront his oppressor to regain his humanity, even if violence resulted. Shedding blood sanctified black manhood and virility in a new America that would be socialist, because workers and women, too, had to be included in a redeemed democracy true to the ideal of the Founding Fathers.

Eventually, Du Bois saw the struggle as entailing a global dimension to free Africa from European domination. Influenced by Marx, he realized that class distinctions were a cause of racism, even if not the only one. The blind worship of the God of Money led to the need for cheap labor. The capitalist in alliance with the Southern Bourbon, by demeaning whole categories of others, such as workers, women, and people of color, as inherently sinful and genetically inferior, gave the powers that be the ideological justification to pay mere subsistence wages, since any raise in wages would not only drive down profits but augment the embrace of lifestyles incompatible with the work discipline of the masses. Hence, racism has an economic rationale. There is also a dynamic of social psychology in which whites feel superior as an inherent quality of their race, forgetting that white workers had common grounds with black workers to look at the dominant powers in the political economy.

Concepts of Du Bois

Talented Tenth
The Veil Racism
Classism
Master/slave relationship
The Dialectic
Color
Quasi-feudalism
Reconstruction
Sorrow songs
Soul
Double consciousness
Socialism
Atlanta Compromise

From *The Souls of Black Folk*: "the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second sight in this American world,—a world which yields him no self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One feels his two-ness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder."



The Declaration of Independence

The Declaration of Independence was a written justification for what had already become fact. The thirteen colonies had seceded from the British empire and formed a confederation that politically and militarily enforced their independence. They had responded to three categories of crimes committed by George III.

1. abuses of power;
2. war crimes;
3. obstruction of justice.

There are actually similarities between Richard Nixon and George III. Nixon, under Congressional investigation and threatened by impeachment, resigned on August 8, 1974. What happened in 1776? It was not just a war for independence but a revolution. Sovereignty and the authorization to use state power were reversed. Power now emanated from the body politic to the negation of the king. He was the people's nominee for the exercise and institutionalization of executive will, but they no longer wanted him because he acted unconstitutionally by the standards of English law itself. Hence, the people unilaterally withdrew that power and reconstituted themselves into a functional, radical democracy because class status, based on inherited privileges, was destroyed. Loyalists were purged.

During the revolution, the struggle was ideological and violent. After the revolution, politics became legal and pragmatic. Eventually, there was the triumph of federalism after the Civil War.

So, the Declaration of Independence was

1. a political action;
2. ideological preparation for a treaty;
3. the legal basis for the Articles of Confederation.

In the text of the Declaration, we see arguments developed from natural laws in history. There was implied a social contract between the people and their government and a covenant by the people with God. Arguments were developed from common sense. Popular sovereignty won the day. The people now knew they had a right to revolution with the potential to constitute a new form of government at their discretion.

The revolutionaries believed their natural rights were based on self-interest and the public good, which they felt need not contradict each other. Authority, however, must be responsible and accountable to the people. Dereliction of duties by a sovereign could and would be denounced by the people. Rules of evidence had to be used in court. Law was now a science—the science of jurisprudence. Issues of fairness, like taxation with representation, concerned the public. So, there was an outstanding demand for representative government, the rule of law, and due process. A sovereign, too, must secure the public safety; where it was neglected, the people had a right to bear arms in self-defense.

Abuses of power, obstruction of justice, and all other extralegal suspensions of laws were unconstitutional and cause for the people to revolt. A sovereign would not be allowed to rule by emergency decree. Monarchical decrees could very well be considered unconstitutional. If carried to an extreme state, a political society could be said to have reverted to a state of nature—and the people would opt for a novel form of democracy.

To have legitimate power, the sovereign must act as a beneficent trustee with the people as the beneficiaries. A sovereign who loses the people's trust can no longer have legitimacy or authority. George III had committed a train of egregious and continual violations of both the written and the unwritten constitutional law. Too, English politicians had been conspiring with the king to encroach upon established rights. The American people concluded they were living under a tyranny. Too, they felt they had no contract with the British people. Americans believed that when they came to this virgin continent they were in a state of nature—literally. Any social contract, therefore, was with the colonizers and the king—certainly not with the English people.

Thus, when they separated, the break was a renunciation of past history and all institutional ties and obligations under natural, international, and English constitutional laws. The United States of America had invented itself as a legal entity, sanctified by force of arms and recognized as in alliance with France. The Declaration of Independence was a statement of revolutionary goals which de facto and de jure birthed a new nation. The ultimate sanction is the law of God in nature, which is irrefutable because it is a First Principle. If you cannot accept the principle, then you cannot accept the moral legitimacy of the new nation. It was a moot point in the real world of Realpolitik. Force is the ultimate arbiter of right—supposedly it evidences God's will.



American Revolution/Declaration of Independence

The Americans had the Declaration of Independence; the French followed with the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (August 27, 1789).

The premises of the Declaration of Independence were as follows.

1. That all men (meaning men, not women) have imprescriptible natural rights.
2. That the British empire is a voluntary federation of independent states.

The Second Continental Congress made changes to Thomas Jefferson's copy of the Declaration of Independence. The most notable was the deletion of Jefferson's denouncement of the slave trade. Jefferson himself thought this long paragraph one of the best parts of the Declaration; certainly nothing could have been more germane in an argument based on the natural rights of man than an allusion to slavery, that "cruel human war against nature itself." There were many slave holders in Congress, none so naturally sensitive to slavery's violation of the principles at hand as to find the "peculiar institution" obnoxious.

Richard Henry Lee's Resolution of Independence was introduced on June 7, 1776 and voted by the Continental Congress on July 2. In the strict sense, this was the official declaration of independence; if we were a nation of antiquaries we should find an incongruity in celebrating the anniversary of our independence on July 4. On June 10, three days after Lee first introduced the Resolution, the Congress voted to appoint a committee to "prepare a declaration to the effect of the said first resolution."

The primary purpose of the Declaration was not to declare Independence, but to proclaim to the world the reasons for doing so. It was intended as a formal justification of an act already instituted, in which history was in the making, and which was in need of justifying.

The Declaration was not primarily concerned with the causes of this rebellion; its purpose was to present those causes in a manner to provide a moral and legal sanction for the rebellion. It was essentially an endeavor to demonstrate that rebellion was not the exact term for what they were doing. Apart from the preamble and conclusion, the Declaration has two quite discrete components. The first, embodied in the second paragraph, claims general concepts of a democratic political philosophy. The second, much longer, details the specific grievances against King George III, presented as the historical causes of this revolution.

In the controversy leading up to the Revolution, the issue hitherto had been the authority of the British Parliament. What were the character and exact boundaries of Parliament's authority over the colonies?

This question was the central point; the issue of being British subjects was ignored. Separation from England was vindicated on more general grounds, the natural rights of man.

To simplify the issue and make it appear that the rights of man had been undeniably and egregiously transgressed, these rights should seem as little possible circumscribed or clouded by the positive legal obligations admittedly binding on English subjects of the empire. To place the Declaration of Independence in the best possible light, it was expeditious to assume that the tie between the colonies and Great Britain had never been intimate, never binding in positive law, but a connection voluntarily entered into by a free people. On this basis, the doctrine of the rights of man would have a free field and no competition.

The essence of this theory of government is that the colonies became parts of the empire by voluntary act, and remained parts of it solely by dint of a compact between them and the king. Their rights were those of all men and every free people, their obligations such as a free people might incur by professing freely rendered allegiance to the personal head of the empire. On this theory, both Parliament and the rights of the British subjects could be set aside as not pertaining to the crisis at hand.

Jefferson in 1776 used as a model John Locke's justification of the Whig Revolution or Glorious Revolution of 1688. God, naturalized is a Prime Mover. Thus, the divine right of kings has no validity.

Note the element of deism here. Natural law was still the part of the mind of God that a rational creature could grasp; but if a rational creature could understand all God had done, the creature would, for all practical purposes, share completely the mind of God, and natural law would be, in the final analysis, identical with eternal law. Having deified nature, the eighteenth century could conveniently dismiss the Bible and eternal law altogether. René Descartes was original enough to suggest the wonderful possibility, "I think, therefore, I am." Whatever is, is rational; hence there is an exact correspondence between human reason and the objective world.

In this deification of nature, a decisive influence must be ascribed to Isaac Newton, whose great work, the *Principia*, was first published in 1686. In his hands, philosophy became no more than observation, and mathematics an occupation any intelligent person might in some measure pursue, not the manipulation of a subtle dialectic which only the adept could follow and which could fashion more difficulties than it solved.

In the hands of popularizers, Newtonian philosophy expanded into a system of the world that could be made to serve as a model of government, an argument to confound atheists and libertines, a firm mathematical foundation for natural religion, or a major premise from which a strictly materialistic interpretation could be derived. It was these broad ramifications of Newtonian philosophy that made it so popular and gave it significance beyond the narrow field of physics and astronomy.

The eighteenth century did not cease to bow down and worship; it only gave another form and a new name to the object of the worship; it deified nature and denatured God.

According to Locke, since man, and the mind of man, were integral parts of the work of God, it was possible for man, with the use of his mind, to bring his thought and conduct, and hence the institutions by which he lived, into perfect harmony with universal natural order. In the eighteenth century, the truth was accepted as self-evident that a valid morality would be a natural morality, a valid religion would be a natural religion, a valid political law would be a natural law. This was another way of saying that morality, religion, and politics ought to conform to God's will as revealed in the essential nature of man.

Locke's natural law is the law of reason. Its only compulsion is an intellectual one; the relations it prescribes are such as would exist if men followed reason alone and no compulsion were necessary. Such a state never in fact existed in nature. Locke's state of nature is not the actual pre-social state of history, but the logical nonsocial state, which he constructs imaginatively, as a premise from which to

deduce the rational limits of governmental authority. Locke is seeking not the historical origin but the rational justification of government.

Since governments exist for men, not men for governments, all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. The three concepts God, Nature, and Reason are made the foundation of politics and government as well as religion. This conception of natural law crept into the mind of the average man to confirm his faith in the majesty of God while destroying his faith in the majesty of kings.

In the British empire there were many legislatures, deriving their authority from and finding their limitations in their constitutions as parts of this global power. Benjamin Franklin assumed that the empire was composed of separate states—all subject to the king, but each possessed of its legislature outside the jurisdiction of the British Parliament!

According to legal theoretician James Wilson, who would sign the Declaration of Independence and participate in drafting the Constitution, inferior sovereignty is manifestly limited by superior; accordingly the British Parliament must be limited by the law of nature, which affirms that the happiness of the society is the first law of every government.

But in 1773, when the Parliament conferred on the East India Company privileges that gave it virtual monopoly of the American tea trade, the dispute recurred. On December 16, a cargo of tea the company sent to Boston was dumped into the harbor by Boston rebels. Parliament replied to this act of violence by passing by overwhelming majorities the Intolerable Acts (called Coercive Acts in Britain): remodeling the Massachusetts Charter; authorizing transfer to English courts of cases involving breach of peace or conduct of officials in the performance of their duties; providing for quartering British troops on the inhabitants; and closing the port of Boston until the town made reparation for the destroyed tea.

To give these measures force, General Thomas Gage, commander of military troops in America, was made governor of Massachusetts. "The die is cast," wrote the king to Prime Minister Frederick, Lord North; "the colonies must either submit or triumph." When the First Continental Congress assembled on September 5, 1774, everyone thought something ought to be done. The Congress drafted a Declaration of Rights and Grievances to the king and Parliament, outlining its position. In framing the Declaration, the Congress was in the nature of the case less concerned with the logical coherence and validity of the statement than with a statement that would be acceptable to the greatest number of Americans and best adapted to win concessions from England.

The Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking up Arms appeared in July 1775. The phrasing admits the authority of Parliament as of act, and does not expressly deny it as of right, which by implication leaves it to be supposed that the exercise of authority as both fact and right is dependent on the consent of the colonies, which at present they give but in the future may withdraw. Such a theory of separation could only be found closely tied to a conception of the empire as a confederation of free peoples submitting themselves to the same king by an original compact voluntarily entered into, and terminable, by any member at the will of the people concerned.

The Committee of Five, appointed June 11, 1776 to prepare a Declaration of Independence, comprised Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston. In his 1805 *Autobiography*, and in a letter to Timothy Pickering in 1822, Adams said that the Committee decided on "the articles of which the declaration was to consist," and appointed Jefferson and himself a subcommittee to "draw them up in form."

The grievances against the king occupied so much space that one is apt to think of them as the principal theme. Such is not the case. The primary intent of the Declaration was to convince a candid world that the colonies had a moral and legal right to separate from England.

The major premise from which the conclusions of the Declaration are derived is that every people has a natural right to make and remake its own government; the minor premise is that the people of the thirteen

colonies are a people in this sense. In establishing themselves in America, they exercised their natural rights to institute governments suited to their ideas and conditions; at the same time they voluntarily retained a union with the people of England by professing allegiance to the same monarch.

From this allegiance, they might have at any time withdrawn; if they had not withdrawn, it was because of the advantages of being associated with the people of England; if they now proposed to withdraw, it was not because they now any less than formerly desired to maintain the ancient association, but because the king by repeated and deliberate actions had undertaken to usurp an absolute authority over them contrary to every natural right and to long established custom .

Congress deleted two parts from Jefferson's version

1. It denied any legal obligation to the British Parliament. The theory of the constitution was only voluntarily binding on the colonies in a friendly league through the king.
2. It deleted Jefferson's denouncement of the trafficking in human beings in the slave trade.

Modern democracy has accepted the article of the Jeffersonian philosophy that government rests on the consent of the governed; and this article in the form of the right to rule by the majority has been erected into an article of faith.

What was wanted in England when there was a movement for parliamentary reform was a philosophy that would enable the English to be both radical and respectable, a doctrine in the compass of which one could advocate universal suffrage and at the same time renounce Rousseau and French political philosophy. Rejecting natural rights, Jeremy Bentham made utility the test of institutions. The goal of society is to achieve the greatest good for all its members; do not ask what rights men have in society, ask what benefits they derive from it.

John Calhoun, *Disquisition on Government* (circa 1851)

To paraphrase Carl Lotus Becker's 1922 work, *The Declaration of Independence*, Liberty is both the cause and the reward of progress, which implies inequality of condition. In popular government, there must be "equality of citizens, in the eyes of the law." But to attempt to establish equality of condition would be to "destroy both liberty and progress." It follows that instead of men being born into the state of nature, the premise of the Declaration of Independence, they are born into the social and political state; and instead of being born free and equal, they are born subject to the laws and institutions of the country where born. Thus, Calhoun identified natural law with the positive law of particular states, the state of nature with the state of political society as history actually gave it rather than as it might be rationally conceived and reconstructed. In this scheme the natural state of the African race, for example, was obviously the state which the historic process created for it in any moment of historical development.

F. S. Savigny, the Historical Rights School

"The effectiveness of the historic rights philosophy was indeed exactly in that it encountered the natural rights philosophy of the eighteenth century on its own ground, and refuted it from its own premises. Admitting that rights were found in nature, it identified nature with history, and asserted that the institutions of any nation were properly but an expression of the life of the people ... the resume of its history" (Becker, *The Declaration of Independence*).

Leopold von Ranke sought for that which was unique in each people. His interest in universal history never disturbed his faith in the "individuality of nations." He does not identify human with the universal

man, with "man in general," but with the particular nation—or "great men" speaking for the nation, at the moment when the nation most self-evidently manifests its peculiar genius or individuality.

This faith in the Enlightenment and natural laws and rights did not survive the onslaught of the forces of the modern world. Science itself dissolved natural laws into competing views of human and natural nature with heterogeneous, partial hypotheses, leaving much to be understood and even more to be explained, unlike natural laws which homogeneously illuminated a closed universe accessible to any man with critical reason.



Lucretia Mott (1793-1880)

"Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions," Seneca Falls Convention: July 19-20, 1848

The Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions was written by Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Martha C. Wright, Mary Ann McClintock, and Jane C. Hunt.

1. Not a revolutionary declaration because no power to back it up. A purely moral expostulation. Industrial Revolution, the Nineteenth Amendment, and Equal Rights Amendment. The feminist movement had a long way to go.

2. List of injuries:

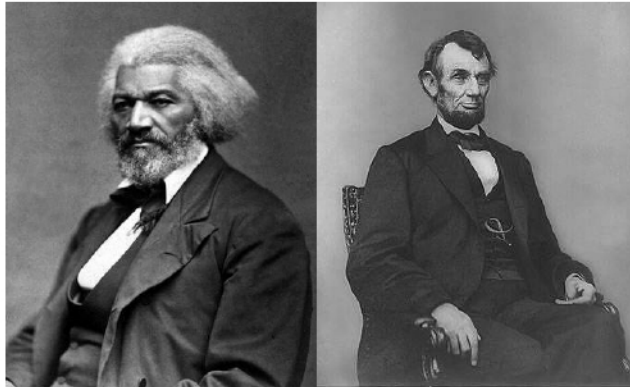
- a) franchise
- b) no voice in articulating laws and basic laws
- c) men withheld their rights
- d) without representation
- e) civilly dead when married
- f) property taken by divorce laws and taxations
- g) husband the master, making women morally irresponsible h) divorce laws biased.
- i) unfair taxation on property
- j) jobs monopolized—no social mobility
- k) college denied to her
- l) exclusion from the ministry
- m) differential codes of morality applied
- n) men usurped prerogatives of Jehovah
- o) men made her political, socially, and economically dependent

3. Petition and Convention to educate man about equal rights (Education and propaganda)

- a) Rights to pursuit of happiness precept of nature—demanding equality of genders
- b) Laws have no authority if do not render women equal.
- c) God dictated equality
- d) "inasmuch as man, while claiming for himself intellectual superiority, does accord to woman moral superiority, it is preeminently his duty to encourage her to speak and teach, as she has an opportunity, in all religious assemblies"—man claims intellectual superiority but grants women the authority to give religious instruction—abstract equality. False consciousness.
- e) Equal before the law because equally virtuous—beneficent
- f) Right to vote
- g) Identity of the races in capabilities and responsibilities

These points in the petition are self-evident truths implanted by a divinely inspired human nature and its principles. Any customs or authority contradictory of it is at war with mankind. Sanctions?

Finally, it was resolved that men and women must cooperate so that the end result is equal participation of women with men in the trades, professions, and commerce. Commercial society in an Age of the Industrial Revolution—the year of the Communist Manifesto.



**"What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?"
An Address Delivered in Rochester, New York, July 5, 1852, by
Frederick Douglass (1817-1895)**

Abolitionist and feminist. Why was slavery now an anachronism and how did the Industrial Revolution and federalism bring the crisis to a head?

1. Independence Day only a measure of the distance between master and bondsman. 2. United States compared to the infamous Babylon. 3. Millions in chains.

4. America false to her values.

5. Moral authority of humanity, liberty, the Constitution, and the Bible.

6. The Negro as a man by law, though rigidly defined by the criminal codes. Law gives Africans a moral, legal, and intellectual capacity and hence potential status in society.

7. Negro as a man by virtue of the fact the he is engaged in every trade, profession, and commercial activity. In addition, he is God fearing. Entitled to the fruits of his labor and rights in his own property, including body. Issue of moral sensibility.

8. Hypocrisy of supporting revolutionary self-determination in Europe while simultaneously enslaving three million African Americans. A practical problem.

9. God says love, yet whites hate blacks; inalienable rights of the Constitution belied by cruel practice of slavery. Abolitionists aplenty in the nation. John Brown.

10. White men steal the product of their labor—against natural laws.

11. Crimes against God and call for a revolution to rouse the public to take action. Right to revolution. Might makes right.

Conclusions damning: "Go where you may, search where you will, roam through all the monarchies and despotisms of the old world, travel through South America, search out every abuse, and when you have found the last, lay your facts by the side of the everyday practices of the nation, and you will say with me, that, for revolutionary barbarity and shameless hypocrisy, America reigns without a rival."

The Romantic Rebellion

I. The Enlightenment was internationalist; Romantic rebels were nationalist.

II. Enlightenment prejudices versus the Romantic rebellion.

1. Man's nature does not change; rather, the environment must be manipulated to optimize a given quantity of human potential.
2. Disinterested above passion and class commitments; objective; analytically reasonable.

III. Romantic Creation

1. The Romantic Age invented historicism—the mythopoetics of nationalism and its becoming. This nationalism in conjunction with racism and imperialism led to the First World War. We contrast this scenario with the internationalism of the Enlightenment philosophers who were willing to force men to be free. The means do, however, affect the ends.
2. Aesthetics and politics merge in the Romantic period in which ideals of the sublime in nature are contrasted to the ugliness of the political realm. The romantics contrast the purity of beauty in nature and their poems with the science and cosmopolitanism of the Enlightenment intellectuals to show how human nature and nature itself had been raped in the name of progress.

Romantic Rebellion: Themes

Defined themselves against Enlightenment and Age of Reason

- a) heroic morality versus abstract mathematical reality and utilitarianism (Nietzsche versus Newton): the ethics of calculation
- b) conservative versus revolutionary politics of the French Revolution
- c) organic evolution of society and nature versus the inevitability of progress of the Industrial Revolution (inorganic, mechanical clock the model) with its rape of nature; isolated and alienated genius (the mad poet, philosopher) in opposition to society's customs, positive laws, and conventions with the rise of the bourgeoisie and mass man; country over city—more healthy and wholesome; descent into insanity can penetrate a deeper reality than commonplace exercise of reason; power of the unconscious over the conscious
- d) emotion over intellect
- e) status quo liberal conservatism versus revolutionary impulses of foreign and domestic radicals
- f) understanding versus explanation; feelings/empathy versus the laws of science and utilitarian calculation; language is not reality, intuition is; many little truths replace Big Truth; the metaphysics of Enlightenment
- g) reason and its universalism rejected.
- h) freedom/egalitarianism

i) politics of poetry versus politics of prose; poetry fathoms feelings that mere writing cannot penetrate; subjective motion in verse as opposed to reification of the dead, objective word; chaos versus order and structure.

IV. Modernism

The Romantics react against the triumph of reason and science. Romanticism says No. Romanticism is a radical negation and antithesis of science, which subjugates human volition to will truth and knowledge, whose subjective dimension has been factored out by the impersonal forces of the modern world with its Enlightenment, metaphysical Truth (versus truths), and the role of science in objectifying history and industry to a commodity status. The Age of Reason proclaimed a movement toward an inevitable end ("process"). Progress leaves man and his individuality behind as an accidental figure and byproduct bereft of will to power. Mass or General Man emerges, dehumanized in the capitalist mode of production.

Romanticism is a reaction to social engineering. Romantics oppose the line of rational and rationalizing thought and its applications from the French Revolution to totalitarian systems. The common denominator is terror, which led to the destruction of Enlightenment reason itself.

V. Science

The scientific method abstracts from reality. It gives pragmatic techniques that are successful but do not illuminate how our perceptions and conceptions develop—linear versus nonlinear discourse. This tension climaxes in the two cultures of human versus natural sciences. There is no real cause and effect in human behavior—multiple factors illuminate a particular individual's situation. Each individual has a unique reaction to an extreme situation or crisis—no real common threads linking Righteous Gentiles, for example. Sempo Sugihara's and Oskar Schindler's behavior was not predictable. We can look back and make constructs of their conduct. They are Romantic heroes who took chaos and imposed their own will to power to shape unexpected outcomes. David Hume talked about "constant conjunctions"—in reality, probability theory to predict how people will comport themselves in a situation.

VI. Dualistic Worldview

The faith/reason division of the medieval era and the religion/science division of the early modern era had become one of subject/object, inner/outer, man/world, humanities/science. A new form of the double-Truth universe was now established. The romantics believed that nature is spirit in man and the nation's history: *naturphilosophie*.

1. Hegel

a. He overcomes subject/object dualism of Kant's phenomenology. Spirit or mind permeates being and wends its way to a final destination in Truth.

b. The Absolute Idea manifests there is a telos in history's development, by contradiction to the rational state in its struggle to realize freedom for the collectivity. Great man theory of history.

c. The dialectic is the struggle in history between theses and antitheses wherein at the end there is a grand synthesis in overcoming facts and values in all their contradictions, with the climax in the freedom of the *Rechtsstaat*.

d. Nationalism a progressive force to withstand Napoleon's empire-building in Europe. Germany under occupation.

e. Ideas (consciousness) precede material conditions of life: spirituality prevails over canonization of the laws of nature.

2. Karl Marx

Marx later stood Hegel right side up in the dialectic. Materialism versus idealism. Marx was an Enlightenment figure who had a negative reaction to the Romantic rebellion. He said that their position represented the class interests of the bourgeoisie and hence the cultural forces of domination in society. Marx had contempt for those who wanted to be agents in history without knowing the laws of scientific socialism.

3. Friedrich Nietzsche

Reality is a plurality of perspectives. There is no ground to being other than the will to power in the context of being beyond good and evil and hence free to create. The cosmos has a force that cannot be explained, only experienced fully in the interior life and then reacted upon by force of will. The doctrine of eternal recurrence. If you were to be reincarnated over and over, could you live with yourself and the consequences of your actions on others? Space collapsed into eternal time. Same human dilemmas recur over and over again.

4. Sigmund Freud and Carl Gustav Jung

They were powerfully influenced by the Romantics. They understood the power of the irrational in the individual, culture, and racial archetypes. Thus, hidden conflicts and forbidden desires render men unhappy and neurotic and at war with each other and society's values. With the bifurcation of the modern mind between Romantic mysticism in conjunction with depth psychology on the one hand and the naturalistic cosmology of the physical sciences on the other, there seemed to be no possibility for an authentic synthesis of subject and object, psyche and world. Freud was both a Romantic and an Enlightenment figure.

VII. England versus France in a World War

The English government's most valuable support was secured by conviction rather than interest. The leading conservative ideologue was Edmund Burke, author of *Reflections on the French Revolution* (1790). Antithesis of Lockean ideals. His appeals to tradition, sentiment, and chivalry were open to question, but at the same time they served to call into question the values of reason, progress, and efficiency to which his opponents appealed. Burke elevated his discourse to the plane of principle versus Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man*: international rights of man via revolution; versus William Godwin's *Political Justice* (1793). Godwin combined theoretical extremism and practical restraint, making him the perfect theorist for intellectuals. He had a great influence among liberals in the 1790s, including the first generation of Romantics like Blake and Wordsworth. He was a philosophical anarchist rather than apolitical revolutionary.

VIII. The poet often held to hold a marginal role in society

After all, what does he contribute to society?

- a) power of imagination is liberating: praxis of aesthetics and politics
- b) legislator for mankind—independent class of intellectuals who speak for nation above partisanship
- c) Romantic Age invented historicism—the mythopoetics of nationalism and its becoming. This nationalism in conjunction with imperialism and racism led to the First World War.

2. Poetry and power. Poets enjoyed a privileged position in society to have the idle time to imagine and think of countercultural alternatives. In that sense, they are reactionary, looking to the verities of antiquity. In the end, they uphold the status quo out of horror of revolutionary violence; their own vested interests in life and property threatened. Hence, they turned out to be either conservative or even reactionary.

3. Marx attacked the philosophers and poets in his *The German Ideology*. In his eleventh thesis in *Theses on Feuerbach*, he wrote, "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways, the point, however, is to change it."

IX. The Romantics and Language

Locke's work called *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* concerns a philosophy of language in which he observes that experience generates knowledge from external, sensible knowledge and internal operations of our mind, perceived and reflected upon by man's ideas. These themes influenced Wordsworth, Blake, and other poets and philosophers of the Romantic persuasion. Locke appeals to the systematic rational analysis of correspondence among terms, ideas, and things—and in this crucial aspect his empiricism is entirely consistent with the values and practices of Cartesian rationalism, to which it is so often compared. For Locke, it would appear that the common human capacity for communicating through language can only be realized in philosophical discourse, and even then it is susceptible to the inevitable limitations of having to depend upon words established by arbitrary imposition.

Locke, then, believed in two things:

1. Words play a constitutive role in ideas; nominalism, that is, the act of naming things, gives ideas reality in the mind itself.

2. Locke's primary concern is the relation between words and ideas, and only secondarily with words and things.

Etienne Bonnot de Condillac, an ideologue of the eighteenth century in pre-Revolutionary France, had an argument derived from Locke. He showed that thinking cannot evolve beyond the elaborations of memory without the creation of language as we know it. His arguments are a brilliant genetic development of the suggestions in Locke's *Essay* about language's constitutive relation to thinking. The ideologues agreed on two closely connected and potentially antagonistic principles: the invariable subjectivity of language on the one hand, and the impulses toward social communication that correct the inherent limitations of language on the other.

X. The Romantics and Nationalism

Language necessarily reflects its social and material determinations as well as the individual acts of mind of a particular speaker or writer; speech and writing are to an important degree relative productions of a particular language culture, whether local or national. Although these ideas were prominently articulated in Germany by Johann Gottfried Herder and developed later by Wilhelm von Humboldt, they were first raised by Locke. This development particularly affected William Wordsworth.

Wordsworth revised the two central assumptions of empiricist theory. He made a special virtue of the invariable subjectivity of language by assuming that authentic feeling can either transcend or transvalue the arbitrariness of language. At the same time, he offered an account of the social valorization of language by appealing to an idealized rustic community whose thoughts and words are incorporated with

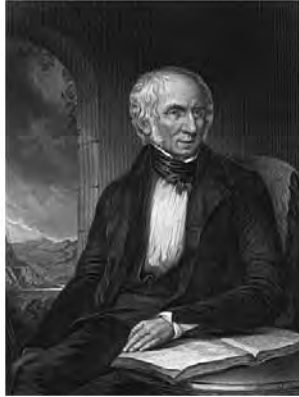
the beautiful and permanent forms of nature, that is, with a Nature that exists beyond or outside language and can therefore legitimize genuine references to it. Wordsworth has two principles.

1. One of these is emotive and expressive, for all good poetry has its origins in the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings.

2. The other is social insofar as was possible in a selection of language really used by men, particularly by country folk. Language unifies people in a *Gemeinschaft*.

Hence, language is natural and imaginative, but language is incompetent to express feelings of the community, in the final analysis. There are phenomena beyond the linguistic capability to express which we can call the ineffable.

Coda: Collective feeling + the country's folk stories and myths = national language community.



William Wordsworth

Lyrical Ballads

LINES

WRITTEN A FEW MILES ABOVE

TINTERN ABBEY,

ON REVISITING THE BANKS OF THE WYE DURING

A TOUR,

July 13, 1798.

=====

FIVE years have past; five summers, with the length
Of five long winters! and again I hear
These waters, rolling from their mountain-springs
With a soft inland murmur.*--Once again
Do I behold these steep and lofty cliffs,
That on a wild secluded scene impress
Thoughts of more deep seclusion; and connect
The landscape with the quiet of the sky.
The day is come when I again repose
Here, under this dark sycamore, and view
These plots of cottage-ground, these orchard-tufts,
Which at this season, with their unripe fruits,
Are clad in one green hue, and lose themselves
'Mid groves and copses. Once again I see
These hedge-rows, hardly hedge-rows, little lines
Of sportive wood run wild: these pastoral farms,
Green to the very door; and wreaths of smoke
Sent up, in silence, from among the trees!
With some uncertain notice, as might seem
Of vagrant dwellers in the houseless woods, Or
of some Hermit's cave, where by his fire

10

20

The Hermit sits alone.

If this

Be but a vain belief, yet, oh! how oft--
In darkness and amid the many shapes
Of joyless daylight; when the fretful stir
Unprofitable, and the fever of the world,
Have hung upon the beatings of my heart--
How oft, in spirit, have I turned to thee,
O sylvan Wye! thou wanderer thro' the woods,
How often has my spirit turned to thee!

50

Haunted me like a passion: the tall rock,
 The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood,
 Their colours and their forms, were then to me
 An appetite; a feeling and a love, 80
 That had no need of a remoter charm,
 By thought supplied, nor any interest
 Unborrowed from the eye.--That time is past,
 And all its aching joys are now no more,
 And all its dizzy raptures. Not for this
 Faint I, nor mourn nor murmur, other gifts
 Have followed; for such loss, I would believe,
 Abundant recompence. For I have learned
 To look on nature, not as in the hour
 Of thoughtless youth; but hearing oftentimes 90
 The still, sad music of humanity,
 Nor harsh nor grating, though of ample power
 To chasten and subdue. And I have felt
 A presence that disturbs me with the joy
 Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
 Of something far more deeply interfused,
 Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
 And the round ocean and the living air,
 And the blue sky, and in the mind of man;
 A motion and a spirit, that impels 100
 All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
 And rolls through all things. Therefore am I still
 A lover of the meadows and the woods,
 And mountains; and of all that we behold
 From this green earth; of all the mighty world
 Of eye, and ear,--both what they half-create,*
 And what perceive; well pleased to recognise
 In nature and the language of the sense,
 The anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse,
 The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul 110
 Of all my moral being.

Nor perchance,
 If I were not thus taught, should I the more
 Suffer my genial spirits to decay:
 For thou art with me here upon the banks
 Of this fair river; thou my dearest Friend,
 My dear, dear Friend; and in thy voice I catch
 The language of my former heart, and read
 My former pleasures in the shooting lights
 Of thy wild eyes. Oh! yet a little while
 May I behold in thee what I was once, 120
 My dear, dear Sister! and this prayer I make,
 Knowing that Nature never did betray
 The heart that loved her; 'tis her privilege,
 Through all the years of this our life, to lead
 From joy to joy: for she can so inform
 The mind that is within us, so impress
 With quietness and beauty, and so feed
 With lofty thoughts, that neither evil tongues,
 Rash judgments, nor the sneers of selfish men,
 Nor greetings where no kindness is, nor all 130
 The dreary intercourse of daily life,
 Shall e'er prevail against us, or disturb

Our cheerful faith, that all which we behold
 Is full of blessings. Therefore let the moon
 Shine on thee in thy solitary walk;
 And let the misty mountain-winds be free
 To blow against thee: and, in after years,
 When these wild ecstasies shall be matured
 Into a sober pleasure; when thy mind
 Shall be a mansion for all lovely forms, 140
 Thy memory be as a dwelling-place
 For all sweet sounds and harmonies; oh! then,
 If solitude, or fear, or pain, or grief,
 Should be thy portion, with what healing thoughts
 Of tender joy wilt thou remember me,
 And these my exhortations! Nor, perchance--
 If I should be where I no more can hear
 Thy voice, nor catch from thy wild eyes these gleams
 Of past existence--wilt thou then forget
 That on the banks of this delightful stream 150
 We stood together; and that I, so long
 A worshipper of Nature, hither came
 Unwearied in that service: rather say
 With warmer love--oh! with far deeper zeal
 Of holier love. Nor wilt thou then forget,
 That after many wanderings, many years
 Of absence, these steep woods and lofty cliffs,
 And this green pastoral landscape, were to me
 More dear, both for themselves and for thy sake.

Footnotes.

[4] * The river is not affected by the tides a few miles above Tintern.

[107] * This line has a close resemblance to an admirable line of Young, the exact expression of which I cannot recollect.



Walt Whitman (1819-1892)

Walt Whitman is considered "the American poet" or "poet laureate" of our nation.

He is best remembered for his *Leaves of Grass* (1855). "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry" (1856) and "I sing the Body Electric" are basically songs celebrating American life and the city. His most poignant piece of work is "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd"—he expresses his profound grief at Lincoln's assassination.

FREUD'S DREAM WORK CAN BE APPLIED TO WHITMAN'S POETRY AND ITS LATENT MEANINGS LAID BARE BY INTERPRETATION OF ITS MANIFEST CONTENT EXPRESSED IN A STREAM OF CONSCIOUSNESS (UNCONSCIOUS).

We can call this phenomenon over-identification with an idealized type in order to prevent the death of the self. There is mourning and melancholia at work here in which he is depressed about a loss, yet neurotically fixated on his love object in a melancholic way. He is upset about the loss of the innocence of his childhood. There is a mother fixation wherein he wants to crawl back into the womb in order to restore a lost world of tranquility. The absence of the praxis of sexuality stems from an extreme masochism and narcissism originating from an unresolved Oedipus conflict. His substitute gratification is strong identification with the American republic.

Who is he? What Joseph Smith proclaimed as the Mormon doctrine of man perfected into God is independently visualized in Whitman's hermeticism. He broke a taboo on talking about autoeroticism-onanism. He had a solipsistic relationship to his own body in which he could not bear to be touched. He believed in his own divinity. He might have been close to being psychotic--but writing oriented him functionally to reality. He can accept his own fate willingly and acceptingly--eternal recurrence. Psychodynamically, his literature evidences oral fixation with socio-sexual frustration of an active neurosis; he is not just a neurotic personality--deep problems demonstrated.

Obviously, he was a borderline/narcissistic type of personality in which he was close to psychotic. He turned much aggression (originating from self-hatred) against his own ego. He never adapted successfully to his social environment. We can infer that he had a savage superego but that his talents allowed him to sublimate his frustrated libidinal energies into art. In a sense, he died (sacrificed himself) for his art. He would not have had the ego strength to affect transference in psychoanalysis. He was overwhelmed by materials from the unconscious which he could not handle as neurotic conflict. He could not establish normal human relationships. He was connected to reality only through his writing.

What are the themes he explored? After all, he still was a late Romantic poet, an American, not a European Romantic poet.

1. Subjectivity and selfhood, or the heart prevails over the head. He is strange and unique in his self-presentation. Shock element.

The id overwhelms the ego. He had too powerful an instinctual life to be happy; however, he rechanneled that energy into writing or poetry in a socially acceptable manner. We have an instance here of sublimation. Too, in transference, Whitman is the therapist for creating a new ego identity for the American people; in a catharsis, the American people accept him at the level of poet laureate in a mutual confirmation. He takes Americans through their social conflicts to give them his gift of a national identity.

2. He championed the organic city as part of nature. There is no dualism here, as in Blake and Wordsworth. The impersonal city and he had a relationship—his love of the body electric is so abstract that it could not provoke anxiety—he loses himself in the oceanic feeling of the masses in urban areas. The city is eternal; for him its masculine pulsations are a substitute for a transient father figure.

His own broken boundaries of ego had fused with the unconscious. In many ways, he had an impacted personality, disassociated from reality as we know it.

3. The city is the place where there is an oceanic feeling of oneness with the people—democracy creates a fluid motion conducting energy into higher complexities of organization. These are the ingredients of patriotism and nation-building. Hence, the imagination would have infinite possibilities to play itself out.

Narcissism or self-love and nationalism or love of a country for itself as an elect and chosen people can go hand in glove. He personified in his poems that nationalism and Manifest Destiny. There is a surrogate pleasure from identifying with a great power which he considered ethical. It defused his sexual tensions.

4. We must take note of his free verse, formlessness, lack of rhyme and meter in contrast to Blake and Wordsworth. He is much less inhibited in style.

Narcissism and stream of consciousness/unconsciousness are coincidental where there are no ego boundaries, but this can open the self to oneness with the universe if the person is a genius type. There is no more pain connected for Whitman in his reality testing that normal people experience; rather, he had the oceanic feeling of oneness, which was compatible with the style partaking of his free verse knowing of no boundaries.

5. He wanted to demonstrate the New Adam in the American Garden of Eden as a democratic personality in contrast to the European. The new heroes would come from the people, not a dead epic hero but a live one who participated in current events. The New Adam was his idealized ego. He could then live in denial of his repressed homosexuality.

In the New Adam, he is idealizing an abstraction insofar as he could not admit his homoerotic impulses to himself so he could sublimate these painful conflicts into art. Every neurotic has homosexual/heterosexual fantasies; it is a universal feature, including a polymorphous perversity which we have at birth. Gradually, we are socialized into monogamous heterosexual relationships. If you are homosexual, it is due to the hard wiring of the brain—it is neurobiological and an orientation that is given, not learned, in general. Even Freud admitted to them. However, a fantasy does not make a homosexual. The id is blind and psychotic and will manifest itself in every perversion possible to mankind; hence, the family, society, and civilization will have to socialize the individual into those norms suited to biological reproduction as it relates to the means of production, in this case, obviously capitalist.

6. He is fashioning a lyrical myth of America. The overall doctrines are encompassed by the name transcendentalism. His people are a free people who know no superiors. The hero is unconquerable and does not prostrate himself to money. He is a man of spirit. The man of spirit is metaphysical and beyond submitting to this world's mundane demands—a stoic detachment from mere material reality. He is in

denial and suppresses internal conflicts by making them world conflicts where the original and primal individual struggle undergoes a countertransference or repression.

7. The bard is an exemplar to his people but remains humble and on their own level.

He had a definite messianic complex in which he thought of himself as Godlike. Clinically, we can define this phenomenon as paranoid delusions arising from his frustrated sexuality. He had undergone a deep repression of his forbidden sexual desires. Every neurotic conflict has a homoerotic component that what makes for resistance in therapy. People deny what the culture taboos. The transference is in having an imaginary dialogue with an idealized alter ego—with himself as a divinity. He is Jesus resurrected, raised from the dead to bring the millennium to Americans.

As the Time Draws Nigh

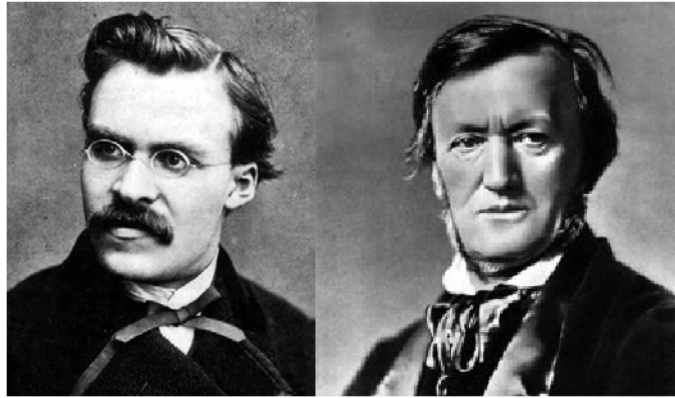
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AS the time draws nigh, glooming, a cloud,
A dread beyond, of I know not what, darkens me.

I shall go forth,
I shall traverse The States awhile—but I cannot tell whither or how long;
Perhaps soon, some day or night while I am singing, my voice will suddenly cease.

2

O book, O chants! must all then amount to but this? Must
we barely arrive at this beginning of us?... And
yet it is enough, O soul!
O soul! we have positively appear'd—that is enough.



Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900)

The Twilight of the Idols

Nietzsche wrote *The Twilight of the Idols* in the last active year of his publications (1888); then he slipped into insanity. The book rails against the sickness of his age, in which he duels with reason, anti-Semitism (which he condemns), positivism, modernism, humanism, and above all the ascetics in history from Socrates to the eunuch priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church, whose renunciation of the instinctual life is tantamount to a renunciation of life itself or a naturalistic morality. He takes, covertly, particular aim at Richard Wagner and his operatic *magnum opus* of the *Götterdämmerung* from his cycle of *The Ring*, because he made tragedy farce and kitsch. Wagner commercialized music with his organized spectacles that stifle human involvement. All the protagonists and villains have fates fixed by Destiny; so, Nietzsche finds Wagner repulsive in his anti-realism and, above all, in his racial bigotry, which Nietzsche could not sanction. They once had been the best of friends.

Let us discuss this quotation:

"In the early Middle Ages, when the church was indeed, above all, a menagerie, the most beautiful specimens of the 'blond beast' were hunted down everywhere; and the noble Teutons, for example, were 'improved.' But how did such an 'improved' Teuton ... look afterward? ... [H]e had become a 'sinner,' he was stuck in a cage, imprisoned among all sorts of terrible concepts ... full of hatred against the springs of life, full of suspicion against all that was still strong and happy. In short, a 'Christian.'"

Nietzsche, a nominal Protestant, had a strong loathing for the Roman Catholic Church with its iconography. He smashed the idols because he felt that the Church entailed a renunciation of manly values for the faith. Kindness, piety, devotion, and so forth embodied values that had to be transvalued. He had a contempt for females and their characteristics that made men soft, particularly through the institution of marriage, controlled by the State and Church. Nietzsche believed that Christianity destroyed the heroic German nation and replaced it with a Church and State, based on nationalistic prejudices that rendered life both effeminate and bureaucratic. Nietzsche advocated a vigorous sexual life, spontaneity in short, in which men would not feel guilt about asserting their *will to power*.

Great men make history, according to Nietzsche. They destroy old, liberal values and institutions and replace them with the noble and imperial values best found in ancient Rome. Napoleon was his hero because he wanted to create an empire in Europe. Nietzsche detested nationalism because he believed that it made men parochial in outlook. He believed himself to be the man who would destroy the ideologies of socialism, modernism, and democracy. He loathed the masses as unworthy of living, let alone having rights and the vote. He thought their role should be that of slaves to serve the masters, who by genetic breeding would be fit to rule. These great men would live by not denying their instincts and would take to the deed, instead of thinking like philosophers, who corrupt. Yes, Socrates should die. He

corrupted the youth of Athens by setting a bad example. Nietzsche admired ancient Rome and the historical period of the Renaissance, in particular. In his doctrine of *eternal recurrence*, he affirms that history can be made noble by working on it as a hammer works on a piece of stone to shape it. The image is graphically violent. Oddly, in his time, he thought that Czarist Russia, with its primitive tribalism and transcontinental expanse, would best reinvigorate Europe by example. He was an imperialist. Expand or die. You should note that Machiavelli and Homer were his two favorite writers. They wrote epics and understood history in its totality.

War cleanses, in the mind of Nietzsche. He wanted an elite to rule the world. He thought the most ignoble thought ever conceived was that men were created equal by God. He said *God is dead* and that democracy cannot make what is inherently unequal equal. In particular, he cursed Rousseau as an effete intellectual who stirred the Paris mobs to action in the French Revolution. When Napoleon seized control of the Revolution, he represented the man of action on the front lines, not the weak types like Mirabeau and Robespierre, who worked for the people. Napoleon represented an ancient race, the Corsicans, who inspired him with the idea of *blood and soil*.

Was Nietzsche a proto-Nazi? No. He was not a racist. He rejected the decadence of life in a capitalist, materialist society, where men were unmanned by the forces of modernism. He was an advocate of Dionysius, a mythic figure who lived a life of excess, frenzy, and affirmation. He looked for those values in a naturalist art and philosophy of life. Hence, he was more an existentialist than a National Socialist. His views of the dark side coincided with those of Freud; though he would place less emphasis on the Unconscious with its soft determinism. Nietzsche had a very positive view of Jews, which contradicted Wagner's eliminationist anti-Semitism that influenced his operatic productions. Nietzsche thought these works sickly morbid and wrote *Contra Wagner* to express his contempt for the man and his racism. Nietzsche viewed Jews as a universal race that had creatively survived persecution and adversity. Such strength he admired in a collectivity. Some of Nietzsche's colleagues and friends were Jewish and were treated equally in social standing and professional accomplishments.

Three months after writing this essay in late September 1888, along with other pieces during that feverish year of productivity, he fell into a paralytic insanity from which he never emerged. The Nazis fifty years later did appropriate whatever they found useful in Nietzsche, particularly his making cruelty a virtue in hard times. There is no progress in history toward man's betterment. Nietzsche despised Enlightenment ideals; hence, he could be considered a posthumous fellow traveler.

Human, all too Human. Men die. That is a cold fact that could not be undone, according to Nietzsche. But he viewed death positively as compelling men to make great decisions now, not await glory in the hereafter. He would have been disappointed had he seen what had happened to Germany under Hitler, a man of *ressentiment*, who unleashed the forces of nihilism with no strategic objectives that had a root in reality, unlike Napoleon.

Central Ideas of Nietzsche

Masters and Slaves. There are people who follow the *herd mentality*. That is why he hated democracy and the masses—attributable to their *ressentiment*, their leveling instincts whose intention was to destroy what was noble in the few great. Remember the Parable of the Cave in Plato, where the man who sees the sun and returns to liberate the prisoners is murdered because people are "stupid" and do not want to change with what they are comfortable with. Nietzsche disliked Plato and Socrates because they exalted reason above the passions. He called them sick Sophists.

Nietzsche engaged a *perspectivist* approach to democratic and modern values in that what resulted was a *hermeneutics of suspicion*, given that values had to be transvalued to create a *man of solitude* (necessarily) who could fight for the good life against all odds. He believed in a *Darwinist, naturalistic ethics*, based on firm biological principles that ideally only the fittest should survive to produce an aristocracy of talents. He proposed *eugenics* to breed a multinational elite and ruling class. There would

be great *cruelty* in the pursuit of higher goals, in which one would *live dangerously*. He went back to the Greek tragedies to uncover the concept of *areté*. The Superman who pursues excellence has to shape his life as with a hammer in order to create a *work of art* out of it. Nietzsche is not an absolutist existentialist like Sartre, who said there are no limits to your freedom. Nietzsche said that there are biologically determined limits in which your choices are fate. *Amor fati*; love of your fate. Every great individual such as Napoleon had a Destiny. There is definitely hero worship in his works. However, he went back to the Greek tragedies to exemplify what he thought great. For instance, he revered Sophocles' *Oedipus*, who is to this day an archetype of a tragic figure, who had good intentions that resulted in terrible consequences. The opposite of the great man would be *the last man*, who could only be pitied in Nietzsche's *moral psychology*. He was the inactive man who could only forget virtue and absorb himself in his material self-interests. Ironically, Nietzsche used *ad hominem* arguments to attack the "scholarly" oxen of his day who committed philosophical suicide by their *asceticism* to the detriment of the health of the species. History, and that includes the philosophy of history, should serve life and affirm the values of a hard life in which the will becomes steeled to be an exclusive agency of the person to transform his environment after his own image. *Sexuality* personified the will to power, as one of many examples of this will to power.

There is in Nietzsche an anticipation of Freud. He did write about the *unconscious*, which was a force working through the individual unbeknownst to him. It had to do with the instinctual drives toward the affirmation of life against reason, which was only instrumental and utilitarian in character and hence ignoble and debased. Reason made means into ends. The will to power led to the joyous *Dionysian* embrace of the world by the individual, but conditionally. Traditional reason is *Apollonian* in character, hence too passive to engage life in the fullness of its plural aspects.



Zen, the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance, and the Sophists: Recovering the Greek Mind

Lecture on Robert Pirsig's *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* (1974)

Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance is a ghost story with three main actors, Pirsig, Chris, and Phaedrus (the phantom of Pirsig's past). The rider is an anonymous person searching for himself and the love of his son. He is unable to communicate with people, particularly Chris, as he is lost in his mind. In his eleven-day journey, the Chautauqua, he recollects his lost memories; and the ghost of Pirsig past, Phaedrus the Sophist, and Pirsig qua ghost rider reconcile into a whole person. In the dramatic conclusion, the redeemed father can relate to his son through the power of the latter's love to become the radical questioner of all values whom the son had adored before his first mental breakdown. In particular, Pirsig cannot deal with the values of the modern world as he tries to aestheticize technological reality, while still admiring the accomplishments of science. His is a hollow man who is never named during the course of the entire semi-autobiographical narrative.

Pirsig looks for definitive answers to life's meaning in questioning the Ancient Greeks. He undertakes to "kill" Aristotle to earn his doctorate in philosophy by taking on the Aristotelians at the University of Chicago. His thesis is that an indefinable Quality (*areté*) of the pre-Socratic Greeks best exemplifies that past world in an age of heroes whose deeds were exemplary. He thinks he has found a third way between Plato's rationalism (and his Theory of Forms) and Aristotle's empiricism with its study of particulars. Aristotle, in his Lyceum, created the various disciplines that to this day provide the templates for the modern university. Pirsig felt that Aristotle was responsible for alienating students from the pursuit and love of wisdom because overall education was teleological, designed to make its participants mere job holders who do not ask the big questions. Unfortunately, he cannot define his intuitive ideas before the doctoral committee, who determine his thesis not acceptable. Aristotle "kills" Pirsig during the doctoral defense because Pirsig did not adhere to standards of justification and verification of values and facts. Pirsig subsumes facts under his values, although he is not clear in his definitions. In short, the committee believed he did not know what he was talking about. The old order triumphs. Pirsig then mentally collapses. During his institutionalization, he undergoes radical surgery on the brain as integral to his therapy. He emerges "healthy," yet not his old self. The story is about his heroism in finding his old self by successfully dialoguing with his eleven-year-old son, recognizing his individuality and needs, while overcoming a near second mental collapse.

As a postscript to this narrative, the murder of Chris in a mugging devastated Pirsig. He emigrated to

Sweden. I surmise from the reading of the book that he found his fellow Americans neither civilized nor cultured. On the latter point, Americans can be considered culturally middle brow. After all, Americans do read quite a bit for their own edification and are fairly well informed on public concerns. An African American has been elected president. That historical achievement can, in large part, be attributed to the success of education, the very institution with which he so cavils. Are Americans uncivilized? No. However, Americans are not really a civil people in the work force. They work in overdrive in search of the good life, too often measured trivially in monetary denominations. There is much alienation in the work force now because of a deep recession and job instability. Workers are job holders, compulsively working like beasts of burden. They divide their time, and consequently they endure a war of conflicting commitments within their own selves, between the painful demands of their jobs and the private pursuits of their pleasures, some of which are noble, as Americans are a very charitable nation who give much of their resources to the underprivileged, the least advantaged groups with the consensus of the whole of the polity. Again, if citizens look at African Americans as a baseline of the historically wronged, a once pariah status race, the fair-minded critics of our society must conclude that we have undergone a sea change in values. Is the glass half full, or half empty?

Pirsig missed altogether the birth of the Digital Republic of Letters, augured by Google. Google has a monopoly on the digitization of copyrighted books in the United States. Google to date has proven to be a benevolent corporation. Information is power. For the most part, any reader can access for free texts under United States law, often for a nominal fee for individuals, although not institutions.

This newfound power provides a great impetus for democratic institutions to empower themselves in public discourse. The danger lies in the real possibilities of a change in policy, personnel, or ownership of Google. The laws of supply and demand are irrelevant where there is a monopoly of informational data. That is why Pirsig's book is only a provocative period piece and not part of the Western canon. He did not have the vision to foresee a revolution in the method of accessing all books in the public domain. In a computer in his or her residence, any student of learning can partake of a national catalog of copyrighted books much larger than the Library of Congress. In fact, libraries have become anachronistic as institutions of power. Ugly technology trumps Pirsig's intuitive notion of Quality. Yes, Aristotle "killed" Pirsig.

Categories of Ideas to Understand, not Explain, Philosophy, Which is only an Art Form and Life Style

Narrative—myths—moral tales

Natural Law Theory—precepts of reason

Dialectic—freedom in clash of cultures

Historical Materialism—class conflict

Positivism—progress measured by scientific revolutions

Discursive Will Formation—conversation among people where the unforced force of the best argument prevails

Critical Theory—hidden Interest groups run the country

The Hero—cycles of history in which there is a return to antiquity to search for models of good conduct such as the Greeks and Romans

Metanarrative—a tale in which there is one great exposition of all major ideas and classic books of Western civilization

The Unconscious—most of history is recollecting lost memories

Robert Pirsig and *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*

All life is the struggle to recover lost memories. Commentaries on how the quest leads to the good. Madness can be a form of special insightfulness.

1. Repression—unconscious—private world of feelings that cannot be articulated

2. Resistance—people cannot bear to hear the truth about themselves
3. Sublimation—unresolved conflicts transcended by working them into a new form at a higher level of articulation, such as through art, music, work, sports, writings, and so forth
4. Suppression—compulsive obsessive behaviors involve a repetition compulsion to resolve conflict. There is a fixation on unsolved traumas of the past
5. Denial involves shame and hence guilt and anguish—can lead to rage and uncontrolled anger
6. Rationalization is the making of excuses to escape personal responsibility
7. Projection is the mechanism of paranoia where there are feelings of persecution, often involving repressed homosexual feelings that are not acted out
8. Regression means returning to the comfort of the womb that can often induce psychosis
9. Reaction formation leads to compensation for feelings of inadequacy so superiority complexes develop that do not reflect reality
10. Hysterical formation causes symptoms, dreams, ideologies, illusions, and self-deceptions. It is the crux of neurosis. Displacement onto inappropriate objects for acting out occurs with hysterical formation, for instance, Hitler's irrational hatred of the Jews

Reality testing takes place in the therapy room where through transference there is effected a catharsis or purging of blocked emotions by verbalization. Interpretation sets you free

Allegory of the Cave—few people ever see the Sun and do so at great risk. Most people live in shadows in which secondary narcissism results in objectifying the self as the object of love; hence, affected individuals cannot relate to others.

Sleepwalking through life, in which ignorance is bliss and resistant to fresh information

Fields of Philosophy in Pirsig

Epistemology—knowledge; love of wisdom that is philosophy

Logic—discursive will formation; rhetoric of the Sophists, like Phaedrus; the structure of reason

Metaphysics—what reality is when madness encloses the mind

Philosophy of language—stream of consciousness, an interior dialogue with others throughout life.

Aesthetics—entails the study of beauty and the good

Philosophy of science—conscious life and evolution; a methodology of reliability and verification using the null hypothesis

Ethics—rightful and just conduct

Religion—mythologies that organize a cosmic view of the world

Political philosophy—the social contract from laissez-faire capitalism to the welfare state. The prisoner's dilemma is an example.

Truth and good (Quality) versus the Dialectic

Pirsig said that Sophists were right in the end. Plato misrepresented them, so the task is to recover their suppressed memories.

There is the Good of the Idea versus the True of empiricism: Plato and Aristotle dichotomized reason forever. Techné, areté, and praxis of the Sophists cut through these dilemmas.

The Great Books "impaired" the world because they enthroned Reason, the so-called Newtonian world, while denaturing reality. Practically, scholars analyze reality into categories and kill students' curiosity. Everything in education that has been taught is wrong.

The motorcycle is a metaphor for excellence in which maintaining the vehicle is art, which provides a model for working on oneself to pursue the good life. The problems of technology per se are not to be faulted. Zen is having the right attitude in striving for oneness—you and the motorcycle congeal into a unity.

Labor alienates us because of the specialization in the production process. We really do hate our work because it is several forms of oppression. All is attitude in having the right mind set to being a good person, worker, and citizen.

The Chautauqua is the education of Chris, his son, by taking him to the primal experiences of nature and loving it. Pirsig is Phaedrus who is full of aggression. There is a conflict of classic and romantic reason. There is also a critique of education of our universities. It is Quality (seeing the Sun) that creates objectivity and subjectivity in unison. There is a preintellectual reality that is more real than intellectualization at universities.

Rhetoric versus the Dialectic in the narrative.

The protagonist understands, in the end, that reason is our modern mythos in scientism, which trumps quality and the good. Areté is not a concept of reason but a lived reality of experience in Pirsig. He relearns rightful conduct that others should emulate, especially his son. It is quality that discovers Reason and the myths of the classics, compassed by romanticism or the embellishment of feelings to heighten life experiences.



Rafael's School of Athens

Plato and Aristotle



Detail from facing page: Plato the teacher, in the likeness of Leonardo da Vinci, and holding his *Timaeus*, guides alongside Aristotle, his greatest pupil, on our right and holding his great work, *The Ethics*.

10

There is also the dichotomy of Science versus Culture. In education, there has been a war of the Ancients versus the Moderns that has been fought in the Great Books versus the modern day isms. Myth versus Science provides a tension in life. Plato, in his *Republic*, is pure mind who objectifies selfhood in which a certain narcissism unfolds. Plato believed that men can be forced through the rule of Philosopher Kings to be free because they only saw shadows in their lives. The Allegory of the Cave is the metaphor of how men live their lives in darkness; hence philosophers must force them to be free, no matter what the pain of truth entails in the rational apperception of the forms. Thus, there was to be a political class separated from the demos, who would educate the masses on good conduct through a lifetime. In the end, Plato,

later in life had to settle for good laws, given that men were of such poor quality with their human nature and animal instincts. Aristotle objectified reason into facts and categories to reify reality, separated from the Soul of Plato. For Aristotle, reason was logic; not so much how to live the good life. In the end, Phaedrus originates reality in Quality to synthesize Plato and Aristotle.

Pirsig concludes that Socrates was the greatest Sophist of them all. The Phaedrus of the book and the Phaedrus of history were Sophists, who came to see the good life by living it and educating by modeling good behavior, not talking idly about it in theories, paradoxes, and the devising of scholastic schemes to create a second order reality that only specialists in philosophy had access to.

Plato's *Allegory of the Cave* in Book VII of the *Republic* (360 B.C.E.)



"...my dear Glaucon,... In the world of knowledge, the last thing to be perceived and only with great difficulty is the essential Form of Goodness. Once it is perceived, the conclusion must follow that, for all things, this is the cause of whatever is right and good; in the visible world it gives birth to light and to the lord of light, while it is itself sovereign in the intelligible world and the parent of intelligence and truth. Without having had a vision of this Form no one can act with wisdom, either in his own life or in matters of state."

In the history of philosophy, there are few writings more classic than Plato's *Allegory of the Cave*. Essentially, it is a paradigm of the physical world and how it interacts with the social world. It is a metaphysical construct of cosmic proportions. In brief, a prisoner escapes from the Cave, taken as a symbol of man's subjugation to ignorance. The prisoner escapes into the light and sees the truth of reality, namely the world of objects and then ultimately the Forms (the good). The good is the highest value that Plato esteems, accessed by reason (*Nous* or Mind). He has set himself free by rejecting all previous opinions, founded on convention and mere opinion. The emancipated individual returns to the Cave to relate his discoveries to his fellow man. They want to kill him because the truth does not necessarily set one free but threatens the habits and mores of the mass of men who cannot rise above their habituated slave mentality (the status quo).

Plato concluded that to achieve excellence there would have to be a rule by philosopher kings who would study for most of their lives in seclusion from the rest of the populace and then exercise a benevolent

dictatorship. Big lies would have to be told about the nature of the gods to maintain social stability. Women would be allowed to be educated to this eminent status. It would be open to people of achievement, although it would be eugenically engineered to breed a higher type. With the totalitarian regimes of the past century, philosophers like Karl Popper claimed that their seed had been planted in the *Republic*. Plato thought of his scheme of things as utopian. Eventually, he came to the conclusion of the necessity for laws and great statesmen under the rule of law. He had a practical side to his writings and exposition of Socrates' teachings (whose written embodiment mainly evolved from Plato's spin on his remembered encounters. He formed an Academy where students learned the dialectic, the art of conversation to find the truth of the great questions of life, such as what is justice, by a process of question and answer in which the best argument prevails, to the satisfaction of all parties to the debate in an open forum. The Sophists were the ideological enemy because of their emphasis on rhetoric, the craft by which a student learns to win an argument no matter the merits of the premises or the truth of the facts. Aristotle was Plato's greatest student and, in the end, he turned out to be his greatest detractor. He used an empirical method of fact finding, observation, experiment, and systematizing of knowledge to have a grounded picture of reality in which the eternal Forms became a manifold of everyday forms in their particularity with law-like properties. Plato, like Aristotle, took it for granted that there would be a slave society. To think radically, the philosopher could not be encumbered by obligations to do mundane work. The Allegory of the Cave demonstrates the brutishness of the average man and the necessity for a slave society run by an enlightened and highly educated elite.

The most original and provocative doctrine of Plato pertains to his claim that the dialectic allowed man to recollect lost memories of previous lives. The history of Plato is notional and circular in nature. In fact, it is a process of eternal recurrence. Fatefully, Sigmund Freud would base the doctrine of lost or repressed memories as the fundamental precept of psychoanalysis in his treatment of neurotic patients. The premise is that by an "after education" resurrected memories would be excavated in analysis, consequently to be sublimated into a reinvigorated, asymptomatic personality, who could then function normally, as the truth would have set him free at least to make rational choices in life as to how to live it with his various complexes brought to self-enlightenment.

Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (350 B.C.E.)



Aristotle is the foremost pupil of Plato. His *Nicomachean Ethics* must be read in conjunction with his *Politics*. He did not believe in Plato's Forms. Aristotle had an empirical approach to science and ethics, in which he was more concerned with verifiable particulars and justifiable ethics. He propagated a theory of happiness (*eudaimonia*), in which by living according to the practice of the mean the person could flower into making potentiality actuality. For instance, courage is the mean between cowardice and rashness. That is then a virtue of a person's character to be emulated. With his concept of friendship, he formed the basis of the political society, modeled after the family. Friendship assumed justice, temperance, courage, and intellectual integrity or practical wisdom. The best man was the philosopher, who only contemplated the nature of the good in a concrete sense. He was the contemplative man, free of any earthly entanglements. Eventually, he realized that since man is a social and political animal in his nature, he

must partake of politics. Otherwise, if the citizen abstained, he would not be living according to his nature. He would then be a just man; so justice and the intellectual life have a common denominator in having attained the functional goal of happiness in life.

There are three forms of friendship, based on utility, pleasure, and common pursuit of the intellectual life for the sake of friends improving one another in the search for wisdom. Utility founders on calculation, pleasure on concupiscence; hence only the intellectual life can be denominated the highest kind of friendship because it is deliberative in nature and results in the mutual enhancement of the other's happiness. Happiness needs no justification; it is the end state of man's perfecting himself. To attain one's excellence entailed a lifetime's work; it was not just a given. Virtues could be practical or theoretical, and Aristotle devised a scheme appropriate for his times.

Aristotle thought of thinking as the highest activity known to man, in which he would craft his personality in a way to be happy. He would be the man of *areté* in that he would develop his excellences. In the ultimate sense, he could not avoid political praxis in that he had to be pious in serving the city-state of Athens that gave him his privileges and opportunities. There was this tension between the contemplative man and the political man throughout his life. Aristotle advocated prudence (*phronesis*) in order to achieve the Golden Mean. His thinking was teleological in the sense that happiness was the goal. How could that be achieved?

"For though this good is the same for the individual and the state, yet the good of the state seems a grander and more perfect thing both to attain and to secure; and glad as one would be to do this service for a single individual, to do it for a people and for a number of states is nobler and more divine."

Aristotle's Lyceum was a school, in which a person would be taught to develop his excellences according to a rigorous scheme of courses, culminating in the application of the dialectic. He demoted rhetoric to a lower status, as he associated that branch of study with the much maligned Sophists. Too, he used treatises rather than dialogues to expound his ideas. Aristotle greatly influenced the philosophy of science from his day to the present. St. Thomas Aquinas, the great systematizer of the Roman Catholic canon and Church writings, found his inspiration in Aristotle. Augustine established his *City of God* on the principles of both Plato and Aristotle. The Church to this day can be considered to have been ideologically founded on Plato's Forms and Aristotle's epistemology and ethics. The system has become scholastic in character and hardened into dogmas, as Church teachings have not kept up with modern times, which it really has not been able to reach an accommodation.

In summary, *friendship* is the basis of a just political society, and *happiness* the formation of good character within the polity, hence assuming that a good citizen is a just and ethical man, who has actualized his talents and excellences.



Lecture Notes on Machiavelli and Marx

Niccolo Machiavelli's *The Prince* (1532)

Quote (chapter 26)

"Everyone is sick of being pushed around by the barbarians. Your family must commit itself to the enterprise. Do it with the confidence and hope with which people embark on a just cause so that, marching behind your banner, the whole nation is ennobled. Under your patronage, may we prove Petrarch right:

"Virtue [*virtu*] will take up arms against savagery, And
the battle will be short.
For the courage of old is not yet dead
In Italian hearts." (Petrarch, *Italia mia*, ll 93-96)"

We have to address this quotation with what did it mean to Machiavelli in terms of *virtu*, *necessita*, *prudence*, and *fortuna*. *Virtu* translates as manliness and virility; *necessita* as necessity geopolitically defined; *prudence* as moderation; and *fortuna* as blind luck, which is half of our fate in life. The blend of the four components in an individual heroic redeemer, *The Prince*, helps forge the outcome. So, the treatise is a handbook for aspiring leaders who would unite Italy and all its city states.

The geopolitical situation of Italy circa 1515 was desperate. It had a host of enemies along with the occupation France, Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, and Swiss mercenaries. Machiavelli made his appeal to the Medici family in Florence and Rome to take up the sword and scourge these intruders. He was looking for charismatic leadership, as modeled in ancient Republican Rome, to save the day.

There is an anti-humanism in his work because he extols the use of violence, mass force, and cruelty to achieve noble ends by often ignoble means. He was a practitioner of Realpolitik, in which you deal with the cards at hand; hence, he was a hard realist with no philosopher's grandiose schemes. He was a hands-on diplomat, performing many missions for Florence.

He believed that violence should be applied economically; violent preemptive strikes against domestic and foreign enemies should be done surgically and in a manner to protect people's property, since people valued land and money above loss of kinfolk. The prince should inspire fear but not hatred; otherwise, weaker enemies would ally to bring him down.

Good government is republican and he deplored factions, much as Madison would during the American Revolution. Nonetheless, he believed in a democracy or aristocracy of talents where the mobs were controlled. There is a war between states where only the fittest survive. He advocated aggressive warfare, which entailed crimes against the peace, in order to be dynamic and imperial. He believed in republics of a scale to be successful, particularly as nation-states. Dynastic and small city states were coming to an end; there was to be a revolution in the European balance of power where he hoped a revived Italy would play a critical role as a player of consequence. Machiavelli augured the era of the modern nation-state system.

He said that the prince should be part fox and part lion. The fox is crafty but weak; the lion is strong but brutish in intelligence; hence, the prince should be a hybrid of the two animals. He believed that you should keep your word when possible; however, he advocated breaking it for the national interest since people are naturally wicked and tend to be suspect of making promises. A great prince should have the following qualities: patriotic, truthful, sympathetic, reliable, and religious. He put strong emphasis on religion because people tend to be superstitious and look up to those who have God's grace and the appearance of good character. Hence, he was being very cynical.

Other books of consequence are his *Discourses on Livy*, *The Art of War*, and *Florentine Histories*.

Machiavelli and Marx

In the course of our dialogues, it has been asked whether Machiavelli can be transmitted into a Marxist. The answer is plain no. Machiavelli had a cyclical version of history; Marx had a developmental and historical materialist ontology. The more extreme form of Marx can be found in the dialectical materialism of Engels, who believed history is irretrievably teleological. Communism must triumph. The more cautious Marx only claimed that communism was a possibility since human events find themselves enmeshed in radical contingency and in need of mediation by fallible humans. Marx allowed for human error in that political praxis found its agency in the operant, instrumental reason of the vanguard of the proletariat, that is, the intellectuals. Machiavelli, to the contrary, was seeking a great man or woman to demonstrate *virtu* in liberating Italy from the "barbarians."

However, they do coincide in one respect. They both objectified man and nature in their writings. Machiavelli took *virtu* to an extreme degree when necessary and advocated violence to cleanse enemies therapeutically. Marx advocated mass action (based on class definitions) when objective conditions in the material mode of production produced fatal contradictions that invited revolutionary action. Marx saw man as perfectible and capable of infinite improvement in the technological and scientific sense. Science, as a force of production, could produce the material conditions that would permit a privileged category of men to come to self-understanding. In this sociohistoric process, man is generically conceived, a manifestation of a species-being essence that inherently unfolds as the forces of production in science, materially a political force, break the fetters on production, ultimately expressed in class conflict. Marx reified man by seeing him as objectified subject of history and as abstract second nature (he described merely as a laboring beast whose social relations to others are of an object to object character), grounded in the domination of pristine nature.

Machiavelli gives primacy to the singular agent of history who stamps his personality on time; but time cyclical, nature dominated, and man objectified (alienated from his species being). Above all, Machiavelli believed men to be flawed and manipulable, not perfectible. His ideas are pre-Enlightenment and preclude a concept of rationality that has a liberatory impetus. I could not make a Marxist out of Machiavelli because he is so idiosyncratic. Marx would disown Machiavelli as a "Blanquist," a man who would seize power by coup d'état independent of the correlation of forces in the social field. Marx savagely critiqued such a subjectivist attitude of the "great man theory of history" because it precludes the "scientific" approach to analyzing history and its trends. In short, Machiavelli's Prince is anti-historical since he acts in defiance of the facts and attempts to create a polis after his own image, whatever the cost. Marx was not such a risk taker.

***The Prince* and the Modern Age**

Machiavelli's *The Prince* augured the modern age of political and military science (for instance, the invention of the cannon spelled the doom of feudalism). Machiavelli talked of the strategic advantages of creating a citizen army in order to create a national consciousness to take on the occupiers of Italy—France, Spain, and the Holy Roman Empire. The modern prince was to tap into the growing pool of commercial capital to borrow money to run a successful republican state and to wage war with the idea of imperial expansion. The specific philosophy was mercantilism, in which the measure of the wealth of the nation was its gold and silver; obviously, great powers like Spain had to acquire colonies in order for its political class to wage war. Eventually, the political class of the mercantile state developed corrupt leaders and bankrupted treasuries. There was a substantial burgher class in the city states of Italy during the sixteenth century. The rudimentary idea took root of a civil service based on achievement and merit rather than status attributable to birth. So, there is a realism in the thinking of Machiavelli that discounted utopian philosophizing about an ideal state of affairs. The Prince is an epic figure who makes events and does not look for transcendental (religious) justifications for his direct actions. He may not be from the people, but he does need them from necessity to provide the conviction that goes with a sound military strategy. The strategy was one of expansion, usually by colonization. Power is thus dynamic not static. It is always in motion, much like the heavenly bodies to be discovered in the mechanical laws of Isaac Newton a century and a half later.

Machiavelli epitomized the ideals of the Renaissance in that he looked to the classical world of the Greeks and Romans for military heroes. Nonetheless, he represented a transitional figure to the modern era. The fact that the book was written in Italian rather than Latin made it available to a civic minded polis with the idea that language bound peoples together in a nation-state. The printing press of the previous century provided the means for world communication of ideas with its mass production that brought texts to the marketplace cheaply. In particular, nationalism became a major revolutionary idea that transformed the world over the next several centuries.

With this backdrop of converging socioeconomic and political forces, nationalism had its origins with its fruits in the nineteenth century of the nation-state that is still the Italy of today. It was an imperial state that taxed its colonies as it expanded to its natural limits of ethnicity and territory. The citizen militias, based on notions of *virtu* and glory, were to be the shock troops of this geopolitical transformation. Machiavelli disdained mercenaries and auxiliaries because of their inherent untrustworthiness. The republic was to guarantee property rights with the rule of law, disinterestedly administered. Machiavelli saw the importance of propaganda or appearances; for instance, a ruler should seem to be religious, hence moral, and even if not, to cement the loyalty of his superstitious populace with its traditional values. Ultimately, inherent in the notion of the nation state, there was to be the centralization of power into one great metropolitan center. This administration of things spelled the end of feudalism with the Church that had become too worldly and the nobles too corrupt. The phenomenon of urbanization became a factor in nation-state formation. People migrated into the cities because there were economic opportunities to move up the social ladder. As populations increased, there necessarily had to be representatives elected by the restricted electors in order to have a rational bureaucracy to run daily governmental affairs. People expected just treatment with mutual respect and reciprocity built into the commercial code of conduct, particularly the notion of enforceable contracts. The bourgeoisie in proto form was making its appearance in Western European countries with its emphasis on individualism, materialism, scientific method, rule of law, and personal autonomy with representative institutions in the government. *The Prince* is a book on political science whose arguments are solely secular in nature with no appeal to God's providence. Italy had to be liberated by a great hero of either gender, leading an educated citizenry to military victory by the triumph of the will.

The prince had to have heroic qualities of prudence, *virtu*, cruelty, and opportunism to adapt to an environment ever in flux. He had to combine the characteristics of the fox and the lion. Machiavelli thought the Medici family exhibited the patriotic traits and leadership abilities that might unify Italy through measured violence, much as a physician uses poison in limited doses to aid his patient to recovery.

Overall, I would describe these political science recipes as Realpolitik, the employment of realism in achieving possible goals, if Lady Fortune only would cooperate. There were no guarantees in his prescriptions because changing circumstances could undermine the best laid plans; ye, the true prince would be able to adapt quickly and save the day.

Modernism is the doctrine that rational minds and the institution of science with technology could create the conditions for material advancement of man qua individual/citizen and the public interest. It coincided with the rise of commercial capitalism, that pursuit of private egotistical interests in the marketplace, with free information available to all, would result in the public good with minimal state interference. Too, there developed the general notion that the populace had to be educated; so, there emerged the idea that educated humans were a form of capital that is a factor of production. The Church's influence was to be null, particularly in a political sense.

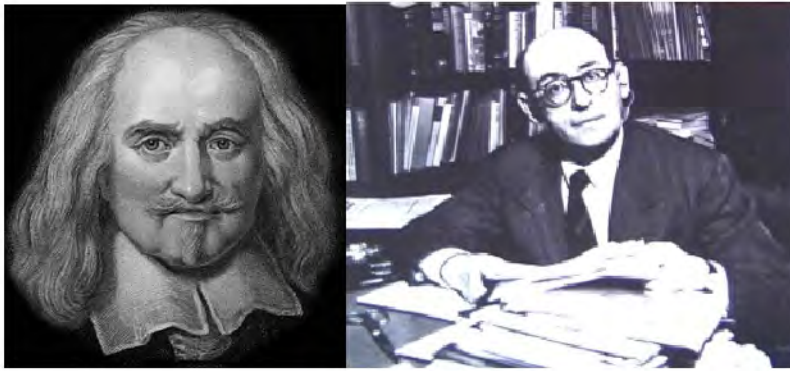
Philosophically, the premise of modernism is empirical in that when studying nature and human nature there could be identifiable only one cause that could be quantitatively defined. That telos dissolved, by and large, with the widespread destructive and genocidal warfare between nation-states and peoples during the twentieth century. Now, truth is historically relative only to a particular defined situation that has to be interpreted. Interpretations change with new generations of intellectuals, the keepers of the little truths evolved in university confines and the big think tanks, often corporate and government sponsored.

So, people live in a post-modern age. History has no end and simply evolves without any end in sight. Machiavelli had a different spin on philosophy of history. History is cyclical and repeats itself. In that sense, Machiavelli was not a modern thinker. Nonetheless, his belief in the power of violence and science creatively to inaugurate a nation-state system upon sound principles is a very modern notion.

Machiavelli and the American Revolution

The founding fathers certainly read Machiavelli because of his emphasis on military *virtu* to achieve political goals. Might makes right (Realpolitik where in war the end of victory justifies the means). The martial success of the American Revolution certainly can be attributed to its final victory over Great Britain. The American colonies had allies in France, Spain, and the Netherlands, without whose aid Washington could not have prevailed. He incorporated state militias into his Continental Army—certainly following the prescriptions of Machiavelli that the power of a nation comes from an educated polis, willing to make the ultimate sacrifice on battlefields. Washington made the ultimate noble gesture in renouncing plans for a coup d'état to establish him as president for life. He voluntarily renounced power, like Cincinnatus of ancient Rome, to establish the legitimacy of the central government and help institutionalize the concept of nationhood. He truly was the Prince of American History.





Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651)

Thomas Hobbes wrote this classic during the era of the English revolutions and the dictatorship of Oliver Cromwell. Hobbes sided with the Royalists and the Stuarts; hence, he faced political persecution. From these dark and bloody events, he came to have a low opinion of human nature and believed that people's sovereignty should be alienated to a greater power, whether monarchy, aristocracy, or parliamentary democracy. The new Leviathan would be outside the newly drawn up covenant, which was to preserve the peace and prosperity of the land by the sword. Once surrendered by an individual, he no longer had power, except in extreme conditions where a ruler put himself into a state of nature because he could not preserve the peace and warred against the people, destroying the legitimacy of the origins of his absolutist government. John Locke was his successor as the philosopher of natural law theory in England. He had a more liberal interpretation of man's basic goodness, whereby the people could never surrender their authority. Sovereignty is indefeasible; it cannot be given away, even under threat. It inheres in the pursuit of life, liberty, property. The American Declaration of Independence changed property rights to the right to happiness. Perhaps, political philosophers can say that Americans are Lockean or keen individualists in civil society, but in the international sphere, we Americans entertain a Hobbesian view of the world of a war of all against all. Note the following quotes to be discussed.

Natural laws are precepts or general rules, found out by reason, by which a man is forbidden to do that which is harmful to life or takes away the means of preserving it. Rights and laws should be distinguished. Rights are written in nature and laws in statutes.

A precept of reason says do unto others as you have them do unto you; otherwise, you live in a state of nature and disorder. Hobbes argues for the power to pardon by the Sovereign and advocates that people refrain from acts of vengeance. "And covenants, without the sword, are but words, and of no strength to secure a man at all." (*Leviathan*, ch. 17, para. 2) That is how individual men come to rely on the state to protect their selves while foregoing the right to act unilaterally to right a wrong by violence.

Key Quotes (from *Leviathan*, chs. 17, 18)

"I authorize and give up my right of governing myself to this man, or to this assembly of men, on this condition, that thou give up the right to him, and authorize all his actions in like manner. This done, the multitude so united in one person is called a COMMONWEALTH."

"This is the generation of that great LEVIATHAN, or rather to speak more reverently, of that mortal god to which we owe under the immortal God," our peace and defense. For by this authority, given him by every particular man in the Commonwealth, he hath the use of so much power and strength conferred on him that, by terror thereof, he is enabled to form the wills of them all, to peace at home, and mutual aid against their enemies abroad. And in him consists the essence of the commonwealth; which, to define it

is: one person, of whose act a great multitude, by mutual covenants one with another, have made themselves every one the author, to the end he may use the strength and means of them all, as he shall think expedient, for their peace and common defense. And he that carries this person, is called SOVEREIGN, and said to have sovereign power; and every one besides, his SUBJECT.

"The attaining to this sovereign power is by two ways. One, by natural force; as when a man makes his children to submit themselves, and their children, to his government, as being able to destroy them if they refuse; or by war subdues his enemies to his will, giving them their lives on that condition. The other, is when men agree amongst themselves, to submit to some man, or assembly of men, voluntarily, on confidence to be protected by him against all others. This latter, may be called a political commonwealth, or commonwealth by 'institution; and the former, a commonwealth by 'acquisition."

The consent of the governed entails their alienating their power in the following fashion. "A commonwealth is said to be instituted, when a multitude of men do agree, and covenant, every one, with every one, that to whatsoever man, or assembly of men, shall be given by the major part, the right to present the person of them all, that is to say, to be their representative; every one, as well he that voted for it, as he that voted against it, shall authorize all the actions and judgments of that man, or assembly of men, in the same manner, as if they were his own, to the end, to live peaceably amongst themselves, and be protected against other men."

If he attempts to depose the sovereign, the sovereign shall kill him as if he were the author of that deed. However, a person can never be commanded to kill others or kill himself because that would be unnatural.

Hobbes believes that ideas can be subversive, so he advocates censorship. (18)

"For doctrine repugnant to peace, can no more be true, than peace and concord can be against the law of nature. It is true that in a commonwealth, where by the negligence or unskillfulness of governors and teachers, false doctrines are by time generally received, the contrary truths may be generally offensive....For those men that are so remissly governed that they dare take up arms to defense or introduce an opinion are still in war; and their condition not peace, but only a cessation of arms for fear of one another; and they live, as it were, in the precincts of battle continually. It belongs therefore to him that hath the sovereign power, to be judge, or constitute all judges of opinions and doctrines, as a thing necessary to peace; thereby to prevent discord and civil war."

Men should act with propriety; yet they may appeal to right judicature to right a wrong and to resolve controversies in civil society. On the international scene, the sovereign has the right to decide on war, for that strengthens the people and enhances their safety. The sovereign by necessity is head of the militia. "To the sovereign therefore it belongs also to give titles of honour; and to appoint what order of place and dignity each man shall hold, and what signs of respect in public or private meetings they shall give to one another."

Hobbes was a forerunner of laissez-faire capitalism, as seen in the following quotation. "The liberty of a subject, lies therefore only in those things, which in regulating their actions, the sovereign hath pretermitted: such as is the liberty to buy, and sell, and otherwise contract with one another; to choose their own abode, their own diet, their own trade of life, and institute their children as they themselves think fit; and the like."

There is a right to resist a ruler who becomes a tyrant and there is an inherent right to form alliances with to protect themselves from being put to death, if that would place civil society in a state of nature. Sovereigns must abide by natural laws or face consequences. "But in case a great many men together, have already resisted the sovereign power unjustly, or committed some capital crime, for which every one of them expects death, whether have they not the liberty then to join together, and assist, and defend one another? Certain they have: for they but defend their lives, which the guilty man may as well do as the innocent. There was indeed injustice in the first breach of their duty; their bearing of arms subsequent to it, though it is to maintain what they have done, is no new unjust act. And if it be only to defend their

persons, it is not unjust at all. But the offer of pardon takes from them, to whom it is offered, the plea of self-defense, and makes their perseverance in assisting, or defending the rest, unlawful."

Nonetheless, if there are no forthcoming pardons, the people may form a new covenant. A new sovereign emerges, who has not been a part of preparing the contract, and the authors of the covenant must abide by its absolute prescriptions. There will be the rule of law, though dictated by the sovereign, for the subjects are the authors of his deeds.

The Natural Right to Revolution

The whole basis of overturning a sovereign lies in the reasoning of the final quotation.

"The obligation of subjects to the sovereign is understood to last as long, and no longer, than the power lasts, by which he is able to protect them. For the right men have by nature to protect themselves, when none else can protect them, can by no covenant be relinquished. ..The end of obedience is protection; which, wheresoever a man sees it, either in his own or in another's sword, nature applies his obedience to it, and his endeavor to maintain it. And though sovereign, in the intention of them that make it, be immortal; yet is it in its own nature, not only subject to violent death, by foreign war; but also through the ignorance, and passion of men, it hath in it, for the very institution, many seeds of natural mortality, by intestine discord."

In conclusion, factionalism and warfare can bring sovereignty to destruction with the social contract nullified, to be rewritten by another generation of noble but self-interested men. In the Atlantic democracies, Hobbes has proven much more applicable to foreign affairs where there is not a world government exercising sovereign powers. America has not been able to exercise its military supremacy by translating it into diplomatic successes. That contradiction drains precious resources from the preeminent superpower in world history and could be the seed of its ultimate destruction.

FRANZ NEUMANN (1900-1954), *BEHEMOTH* (1941, 1944)

"If Germany is willing to transform Europe into a primarily agricultural state, if she is willing to reduce the standard of living of the masses in Europe, she may indeed renounce the conquest of the world. But is it conceivable that a highly industrialized state should voluntarily abandon economic progress? In our opinion, it is not. Germany, if defeated, may be compelled to withdraw from the society of highly industrialized states, but that is certainly not the policy of her present government. It would be a complete negation of the whole history of German industrial capitalism. On the contrary, it is the high productivity of the industrial apparatus, the pressure for foreign markets and the need for satisfying the vital material interests of her masses that have driven Germany into a policy of conquest and will continue to drive her to still further expansion until she is defeated or has fulfilled her aim. It is the dynamics of a fairly young, aggressive, monopolized country that is the prime mover of Germany's expansion."

Such is the definition of totalitarian monopoly capitalism whose tentacles have infiltrated every dimension of the political economy and private life to allow a dictator to emerge who rules by terror, however rationalized by an incoherent Social Darwinism and irrational racism. Nonetheless, with the use of the profit principle by cartels to obtain a "fair" market price, with subsidies from the state, monopoly capitalism maintained a vestige of traditional capitalist forms. The monopolists owned the means of production. By making the forces of production more efficient, they drove competitors from the market by lowering prices, making a problem of massive unemployment. Classically, when workers lost their jobs, then their purchasing power shrank because they had no countervailing power in unions, which Hitler destroyed at the beginning of his regime. Paramilitary forces and the army absorbed millions of these workers. With total war, Nazi Germany had to conscript millions of foreign workers under the most draconian working conditions. The Allied Powers destroyed the Third Reich. However, ironically, Big Business concerns survived because they were needed for reconstruction after the war by all the victors.

Hitler came to power legally on 30 January 1933. Quickly, he dissolved state and society by substituting his personal charisma and party organization to rule by emergency decree for the duration of his tenure. The racialized Leadership Principle displaced governmental institutions and the plural groups of a democratic society. A totalitarian monopoly capitalism emerged that administered by terror the political economy, particularly through the instrument of Big Business. The nihilistic decisionism of Hitler substituted for the rule of law and the Judeo-Christian ethos of the equality of all men and the injunction to Love Thy Neighbor. The Other becomes the enemy to be killed. Hitler could easily have said "I am the State and the embodiment of the will of *Das Volk*."

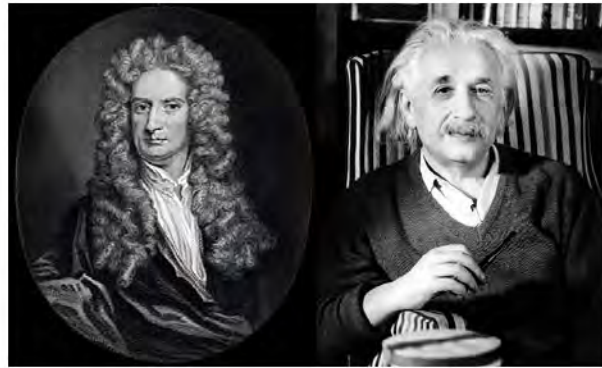
Hitler dictated war against the Jews and invented a bastardized Monroe Doctrine for the whole of Europe. Now totalitarian monopoly capitalists could make super profits guaranteed by the National Socialist movement. War means opportunities for profits in a command economy. The War Lords of cartels found it efficient to rationalize industry by creative destruction to destroy the middle and lower middle classes. The constituents of these classes provided the cadres of the National Socialist movement. The deracinated middle class and the *lumpenproletariat* found equality in the mythology of identity with a superior Aryan race that compensated for the devastation of the Great Depression.

Hitler had four community (Volkish) groups to feed his insatiable lust for power and quest for undefeatable sovereignty: party, civil service, army, and Big Business. The global reach of Big Business coincided with the aim of global imperialism. The party terrorized the people into abject submission (atomization of society's differentiated social strata and liberal belief value systems). The civil service did Hitler's will by applying his commands. The army waged a racial war against the world to fashion a new revolutionary world order. Hitler misconstrued a novel Social Darwinist ideology that impelled a war of all against all that was its own self-justification.

This world goes beyond that of Hobbes, however, because the rights of conquest entitled the conquerors to confiscate property and destroyed the sanctity of the legal commercial contract. Hobbes's moral justification for his Leviathan entailed a moral argument to protect property and property in life. Contrarily, the Behemoth (a people's movement to dominate inferior nationalities and creeds) was a monster whose anti-bourgeois values contradicted almost every normative dimension of Hobbes's social contract theory. The Behemoth pays no heed to legal niceties and civil rights of individuals. The state is no longer the focal point of sovereignty as understood in Western democratic normative political theory. The only recognized loyalty was an oath sworn solely to Hitler, the charismatic leadership described so well by Max Weber.

The essential problem with charismatic dictatorship is that there can be no institutionalization of power, so when the leader dies the movement dies.

The only legacy for Germany was to lay waste to the world and, in the end, to its own political status as a nation-state as a partner in a multilateral world that now no longer even has a center of gravity. Even the United States, with all its military might, cannot impose its political will on the Islamic world, which has become its enemy through poor statesmanship. Germany never earned the obedience of its subject nations; neither has the American imperial power been able to win over the masses of the poor from which terrorists can be recruited. No matter how many combatants are killed, the number is transfinite, so the seeds of our destruction await us by borrowing money to fund a war that can only lead to fiscal bankruptcy.



Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia Mathematica* (1687)

Newton (1643-1727) wrote this classic text when he was twenty-four—a genius of geniuses. No intellect of any age or nation was his equal.

Newton demarcated the line between metaphysics and science; he augured the Age of Science (the Age of Enlightenment or Modernism), using the inductive/deductive method. He did not believe in abstract hypotheses. You investigate empirically measurable phenomena; then you write a description in which you induce conclusions. From that you can form theorems (the rules of reason) that have predictability and falsifiability as criteria. He was a natural historian. He killed the Middle Ages and the scholasticism of Aristotle and Ptolemy. Men of learning now had to investigate reality in nature by observation and careful recording of data; you could no longer simply create systems from your head without rigorous proofs. In the Royal Society, you had to present your case to your peers to be published; otherwise, your works repaired themselves to the dustbin of history.

Newton investigated the laws of motion in the universe, so-called classical mechanics. He developed differential and integral calculus to measure the simultaneity of identifying objects in flight where position and speed could be delineated from moment to moment, which is differential calculus, while integral calculus posits the ultimate destinations of bodies in motion with accuracy. What exactly did he state?

Newton's First Law: "Every body continues in its state of rest, or of uniform motion in a right line, unless it is compelled to change that state by forces impressed upon it." It can also be called the law of inertia.

Newton's Second Law: "The change of motion is proportional to the motive force impressed; and is made in the direction of the right line in which that force is impressed." This can be stated as $F = ma$, force equals mass times acceleration.

Newton's Third Law: "To every action there is always opposed an equal reaction; or, the mutual actions of two bodies upon each other are always equal, and directed to contrary parts." Otherwise formulated: "For every action, there is an equal and opposite reaction."

Scientists use the variables of acceleration, mass, weight, and force (the initial impulsion of a body in motion) to describe the trajectory of heavenly bodies. Newton discovered the importance of gravity and by implication electromagnetism to explain why bodies have elliptical orbits. He described the world as a closed system in which everything defines everything else to form the laws of nature. He described phenomena empirically; he did not explore essences of substances (metaphysics), like Aristotle, to find spiritual characteristics to the elementary dynamics of natural phenomena, though he supposed a God had set up a law-like framework for man to discover. Newton published his still relevant law of universal gravitation in his *Principia Mathematica* in the terms: $F = G \frac{m_1 m_2}{r^2}$. This signifies that where F is the force, mass one and mass two exert a reciprocal effect on each other, so that the force of the two m s is the product of forces of the respective masses, divided by the square of r , the distance between their centers of mass, and G is a constant of proportionality called the *gravitational constant*.

Einstein modified Newton by saying that energy and mass are interchangeable in a universe where time and space are curved and the universe expands without limit. $E=Mc^2$ summarizes the *general theory of*

relativity. This formula was the basis for splitting the atom and creating weapons of mass destruction or an ultimate source of endless energy.

Einstein said that light was defined by quanta whose speed could be ascertained. In Newton's theory of optics, light was wavelike in nature and had a definable weight, mass, and speed, though in units not directly visible to the eye. He refracted white light through a prism to ascertain its properties; primary colors gave different units of heat along a spectrum. By developing *de novo* optics, gravity, and calculus, he buried metaphysics and developed science into a practical field of study with concrete results, such as predicting the orbits of planets, the trajectories of comets, how bodies in motion accelerate, and so forth. Too, there were applications to military science, particularly the use of firepower in cannon and missiles.

Newton was a friend of John Locke. Locke too believed human nature had the same law-like properties that could be found in Newton's mathematical universe. From such laws, moral principles could be discovered writ large in nature. Such a supposition really tenders a theory of theories to explain all the natural and human phenomena of the world with the common denominator of being amenable to the natural historical method. Newton had an influence on the American Revolution because its patriots thought that moral and political sciences could be rooted in a materialist conception of nature, that is, science and technology.

The romantic poets demonized Newton because they felt he had disenchanted the world of its wonder and reduced it to mere calculation and reason. Hence, he made man an object for study and not the agent of God's will. This objectified man took himself as his deity who through reason would subjugate nature to his will—the ultimate hubris.

William Blake—poet, painter, and social critic—is famous for his watercolor of a Godlike Newton on a throne, measuring a miniaturized world with a compass. Man is full of hubris now.



Introductory Lecture to Locke (1632-1704)

Why John Locke?

1. He was the most representative thinker of the era and an exponent of natural rights.
2. He has proven to be timeless.
3. He is part of the Western canon, in which he is a benchmark to judge other contemporary thinkers in terms of their explanatory power concerning the human condition.
4. He can be used to justify revolution against tyrants.
5. He has outstanding literary qualities since he was a great stylist who argued the natural rights/law political philosophy to its logical conclusions.
6. Leo Strauss in the twentieth century was an exponent of his philosophy at the University of Chicago.
7. Locke epitomized Whig arguments versus the Tory philosophy of the divine right of kings.

He read René Descartes and Sir Isaac Newton, who were his contemporaries.

The *Two Treatises of Government* dealt with the Revolution of 1688, in which Parliament triumphed over the Stuarts and James II. William of Orange and Mary Stuart acquiesced to rule in conjunction with the legislature, acknowledging the need for the consent of the people.

Sir Robert Filmer was attacked in the *First Treatise*. He wrote the *Patriarcha*, published in 1680, which argued for the divine right of kings, supposedly the direct heirs of Adam.

Thomas Hobbes, who wrote *Leviathan* in 1651 advocated despotism as the only alternative to anarchy. In the *Second Treatise*, Locke attacked this position. He said the state of nature is pre-political but not pre-social. Locke said it was peaceful, in contrast to Hobbes, who described it as a war of all against all.

The law of nature is a fundamental concept for Locke in which four points are raised:

1. It was a state of objective rule.

2. It emanated from God Himself in its objectivity.
3. It was accessible to reason.
4. It was prior to positive laws.

Locke was more concerned with individual rights than with responsibilities. These rights basically were to pursue life, liberty, and property, particularly property. Locke had a liberal interpretation of property. He thought that one could only own what he had applied his own labor to in either land or goods; hence property was limited to what one could consume in a modest way. Too, property incorporated the concepts of lives, liberties, and the estates of men.

The inconveniences of the state of nature creates government by social compact.

The social contract has the following components:

1. Men surrender only their right to enforce the law of nature, and it had to be agreed to unanimously.
2. It excludes rulers from the contract, which is between individuals. Hence, the ruler was a trustee and the people were the beneficiaries with the ultimate power.
3. The social contract could be drawn up only once. Thereafter, it endured by tacit consent.
4. There was to be majority rule. Minorities were left exposed to possible majority tyranny.

Locke made a distinction between society and government, but really they must have evolved simultaneously to punish offenders of the natural laws. Locke was ambiguous on this point.

There had to be separation of powers. Representative government must have enough power delegated to the legislative, executive, and federative functions of the polity to be effective. There was to be a reserve for emergency powers, which would be checked by the right to revolution by propertied men. Again, there is the problem of minority rights in which individuals of conscience can be confronted by a tyrannical majority.

There are two basic criticisms of Locke:

1. He wrote bad history because we cannot find a state of nature in which men ever behaved rationally. This was the criticism of David Hume. In other words, the state of nature is a logical construct to be used for the sake of rhetoric and the illumination of how to conduct limited government. It never had historical reality.
2. Men by nature are not rational, but rather aggressive and driven by unconscious impulses unbeknownst to the protagonists of history. Just read the plays of William Shakespeare and the works of Sigmund Freud to bear this point out.

In the final analysis, John Locke epitomized the liberal persuasion until the mid-twentieth century with the advent of the welfare state. Then liberalism became very statist as opposed to its formerly individualist, pro-property bent of political philosophy.



John Locke: The Praxiology of His Concepts

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651)—war of all against all
Richard Hooker (1554-1600)—*The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*
Sir Isaac Newton (1643-1727), *Principia Mathematica*

Government a trust based on the people
Locke's rationality of man vs. calculating interests of Hobbes's man

State of nature peaceful—rules ascertainable by reason, positive laws of state; so have trusteeship not Leviathan. Inalienable rights of life, liberty, and property. Property a natural right preceding civil society and not created by it.

Labor theory of value—labor creates property; hence, lives, liberties, and estates of men; thus, the limits are his utilitarian needs. Age of the greatest happiness to the greatest number.
Marx: from each according to his ability, to each according to his need (communism).

A lack of security and certainty in the enjoyment of property and rights leads to civil society as man becomes more complex in his material reproduction of life's necessities—surplus leads to exchanges and division of labor. It is a historical state of nature.

The Social Contract

1. Unanimous—surrendering only the right of enforcement of contract.
2. Between free individuals—ruler excluded—beneficiaries the ruled—duties all on side of trustees or government.
3. Social contract drawn up only once—then assume tacit consent of the people across overlapping generations.
4. Majority rules in order to be practical—minorities accept in the expectation that no fundamental wrongs would be committed.

Separation of powers

1. legislative, executive, and federative functions

2. emergency powers to be held in reserve

3. counterbalanced by the right to revolution (resistance to tyranny)—but men are conservative by nature and will suffer an accumulation of wrongs before there is rebellion—a high threshold of toleration for abuse of power

David Hume (1711-1776), who wrote *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, attacked Locke on empirical and logical grounds

1. Hume said primitive man had no concept of contract.

2. Hume: Locke cannot explain why men obey. Men through utility meet necessity and its needs so as to create society and state; they are coincidental.

3. Hume: Conscience can oppose a majority; after all, the majority has been wrong about slavery and women. *Second Treatise* epitome of laissez-faire liberalism: the ends of government entail the good of mankind.

The minimalist government of Locke allows it to

1. make war

2. adjudicate disputes

3. resist aggressors either in other nations or the unjust ruler as in the state of nature.

Chapter I. The public good is the use of power to defend property and the commonwealth.

Chapter II. Civil society protects property and the commonwealth, in turn, protects individuals from foreign injury.

1. Injunction against suicide and homicide.

2. Criminologist: proportionate punishment up to death penalty.

3. Important to be true, that is faithful, to word—bonds men together in civil society or state of nature.

4. Man seeks other men to fulfill economic needs—result of the surpluses.

5. Government restrains passions of men when wronged.

Chapter III. Resist imposition of slavery by another in state of nature—state of war ensues to the death—force without right makes for state of war; whereas absence of a common judge with authority puts all men in a state of nature that is potentially if not actually unstable.

1. Conscience can compel revolt—but Final Judgment to be rendered by God and is His due—hence that axiom acts as a damper on vendettas and blood feuds.

Chapter IV. Slavery—cannot by agreement pass over to another that which he has not in himself to give away or alienate—a power over his own life.

Chapter V. Property in own self—Labor mixed with nature equals property. "Nothing was made by God for man to spoil or destroy." America for lack of labor had lack of conveniences; badly needed population growth to create value of industry. Insinuates fallow land is the patrimony of mankind—owned in common according to international law if land is not worked. Fair share determined to the point where if the goods in your possession perish, then there is an abuse of that right and it comes to a termination. Invention of money comes from surpluses of perishable goods—exchanged—traded—division of labor. Money makes men work harder to build surpluses because it has no use value. Governments regulate right of property and possession of land is determined by positive constitutions. Physiocrats—wealth in land.

Chapter VI. Juridical equality—men have different capabilities, dispositions, intelligences, and so forth. Natural freedom should not be subjected to the arbitrary will of another but rather on criteria of merit and virtue. Parents have condominium over children—cherish until they reach maturity. It is a trusteeship and a model for good government.

1. Primogeniture and entail

2. Can leave land by compact and alienate the land—but within the laws of the civil society.

Chapter VII. Necessity, convenience, and inclination drive man into society.

Man abler and stronger than woman to rule in family. Woman equal status in the contract—a full liberty to separate from him and might even take the children. Slave—no status, hence, can have no property rights; nonetheless, the master is responsible for his maintenance.

Paterfamilias—limited power over family, servants, and slaves. Political society rules as an empire and there is established a universally applicable law to make a body politic; otherwise, we would be in a state of nature where there are iniquitous men. Each judges for himself and executioner of the natural laws—inherently volatile. Monarch in a state of nature with his subject/slaves if there is not independent source for disputes. Subject alienates his reason and natural rights from nature to the monarch. If abused, there is the right to rebellion. The answer is to place the legislature in collective hands, that is Parliament, if you cannot find righteous monarchs.

Chapter VIII. Majority rule in the Commonwealth

Indians have simple needs; hence, rulers are only generals in times of crisis and have very circumscribed sovereignty. Locke finds this exemplary; the less government, the better.

Ambition and luxury corrupt power.

Monarchy not divine—a fiction for ideological purposes to sanction at times tyranny.

Men are ever separating from sovereigns to start anew elsewhere; otherwise, we would be a universal monarchy. Perpetual change like in nature. Men and their property annex themselves to the dominion of government—the better to protect it and their rights. "Nothing can make any man so but his actually entering into it by positive engagement and express promises and compact." Consent makes one a member of the Commonwealth in consequence.

Chapter IX. "It is not without reason that he seeks out and is willing to join in society with others who are already united, or have a mind to unite, for the mutual preservation of their lives, liberties, and estates, which I call the general name 'property.' "

Things wanting in the state of nature

1. Known law—common measure of standards of right and wrong make for predictability in social behavior.
2. Indifferent judges—preempt factions from politics.
3. Right needs power in order to execute judgments.
4. These three requirements make for the common good and happiness.

Chapter X. Majority the "perfect democracy"; oligarchy; or monarchy—three forms of government—can be mixed. In other chapters, there is a separation of power in the executive, federative, and legislative. Legislative should be the supreme power because it embodies the sum of the rights of individuals.

Chapter XVIII. Tyranny

James I's definition: "whereas the proud and ambitious tyrant doth think his kingdom and people are only ordained for satisfaction of his desires and unreasonable appetites, the righteous and just king doth, by the contrary, acknowledge himself to be ordained for the procuring of the wealth and property of the people."

Tyranny occurs when a monarch or ruler impoverishes the people. James I, an absolutist, believed all power flowed from his will, but this power is beneficent and rational. Divine right of kings is a doctrine wherein God's will is said to work through the exercise of power in the monarch.

Chapter XIX. Dissolution of government

Government dissolved when laws in effect are not executed, the trusteeship abused and lives, liberties, and fortunes of the people are constantly assailed. Supreme executor has double trust in the legislative and supreme execution of the law—when he sets up his arbitrary will against society he acts against that trust. He can betray by force or corruption of offices, particularly by cajoling or threatening the electors. However great the provocations, peoples are loath to change the form of government, even though might execute a treasonous king—people conservative by nature and laws of nature. But people will rebel when

- continually abused—cumulative pressure delegitimizes government;
- long train of abuses form a self-evident pattern-when worse off than in a state of nature, people will take to arms;
- people will revolt when rulers abuse authority; they are the truly lawless and must be brought to account by proportionate means.

Greatest crime is rebellion, whether by ruler or ruled, high treason.

Force used without right results in a state of nature—all ties sundered—beginning anew: principle of natality of Hannah Arendt. A superior no longer a superior when he breaks the laws, for he no longer has right on his side—the subjects inherit this superiority by default.

According to William Barclay a conservative theorist of monarchy a sovereign loses power if
- he lays waste to his own kingdom, such as Nero and Caligula; or - he
alienates territory to another prince.
Conclusion: People depute power whether to King or Parliament.

They must consent to government.

EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPTS OF LAW OF NATURE AND NATURAL RIGHTS

1690: The law of nature pertains to property and consent to government.

1776: The law of nature pertains to inalienable right to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness, subsuming property with the right to revolution as a first and not last principle.

1848: "Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions," Seneca Falls Convention. Lucretia Mott, a reformist, wanted the extension of equality before the law extended to women through the vote.

1852: "What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?" Frederick Douglass advocates right of a race to rebel when faced with crimes against humanity; hence revolutionary. John Brown, too.

1857: *Dred Scott* case, due process clause of Fifth Amendment demotes African Americans to status of chattel property. Roger Taney Court: Prelude to Civil War.

1865: Thirteenth Amendment: Africans emancipated; radical.

1920: Nineteenth Amendment extends vote to women; reformist.

1946: Nuremberg Trials: crimes against humanity; crimes to wage war; crimes against the peace; and conspiracy to commit war are internationally defined as putting responsible leaders in a state of nature—to be killed. Hannah Arendt's concept of "enemies of mankind"—revolutionary concept because brings precepts of morality to Realpolitik.

1992: Supreme Court upholds 1973 precedent of *Roe v. Wade* in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* decision. A woman has a constitutional and natural right to abort a fetus before viability, although the state has interests in mother's welfare and health of a tenable fetus. Radical politics by the Supreme Court insofar as a divisive issue for a generation has been indefinitely laid to rest.

Types of Politics

1. Reactionary
2. Conservative
3. Reformist
4. Radical
5. Revolutionary



Locke and Concentration Camps

Locke, of course, talked about the state of nature and the obligation of rulers to be beneficent trustees. The twentieth-century concentration/extermination camps were the antithesis of this ideal. No human event or tragedy so contradicts the major premises of John Locke. In the concentration camps, there was betrayal of the trust to take care of politically defined prisoners. Jews had a right to revolt out of sheer biological necessity to survive as a group.

In this state of lawless nature, there is no adjudicator of disputes except pure violence. In this kind of extreme situation, there is every right to kill the unjust ruler. In fact, it is a duty. The Nazis were criminals who committed genocide. Locke believed in proportionate punishment for criminals. But how do you avenge mass murder where eight thousand people a day were gassed at Auschwitz? The bonds between men defining common humanity as handed down by the Enlightenment broke down completely. Conscience apparently took a leave of absence.

Of course, the Nazis violated their trusteeship because they were iniquitous men. To have your human rights, you need power to fight unjust power because you cannot naturally claim an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness if enemies of mankind entertain nihilistic, destructive anti-values about life. In these extreme situations, to execute a judgment about your natural rights you need to be as violent as the perpetrators of crimes against humanity and war crimes.

Concentration camps are different from plantations and the slave trade because the Jews had no market or human value; the slave always had value for his labor power. Nonetheless, Africans were in a state of nature/war and had every right to kill their masters.

Again, the National Socialists were trustees who never had a social contract with the Jews but had power solely by the criminal use of force. This force manifested itself in the Final Solution because Jews were considered nonpersons, stateless sub-humans. This exemplified a biopolitically generated racism. The trustees became tyrants in a lawless state of nature in which they declared war on civilized mankind.

Of course, the Jews had the right to resist; they were exterminated because, friendless and without a territory, they could not mount a counterforce to neutralize the Nazi monopoly on the means of violence. It is inexplicable why the Nazis behaved so barbarically and the Jews so passively. There were no reasons of state served by biopolitically motivated mass murder. The genocide originated in the bad will of Hitler and the German people.

There were Righteous Gentiles who helped the Jews. We will use the example of Oskar Schindler, because he is so well known.

In general, these people were not religious and often did not have conventional moral codes. There is a will to power to impose their version of what they consider fair play in the chaos of war. In extreme

situations, there are clear choices between good and evil, although most people opt to be indifferent to protect their own interests above all.

What factors motivate a person at great personal risk to help strangers in danger? There is enlightened selfishness in which you realize that a tyranny knowing no boundaries will consume all arbitrarily in the final analysis. Money can be a factor. So can moral sensibility when a righteous gentile feels outrage at blatant misconduct; your very manhood is at stake if you let plain evil triumph unchallenged.

Conscience plays a role, particularly through religious education in which you have absorbed the value of treating other people as you would have them treat you. There is a will to power in which individuals feel challenged to rise to the danger because they get a "rush" out of defying great odds in helping the helpless. So, a great ego is important. Too, these people tend to be unconventional and even may come from the criminal underworld. Above all, you need a capacity to empathize with others in being able to walk in their shoes. We call this compassion and moral behavior, indicating a highly developed sense of adulthood where your particular virtues are generalized to the world at large in an unbiased manner.

Abolitionists had a common profile with Righteous Gentiles. However, there was an ideological component in that the abolitionists were often concerned with nationalizing power and abolishing the institution of slavery legitimately by nullifying state power. They were not above using violence to achieve their ends. John Brown, in a sense, instigated the Civil War.

What is the racist profile?

There are several mechanisms to explain a racists' conduct: denial of their own shortcomings; projection of blame for society's problems on the weak others because they cannot accept personal responsibility for their own actions; rationalization of violent behavior to live with their own contradictions—blame the victim; repression of unpleasant thoughts and deeds to keep a good self-image; stereotyping the other as the epitome of evil to justify their own aggressive behaviors—dehumanizing and demonizing the helpless other; and the will to power to do evil for the sheer pleasure of it—sado-masochism. The behaviors of a racist are overdetermined insofar as several factors converge to explain irrational conduct.

What is the profile of the Righteous Gentile and abolitionist?

There is a will to power to create good out of chaos—a god complex; an element of enlightened selfishness occurs because self-interest dictates that in a tyranny all are at risk; conscience—people know right from wrong at heart; the capacity to empathize by walking in the shoes of others—see their humanity; gamesmanship—there is a "rush" entailed in defying the political order, even an evil one; and there is a messianic complex in which the individual enjoys being adulated as a superman/superwoman. Again, there is the mechanism of overdetermination insofar as several factors impinge upon an individual to activate his conduct.



Montesquieu's Political Writings

Selections from *Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness of the Romans and Their Decline* (1734)

"There are general causes, whether moral or physical, which act upon every monarchy, which advance, maintain, or ruin it. All accidents are subject to these causes. If the chance loss of a battle, that is, a particular cause, ruins a state, there is a general cause that created the situation whereby this state could perish by the loss of a single battle. In a word, the principal trend carries along with it the outcome of all particular accidents."

"The Romans arrived at their domination of other peoples, not only by their command of the art of war, but also by their prudence, wisdom, perseverance, by their love of glory and homeland (*patrie*). After these virtues disappeared under the emperors, the art of war remained. Because of it, the Romans, despite the weakness and tyranny of their rulers, were able to keep what they had acquired earlier. But when corruption made itself felt even in the army, Rome became the prey of all other peoples."

"But underlying the unanimity of Asiatic despotism, that is, every government where power is not checked, there is always a more serious type of division. The tiller of the land, the soldier, the merchant, the magistrate, the noble are related only in the sense that some of them oppress the others without meeting any resistance. If this be union, it can be so not in the sense that citizens are joined to one another, but rather that sense in which corpses are united when buried in a mass grave."

"It is true that a point was reached when the republic could no longer be governed by the laws of Rome. But it has always been the case that those good laws responsible for the expansion of a small republic, turn out to be a burden since it has succeeded in expanding far beyond its former bounds. This occurs because the nature of these original laws was such as to produce a great people, rather than to govern it."

Charles de Secondat, Baron de las Brede et de Montesquieu (1689-1755)

He is against monarchy. He believed in rule by an aristocracy. He had a feudal conception of liberties inhering in *parlements*, in which the people had virtual representation by the nobility of the robe and the nobility of the sword. He thought England a model of good government. Thomas Jefferson and the founding fathers of this country inferred from his writings that a federation of states could solve the relative problems of bigness and smallness of territory, governed by the state. The Roman republic of Antiquity was a model for the founding fathers and Montesquieu. What he emphasized was that commercial society and democratic forms coincide, thinking of England in particular.

He believed that natural law inhered in human nature and could be scientifically demonstrated, even in the morals and customs of a people as being of necessity and rational. Montesquieu argued against Machiavelli. Force only delegitimizes power in the ruler. There should be a separation of powers to prevent despotism.

History rules by its precedents in universal laws and particular empirical manifestations. We are all citizens of the world, not just of our resident nations. In the end, corruption destroys every *res publica*, though degeneration through wise legislation can postpone the inevitable decline. *Patrie* or love of the homeland leads to pietism and good civic virtue to retard decline.

Bigness in government is an issue in that the conquest of territories with allies leads to overextension beyond its economic means to support; hence, empires bankrupt themselves.

History is that of the spirit of a people, not mere laws. History nonetheless is universal because there are precepts of natural law that are ethical, scientific and objective that cross cultural boundaries. There are laws and customs relative to geography, time, ethnicity, et cetera—but the laws of nature are general and bind nations together in humanity. Natural law supersedes positivist or secular laws, in which there is a synthesis of general and particular. This dialectic emerged in Hegel's writings.

The *parlements* were juridical in character and the offices served the people. Religion is the binding force that brings people to recognize a sovereign. His religiosity as a virtue is Deistic in nature.

In the Roman republic, mercenary armies led by ambitious generals developed loyalty of their soldiers to themselves. The love of equality led to Rome's demise. Citizenship becomes a fiction when there were no longer common mores. Assemblies became conspiracies in which there was sedition and anarchy. He found divisiveness productive of civic virtue. It had causation. In the end, Rome fell because of its excessive size. The auxiliaries fighting for Rome turned against it.

Others learned the art of war that had been the exclusive virtue of Rome. Rome co-opted territories and barbarian tribes who later evolved because they mastered the martial arts and poverty motivated them to excel. Hence, the form of government in Rome changed to dictators who could not maintain the authority and legitimacy of the government. Taxes, burgeoning as the state weakened, became intolerable to the people.

Even chance is ruled by maxims found in a people's virtues and oss thereof. Group conflict had causation that undermined the public safety and interests. The "general spirit" of the society underwent decay.

Montesquieu downplayed the role of heroes. Too, he detested balance of power politics or *Realpolitik*.

He believed in a strong civil society, the rights to property, and agrosience to maximize individual liberties.

In history he emphasized corruption, not the inevitability of progress peculiar to Enlightenment reason.

Rome had a policy of divide and conquer, seize territories of neighbors; practice deception in diplomacy by noble lies, use allies to fight and pay tribute, and lastly master martial arts through science.

The two feuding factions were the patricians in the senate and the plebeians with their tribunes; the latter called for meritocracy and the recall from public service of the incompetent. The magistrates of the plebeians turned on the patricians. The censors from the people regulated the mores of society to create standards of public morality. Too, plebeians and patricians defended traditions with their gods. The plebeians curtailed the abuse of power by maintaining the spirit of the people, the senate's force, and the authority of the magistrates.

Montesquieu found his ultimate ideal modeled in the England of his time in which checks and balances within governments corrected errors in policy. Its unwritten constitution, the oldest in the world, balanced conflicting interests in civil society to maintain the liberties of the people and vigor of intellect, demonstrated in contemporary mastery of the martial arts.

Natural law provided the standard of reason, while relative positive laws had different manifestations across culture. He was free of racism. Much was geographically determined insofar as he thought size dictated the nature of government. The bigger the territory, the more absolutist in character.

Montesquieu's Political Philosophy in *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748)

Religion, mores, and patriotism (*patrie*) form the trinity of values inherent in a political culture that constitute its spirit (*Geist*). When those values are absent, there is only fear, and Asiatic despotism is the invariable result. Russia, China, Turkey, and Persia are his primary examples.

He believed in direct democracy if democracy were possible in a republican form. However, his decided class preference was for rule by the excellent or aristocracy. He did concede that there could be a confederation of republics that would result in a country of great size—and democratic at that. That influenced the thinking of James Madison when he wrote the *Federalist Papers*.

Montesquieu advocated natural laws as inherent in the state of nature. Convenience for the sake of commercial life brought men together in civil society and they then wrote a social contract. Men are amiable in Montesquieu's scheme of things. Positive law, historically circumscribed in statutory law, gave the universality of natural law its particular dimensions. There was always ambiguity in the struggle between natural and positive law. For instance, natural law condemned slavery; positive law institutionalized it. He could never resolve that dilemma.

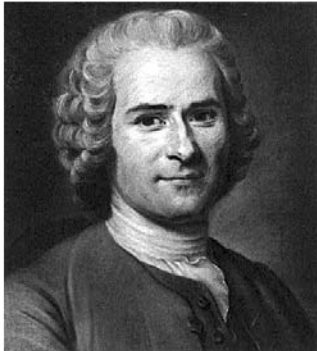
The three forms of government, democracy (*patrie—love of nation*), aristocracy (*arête—excellence*) and monarchy (*virtu—heroism*), formed the three normative states acceptable to Montesquieu—with their underlying principles governing national behaviors; the opposite was Asiatic despotism in the person of the tyrant, where fear and violence ruled over a people in a vast land that was essentially ungovernable.

"Power must check power," said Montesquieu, to stabilize and institutionalize a rationally organized state. Madison said that "Ambition must check ambition" in the *Federalist Papers*. Montesquieu influenced the American Revolution with his ideas of the separation of power and checks and balances in a mixed constitution because he took his model from the King and Parliament in Great Britain.

Montesquieu admired the direct democracy of Athens more than the representative democracy of England because of the massive corruption in the latter's government and electoral process.

The spirit of the laws is affected by climate, terrain, the general spirit of the people (their *virtus*), mores (their internal belief systems, attitudes, and values), and manners (externally manifested civility in the public sphere). Each country is unique and that determines their national psyche.

Montesquieu was a defender of the older military and legal nobility of the French Parlement because he thought they best embodied excellence in qualities of leadership. He defended this class against the monarchy and its agents. There were intermediary bodies in France that he thought were indispensable to political liberty: parlements in the provinces; the nobility; local courts; the church; provincial government; towns; guilds; and professional associations. They would balance one another against possible oppression from the central government and its administration to serve as a barrier against despotism. That political tension defined the onset of the French Revolution, when Louis XVI convened the *ancien régime's* Parlement (to raise new taxes) that had long been in disuse with its Estates General (the three orders of clergy, nobility, and bourgeoisie). The Revolution started as a revolt by the nobility against taxation and ended as a middle-class revolt against the whole monarchical form of government, with the idea of creating a universal man motivated by liberty, equality, and fraternity. By the end of the nineteenth century, republican government prevailed (a belated victory for the Jacobin radicals).



Notes on Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)

The Social Contract (1762)

"Man was born free, and everywhere he is in chains. There are some who may believe themselves masters of others, are no less enslaved than they. How has this change come about? I do not know. How can it be made legitimate? That is a question which I believe I can resolve."

The Social Contract has been considered the legitimizing document of the French Revolution. The social contract is a convention made by men, not just handed over by nature. Man by nature is sociable. As society grows more complex, men become avaricious and ambitious and aim to enslave others. A social contract protects the general will against the will of each who entertains partisan, factional interests. The whole idea of slavery goes against the concept of rights. We deduce our rights from the precepts of reason writ large in nature. The people effect a complete transfer of rights to the whole community. The General Will gives civil society a supreme direction with absolute power in the hands of the appointed agency of the people. It becomes equated with the public interest and does not need defending. The individual is part of the whole. Rousseau intended a people's republic. The agents of the General Will force all to be free from tyranny no matter how bloody the consequences. Those who do not abide by the social contract may be put to death, which is the imprimatur for the Red Terror during the worst days of the French Revolution under the Jacobin Robespierre.

The basic premise is Augustinian. In St. Augustine there was a fall from grace in the Garden of Eden by eating forbidden fruit; in Rousseau the fall is from the state of nature where man was happy and he was educated by nature through his self-evident faculties of reason. With the conquest of territories and acquisition of property, Rousseau saw that that government and the state had degenerated man out of necessity, though social order could now be maintained. There were two types of ego: the bad ego of avarice (*amour de propre*); and the good ego of rational self-enlightenment (*amour de soi*) in which man preserves his natural instincts in the state of nature, while it is still possible. If not, he must cultivate these moral sensibilities within the state and through the General Will, which is the public interest minus all selfish, factional interests. Hence, there was to be redemption through studying nature as an educational force in its own right. Censorship would be needed to cull bad ideas from the body politic.

Rousseau believed that property caused social discord; hence he believed the General Will must collectivize property that threatens social harmony. Revolution is therapeutic and it helps recover lost memories of a golden era where men were free in a state of nature. Rousseau felt that to be historically true. Civilization corrupted man. Then, men need masters, not liberators, who can enact the legislation of the General Will. In states of emergency, civil rights are temporarily suspended.

Great states expand. There is permanent revolution until all are free from tyrants. Of course, the historical irony is that a Napoleon emerges to champion the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity. The agents of the General Will take back authority from the reigning sovereign. Those agents may sacrifice government

and the rule of law to mob rule, the worst face of a democracy in action. The revolution swallows its children of necessity. Individual will is ineffectual and the momentum of passions drives toward the revolution to reconstitute the bases of authority. The corporate will is where government forms an interest group against the public good. The people are the ultimate legislators who become citizens by a process of political education.

The Estates General, the French Convention, the General Assembly, and the Paris Commune aligned themselves against the feudal monarchy of Louis XVI to bring him down. But the resultant representative government entailed a loss of freedom. What emerged was a compromise embodied in Napoleon. The Eagle and the Cross joined their powers in his charismatic leadership--an enlightened despot who was power mad. Rousseau believed that the citizen and true Christian are not compatible. Priests, the agents of the Vatican, would dominate the powers that be through marriage, communion, and excommunication. The *philosophes* and ideologues of the revolution opposed the theologians, because the former wished Enlightenment ideals to triumph in a reign of *virtu* and reason for all humanity. Hence, of necessity, they had to be atheists.

All rights revert to the community, which guarantees property held in common through the modernized, bureaucratic state. Individuals cannot not be fully trusted. This forms an aspect of the social contract to ensure public stability, rather than endure sectarian and regional strife. Rousseau advocated that all church property be expropriated during a revolution, which happened during the French Revolution. The revolutionaries deemed church leaders inimical to the public safety and thus had to be deprived of their unseemly base of power. Leaders became educators of piety and virtue in the people. Patriotism was the highest value in which you love your country and it becomes the driving demiurge of the emancipatory movement, eventuating in the *levée en masse*. There are to be due process of law and equal protection of property but subservient to the preeminence of the General Will, which has an interest in overseeing their proper use. There is a duty to enhance the power of the body politic through taxation, economy, and an attack on superfluous wealth that creates artificial barriers between men. The new commonwealth was to be a school of virtues with redistributive taxation through confiscation of wealth and property.

The enemy is religion. The clergy form a universal citizenry through communion. Hence, in the age of modernism, there is a conflict of superstition versus reason embodied in the General Will. Rousseau assumed that with the inevitability of progress man would rid himself of the feudal parasites who physically and spiritually enslaved men. Those chains had to be broken.

In order therefore that the social compact not be an empty formula, it contains an implicit obligation that alone can give force to the others, that anyone who refuses to obey the general will will be compelled to do so by the whole body; this means nothing else than that he will be forced to be free; for such is the condition which, giving each citizen to his country, guarantees he will not depend on any person. This condition is the device that ensures the operation of the political machine; it alone legitimizes civil obligations, which without it would be absurd and tyrannical, and subject to the most terrible abuses.

Discuss key concepts of The Nation; the General Will, the Will of All, and the Citizen in order to give this quotation historical context. Also, show how the relationship between the rich and poor determines republican virtue; the less difference the better.

I therefore assert that sovereignty, being only the exercise of the general will, can never be transferred, and that the sovereign, which cannot be other than a collective entity, cannot be represented except by itself; power can be delegated, but the will cannot.

The people are happy in the state of nature, except that as property and commercial relations develop in civil society there is a need for an arbitrator to assure that newly evolved natural rights are protected.

Instead of abandoning anything they have simply made a beneficial transfer, exchanging an uncertain and precarious mode of existence for a better and more secure one, natural independence for liberty, the power of hurting others for their own safety and reliance on their own strength, which others might overcome for a position of right that social unity makes invincible.

The good governor is like the physician who heals the sick patient that is the citizen, if necessary to the point of killing him for the public good. That is republican virtue, that is, the Terror of the French Revolution that found its inspiration in Rousseau. The goal was equality. The American Revolution's goal was to establish freedom. The French Revolution was a political and socioeconomic revolution to change the very nature of man to embrace the General Will and the Nation, by self-immolation if necessary, in order to change the political culture and national character to one dedicated to liberty, equality, and fraternity. Freedom meant selfishness and reversion to societal chaos, where each pursued particular interests to the detriment of the public good. Direct democracy advocated the union of the cross and the crown.

There is therefore a purely civil profession of faith, the articles of which it is the business of the sovereign to determine, not exactly as religious dogmas, but as sentiments of sociability, without which it is impossible to be a good citizen or a loyal subject. Although no-one can be forced to believe them, a person can be banished, not for impiety, but for being unsociable, incapable of cherishing the laws and justice sincerely, or, if necessary, of sacrificing life for duty. If, having publicly accepted these dogmas, any person conducts himself as if he did not believe them, let him be punished by death. He has committed the greatest of crimes: he has lied before the law.

In the last months of Robespierre's despotism, he had people put to death for showing lack of revolutionary enthusiasm—a completely subjectivist judgment. In essence, habeas corpus was suspended in the name of dispensing revolutionary justice.

He condemned the power of the church as universal and a threat to the public safety. Its power was that of communion and excommunication. Its kingdom was absolute, but not of this world. Nonetheless, the priestly caste could create political divisions that would undermine the unity of the nation.

The greatness of a nation lies in its collective virtues that emerge as the General Will. The remainder of all those mutually conflicting particular interests allows for a common denominator of good citizenship.



Voltaire (1694-1778)

The Fallen Roman Catholic, the Martyred Protestant, and the Excommunicated Jew

Esteemed colleagues:

We have recently discussed the issue of toleration. I used a quotation from Jacques Barzun, citing Oliver Cromwell as an advocate of religious tolerance. This quotation did excite a certain negativity. I hope the following will inspire this group to exercise forbearance. I will not identify the person until the end of this essay, other than to say he is associated with the Enlightenment during the eighteenth century. By context, the very well read among you will be able to render an educated guess that it comes from Voltaire's *A Treatise on Toleration* (1763).

"The rage inspired by a spirit of controversy, and the abuse made of the Christian religion from want of properly understanding it, has occasioned as much bloodshed, and produced as many calamities in Germany, England, and even in Holland, as in France; and yet, at present, the difference in religion occasions no disturbances in those countries; but the Jew, the Catholic, the Lutheran, the Calvinist, the Anabaptist, the Socinian, the Moravian, and a multitude of other sects live in brotherly harmony together, and contribute equally to the good of society."

He proceeds to formulate natural laws to regulate moral conduct. He continues in the following vein, as he personifies Nature and its immutable laws that work even in the moral domain.

"Nature addresses herself thus to mankind: 'I have formed you all weak and ignorant, to vegetate a few moments on that earth which you are afterwards to fatten your carcasses. Let your weakness then teach you to succor each other, and as you are ignorant, bear with and endeavor mutually to instruct each other. Even if ye were all of the same way of thinking, which certainly will never come to pass, and there should be one single person only found amongst you who differed from you in belief, you ought to forgive him, for it is I who make him think in the manner he does. I have given you hands to cultivate the earth, and a faint glimmering of reason to conduct yourselves by, and I have planted in your hearts a spirit of compassion, that you may assist each other under the burden of life. Do not smother that spark, nor suffer it to be corrupted, for know it is of divine origin; neither substitute the wretched debates of the schools in the place of the voice of nature. . . . It is I alone who, in a nation, prevent the fatal effects of the inextinguishable differences that subsist between those two professions and the clergy, and between even the citizen and the husbandman. Though ignorant of the limits of their own prerogatives, they are in spite of themselves obliged to listen to my voice, which speaks to their hearts.'"

Justice murdered John Calas in Toulouse, by breaking him on the wheel on the 9th of March, 1762. In his *Treatise on Toleration*, the nominally Roman Catholic Voltaire made the Protestant Calas a cause celebre for religious toleration and judicial reform. He lived to see Calas judicially vindicated posthumously of the murder of his son, who, as the evidence demonstrated, had committed, , suicide. He and his fellow philosophes challenged the authority of the ancien régime. The French Revolution can be considered their offspring. Some even fell under its freely wielded blade of the guillotine. Exiled, Voltaire came back in the last year of his life in 1783 to see his own rehabilitation. He might have been the greatest man of letters in France of the eighteenth century. Or was it Rousseau?

There was political correctness in the ancien régime; that ancien régime prevails unreformed in the American academy. That is why we get the type of democracy we have with its cynical, semiliterate citizens who do not vote because the game is rigged. At the top level of our political society, apparently, our choice was between Bush and Gore, two wishy washy conservative liberals, or liberal conservatives if you will, from corporate America. Every four years, our professional politicians select our leaders from a quasi-hereditary stable of ciphers from cooperate America. The problem is that there are party activists, in both camps, who truly believe that this system is God given and the "fittest" have triumphed. In the spirit of toleration, I will stay at home, reading the great books, while enjoying my newly won status with its unemployment insurance. All of us had better find a strategy that is win/win for all players (I am thinking in terms of game theory), or else an entrenched oligarchy will govern by fiat every domain of our democracy. De Tocqueville should rise from the dead and rewrite his *Democracy in America*; Voltaire would have to write a severely revised edition of his book to explain the North American Behemoth. That fiction of participatory democracy is so much that of a workers' paradise or Aryan nation that our nemeses in the world stage of *Realpolitik* entertained as functional dystopias during the twentieth century.

This essay was written in May 2000, on the termination of my services at Temple University, and reviewed and revised 11 March 2009 and 26 July 2010. As the Owl of Minerva takes flight at dusk, the cunning of reason worked in a manner to set me free from that institution's bureaucratic tyrants. I have often thought that the most original thinkers exist independently of the Academy; however, most scholars do need to make a living, and teaching cookie cutter courses leads to the deadening of the intellectual sensibilities. I have been fortunate at Arcadia University to have "superiors" who are enlightened and have given me untrammelled freedom to explore radically new ideas, to make new wine in recycled bottles. Statistically, my situation is sui generis in that I discover new ideas as I lecture in a free style, free of oversight to the benefit of expanding my readings and creative writings and to the edification of my by and large grateful students. I have always spoken truth to power. That personality trait has marked me through the travails of my career, making me hated and feared, because I have a bad habit of not lying or kowtowing to the powers that be. Students love my iconoclasm. I hope that they have loved not only my irreverent attitude toward authority, but my insightfulness and thoughtfulness in my elaborate prepared lectures. My students' and readers' memory of my lectures, books, and website will be my constructed legacy.



Thomas Malthus (1766-1834)

David Ricardo (1772-1823)

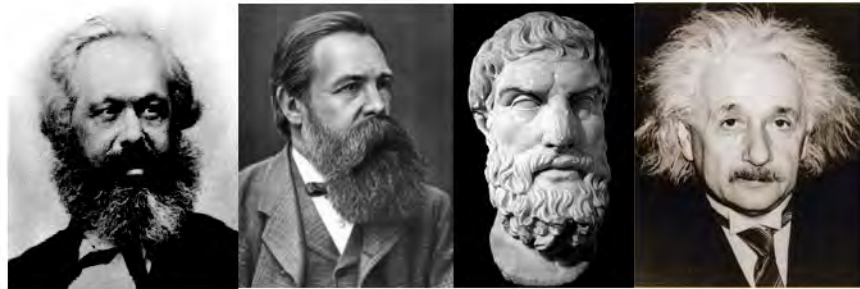
What Engenders Modernity? Overcoming the Malthusian Trap

There is a *Malthusian trap* in which for ten thousand years, since the Neolithic *agricultural revolution*, workers in general could not escape "subsistence wages" (David Ricardo's Iron Law of Wages). England escaped that dilemma by the year 1800. In particular, Gregory Clark has expounded the view that because of behavioral changes in the ruling class *achievement-oriented traits* trickled down into the general laboring population to effect a change from *subsistence wages* (the amount of income to live strictly as a biological animal) to a level of wages that allowed for *abundance* (quality of life in which there is time for leisure and the purchase of luxury items). He said that the chief factor was *genetic (neo-Lamarckian)*, in which *acquired traits* of a *disciplined work ethic* could be inherited. Revolution in the attitudinal structure of the population allowed for industrialization of both town and city, a social and technical division of labor that rewarded the intelligent and hardworking, good management, and *capital invested in humans* for the first time (education). Finally through a system of *incentives* there was not only an increase in technology and science, but *an incremental change in overall efficiency of the capitalist infrastructure*, allowing the survival of the slightest variation in the interaction between machine and laborer that provided the sustained growth needed for a society of abundance. That *social selection process* effected *divergence of adaptive characteristics* to economic necessities between classes within the nation and even more between nations (the rich and the poor) to this very day. There is a *struggle for existence* between individuals in the marketplace and between nation-states. Only the fittest survive. "Fit" is not a moral term, but encompasses the host of traits that allow the individual or state to *differentially reproduce the next generation of workers who can best adapt*, that is, most efficiently take advantage of the human and capital resources at hand to adapt to changes in the marketplace by exploiting the slightest advantage the worker or state might enjoy.

Clark dated the historical onset of development from the year 1200 in England. The key variable for Clark was what he called *time preferences*. The longer the time preference of an individual or a political economy, the more successful the outcome in economic well-being. A time preference is the ability to postpone immediate gratifications for long-term, strategic goals, like *exponential growth in personal and Gross Domestic Product*. There is the presumption that stable political institutions, rule of law, a free marketplace, research and development funds for capital and human improvements, and peace for economic success converge. In the absence of those institutions, there is no incentive to save for there is no foreseeable future in a state of nature. Do you agree?

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in England, the study of political economy, on the one hand, and ethics and morality, on the other, was considered incorporating coincidental fields of study. The English university realized that commercial capitalism and economic success were mediated by a hierarchy of moral values that had to be implanted into the individual and collective psyche for work to be productive and efficient. Religion spurred individual performance because success was an indicator of divine predestination of an elect not only of this earth but of the kingdom to come. Hence, economic success was the measure not only of social ranking but ultimately of God's grace in providing bounty to the successful competitor. The more successful the individual in the marketplace, the greater likelihood of

being one of God's *chosen elect*. That idea of salvation drove men to greater effort in the war of all against all in the marketplace. The individual worker could succeed with a good conscience, even though he might and must ruthlessly eliminate his competition. Success, however achieved, assured a person's status as virtuous, as opposed to being deemed a vicious character if he should fail. That was not only the ways of natural law but God's laws. In sum, the *Protestant work ethic* has been described. That was the religious ideology that justified the evils, as well as the good, that emanated from the tremendous human sacrifices made to the *Industrial Revolution*.



Karl Marx (1818-1883), Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) , Epicurus (341-271 BC), and Albert Einstein (1879-1955)

Why Marx and who is he? Marx is a product of the forces of the Romantic and the Enlightenment movements. How? And why is he considered timeless and relevant to the analyses of various liberation movements of today? Why has Marx had in the history of his ideas the least appeal in this country?

A. The English political economists

1. John Locke's labor theory of value
2. Thomas Malthus and population pressures
3. Adam Smith and the Invisible Hand
4. David Ricardo and class struggle between landlords and the bourgeoisie over rents, interest, and wages. He said landlords create no values, while the bourgeoisie do.

B. The German philosophers

1. Immanuel Kant (*The Critique of Pure Reason*) and the contradictions of pure reason: he said problems of a practical nature cannot be resolved by thinking about them in ideas. Hegel said yes: ideas are in opposition in a dialectic in which through struggle the best ideas triumph in cultures and civilizations. Marx said no to both Hegel and Kant and said that human and social consciousness can overcome contradictory ideologies by locating them in the historical context of the conflict of classes in a particular mode of production. Marx called this the theory of historical materialism; Engels later conceived it as the theory of dialectical materialism because he believed there was such a struggle in physical nature and a one to one correspondence between human and physical reality, and that one set of laws applied to both domains.

2. Georg Wolfgang Friedrich Hegel (*Phenomenology of Mind*) said the contradictions of reason are immersed in conflicts between national cultures and their resolution in the Prussian state and freedoms as codified in its laws. Marx said "No." Such a freedom is abstract and one-sided and does not address the issue of the masses and their sufferings.

C. The French Socialists

1. Gracchus Babeuf and the Conspiracy of Equals

2. Charles Fourier and his utopian communes in countryside
3. Louis Blanc and parliamentary reformism through social democratic parties
4. Louis-Auguste Blanqui and the violent overthrow of government by a conspiratorial group
5. Henri Saint-Simon, utopian socialist who saw labor as the prime issue to be resolved by the organization of production by "associations."

I. Marx's Theory of Alienation (*Paris Manuscripts*): humanist phase of writings, more philosophical than practical/political

1. Alienation from self: hate your dehumanizing work.
2. Alienation from fellow man: competition ruthless
3. Alienation from the product of labor: you do only part of a task; so you do not have a sense of contributing to a meaningful product or service.
4. Alienation from the activity of labor: no pride in work. There is a lack of team effort and solidarity.
5. Alienation from his species being, his nature, and his human nature. In a sense, Marx is an ecologist who talks about the devastating effect that capitalism, with its rape of nature and suppression of human potential, has in effecting war and upsetting the ecosystem.

II. Marx's Theory of Revolution and Class Struggle (*The Communist Manifesto*): praxis phase of his development when he combines theory and practice of politics by going to the workers to organize them into international unions and a world movement politics of liberation. What are Marx's contributions in this manifesto?

1. The emergence of the communist movement to educate the workers as to their right to seize violently the fruits of their labor through revolution, in which there is a transformation in the political relationships between the classes. Marx and Engels believed in a combination of evolution and revolution. But communism is the universal language of the oppressed and hence very anti-nationalist in perspective, though Lenin exploited nationalism to attain power in Russia.
2. Your material means of reproducing your existence create your consciousness. Yet Marx rose above his class interests to join the proletariat. Why? The intellectuals are an elect because they have a science of society; it is their historically designated duty to lead the proletariat to the promised land. The vanguard of the old class joins the progressive forces of the emerging new class as it overcomes its alienation and domination to fashion a communist society based on collectively arriving at freedom. History comes to a conclusion after going through several epochs: primitive community (primitive communism—small bands of hunters, fishers, and warriors, like Indians—in harmony with nature by taking only what you can consume); slave state (patricians, plebeians, and slaves taken in war—create surpluses); feudal state (kings, nobility, clergy, vassals, serfs, and merchants, with resident aliens like the Jews); capitalist system (bourgeoisie, that is, the capitalists, and the workers); then socialism and communism (classless) in a two-step progression.
3. Trained industrial workers are the elite force of change in the coming struggle with the capitalist class.
4. Bourgeois intellectuals form a vanguard to lead the workers: a messianic concept of an elect. In his

critique of Feuerbach, Marx said in one of his theses that philosophers hitherto have only talked about the world in their special language; the task to be done is to transform that world.

5. The existence of classes is bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production.

6. Class struggle necessarily leads to the "dictatorship" of the proletariat.

7. This dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society.

8. Under communism, there will not be a state because it is only the ruling political executive committee for the bourgeoisie.

III. Marx's Theory of Surplus Value (*Das Kapital*): scientific socialist phase of development where there is a level of analysis change from issues of human freedom and equality to the nature of the capitalist system and mode of production itself.

1. He developed the laws of scientific socialism. The theory delineated the social laws of class conflict working through history in order to make it into a political weapon.

Then he combined scientific socialism with dialectical materialism. The latter theory is how to transform concretely in political practice the power relationship between owners and workers. This connection between scientific socialism and dialectical materialism explains how fetish-commodities are generated socially by the sum of all workers yet privately appropriated by the owners of capital. Communism presents a worldview of the production of commodities and exploitation of labor power as a commodity, where everything in capitalist society has a price.

What results is profits and super-profits, as less productive capitalists can no longer compete. With the forces of production developing, there are recurrent crises in capitalism until there is a breakdown, and possible revolution, that transforms the relations and mode of production. Hence, political praxis brings about the change in the mode of production and we have socialism as a new stage in human progress.

2. Mode of production: $c + d = \text{epoch (capitalism)}$ In capitalism, the relationship between things replaces the relationship between socially friendly people in the marketplace in mass commodity production, exchange, and distribution of goods and services. All human values are transformed into a reducible form of money and the bottom line of profits. Individuals as cogs in the machine are dispensable, except the owners of capital.

3. Means of production: factory system + technical division of labor + specialization of tasks of workers and functions of a hierarchical command system of rules at the work site.

4. Forces of production: technology and labor + management skills in organizing labor.

Conclusion

In the eleventh of his *Theses on Feuerbach* Marx wrote: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways, the point, however, is to change it." In the end, he was more a product of the Enlightenment than of romanticism. Truly, though, he was a visionary and revolutionary who combined idealism and empiricism.

Furthermore, we have to be aware that Marx in the *Communist Manifesto* period was talking about

political revolution, not a labor theory of value or theory of human nature. The main points can be delineated as follows.

1. Your labor power is only a commodity. You are totally exploited in the capitalist system impersonally. The name of the game is profits, profits, profits. Marx called it wage slavery; that is, the worker will only be paid enough to get a subsistence wage to reproduce the very means of his existence.
2. The forces of production in science and technology undermine the relations of production and create the contradiction that the greater the advances and progress of science and technology the more people are thrown out of work. The international division of labor is destroying the American labor market. Too, there is the threat that in the dog-eat-dog competition within capitalism as a mode of production only the fittest and most ruthlessly efficient monopolies and oligopolies survive, which leads us to the dilemma of overproduction because there are not enough buyers with purchasing power to absorb inventory internationally. This leads to the destruction of the middle class and democracy itself, and eventually to the worldwide breakdown of the system itself. That is called Depression: The Great Depression of 1929 is the archetype of how capitalism can catastrophically fail. It creates a politically revolutionary situation in a country when you do not have a stable middle class to buffer conflicts and tensions between the extremes of class and caste structure. Anomie and violence overpower streets and society; either a fascist police state or a socialist emancipation results.
3. Capitalism is revolutionary. National sovereignty is outmoded, where you have multinational corporations no longer accountable to the laws of the land. They write their own rules.
4. Marx is about political power. He said that in certain historical circumstances where capitalism breaks down the workers have the right to seize the means of production and the state. It is their duty to do so. That means unions, organizations, and the communal associations of production. He was concerned about the quality of life, which he believed should be social and not individualistic. Greed creates a Hobbesian war.
5. Marx treated the notions of class consciousness that people entertain. Why do people kiss the hand that slaps them across the face and then turn the other cheek in adulation? He said that if you understand the laws of historical development, dialectical materialism, you will raise yourself above ignorance and behave in a more enlightened fashion where you will find it unacceptable for the boss/owner class, the high bourgeoisie, to steal the wealth socially produced by the workers but privately appropriated. Property is theft in the sense that he was talking about the means of production, that is, the banks, insurance companies, horsedrawn carriages, and iron and steel corporations, in short, the Fortune 500 type companies of 1848.
6. Marx distinguished between private and personal property. Private property belongs to the socialist mode of production that mass produces goods and services. That is run collectively. What you own is personal. You can keep it because what you earn and need you should enjoy fully. Yes, you can have a house and another at the shore, live in help, boats, and so forth, with the sole dictum that you earn the right through your labor power to create or earn that object. It cannot be something you inherited or stole from the collective fruits of labor of other people. Marx was concerned about the equitable distribution of wealth.
7. The "dictatorship" is a temporary one in which the people occupy the state until the transition can be made from socialism to communism, wherein the state disappears because it is only the executive committee of the high bourgeoisie. When there is no longer have class conflict, there is no longer the historical necessity for a state to exercise a monopoly of the means of violence to enforce society's property norms: people will do so voluntarily because they have been educated to a higher stage of consciousness. Then, we can move beyond the monetarization of the political and civic ethics of the late stage of capitalism where the glue of morality is greed—the so-called American Dream. And it is that, a mere dream for the vast majority.

Introduction to Philosophy. Essay written 5 January 2009 by Dr. Schindler

Epicurus (341-271 BCE) and Karl Marx (1818-1883)

X. If the things that produce the pleasure of the dissolute were able to drive away from their minds their fears about what is above them and about death and pain, and to teach them the limits of desires, we would have no reason to find fault with the dissolute; for they would fill themselves with pleasure from every source and would be free from pain and sorrow, which are evil.

XXVII. Of the things that wisdom prepares us for insuring lifelong happiness, by far the greatest is the possession of friends.

XXXIII. There is no such thing as justice in the abstract; it is merely a compact between men in their relations with each other, in whatever circumstances they may be, that they neither injure nor be injured.

(From *Principal Doctrines*)

Epicurus had an academy in Athens for living and studying, called the *Garden*. Students had to swear loyalty to Epicurus. He taught all aspects of philosophy from a nondeterministic atomist theory of knowledge. In particular, he conjectured about the nature of the "swerve" to account for the collision of atoms in space. From this hypothesis, he imagined that there must be free will. He was mechanistic in his understanding of how the universe works. In other words, he thought that the world could be explained in terms of ordinary phenomena, hence there was no need for gods. Marx was to incorporate this line of reasoning into his doctoral thesis. Too, Epicurus thought that because of the suffering of individuals there could be no benevolent god. Marx developed that idea into a radical atheism early in his philosophical assumptions. Epicurus probably was the first great thinker in the West who thought of the problem of evil as an essential dimension of the human condition.

He was an advocate of psychological and ethical hedonism. The idea was to avoid pain (evil) and enjoy pleasure (good). An individual had to be trained to curb his appetites for power, wealth, and sex to achieve *ataraxia*, a state of not desiring worldly things. By living prudently, that would be the nature of the just man. The just man also honored social contracts and his word would be his bond; however, if conditions changed, then the just man could be absolved of binding agreements.

Epicurus exalted pleasure, Plato the Forms, and Aristotle the virtues. Epicurus wanted to simplify life, so he eschewed the Forms, for that meant there would be gods (which were artificial conventions of man to induce him to behave for fear of punishment in the afterlife) and the pursuit of the virtues, which would mean involving oneself unnecessarily in politics, which would stir the passions and cause mental distress. Plato was not empirical in his studies, while Aristotle's teleological system is deterministic in design, although systematic and empirical in scope.

The justice theory of Epicurus is instrumental, to suit the utility of the members of society. Laws must be useful to be just; hence, they were not written in stone or in the heavens. Life in society brought the major benefit of friendship. Good friends guarantee our security and peace of mind, leading us to the ideal of *ataraxia*.

Little of Epicurus survives because rival schools of thinking probably systematically destroyed his works, considered to be irreverent toward authority. Church authorities found his work corruptive enough to place it on the Index of proscribed texts. The political quality of being "forbidden" appealed to Marx, as did the underlying empiricism, atheism, and mechanistic epistemology. Marx's thesis, completed in March 1841, was titled "The Difference Between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature, with an Appendix." Most of it has not survived time.

In sum, personally, I find appealing Epicurus's doctrine to do no harm, which certainly brought a utilitarian resonance to his philosophy of life, a life that was a very private one, but a repartee to be taken with the

enjoyment of loyal friends in conversation.

I find that the nuclear idea of philosophy is good conversation with friends, privately entertained. Philosophy is the pursuit of wisdom by a community in conversation where all equally partake of discussions. So, Epicurus was not so authoritarian, after all, despite the loyalty oath that probably was contractarian, but in a consensual sense.

Marx Reconstructed; Engels the Loyal Junior Colleague

I have finished *Karl Marx: A Life* by Francis Wheen. Basically, he recreates, I think largely by projection, Marx's life through gossip as revealed by obscure letters, hitherto unpublished in English. A key theme threads together these often hilarious vignettes: loyalty and friendship. Put simply, Marx was a difficult individual to like because he was very combative in written and oral presentation. Jenny von Westphalen, who actually had aristocratic blood, married a man who wanted to destroy her social world, and a "converted" Jew, though a very self-hating one as emerged in *On the Jewish Question*. Their marriage lasted a lifetime with indefeasible loyalty and love to the end, with Mrs. Marx predeceasing her spouse by fifteen months. I had always thought of Marx as a woman hater, despite his advocacy of suffrage, to which I had thought he only paid lip service. That is not the case at all. Mrs. Marx was one of the founding members of the Communist League, that notorious organization that commissioned *The Communist Manifesto*. Marx admired women of courage and intellect, provided their political agendas coincided with his. In fact, the Communist movement had several women in its ranks, several from the United States. In general, the men accepted them as full partners. More surprisingly, I learned that Marx really did not have that much respect for the working-class man, whom he suspected of a lack of intellect (a historical materialist consciousness) and a mere penchant for political meliorism. Rather, he wanted them to embody the revolutionary praxis necessary to storm the citadels of capitalism when its contradictions climaxed in a Great Depression and general global collapse. Class prejudice replaced theoretical consistency; he substituted the "vanguard of the proletariat" (theoreticians), of whom, naturally, Marx would be its leader. That struggle took place in the International Working Men's Association. His only serious rival was Russian anarchist Mikhail Bakunin, who believed in assassination and the putsch; these were political methods repugnant to the much more cerebral Marx and Engels. In the end, Marx dominated the movement and Bakunin removed himself from the scene.

The Marx that has issued forth hitherto is the poor wretch who lived with the workers to demonstrate his solidarity. Save your pity for dean's appointments whose contracts have not been renewed. Engels and others supplied him with substantial funds to live a solid, middle-class existence; he simply misspent the moneys on his idiosyncrasies. The most amusing aberration was that he gave his three daughters private lessons in Latin and Greek. Marx's thesis had been on the "Difference Between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy." He loved wine, but only the best. In his lifetime, Engels gave unstintingly; I calculate the sum to be one hundred thousand pounds. That was not "immiseration" by any standard of the nineteenth century. Engels worked his whole lifetime to feed Marx and his family, while the "Moor" basically wrote books at home. He had recurrent boils, but he did not bathe as he thought it was bourgeois. So, if the readers of this forum will allow me a *reductio ad absurdum*, Marx was responsible for Lenin and Stalin. A bar of soap could have changed history itself. Now, that is a true historical materialist insight. Engels spent his last thirteen years putting together Marx's magnum opus *Capital* in its second and third volumes. At his death, Marx rose in a last heroic gesture from his bed and died, pen in hand, over his desk, and a pocket watch in the other. Inside the watch was a picture of his father; when his father had died in 1848, Marx ignored going to his funeral to write *The Communist Manifesto*. Such behavior is pathological, however melodramatically romantic. Dr. Freud, please make your commentary.

Engels lived quite well. High society considered him t one of the "beautiful people." His love and loyalty to Marx never failed, whatever Marx's considerable provocations. Engels is the enigma. Often, during the day, he would chase foxes with his aristocratic friends, and at night plot their destruction. Engels hated his father and loved his mother. Might a psychoanalysis have "cured" him of his "displaced" Oedipal rage that took the form of truly revolutionary deeds and his own "peculiar" writings? Or is a cigar, at times, just

a cigar? That is to say, he hated his class because they merited such contempt. When Engels died, he left his considerable fortune to Marx's surviving children, charities, and his several mistresses. He communized his business associates' wives; in a sense, he liberated them from Victorian constraints with its polite but hypocritical social institutions and norms. His one true love was a working-class worker in his factory, Mary Burns. She predeceased him by dying suddenly of a stroke. He blamed English society for her premature death because Irish were to English as African Americans to white Americans, pariahs.

Fredrich Engels (1820-1895)

"I am enough of an authoritarian to regard the existence of such aborigines in the heart of Europe as an anachronism,...they and their right of cattle stealing will have to be mercilessly sacrificed to the interest of the European proletariat....The next war will result in the disappearance from the face of the earth not only of reactionary causes and dynasties, but also of entire reactionary peoples....and that, too, is a step forward."

Engels is writing about the "nonhistoric" Slavs, in particular the Russians. Engels gave a dogmatic, terroristic twist to Hegel's Dialectic, of a racist and genocidal nature. Ironically, Stalin adulated the "tough" Engels and preferred his dialectical materialism over the more humanistic, historical materialism of Marx. Stalin had no patience, when industrializing the Soviet Union, for awaiting the natural emergence of a bourgeois phase of evolution between the feudalism of the agrarian Russia of 1917 and the communistic future for the Soviet Union. In a negation of the negation, Stalin's will to power overlooked the retrograde state of the forces of production to telescope class conflict by a voluntarily willed political praxis. Engels provided a model for state monopoly capitalism of the bourgeoisie, which consequently could be violently seized by a revolutionary vanguard, like the Bolsheviks, that could then advance toward socialism and communism. The bourgeois state, after its seizure, would be transiently democratic with a temporary dictatorship of the proletariat, such as workers', peasants', and soldiers' soviet councils.

Unfortunately, this model would inspire third world countries to misuse the doctrines of Engels as an authority for the forced acceleration of the transformation of their nations and institutions, lacking the material infrastructure and belief value systems to support a democratic political economy. Terror was to become the Unhappy Consciousness of those states following the "Engels"/Stalin model of political modernization. Permanent Revolution became the norm, and that has the seeds of its own destruction as such revolutions tend to swallow their own children.

This junior colleague of Marx, with respect to the Third World and globalization, stated in *The Communist Manifesto*, that the devastating processes of creative destruction of capitalism "compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves." Hence, third world nations had a twofold task in emancipating themselves from colonial status and developing bourgeois democratic institutions for achieving viable statehood. Their proletarian brothers and sisters in the homeland countries usually evidenced a virulent fascism that often climaxed in exterminationist wars of conquest. At times, Engels believed these wars could be advantageous to the conquered, who would be compelled to modernize or die. Marx, contrarily, saw such empire building by force as an undesirable forerunner of a general European conflagration. Marx really proved himself to be the senior partner of this world historical relationship in being more sensitive to the nuances of historical situations, which varied greatly and hence could not be put into the cookie cutter predictions of an dialectical slaughter bench. Such is the power of the subjectivist factor in decisive human events, even though the larger picture has a necessitarian complexity not knowable to historical actors. How could Lenin foresee a Stalin? Or how could Marx and Engels predict a Lenin, making a "Marxist" revolution under most inauspicious circumstances?

Methodologically, Engels was the more radical thinker of the partnership. He believed, like a true positivist, that the laws that applied to nature likewise applied to human nature and its economic, social, and political manifestations—with the economic factor decisive in the final analysis—and he said so with an eschatological certainty. Marx was more modest, as he affirmed that the laws of historical human

development were probabilistic, in a process whose end could not be flatly predicted and could change course and evolve or devolve in directions not anticipated by the historical actors. Most historical possibilities and hopes do die out and are thrust into the dustbin of history. This difference between the two was one of dialectical materialism versus historical materialism. The historical materialism of Marx won out in the Social Democratic parties of Europe. Engels proved fallible, being taken as the theoretician of Soviet Russia, Communist China, and Castro's Cuba—all dictatorships.

American Prejudices Against the Reading of Marx

1. The American Revolution itself was successful. Class differences were mitigated by the expulsion or emigration of Loyalists, who would have been the basis of an *ancien régime* with hereditary caste privileges. This would have blocked upward class mobility, to which Americans, with their achievement orientation, are committed to as part of the American ethos. Other revolutions, as in Haiti, France, and the Soviet Union, were bloodbaths, so there is a disparagement of foreign political models—for good reason.
2. Americans initially came to the colonies to escape religious and political persecution. Hence, there was a prejudice against anything European because of their corrupt and privileged lifestyles left no room for dissenters and independent, economic activity. Americans believed they were an elect people chosen by God to do good works in the economic sphere. We call this the Protestant ethic, a psychological driving force in building a capitalist democracy. Wealth equaled salvation. You were only a steward of property.
3. Americans confuse Marx's concept of property. He was referring to the means of production, which he called private property. What was socially created by the producers should be privately appropriated. Marx admired capitalism because it smashed old feudal institutions that trammelled the forces of production in terms of science and technology. For Marx, the ultimate issue was that the goods and services of capitalism were not justly distributed.
4. The Frederick Jackson Turner thesis stated that because of the possibility for down and out Americans to move west a safety valve to escape debt was allowed. There was no need consequently for revolutionary parties to form.
5. The main enemy of the United States during the twentieth century was the Soviet Union. Lenin and Stalin appropriated Marxist terminology to the detriment of a true reading of Marx, who believed that a backward agrarian power like Russia had to go through the long phase of capitalism before there could even be a socialist movement.
6. Americans have entertained historically the idea of pragmatism. Pragmatists believe solely in empirical experience, in which social problems are addressed issue by issue. Americans, in general, do not believe in using the state for social engineering to recreate human nature. Human nature is fixed and corrupt, as we saw in *The Federalist Papers*.
7. American national character upholds the sovereignty of the individual in its democratic political philosophy. Marx's argument is for sovereignty in the association of producers (workers). Individualism versus communitarianism, as a political ethos, is one of the two poles of political organization in the century's attempt to redefine democracy for the third millennium.
8. Americans believe they are a chosen and elect people. The marketplace, through its Invisible Hand, will ensure that people in their selfish egoism in rationally pursuing naked self-interest will find that all conflict will be transcended into the public good. Of course, this is part of American mythology. The Soviets failed with their command economy. The prices of goods and services were determined in Moscow. Hence, you could not rationally allocate scarce goods and services since there was no free market where the supply and demand curves intersect to determine the most fair price. Of course, there are situations where a sector of the market can be hampered by a person enjoying a monopoly position;

witness Bill Gates and Microsoft. The Sherman anti-trust laws regulate such rogue corporations at the federal level. But judgments are seldom rendered by the Justice Department because its resources cannot meet Gates's.

9. Americans are selfish. They adhere to a Social Darwinism strongly influenced by Thomas Malthus. If you are not competitive, you are unfit. You should perish with no mercy shown by either the state or private charities. The unfit breed; hence, you will put further population pressures on relatively scarce resources to the detriment of the development of capitalism. There is no room for ethical concerns in the marketplace. This doctrine of Malthusianism is anti-humane in its fundamental character.

10. In the twentieth century, there has been conflict between John Maynard Keynes (demand side economics—deficit spending) and Milton Friedman (supply side economics—balanced budgets). These competing philosophies are between welfare state and laissez-faire economics.

11. The Horatio Alger myth, which has held in American history since the Age of the Robber Barons, has the belief that any poor person can go from rags to riches. It boils down to a work ethic. If you are poor, you are lazy and deserve your fate. Pull yourself up by the bootstraps and stop complaining, goes the argument. Environmental factors are totally excluded, including racist and sexist institutions that frustrate people of color (and women) from reaching their potential. Marx looked at systemic and structural problems of capitalism to account for social injustice. Hence, he would never reduce it to faulting the individual. Marx was against the great man theory of history. His theory, based on class conflict, can be defined as historical materialism.

12. Religion. Americans have the appearance of being religious. Their enemy was communist atheists who embodied attributes of the devil. Of course, if we look at the ancients, these pagans in Athens and Rome had very ethical values and lived the good life.

13. Paranoid style of American politics. Americans need enemies: you are either for me or against me. Because Americans have incorporated religion into politics, if opposition ensues, then a self-righteous attitude prevails in which Americans condemn the others as not human.

14. The virtuous are the fittest who survive in the marketplace. Poverty becomes divine punishment for leading an immoral lifestyle. There is no room for pity.

15. Marxism is an alien philosophy from the Old World; hence, it never had a chance even to obtain an audience. Anything Old World is tainted.

16. The language is so highly technical that it cannot appeal to the masses, and middle class, let alone workers. Intellectuals (college professors) are the priesthood of the Marxist cause. The contentiousness of this inherently antidemocratic elite is such that the average person will mistrust and even hate them.

17. The United States repressed the "Red Terror" and the "Communist bogeyman," respectively, after the two world wars, intimidating leftists. In the former instance, fears were by and large unfounded if you measure the real threat against the actual historical circumstances. Eugene Debs is a good example of a non-Marxist Socialist persecuted for his unpopular antiwar views. In the latter instance, the CPUS (Communist Party of the United States) was a tool of the Kremlin. Gus Hall was a paid agent of Stalin. Sabotage by American communists aided the Soviet Union in "getting the bomb" earlier than otherwise would have been the case. Strategically, however, no long-term balance of power alteration ensued.

18. With the demise of the Soviet Union, Marxist studies underwent a radical decline. This guilt by posthumous association is not fair to Marx. The rise and fall of the Soviet Union had nothing to do with Marx's theories of revolutionary advocacy; he eschewed violence and permanent revolution for its own sake.

19. *The Communist Manifesto* had a platform of ten major points of "revolutionary" reform. All ten points have been sublimated into the national consciousness and enacted into statutory laws, particularly with

the New Deal response to the world depression.

20. There is a hint of Marx in President Obama's stimulus package, especially the nationalization of toxic assets of commercial banks, hedge funds, and so forth. In effect, a revolution from above has been effected. Treasury Secretary Geithner was given emergency, executive powers unequaled since the two world wars. These powers were necessary to fill the void left by the regulatory agencies whose personnel reflect the interests of Big Business. Tim Geithner's role was to offset the inordinate influence of lobbies in Washington, D.C., basically subverting representative democracy let alone a participatory one with social democratic content.

In assessment, Marx proved very wrong on issues of nationalism, religion, and unionism as primary forms of political identification.

Marx was profoundly right on his ethical stance that systemic flaws in capitalism are not fixable, noting particularly that between the production and consumption cycles distribution fails too many working people. He understood that capitalism was the driving force in creating globalization. He realized that capitalism could not prove stable over time to sustain a democratic lifestyle worth living for the masses. Our representative form of government really is rule by the rich and oligarchic interest groups.

Too, what Marx could not have foreseen was American exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny, since the founding of this nation. Americans have an imperialistic impulse built into their collective political philosophy. There is the delusion that God has made us so special that Americans are divinely obliged to export democracy to third world peoples. Marx was right in describing religion as the opiate of the masses. These doctrines work very well when that country has oil. The powers that be brand the targeted nation as a terrorist state, a threat to our national security and hence an enemy to be vanquished in our own version of holy war. The Christian Right has been a force in its own right, mixing self-righteous missionary Christianity with national politics, of course making for a very paranoid politics. President Obama seems aware of these aberrations in this historically embedded American thinking and to date has not been susceptible to ideologically driven solutions. He is definitely in the FDR mold, but he will redo our constitutional makeup in the political economy with the government a partner of Big Business. That directly involves taxpaying Americans as stakeholders in the new world order and the toxic assets of hedge funds and commercial and investment banks.

Einstein Encounters Marx: "Why Socialism?" (1949)

"This crippling of individuals I consider the worst evil of capitalism. Our whole educational system suffers from this evil. An exaggerated competitive attitude is inculcated into the student, who is trained to worship acquisitive success as a preparation for his future career."

Einstein was a cultural Jew by his own self-definition. He did not think of his Jewish identity in racist, nationalist terms. He was a lifelong socialist by conviction of the Viktor Adler stripe, not Marxist, because of a deep aversion to violence as instrumental in achieving class victory. He argued for a planned economy, although he was wary of the dangers of bureaucracy. Einstein was not ever a communist, enthralled by the state socialist dictatorship of Stalin with its bureaucracy woven into the very consciousness of the collectivity. Democracy in no way could characterize Stalin's Soviet Union, and Einstein knew that. Nonetheless, he loathed capitalism and thought of democratic socialism as the third way. He never developed his social ideas beyond a programmatic stage

"Since the real purpose of socialism is precisely to overcome and advance beyond the predatory phase of human development, economic science in its present state can throw little light on the socialist society of the future."

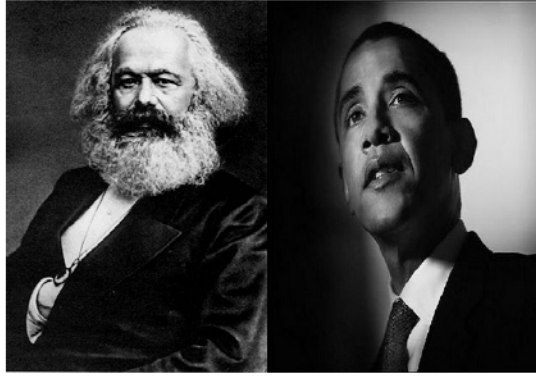
The parallel to Marx's *Paris Manuscripts* of 1844 is striking where the theory of alienation was discussed in an attempt to develop a viable concept of human nature for the communist movement. Both Marx and

Einstein ran up against their own methodological straitjacket of Machian materialism. Man could not be more than an appendage of the machine and hence a variable of capital.

Hidden in Einstein is an indeterminism to allow for free will in allowing working man to rise above the status of a laboring beast. Hence, from an ethical standpoint, humankind had the capacity to say no to tyranny no matter what its political face. Einstein fought for the civil rights of African Americans at a time when it was dangerous to do so and entailed a true risk to have one's citizenship revoked or at least incur the pariah status of being on Hoover's "hit list" of "communists" to be detained. Does this all sound familiar in light of the Patriot Act with its suspensions of constitutional rights?

"Moreover, under existing conditions, private capitalists inevitably control, directly or indirectly, the main sources of information (press, radio, education). It is thus extremely difficult, and indeed in most cases quite impossible, for the individual citizen to come to objective conclusions and to make intelligent use of his political rights."

As a university professor, I find it my moral duty to raise the consciousness of students to an awareness that their training in the mode of production (even at the university level, if not more so) conditions how they think, namely to avert becoming a greedy money and power mongering tool of the establishment at the expense of the public good. Am I advocating civil disobedience or guerrilla warfare? Hardly. I am an advocate of social reform first by changing the self to become the exemplar teacher. Liberation starts with self-critique.



Karl Marx Minus Marxism Equals Globalization

Karl Marx had it right. He predicted that science and technology are a force of production in their own right during the Industrial Revolution. There was another Industrial Revolution in the early part of the twentieth century. Then, the Information Revolution connected the world so that time and space shrunk with the click of the mouse. Now, with debt-driven vehicles, world civilization has become finance-driven. This development will be the last stage of U.S. world domination. As an imperial power, it rules not only by its military prowess but also by its control of the world banking and non-banking systems, pegged to the dollar. Although the dollar has weakened as a commodity against other currencies, it nonetheless is still the preferred means of conversion of currencies and gold of other nations of the world. The financial stability of world civilization pivots on the health of the U.S. economy. A deep recession in our country signifies depression in developing countries. Sub-Saharan Africa is not even part of this grid of power, which is none other than the monetarization of world power.

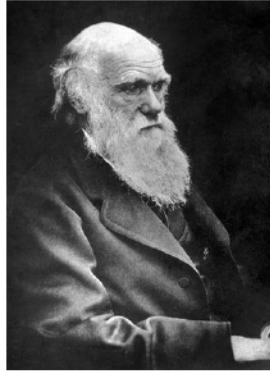
The contradiction in the global system is that the United States is a quasi-mercantile power, with its money earned through the liquid gold of oil and the securitization of assets, fundamentally protected by injections of liquidity by the Federal Reserve System and the U.S. Treasury. The United States has not modernized its manufacturing sector, writing it off as basically of secondary interest to national security and welfare; hence, it is no longer competitive. Manufacturing contributes little to the Gross Domestic Product. Credit (debt) drives our economy, particularly in the financial and mortgage domains. In a sense, there is negative equity. A nation can no longer remain great when it is basically importing more than exporting, particularly when the dollar is weakening. Unworthy institutions (such as trusts, hedge funds, mortgage companies, insurance companies, investment corporations) lent money to unworthy clients, whether individual or corporate. There was an unraveling of the economy when debtors could not repay. The securitization of debt has become the scandal of the American economy, as debt is packaged into tranches (for instance, interest payments on subprime loans) that are sold to unwary buyers. There have been large-scale defaults because of people obtaining loans for mortgages with no income, no job, and no assets. The concept has received the appropriate name "moral jeopardy." This term can be applied not only to individuals but to developing nations that had global ambitions to be players without ethical constraints. Innocent third parties will pay for the strategic mistakes of others, both lenders and borrowers. This democratization of wealth has led to negative equity. The underlying force is the meanest passion of greed.

The consequence is that the stimulus package of President Obama, signed on 17 February 2009, will have to be nationalized to bail out institutions that market forces would otherwise have creatively destroyed. Big Government will become the partner of Big Business. In essence, there is a contradiction in that government has to involve itself as the generator of bailout funds, and that entails massive borrowing from its citizens and foreign banks. In the long term, the borrowed moneys have to be returned through punitive taxation that could well destroy the preeminence of the United States in the world. Americans are spending more than they are producing. To count debt instruments and their creation as part of the Gross Domestic Product is not to the ultimate benefit of the common man. A massive redistribution of wealth to the rich continues unabated with the middle class sliding into a working-class status with uncertain future incomes and outcomes.

John Rawls advocated maximizing the minimum rewards to the most disadvantaged in society or the world. Marx can come to his assistance in this instance. The contradiction is that the U.S. economy, with its tax laws tilted toward the most advantaged, maximizes the gains of the rich by guaranteeing their profits and subsidizing their risks. More than ever before in the history of the country, the poor get poorer and the middle class is bloodied by increases in the burden of taxation, while their salaries stagnate. They work more hours per week than ever for less relative salary and benefits. In the current crisis, the value of their homes has been devalued with mortgages exceeding market prices. There is a crisis of liquidity. The purchasing power of the middle class has dwindled with no prospects in sight to recapture the self-respect of property owners from the good old postwar days through the Clinton presidency, despite President Obama's stimulus package. The crash in the value of technology firms, the stock market meltdown, and the housing crisis can be magnified in terms of harm done internationally. Third and fourth world countries suffer disproportionately, mainly because of a lack of natural resources, IT networks, human capital, and democratic institutions to protect human and property rights. The industrial countries exploit weaker countries because their labor and natural resources are cheaper. The war in Iraq was not about weapons of mass destruction, but rather encompassed the ignominy of oil diplomacy, particularly as it affected the Bush dynasty and its wish to protect the source of its ill-gotten wealth in black gold.

There are other facets of globalization such as trading around the clock, an ecology movement concerned with global warming, animal rights advocacy, the human rights movement, and countless other worthwhile causes. Too, the issue of conflict resolution has become global in nature. Any regional war can easily escalate into a world war because the United States has commitments and military alliances because of interlocking interests around the globe. The United States has stretched itself beyond its productive capacity so that its commitments could bankrupt it as seen in trade and budget deficits, and the devaluation of the dollar as global currency by competitors in the European Union, China, India, Brazil, and Japan. For example, Great Britain and the Netherlands, two former great powers, saw their power decline not because of military defeats, but because of decline in moral leadership in economics and politics, where the political class invested in conspicuous consumption, not modernization of the capital infrastructure to keep a competitive advantage. These two world players basically bankrupted themselves. Too, their imperial ventures cost more to maintain administratively than was monetarily profitable through naked exploitation.

The strong point of the U.S. economy is in information technology, in which it still maintains preeminence. Its very success in producing the technology will be its undoing in that other nations can appropriate it for their own use free of overhead and capital costs for research and development. The United States will be less strong in both the military and economic spheres of global competition, having lost advantageous access to market goods and services.



Charles Darwin Lectures

The Argument

In its most general principles, Darwin's theory consists of a small number of simple but interconnected, revolutionary discoveries.

1. All populations are characterized by variation—"individual differences." Arise by mutation and by reproduction within a genetic population. VARIATION CORRELATED TO POTENTIAL UTILITY.
2. Those differences tend to be passed on from parent to progeny by presently applicable "laws of heredity." PRINCIPLE OF INHERITANCE LEADING TO DIFFERENTIAL SURVIVAL.
3. Breeders often select certain variations for "desirable" traits and "add them up" by controlling the mating and environment of their population, thereby changing the form of the breed. Such controlled experiments are but a mirror of nature. Nature itself is blind and works by accidental factors in terms of variations that might or might not be useful. Definition: A population is a group of specimens with delimited boundaries which has the ability to reproduce sexually fertile offspring, usually in great bounty. New species arise through geographical isolation and genetic drift resulting in speciation over long periods of time.
4. In nature, as Thomas Malthus has shown, there is a constant struggle to survive against daunting odds. The struggle for existence is driven by scarce resources in which the overpopulation of species causes death, famine, and in humans war, because the environment cannot support redundancy. Too, there is a danger that the environment itself can suffer a catastrophe which cannot support life and its diversity as we know it.

The struggle for existence leads to much death. In other words, populations, not just individuals, must adapt to their environments or perish. Struggle is efficient in culling by extinction those unsuited to adapt to their environment. Man is the only species that kills for pleasure and wages genocidal war for reasons not serving any design of nature that we know of. Freud believed that there is a death instinct, Thanatos, that leads man to be aggressive and is an organic part of his makeup. War is sociobiologically determined, with possible neurobiological underpinnings. That is, Freud's view, which is a continuation of Darwin's view of the struggle for existence, is traceable to Thomas Malthus.

5. In such a struggle, any variation whatsoever that was in any way advantageous to an individual's struggle to survive will be "naturally selected" as the struggle eliminates those individuals who do not possess the favorable characteristic or trait. This is the doctrine of "descent by modification," which through tens of thousands of generations will produce a new species, but first will work through creating new varieties and subspecies. However, the doctrine of continuous variation is still true insofar as we now

know that evolution probably does not work by leaps. PRINCIPLE OF DIVERGENCE OF CHARACTER: *Natura non facit saltum* (Nature does not make leaps).

Evolution is a process over many generations in which change is cumulative—quantity becomes quality. But at times there is accelerated speciation as in the sudden and dramatic emergence of *Homo sapiens* over a relatively short period of time, 400,000 years. Natural selection and mass mutation merged as the bridging concepts that led to the Neo-Darwin Synthesis in the 1930s. Evolution now has a sound biological basis.

Darwin's Introduction

The Introduction leads the reader to the question of adaptation, which Darwin sees as the central problem of evolution. He argues that Jean-Baptiste Lamarck and Lamarckism cannot explain all cases of adaptation. Lamarckism points out that traits can be acquired, and that this factor accelerates specialization and eventually, speciation. Of course, Darwin realized this doctrine was false in *The Origin of Species*.

He also points out that simple progressionism, the doctrine that God created stages of development in evolution by spontaneous creation (creationism), does not even address the question of how species become adapted to their environment. Creationism begs the question of how evolution has gaps by this piece of metaphysics. From the outset, Darwin makes it clear that he will be tendering a new mechanism to explain the origin of species by adaptation.

You cannot pass on acquired traits of parents, only their genotype. Evolution proceeds by inherited traits—endless differentiation of forms in a population's genetic pool. Traits have to be transmitted by sexual selection, which is the principle of inheritance; thus, they cannot simply be acquired and somatically passed on as a structural modification.

I. Variation Under Domestication: Reasoning by Analogy

1. Can we have evolution by design? In this argument, Darwin uses the micro-model of man's domestication of animals by conscious design. Of course, this consciousness does not take place in nature. Accident and necessity dominate as a consequence. Nature progresses by means of necessity and accident in fashioning new species. Darwin seeks to establish the fact that animal and plant breeders have been able to produce immense changes within domesticated species, for instance, dogs and cats, so that they might be later convinced that nature can do likewise. There is not a one to one correspondence. Nature produces much more variation, and hence the possibility for speciation, through natural selection as opposed to artificial selection by man with his political agenda in university- and government-sponsored research; the latter entails a managed genetic program for profit. Nature works by an efficient but insensate process of advantaging favorable adaptations to challenges in the environment but internal and external to the organisms and populations involved. The argument is only suggestive and does not have real explanatory power for how nature works out there without man's presence and intervention.

2. Almost immediately, we encounter Darwin's pre-Mendelian theory of variation and inheritance. Gregor Mendel said a gene can cause multiple traits and vice versa: single traits can be traced to various genes. Dominant and recessive genes can never be lost until a species becomes extinct because its behaviors are not economical and efficient in terms of its adaptation to the environment.

3. So, Darwin contends, individual variation is attributable to the direct effect of changed conditions on the reproductive process. This acceleration of the processes in nature he believes will illuminate why

domesticated species evidence more variability than wild ones. By manipulation, scientists, naturalists, and today geneticists can "improve" variation, survivability, and reproductive potential by engineering the environment and selecting the most desired breeders, that is by sexual selection. These breeds would revert if set free in the wild or more likely die because they have a nonadaptable makeup.

4. However, we realize our scale is too small to compare to nature. Natural history covers four billion years of evolution, while breeding is relatively recent and its methodology in no way can compare in sophistication and complexity to the laws of nature. The laboratory with its controlled variables only can abstract a pale likeness of nature, not its infinite diversity. Even by computer simulation, we can never approximate the richness of nature's surprises. Accidents cannot be programmed because the program would have to run for a transfinite amount of time not available to the normal, human lifespan for study and analysis.

5. Since the laws of inheritance were largely unknown to science at that time, we turn to the practical experience of the breeders. Breeders can produce new variations and eventually new species will evolve, but in limited, arbitrary ways. Nature produces new species not by human designs but by a universal process whose purposes are unknown.

6. A stable "species" is not an archetype, but merely a "moment" in the uninterrupted change that constitutes the natural world. It is not a controlled experiment like that of biologists, naturalists, and geneticists. Hence, we have again the principle of continuous variation.

7. The last point is that breeders produce these new breeds by "selecting" from the range of variation that is always there and "adding it up in a direction" by controlled mating. Again, nature itself has no such director. Nature's experiments are natural, not artificially contrived to suit man's vanity and manipulation of the ecology for profit.

II. Variation Under Nature

1. Here Darwin established that there is an adequate amount of variation in "individual differences" in nature to provide the raw material for a more efficient and stable selection process than breeding, which tends to produce "freaks" of nature that could never survive in nature itself.

2. At the next stage, he indicates that naturalists are quite aware that certain varieties tend to be found in certain locales and climates, and that they admit varieties have a common descent. Hence, successful species are the ones that have large populations distributed over large territories. They often migrate to offshore islands and produce many subspecies suited to the ecology of their respective niches in nature. There are two conflicting views of evolution: punctuated equilibrium versus gradualism. The gradualist viewpoint is the dominant one.

3. Then, he introduced the notion that well-marked varieties are "incipient species," again making the point that the term species is conditional because it is a matter of a perpetual process as well as a moment in a reproductive population in a locality. There are no barriers for new species evolving other than geographical limits. The genetic pool, with its varieties, is limitless. Severe competition results as the more alike a species' population; consequently the members with the slightest advantage will prevail and reproduce by sexual selection of the fittest. PRINCIPLE OF ADAPTATIONISM.

III. The Struggle for Existence

1. Here Darwin introduced the idea, adapted from Thomas Malthus's *On Population*, that all species tend to overproduce with respect to resources, thereby creating severe competition for resources. This thesis

can be misapplied, and it is called Social Darwinism. It does not necessarily hold for man and the world's cultures. Social Darwinism was used to justify unjust political and social policies practiced by ruthless capitalists, who themselves did not play by their own rules. We have the example of Hitler's genocide of the Jews; of course at the war's end the Aryan nation did not prove to be the fittest. Nuremberg Racial Laws illustrate a pseudo-science because there are no Jewish or Aryan genes, simply Social Darwinism gone insane in a totalitarian system.

2. It is critical to make the connection with Darwin's earlier analogy: we must see what replaces the eye and hand of the breeder in nature. Consciousness in the laboratory is replaced by chance, struggle, necessity, and death in random sequences in nature. The theory of evolution does not predict who either individually or as a population will survive, only that all species at some time disappear, transcended by new, revolutionary variations as a supra-species or novel species.

3. There is also the point that the struggle is most intense between members of the same species or closely aligned species. This reality keeps selection focused, and also illuminates why we rarely encounter obvious "links" between species for they have been rendered extinct. PRINCIPLE OF NATURAL SELECTION THROUGH DIVERGENCE OF CHARACTER. At any moment though in a species history, changes are imperceptible.

IV. Natural Selection or the Survival of the Fittest

1. Natural selection is the principal description of Darwin's mechanism of evolution. His research has been borne out by paleontologists, biologists, and geneticists, as well as by contemporary natural historians. Natural selection or survival of the fittest proves to be more accurate in its activities as time operates more efficiently over many generations, even millions, and large geographical areas. Nature does not exhibit the constraints of the laboratory.

2. With respect to sexual selection, Darwin stresses that reproduction and not merely survival is the crucial point. He also helps to explain selection of traits that might not appear immediately useful. For instance, there might be a subtle change in form that does not come into play with respect to adaptation until many generations later. In a sense, nature creates a reserve pool of genes (variations) to allow for later modification of a species to apply to changed circumstances of life.

3. Hence, "fittest" is an unfortunate term, for, in the final analysis, much of what happens in nature is blind luck, accidental, and random, or even dictated by necessity.

4. Darwin is of two minds about the benefits of isolation of species, for reasons that have to do with his understanding of inheritance as a primarily "blending" phenomenon of continuous variation. On the one hand, isolation assists specialization because it keeps populations small and prevents crossbreeding and sterilization—both events that can constrain the most useful of variations. On the other hand, a small isolated population means lower variability, which would tend to retard the process of structural modification and the emergence of novel forms necessary to adapt to a future drastic change in the environment.

5. Last, we have the tree branching diagram of evolution in *The Origin of Species*. The most significant factor here is that Darwin's tree has no central trunk or root of evolution. Ultimately, we evolved from one primordial organism. No record in geology of this leap from inorganic to organic matter. God?—Yes, Darwin pro forma states there is an initial creator who then leaves the universe. The laws of evolution work out their logic independent of a divinity.

There is no record in geology of this leap from inorganic to organic matter. No one branch can be singled out as the main line of development because each is adapting in its own way to the environmental changes it encounters in the course of its migrations often in total isolation and ignorance from other

relatively independent developments. There is no way the human race can be seen as the goal toward which the evolution of the whole animal kingdom has been evolving.

6. In the end, all species tend toward extinction because the environment changes more quickly than the species can adapt, in particular man. His wars, for example, are becoming ever more destructive because of technology, while his learning curve remains static. By Darwinian logic, we are doomed. Can we reverse this trend by altering genes (instinctual traits) for aggressiveness? Or would their removal actually take away something useful?

The trait of aggressiveness helps us build great civilizations. We need some aggressiveness to be competitive; otherwise, Freud's death instinct would lead to individual and communal passivity and an anxious depression in the face of life's and civilization's challenges. The human species might die earlier if there were genetic engineering, than if left simply exposed to the chance calamities and advantages offered by nature. As Freud would say later, life and death force struggle into an interminable, open-ended dynamic, yet death/nature prevails.

In conclusion, an individual to qualify as a viable research entity in the theory of evolution may be defined as evidencing five properties: birth; stability; reproduction; senescence, and death with the possibility of difference. This working definition of an entity can be applied at several levels of interaction: the gene; individual; and the species.

VI. Classifying Humans in the Schematic of Evolution

At the level of analysis of the individual, the choosing of mates, or *sexual selection*, has a decisive long-term effect on a population and its collective makeup of heritable traits. Mate choosing causes divergence of characteristics in a species. Over time, cumulative inherited characteristics allow for the development of novel subspecies, particularly abetted by the adaptation to changing environments. Environments evolve, too. In a sense, species and ecologies co-evolve. The ability to reproduce in great numbers is a key indicator to the ultimate success of a species. There has to be cooperation as well as competition with the nurturing of offspring. In sexual selection, parenting is a key investment in the new generation, affecting its capacity to survive into maturity. So, individuals not only survive but their traits or genes in their offspring. To have a successful species, there must be production of efficient traits (in the genome), however slight the advantages to be passed on. So, a successfully reproducing population group, driven by sexual selection, defines the species. The likelihood of survival is not predetermined in any sense.

However, man is the only species who has altered his possibilities for future success by adversely altering his environment. Global warming is the critical variable, as it will have a significant impact on millions of species and survival rates by radically affecting their climates. A climate is an ecology or niche for the species that can be altered by man to create the Sixth Extinction—the one attributable to man's hubris and greed alone. There is a moral component in sexual selection. As more people, particularly those who are highly educated, voluntarily abstain from sexual reproduction, that decision over generations alters the gene pool, probably favorably to the poor nations. The Malthusian principle of population kicks in, with increasing population pressures on limited resources causing war, famine, and disease in a nuclear age where even the most developmentally challenged states can produce weapons of mass destruction.

VI. Classifying Humans in the Schematic of Evolution

Kingdom of Animals: Organism eating other organisms in the food chain.

Phylum of Chordates: Internal skeletons.

Class of Mammals: Vertebrates that have hair and nurture their young.

Order of Primates: Mammals with large brains.

Family of Hominids: Large brains, canines and walk erect.

Genus Homo: Hominids with especially large brains who make tools and who have other signs of culture—*Homo habilis*, *Homo erectus*, and *Homo sapiens*. Man ultimately conquers nature with fire, tools, and language/culture. There develops a surplus in agriculture: civilizations tame the rivers (the Nile as an example); social division of labor between hereditary warrior kings and their priestly caste versus the worker drones who are either farmers or slave labor. Population explodes as the farmers displace the hunters and gatherers or nomadic groups who cannot compete to maintain their territory.

Species of *Homo sapiens*: modern human beings are writing laws for collectivities; and civilization is based on surplus population organized by a state apparatus. This cultural mechanism (memetics) allows for a priestly/warrior caste to regulate surpluses of food with the advent of farming controlled by bureaucracy. Population takes off. The warriors defend the territory against raiding nomads, and the priests preserve knowledge and make the laws, sanctified by taboos and totems, whose psychodynamics Freud had outlined. He had described the primal Oedipal conflict, which leads to sexual involution and a species' consciousness through phylogenetic transmission of the incest taboo—enabling civilization.

Reservations about *The Origin of Species*

The theory of evolution has been misapplied by scientists, social scientists, and an assortment of writers who wanted to define the social order by inappropriately borrowing terminology from Darwin. Darwin was ethical. He did not believe that his theory of evolution or survival of the fittest through natural selection related to the social ills of a capitalist society. His theory related only to nature and the origin of species.

Certain writers have taken his work out of context to justify abusive labor practices in the larger society. They say there is a "natural" struggle between individuals, races, classes, and nations, which leads to totalitarianism in its worst manifestation. The worst example is Hitler's doctrine of Lebensraum, in which he said his Aryan nation of Germans would have to expand toward the East in a war of extermination. There is no such entity as an Aryan nation; Germans have a diverse gene pool much as do the Jews and Slavs. It is pseudoscience. Hence, nationalism plus imperialism plus racism equals total war, in which there is a final struggle for the fittest to survive. Well, the Germans did not. They disproved their own worldview.

The world is overpopulated to a degree, but it is a fallacy to think that it is fatal to a nation. If a nation is producing, we can never have too many people; actually, it is more a liability to have too few people.

Manchester political economy or laissez-faire capitalism believed there are "iron" laws of economics to be ruthlessly applied in culling out people who cannot compete. You must keep people poor to make them virtuous—otherwise, the penalty is extinction. The rich are rich because they are chosen by God. Self-serving ideology, circular reasoning in which post facto you impute falsely a virtue in merely having been the most unethical and ruthless in having outmaneuvered and undercut your competition.

William Graham Sumner: the rich are chosen by a natural selection process of the survival of the fittest in a struggle for existence that cannot be mitigated by outside forces like the state, charitable institutions, the church, and so forth. There is no cooperation, only competition and crass greed. This description is Social Darwinism.

Capitalists are hypocrites—they eliminated rivals, namely fellow capitalists and unions. They did not allow for free competition, but worked for monopoly and union busting.

Peter Kropotkin wrote *Mutual Aid* in 1902. He saw mutual aid and mutual support among animals, who kill other animals only for food. Nature is economical and efficient in its maintenance of a food chain that did not allow for carnage or waste on the scale *Homo sapiens* have introduced as a qualitatively different variable in nature. Kropotkin said love, conscience, and solidarity allow us to coexist; otherwise there would be ceaseless war. There is an element of beneficence in which you produce what you need for use

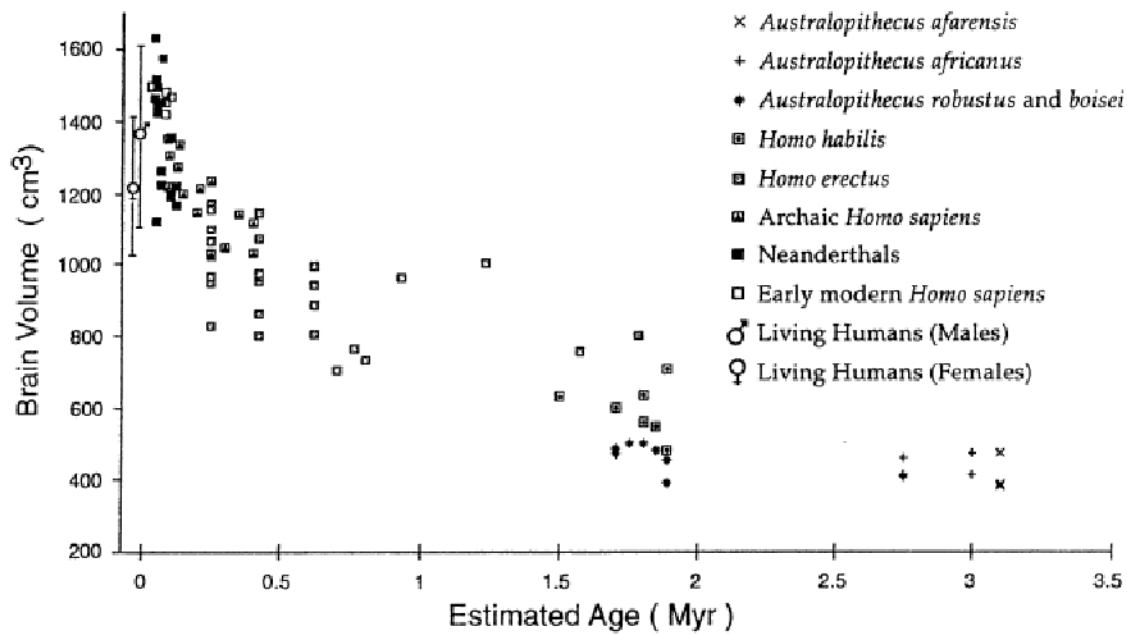


FIG. 4. Brain size (in cm³) plotted against time (Myr) for specimens attributed to Hominidae.

Homo neanderthalensis
 (K)main-specific mentality



Advanced 'Hmmmmm'
 Holistic, manipulative,
 multi-modal, musical
 and memetic
 communication

Homo sapiens
 Cognitively fluid mentality



Music
 A communication
 system specializing
 in the expression
 of emotion

Language
 A communication
 system specializing
 in the transmission
 of information

Segmentation of holistic
 phrases within 'Hmmmmm'
 origin of *Homo sapiens*,
 c. 200,000 years ago

**European
Homo lineage**

**African
Homo lineage**

Homo ergaster



Two million years ago

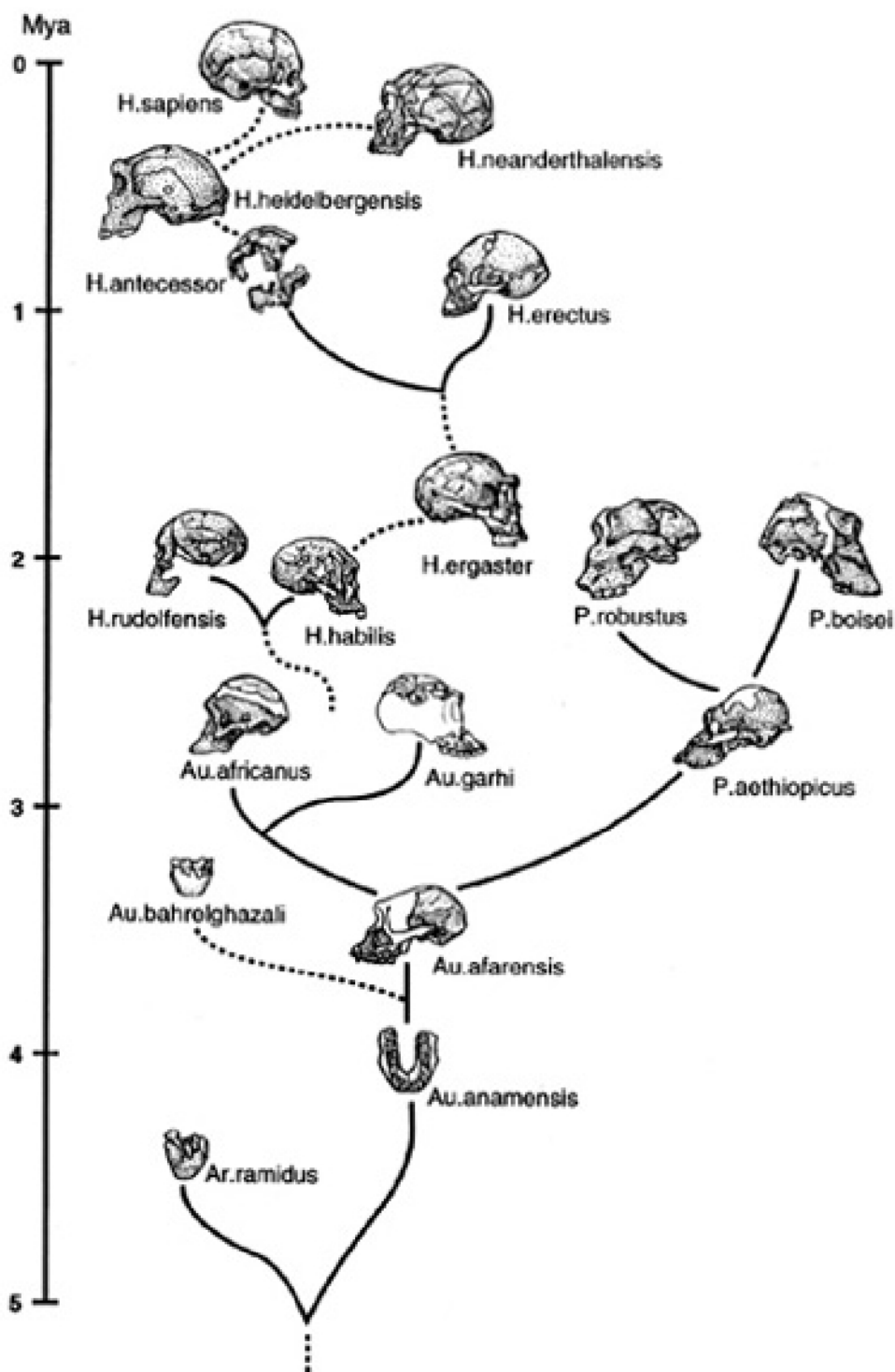
Encephalization and anatomical
 adaptations for complex vocalization

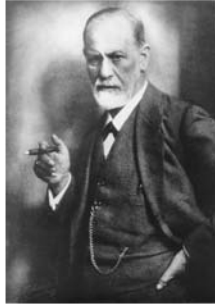
Selective pressures for enhanced
 communication coming from foraging,
 mate competition, parenthood
 and group activity

Bipedalism

'Hmmmmm': "A prelinguistic 'musical' mode of thought and action", John Blacking, 1973

Figure 18 The evolution of music and language.





Introduction to Freud

The key to resolving emotional conflict, that is, neurosis, lies in the talking through therapy. By free association, the therapist brings forth "lost" memories to elicit the primary trauma from childhood. Reliving this insult and resolving its symptoms provides the basis of psychoanalysis. The therapist recreates in the therapy room the trauma in a psychoanalytical technique called transference. That is the bottom line of psychoanalysis. Obviously, you cannot resolve conflicts as an immature child; when an adult, you have the ego (the rational part of the mind) to adjudicate the aggressive and sexual demands of the libido (blind instincts and its masses of undifferentiated energy) and the superego's demand for total abstinence in the interests of the work ethic (conscience).

We are either normally unhappy or neurotically unhappy. The adult has to be socialized into sacrificing sexual drives to the standards of the work ethic. Freud's theory is a topography of the psyche and an economic explanation of how quantities of libido have to be sublimated by the ego. The topography includes the consciousness, preconsciousness, and unconscious, and later evolved into differentiation between ego, superego, and id. Sublimation is the process by which instinctual drives, which are blind, can be rechanneled into creative activities like loving humanity in the abstract, working for use value, and fashioning art. Such equilibrium requires a very high degree of integration of the personality system. Ironically, it can be a source of human happiness in a limited way. For Freud, there is no real substitute for a healthy, uninhibited sex life, but environmental factors and internal conflicts collude to frustrate individuals.

When we cannot resolve psychological crises, then symptoms emerge. Symptoms allow for a counterfeit resolution of a basic conflict. The symptoms show the power of the unconscious, which are repressed memories of childhood allied to the infinite power of the libido and the ego instincts.

Heredity and personal history interact to make a neurosis as well.

The annihilation of the ego by any combination of internal and external forces results in the inability to function in reality. That state is psychosis.

Fixation. We undergo stages of development, corresponding to our childhood and its phases of socialization, namely, oral, anal, and phallic. When we cannot resolve an issue of power at a stage of development, we are fixed at that point and cannot emerge into adulthood. Past traumas determine present-day behaviors, especially in the manifestation of symptoms or illness. There are the Oedipal complex and rape fantasies/facts. We cannot learn from our mistakes because of the power of the unconscious to distort the thinking process and consequently our perceptions of reality.

In the Oedipal complex, the son wants to kill the father to sleep with the mother. This triangular power struggle manifests itself early in childhood. The daughter has the same complex, but with reversed roles with the mother and father.

Dreams allow for the release of repressed memories, often in disguised forms that have to be interpreted. Normal people can have "disturbed" dreams, but when you awaken you are in reality. The

neurotic awakens to a dream state in which he is to varying degrees disassociated from others and reality.

Neurosis creates memory disturbances. We call this amnesia. The prime neuroses that Freud treated were obsessional neurosis, hysteria, and anxiety neurosis.

Three historical revolutions in terms of world views shook Western man and his self-esteem.

1. The Copernican Revolution
2. The Darwinian Revolution
3. Freud's discovery of the unconscious, which said that the ego is not master in its own house, namely, its own mind

In free association, there is the uncovering of the unconscious in alliance with the therapist who allows unspeakable things to be talked through with restraints. When the neurotic recovers his lost memories, the uncovered material is no longer toxic and recovery is the probable outcome.

Resistance. With respect to the Oedipal scenario, the therapist recreates the conflict in the office where he poses as the father/surrogate figure. The neurotic acts out the original conflict and the therapist interprets the conflict to him. There is resistance to the authority of the father figure/therapist. The essence of psychoanalysis is to overcome these resistances and effect a cure. The psychoanalytic term for resistance is repression.

In the defense mechanism of repression, the unconscious distorts and stores memories with which the ego colludes to deny access to the conscious because it is too painful and threatening. Symptoms serve to fulfill forbidden wishes and frustrated sexual desires. Reality causes frustration in the interests of preserving civilization.

Quote. "We might extend our thesis and say that symptoms aim either at a sexual satisfaction or at fending it off, and that on the whole the positive, wish-fulfilling character prevails in hysteria and the negative, ascetic one in obsessional neurosis." (*Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis* [Norton, 1966], 372).

Sexuality

1. object--genital or not for the purpose of reproduction.
2. Aim--the sexual drive is directed away from a responding other to focus on perverted expressions of sexuality, which is any sexual act that does not result in reproduction. The aim of sex is to reduce displeasure to satisfy the instincts, that is, desire. In an extreme case, we have the necrophile who makes love to a corpse; absence of the human other. Sadomasochism is an excellent and far too common expression of genital love in which you intend to hurt another or enjoy being hurt to the point often where your own health, mental and physical, is at stake. Freud noted that these perversions, particularly fetishism, have cultural validity in primitive societies. Hence, he is not making a value judgment ethically but rather a disinterested, medical observation in which he is talking about degrees of variance from heterosexual intercourse.

Childhood Neurosis

Perverse sexuality is nothing else than a magnified infantile sexuality split up into its separate impulses. Children are naturally perverse.

The motive of human society is work. Sex and work are antipodal guidelines of conduct for the functional individual. He has to sacrifice a good degree of his libido to earn a living; otherwise, you are not an adult and you will be scorned by proper, bourgeois society.

Sex is perverted if it does not lead to reproduction. Today, we consider that a rigid definition, by which even the psychiatric establishment will not abide.

Quote: "Since, however, everyone, and not only neurotics, experiences these perverse incestuous and murderous dreams, we may conclude that people who are normal today have passed along a path of development that has led through the perversions and object-cathexes of the Oedipal complex, that that is the path of normal development and that neurotics merely exhibit to us a magnified and coarsened form what the analysis of dreams reveals to us in healthy people as well." (p. 420)

Regression and fixation go together. Regression entails attaching yourself to an aim or object of sexuality that originates in childhood. Fixation results when you never have even developed beyond a stage of psychosexual development and you are a child-man in a manner of speaking. Displaceability of objects to prevent frustration may not be sexual in nature but can be non-sexual. A sexual trend is then attached to a more non-sexual one. We have here the basis of sublimation.

Quote: "You can declare... that libidinal fixation represents the predisposing, internal factor in the aetiology of neuroses, while frustration represents the accidental, external one." (p. 430)

Nonsexual ego-instincts are in opposition to the sexual instincts and compete for libido as the force to unify the psyche topographically and economically.

The ego instincts pursue self-preservation and ways to satisfy sexual drives so as not to be frustrated and neurotic. The ego has libido. The ego can become infantile. The tendency to conflict is as much dependent on the development of the ego as on that of the libido.

Causation of Neuroses

1. frustration
2. fixation
3. tendency to conflict between ego instincts and the sexual drives

The principle of constancy is the one where the mental apparatus masters amounts of stimulus emerging from inside and outside and is related to the pleasure principle. Periodically, there must be a release of this built-up tension to reach equilibrium. The ego instincts are under the influence of necessity and work against the pleasure principle, which must be modified. The ego is reasonable, and that entails the dynamics of the reality principle. We must learn to postpone and modify pleasure and its pursuit to fit the needs dictated by reality. When the ego is properly developing, it is making the necessary transition from the pleasure to the reality principle.

The ego and libido develop parallel and both are subject to regression. Your ego can be sick as well as your libido. Both may return to earlier phases of development recalling childhood and its experiences and repressions. We are all to some degree ill. It is a matter of quantity.

Paraphrased Quote

Sexual Constitution (Prehistorical Experience) + Infantile Experience equals Disposition due to Fixation of Libido + Accidental (Adult) Experience (Traumatic frustration) = Neurosis (p. 450 n 4)

Too, we must be able to distinguish between the neurotic personality and the mental illness of neurosis. A symptom is like a dream because it represents something as fulfilled, that is a satisfaction in the infantile mode.

Childhood experiences that are remembered are confounded of truth and falsehood. If traumatic, then we have the basis of neurosis and the job of psychoanalysis is to retrieve these traces of memories and render them sensible and comprehensible to the patient by the mechanism of transference, wherein the neurosis is recreated in the office to be resolved by "after education," where the doctor and patient form an alliance.

Fantasies possess a reality of a definite kind. It remains a fact that the patient has created these fantasies for himself, and this fact is of scarcely less importance for his neurosis than if he had really experienced what the fantasies contain. The fantasies incorporate psychical as compared with material reality, and we gradually learn to understand that in the world of the neuroses it is psychical reality which is decisive.

It seems quite possible that all things that are told to us today in analysis are fantasy, according to Freud. He was alluding to the seduction of children, the influence of sexual excitement by observing parental intercourse, and the threat of castration. Freud believes that in primeval times that these occurrences had reality. Children in their fantasies are simply filling in the gaps in individual truth with prehistorical truth that is inherited as part of their being part of the human family—phylogenetically as a species-being.

It is a matter of what quota of unemployed libido a person is able to hold in suspension and of how large a fraction of his libido he is able to divert from sexual to sublimated aims that determines the severity of an illness or even wellness. Paradoxically, you can be neurotically stable. The ultimate aim of mental activity, which may be described qualitatively as an enterprise to obtain pleasure and avoid displeasure, emerges, examined from the economic perspective, as the task of mastering the amounts of excitation (mass of stimuli) working in the mental apparatus and of keeping down their accumulation which creates displeasure.

Art can cut a path from fantasy to reality that is socially acceptable when employing erotically charged themes.

If in the symptoms of the psychoneuroses we have become acquainted with manifestations of disturbances in the psychical operation of the sexual functions, we shall not be taken aback to find in the "actual" neuroses the somatic consequences of sexual dysfunctions.

What defines psychoanalysis as a science is not the material it handles but the technique with which it works. It can be applied to the history of civilization, to the science of religion, and to mythology, no less than to the theory of neuroses, without belying its essential nature. What it intends and achieves is nothing other than the uncovering of what is unconscious in the mental life.

The problems of the "actual" neuroses, whose symptoms are probably generated by direct toxic damage, offer psychoanalysis no points to attack. It can do little toward illuminating them and must leave the task to biological-medical research.

Discuss Prozac. *Prozac Nation*

The "actual" neuroses versus the psychoneuroses.

1. neurasthenia (nervous exhaustion)
2. anxiety neurosis (generalized anxiety disorder)
3. hypochondria (vague, floating symptoms--chronic complainers)

Phobias are classified as anxiety hysteria. Symptoms are formed to escape anxiety. What is in question is an accumulation of libido, which is kept away from its normal employment, and here we are in the sphere of somatic processes. How anxiety is begotten from libido is not initially manifest; we can only recognize that libido is absent and that anxiety is observed in its stead.

Unemployed libido results in childhood or adult neuroses. The consequent anxiety replaces the missing love-object by an external object or by a situation.

Every hysterical phobia reverts to an infantile anxiety and is a continuation of it, even if it has a different content and must be given another name. For instance, fear of open spaces is called agoraphobia, which has infantile roots. The avoidance of open spaces represents the avoidance of an infantile conflict that is unbearable to bring to consciousness and which the unconscious will not allow access to. Hence, there is a displacement of anxiety onto an object, the open space, which masks the true conflict in the underworld of the mind.

Realistic anxiety must be regarded as an epiphany of the ego's self-preservative instincts.

In a phobia, regression corresponds to an endeavor at flight by the ego from libido which is felt as threatening. A phobia may be compared to an entrenchment against an external danger which now represents the dreaded libido. The deficiency of the defensive system in phobias lies in the fact that the fortress which has been so greatly strengthened toward the outside remains vulnerable to attack from within.

In a sleeper, the primal state of distribution of the libido is restored. Here we have total narcissism, in which the libido and the ego interest, still fused and inseparable, reside in the self-sufficient ego.

The only thesis which is not an immediate precipitate of our analytic experience is to the effect that libido remains libido, whether it is directed to objects or to one's own ego, and never turns into egoist interest. The converse is also true, namely, the ego has dynamics of its own, independent of the needs of sexuality and its instinctual basis. Thus, the ego interests never turn into sexual energy.

The ego-ideal is the conscience. It is the incorporation of the values of civilization, society, and the family. It is internalized as a censor in the conscious and pre-conscious so as to block awareness of forbidden fantasies and desires.

Morality. We can present society with a blunt calculation that what is outlined in its morality calls for a bigger sacrifice than it is worth, that its proceedings are not based on honesty and do not evidence wisdom. Analysts do not keep such criticisms from the patients, but they accustom them to rendering unprejudiced consideration to sexual matters no less than to any others; and if, having grown independent after the completion of their treatment, they decide on their own judgment in favor of some compromise in which they take a position between living a full life and absolute asceticism, psychoanalysts feel their consciences are clear whatever the patient's choice.

Anticathexis. a counterinvestment in which the energy expended by the ego maintains repression or otherwise blocks the entrance of id derivatives into consciousness.

Anticathexis: repression

Cathexis: libidinal tie to sexual object or aim.

The therapeutic task comprises freeing the libido from its present attachments, which are withdrawn from the ego, and making it once more serviceable to the ego. The neurotic's libido is attached to the symptoms, which yield it only substitutive gratification at the time of sexual discharge.

The decisive part of the therapeutic work is attained by creating in the patient's relation to the doctor "transference"; thus, new editions of old conflicts emerge. In these new editions, the patient would like to behave in the same manner as he did in the past, which the psychoanalyst, by summoning up every available mental force in the patient, compels him to make a reality-based decision. Thus, the transference becomes the field of competing forces, drawn from emotional conflicts dating to childhood,

on which the struggle is conducted and resolved.

Doctor represents a normal mental conflict, using recovered materials from the unconscious.

Since a fresh repression is avoided, the alienation between ego and libido is brought to a conclusion and the subject's mental health has been restored. When the libido is released once more from its temporary object in the analyst, it cannot revert to its former objects, but is at the disposal of the healthy ego.

By means of the work of interpretation, which transforms what is unconscious into what is conscious, the ego is enlarged at the expense of the unconscious; by means of education, the ego is made conciliatory towards the libido and inclined to grant it some gratification, and its revulsion to the claims of the libido is diminished by the possibility of disposing of a portion of it by sublimation.

The distinction between mental health and illness is a practical one about the capacity for enjoyment and efficiency in the sexual economy of the individual in a way not to put that individual at odds with society's norms and to preserve an unnecessary expenditure of mental energy to keep the peace internally. It reverts to the relative sizes of the quota of energy that remains free of what is bound by repression, and is of a quantitative not qualitative measure. This discovery is the theoretical justification for the belief that the neuroses are in principle treatable in spite of their being coincidental with constitutional factors of a hereditary nature.

Shame is based on denial and projection.

America is a shame-based culture. There are times when unbearable memories in the unconscious are triggered. These memories cannot be denied. Sadistic fantasies are a common, neurotic theme that most people will not openly admit to having and enjoying. The adult cannot project unpleasant or undesirable traits onto others. Individuals feel exposed and naked in their helplessness and hopelessness. In consequence destructive and self-destructive urges are released in blindly striking out to relieve tension.

Shame is the basis of racism. People who have low self-esteem need to scapegoat others to reinforce their egos. When you can look down on and punish the helpless other, you feel much better about yourself. A paranoid worldview may develop in which delusions of grandeur evolve to create a tolerable but falsified reality. For example, we scapegoat "welfare mothers" for our collective transgressions in not having a savings strategy; and we do not consequently assume personal and social responsibility for the budget deficit debacle that is destroying the backbone of democracy, namely the middle class.

Child abuse in America stems from the perversion of sadomasochism. The pervert has low self-esteem. Often, he or she is arrested psychosexually at the oral or anal stage of development. There is a surplus of sexual and aggressive instincts from the libido which the ego cannot sublimate from the unconscious. Thus there is acting out of Oedipal conflicts on the helpless child who is punished for expressing naturally perverse instincts.

Shaming leads to dysfunctional and anxiety-ridden adults who repetitiously and compulsively act out the same conflicts into which the parents socialize their children into a perpetual cycle of violence. Psychoanalysis is a tool to recover the traumatic memories that induce the illnesses that lead to child abuse. A mature and healthy adult ego will not berate or beat a child but educate his instincts.



Introduction to Freud: Civilization and Its Discontents

THESIS:—There are two trinities which we can discuss in *Civilization and Its Discontents*. The Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost of the theme of religion; and Laius, Oedipus, and Jocasta of the theme of the mythological/primeval, eternally recurring History that can be documented as the Oedipal conflict in Freud's case studies. One trinity forms the punishing superego arising from the sense of guilt and thus trying to redeem the ego of mankind for its killing of God; the other congeals the pleasure principle of the parricidal id whose memories of the tabooed murder of the generic, biological father are repressed into the unconscious. Freud, in fact, claims that it is part of our phylogenetic memory in our species' consciousness.

There is both a learned and inherited "organic repression" of the instinct to commit incest. The unconscious creates an abstraction in God who will reward you on earth by dying for your sins and promises heaven to the believers, which the ego accepts because of its weak defense mechanisms against the combined demands of sexuality, the superego, and the world outside the body. Freud says these religious beliefs are delusional and act as a narcotic for our wounded narcissism in having to renounce our sexual instincts in the name of civilization and the work ethic (*Ananke*).

Consequently, the ego is relieved of this sexual pressure and frustration. As a result, the ego can function in reality to balance the work world, the id, and the superego. If that can be accomplished by the individual, he will be spared neurosis but not discontent. That is the best we can expect; the worst outcome would be when the collective aggressions of social collectivities overwhelm the defenses of the ego and lead to its annihilation, which is the complete loss of selfhood and pain through death. That can happen when sadomasochism as a perverted id drive joins forces with the superego to wreak vengeance on the ego and its adaptation to its internal and external realities. This event happens at the individual and collective levels simultaneously. It is the instinct of aggression.

This aggression originated in the instinct for biological self-preservation. So, it would be a generalized trait of the species. Eros and Thanatos are in eternal struggle for not only the individual but higher levels of social complexity in the state and civilization. Freud was uncertain of the ultimate outcome because Hitler had just won major electoral gains in 1931 as the book was going to press. We still await the Final Judgment.

1. Theory of Sexual Economy: The sexual economy deals with the distribution of libido between the ego and its objects toward work to make civilization possible. There are instincts of love and death antithetically struggling to control the destiny of man. Love is Eros and comes from the libido, while destruction is Thanatos and stems from an innate, aggressive impulse in man's species' unconscious.

2. Theory of Social Psychology: Freud's social psychology deals with the interaction between the individual, family, society, and civilization, and how the various demands of each level of social complexity makes demands that stress the individual in his drive to seek pleasure.

Freud's Theory of Human Nature

Man is a wolf to his fellow man; hence he must revert his authority to a powerful state in order to assure that the conditions in the struggle for existence do not overwhelm him. This thesis is best illustrated by a quote he takes from Heinrich Heine:

"Mine is a most peaceable disposition. My wishes are a humble cottage with a thatched roof, but a good bed, good food, the freshest milk and butter, flowers before my window, and a few fine trees before my door; and if God wants to make my happiness complete, he will grant me the joy of seeing some six or seven of my enemies hanging from those trees. Before their death I shall, moved in my heart, forgive them all the wrong they did me in their lifetime. One must, it is true, forgive one's enemies--but not before they have been hanged." (p. 67)

A joke is a manifestation of sublimation, which is a sophisticated defense mechanism that allows for a repressed minority member to express hostility to the general public without inviting retaliation, venting anger creatively without the anxiety of endangering the self to one's enemies. Freud, of course, was talking of the maxim of loving thine enemies. He believed religion to be a mass delusion to provide a substitute gratification for renounced sexuality.

Too, religion provides a narcotic for the instinct of aggression because man is a wolf to his fellow man. Civilization produces these discontents necessarily because there is this identification with introjected authority from a sense of Oedipal guilt, and coincidentally the unemployed libido from the unconscious joins the instinct toward aggression in order to create a sadistic censor in the superego, or what we call conscience. Hence there is a fusion of sex and aggression, what he called Eros and Thanatos.

So this joke is not simply a joke; it is an expression of the sadistic feelings of marginalized minority group members, who must find acceptable outlets for their pent-up aggression because of the frustrations of social restrictions originating in anti-Semitism, in conjunction with everyday libidinal fixations where there is arrested psychosexual development, or even in normal psychosexual development. What we call normal sexuality has a component of perversity, Freud believed, because monogamous heterosexuality in a context of legitimacy was psychopathological in that human nature, with its desires, was inclined to multiple sexual partners. The individual loses, and civilization loses. The individual loses pleasure for the sake of the reality principle, and civilization loses in terms of natural selection since the gene pool is circumscribed in the name of the work ethic, forsaking the pleasure principle.

Summary Comment: The demands of civilization are anti-erotic in that the ego and its sexual energy must be sublimated; hence the individual is "sacrificed" in the necessity of having to renounce instinctual life to allow for the stress of a life sentence to hard labor to build and sustain and reproduce civilization. Religion provides the norms and sanctions for this process by manufacturing mass delusions. To love thy enemy goes against the instinct of biological self-preservation and particularly against the ego's and the species' interests, but for different rationales.

Levels of Analysis Problems

1. Individual neurosis versus collective neurosis (anomie). Medical model of disease with a physical cause in the individual. Then, we have organic disease versus the symptom complex of neurosis with no physical determinants, but rather we must look for the underlying conflicts ascertained by "talking through" psychotherapy. How do you apply this to a collectivity like a nation? Is there a national character in which a nation follows a preselected pattern of inherited behavior? For instance, are the Germans warlike, the Russians passive, and the Americans beneficent?

2. Or must we look to an interdisciplinary approach to assess group dynamics? Does Freud help? While there is a definition of normality for the individual, there is no such standard in judging nation-states or

even various cultures. Ethnology is the study of different cultures and how their moralities develop.

The Methodology

Freud talks about the structural foundation of the mind--the theory of the id, ego, and superego. Then, too, there is the topography of the mind in the conscious, pre-conscious and perception, and unconscious. Can we find its physical coordinates? No! We must infer its existence from uniformity of human behavior. If a symptom can be cured" by "talking through," then its cause might be attributable to unacceptable thoughts--like killing the father by the son to win over his mother. The famous Oedipus complex. He claims it is a phylogenetic inheritance of the human race. It is the incest taboo. You simply do not sleep with blood relatives because inbreeding produces undesirable recessive traits and the lack of security. The actual crime produces remorse; the thought of it guilt and consequent anxiety.

The book's major themes are the sense of guilt (an internalized conscience of the society and the family's taboos placed on erotic instincts) and the death instinct (aggression). Guilt arises from aggression and the shame of it. We feel a sense of guilt from forbidden deeds committed and also the intent to do these deeds. We internalize the family's and civilization's violence in repressing our instinctual nature and either direct it outwardly or inwardly. Cases of sadism and masochism exhibit this phenomenon. It often has an erotic component. Sadism and sexuality are derived from the libido, where in conjunction with unconscious forces the phenomenon of the death instinct emerges.

Religion emanates from a pervasive, anxious feeling of infantile helplessness. When sublimated, beauty can arise to satisfy the instinctual appetites for gratification, but is still derivative from sexual primacy and energy. Religion stems from the narcissism of the infantile part of the ego in its necessity to gratify itself, yet acknowledging reality and maintaining an ability to test it. Religion can only be a mass delusion to provide substitute gratifications in the stead of pleasure and acting out of aggressive impulses. Two examples are love thy neighbor as thyself; and turn the other cheek to your enemies. Freud believed it showed a basic misunderstanding of human nature.

Unhappiness comes from three sources: nature; our feeble bodies; and human relations in state and society. In these groups, we have character formation and deformation with repression and sublimation where there is an identification with civilization's and the family's value systems. In the end, the family must submit to the demands of civilization, namely, the work ethic.

Eros and Ananke, or love and necessity, have become the driving forces of civilization, that is, the tension between love and work which can never be resolved. Again, much unhappiness ensues. If it is intolerable, you can become neurotic.

The sense of guilt emerges from fear of the superego. The superego takes energy from the id to punish us for our transgressions in our thought-crimes. Ethics of Christianity and Judaism are too demanding. They ask man to renounce instincts in the name of abstract values. A renunciation must conform to the sexual economy of the individual-- pain and pleasure in the group and society must be in equilibrium, but nonetheless the balance is constantly breaking down. Neurosis, psychosis, and even a collective going berserk in war emerges.

The id can only be controlled so far. It has "hidden" ways to purchase gratification; when frustrated, it will torment the individual. The individual suffers a double alienation in the family and civilization; hence, he must go through a long training and educational process to learn his limited place in the universe. Freud believes that this double alienation serves for the survival of humankind, although it has within it the mechanism for total self-destruction, namely, the death instinct when it periodically breaks the equilibrium with its counterpart, the life instinct in Eros, to threaten *Homo sapiens* with extinction. The aggression comes from the frustration necessarily entailed in the renunciation of one's instinctual life. The superego punishes the ego for its thought-crimes; the ego can crumble, yet will revenge itself on its displaced objects, such as powerless minority groups, and can be very destructive.

Real threats from institutionalized authority, emanating from its introjection, feed into the sadistic superego. That superego already has at work the guilt from the internal Oedipal conflict. Thus, anxiety levels can reach untenable thresholds.

Freud strongly insinuates that traditional religious ethics reflects the values of the weak and the powerless—thus the superego enhances the will to power necessary to take what you want without retaliation. Thus the strong dominate the weak, and the meek do not inherit the earth. Religion serves the function of keeping the people in a delusional state of happiness in which they anticipate heavenly rewards for all their sacrifices on earth. It is very self-serving of the status quo.

A naturalist ethics is instinctually narcissistic and says you must maximize your pleasure to be happy and healthy; unfortunately, reality imposes sanctions if certain limits are passed. Conscience is civilization's "garrison state" internalized. Freud shows the influence of Nietzsche, in this instance, because he says there are always people pushing the limits to test a system. He gives the example of Jesus in secular and historical terms of a problematic nature; he was sacrificed in order to keep the social order stable, whose authority he had radically challenged. He fits the prototype of Moses and Oedipus. However, if you are to survive, you must conform. The risk-takers are the ones who are ostracized and punished by civilization; too little repression and there is a state of nature, too much repression and there is an authoritarian regime which stifles individuality. Lose/lose strategy for individual and society.

What About Natural Selection and Socialism?

1. Freud says that the renunciation of instincts goes against natural selection; the fittest biologically are persecuted. He was thinking of those who do not practice monogamous, genital heterosexuality. The "promiscuous" are condemned as outlaws and amoralists, when in fact they might be the fittest sexually to carry on the species' struggle for existence. Of course, this value judgment is civilization's and necessarily rendered in support of reproducing its generations of an obedient people who take to the work ethic.

2. He has mixed feelings about socialism. He says that the removal of private, not personal property, would alleviate a stressor in causing human aggression; nonetheless, sexual desire is primary and there would be no end to conflict even in a communist society where the ideals are met because the instinctual economy of the individual is fixed within limits by human nature. Thus, we can remove the external stressor of environmental factors, but the sexual economy and quantum of energy in the instinctual life would still be repressed as much as ever--ergo, human unhappiness even in utopia. He still will have to be frustrated to keep the ties of civilization together, whether we call it a free marketplace economy or a commune.



De Clerambault Syndrome

Erotomania means the infliction of unwanted sexual attention on an innocent victim, usually of high social status. The perpetrators have sexual problems, where there is a love so all-consuming that violence becomes a result in the event of rejection, which is invariably the case. Usually, the case history starts with stalking. In the most psychotic cases, the de Clerambault syndrome evolves, named after its discoverer C. Gaeteau de Clerambault.

There are paranoid delusions in which the patient believes he has established a mystical communion with his victim, usually a female suffers from the affliction, with the victim falsely accused of having instigated an imaginary relationship—usually through signals that are not verifiable. This paranoia (heterosexual or homosexual hallucinations) leads to fixation on her object to fill a lifelong void in her impoverished psyche. She lives through the other.

The more vicious (=evil) and often lethal instances that climax in suicide and homicide are latent homosexual males. When he realizes he cannot have the other, he will kill his love object so as not to be denied complete defeat of achieving control over his victim. The perpetrator invokes God to sanctify the harassment, saying that he is trying to save his victim from damnation through the love of God. That love is only a projection of the homosexual fantasies of the pervert. The psychotic has had a history of poor relations with male authority figures and lives in a social vacuum filled with delusions. He will stalk his victim relentlessly because of his compulsive obsessions. The more he is rejected, the more he feels challenged to establish a relationship that can never be. The homosexual aspect of the relationship is Platonic because of the quasireligious dimensions of the perpetrator. He believes he would pollute his love object if he ever attempted to establish an overt sexual liaison. The same holds for the female. Nonetheless, the love is manic with the aim of the complete domination of the victim. The unwanted attentions and harassment can include a whole range of evil deeds, with violence often the final outcome to achieve a resolution of the inevitable intersubjective tensions.

This person is usually functional in other aspects of life. So, initially he appears to be leading a normal life. Because he is borderline narcissistic, he cannot establish workable relationships in his social and sexual contacts, the work world, and school life. Because he has impulse control problems, he cannot establish a work record and exploits others to maintain a relatively decent standard of living, though some are fortunate to be born into wealth.

The patient imparts to his fixation a quasireligious rationalization. He creates an imaginary relationship in which he believes his love object is toying with him. He will become aggressive, suicidal, and at times homicidal. What he cannot control, he will often feel impelled to kill, either his beloved object or himself. There is no known treatment of this disorder, and it culminates in death, often after decades of torment for all parties privy to this self-destructive pattern of bizarre, lifetime behaviors that magnifies over time. He "forgives" his victim for his recurrent rejections and might very well kill him to redeem the relationship in the eyes of God as he fantasized this fetish father figure (males have grown up without fathers to role model appropriate adult behaviors), whom he incorporates intrapsychically totally and must thus sacrifice to God to appease Him. Notions of God are invariably vague and the religious aspect is shallow, if not fraudulent, without any doctrinal basis.

The Id (the Pleasure Principle) runs the mental life of the de Clerambault individual. A savage superego (the introjected conscience of parents and society) absorbs tremendous libidinous strength from the unconscious. The result is that the ego instincts (the Reality Principle) cannot direct the patient to more socially appropriate actions. However, Freud is not a psychic determinist. There is always free will in each individual, since there is always a residue of libido in the service of the ego to attempt to sublimate what otherwise are unacceptable thoughts and conduct.

In psychoanalytic terms, the Id (the instinctual life) and the Superego (a punishing "conscience") fuse. The Ego deteriorates because there is a lack of reality testing. In philosophical terms, we can call this alienation at the individual level the Unhappy Consciousness, in which pure contingency overcomes the other, since the victimized other cannot rationally dialogue with a madman. The perpetrator is really slave to a passion or totally inclusive passion. He can never know the other. His negative freedom comes with death, often violently induced. So, the penal authorities must be called upon for intervention, with limited success. Psychotherapy is not effective. So, if the outcome is not lethal, then the patient must be institutionalized for life, since he never improves but continues to free fall into a fantasy world detached from everyday life and empirical reality. No matter what evidence is presented to him he will refute it through denial, repression, rationalization, and projection. He blames the other for his problems, since he imputes to the other intentions of love that the victim simply does not entertain and had never even imagined, much less caused.

There are "signals" given off by the victim, unbeknownst to him, that trigger a psychotic, delusional response of the de Clerambault diagnosed patient. The person is shallow and hence does not have the trust to establish a therapeutic relationship to get the depth insight into basic conflicts to resolve them through psychoanalytical education. He simply cannot effect transference. The gaze of the Other is a Medusa-like concern of the patient who is petrified by the casual everyday observation of normal people. Hence, the de Clerambault patient misconstrues events in the environment in a paranoid style that results in his feeling rejected and persecuted because of his "special" qualities. The constitutional factor is often decisive in this syndrome. Yet, you are not simply the aggregate of your symptoms and complexes. There is always an intrapsychic space within any individual to say no to socially condemned behaviors. Saying no is the first step in seeking help so as to find a therapist who might reeducate the primitive instincts of the patient to realize outlets that are socially constructive.

Nonetheless, the erotomaniac does do evil against his victim, even though he is driven by instinctual compulsions. The perpetrator destroys lives, including himself. Although he does not have a clear access to his own motivations, he still has an understanding of his devastating impact on others through his evil deeds. Hence, he is morally responsible, even though there are mitigating circumstances of mental illness involved. Nonetheless, he can surrender himself to the authorities so as to preempt urges, however powerful. There is always reason as a codeterminant to the most vicious of perverted feelings and criminal actions, which are facts that in their overt manifestations are known to the de Clerambault patient. Even the total psychotic, however resistant he is to therapy because of negative transference, is not an automaton acting out a prewritten script to his life. If he were, he would be an automaton, and not human. Evil and mental illness do covary. No one would willingly commit evil unless there is this psychic alienation from self and others. But even in the world of madness, choices lie within grasp that allow a certain degree of voluntarism in how intentionalities will be expressed. Not guilty by virtue of insanity; yes in the legal sense, no in the ontological domain because if all your life strategies result in harm to others and yourself, you must seek counseling simply by a process of elimination in that everything tried has failed in your life at every point in the most extreme cases.

In the final analysis, the erotomaniac is obsessively and compulsively pursuing power to reify the object, whose attentions are not wanted and very toxically intrusive in destroying the integrity of the privacy and rights of the victim. It is not about sex, which is only latently present in each instance. The striking characteristic of the erotomaniac is almost an aversion to sexuality, with a Puritan-like attitude of disdain. In popular portrayal, there is Ian McEwan's wonderful semi-biographical and vividly descriptive clinically enframed novel, *Enduring Love*. The book was made into a movie of the same title. Because of commercial considerations, the compelling quality of the book was not found in viewing a corrupted film

version. Art only faintly imitates reality.

Certainly, there are public policy issues involving mental health legislation. The courts are tilted toward the rights of the mental patient to the detriment of the victims of what are essentially crimes. Stalking and harassment do not concern police forces because they are not trained to investigate pathologies that only experts can detect. That is why cases can drag on indefinitely to the detriment of all parties and the closure that comes with justice rendered.

Psychoanalysis has severe limits, in particular in treating the psychoses. Freud did not take on psychotics, in general. His great rival, Carl Jung, did, but even this syndrome would be beyond his capabilities to treat.



Freud Symposium: 13 November 1995

IS FREUD A REVOLUTIONARY FOR OUR TIMES? AFFIRMATIVE!

There are ten major points to be made in making the case for Freud today as relevant for students and academicians. They are interlocking breakthrough insights of his culminating in a thesis about our Zeitgeist and a general world view. He is a product of the Enlightenment; yet there is a Romantic subtext of the outcast/prophet revenging himself with his will to power against his very real enemies. The major themes and concepts then are underlined and capitalized below.

1. EGO AND ID. A provocative metaphor is that of the rider on the horse where the highly spirited horse more or less takes control of the rider. Of course the reference is to the ego in respect to the id where unconscious forces impinge upon an individual from the environment (really the gaze of the unknown Other), the superego, and the id to threaten the individual with overwhelming anxiety. The powers of the unconscious in repressed memories of alleged sexual traumas of early childhood and inhibited aggression from the civilization's "impinged" frustrations (Ananke--necessity) involve the study of correlational clusters of variables in the origins of neurosis.

Overdetermination.

2. SUBLIMATION. The child at birth is born polymorphous perverse--sexually charged his/her whole life. His sexuality must be socialized in order to raise a compliant and functional adult for the work world who will reproduce his kind to perpetuate civilization.

3. MEDICAL MODEL. Mental illness need not have an organic cause. He challenged the medical model in psychiatry successfully after a period of resistance not only to his ideas but toward his Jewish origins.

4. SEX AND AGGRESSION. Eros and Thanatos battle for the ego and its instinctual economy. He pointed out that the fusion of sex and aggression can result in sadism if turned outwardly and masochism if inwardly. He indicated that the death instinct worked through this mechanism at both the individual and collective levels.

5. TRANSFERENCE/COUNTERTRANSFERENCE. A "talking through" therapy works in which you recover lost memories by recreating in the office by the trained psychoanalyst a "new" edition of the old conflict. Transference and counter-transference relate to the economy of the recovery. You resolve the childhood and even archaic conflicts by giving the ego the enhanced strength to reality test. Freud effected his own recovery by self-analysis wherein he freed himself from his private demons. He

analyzed his own dreams and engaged in an interior dialogue where he overcame his own resistances by auto-suggestion and self-hypnosis in a free association of words to reconstruct the archaeology of the primal struggle with his recently deceased father (the Oedipal conflict) and his feelings of ambivalence toward him. This self-examination requires a ruthless integrity and honesty about tabooed subjects that most humankind are not capable of sustaining. Critique and even more so self-critique wound the narcissism.

6. SOCIALISM. Even if there were socialism, human nature would not change because there would still be sexual competition. In totalitarian societies, Big Brother induces paranoia because of the identification with and introjection of the values of a man of the ilk of Joseph Stalin. Stalin and Hitler wanted breeders of many offspring. In both regimes, abortion was a crime against the state. The state owns your body and disciplines it. This is yet an explosive issue in our own society and even threatens our definition of democracy and basic freedoms.

7a. NATURAL SELECTION. With respect to natural selection, heterosexual monogamy is not beneficial for the species in the process of sexual selection and the variation necessary to assure the species chances (that is its potential utility) at plentiful reproduction (principle of inheritance). Humankind is naturally inclined toward having multiple sexual partners. To deny that option produces discontent in civilization because the resultant prohibitions evoke anxiety and consequent inhibition. The death instinct then becomes stronger and is certainly central in the inclination to wage war where these traditional inhibitions against killing are removed and man can behave according to the pleasure principle. Man is the only species whose members can have an orgasm in the act of killing for pleasure.

7b. ORGANIC REPRESSION. Freud believes that there has been a process in natural selection whereby the basic sex drive itself has become involuted (atrophied) so as to assure that these heteroforward sublimated instincts can be redirected toward work and sociable behavior in groups. Species' repression ensues. There arises an inherited species given taboo against killing the father in the male child in order to sleep with the mother. This is not necessarily literally true, but at least the nuclear inclination is there through our phylogenetic unconscious. The murdered father/totem is rendered a demigod who later modeled monotheism: A God in the heavens who sends his Son on earth to die for our sins. The church ultimately creates the libidinal ties of socialized sexuality in the community of believers (the murdering Oedipal horde), however tenuous the ties. These ties have a suppressed homoerotic undertone in a libidinal brotherhood, needed nevertheless to build civilization.

8. MESSIANIC WORLD VIEW. The forces of Eros and Thanatos struggle for hegemony in the individual and his social units. Freud realized the dangers of racism and saw that Stalin and Hitler embodied a threat to civilization and Enlightenment reason. There is a messianic strain in Freud. He admired Moses as the lawgiver, as was Freud the lawgiver on the commandments of the unconscious. The Jews through their suffering embody the universal class. The life of the mind becomes a dominant theme in Jewish culture. Historically, they were barred from most of the usual professions by both religious and political anti-Semitism. This relentless persecution over two millennia, in Europe mainly, to this day gives them an "epistemically privileged" position to speak on ethical matters for the general humanity--a perspective not available to others because they embody the status quo and its parochial self-interests with all its historic abuses. Freud was very sensitive to his Jewish--ness and that of his besieged circle of followers. He tried to co-opt Carl Jung. Jung "betrayed" his teachings and became a fellow traveler with the National Socialists. Jung is to psychology what Heidegger is to philosophy.

9. PSYCHOANALYSIS AS CRITICAL HERMENEUTICS. Is it a metaphysics? In other words, is it grounded in first principles that simply have to be assumed on faith? Not quite. It is certainly not a true natural science whereby if you refute one hypothesis the paradigm collapses in the Kuhnian sense. But Freud did say that psychoanalysis is open to change whenever you can find a neurobiological basis for a particular mental illness, particularly what he called simple depression and mania. He said ultimately the work of psychoanalysis will be strictly reconnaissance and then orthodox medical procedures would be instituted, which I call "soft" positivism. Psychoanalysis I see as a critical hermeneutics to deconstruct literature, art, religion, law, and even politics. Particularly, we can unmask in the ideology of hate mongering and stereotyping the constituent drives in mass hysteria involved in examining and treating the

processes of identification with the leader and the consequent introjection of his values. The love of the group heals the wounded narcissism of the marginal man of modern times.

10. PSYCHOANALYSIS AND MARXISM. My own research efforts involve an effort to combine psychoanalysis as metapsychology and Marxism as political praxis.

Example: A disturbing trend of our times is the significant increase in the diagnosis of the borderline/narcissistic personality. He is usually a marginalized male who because of structural defects in the capitalist political economy finds himself unemployed and then unemployable. He is impulsive, aggressive, sexually ambivalent, lacking in the capacity for discrimination in the boundaries between his ego and his environment, and consequently he "acts out" emotions violently against innocent third parties. He cannot express these anxiety provoking emotions appropriately in his lifeworld. He has unresolved attitudes toward acknowledging authority insofar as not accepting traditional norms of behavior.

We can trace this to his not successfully identifying with a father figure or sublimating his lack of talent into a successful career role in any of the major institutions of society: family, business, education, the army, or the church. He is an aggregate of lumpen anger. My supposition as to this type is that part of the problem is constitutional predisposition. However, I believe class and race analysis will show unemployment will precipitate the latent rage because the self-esteem of being a man in our capitalist culture is measured by his income.

His life instincts will drive him to seek a substitute gratification often in ethnocentrically defined organizations, and often with a quasi-religious basis in which there is a mass delusion in adhering to a fiction of a God who can only be articulated by a chosen and elect 'prophet', who is self-proclaimed. His followers bask surrogately in his glory. These demagogues can hysterically convert pariahs into mesmerized, compliant followers with grandiose feelings of entitlement to an unearned status in the pseudo-family which displaces traditional institutions of authority. In normal times, this partially sublimated borderline/narcissistic personality will be rendered relatively harmless to society.

In times of a great depression and/or war, he will desubliminate his transference from the idealized leader--or ego ideal--and present a criminal threat to political order. That charismatic leader (charisma being the gift of grace), possessed with the toxic will to power, can then suggest (literally hypnotize by his gaze the gullible) courses of action to take against commonly conceived, artificially created enemies: the government, helpless minorities (particularly what he perceives to be "castrating" women), international Zionism, and yes even we allegedly rootless, cosmopolitan intellectuals.

GENERAL CONCLUDING REMARKS

Freud realized that the neurotic prototype of our age cannot distinguish fact from fiction. In its relation to the political realm, the bigger the lie the more likely the bait is to be taken because well seeded lies attenuate anxiety and defy reality testing since mass man does not have the scientific training to make critical distinctions over a prolonged period of abstinent, critical evaluation. Sadly, in the end, the forced force of an argument is decided not by gentleman scholars but on the military battlefields. This potential and actuality of a war of each against all Freud realized only too well is lived in the here and now.

Marx/Darwin/and Freud Lectures: Synthesis

Marx, Darwin, and Freud present a natural selection of ideas that are a binding force; in a sense they interact in a highly erotic way. Why are they considered revolutionary thinkers in their time? Timeless classics? How do they tie together at this juncture?

Marx: Class Struggle

A revolution insofar as the single individual has no control over his historical circumstances, which are dictated by the mode of production. Hence, the individual lives in a highly alienated state: from himself, others, the product of his labor, the activity of his labor, and his species-being. He is no more than a fetish-commodity, where the human being has sold his labor power for a price in the marketplace. The abstract relationship between things replaces the social relationship between people, as the workers produce the wealth of a nation socially while the values created are privately appropriated.

Man is reduced to an animal existence where he can barely reproduce his own means of existence through the sale of his labor power for a price. This price is a fetish-commodity that in the final analysis reifies man. To redeem himself, he must submerge his identity to an organized working-class movement with an iron discipline from the vanguard elements of the bourgeoisie. There is little room for the expression of individuality and self-expression when there is a primacy of the political in which all is sacrificed to the goal of a communist revolution. Do the means overcome the end? From the historical record, we must answer yes.

If class origins condition consciousness, how did Marx and Engels emerge with a proletarian advocacy? Obviously, there are other factors than the merely material and economic.

Darwin: Natural Selection

Here there is at work the survival of the fittest, meaning that there is a general improvement in the breeding pool of a species' population, hence increasing variation in types and consequent survivability. Man is given a slap in the face because Darwin demonstrates how we are animal in nature. There is a sexual selection in which all individuals and species will die through competition. Descent by modification and continuous variation means endless, infinitesimal changes that add up to qualitative differences.

The human being has no meaning in evolution other than as a reproductive member in which the unit of analysis is a breeding population for a species. While morally unique, he is nevertheless in the scheme of biological evolution inconsequential for the survival of his species. There is a struggle for existence which is futile because invariably nature changes faster than man or any other species can adapt to a radically new environment. Even with genetic engineering, nature outsmarts man. For example, we develop a drug to kill a virus, the virus mutates, and in the end a more virulent strain arises. You might accelerate change, but the secondary effects cannot be foreseen because nature runs far ahead blindly in presenting entropic changes to the species.

Freud: The Unconscious

Man is a sexual animal who is largely driven by unconscious conflicts and even perverted desires. At a social level, there is the struggle between life (Eros) versus aggression and death (Thanatos). When frustrated as an individual, neurosis results; when collectively frustrated, war ensues. Man is driven by unconscious drives, forces, needs, and perversions of the will that are accessible only to psychoanalysis.

By examining intra-personal and family conflicts, the major problems about adulthood and adjustment can be attained by frank "talking through." A therapist is your substitute parent. By delving into early childhood traumas, mainly of seduction, you can resolve problems about dealing with authority. Authority can be abused.

Or the adult may actually have delusions that he has been abused. In a neurosis, there is thus no distinction between fact and fiction. In the Oedipus complex, the male child has fantasies about killing the father in order to have sexual relations with the mother. We can call this a phallogentric epistemology because of the consistent cultural bias toward favoring the esteemed status of males in society. There is an obvious incest taboo in civilization to preclude in-breeding. The parents must repress and socialize the child to take part in the work force. The consequent suppression of pleasure is called the reality principle; if you cannot work, you are neurotic and will be harshly judged by society. If you adjust to the work world, you will be chronically unhappy because you are denying urges to illuminate the body with life-affirming play which is really your natural state of being.

You are caught in what is known as the classic double bind—a lose/lose strategy no matter what you do; hence, human unhappiness. If you are alienated from work as Marx defined alienation, then you will truly be discontented and in a mood to rebel; however, if there is no outlet, you will develop psychosomatic illnesses. Indeed, your job can kill you. If we add Darwin, neurotic people will not succeed in the struggle for existence in society or in nature. Their family lines will die out, because deeply conflicted people tend not to reproduce. Yet, the cure rate for psychoanalysis is low, for there is resistance both by society and the individual, including still much of the medical establishment who use the medical model. If there is not a bacterial or viral origin, organic aetiology, then there cannot be a disease whatever the presenting symptoms. The idea of "childhood sexuality" is very demeaning of the innocence of children. But children by nature are "savages." They are that way naturally.

When you do not sublimate your instincts, then you have a problem. You can grow into quite a psychopath. There is at work a destructive will to power that we call aggression. If you cannot control the instincts of aggression, then the death of an organism or even a society follows as a consequence. You can will yourself to death. Aggression internalized can cause a suicide; outwardly, homicide may ensue. If you frustrate a whole nation in the case of Germany, as the allied powers did in inflicting national defeat and disgrace after World War I, the guilt resulting from the primal trauma, the sexual frustrations of a repressive society, the pent-up aggression from the Great Depression led to a collective rage against real targets or substitute and illusory enemies like the Jews.

Why the Jews? The Germans projected their own worst attributes onto a helpless minority: aggressiveness, ambitiousness, acquisitiveness, nationalism in the sense of being a historical elite with a mission and uniqueness induced a mutual antagonism. So, the Jews were easy for Germans to dislike, and, in fact, they were Germans themselves with citizenship for hundreds of years. The nonsense about the Aryan bloodlines being polluted by intermarrying with Jews resulted in the Nuremberg Racial Laws. Jews were helpless as the Germans stereotyped this minority group. Repeat a Big Lie often enough, then people eventually through sheer exhaustion learn to accept it. But how the Germans portrayed the Jews was a mirror reflection of their own inadequacies of their national psyche still traumatized by the First World War. So, jealousy and paranoia were key elements in anti-Semitism.

There was imputed to the Jews power, money, and sexuality that they did not enjoy any more than the normal population. Hence, the Germans suffered from a mass delusion. Sexual energy (the libido) was dammed up in the fruitless search for work and a stable society. When the binding forces of sexual energy were blocked, it became destructiveness, meanness, and vindictiveness, boiling over into an infantile rage and the result devolved into the Second World War in the final analysis. The Germans believed in the myth of being a superior race in competition for living space (*Lebensraum*) with other competing forces," namely the Jews and Slavs. Of course, these are not races but cultural and national groups defined by and large by language and religion. However, Hitler applied a ruthless, totalitarian Social Darwinism to these groups and tried to exterminate them to breed a new population. Nature does not work along these lines. Stalin, too, believed he could create a new communist man—Lysenko and

Lysenkoism—in which traits could be acquired through reproduction. Traits can only be inherited, not acquired.

Both Hitler and Stalin failed because they worked on doctrines of Social Darwinism and Leninism-Stalinism, respectively, in which their ideologies did not have scientific underpinnings. There are no superior races in the first hand; on the other hand, Russia suffered under an agrarian, feudal mode of production at the time of the revolution. Marx had warned that you cannot skip over stages of history in the progression of class revolutions, any more than you can skip stages in evolution as outlined by Darwin, or skip over the stage of child development and infantile sexuality as illuminated by Freud. If you try to defy the logic of nature and human nature, you will come up against class hatreds, unjust wars, and plain everyday human unhappiness with all its perversities. The outcome of such a negative world view alienated people from civilization.

Nietzsche said the heroic man is the one who knows his limits and can rise above the finite quality of life to create his own system of values over against mass man. Here we have the will to power in its finest manifestation when we look at the Righteous Gentiles. Their motivations are "overdetermined" in a blend of enlightened selfishness, empathy, social beneficence, conscience, and the will to power and the will to truth to affirm the forces of life over death.



Max Weber (1864-1920)

Marx thought of religion the opiate of the masses. Not so Weber, who wrote in his book, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*:

"No one knows who will live in this cage ('iron cage') in the future, or whether at the end of this tremendous development entirely new prophets will arise, or there will be a great rebirth of old ideas and ideal;; or, if neither, mechanized petrification, embellished with a sort of convulsive self-importance. For of the last stage of this cultural development, it might be truly said: 'Specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart; this nullity imagines that it has attained a level of civilization never before achieved'" (1958 edition, 181-82)

Weber believed that God had been killed by the forces of modernity, particularly science. The disenchantment of the world resulted; an absence of meaning inherent in life, or what Marx called self-alienation. The reenchantment with the world came with the triumph of the positivist models of science over cultural values. Science, in the Enlightenment, promised endless progress and a cornucopia of wealth attributable to the march of reason (knowledge) with no limits. With no boundaries, individuals had to create their own values out of nothing. The danger of modern times is that it leaves man on his own to make his way through the world. Science created one set of laws; another set of idiosyncratic rules formed ad hoc to provide the methodologies for the human sciences. The two worlds could not be bridged except by men of conviction and responsibility (the blend of the two emerging in the ethical man). Science, too, was divided by subjectivism. Hence, Weber believed that perspectives had to be oriented according to circumstances. Moral rules embodied both intentionalism and consequentialism for philosophies to orient the scientific researcher in the world. Even the choice of problem to be thematized had to arise out of self-willed choices, dictated by needs, some momentary and others perdurable. The will to truth was the executive agency of the moral individual to reconcile objective science and subjective culture in the real world.

Professionalism in the various disciplines and the work world created "iron cages" from which researchers, workers, and citizens could only view the world from an internalized set of rules (the self-sacrificing values of the Protestant work ethic in which the Elect succeeded in their entrepreneurial endeavors) that conformed to the dictates of predictability, calculability, and the domination of the world. Understanding (*Verstehen*) characterized the social sciences; explanation (*Erklaren*) the natural laws of the physical universe. Value-free actions in the moral domain provided the possibility of a synthesis that could engender a worldview acceptable to rational people. He achieved this apparent rapprochement through creating "ideal types" for points of view in which the will to truth asserts itself counterfactually. The constructs are ideal in the sense that they allow us to function in the world outside the roles assigned by the forces of modernity, enabling individuals to take a self-critical stance toward self while reworking the real world according to duty and intention to attain a degree of wholeness and humanity.

In politics, he wanted a civil society where virtuous men and women expressed themselves in the public domain; yet he partially contradicts himself by advocating a strong leader to impose his will on the

masses to shape their behavior according to a vocational politics. This viewpoint could be used by either the left or the right for their own purposes. In the worst cases, Georg Lukacs supported Stalin, while Karl Schmitt wholly endorsed Hitler. Weber saw the need for a strong man to deal with the impersonality and sheer weight of political power, that is, the professional bureaucracy and civil service administration entrenched within the state by positivist laws, to create a domain for praxis or free action above the mundane world. Great deeds would allow the common individual to assert his individuality in an age of the mass man. He could have his cake and eat it too, for Weber allowed for civil associations to socialize man with a common denominator in patriotism, or love of country (in this instance, Germany).

In conclusion, the "cash nexus" of Marx corresponds to the "iron cages" of Weber, with world alienation the resulting concept. The concepts complement each other. Marx wanted class struggle; Weber wanted great leaders to provide role models for civic participation that would be democratic, in a constrained sense, in a rationalized industrial society.



GEORG LUKACS (1884-1971)

Georg Lukacs was a Hungarian-born revolutionary and Marxist writer. His works dominated communist thought in the twentieth century. He tended to be of a liberal persuasion in that his concept of reification, in his classic *History and Class Consciousness* (1923), complemented Marx's formulation of alienation in his *Paris Manuscripts* (1844). In particular, there is a correspondence with Marx's formulation of the fetish-commodity in which workers sell their labor power for a wage. Hence, object/object relations substitute for social relationships in the spheres of work and civil society. The worker can never realize himself as a whole person because the capitalist has an interest only in that one factor. Labor is a factor of production and the capitalist wants to keep wages to the minimum level necessary to maximize profits. Class consciousness and so political praxis will be stifled by administrative discipline. The true power relations are obfuscated by the legal system wherein the worker has been deluded into thinking he is the equal of his capitalist employer. In legal terms, the answer is apparently yes. In reality, the answer is no because the disparities in power are hidden in the legal jargon of the sacrosanct contract. Bizarrely, this problem of the commodification of labor power arises from the social and technical division of labor that Adam Smith talked about and applauded in *The Wealth of Nations*. Smith foresaw that the stupefaction of the working man by his subdivided tasks would be a major drawback in any ethical vindication of a capitalist society. Smith saw the problem as inherent to the division of labor and in the immediate future not solvable.

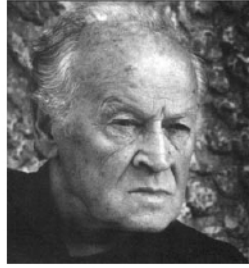
In his withering critique of capitalism's mechanical society, to which Heidegger was to respond in his 1927 classic *Being and Time*, Lukacs opens his attack with the following statement:

"We are concerned above all with the principle at work here: the principle of rationalization based on what is and can be calculated. The chief changes undergone by the subject and object of the economic process are as follows: (1) in the first place, the mathematical analysis of work-processes denotes a break with the organic, irrational and qualitatively determined unity of the product. Rationalization in the sense of being able to predict with ever greater precision all the results to be achieved is only to be acquired by the exact breakdown of every complex into its elements and by the study of the special laws governing production. Accordingly it must declare war on the organic manufacture of whole products based on the traditional amalgam of empirical experiences of work: rationalization is unthinkable without specialization." (*History and Class Consciousness*)

Lukacs wrote about aspects of the bureaucratization of life that result in its colonization by specialists. He writes from a revolutionary perspective, saying a worker's life was not worth living in a modernized and reified capitalist society. Weber, in his classic *The Protestant Work Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism*, had previously addressed the same problem from a capitalist perspective in which democratic forces open public spaces for individuals to achieve their goals in voluntary associations. Lukacs was more interested, especially in his early career, in soviets of workers, peasants, and soldiers, imitating the Russian Revolution. He eventually broke off from Stalin. Lukacs believed, in the final analysis, that socialism as a cause could only be justified if it protected the rights and integrity of the worker. Stalin's bureaucracy

destroyed it in a state capitalist totalitarian regime.

Lukacs's greatest contribution to social theory is his concept of reification, in which he explains that the totality of the capitalist society renders the individual worker self-divided. His magnum opus had a humanistic ethical flavor uncharacteristic of the communist ideologues of his time. For his courage to stand up to Stalin, he is to be commended, asking forgiveness of the erring days of his youth. Heidegger, his lifetime nemesis, lacked that integrity. As for the intellectual class, including philosophers, Lukacs says they are just as much affected by overspecialization, that departments at a university really abide by different political grammars and narratives reflecting diverging economic interests. Likewise, he damned the fourth estate for selling out to economic interest groups rather than unmasking the powers behind the scene, and thus writing pulp.



Mihailo Marković (1923-2010)

In his brilliant paper "The Idea of Critique in Social Theory" (1983), Mihailo Marković scolds the Frankfurt School theorists for taking one aspect of the dialectic in Marx, the so-called superstructural in which consciousness is examined, to the exclusion of the socioeconomic conditions that create distorted power relationships in human society and in the so-called international comity of nations. Marković seeks transcendence in praxis where individuals make their own human condition by elaborating needs, talents, and aptitudes hitherto not revealed in the historical evolution of humankind. Marković succinctly says:

"Thus power [domination—author's interpolation] gives rise to an emancipatory interest which guides critical social science. The concept of critique that derives from such a scheme is a very narrow concept. ...The question arises, of course, how a social critique can be thoroughgoing and radical enough if it does not see the roots of distorted speech in those political and economic structures that support social relations of domination and exploitation."

Marković, in his writings, is deeply influenced by the early Marx of the *Paris Manuscripts* (1844) and critiques Habermas's interests of technical, practical, and emancipatory. Habermas had it right in saying unless you can free men from their own worst instincts and bring them to the light of self-consciousness, there can be no moment of liberation. Liberation starts with self-critique. Habermas is now a good European; Marković, in his praxis of the 1990s shockingly, reverted to a Serbian nationalism. Habermas transcended himself; Marković in the end, aligned himself with his tribe. I too plead guilty as a Jewish nationalist who believes in being of the "chosen people" often to the derision of so-called Gentiles. Habermas is truly post-ideological, free of mythic allegiances that promote endless cycles of violence through the ages. Paradoxically, I still adhere to Enlightenment ideals, hoping the day will come when I will be emancipated from my Old Testament narcissism with its Talionic laws, based on the atavism of blood and soil.

Marković asks poignant questions.

"What *limitations* are we talking about here? These are *first* limitations in the description and explanation of reality, *second*, limitations in the interpretation of the meaning of that reality, *third*, limitations in reality itself."

The Enlightenment ideals preclude assumptions that make reality ultimately finite, somehow "in itself" and eschatological. If that were the case, the human project would come to an end in terms of entertaining a principle of hope that a better world is in the making inherently in the natural and social selection processes. Descriptions of reality are always being changed and enhanced; interpretations of meaning always automatically entail further critiques in the ideal speech community with the unforced force of the better argument prevailing in an eschaton of truth telling that does exist in the praxis of the human condition. And last, limitations in reality are only momentary because if there is a dialectic in history reality always evolves with enhanced human communications. Communication itself is a form of praxis that incorporates the totalities in nature and human nature.

Marković partially contradicts himself later in the paper, as his attack on Habermas continues:

"*first* a social researcher cannot completely succeed in "putting himself into brackets" as a practical being, interested member of community; *second*, that various kinds of values orient our research all the time, and that critique is implicit in all phases of inquiry."

Value creations de novo define humans as existentially revolutionizing the world each day by transforming it, first in visions and then in monumental projects. I believe Habermas integrates the three spheres of life very well through his linguistic critique of the world of symbols that humans fashion as they work through the world in which they find themselves, always in sui generis historical circumstances. These projects either adapt or die, in a struggle to find their own truth, mediated by culture and society.

I agree with Marković in the following statement:

"There is an evolving human identity that remains continuous in all historical transformations. To preserve and further develop this identity, to create historical conditions for equally bringing to life this potential for praxis in all individuals—constitutes the highest good, and the basic ground for critical evaluation of social reality."

There is a point to be made at this juncture, Marković implies. To wit, individuals are always transforming themselves and realizing their human potential. The issues of praxis involve how you make it a mass movement. Too often, changes are initiated by the intellectual class who have no institutional or real-world connections with ordinary folk. That is why so often their writings appear so oddly elitist, when the authors certainly do not intend such disdain of the people. Who reads these works? They are other intellectual workers who have a dialogue among themselves, betraying the marginal interest groups they putatively claim to represent. The tool for a great change lies in the information revolution. A mechanism must be found to distribute human capital to all citizens, with the hardware made affordable or accessible. That is the main route to emancipation of human interests that I see as realistically in our hands to refashion.

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Faculty of Arts and Sciences

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY CN

December 23, 1981

RONALD SCHINDLER

I should like to strongly support; Dr. Ron Schindler for both research and teaching jobs.

I have known him since October 1972. He has attended several of my courses in social and political philosophy and worked with me as a teaching assistant in one of my graduate seminars. Since then I have been in contact with him, have followed his work on a doctoral dissertation and have read a series of his papers on the problems of contemporary psychology.

His philosophical and scientific culture is very impressive: he covers literature from a broad field of humanities; social and political philosophy, individual and social psychology, political science, psychoanalysis and psychiatry. He reads German and has excellent knowledge of European intellectual trends: Hegel and Hegelian tradition, Schopenhauer, Marx, Nietzsche, Frankfurt School, Lukacs, Freud, Husserl, contemporary phenomenology, Heidegger, Sartre, hermeneutics, structuralism. And yet with all his enormous intellectual curiosity and openness for different cultural traditions he could not be described as a mere erudite, or collector of ideas. He has a selective independent mind and a remarkable capacity for synthetic, creative thinking which cannot be found very often in our age of narrow specialization and purely instrumented analysis.

His intellectual capacities have fully come to expression in his doctoral dissertation on The Frankfurt School Critique of Capitalist Culture. This is a very comprehensive work of almost monumental proportions covering such issues as: emergence of dialectical intelligence in German philosophy, theory of reification, false consciousness, contemporary modalities of alienated consciousness, phenomenology of language, theory of practice and the problem of communicative competence. The focus of the work is analysis of the contemporary critical theory in its various ramifications. The mere size of the work (517 pages) does not really express its full scope since the writing is very compressed and metaphorical. The most impressive feature of the work is a creative blending of the results of different inquiries and schools of thought--something that becomes increasingly scarce and important in our present day technical civilization.

During the last two years Dr. Schindler has produced several papers on psychology, psychological methods and techniques of therapy, medical models. What I find most valuable in them is the author's ability to study specialized problems within a broad social and psychological context.

As a teacher Dr. Schindler was able to keep a good contact with students, always ready to help them and to direct them in the literature even when they were not enrolled in a course. On the other hand he was firm and demanding high standards of working discipline.

This suggests that he would be not only an extremely well informed research worker; but also a very good university teacher.

For all these reasons, I would like to warmly recommend him.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Mihailo Marković". The script is cursive and fluid, with a prominent initial 'M' and a long, sweeping tail on the 'v'.

Mihailo Marković
Visiting Professor in the University of Pennsylvania
Professor in the University of Belgrade



Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869-1948)

Politics and religion fused: *Homo religioso*, according to Eric Erikson's *Gandhi's Truth*. Dr. Erikson (1902-1994) was a psychoanalyst.

Gandhi presented five challenges to his political opponents

1. He challenged the Eurocentrism of the colonial powers.
2. He challenged Western materialism. He said people had false needs and were addicted to corrupt, Western ways.
3. He challenged Christian supremacy, arguing for religious pluralism.
4. He challenged political realism and Machiavellian politics that emphasized violent solutions to sociopolitical and economic problems. His thesis was civil disobedience or passive resistance to aggressors.
5. He challenged the knowledge or epistemology and aesthetic values of the West, saying there was a simpler economic life to be led in the villages and that science could not answer questions of morality.

Gandhi's program is a constructive program. In the Western tradition of politics, truth and governmental practice have not been a primary virtue. One has only to think of the prescriptions of Plato, Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Carl Schmitt to realize our theorists have invariably thought the masses are too stupid to have the knowledge to will the truth, particularly in politics. Too, in an era of special interest group politics and political action committees, the truth has been redesigned by the advertising industry and the consulting firms. Truth has been put into the service of power politics. The truth has been rendered ideological and a tool of the hegemonic ruling group. Thus, Gandhi's Truth is not the operational and practical truths of capitalist civilization.

BIG LIE: The bigger the lie, the more it is believed. It shows the gullibility of people before authority. People are predisposed toward infantile thoughts since these ideas soothe the wounded narcissism in having to adapt to the punishing work ethic of capitalist civilization. Gandhi simply did not and could not realize that the axiom of the Big Lie is the foundation of modern day Realpolitik.

What are the issues of Gandhi's program?

1. What is the relationship between Hindus and Muslims? Hindus and Christians?

2. Untouchability?—a caste system in India that is one of the most backward in the world.
3. Prohibition on alcohol. Is it practical?
4. He had a labor theory of value in which he advocated home spinning and weaving with village industries. Too, he advocated village sanitation as the mortality rate in India is one of the highest in the world.
5. He was for the emancipation of women.
6. He advocated strikes against owners but was not a socialist insofar as he did not believe the workers should seize the ownership of the means of production or violently overthrow the state. Basically, he was for cooperation.

He was influenced by Henry David Thoreau and Count Leo Tolstoy.

III.

He espouses the doctrine of satyagraha in which there is passive resistance or civil disobedience to unlawful authority. Satyagraha is the grasp of truth or soul force. It is war without physical violence which is a form of controlled aggression. He called it love, but it really was a driving will to power based on the search for truth that led to the takeover of power. He did not see the British as taking part in India's future as equals. This inability to compromise when you have The Truth accounts, in part, for India's backwardness. His program can be called one of proactive passive resistance or civil disobedience--but he got right into your face through using the world media to shame the English. He was very successful.

He was for the common people and the weak--but one must be highly ethical and disciplined by denying the body material goods and even biological nourishment.

IV. South African Climax (1913-1914)

By early 1913, the Indians in South Africa had three main grievances: a ban on Asian immigrants, a three pound annual tax to be paid by each indentured laborer who remained in South Africa as a free man, and a court decision holding that only Christian marriages were legal. Using the principles of non-violent struggle, he led a miners' strike. He was arrested several times. As a final outcome, the Indian Relief Act, which went into effect on July 1914, made non-Christian marriages valid, abolished the three pound tax on indentured laborers who remained in Natal, banned the importation of indentured laborers from India after 1920, and allowed Indians born in South Africa to enter the Cape Colony, although Indians could not move freely from one South African province to another. It was a partial victory which satisfied him because he believed the gains were only tactically a victory as he entertained the idea of a long-term struggle for equality.

He fought in the name of the British Constitution, which bound the Empire together, for its ideals contradicted English practices. Hence, he shamed the rulers in England and South Africa before the world to attain his political goals.

V. Indian Home Rule

He rejected modern civilization with its factories and mines, which he said turned men into beasts. This critique is not necessarily true. It can be a very reactionary statement which if fully implemented will make a country permanently backward and uncompetitive in world markets. You have a moral obligation to help your people have a baseline of material satisfaction and the hedonistic good life if it is within the resources, capabilities, and talents of the people.

He called civilization a disease, particularly the English. This statement is racist and ethnocentric. The English brought the rule of law and rationalized administration to a chaotic country. There were definite benefits. He called the Parliament of England its epitome of corruption. But the English Parliament has

been one of the most progressive in the world with centuries' long political stability, prosperity, and representative government given to its people and its dominions.

Gandhi said that true civilization is "good conduct"—but that is a relativist statement, depending upon the state of the material means of production.

Poverty is a virtue. This statement is absurd and reactionary. Look at the ghettos. Tell people that and see what the response would be.

He believed in restoring a lost time by establishing the cottage industries, in which there was a time of simplicity of labor. He particularly thought weaving had a soothing effect on the spirit. Again, this statement is nonsense and reactionary. It would lead to the inability to advance the national interest and endanger the national security. After all, India does have nuclear weapons to defend herself against Pakistan and China.

He said machines put people out of work. No, machines put people to work and make them more productive in an era where there is the internationalization of the forces of capital and its distribution. If you have no machines, you will not have the developed tax base to support a viable government in an age of Realpolitik.

He wanted only indigenous education with Hindi the sole language. This is impossible given that knowledge is a highly competitive commodity in which you must have access to the language and cultures of all civilizations to compete in the struggle for existence among nation-states.

Cities are focal points of sin. Yes, but you cannot have civilization and the products of a viable body politic without concentrating people in metropolitan areas in an age of late capitalism. If you distribute the citizens in the countryside, you will never be able to use scarce resources and talents to the best possible effect in promoting the welfare of your citizens.

He said it is unmanly to obey unjust laws. You must fear God and not government. Our founding fathers said you must respect God in private and render rational compliance to legitimate and authoritative government if there is to be a balance between freedom and equality with the vigorous participation of an educated and well-fed electorate. What is manliness?

Quote: "After a great deal of experience it seems to me that those who want to become passive resisters for the service of the country have to observe perfect chastity, adopt poverty, follow truth, and cultivate fearlessness. Manliness is applying reason and will to make the environment conform to your moral sense of how reality can be shaped proactively, not reactively."

You can't give in to your passions. Contradicts what we know about human nature and the fragility of civilization.

He says give your money away; otherwise, you cannot be chaste. He wants to recreate the conditions of a primitive communal communism, in which there is an equality of squalor, poverty, and ignorance. You can't be noble if you live at the level of an animal. You need to amass capital in order to develop national power which is the first order of business of a newborn state. To do that, your citizens must be making money in order to be taxed. You cannot simply print money and not produce. Marx said you cannot go against the laws of historical materialism and restore a lost era without being irrational and self-destructive. Russia, as a peasant society in 1917, illustrated that point poignantly.

He said force and money are incompatible with Truth. He is wrong. There is the reality principle at the level of the individual, family, society, state, and civilization, which says that if you are to adapt to your environment you must have the necessary weapons to struggle. By definition, there are times when the state must have the monopoly on the means of organizing violence and fashioning a banking system if

you are to survive in the state of nature that is called world politics, let alone maintain the legitimacy and orderliness of society to maintain and reproduce itself in terms of its values, populations and ability to mobilize the masses for crises.

Quote: "We want our ancient schools and courts to be restored. The common language of India is not English but Hindi. You should learn it. We can hold communication with you only in our national language." Again, this statement is extremely reactionary because England was the dominant power in the world at the time. There is no reason, practically, why you should not know two languages and more if necessary.

Why is language such an issue? Your language has reference terms that form your national self-consciousness. Language gives you autonomy as a person and nation. He who controls language and communication has power because he can dictate how you think, which preempts the necessity often to rule by naked force. How you feel at home in the world is affected by the use of your native language and the language of the occupier. However, you can feel at home nationally and internationally by speaking and thinking in both Hindi and English. They are not mutually exclusive as Gandhi would like his followers to believe.

He vehemently rejects the material goods of England. Such an attitude if created in the national political economy would generate massive unemployment in India. She cannot compete today in the international marketplace because she is not worldly with her peasant mentality prevailing in most of the country. Of course, at that time, there was The Manchester System in which India was being exploited for raw materials. But even in independence, Gandhi rejected machines, the forces of production in science and technology, and wealth. India suffers today because Gandhi made a virtue out of necessity.

What are his political goals?

1. Home-rule

2. Soul force or satyagraha was to be both means and ends to the problem of politics. To grasp truth is to be free. I think that is a naive, peasant viewpoint.

3. He entertained the concept of Swadeshi, which means you are to use only the goods made in India. Autarky is a reactionary doctrine that leads one to boycott goods from other nations and consequently you have trade wars that might lead to general warfare. He is again too idealistic and reactionary. He did not understand the nature of the modern state and the international division of labor.

4. He asks the English to remove the salt tax, restore native money, give the highest posts to the Indians, and to withdraw her troops. Indians are not to use machine-made goods and the language of the British administration because they tied into economic and ideological domination. He said that the English civilization is corrupt because of its emphasis on the body and its basis on military might and not righteousness. But these are the arguments of the weak and meek. As Freud said the injunction of Love Thine Enemy is a humanitarian ideal that goes against the laws of self-preservation when confronted by an enemy who truly is a hateful psychopath. Churchill is not Hitler or Stalin. The ultimate goal is Swaraj or self-government.

VI. The Untouchables

There can only be national salvation through the farmer and not the professional classes. Agriculturists are seventy-five percent of the population. They are not corrupted by civilization of the English, and even though ignorant, poor, and starving, they are nonetheless more pure and virtuous in spirit and soul.

How do you cleanse yourself? His moral and political unit was the Ashram, which is religious. You do several things there to prepare yourself for a life of service and selflessness.

1. Take a vow of Truth. What is truth? It is a lifestyle in which you deny the physical world.

2. Ahimsa--you do not kill to attain a political or personal goal. Too demanding if you are in a position where your personal survival is at stake in a political fight to the finish. You are forbidden even to think of evil toward another. He admits it is an ideal. Human nature by its very definition is violent and is a process of containing evil by civilization and its institutions. People naturally have evil thoughts towards others; otherwise, you would not have the will to power even to begin the search for truth, like Freud. He conceived of psychoanalysis by his own understanding of the aggression he felt toward his father. He was his own first patient. Too, according to Darwin, the instinct to kill is a trait of natural selection, enhancing the species' adaptability to change in the environment. We are natural born killers who are not always lovers. Pure thoughts are foreign to human nature.

3. Vow of Celibacy. You must marry without lust. However, we know from psychology that to enjoy mental health you must exercise your libido. It is for saints to totally sublimate sexuality. Bramacharya is the doctrine of physical self-purification.

4. Vow of the Control of the Palate. He said food stimulates your animal passions. It is a sign that civilization has taken hold. In actuality, we are animals in the makeup of our natures. You need protein simply to work effectively. Again, we call this the reality principle and a principle of natural selection.

5. Non-Thieving. He said just take enough for oneself, which is the fundamental law of nature. There is some resemblance to John Locke. But Locke said we can produce surpluses in order to exchange goods which we cannot practically make.

Gandhi included the "Vow of Non-Possession" under this principle of non-thieving. However, this precept can be considered the ethic of the weak and the underdeveloped nations in which you submit to the laws of necessity and make negatives virtues. There is naiveté in such thinking because the world is now too complex to ignore it. The world will come to you whether you like it or not. Why Freud called religion a delusion; it leaves you stripped of the powers to resist bullies, imperialists, and genocidal killers.

Education Through the Vernaculars

It is one's duties to learn all of India's various dialects. It is a matter of national pride and the start of the process of national integration of often diverse and hostile tribes.

The Vow of Khaddar is to spin with one's own hands so as to honor manual labor.

There is to be a Religious use of Politics.

Politics is the art of rationally using and centralizing the means of violence to attain goals. Love weakens the will for critical challenges.

VII. Organized labor is more dictatorial than capital. Labor must know its place. The laborers should suffer to reform their masters to create a family feeling. If you are unjustly treated, you should resign. Reading Marx would have been a good antidote to this sheer nonsense. He does not understand the master/slave relationship of work: force needs to be countered by force when the fruits of your labor are stolen. Period. That is the chronicle of history. He does, however, argue for the nationalization of labor-saving machinery out of love for all the people.

There is a hierarchy of four castes.

Brahmin: the person who has knowledge

Kshatriya: the rulers

Vaishya: traders and farmers

Sudra: those who labor

The Untouchables are not even part of this system for they have status neither through lineage nor

occupation. They are the pariahs or Scheduled Castes.

Quote: "Two of the strongest desires that keep me in flesh and bones are the emancipation and the protection of the cow. When these two desires are fulfilled there is Swaraj, and therein lies my own Moksha [salvation]."

What is Orthodox Hinduism?

1. Belief in scriptures and divine incarnations and rebirth.
2. Belief in "Cow Protection"—"mother" to millions of Indians.
3. "Idol-worship"—pagan element.
4. Four standards of innocence (purging the senses to achieve spiritual bliss), truth, self-control, and renunciation of all wealth.
5. God is Oneness with an affirmation of rebirth and salvation.
6. Hinduism is not a missionary religion.

Gandhi believed in caste because it was inherent in human nature. Laws of heredity determine occupational and patrilineal status. Hence, he was not an egalitarian. Duties are conferred, not privileges to caste membership. A caste member does not have the right to be or act superior. More theory than practice.

Quote: "I do not believe in the exclusive divinity of the Vedas [religious hymns]. I believe the Bible, the Koran, and the Zend Avesta [Zoroastrian scriptures] to be as much divinely inspired as the Vedas." He will reject any Hindu scriptures repugnant to his moral sensibilities because scriptures are based on interpretations through the ages, though divinely inspired. So he contradicts himself. Religion has always evolved according to historical circumstances to be relevant at the particular time at hand. It undergoes descent by modification of its tenets in a process of natural selection. Memetics.

Religion, in the end, rationalizes economic necessity and the status quo. Much hypocrisy and delusional thinking go into making a religious system. Whether directly or not, religion as an institution with a dependent economic tie to the power base tends to play people for "suckers." Yes, please be exploited, and you will be reincarnated in a higher form in another life is the metaphysical basis for Hinduism.

Needless to say, many Indians with a scientific mind do not take to the line of thinking.

Quote: "Ideally, however, I would rule out all machinery, even as I would . . . seek the absolute liberation of the soul. From that point of view I would reject all machinery; but machines will remain because like the body, they are inevitable. The body itself ... is the purest piece of mechanism; but if it is a hindrance to the highest flights of the soul it has to be rejected!" He means both the body and machinery. The doctrine is mystical and nihilistic since it works toward a cessation of all intellectual and animal sensibilities in the name of abstract moral ideals that cannot be given a material mediation to the suffering masses. He demands standards of self-denial that are virtually sadomasochistic and work against the laws of human nature, which are to fulfill desire, not deny it. It is man's natural obligation to fulfill his lustful desires to be mentally and physically healthy. Self-renunciation leads to the oceanic feeling of oneness with the universe; it makes no sense to voluntarily succumb to the death instinct in the name of the abstractions of Hinduism.



Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929-1968)

President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. "Letter from Birmingham Jail" (1963).

He believed in nonviolent, direct-action programs with cooperation with whites in a full partnership, unlike Gandhi who loathed English civilization. He said there was an inescapable network of mutuality to achieve justice in our society.

King had Four Basic Steps to achieve Non-Violence

1. collect facts to see if there is an injustice
2. negotiation
3. self-purification (Gandhi: satyagraha)
4. He believed in direct action with sit-ins, marches, and economic boycotts in addressing a crisis in order to bring an injustice to a resolution by negotiation. Inherent in the technique is shaming, like Gandhi, by bringing in the media to magnify the nature of the struggle.

Groups, including churches, tend to be more immoral than individuals because the individual transgressor cannot hide from moral responsibility. That is why people seldom do evil alone. Discrimination with violence has largely been done by mob actions, particularly lynchings, in the frenzy of hate crimes.

Quote: "Justice too long delayed is justice denied." If people are in pain, then the body politic is diseased; hence, treatment must intervene to save the whole.

King said there is a "nobodiness" of being black in America that is psychologically traumatizing, necessarily inducing resentment toward whites. There are major problems of caste, class, and race in the United States that people do not mention publicly. They discuss them among their own tribes and clans, usually small gatherings of intimates where attitudes are shared for the sake of peace and social solidarity. People do not wish to assume personal responsibility for the fact that, if not overtly racist, they are racist de facto by keeping silent when prejudice manifests itself.

Scapegoating by stereotyping, creating false composite pictures of the other, is a lightning rod for personal frustrations, but in the long run it breaks down democracy by pitting the weak against the weak rather than uniting to solve common problems of the work environment in which you take on the power structure. It is easier to kick someone who is already down than to take on the real bullies. Oppressed people tend subtly to assimilate stereotypes into their self-identities, and such a demeaning process can damage self-esteem and the ability to lead a happy and stress-free life. So being on the outside feeds on

itself in an ever widening cycle of despair: you are disenfranchised and disempowered because you do not have the means to attack a system and its values let alone its authorized representatives.

St. Augustine: "An unjust law is no law at all." King said there is a right to resist. An unjust law is a human law not rooted in the law of God—but what are the laws of God on race? Human indignation over racial slights is pitted against human laws to make new human laws like the civil rights legislation in 1964 and 1965. Again, simply saying we are God's children does not necessarily change political relationships based on who has the power.

If to change a law is not in your economic self-interest, these religious appeals will fall on deaf ears. In America, there has recently been a mixture of religion and politics, usually by accentuating differences, such as over abortion. Religion has had a history of dividing more than reconciling different groups. Look at the former Yugoslavia. Because of their ignorance, people see difference as threatening their interests rather than enriching their lives with new contacts. It is based on a Malthusian assumption of competition for scarce goods and services. This doctrine emerged as Social Darwinism and still enjoys widespread popularity. It is the doctrine of racism.

Segregation: The "I-it" relationship replaces the "I-thou" relationship. King takes this analogy from the Jewish theologian Martin Buber. Racial hatreds make the weaker party an object of contempt by falsifying the person's representation as less than human to the general populace. Jews had a bad press in the world during the 1930s and 40s. Now, they often own the means of communication and project a better image of themselves as philanthropists and educators, not the old portrayal as communists and bankers engaged in a world conspiracy to take over the world. The black male has been presented as an embodiment of criminality rather than a victim of historical circumstances, from which it is hard to liberate oneself without help from proactive civil rights workers. It is ironic that Jews once were in the forefront of the civil rights movement, but they have fallen out over the issue of Palestinians and economic control of neighborhoods.

The racial laws were unjust because the blacks had no part in making them since they were denied due process in registering to vote.

Quote: "One who breaks an unjust law must do so openly, lovingly, and with a willingness to accept the penalty." This disobedience pays the highest respect to the spirit of the law, not just the substance, which can be false and iniquitous. A just law applies to all and thus is universal.

Dr. King takes issue with white moderates who have a mythical, paternalistic concept of time: the patronizing attitude that things will right themselves of their own accord. In the end, passivity only reinforces the status quo. In Hitler's Germany, the Jews were told to sit tight because there would be an army coup to overthrow Hitler if he became too aggressive. Hitler used that time of indifference to murder his political opponents and deport the Jews to Auschwitz.

There is a connection between the temporal world and politics, particularly if you want to be a survivor you must know when to act decisively, even violently. Hitler certainly is an argument for tyrannicide. Hannah Arendt says there are "enemies of mankind" who are a threat to humanity; hence, they must be killed as a moral imperative to guarantee the world's international security. Saddam Hussein exemplifies an "enemy" of mankind needed to be seized and tried for war crimes, conspiracy to commit war, and crimes against humanity.

King was caught between black appeasers, who argued for capitulation to the status quo, and the militant black nationalists of the Nation of Islam, who argued for separation. He realized that both, if carried to an extreme, would lead to racial suicide. The whites are the social environment; to survive, you must reach an accommodation with white moderates. Dr. King was for integration because he believed there was power in the diversity of numbers if in unity. He realized mainstream America is a middle-class, centrist coalition of voters.

He went for the majority rule of the centrists in order to attain power. He even convinced President

Johnson of his being right. American citizens will buy a gradualist approach to social change, particularly if they are shown how it will lead to more economic prosperity.

Black labor built the initial capital formation of the nation for centuries. The compound interest to be paid in the economic and political dividends in substantive equality is now due. The Lockean and natural right to appropriate the fruits of your stolen labor is a moral imperative that should be part of America's agenda. But you need the power. The power can only come from numbers of people united in coalitions with a clear-cut program to change the power relationships if manifestly unjust.

There are many white Americans who cannot get the good life in this country because of discriminatory classist practices. Hence, there are many discontented groups who do not yet trust each other enough to build bridges of understanding. On the basis of class, caste, and gender discrimination, there is a basis to articulate grievances in a multicultural politics. How you frame the questions for the next century will determine whether the middle class, which is the backbone of American democracy, can survive in the near future.



QUOTE FROM AUGUSTINE'S CITY OF GOD (354-430)

For, of course, no one would dare to believe or declare that it was beyond God's power to prevent the fall of either angel or man. But, in fact, God preferred not to use His own power, but to leave success or failure to the creature's choice. In this way, God could show how both the immense evil that flows from the creature's pride and also the even greater good that comes from His grace. (p.321)

St. Augustine lived from 354 to 430 A.D. Other than the City of God, he is known for his Confessions. Augustine is the key transitional figure between the end of antiquity and the beginnings of the Middle Ages. Too, he is considered the founding father of what became the papacy, as the Vicar of God on earth. He wrote the City of God in response to the widespread belief that Christianity, with its morality of the weak, brought down the Roman Empire by subverting martial virtues. Augustine was of the opinion that it made no difference what form of government a people endured, for it was just punishment for original sin. Too, what was life when measured against eternal time? Augustine justified slavery as just punishment for his animal existence and human values, though he did prefer governments that improved the religious character of their citizens. He also argued for the defense of property, even if stolen, as right because it was most important to keep order in civil society through the laws. Justice is the love of God, not earthly goods. Rome fell not because of Christianity but because of its worship of false gods and hence its impious, pagan virtues that pivoted on ambition and hubris. He acknowledged that indeed Rome produced a great civilization by earthly standards, but measured against the City of God there could be no real comparison. He believed that people should be forced to be free, that is converted to Christianity. In this evangelical militancy lay the seed of future intolerance when the communion of true believers emerged as a bureaucratic Church with hierarchy, engendering the quest for wealth, the imposing of dogma, and the inspiring of ambition to be a worldly secular power that then set out on campaigns for military glory and self-enrichment. Note: This will be a theme in Machiavelli. Augustine believed that the earthly city and the divine city could be reconciled only if the former deferred to the latter. That set of views still constitutes the world view of Roman Catholicism.

I wish that we be concerned how this quotation affects the manner in which we live on the earthly city, namely in a political society. Ethics concerns good conduct. Given the fall from Adam, expelled from the Garden of Eden, is it possible to be a good man and a good citizen, with free choice and liberty, in a fallen state of grace? Are we all damned if we do not give ourselves completely to God, since the pursuit of earthly virtues, entailing the quest for glory and power, results in sin? Let us use what we know about free will and freedom to construct a society where God and man can coexist in this temporal world until the Day of Judgment. What would this political society look like? Remember the Earthly City was founded by Cain; the City of God by God's sacrifice to mankind in Jesus the Christ. Augustine considered the earthly city merely a pilgrimage of man through a vale of tears for a few seconds compared to eternal time that is forever in perpetuity. Thus, the function of the political is to shape man into a better creature to prepare him for the Day of Judgment. He could never achieve salvation through the political but only risk damnation by pursuing glory, money, and praise on this earth. That is why Rome fell because of these pagan virtues, which to a true Christian is anathema. But the true Christian is not meek. He might have to fight a just war to preserve the earthly city because it prepared men on a lower level to meet his Maker.

Americans live in a republic where the three branches of government check power with power to limit it. Can we have a great republic, with our worship of domination and the almighty dollar, which is compatible with God's grace? If so, what we citizens have to do to be free of sin? If you reject Augustine's Roman Catholicism, are we all beyond redemption? Are there grounds for a revolt against an "unjust" government that reflects the majority's will but defies God's sovereignty? Augustine did not believe in man's rationality, as did Enlightenment thinkers. He had a dark view of human nature in which evil collided with the good. You could never triumph on earth. Hence, you needed the grace of God to attain the City of God. Hence, Augustine was relatively indifferent to forms of government; rather he concerned himself with your human nature and how you fought against your inner demons.

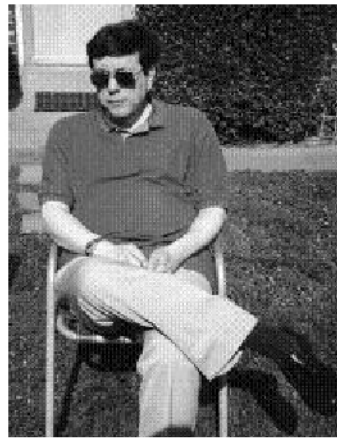
The key idea is that of grace. It is not so much a matter of doctrines per se, but rather if in our pursuit of life's everyday goods, we still honor God. The goods for which we quest can be a means to purify ourselves for eternal time. For instance, St. Augustine uses the example of education to demonstrate that a person can be made more ethical. Is that why we pursue higher education? Though of a lesser magnitude, Augustine would allow man to pursue earthly goods, so long as the intent was worthy. The rule of the people on earth can be a preparation, a purgatory, for the City of God, where in a commonwealth of like-minded people, who have been saved, they necessarily live in a state of beatitude.

Let us say you live in an outright tyranny such as Hitler's Germany, which was manifestly evil in its state policies. Must you submit your will to the National Socialist Party or to Him? If to Him, then have you grounds for tyrannicide?

In the Kingdom of God, there is perpetual peace and a hierarchy of beings, which climax in the lordship of Him. This vision can be hardly said to be democratic. Might it be used to justify a strong man in a multicultural state whereby there is a hierarchy of beings to those who submit to the authority of an all knowing person, who very well might be the Anti-Christ?

Augustine greatly influenced Hannah Arendt in the twentieth century because of his investigations and disquisitions on the nature of free will and good and evil.

Lecture on WORK AND POLITICS and GOOD AND EVIL



An Interpretation of Hannah Arendt

Dr. Ronald Schindler

In her Human Condition, Hannah Arendt broke down the concept of working to three levels that can be detailed as follows of labor, work, and action. Read a penetrating quotation from this text, below.

"But the background of actual political experience, at least from Plato to Aristotle, remained so strong that the distinction between the spheres of household and political life was never doubted. Without mastering the necessities of life in the household neither life nor the 'good life' is possible, but politics is power for the sake of life. As far as the members of the *polis* are concerned, household life exists for the sake of the 'good life in households'."

1. Labor involved the creation of the means for sustaining your life and reproducing it. Pain and suffering are entailed in the work world, along with psychological alienation. This description can be considered compatible with the Marx of the Paris Manuscripts. Activities become routine and involve the rationalization of activities; the administration of things impersonally by bureaucracy and the monetization of the life world where World Alienation ensues in which Man is estranged from his conditions of life characterizes our present day situation. Man becomes nothing more than a biological animal at work, even when the means of production become socialized after the manner of Marx. Witness Stalin's Soviet Union in which there was an equality in poverty as the most extreme example.

2. Students have privileged access to knowledge and life opportunities of upward class and race mobility to think about fundamental values. This creates the freedom to form social contracts according to natural law theory. This viewpoint has been challenged by the historical materialist approach of Marx. The existentialist philosophy allows man to create himself freely by the will to will power. Thinking per se is onanistic. Only in public, in discourse with the Other, can we truly know who we are, and then that is not a guarantee. The faculty of judging entails ethical and aesthetic evaluations as to what actions are good and what are evil. Arendt distinguishes between radical evil and banal evil. That latter term makes its appearance in Eichmann in Jerusalem and has to do with the type of bureaucratization of reason in which rules replace thinking such that a person can commit crimes against humanity and think he has done his duty in good faith. Eichmann essentially arranged the transportation for Jews to the extermination centers believing that he was doing political euthanasia on a group whom the all-powerful, totalitarian state had deemed not fit to live with. The consequence in the end was that there was a world war of good against evil in its simplest terms, the so-called just wars. At Nuremberg and Jerusalem the courts deemed that the ruling elite of National Socialist Germany were not fit to live with humanity because they were its enemies; hence, they were sentenced to death or to long terms of imprisonment.

3. Hannah Arendt allowed the epic hero to emerge in history who founds a state. This entails the principle of natality where something from nothing is created *de novo*. This concept she innovated to counter the death oriented atheism of Heidegger in his *Dasein* philosophy. To gain immortality, each individual has the opportunity at birth to render great deeds in the public forum. Upon death, the hero survives as a legend. The narrative form of history allows humans to tell his or her story to spectators in the public who render judgment. The hero wills, the public judges. Our Founding Fathers acted out of such a revolutionary sentiment to negate the old order of Europe with its traditions that impaired freedom and liberty. It was a political revolution in which people are bound by mutual pledges to start anew a constitutional order that supports freedom. Her doctrine of forgiveness allows people to make errors and repent in order to continue the political process to assure its stability. This is the principle of natality to start from new beginnings something radically new in the political domain. The French Revolution augured in the modern era with terror as an end to assure the equality of condition and remake man socially to be obedient to the political system. There is a fatal flaw in this omniscient style of thinking. There is a direct line of failed revolutions, in the image of the French model, that finally led to the totalitarian regimes of the twentieth century. Violence is the antithesis of the political. Totalitarian revolutions are the enemies of freedom because when the grand plan cannot be implemented, because of human error, the fault is not in the plan but in reasons of state that give class, race, and whole political factions blame for the contemporary ills. If men are fallible and the obstacles, the logic of social revolution leads to a war of each against all to the death of the political order in consequence. The result culminates in genocide and ecocide. Man is now destroying the planet in order to meet his elementary biological and socially conditioned needs, that are often false in their validity, to pose an unprecedented threat to the survivability of *Homo sapiens* itself.

4. Arendt regrets that thinking and action separated at the time of Socrates and Plato, but reconstituted itself during our revolutionary era. Previous to that occasion, men acted such that they exhibited *praxis* whereby there was a unity of the two in a seamless pattern. Thought *per se* turns upon itself to render oneself a strictly private individual, forfeiting the right to political participation. Such solitary existing philosophers cannot be for men of *virtu'* to model good conduct. Good conduct had to be premised upon being a good citizen who is willing to exhibit courage in battle to serve the interests of the city state. She took her concept of *virtu'* from Machiavelli's The Prince. Machiavelli wanted to have a charismatic leader unify Italy in the sixteenth century. Hence, force could be a means to an end, not the end itself, in forging a new order for Italy in which the barbarians would be expelled from the territory and nationhood would emerge in which the people would have a civil status in a defensible geographical area coincidental with nationhood. From this model, Arendt argued the necessity or *realpolitik* that made for the American and Jewish states, in different times. The creation of the Jewish state by the United Nations, but fashioned in war, was not only necessary in order to defend the survivors of the Holocaust but provided the juridical basis for a legitimate trial of Eichmann for his war crimes committed against the Jewish people from 1939 to 1945.

5. Arendt, a German Jewess exiled in the thirties, loved and admired her adapted homeland of the United States with a passion because of the nature of its founding in a compact in which there was given not just the consent of the people but a mutual pledging of lives and fortunes to effect freedom from the tyrannical motherland. The great leaders, like Washington, Jefferson, and Adams, worked for the public interest and not merely for private, selfish gains. Their works achieved a transcendent greatness. Arendt emphasized that the revolution was limited to political gains, and there consciously was not any effort to reconstruct man according to shibboleths of an idealized American that would have entailed a much longer, and probably unsuccessful outcome to the civil war within the colonies and the other between the emerging nation and Great Britain. Of course, Arendt points out that the original sin was slavery whose legacy lives with us to this day.

6. What Arendt particularly valued about the American republic was that in its founding days during the Colonial era Americans practiced participatory democracy at the local level, in which in effect there were invaluable face to face interactions and the secret ballot. The electorate were political actors, not spectators like today. She also advocated conciliar democracy for Eastern Europe in the Hungarian uprising of 1956 and the Czech Revolution of 1968. Too, she was an advocate of union power provided that its members did not have to submit to a bureaucratic machinery linked to the power structure whether capitalist democracy or European socialist. She was a strong supporter of the black civil rights movement in its nonviolent manifestations of Martin Luther King, but she avoided the Women's Movement, believing its "extremist" positions did not properly represent the everyday, American woman with more practical concerns. She was more an advocate of freedom than a rhetorician of equality because the politics of equality leads to excesses and eventually to violence that is the antithesis of the democratic, political process as she understood it. I will leave you with the final thought about promising. Promises are premised on forgiving others and ourselves for unavoidable transgression done in doing the commerce of political life. If we always sought revenge, a la Hobbes, then we could never start again anew and refashion ourselves as a work in progress. History would freeze into an eternal moment of hatred and its actors would be fixated on past wrongs with only the most dire and lethal emotions allowed to express themselves.

7. Hannah Arendt does talk about **the plurality of opinions in a world of diversity**. In politics, opinions are rendered on a judgmental basis in an interhuman context. Truths are relative, not absolute. That allows for pluralism and freedom ultimately. She has a belief in participatory democracy in a federal system wherein an active citizenry put in their inputs directly or by representation at every level of government. In the end, she is arguing for an **enlarged consciousness** by dialoguing and informed citizens who have insights into the democratic process such that their decisions are not only rational and coherent but attain the status of a **communicative community of common interests**. The universality of common sense a la Kant and the particularity of discursive will formation a la Arendt coincide in a **world, federal government** at some indeterminate time in history. But history is contingent, not absolute in the Hegelian sense. So, the human project is fraught with peril at each of its moments in the process of evolving toward an unknowable future.

In conversation, an interlocutor must maintain **respect** for his or her partner in the speech acts. The desired actions and interactions will be a **recognition** of the common sense (of community solidarity) of plural interests that conflict and blend over time. There is an assumption to agree to disagree in an institutional format that generates popular power or the will of the people on an individual basis. Power comes from great deeds and noble speech acts to inspire insightful statesmanship to overcome **world alienation**. World alienation subsumes crimes against nature and human nature such that the world can no longer exist in its plurality of differences that form the ground for freedom's possibilities.

8. Arendt certainly critiqued very negatively the social sciences, whose experts put themselves into the service of the state, in their attempt to use social theory to control the behaviors of people, who by their nature live in a world of contingency. The very teleology of the social sciences contradicts how people actually behave, and that is unpredictably because they have free will which cannot be controlled by any application of social science theory within a political mechanism. People are not automatons and by nature are fractious and oppositional. To attempt to impose controls from above can only lead to a political system based on organized terror against the people. However, there is a dark side to human nature insofar as people to opt for radical evil if they perceive personal gains that are compatible with a power addicted personality type, or the so-called authoritarian personality. The social sciences had become a tool of the state in the administration of people to act passively according to the designs of the ruling class. In social theory, she saw that this instrument of control could be used for totalitarian purposes and also, because it is value neutral, would make terror, if necessary, more rationalized. This human condition she describes as the essence of unthinkingness that can lead to catastrophes in the manipulation of nature and human nature.

9. Arendt talked about Jewishness. She described herself as a secular Jew, who did not necessarily believe in the Jewish laws of Judaism. That definition is unacceptable. Her concept of evil as 'banal' during the Eichmann Trial caused many people, Jewish and non-Jewish, to describe her as a self-hating Jew, which is not my point of view. She rejoined that she was a pariah/prophetess spurned for her blunt analysis of Jewish problems. Her sense of Jewishness was strictly political in that she believed Jews should be allowed to be accepted in state and society without being assimilated. That certainly describes the United States where Jews have either converted voluntarily or have exercised their civil rights to be Jewish. Arendt said that there were no essentialist qualities about Jewishness, such as intelligence, appearance, greediness, and so forth, rejecting and attacking stereotypes. She was a critic of Zionism and the State of Israel's policies toward Arabs that led to a system of apartheid. But she said if push came to shove and the State of Israel's existence as a homeland, rather than state, came under threat, she would throw her support with the Israelis. She criticized the imperial connection between the United States and Israel, saying that it only postponed indefinitely the Day of Reckoning when the Arabs and Jews would have to have face to face negotiations as equals without Great Power mediation. I find myself in agreement that love of the Jewish people best defines a good Jew; I would add that a passion for seeking the truth by studying philosophy is consonant with this definition.

10. *Amor Mundi*: For Love of the World. Hannah Arendt loved the world in the political sense. She knew that the emancipation for the Jew with his civil rights could only come by fighting for these rights in the public forum where there is equality of opportunity to make your case. The parvenu Jew, who retired into the concerns of the everyday in the freedom of the socioeconomic realm did so at the expense of his Jewish identity. It was to live in bad faith. Arendt had a profound realization that the socioeconomic realm harbored great inequalities of wealth and hence life opportunities that bred anti-Semitism and racism. She found racism to be the original sin of the American republic. Liberation and emancipation came with political struggle. Men and women could never be equal equal. Equality was only a moral and political possibility. There are great inherent differences between people and that bred inequality and persecution. That was to be the burden of the American republic from its inception to present times.

11. Hannah Arendt in her Eichmann in Jerusalem takes on the problem of evil. She describes it as banal in the sense that Eichmann was only a jobholder with careerist ambitions within a corrupt system of National Socialism. Per se, he seemed devoid of anti-Semitic feelings. He was a normal man. However, Eichmann used his concept of duty, derived from Kant, to say that he was only following orders. He misunderstood, in his reading of The Critique of Practical Reason, that duty entailed critically thinking and saying no to unlawful orders, such as murdering innocent people on scale, even though he was remote in terms of the actual events. He had the power to transport Europe's Jewry to their final solution. Arendt emphasized the importance of the quality of judgment, which Eichmann did not have. He was not willing to share the earth with the Jews. Might makes right. In the end, the surviving Jews did not want him to be in the community of men because he was an **enemy of mankind** to be killed at the discretion of people with a good will. The Israelis made that decision that his crimes against humanity, in particular the Jews, showed that he went beyond simply committing war crimes to murdering people not related to reasons of state, which can be an excuse to eliminate rivals by political means, that is violence. He went over into evil in that he saw whole peoples as unfit to live and less than human who were not a threat to the state; hence, he did not understand Kant because in his second categorical imperative he told people to treat others as ends and never as means for a self-centered purpose, which actually deprived Germany of its most productive thinkers and workers. The first categorical imperative said that in exercising your will and ethical judgment the individual should legislate for mankind. In such a scenario, in legislating for mankind you would not exterminate whole peoples.

Hannah Arendt attacked the Jewish Elders for not defending the Jews under their protection. They involuntarily handed over lists that doomed all assigned to it. The Elders had no choice because death would be the instantly administered by the Nazis to their Elders and their families, held hostage. Arendt engages in a form of blaming the victims. Blaming the Elders is to condemn them to a posthumous second annihilation, leaving them to be dishonored and disgraced in history's ultimate verdict. Arendt is a self-hating Jew. Simply view her lifetime love affair with Martin Heidegger, the leading philosopher and advocate for Hitler being "the voice of **Das Volk**." The argument is ad hominem. However, students of Arendt have to know the company you keep in a profound relationship necessarily affects her moral status.

To repent is to renounce evil and make restitution. Necessarily, Eichmann could not make restitution to the millions he condemned to horrible deaths. That was a factor in judging him in Jerusalem. There could be no mitigating circumstances in his case. Too, he was part of the Wannsee Conference, in which he helped to draw up a 'hit list' of ten million Jews. What he did was unspeakably horrible and beyond being human. He committed crimes against humanity, a new juridical category that entailed killing on industrial scale for no reasons of state.

Twentieth Century Philosophy: The Question of Evil

A Philosophic Reflection upon Evil

There is a divide between the is and the ought, according to Kant. Reason and nature are at odds. For Kant, the world is not quite right. So metaphysical evil arises. The world is not as it should be. The Jansenists argued that God made a 'botched' universe. When He saw what he did, he fled the world and left it to man's devices and free will. Hence, man cannot blame the way the universe is constructed in the ontological sense as a failing of man; it is a failing of the God who misconstrued him. That had been the case since the Lisbon earthquake of 1655. That is called natural evil, although really it is a catastrophe since human agency is not involved. Hegel reconciled the is and the ought, nature and reason through bloody conflicts in history. History became the new God. Later in the nineteenth century, Marx altogether banished theodicy from philosophy. He killed philosophy in order to kill God. Hence, for Marx, man suffered only the moral evil of capitalism with its faulty distribution of goods and services to the producers. With Freud, there was good and evil in conflict in individuals and civilizations. There is a natural evil in that man internalizes society's and civilization's mores. There is a war of good against evil in the instinctual makeup of man himself.

Auschwitz became the symbol of all that is wrong with reason in the twentieth century. Reason produced an industrialized system for administering mass death in a clinical way on a helpless population. There was a breakdown of moral codes at the death camps, for whoever was civilized was more apt to die. There were no rules of the game. Inmates had to resort to a natural state, in the worst sense of the term, in order to enjoy even a minimal possibility to survive. Neiman's book showed that in modern times man has become God through a Promethean impulse. Otherwise, the person subscribing to rigid moral beliefs will succumb, literally, to the stronger who have the will to power and with it the desire to dominate. Good and evil must find new moorings, such as exemplified by Rawls, Sartre, and Arendt. Sartre believed that man must be the author of his own fate with no excuses. Arendt shows that man has to redeem himself through promises in which he takes an oath never to do evil again nor accept it. Rawls is concerned with fighting injustice (evil) through a social contract in which from an original position all agree to accept the benefits and failures of living together cooperatively in society. The so called least difference principle allows for man to enjoy power so long as those who are most dependent benefit first and consent to governing rules.

Natural evil deals with catastrophes in the environment. It is not so simple because man is responsible, for example for global warming. Metaphysical evil says that there is a world that is imperfect because either God is flawed or dead. The great systems of philosophy have tried to overcome the limitations inherent in reality by taking personal and social responsibility for the ills of mankind. The fact that God is dead renders metaphysical evil a matter of indifference. As for natural evil, catastrophic events usually cannot be foreseen and hence they are literally a given of the human condition for which we should be prepared but for which we cannot really ever fully anticipate. Hence, natural disasters are more in the way of freak accidents than divinely or humanly inspired evil. Rousseau did promise that man could learn from being in a state of nature. It is commercial society that made man bad by creating unnatural desires for meretricious things at the expense of dominating and bullying others. Hence, there arises by necessity the need for a social contract.

The last great issue is moral evil in that it relates to man's unwillingness to think in extreme situations. Auschwitz could never have been foreseen. Marquis de Sade had his literary characters commit crimes so great that the educated and civilized reading public itself would be repelled by the intended evil deeds to be unable to reconcile them to any notion of reason. His literature was an attack on the Enlightenment with the belief that man was good. De Sade believed that there was no act of evil that could not be outdone to a new level of degradation to the perpetrators and victims. He was an amateur compared to the industrial scale killings of the death camps, spiced by a high dose of sadism in the systematic degradation of its victims from Berlin officials down to the guards themselves. The evil mentality spread like a fungal disease from the misuse of instrumental reason for purposes not serving the state. After the event, philosophers only can conclude it never should have happened. Words do not capture the essence of this human made monstrosity. It evolved from man's hubris when there is a belief that with the killing of god there can follow the murdering with premeditation of his children in the forsaken covenant. Then, there is a war of each against each. The only hope is for civilization to have reserves of repression of its aggressive and sexual instincts to construct a collective mentality of superego that can contain the death drive in man. Evil is a category of theodicy and reason. If you man kills God, then his meager reason is pitted against nature in order to dominate not only generic Nature but Homo sapiens itself in a revolutionary attempt to create a new man who is a collective distortion of the projection of all that is repulsive and negative within man's passions. Reason took a terrible beating in the second world war. It has never recovered its status, not so much that the is at odds with any conception of the transcendent but because it wars with nature in the latter's laws and inherent perfectibility. Reason is always the weaker of those two entities.

My own belief is that evil is not banal, that is you are simply 'doing a job' when you issue transports of whole populations to extermination centers. You cannot help but know the consequences. Evil is radical.

It is a function of strategic calculation. Nazi officials first stripped Jews of their citizenship, then put them in ghettos, at the camps they assumed numbered identities, until at last when they were gassed, they only were statistics on a hit list drawn up by design and malice at the Wannsee Conference of January 20, 1942. The bodies were cremated to destroy any vestige of the Jews ever having existed, or at least that was part of the grand design. Every German knew, because pictures and stories circulated in the population from soldiers at the front. To say I did not know is a lie. If a soldier, it is a lie to say that you could not help but kill innocent people when you could simply say no without any physical consequences really means that each individual civilian and soldier had choices to be made. The moral choice is simple: to acquiesce or to decline your duties to a personal oath given to Hitler. After the war, most Germans denied any responsibility, let alone knowledge of what happened. Martin Heidegger was not that kind of German. He neither repented nor gave an explanation of his wartime role as the philosopher of the Third Reich. Arendt questioned him on numerous occasions, but Heidegger begged off. Obviously, he was a committed National Socialist until the day he died. He played out his role to the day of his death, without any apologies. His evil is that he corrupted the youth of Germany during and after the war. By his silence after the war, he failed to educate youth as to the consequences of creating and then worshipping false idols.

The role of organized religion left a legacy of disgrace. The Jewish Councils, almost to the man, functioned as a cog in the wheel of the Nazi Behemoth. An Elder at least had the choice to commit suicide rather than to betray your trust to the community. In extreme situations, suicide is a viable and honorable option. More regrettably, Pope Pius XI was Hitler's puppet. The moral conscience of the Vatican silenced itself because it had evolved into a secular and political institution. Its reason of state dictated saying nothing about the plight of their Jewish brothers. As for the various Protestant denominations, with a few exceptions, nothing was said. Silence is a form of endorsement and cooperation. Individual Christians did save eight hundred thousand Jews. They did so at great risk, for harboring Jews meant deportation to Auschwitz. A resister put his whole family then at risk. That is what is sublime about National Socialism. There were those from the first day who knew what Hitler's policies would entail. As a member of the human race, you would have to either migrate internally or openly defy the regime. That so many did so speaks of the sublime character of human nature. To conform is a matter of habit of any national collectivity. To defy the will of all is to take on the proportions of a true hero.

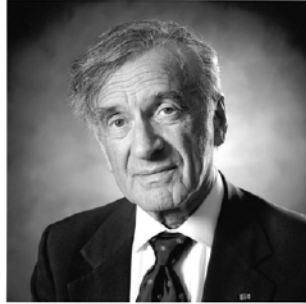
We have discussed evil. An evil person chooses, for bad reasons, to objectify whole categories of populations into subhuman status. The motivations vary, then, ranging from simply being a jobholder with prospects to rise in the bureaucratic hierarchy to sheer sadism, that is the joy in instinctually gratifying yourself in reducing another human being into dust, and then annihilating the memory of their even having existed. What is good, then? A good man or woman leads a virtuous life, according to a morally autonomous moral code, without the expectation of achieving happiness. This tension pervades life itself. A virtuous life is one where you achieve your potential as a human being in terms of searching for the truth without hedging and living your life in the service of others through political activities or praxis. Individuals are social and political animals. It is not acceptable to benefit from the liberties and bounties of your collectivity and not serve it. A life spent in philosophical isolation if not evil, is certainly not virtuous, but rather narcissistic and solipsistic. Philosophy done in this manner leads to embracing the death instinct, for loving means integrating yourself into something greater than your idealized self, which can only be described as neurotic. By not being engaged with the other, an individual objectifies him or her into abstract categories, thus denying their full humanity and your own. It is an extreme form of bad faith—Sartre's stinker, in effect. Carried to its logical extreme, there results pathology. The de Clerambault Syndrome best exemplifies what might happen.

As a victim of personal and police endorsed anti-Semitic violence for the past several years, I have benefited from intimate contact with my tormentors. My enemy is not an ideology, a foreign entity, or a physical affliction but has a human face of people who are my neighbors and local officials who have sworn to uphold the rule of law. Suffering emotional trauma and pain in extreme situations does educate, far more than the sum of all my book learning. I have learned who my friends are to date. None. I get much sympathy but no real help from those from whom I most expect direct action. Hannah Arendt said that you will never know who your true friends are until you find yourself in the situation I described in a previous lecture. Albert Camus said, paraphrasing him, in The Myth of Sisyphus, "that every day I wake up, I have to decide whether or not to commit suicide.... That is the ultimate question of philosophy." Is life worth living under any set of circumstances? I affirm yes. Suicide is a crime against nature since the human nature that the suicide takes out of the social compact cannot be replaced and leaves a trail of a broken web of human relationships. Suicide is simply a variation of homicide—a crime against nature. It is not simply self-murder, but the murder of the social order. Just as quickly as true enemies show me their face, the day of deliverance will come when I see real men and women step forth and say—enough! If not, then I will die a slow existential death in a barbaric society where human relationships have been replaced by the cash nexus. That was Marx's argument. I respect Marx because he said not only is there no need for a God, there is no need for philosophy. He engaged in the political realm, although he described himself as an economist. However, political economy is the secular study of how economic and societal relations of production condition how workers behave. Marx thought of man as a biological, laboring animal.

I adhere to a Critical Theory that believes in the Enlightenment ideals of further evolution of progress and its concomitant social forms, the limitlessness of knowledge, and that in the final analysis evil comes from a profound and radical lack of self-understanding, amenable to remedy through Freudian after-education. Just look at how successful de-Nazification was in post-war Germany. It is now a beacon of participatory democracy. So, philosophy is timeless in that it begins with an unanswerable question, why is there something rather than nothing? That is Leibniz. It really ends with, what can I hope for? That is Kant, and he promises no redemption. There is only hope. I can live with that ideal. I can believe that ideal will be fulfilled that my alienation from my fellow men will be overcome. Hegel 'improved' upon Kant by stating that the real is rational and the rational is real through History. History worked through the dialectic of the master/slave relationship. In the Absolute, all events in history take on permanence and hence take on a retroactive legitimacy and necessity where reason and nature are reconciled. That means that even Auschwitz had a historical necessity because of the cunning of reason. I do not think Hegel would have ever imagined the Holocaust, even with his understanding that History is a slaughter bank to justify progress with the culmination in the **Rechtsstaat**. Nietzsche had the thought experiment of **eternal recurrence** in that if you were to affirm life then you would repeat every aspect of history to the last detail. That would be an affirmation of the Holocaust and the suffering of its victims. I do not think that Nietzsche could have anticipated horrors of an unimaginable magnitude to be committed after his death, and vindicated in his name. His concept of the **superman** in particular took on significance in a racist sense not articulated by Nietzsche at all.

Refuting Hegel, Arendt described our condition as World Alienation because human kind is compelled to work the best years of their lives in jobs that generally prove to be unworthy of affirming life. Part of the appeal of totalitarian regimes is that the leaders promise transcendent goals to the individual pursuit of self-interest. The problem is that the individual becomes deindividuated as a collective being with no more sense of selfhood and personal responsibility to judge disinterestedly political concerns. I disagree with the concept that your work defines your being. Her Aristotelian concept of the political belies that emphasis. In the end, she said that it is sufficient to love the world on the promise that there will be new beginnings, and that is the justification for hope. I buy that latter thesis wholeheartedly.

Happy Holidays!
Dr. Schindler
27 November, 2008



THE PEDAGOGY FOR PRESENTATION OF ELIE WIESEL AND THE HOLOCAUST TO STUDENTS

25 January, 1999. Millennial end Conversations with the Intellectual Heritage Faculty; Revised 26 January, 1999.

I have found the response of my students perplexing. Most claim they are unaware of the major events of the second world war. They have never heard of Auschwitz, which has come to symbolize the historical phenomenon known as the Holocaust. Shockingly, my students do not have a historical consciousness and the graphic context of that era often leaves them speechless. *Night* comes as a revelation. Each student has a different reaction. The responses tend to be on the emotional side, rather than rationally analytic. They can identify with Elie Wiesel; they cannot even begin to grasp the dimensions of the Holocaust that seems to them to be purely statistical and incomprehensible in character. So, Wiesel's tragedy is a personal one, not representative of that of Eastern European Jewish culture. I simply wish to make a few points that can be raised in class.

1. Adorno asked the question, which I ask in class, can there be poetry after Auschwitz? Does the Shoah mark the end of the Enlightenment and its collective project to emancipate human kind where reason rules, or is the rationalization of reason the hallmark of the administration of things that typifies totalitarianism or mass society at the end of our millennium where the individual has become depersonalized, colonized, and alienated against larger forces that escape our understanding and control?

2. Why did the Jews not resist? They seem to have collaborated with their tormentors, as exemplified in *Eichmann in Jerusalem* by Hannah Arendt. Of course, this line of thinking results ultimately in blaming the victim. Too, with the bureaucratization and industrialization of genocide, the Jews, in their isolation, could not have possibly anticipated their fate as a collectivity because there was not a historical precedent for the Jewish elders to deal with their Nazi persecutors. Understanding of the genocide came after the fact. Nothing could have been done to have changed the Jews' fate.

3. Can we apply Hannah Arendt's concept of the banality of evil to men like Eichmann which seems to dissipate his personal responsibility? After all, his defense at his trial in Jerusalem was that he was simply following orders. Did he have options in the National Socialist Behemoth?

4. Why has Wiesel come to be a spokesperson for the Holocaust with his writings? Too, his book serves to defy the Holocaust deniers. If you deny your memories, there will only be a return of these repressed materials in the future. There were six million deaths. Each person died uniquely. Is it not hubris to try to give witness to a cataclysmic event when really he is only giving his tale of the martyrdom of members of his family that he personally experienced?

5. Are there lessons to be learned from Wiesel's experiences? Are we obligated to take concrete actions in the Sudan, Rwanda and Kosovo today, knowing what the consequences will be if we remain indifferent? That indifference really is complicity, in the final analysis. Yet, we see that the United States

exhibits no sense of purpose in composing a foreign policy that enforces the rule of law internationally that clearly details what has to be done in the name of collective security. Genocide is clearly defined by United Nations protocols of which we are a signatory; yet, we often do not respond. Why?

We must examine the relationships that produce anti-Semitism in prejudice and the authoritarian personality. There is background material that must be grasped.

1. Religious anti-Semitism biased Christian Europe against Jews as God killers who rejected their messiah.
2. There was a cultural factor in so far as Jews thought of themselves as an elect and chosen people. This ethnocentrism competed with their majority hosts.
3. *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* effected a political dimension to anti-Semitism in which the state, in certain cases, acted as an instrument to persecute the Jews. The falsehood fostered was that the Jews were engaged in a Zionist conspiracy to take over the world.
4. The obvious economic factor is that anti-Semitism allowed for the expropriation of Jewish property. Of course, this was theft pure and simple.
5. Eugenics played a role in the Holocaust in that Hitler believed that ethnic cleansing led to good racial hygiene. German blood had to be protected against contamination. This nonsense is Social Darwinism taken to a reductio ad absurdum. Genocide as decided at the Wannsee Conference was the logical outcome.

CONCLUSION:

Has the Age of Reason come to an end when in the name of efficiency and the rationalization of administration of the civil service the state's total monopoly of the means of violence is put toward ends which are judged to be value free (beyond good and evil), namely the extermination of whole populations that are deemed unworthy of life itself? Can the use of reason itself become despotic? If so, then the Enlightenment extinguished itself in 1945, not be to be rekindled ever again.

Ronald Jeremiah Schindler, Ph.D.



Kafka and the Canon

Professor Harold Bloom of Yale University has written a controversial book called *The Western Canon*. In general, we have been discussing what makes a work a classic. Why do a handful of books survive while most simply collect dust in library shelves never to be read?

I will give you a tentative definition of greatness:

1. A classic text captures a moment in critical times wherein the author reads the future clearly as a prophet.
2. The classic author, like Shakespeare, defines human nature and the human condition by creating characters who embody complexes of ideas and conflicts that remind us of our mortality yet are so memorable by their heroic or anti-heroic deeds that each generation finds renewal of their cultural heritage and self-identity by re-reading these works.
3. There is a consensus worldwide that a work is lasting. So, time and space are a matter of indifference because a classic text rises above cultural prejudices and norms.
4. The good reader can empathize with the writer and enter into a dialogue with the novelist or author, even if he or she wholeheartedly disagrees.
5. A great writer establishes with the reader a mood reflective of an imminent change in time and history; something momentous is happening whether at the individual level or at a world historical level where great scientific or social scientific hypotheses or unique human experiences are presented that reorganize our worldview or even overthrow it, in the instances of Marx, Darwin, and Freud.
6. The great writer has literary style that is clear. He opens up the human condition to critical insights that are therapeutic for the reader.
7. The great work is read across generations to withstand barrages of criticisms. Survival of the fittest in literature.
8. Great writers beget imitators; they create a standard of excellence against which to be measured. Shakespeare has no peer.
9. Whole schools of thought emerge in universities, like Marxist studies, to celebrate the author. Marx made revolution respectable, Darwin natural history, and Freud brought the taboo subjects of sex and aggression into the medical field and popular consciousness.
10. Writers are unique; their successors can never repeat their successes with the same impact. Schindler is not Marx, Charles Murray is not Darwin, Erma Bombeck is not Freud.
11. The Schools of Resentment have been identified by Harold Bloom.

a) Feminism: They build an ideology around sexual discrimination. They attack major Western writers as male chauvinists without understanding the dynamics of writing a classic. For example, Freud is attacked rather than assimilated into a higher synthesis.

b) Marxism: Works are the result of class struggle; hence, you must have a dialectical materialist viewpoint in which literature is simply a secondary phenomenon with no merit on its own.

c) Lacanians: Works are a fatal function of the Unconscious. Hence, great works of art and literature have deep meanings to be understood by applying psychoanalytical techniques. There is a master/slave relationship at work in which the unconscious triumphs over conscious designs of humans even if they are aware of their conflicts, because desire can never be satisfied. History and literature reflect the frustration of the writers and their audience, forever damned to be frustrated in their relentless search for fulfillment.

d) New Historicism: These are the multiculturalists who say that writings must fulfill an ideological and instrumental purpose to further minority statuses; otherwise, you are a tool of the hegemonic class, the high bourgeois, white male mandarin guild of the Ivy League schools.

e) Deconstructionism: These are writers who search for a hidden, true meaning behind the surface meaning of the text to describe and disclose power relationships and inequities in society. Hence, there is not a history, but many competing histories relative to your ethnic culture or reference group. There is not truth, but competing partial truths, reflecting your status in society. They attempt to democratize knowledge by reducing epistemology to public opinion in a marketplace where you buy what is fashionable in your in-group. Literally, you are artificially manufacturing a personal identity by politics. You pick the literature that suits your need to enhance your ego.

f) Semiotics: These scholars analyze symbols and the signs of writing; hence, they lose the wholeness of a work. They look at the grammar of how a work is put together rather than the work in its transcendent glory. So, it is not the message, but how the message is put together. Form replaces substance.

12. In the instance of Kafka, he wrote an epitaph for the Jewish people in which he saw the script of the Holocaust already written in fate a generation before the event. *Gift of prophecy*.

13. Great works rise above the politics of resentment. A work is not to be ideologically defined; for instance, Marx said he did not wish to be deified. But he was made into an ideology of confrontation where his ideas were perverted for strictly political reasons to the exclusions of a truly historical materialist approach. There never should have been a communist revolution in Russia because you cannot skip stages of history from feudalism over capitalism to communism via a dictatorship of the proletariat in which a vanguard of intellectuals used masses of people as clay to be molded in voluntaristic fashion.

According to Harold Bloom's *The Western Canon*, Kafka's *The Trial* is the greatest novel of the twentieth century. What are the criteria for making such a claim justifiable?

Kafka had a "Never again!" psychology!. He also said "Psychology is impatience." His sentiments were very anti-Freud. He, however, was not religious. He said man is god-like in that he imposes meaning on his existence—but a barren one—for there is never character development in his stories and novels. It is very hard to develop sympathy for the protagonists of his novels. Joseph K. is the modern man, who is basically anonymous and remote in his affect. He is certainly sane but does not understand the nature of the bureaucratic machinery in which he has become enmeshed. Basically, he is indicted on a capital charge by an anonymous prosecutor in which he is not informed of the particulars. Hence, he stands for every man in the twentieth century who has fallen to the violence of totalitarian governments.

Kafka enjoyed his marginality as a Jewish writer. He was a very literal and factual man who expected no rescue or hope for a better future. He lived for the here and now rather indifferently and purely intellectually.

The "indestructible" is a key theme in all Kafka's writings. An individual union exists between human beings in which you simply are what you are with just a fundamental belief in one's self. Freud, his

adversary, does not know of an "indestructible" in us; the will to live finally falters in him. Kafka is different. Life itself has value, irrespective of personal circumstances. Unlike Nietzsche and Kafka, Freud believed that an innermost self can be enhanced and fortified against the death drive, particularly through psychoanalysis.

Consciousness, for Freud, is as false and wrongly hopeful as it is in Nietzsche and in Kafka. Although Freud declines the mystical concept of being—the "oceanic sense"—he nobly and desperately substitutes for it his own benign authority and tenders a "talking" cure for false consciousness. Through transference, the psychoanalyst creates a secondary neurosis in which in the therapy room he instructs the client of his conflicts by acting them out in the office. Kafka rejects all authority, including Freud's, and offers himself, and us, no cure whatsoever. You have no right to expect anything in life, that is, no promise of heaven and/or earthly rewards and social justice.

His works are an allegory of Jewish fate in the twentieth century. His characters are always victimized and never overcome adversity but accept it. The situations he presents are very nightmarish and go far beyond being simply neurotic. His characters are never portrayed sympathetically. There is a fixation on all of life's negativities. His characters are basically paralyzed in their exercise of will by anxiety.

What are some of the defining traits of his themes? There are several.

1. An eternally present tense. Nothing really happens or changes.
2. What happens is fatalistic and inevitable.
3. There is a dreamlike, paranoid presentation of reality, which is very unpleasant for the reader to experience. He wants to make us feel uncanny or uncomfortable in the world.
4. In his characters and story lines, there is an upsurge of repressed wishes that are often infantile in nature. But these "monsters" from the unconscious are never given fulfillment in reality.
5. He has no beliefs or ideologies. That is, he is not selling you a bill of goods. Rather, he is presenting a complex of affects that interact to frustrate the individual in the pursuit of his goals.
6. Kafka has a covenant with writing. This is the "indestructible" element to which he is alluding.
7. No afterlife promised.
8. To have redemption, the individual has to work it through in the here and now. He has that possibility, but nothing ever happens. The antagonists are needlessly perverse in their behavior. There is much anxiety and sadomasochism in his stories.
9. What Kafka affirms is a primal human attribute of being godlike but secular; that is, there is a knowing in which the indestructibility of reality is known, however perverted the situation in which an individual finds himself. He must resign himself to it to adjust to reality.
10. For Kafka, there is a dialectical negativity at work in which writing is religion. Writing leaves a permanence beyond the individual. Hence, writing is real and the individual transitory. Again, we have at work the principle of indestructibility.
11. The priority of the unconscious sense of guilt permeates Kafka, causing an arrest in character development. His adults are not really mature but dependent in a childlike way on fate.
12. The "indestructible" is the will to power to overcome adversity—a self-destructive and self-hating force in Kafka based on patience, awaiting a savior/rescuer. His individuals await a new dawn without a plan of action; his patience is based on the hope that things will right themselves in a chaotic universe where the rules of the game are not determinable to reason. In actuality, he creates a situational ethics whose hell is

other people who are malicious for their own sake.

His works are the product of a mass society and overdeveloped bureaucracy, anticipating totalitarianism with its random violence and arbitrariness. He is a prescient man but impotent in the face of life's challenges, for instance, in finding a woman. He had one failed relationship in his whole life, which reflects itself in his thought experiments in his stories. There is a lack of courage to overcome obstacles in life which, after all, are man-made and hence can be undone by man, too.

Kafka's *The Trial*: The Parable of the Doorkeeper

The prison chaplain relates to Joseph K. the story of the doorkeeper and the country man. The country man is trying to obtain the Law. There is no law but only a web of undefined power relationships in bureaucratic machinery that swallows up the individual. No one is responsible. In this matrix of relationships, there is a dialectical tension between the doorkeeper and the country man leading nowhere over the lifetime of the petitioner for justice. An Oedipal relationship develops between the two in which the man becomes increasingly dependent on the arbitrary authority of the doorkeeper who actually is the lowest level functionary in the System.

There is an eternally recurring present in which the country man never develops a plan of action. He asks questions that are theoretical and argumentative rather than practical. In Freudian terms, there is a repetition compulsion at work of stereotypical behaviors that have no purposeful end. A hellish world is presented in which there is a reversal of reality by assuming the guilt rather than the innocence of the supplicant. It is a metaphysical type of guilt since there are not even formal charges against the country man. Apparently, he comes there seeking definitive answers to the Law—which is mythic or nonexistent, much as in totalitarian societies. The Law is the Unconscious, the will to power in conjunction with pure, unadulterated aggression.

The doorkeeper is in a state of delusion, for he too is a victim in that he must wait on the petitioner to be relieved of his duty to guard the door. He has no idea how the hierarchy of authority works; he simply follows orders. Again, this presentation of reality is an allegory for oppressed minority groups and mass man. His job is over when the country man dies; hence, who is dependent on whom? They have an interdependent relationship, but they are not helpful to one another. Both are flat and dull in affect; they use words insincerely in a doublespeak in which there is no attempt to arrive at the truth of the matter.

Both basically are ignorant of the laws, because without a working definition the laws are meaningless and keep people resigned to their fate. Hence, the whole scenario is one of predestination. There is no compulsion or overt violence manifested. Rather, free will operates with necessity (love and death) to cancel each other out. The scene, then, celebrates the nihilism inherent in existence. There is the mood of sadomasochism, once again, pervasive through this master/slave relationship. The country man as the victim/slave sees the "radiance" emanating from behind the door. He at least knows more than the guardian, although both will never know it in an empirical sense. Again, the picture of a "botched" universe comes up.

We have a representation of a representation of a representation in which the Unconscious is the ultimate subjectivity. The first representation is the doorman and the country man; the second is the priest and Joseph K.; the third is Kafka and the Jews, who are anticipating totalitarian societies with the subject being the unconscious in all its plenitude. A frightening nihilism results leaving existence suspended.

"The Law is beyond human judgment," according to the priest. But laws are man-made, unless he is alluding to a higher law of necessity in which everything decays and dies. The Unconscious turns against the ego, the doorkeeper, and the superego, the country man, to destroy both. You can be too civilized in your conduct, leading to an inability to be proactive in willing your life to affirmative decisions.

"Lying is a universal principle," according to the country man. The unconscious does not lie or tell the truth; it merely wills itself to power and annihilates life. So, the law and lying are only derivative from an existence which has in-built tension and then implodes. But to this existence we cannot give meaning.

The principle of indestructibility resides in the powers of the Unconscious—the Law is Das Es in which human lives transmit the energy of the death instinct. The only traces left are in the script, the Law. Hence, writing is permanence only in a very transcendental sense. Life is futility. The Unconscious and aggression fuse into a Subjectivity in forging a secular god creating hell on earth for humans.



Notes on Edmund Husserl (1859-1938)

Quote from "Phenomenology," *The Encyclopedia Britannica* (1927)

"So that our last division of the complete phenomenology is thus: eidetic phenomenology, or the universal ontology, for a first philosophy; and second philosophy as the science of the transcendental inter-subjectivity or unversum of fact.

"Thus the antique conception of philosophy as the universal science, philosophy in the Platonic, philosophy in the Cartesian sense, that shall embrace all knowledge, is again justly restored.

"All rational problems, and all those problems, which for one reason or another, have come to be known as 'philosophical,' have their place within phenomenology, finding from the ultimate source of transcendental experience or eidetic intuition, their proper function of transcendental human 'living' form an entire relationship to self."

This quotation treats how consciousness grounds itself in its embodied situation to be known through the faculty of intuition—to the things themselves compose the first philosophy. The second philosophy is the measurable, empirical reality spun off the mind delving into its surroundings and subjecting them to criteria that are universally valid and falsifiable by the scientific method. Husserl wants to create a science of all sciences using a phenomenological psychology, actually a philosophy of life in toto. He posits a transcendental ego that perceives, understands, and explains the world on an a priori basis, that is, knowable without reflection. Certain truths man knows as constituent of social and physical reality, such as the sensation of the unity of time and space, the permanence of being, the imminence of death, the discretionary attitude humans assume toward all things in the world through intersubjectivity, best expressed in language. Language and consciousness define each other. This ego executes empirical readings of the environs of man. Husserl says truths can be known by using the *epoche*, a suspension of judgment on preconceived ideas that prejudice our having an open outlook toward the world. In his time, Husserl stated that there was a crisis of the European sciences because subject and object exist at two different levels not connected by a common theme. One is the world of appearances; the other is the world of physical reality that is empirically measurable. The other world spins out of our mind with intentionality toward objects to constitute them socially. This division creates a schism in knowledge, one in high culture and the other in "pure" science.

Science degrades personal experience as meaningless and hence dissolves the humanity of culture and its values of beauty, goodness, truth, justice, because they are deemed not amenable to the scientific method; hence, what is human can be deemed trivial and insignificant. Man becomes only an object of study whose spirituality is demeaned. This strikes at his freedom, which is put into the service of the state as political power.

Schindler's Interpretation of Husserl

What is at stake is culture then subordinate to political interests. This anticipates Hitler and Stalin, whereby everything is administered with the individual redundant in the thingification of personhood. Individuals devolve into a "herd of beasts" where democracy, personhood, and human values are derogated when not in the service of a totalitarian regime. Even in democracies, the preeminence of science has attached itself with its methods to a negation of the person, through the clinical attitude that deprives individuals of their autonomy. A phenomenological psychology is the answer because it unifies knowledge by dissolving the subject/object division through the Transcendental Ego that is a generalized consciousness of the world and all its constituent elements and moments of realization.

Please note that Husserl was Heidegger's doctoral supervisor; what irony!

Notes on Martin Heidegger



MARTIN HEIDEGGER'S INTRODUCTION TO METAPHYSICS

Quotation and its Interpretation

"What does 'world' mean, when we speak of the darkening of the world? World is always *spiritual* world. The animal has no world..., nor any environment....The darkening of the world contains itself a *disempowering of the spirit*, its dissolution, diminution, suppression, and misinterpretation. We will try to indicate this disempowering of the spirit in one respect, namely, the misinterpretation of the spirit. We said: Europe lies in the pincers between Russia and America, which are metaphysically the same, namely in regard to their world-character and their relation to the spirit. The situation of Europe is all the more dire because the disempowering of the spirit comes from Europe itself and--though prepared by earlier factors--is determined at last by its own spiritual situation in the first half of the nineteenth century. Among us at the time something happened that is all too readily and swiftly characterized as the "collapse of German idealism"."

The key to the quote lies in metaphysics that encompasses the study of Being as a form of its own vaporization. Being presumes nothingness, which really is a logical absurdity. Being grounds reality by one being in the world as **Dasein**--that is being there--period. Being is not problematic. Why is there something and not nothing? That question initiated the study of philosophy during the time of the pre-Socratic Greeks. Being is there because it is. It needs no first cause as it is self-justificatory.

Philosophy's questions presumes to understand the facticity of people, ethnographically defined in terms of race, in their history. History is the unfolding or becoming of truth. Heidegger presumed that the German people were, in 1939, the center of a revolution, mainly in language. In particular, Heidegger grounded the German language and its recovery through the purge of its impurities, namely Judeo- Marxism, democracy, and modernism. Heidegger also critiques the positivism of the content of **Techné** in philosophy, which means applied philosophy to shape the world according to a preconceived idea, or ideologically. America and Russia represented the worst enemies of **Das Volk** because of their fascination and encapsulation with technology that despiritualized Germany and caused its current crisis in self-identity. Germany had a metaphysical mission to spiritualize Europe, through a purgatory of the sword by the military and the rehabilitation of its language as that of a heroic, poetic people by ridding it of its foreign elements. The way a people relate to their language defines their historic role in the world. Heidegger intended that the German language and great deed would refashion a Europe in its own image. Hence, there is a strong ethnocentric and racist bias in Heidegger's thought. He believed, in the age of modernity--which he despised--only the German language could define its self to give it a dominant position in the world. Only the German language had the complexity to develop concepts that could transform the value and all its decadent forms of life, namely socialism and materialism.

Who was to be the voice of the German people? Heidegger said that no less than Hitler could effect this revolution--he was the voice of the German language and people and in his will to power expressed the necessary will to power to attain supremacy over lesser cultures, peoples--and races by implication. Heidegger trumpeted loudly *His Advent*--a god killer of the Judeo-Christian ethic. Heidegger had returned philosophy to rhetoric, art, and poetry to enable a people to hear their **destiny**. One had to know how to listen. The politician then became an instrument, like a sledge hammer, to reignite historicity in the German *Dasein*--or their being over the world triumphant. **Deutschland ueber alles**. Heil Hitler, world war, genocide, and **total collapse** of Hitler's artificial construct, based on **blood and soil**, brought Germans to ruin. One cannot return to an idyllic history of a pure German race when time began.

The **ad hominem** argument is that if a person like Heidegger has performed miserably in the public sphere as a Nazi, then his philosophy of necessity must be tainted. These philosophers damn the philosophy by attacking bad character. Is that legitimate? I think not. The stinker's texts achieve autonomy after his death; hence, to another generation, he can be seen in a different light and his arguments must be critically assessed in that new light.

Lecture on Martin Heidegger (1889—1976)

Nota bene: 'Only in dying can I to some extent say absolutely, "I am."'

This quotation is taken from The History of the Concept of Time.

Heidegger writes about the facticity of death in order to destroy the underpinnings of metaphysics, which he thought he accomplished in his writings. Being and *Dasein* are not exactly coincidental concepts. Being is in the world and what encompasses it in all its facets. *Dasein* has to do with a person's being thrown into a world not of his own making.

Ultimately, he thought of *Dasein* as a *Volksgemeinschaft* with its own historicity. Heidegger thought that the national consciousness of Germany and its fate was bound up with Hitler and the National Socialist Movement. After the collapse of the Third Reich, he identified its Destiny with the German language as being the only one that speaks the language of ontology.

Heidegger detested the notion of *Gesellschaft* of modern, industrial society where people are mutually indifferent to each with no ties to blood and soil. He sought that in *Gemeinschaft*, or the sense, of organic, countryside solidarity, rather than the mechanical mass society where man is hyphenated to *Das Man*. He demonized the Soviet Union and the United States equally in that he thought that their respective technological mentalities (and superiority) destroyed individuality and the capacity to think Being philosophically. Heidegger did not think that Hitler was radical enough. Heidegger put a premium on tradition and authority. To be able to find truth is to be a revolutionary in thinking, although that truth was buried in the past and had to be excavated. Technology led us to a forgetting our heroic past and a falling away from truth into living trivial existences as mere empirical beings with no common orientation to, or understanding of the greatness inherent in the German nation. The authentic man had to find that opening in Being that led him to the future by uncovering the past and its communal forms.

The *reductio ad absurdum* of Heidegger is his anti-Semitism. His application of Being and Time's concepts were the embodiment of all that was alien and evil in the German nation. Particularly, he castigated the Jews as the bearers of the Enlightenment who in their quest for equality sought to level all peoples down to their fallenness by advocating the reasons that led to a commercial and material society. They could never be part of *Das Volk* because of their racial impurity. Heidegger, hence, was a leading anti-Enlightenment philosopher who was reactionary in that he believed that by blood sacrifices Germany could restore itself to its former glory as the nation above all. Of course, state racism with its public policies of total exclusion led invariably to the genocide of the Jews in the name of goals of the deluded masses who were intoxicated by the omnipotence of thought. There never could be a good Jew, only a dead one.

After the war, Gadamer greeted Heidegger with a pithy question: "Returned from Syracuse?" Of course, this allusion was to Plato's two trips to Syracuse, Sicily, in his attempt to ingratiate himself to a tyrant who really was not disposed toward being enlightened; neither was Hitler so disposed to be open to new paths in thinking or rethinking ideological notions that indicated deep pathology not only in **Der Fuehrer** but in all his followers.

Heidegger hated democracy with a passion. In particular, he talked about **Das Man**, who is the alienated, despiritualized person of modern times. Being, the opposite, is the Being who calls **Dasein** into existence. That is the meaning of authenticity. He finds himself in the **Volksgemeinschaft** of the age of heroes in the Teutonic forests. Of course, such a golden age never existed. The person loses himself in the German language, which is the only language in which philosophy can speak, so he can realize himself in an organic unity whereby subject and object diremption are finally overcome. Hitler was not radical enough for Heidegger. Hitler's fascination with military conquests led him to make concessions to **Gesellschaft** that conflicted with Heidegger's more pure German-ness. **Gesellschaft** by nature is inherently metastable and leads to a situation where the sum of the parts is less than the whole, which is the quintessence of World Alienation whereby man does not have a home in the world.



Benjamin's Nightmares and Schindler's Dreams: Reminders of the Frankfurt School's Never Never Land of 1933--1945; 5 October, 2009 Musings on What Might Yet Be

"We have to wake up from the existence of our parents...." —Walter Benjamin

In Walter Benjamin's lifetime, in his own judgment, he deemed himself a failure. By the measures of an academic, he was right. Benjamin failed his Ph.D. examination because his readers could not understand his highly involuted style of writing, nor could he articulate it since he often thought in terms of opposites. How appropriate that his magnum opus he subtitled "A Dialectical Fairyland." That is, he was talking about the phantasmagoria (the illusions of the good life through conspicuous consumption) that capitalism creates through exchange value to give a substantive content to abstract labor. I think too he was self-critical in that he wondered what impact his revolutionary writings had on the proletariat; actually, they had none. Hitler triumphed with the proletariat coming over to his side after his legal ascendancy to power. Benjamin knew that the proletariat was always a *deus ex machina* to mediate history from its transition from capitalism to socialism. The problem was that the mediation was theoretical. The first generation Jewish Frankfurt School Marxists (never more than fifty in number) came from the upper middle class; their contacts with workers were virtually nil and patronizing, if not actually fanciful. Fame came to him posthumously. Benjamin, largely through the polemics of his friends, has emerged as the icon of the thirties as the antipode to Stalin. He has been defined, retroactively, as the best of the democratic left.

I have not started reading *The Arcades Project* for fear of being disappointed. My quotation is what strikes me as most apropos. Our real parents always disillusion us when they turn out not to be epic, but plain ordinary. I feel the same dread that my icon will have been demonstrated to have clay feet, as he did commit suicide, though with an exhibition of a virtù Machiavelli might have admired. Once the extenuating circumstances were known, his revolutionary act was an altruistic suicide in Durkheim's scheme of things.

I have read R. J. Clark's mixed review of the above *magnum opus*, in *London Review of Books* (22 June 2000). In short, he said that the work is not a Communist *Cantos*. I have no such expectations. He damns by faint praise. The words murder him, much like the posthumous exhuming of Cromwell's body to behead him. Clark says the tome is boring; at times, he felt like hurling it against the wall. Nonetheless, there is redeeming value, according to Clark. Benjamin has an opaque, aphoristic style of writing that can be very off-putting, but insightful. The serious reader will find in it a cornucopia of insights that thread common themes through the text. Particularly, he says that subjectivity itself, our interior minds—our very souls—are dominated by the processes intrinsic to capitalism that transmute humanity into an alienation from itself (concepts taken from the "early writings" of Marx) that cannot rectify itself from within the system. Capitalism has no spiritual center of gravity to make the lifeworld it creates meaningful, no matter how fantastic the Midas touch within its forces of production.

The quotation above is relevant because our parents have expectations of our being more successful than they. Each generation, particularly with a university degree, should breed more apt competitors in the struggle for existence. Temple University students can relate to that maxim. Look at the pathological relationship between the teacher and the student. It is classic transference at work. The teacher is the grade giver and the student the consumer of that scarce commodity called an A. This mirrors the fetish

commodity, monetary relationship between employer and worker in the exchange of labor for wages in the marketplace. Knowledge is for technical consumption, not humanistic self-consciousness.

Clark says, devastatingly, that Benjamin is boring! That sums up the man's life. That is one hell of an epitaph to put on his life's project! What Benjamin does is try to take the interiority of his mind and impose its forms on social reality. That is not a very Marxist approach; it should be the reverse. Philosophers are to change the world, not mirror its shortcomings in self-absorbed reflections. That criticism can be placed on the whole Frankfurt School collectivity in that it never got to praxis, or mass political agitation and action. These "flaneurs" thought they could stroll to socialism by wishful thinking and good intentions. They never really had to "sell out" in that they were born into wealth and had an enviable endowment of funds. So, Benjamin not only flunked out of the university, he never even made a living. With his *sui generis* historiography, he simply wrote what he saw at the mundane level in nineteenth-century Paris, the cultural center of the West and capitalism.

Benjamin claimed, "The past is hidden somewhere outside the realm, beyond the reach, of intellect, in some material object...which we do not suspect." I concede that point. But how do we create meaning in a disenchanted world? The bourgeoisie amuse themselves, apparently happily so. For instance, he dismissed the Impressionists as sellers of an artifact and commodity. I must disagree with him here because not only do you have to embody your noble thoughts by making a living, but if you can create objects that are beautiful and timeless, is not that a victory of the spirit within the constraints of the system? I do not find the socialist realism of Stalin an acceptable alternative. Might not the same analysis be put forward to apply to the information revolution with its production of data? While not beautiful, is there not certainly use value for the consumer that democratizes public life as never before, and hence intrinsically worthy of production? At least, there is that real possibility. To say unreflexively that art, whatever the medium, must shock bourgeois sensibilities to strike at the system as naive. It can lead to fanaticism and purges when social reality, the organic culmination of thousands of generations of culture, proves recalcitrant to transcendence by what amounts to a macro-mutation (revolution by coup d'état).

The arcades of Paris embody the dialectical fusion of dream and fact. Dreams are by nature solipsism; my dreams might be not to your liking—and vice versa. The question is how people disengage the two. That requires a historical materialist approach to show how the capitalist exploits workers and appropriates their surplus value. Today, the equivalent of what is not really an equally balanced historical comparison lies in the symbol managers of our mass society who manipulate consumers. So, capitalism is to late capitalism what Rockefeller is to Gates. Our dream worlds of a better life with social significance allow us to embrace our exploiters as heroes. They become larger than life when, in actuality, they are in defiance of fair play and ethically formed good conduct, derived from the practice of common sense.

My anxiety lies in reading Benjamin's great work because his world and mine coincide; both failed human projects we are. So, the work will reside on my shelf as a testimonial to my own lack of nerve. But the Arcades project is also a symbol of hope. I do not want to be disenchanted again. Because once hope no longer exists, for the agnostic, there is only the leap of faith into a self-inflicted death that could just as well be ignominious as noble, as in Benjamin's sacrifice. I decline that gambit; I choose life, however forbidding, waiting for dawn. So, I take a grim reconciliation in the following quotation from the book reviewer: "And doesn't the failure to do so—to show us even a glimpse of how such a clarification might be managed—point to the limits of Benjamin's notion of history? For the 19th-century "collective" dreamed different futures, according to its changing sense of which collective (within the dream totality of collectives) counted. And it acted on its dreams; it acted them out." Clark is justifying the material lifestyle provided for the majority of citizens in the West as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution. Yes, much is detritus; much is salvageable, including the forsaken among us.

Ron Schindler



Theodor Adorno (1903-1969) and the First Generation of the Frankfurt School: A Retrospective Evaluation of Critical Theory in the Twenty-First Century

"But thinking, itself a mode of conduct, contains the need—the vital need, at the outset—in itself. The need is what we think from, even where we disdain wishful thinking. The motor of the need is the effort that involves thought as action. The object of critique is not the need in thinking, but the relationship between the two." (*Negative Dialectics*, 408)

Is theory praxis? The Frankfurt School's critical theorists believe that to be the case. The mere facticity of thinking and judging precludes the faculty of willing the deed. Of course, Marx would have disagreed with the Frankfurt School as "socialists of the chair." This particular sect of socialism never took an activist approach to politics. Since Marx will be taught with respect to his theory of alienation, now known as his "early, humanist writings," the teacher of *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* will have to realize, of course, that this was the pre-political phase in his theoretical development. In his maturity, he felt that there is an identity of theory and action until the Unhappy Consciousness of man is overcome in communism (that is the core thesis of historical materialism). Human alienation becomes transcended with the end of history (as class conflict).

The Frankfurt School theorists from Adorno to Habermas adhere to a non-identity of subject and object in history; while consciousness reflects the material mode of production, it is the superstructure, not the base, which is the agent of history. In short, they are stating that the producers of critical theory are in the vanguard to enlighten the masses by demystifying bourgeois concepts of the capitalist political economy. Ideology is false consciousness; hence, the act of dereifying a falsely conceptualized reality will emancipate humankind. The revolution is in clarifying language, not in mass action of the superannuated proletariat. There is an elitist messianism in this school of thought, which originated in Marx's first writings and he later abandoned. A Marxist could turn the analysis against the Frankfurt School by saying that they are victims of their own methodological biases, since their work is based on pure theoretical speculation, however brilliant, while largely spurning empirical analysis. Adorno, in particular, thought that empirical data lack the universal (the totality mediated); you cannot find truth in contingency. In short, you begin with a grand narrative of human events and deduce what the facts are to be. Needless to say, that methodology is the antithesis not only of positivism, but of the scientific paradigm itself. I believe that this flaw, above all, accounts for why Critical Theory never took hold in the United States. Of course, the study of Marx never took hold in U.S. workers' consciousness because there is no hereditary class system that automatically denies upward social mobility. The New Left movement of the sixties was mere theater of the absurd with political play, not revolution. Herbert Marcuse failed to modernize Marx for Americans with his "desublimated repression." Rather, he initiates suppressed sublimation.

There is a "hidden God" in Critical Theory. For what is it that cannot be named in terms of a non-identity

theory? It is God himself, as given in the Jewish oral tradition that defies man's positivism. It is He who cannot be named, measured, weighed, or seen. He can only be inferred. That is why the Jews still await the true messiah, but He will not have necessarily a human form. As I understand the Frankfurt School, their unspoken "God" could be the transformation of mankind's collective behavior through self-understanding by adapting a lifestyle of truth seeking, very much like Gandhi, but yet different, since they recognize that material well-being does influence standards of behavior. Emancipation presumes economic plenty. For instance, to be a citizen of the world and competitive, each individual will have to have access to a computer and partake of the Information Revolution as an active participant. But the Frankfurt School theorists never understood Americans, when they immigrated to this Anglo-Saxon democracy, since the individual is sovereign, not the collectivity. There is a repetition compulsion to the twentieth century of the first generation of Frankfurt School German Jewish intellectuals, high bourgeois German Ideologists with its advocates forever wandering the earth looking for home. I speak from the advantage of a retrospective point of view. Current Marxist theory contends that the dialectic is dynamic, that the motor force of history lies in the contradictions between the relations of production and the forces of production, with the breakdown of distribution accounting for the deep world recession at the time of the rewriting of this essay. Adorno and his colleague Max Horkheimer found the struggle in the superstructural antagonisms in high culture in conflict with the concept of labor objectified into a reified totality.

Ron Schindler/24 July, 2009



Jean-Paul Sartre's *Existential Humanism* (an existential psychoanalysis, 1973) Lecture on Jean-Paul Sartre; revised 12 August 2010

We will begin with a quotation that typifies Sartre's existential attitude that it is man's responsibility to make himself by taking a contrary instance in the following quote:

"Those who hide their complete freedom from themselves out of a spirit of seriousness or by means of deterministic excuses, I shall call cowards; those who try to show that their existence was necessary, when it is the very contingency of man's appearance on earth, I shall call stinkers"
(October 1945 public lecture)

Existence precedes essence; that is the hallmark of existentialism and Sartre. Man makes himself, despite his contingency in the world.

Being and Nothingness (1943) is Sartre's *magnum opus*. *The Critique of Dialectical Reason* (1960) is a jewel of a book that attempts to synthesize ontology and phenomenology into a grand theory. It did not work.

Key Ideas

I. Existence precedes essence—we are thrown into the world into situations not of our making; so we have to remake them according to the existential deed that affirms our humanity. Promethean impulse.

II. Man is a useless passion—man's desires are ever voiding themselves in a desperate search to structure meaning into the world.

III. Man exercises a will to be God—man wills to be a first cause of his contingency to ground it in his deeds. This statement exhibits a personal sovereignty in defiance of a resistant world.

IV. "Hell is other people" (from the novel *No Exit*). He believed that the master/slave relationship defined the human condition in every dimension. Sartre took his paradigm from Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind*.

You are a being for another consciousness and hence lose your freedom for "being for itself," reverting to the dependency relation of pure facticity of an in-itself—an object without a transcendental subjectivity, lacking possibilities to link with others. This subjectivity emanated from Cartesian rationalism. René Descartes had a profound influence on Sartre, though that of a foil. You can no longer be a morally autonomous human being in good faith. That notion was taken from Kant and his "good will." That paradigm prevails in all aspects of life, sex, work, friendship, and ultimately politics, which for Sartre was the domain in which you form your project for freedom in your own life world.

Theses and Findings

I. Freud has essentialist categories of truth, transference, dream interpretation, the psychoanalytic relationship, Consciousness, and so forth that determine man and make him unfree, subject to contentless theoretical categories.

Sartre said there is a problematic reality of immanence. There are qualities in things that are not there. He fights the objectification of the self in the doctor's office. The doctor depends on the patient to invent himself because they are both opaque to each other at the outset of the project. A master/slave relationship pertains. The doctor depends on the patient's free associations for becoming more than a rote player; finally, he recognizes the humanity of the patient, not clinically sanitized and boxed into the classification of a mental case.

For Freud, the ego is an empirical entity. For Sartre, man is a phenomenal or ontic reality without pure self-consciousness; rather he is ever engaged in the activity of inventing himself by possessing and having the other; thus he rises above mere Being and facticity. The act is one of appropriation of the self, even necessarily by violence to attain individuality. Man has *Dirty Hands* by his involvement with others.

II. Man becomes filled with nausea of the world that is too much with him. You void the viscosity of being through appropriation and leave a hole in the universe that is really a space of freedom. For example, there is a satiety in eating; hunger by fasting; at oral stage of development, so you lose your freedom in Freud's world, because the individual is fixed at a stage of development of a metatheory. In Freud's world, the patient is totally inert and without an ethical purpose in the reified clinical setting, where the doctor is the master who interprets reality, one-sidedly, to his submissive client. Hence, it is a power relationship, with an overlay of master and slave taken from Hegel's epic description of this paradigm in his magnum opus of 1807. The self in theory does not correspond to the individual in the lived life world (*Lebenswelt*). The self has been defined by its situation in context, whereas the individual has a consciousness for itself and with other that allows for individuation and freedom.

III. Men desire to be the first cause of their being. Hence, domination ensues. Man appropriates self, others, and things—the master/slave relationship. Men attribute values to money, sex, object that negate themselves. Transcendence is the freedom to overcome the environment and incorporate it into the self, including others. There is always the appearance of things—phenomena; there is its reality in working upon it; the so called "for and in-itself" that achieves Reason (noumena are other, spiritual or mental beings in Freud—where there is a true mind and body scission). Freud's topography is a reification of humans—the doctor subdivides him into abstract categories and defines away his humanity. Mind is a fundamental unity for Sartre. There are material, self-evident unities within man, who makes the whole world one of action, reaction, and overcoming of limits. For example, in reading a book there is resistance, then incorporation, assimilation, and triumph in dissolving it by empathizing and understanding it.

IV. Bad Faith is when the individual lies to himself consciously while denying the consequences of one's actions. For example, we achieve freedom through the other by reciprocity in activity and respect for their self-consciousnesses. To be for and in-itself is to be free. To negate the other is to revert to a self-objectification or being in-itself. You make your history by mediating an environment: existence precedes essence!

V. Man is a law giver to his world. That is humanism where values create man's condition not God's dicta. This happens in the particularities of the moments that summarize your life. You are not determined in your behavior. You seek yourself beyond yourself where subjectivity is transcendent in discursive will formation where social activity ensues. You alone are responsible for the fate of the whole world. Since God does not exist, all men make their project possible; unfreedom is not possible in choosing for humanity. But he does fail because he dies. There are no apriori givens to man; only your freedom.

VI. Man exhibits a desire to be a God to establish the basis of his existence. Freedom is "in and for-itself."

It stems from a desire being a lack of being. You then form a project. Humans live in contingencies where there are not absolutes to constitute your world. Rather, your freedom negates that absoluteness.

VII. Existential psychoanalysis constitutes the framework of the situation of the patient. Individuals historically evolve. You examine choices rather than complexes, like Oedipal, Electra, or any number of mythic others. You form an attitude affirmatively to life: you can choose your attitude even in the face of death. There is no unconscious or that censor that creates it in bad faith. You are not the product of a bad childhood. Rather, you will undergo a self-analysis by Knowing Thyself for the present, which is independent of the past.

VIII. There are three categories to existential psychoanalysis: to make (to act), to have (possess), and to be (exist). The "serious" man is hiding from himself, not authentic in his existence but an opaque given forever—in permanence—but historicity denied. You overcome by appropriation. The gift ensnares the other—appropriation by destruction—obligates the other against his will. Beware of Greeks bearing gifts.

The attitude of seriousness is denying the negativity of being determined. You, in bad faith, deny your freedom by saying you can be nothing other than a facet of yourself. You, falsely, essentialized the purely contingent.

Situations

Sartre uses four cases: the student choosing between going to war or staying at home to support his mother (the issue of cowardice); the waiter automaton, who does not relate to his customer; the successful Jew as self-hating pariah, who allows himself to be defined as ambitious, greedy, pushy, and so forth; the homosexual pederast (Sartre thought of Genet, who loved children and could not do otherwise; so Sartre says you must embrace your self in your own terms, even if laws are flouted). There is no rulebook of ethics to make a choice. You choose radically alone to be free of being stigmatized. You choose how you make a project, or worldview, of a characteristic such as heroism. We are overdetermined. There is a substrate to these four beings who help define your humanity in our reciprocal actions. There is subjectivity and intersubjectivity. You then find yourself, and do not let others do so, such as a psychoanalyst. You must overcome your self-hatred to be for real.

In conclusion, what Sartre accomplished philosophically was radical. He took back the Newtonian, Darwinian, and Freudian impersonal worldviews; so, once again, man reigned supreme and wrote his history in script and deed. What we might call praxis, the project or enterprise that theory must incorporate, a plan of action to change the world in man's image.

Sartre's Ethics

Sartre puts emphasis on integrity and moral autonomy. Emotions are facts, though. They can be agents of actions. Sartre makes it clear that the nature of human relations is one of conflict in which neither party may triumph, except for special cases of political praxis. Conflict is even at the core of love courtships that entail a struggle for power. This holds true for the institution of marriage, which is perhaps why he did not marry Simone de Beauvoir.

Sartre was much influenced by the master/slave relationship of Hegel and the concept of *Dasein* in Heidegger. However, for Sartre, consciousness is not with others but for others, in which there is a one-sided power dyad. Sartre resolves this dilemma of the Other's gaze that enslaves me by objectification by killing the oppressor. Being-in-itself is the nothingness consciousness which has no subjectivity. The self is out there in the world. There is no unconscious as in Freud, in which behavior is determined psychically. The subject can always say No, the Great Refusal, and reinvent himself. Consciousness-for-itself involves the self extending itself to encompass the world and its projects. It was what gives individuals their authenticity. The I of Freud is a fiction with no substantive reality, in Sartre's critique of

him in *Being and Nothingness*. Treating others as pure object involves making your project in the world that of doing evil. He calls that *bad faith* because the oppressor can never know himself as he truly is when not dialoguing with a morally autonomous other.

Lecture on Hans-Georg Gadamer



HANS-GEORG GADAMER (1900-2002)

"The recognition that all understanding inevitably involves some prejudice gives the hermeneutical problem its real thrust. In light of this insight it appears that *historicism, despite its critique of rationalism and of natural Enlightenment law philosophy, is based on the modern Enlightenment and unwittingly shares its prejudices*. And there is one prejudice of the Enlightenment that is its essence: the fundamental prejudice of the Enlightenment is the prejudice against prejudice itself, which denies tradition its power."

Hans-Georg Gadamer is best celebrated for his classic work, Truth and Method. He develops a hermeneutic of understanding through a discourse ethics in which tradition, authority, and prejudice play a prominent role. We find ourselves in a place and time in the universe which is not of our own making. Understanding cannot be grounded by reason alone. Hence, there are no first principles for a metaphysics of understanding. Understanding finds itself in the individual only partly oriented by rational insight from the natural sciences. Much of what we know about ourselves comes from an intuitive self that has inherited a fore-having of knowledge through tradition and prejudice. That is the starting point for the individual in his journey toward truth. But truth is at hand already when we are born into a position in the family, society, and state which bequeaths to us the wisdom of the ages and allows us not to have to begin all over again but to initiate practical actions from the legacy of the past. We approach horizons of collective self-understanding that leads to a dialogical ethics that can never be consummated for we are in discussion with the players of all ages in which most of what we know of understanding the world already has been rendered. Hence, we can only enlarge the sphere of consciousness by taking the ideal of Enlightenment progress and the perfection of reason itself as a deep prejudice of modern times. The perfectibility of man itself is a prejudice. Whatever we do to attain that receding goal will be overcome by contingencies that can never be programmed into our praxis. There is always more left over in approaching horizons of self-actualization of the human project, defined by what is incomprehensible and that can never be managed by any practical program of the forces of organized reason.

Not only can we not know the other; we do not even know ourselves and hence we are subject to endless errors in our practical judgment. Much of what we do in our everyday lives is ritual that is stereotypical behaviors that have no basis in rationality per se. That is we act out parts that have already been scripted for us by destiny or fate. The influence of Heidegger is evident as his foremost teacher. Gadamer has a conservative view of reason as inherently riddled by aporias. Pure or even practical reason can never be a basis for emancipation by discursive will formation that Habermas elected to pursue as his academic project. The exercise of pure reason results in nihilism and terror precisely because it is not grounded in the lessons of historicity. Historicity is the world view that the cultural sciences can never have a measurable basis like the natural or experimental sciences. The *Geisteswissenschaften* endow us with the tentative wisdom of experiences that might not be repeated in the future, although that prudence makes us better in judging our actions in a more mature fashion when new events challenge us to develop a praxis to meet these crises. Even the natural sciences evolve through hermeneutics and the

interpretation of prevailing paradigms of domains of knowledge. Phenomenology can be a science of both the cultural and the natural worlds in one field of endeavor. However, it cannot be defined by predictability and the attainment of a final end where the Absolute has been dialectically consummated. The hermeneutics generated by phenomenology illustrates that we cannot not only not know ourselves as individuals, and often living under illusions and delusions of grandeur, but that in the final analysis we are stuck in the faith that only with hope can the future offer better possibilities for the human condition. There is no God in Gadamer's system of thought. He is not within the realm of dialogical ethics. Too, he generously conceded that the other's system of thought could be correct and that the interrogator wrong. Individuals had to let themselves be left open to the possibility that their world views had to be adjusted not only to changing circumstances, reevaluations of the past, but through the superior knowledge of the other person in conversation. Whole realms of knowledge might be destroyed by war; that is why he was a pacifist. Gadamer had many Jewish friends in academic circles; he acknowledged that their expulsion served no legitimate war aims and also capriciously deprived them of their lives and liberties. That is why he affirmed so strongly the power of the state to enforce a consensus to which all could adhere. You needed law as a guideline to make authoritative judgments that were prudent and not anomic. He believed in conserving the useful part of tradition, not myths that divided peoples in a war of each against all. He thought of all persons as equally accessible to a public where they could express themselves and hence deepen the meanings of language in finding ourselves with each other.

What we cannot know will prevail and force us to take a more modest perspective on the human condition. There actually is at work an inverted or negative dialectics in which the more we learn about each other and the world we live in the more we realize that relatively speaking we cannot master our destiny. In Heideggerian terminology, the world worlds and as knowledge grows the world recedes from our will to power as evidenced in two world wars that eclipsed reason and compelled man to take a more restrained stance toward his possibilities for the wish to be immortal by attaining the unattainable, namely perfect knowledge and scientific control through instrumentalized reason or technology. Gadamer said that leaves us with only the will to hope for a coming toward us of an imminent force in nature or the *Geist* of history to redeem our pathetic situation in which we all come to terms with death as annihilating everything achieved. What is left is a historicism for future generations that survives the futility of individual existences. Nonetheless, Gadamer thought that there would be a unified field theory of knowledge, embracing both the natural and social sciences, into a holistic domain of the immanent and concrete that all could share in solidarity at every level of epistemology and lived life.



Lecture on Michel Foucault (1926-1984)

Dr. Ronald Jeremiah Schindler

In his What is Enlightenment?, Foucault states that

Criticism is no longer going to be practiced in the search for formal structures with universal value, but rather as an historical investigation into the events that have led us to constitute ourselves and to recognize ourselves as subjects of what we are doing, thinking, saying. In that sense, this criticism is not transcendental.... Its is genealogical in its design and archaeological in its method.

Professor Foucault was influenced by the writings of Hegel, Kant, Nietzsche, and Heidegger. He attempted to integrate knowing, willing, and judging, the different aspects of reason, into the unity of praxis. He emphasized the Greek concept of care for self, particularly in its carnal aspects and in the mentoring of Greek male youth; hence, was highly andocentric in his world view. He was much concerned that the Enlightenment ideal of progress He thought that modernity isolated the individual and subjugated him to the oppression of reason in its institutional and cultural forms. By aestheticizing the self, he gave priority of feelings and its intensification over reason. He believed in the ideal of beauty that gave rise to the sublime that could not be put into words.

Foucault was concerned with the problematique of the universal abstract versus the particularity of lived content, giving epistemological preference to the latter since it could be directly apprehended. The universal encompassed reason and hence was too abstract to be other than visionary and even oppressive in favoring the status quo. Reason partook of Auschwitz in which reason finds its ultimate home in technology and the mass manufacture of death (genocide) in the authentic mode of a Heidegger. Society was carceral and disciplined its citizens to severe constraints that led to repression of life's basic instincts. To discipline was to punish. He believed in S and M practices, sexually, to develop an ethics of danger. For him that was parrhesia to live your truth. He was also the prophet of destiny in which you had a lifestyle to which you should adhere; even it put you beyond the law. He believed that philosophers should be sages who embodies wisdom and could serve as moral exemplars in the heroic mode to youth. As for academia, he thought of professors as practitioners of techne and hence they really did not have a calling any more noble than that of a plumber. His model really went back to Virgil and the poets, emphasizing the spoken word rather than the written word that reifies reality.

The attitude of care led to horizontal emancipation in society where there could be a semblance of equality, as opposed to the vertical integration of a modern society that atomized people into a pseudo equality in which they were powerless and administered to by punitive agencies of the bureaucracies of state and society. He equated madness and civilization, advocating strategic communicate action to overcome it. Ethos and Eros became vehicles for personal expression and freedom.

The writer is to engage in permanent critique as a form of praxis. He thought of the beauty fashion complex as having given rise to feminism to fight the subjugation of women who were the victims of strategic oppression, much like homosexuals. His view was that of counterdiscourse in which there would be a resituating of life worlds by marginalized groups in society to create new foci of power to resist oppression. He felt that discourse in society was male dominated. . He had an emancipatory antiestablishment view of countering strategic power with moral reason through an ethics of care. Practical reason would be mediated by a dialectics of reason in which there would be ages of successive

overcomings of instruments and agencies of oppression with no guarantee of any ultimate victory or finality in form by a historicized freedom. The ethics was in doing battle to the death.

Michel Foucault and Juergen Habermas: A Comparison

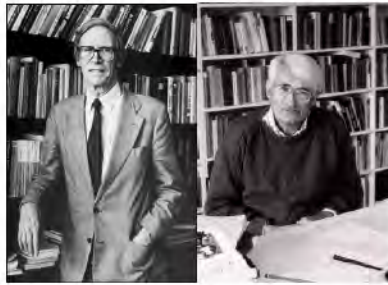
Michel Foucault denigrated dialogical ethics and the whole Enlightenment project of Reason. He thought that art and feelings, expressed through sexuality, embodied the highest feelings of man. He resembles Nietzsche in this respect. Reason had been captivated by the institutions of modern society and was instrumental in disciplining the body to augment the power of the society and state in order to colonize its various domains. Hence, modern society was oppressive. He disagreed with the universal claims of reason; he saw human interest only in their particularities; truth could only be partial.

His ideological antagonist was Habermas who believed that humans were perfectible and knowledge infinite. Foucault rejected such claims of a dialogical ethics in a counterdiscourse. Foucault thought that power had to be deconstructed to show how human interests had a power motivation, even with the universities. He thought that professors served the interests of the powers that be and not truth for its own sake. Habermas had no such idea. He thought that the unforced force of the better ideas prevails in an open market place of competing paradigms of knowledge. Habermas was all inclusive in his speech acts—open to the world. Foucault thought that was idealistic and not useful, in other words utopian. Habermas admired the classical natural rights advocated by Kant and his emphasis on both pure and practical reason in tandem with the civic republicanism of Rousseau. Ultimately, Habermas thought that there could be a democratic state of a global nature. Foucault contrarily believed that there could be only islets of liberation, in the individual body, even accentuated by the infliction of pain to intensify the experience of living. Sexual minority groups too found a champion in Foucault. In other words, Foucault championed the wretched of the earth by political praxis. Habermas distances himself from political engagement as the incarnation of the German Mandarin philosopher. Nonetheless, his encyclopedic knowledge has no equal in the moral and social sciences. The study of morals could be empirical but not in the way of studying the natural sciences. Foucault thought of morality as a slave mentality in which the masters lorded over the slaves, the strong over the weak. Habermas thought there had to be an emancipatory thrust to science if the Enlightenment ideals were to be obtained. That entailed a philosophical scheme free of grand theory. He worked with limited hypotheses to achieve small gains on which to build a more human and tolerant future society. Habermas wanted a complete makeover of man, in contrast.

Nietzschean in nature is the theme of Foucault who thought that reason degenerated human beings by denying the needs of the natural man, as opposed to the socialized man who has to conform to the monetarization and bureaucratization of society, as Habermas put it. The latter said evil is the commodity to commodity relationship between human beings. Foucault found evil in reason in that it attached itself to totalitarian goals such as the communist man of the former Soviet Union and the homo oeconomicus of American consumer society, where false status accrues by spending moneys that you do not have through credit cards in the often false expectation that your earnings in the future will be much greater. Pure reason enunciates prophetic hopes that seldom can be achieved, especially in its totalizing sense. The flip side of reason is false consciousness, in which a person entertains a delusional representation of reality that cannot be realized. It is the equivalent of neurosis in the sense of Freud, and madness for Foucault. If you lose your job, then you are no longer considered a man in our society that measures worth by current productivity. Foucault lived by the deed rather than by the prescriptions of a civilized capitalist economy, which necessarily itself had to be barbaric in its consequences of systematizing and structuring society to serve the profit motive.

He wrote several key books on the above topics.

The Order of Things
Madness and Civilization
Discipline and Punish
The History of Sexuality



Lecture Notes on John Rawls/Jürgen Habermas

John Rawls's *A Theory of Justice* (1971)

"It seems to be one of the fixed points of our considered judgments that no one deserves his place in the distribution of native endowments, any more than one deserves one's initial starting place in society. The assertion that a man deserves the superior character that enables him to make the effort to cultivate his abilities is equally problematic; for his character depends upon fortunate family and social circumstances for which he can claim no credit."

John Rawls works on a limited number of critical concepts in which there is a social contract among rational beings who achieve universal consensus through discursive will formation.

1. There is an original position in which the potential citizen forges a social contract for one purpose of fairly dividing the society's natural assets both corporate and individual. The original position is taken from a utopian standpoint because the negotiator of the status in the future society leaves an individual to start from the beginnings of a fair social society. There are two concerns here. The first concerns that liberties are equally accessible by all. The second is that principles of justice are universalizable. There is a problem of individual methodological individualism in that precepts for the individual are generalized to all in the polity. This original position entails no less than drawing up a universally assented to social contract that any reasonable person could adhere to its precepts. In the background, the Categorical Imperative of Kant proves to be foundational in that reason deontologically is given to the individual as a morally autonomous human being. Neither Rawls nor Habermas took this perspective as axiomatic, but rather critically as a beginning for a modern philosophy that had postulated the Enlightenment promise of the Kingdom of Ends.

2. The individual will negotiate from a veil of ignorance in that he will not know where he will find himself in that future society as he starts from ahistorical negotiations that are prepolitical; hence, he will make sure that each status, distribution of goods in society, access to offices in society fairly requires the participants. That is the Principle of Efficiency because a rational person will want to be protected against the real possibility that he will be in the most disadvantaged group in society. Hence, he will see to it that the least advantaged have all their primary needs met in a way that all in the social contract will concur for reasons of achieving a consensus. The veil of ignorance entails universal impartial observers who could reasonably assent to any of the given liberties and rewards of his given station in life. Herein lies a possible utilitarian view of the greatest good to the greatest number; however, Rawls said in such a view the majority could oppress the minority.

3. The maximin principle emphasizes that you enhance the positions of the least advantaged of that society so that they will participate while not offending the most well to do in this welfare state in which there is redistributive taxes.

4. The Difference Principle signifies that this just society will act fairly because all are willing participants. The most advantaged will gain their minimal needs with the universal consensus of all the other social statuses in the society, which is hierarchical in nature. There might not be an equal distribution of all primary goods because it will be in the interests of the public.

5. There is an assumption that capitalism can reform itself. The mechanism is the welfare state where all people live in fraternity. There prevails a family feeling throughout society between individuals where competition is nonantagonistic. Rawls concerns himself with the Efficiency Principle, in which basic liberties are a primary good to be distributed equally throughout a democratic nation state with a stable constitution. So, redistribution of rights is a concern to bring about an equitable society in the polity—as long as the most disadvantaged gain goods and services that would not otherwise be the case under any other scenario.

6. There is "weak" affirmative action to assure that at the very least there is equality of opportunity among all categories of people while still maintaining meritocratic principles that are rational and commonsensical. Too, if necessary, there can be an equality of outcome if serving the requirements of fairness and social justice, which can be construed as "strong" affirmative action.

7. The question becomes do the public good and liberties and public morality coincide? Should public policy promote justice or profits for the stockholders? Individuals might be sacrificed for the good of all to rectify historical wrongs. Reflective equilibrium will allow the public to make a consensual decision.

Rawls has been influenced by a cross fertilization of Rousseau and Kant.

Principles

1. Universality (antiperfectionism of a quasi-permanent character presumes that there will be an egalitarian community of virtuous citizens engaged in discursive will formation at the overlapping political and private levels that are integrated in their public behaviors) versus particularism (the cultural determinism of a utilitarian society, that is capitalist political economy, in which public policy and private morality can be calculated with a specific value). Utilitarianism can be compatible in a capitalist society where the majority prevails, yet have a barbaric institution like slavery.

2. The values of Rawls are those that put a premium on the attributes of pluralism and civility, in which differences of systems of belief/ value systems overlap. The citizen is a generalized one of a benevolent, transcendental and *impartial* spectator who can espouse a General Will against the will of all (partisan groups and their interests).

3. For Rawls, democracy is more procedural than substantive in value. The Social Contract promotes equality of opportunity, while substantively arguing, as the subtext, for a welfare state in which there is equality of outcome that allows for the punishment of individuals of merit for the sake of the public good, for instance, in affirmative action programs.

4. He seems to have no other assumption of human nature than that people are rational; that is antihistorical in its world view. The History of Man shows repeated breakdowns and radical discontinuities in any purposeful development toward democracy, as promoted in the version by American foreign policy since Theodore Roosevelt to apply the Monroe Doctrine globally that embodies an ideological imperialism. History has demonstrated that human nature cannot be remade by political means to revolutionize socioeconomic inequality inherited from previous generations. History has shown a cumulative tendency toward modernization of the means of production; however, there is no inherent tendency toward the redistribution of wealth among the classes, least of all the worst off. That challenges the difference principle of Rawls as being of utopian sentimentality, devoid of the realism of realpolitik as practiced by experienced statesmen since man began recording the chronicle of human events. The same criticism applies to the Principle of Difference.

5. The politics of Rawls puts a premium on the maximin principle, in which the redistribution of goods and

talents goes towards the worst off while also benefiting those who are the social and political elite. The powers that be in the great states that make history have shown no such beneficent proclivities.

6. Rawls has created a utopian measure of society by which to gauge justice in practice and fairness in principle. It is a set of ethical standards by which to measure human progress to the evolution of more humane institutions.

Jürgen Habermas (1929-)

Quotation from *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity: Twelve Lectures*. Habermas performs a critical commentary on Foucault:

"It was the human sciences that then, in a subtle manner, extended the normalizing effects of this bodily dimension into the innermost sphere of scientifically objectified persons and populations who were simultaneously driven back into subjectivity. *In their very form*, the human sciences are supposed to present an amalgam of knowledge and power; *the formation of power and the formation of knowledge compose an indissoluble unity.*"

Juergen Habermas has fashioned a discursive ethics that pivots on two major debates in his time: The Historians' Debate on the Holocaust and German responsibility; and the Methodological Debate, as seen in the above quotation. Discursive will formation has to deal with a disrupted consensus in the strategic realm of public life because of the triumph of scientism, and its specialized interest groups, in exercising an ideological hegemony of the natural over the human sciences to the detriment of the latter. The discursive will formation creates an intersubjective ethics that decenters the ego. Habermas calls it communicative action that leads to a competence in the domains of public and private life such that the two are not alienated from each other and attain an ethical unity in truth prevailing over error, signified in the saying: "Let the unforced force of the best argument prevail in the marketplace of ideas." Habermas obviously still believes in the Enlightenment ideal of the perfection of man and the inevitability of progress, even in matters of ethical development to higher stages where there is an enlarged consciousness that creates a communitarian interest among all likeminded folk. He believes that men naturally are rational; when that rationality breaks down violence purges the impure ideologies, because they are pathological, so as to build a new consensus. He uses the psychoanalytic model of Freud to direct the effort toward self-enlightenment. The "talking through" therapy apparently can be applied to political discussion as well. Exactly who are the therapists and how transference can be affected has to be more fully developed in an epistemological sense.

Issues of alienation and reification are paramount in Habermas' works in which he analyzes the juridification of society and the administration of things through bureaucracies that run all our major institutions such that the relationship between individuals devolves into the mutually indifferent relationship between things. Also, he talks of the monetarization of the political economy in which workers cannot relate to each other because of the mutual estrangement towards each other by the cash nexus. The political economy is patriarchal and hierarchal with workers, citizens, and students, for example, tied to a chain of commands and rules whereby they have no meaningful and significant input into the system per se. Habermas warns of mistaking what should be for is, that is, the omnipotence of ideas among intellectuals that disallows for ambiguities in the public sphere and private domains of conflict resolution. That intolerance is disruptive of a communicative ethics. Too, he discusses the emancipatory effects in counterdiscourse in marginal groups, like the ecology movement, in which democratic practices prevail so as to provide a model of liberation for the greater public. If people's needs cannot be met, then legitimacy deficits may be incurred by the system that undermines its authority and necessarily leads to anomie and *ressentiment*.

He elaborates on themes of knowledge and human interests that are always mediated by centers of power. He calls for the aestheticizing of pure and practical reason so as to evolve a moral consciousness

that takes into account the ability to assume the position of the Other in discussions leading to a public consensus. That is the road to Freedom. Obviously, there are residual elements of Hegel and Marx in Habermas.

"The forces of production have overwhelmed the relations of production: or capital = money trumps nation state politics in commanding loyalties of citizens and dictating norms of action. We are citizens of the world de facto." Dr. Schindler, 17 March, 2007

Habermas holds to the norm of an eventual constitutional patriotism to replace outdated notions of toxic nationalism, mainly using the European experience of the twentieth century. The state can no longer fulfill life world needs of its people. The socioeconomic structure of capitalism has created a global village, needing new political forms for the post Keynesian era, formerly based on demand side economics of the welfare state. The currency of money has replaced power as the currency or common denominator for strategic actions in the public sphere. Market forces now globally determine the allocations of scarce goods and services. Those already advantaged have an intrinsic edge in not so open market competition for the values of life and capital. Neo-liberalism has triumphed where there is minimal state action and multinational corporations rule the world. The state is impotent insofar as capital is highly mobile across borders. Capital equals money equals power, reversing the traditional trinity. The welfare state has become outmoded because of a too delimited tax base to maintain it. It no longer can steer demands from the populace and the system's ability to generate capital values to meet that demand. Hence, the state necessarily dispenses with surplus population as redundant, as in the case of New Orleans. Of course, a capital gains tax would alter that scenario, but the established powers have no inclination to waste valuable resources on poor people. For the future to hold hope, the public intellectuals must work on building blocs of confederation, federation, and world government in order for private needs to be met by public availability of funding, which is certainly there. There have been four major eras in man's history of building wealth: agricultural; factory and assembly line; knowledge and services, such as teaching, administering, and providing health; and the last stage is current in that information and high technology instantaneously circulate capital via a world wired electronically. To even be a player, an individual must have computer knowledge and ownership of access to such hardware in his home and person.

"And the status quo of today is nothing other than the whirlpool of an accelerating modernization that has been left to its own devices." Jürgen Habermas, *The Postnational Constellation: Political Essays* (2001)

Modernization created the state and all the hateful crimes of nationalism of the twentieth century. Habermas wishes for a postmodernism that crosses national boundaries to create a consensus on the core values of a unified world where all are included in a discourse ethics. That necessarily means the enlightenment ideal of universal education as a prerequisite. There have to be intermediary social and political forms between the masses and the outdated nation state system that no longer can meet the legitimate, democratic concerns of all people for the good life in terms of quality of life, and not just the quantity of mass goods that are not fairly distributed. The means are there. What is absent is the will for concerted action to overcome provincial and spiteful loyalties of a tribal nature for species' needs to be met: that entails guaranteeing health, human rights, the environment, a good job, a meaningful career, equal access to centers of power and money which combines rewards on both criteria of merit and need. If individuals disregard that concern, then there will be endless wars based on archaic mores of religion, race, gender, class, and nationality. The time is at hand to build a discursive will formation that circumscribes the world to include all in the conversations of man and men.

Habermas Encounters Marx

"If we assume, further, that the phenomena of the loss of meaning and freedom do not turn up by chance but are structurally generated, we must try to explain why media-steered subsystems develop *irresistible inner dynamics* that *bring about* the colonization of the lifeworld and its segmentation from science, morality, and art." (*The Theory of Communicative Action II*, 330-331 (1987).

"Greed is good."—Gordon Gekko, *Wall Street* (1987)

Greed obviously is not good, despite media portrayals to the contrary. The sum of private vices has not led to the public good but rather a deep recession; in fact, the Great Recession of 2008. Nonetheless, President Obama is beholden to the interests of Wall Street to remain electable. His cabinet is staffed by many elite investment banker types who have not the people mind when they give advice to the president. The situation is so absurd that failed institutional chief executive officers are paid out tens of millions of dollars from taxpayers' moneys with little thought as to the *irresistible inner dynamics* that have *brought about* the colonization of the White House and Congress (particularly the Senate) of whatever political persuasion by special interest groups that give lie to the prescriptions of the constitution that legitimizes and sanctify popular sovereignty. Economic issues are beyond the understanding of the average lay person. By default of knowledge, the moneyed interests have taken the power away from the people and turned it into political capital to establish a plutocracy into the indefinite future. Capitalist democracy is a contradiction not just in logic but in everyday practices of the political economy.

This discursive will formation, as detailed by Habermas, resulted in the creation of his two volume *magnum opus*, *The Theory of Communicative Action* (1983, 1987). Essentially, Habermas has created a counterfactual world where there are no longer masters and slaves, but only subject/subject or self/other relations where an equality of individuals pertains. There is the ability to empathize with the other and meet his needs and he meets your needs such that a participatory democracy can be an attainable end. So, the possibilities lie within language itself as instruments to enlighten the engaged parties. When language makes people transparent to each other, there no longer will be the need to deceive in order to dominate. The truth will set you free. That premise of course is highly problematic. From Machiavelli and Hobbes to the postmodernists like Foucault, there were counter arguments given in the bodies of their respective writings. Habermas, however wonderful his desire for peace on earth, stands alone with a following that is clearly in the minority. The influence of Kant and Rousseau are obvious in this instance. However, Habermas assumes that material interests are a matter of mutual indifference. That is an assumption not so easy to take at face value. In fact, with the scarcity of resources in the world because of structural problems in the distribution of wealth, war, famine and disease follow in the Malthusian sense. The poor simply get poorer. The motivating value is a selfless search for truth, the above mentioned dialogical ethics. From the local practice of politics to world government, Habermas posits that there is a historical impetus from *Enlightenment Reason* to build institutions in which the government coincides with the political economy of capitalism and socialist states, eventually encompassing the impoverished nations of the third and fourth worlds. Unfortunately, he grossly underestimates the power of nationalism, even in his own Germany, where minority groups from the third world are not welcome and in fact discriminated against, for instance, the Turks and Greeks.

Habermas took inspiration from Marx, and in a sense rehabilitated him by his innovation of a dialogical ethics, so lacking in his historical role model. Marx had a reason that could not reflect upon its own constitution with a linguistic theory. Marx believed language to be superstructural in nature, reflecting the domination of the bourgeois class in the state and society. Habermas argues that there is an emancipatory thrust in language, in which all the parties to a conflict look into their internal contradictions of argument and then draw conclusions that involve a politics of consent, rather than mutual annihilation, for example by looking at the totality of the late Soviet's Union's history.

There is an ethics of care in Habermas because he was influenced by the feminist movement; power would be dispersed horizontally within society. There was an attempt to move from universal, procedural modes of dialogue to concrete instances, historically validated; for example, he took up the case of women, Jews, and the species' interest of nature.

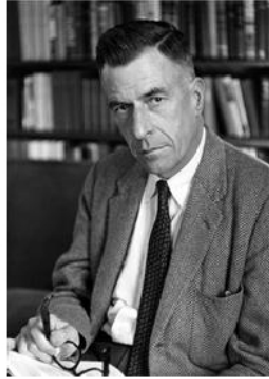
Habermas started off as a Marxist. However, in the end, he rejected his more violent prescriptions; more importantly, he thought the locus of struggle was for the control of modes of linguistic speech, for how you talk and think will enable you to overcome the colonization of the lifeworld to achieve an intersubjective freedom that has specific referents of an empirical nature. He much wanted to unite the social and moral sciences in order to allow for an emancipatory thrust, in which definite emancipatory values could be

espoused without constraints, and nonetheless fleshed out in historical context, for instance, the right of women to full equality.

Habermas strongly advocates a *constitutional patriotism*. He wants the Basic Law of Germany to be reconsidered so as to allow the citizens en masse to create a public debate in open forums that exclude no one who agrees to agree and if not to tolerate differences in opinion in the hope of changing minds under different conditions in future argumentation. He wants a unified Germany to look to the future of a United Europe, not to the provincial past of Schmitt and Heidegger who exalted the *Volksgemeinschaft*. Habermas believes that Auschwitz represents ground zero in terms of moral communicative competency and a state inspired instrumental reason applied toward resolving primeval hatreds by making the Other unworthy of life—in other words, to be exterminated. Habermas believes that it would be evil for Germany to try to reconstruct its past in order to salvage any aspects of its militaristic and anti-Semitic past. The new Germany is to be *multicultural* to be in line with the forces of modernity that are making a global village, or a global political economy with economic coherence and the possibility of confederating states into a world government. That is his Enlightenment ideal for Germany totally to annihilate its collective mentality for sentimentalizing certain periods of its barbaric past. It is neither to be forgiven nor forgotten. He realizes that that prospect will lead to an interminable discussion with no immediate resolution other than with a transfiguration of young Germans into good Europeans and eventually into citizens of the world—in short, racially tolerant.

Habermas posits an idea that is most dangerous throughout the corpus of his works. He says, in the final analysis, that there is only really one Truth in the process of discursive will formation. This idea resonates too closely to the eschaton of Marx's classless, communist society, in which the truth of History has been realized. This idea of Truth resonates too closely to Rousseau's General Will, which climaxed in the French Revolution. In the case of the latter two thinkers, posthumously, revolutions were made in their names, respectively in Russia and France. Might there not be the same threat that a left-wing revolution, in the name of redeeming Germany, fashions a sanguinary revolution in order to cleanse Germany of its historical 'impurities' so as to create a post Enlightenment man by a despot who has the key to history? And in the name of consummating the constitutional patriotism of Habermas engage in a world war to disseminate the Truth to the unwashed? Of course, such an outcome would be a complete contradiction of all that Habermas represents in terms of advocating a participatory democracy. However, there are parallels in history. Marx himself had been misused by Lenin and Stalin to make a revolution that contradicted the spirit of humanism that characterized Marx's work to salvage the messianic view of the Jews to attain the promised land of freedom. By twisting his promise, the deliverers of that freedom in the Soviet Union turned out to be tyrants. That similarly could occur with the immense body of writings of Habermas that could be "reinterpreted" selectively by re-reading parts of his works to suit a political agenda to justify a tyrant on a world scale.

In the omnipotence of the word, there can gestate unlimited evil. The ideal speech community demands consensus in the name of Truth. Given extreme political situations, absolutism of ideas gives way to ideological ruthlessness to make reality fit ideals. In the name of absolutist values, the most terrible crimes in history have been committed. Habermas' writings can breed extremism in the guise of an emancipatory interest. Rawls, on the other hand, restricts himself to historical contingencies to allow for human fallibility. So, personally, I prefer Rawls to Habermas, even though both have polymath systems that are total in nature. Americans have a tradition of pragmatism that circumscribes extremist politics; the contrary has been true of Germany, lacking in depth democratic structures of institutions and the democratic mentality of respecting those who are other than German in their thinking, doing, and willing.



Karl Marx (1818-1883), John Rawls (1921-2002), and John Kenneth Galbraith (1908-2006)

The Cash Nexus, the Difference Principle, and the Dependence Effect

There is a line of thought from Marx, Rawls, and Galbraith that underlines the continuity of the key theme of Marx's early writings on alienation. Marx's concept of fetish commodity is an examination of the impersonal relationship between employers and employed embodied in their cash nexus in which the employee has only his labor power to offer to the capitalist boss. That spells out an object/object relationship. With Rawls, there is an emphasis on those who are the least advantaged, a concept that can cover groups of people such as workers, students, the underemployed, women, the handicapped, and so forth. Goods and services are to be fairly redistributed from the universal principle of consensus in which the rich agree to their resources being taxed to allow life to be livable for those who cannot make a living because of structural and functional defects in the capitalist system. That idea was the basis of affirmative action programs, of which Rawls was an outstanding proponent. Of course, that scenario is only an ideal. Empirically, the rich fight any tax on the basis of the inalienable right to property. Hence, the disadvantaged will always be alienated from the system. President Obama does promise changes, in which he appears to be willing to attack the rich who have plundered the country since the Reagan administration.

Galbraith offers a new way of looking at the poor with his analysis of the Dependence Effect. In essence, he claims production creates false needs because of the advertising industry. Americans buy things they do not really need, unselfconsciously. That keeps the economy on an even financial keel in encouraging habituated spending, but undermines public morality by consuming commodities, such as cigarettes and alcohol (usually cross-addicted), that are inherently toxic. There is little stimulus to eat wholesome foods. The American obesity epidemic demonstrates the dependence effect too well in that Americans mindlessly consume whatever bad foods are laid before them because advertising appeals to psychological needs and cravings that make people feel good about themselves simply by the act of purchasing and hence give an opaque sense of empowerment. What is provided has been done cheaply, although to the overall detriment of the national interest: an unhealthy population requires medical remediation in the future that could have been avoided had people been made more aware of how advertising manipulates them so readily, particularly the poor who do not have access to health care services, educational facilities, and the money required to for lifestyles that are better for health and longevity. Distorted information undermines exercise of free choice. The dependence effect appeals to a time preference that has no future in that false needs condition consumers to buy on impulse and immediately. Those who are least advantaged will succumb to this syndrome in a way that perpetuates negative lifestyles intergenerationally in the name of liberty.

In *The Affluent Society*, these topics are undertaken for critical review. In particular, Galbraith makes two points. The public sector, in particular education, suffers with advertising going for the private sector. Advertising targets the consumer. The public sector has only a few advocates in public intellectuals, of whom Galbraith is one of the last great ones. Because consumers are psychologically egoistical, the

advertising cadres find it easier to promote items like fancy cars and mansions over new schools and modernization of the transportation infrastructure, among a host of reforms on the platform of President Obama. In the end, Galbraith favors human capital in the form of education and more education. The greatest natural resource of a nation is its qualified and talented people occupying positions appropriate to their level of skills and intelligence. Basically Galbraith believes in reform through ardent public advocacy; he is in the forefront of a Mandarin class that talks on behalf of the poor. Economists like Milton Friedman and Paul Krugman say he is paternalistic. His paternalism undercuts the sovereignty of the consumer, who is not as gullible as Galbraith portrays. The truth is really somewhere in the muddle between these contending philosophies of political economy (really the science of morals of national collectivities).

The way to break this cycle of poverty is to provide fair access to the ample resources of education, although there is free public school education, the better education offered by the elite universities by and large is closed to the various minority groups. Even if admitted through affirmative action, poverty will tend to press high numbers of disadvantaged students to abandon their studies because they cannot afford to maintain their physical well-being over time. Lack of money is the principal reason for high dropout rate among the disadvantaged, not moral viciousness nor intellectual deficits.

Galbraith, a great Harvard professor, did have a sense of humor as evidenced by this quotation:

"Under capitalism, man exploits man. Under communism, it's the opposite."



Alan Greenspan (1927--) Irrational Exuberance

"Clearly, sustained low inflation implies less uncertainty about the future, and lower risk premiums imply higher prices of stocks and other earning assets. We can see that in the inverse relationship exhibited by price/earnings ratios and the rate of inflation in the past. But how do we know when irrational exuberance has unduly escalated asset values, which then become subject to unexpected and prolonged contractions as they have in Japan over the past decade?"—
December 5, 1996, American Enterprise Institute speech.

Over the years, Greenspan articulated the principle of **irrational exuberance**. In actuality, the phrase appeared only once in a major writing, cited above. But other economists have taken heart to it. In boom times, market participants follow a herd mentality, particularly in the housing sector, whereby bull market runs run amok in the hope of a further rise in prices. When countercyclical forces kick in to correct these eccentricities, there ensues a period of bust. That scenario applied for the latter part of 2008 to date, as of 20 April, 2009.

This concept will fit fine with the equity principle of Stiglitz in that when markets are no longer efficient, then equity suffers with the poor bearing the brunt of losses in income, jobs, quality of life, and life opportunities because of lessened access to capital, whether social, human, or political.

Joseph E. Stiglitz (1943--) The Equity/Efficiency Principle

"There is a morally compelling case for equity; but it also necessary if there is to be sustained growth. A country's most important resource is its people,..." (p. 46)

In his Making Globalization Work, Joseph Stiglitz advocates a powerful neo-Keynesian position to make globalization work. He deplores the divide between rich and poor nations, and within nations, the divide between the rich and poor with the middle class sinking economically into the lower recesses of a veiled class-derived status that has become quasi-permanent.

There is a conflict between two principles of efficiency versus equity. Efficiency entails the pursuit of profits to the exclusion of other concerns. The equity principle means questing for a meaningful, quality life in exchange for less income. Stiglitz values human capital, social capital, and a democratic polis as prerequisite institutions to be able to be a global actor. In the first instance, he puts a premium on free education and access to the Internet as the highest good and duty a state and its citizens should value. Social capital engenders community development where people can trust each and there is reciprocity of good deeds in a caring and nurturing environment. So, he advocates an ethics of care for marginalized groups. A democratic polity, in the third case, has the institutions to guarantee equal access of all citizens to these valued goods.

Stiglitz applies the same principles at an international level believing in a transfer of wealth to the developing nations so that globalization is truly all inclusive. The veil of ignorance, the social contract, and the difference principles are concepts of John Rawls that Stiglitz implicitly adapts to his thinking and writing. The equity and efficiency coefficients are diametrically opposed concepts. The principle of irrational exuberance in operations lead to a lack of equity between the rich and poor and also to a market place that is not efficient because information and scarce resources are distributed unequally and hence unfairly, influencing the political power of contending parties, interest groups, and factions who want to make public policy for the world political economy.



Twentieth-Century Philosophy: The Question of Evil

Situational Ethics

You have a sixty thousand dollar tuition grant to be divided among five categories of students. How would you divide it so that all would be happy with the distribution? We will employ natural law theory, which are the precepts and rules of reason, to make a unanimous decision. There are five quintiles, as follows:

1. The Rich Kid (inherited income of ten million dollars)
2. The Lawyer's daughter (income one hundred thousand dollars)
3. The School Teacher's son (income of fifty thousand dollars; both parents working)
4. The Bus Driver's daughter (income of twenty thousand dollars)
5. Two Unemployed Parents on welfare (ten thousand dollar allotment) with a son

You are to create a social contract that is a civil society, for this moment to distribute justly the moneys fairly. How do you proceed? What about the greedy Rogue? Too, all students have straight As. Use only merit and need as the two criteria for making your rational decision.

Use the following concepts of Rawls's utopia, below. How would they compare to what Hobbes and Locke would do?

1. The original position. 2. The veil of ignorance.
3. Maximin—maximize the minimum money that each category would accept as fair, while agreeing by consensus to what others achieve. The axiom is that the least privileged sector of society gets preferred treatment. That is the public good. Is it?
4. Distributive justice and efficiency with the least difference principle. Infer that the differences between categories would be based on a combination of need and talent. However, you want to mitigate any gross discrepancies in the allocation of scarce moneys so that consensus can be achieved. What is the optimum for each category if all are A students?
5. There is the assumption that capitalism can reform itself, which is the basis of the welfare state of Rawls. When does equality of opportunity become equality of outcome, which is not necessarily the intent of the participants in this communitarian democracy?
6. Rawls and his *A Theory of Justice* has fashioned the political philosophy and rationale of the welfare state. It assumes that in the redistribution of wealth and position innocent people will be hurt for the benefit of the public good. Is that true fairness?
7. Do public good and public morality coincide? Should public policy promote justice to rectify? historic wrongs that require innocent third parties to be sacrificed?

Prisoner's Dilemma: One Time and Multiple Time Encounters

<u>Options</u>	<u>Prisoner A</u>	<u>Prisoner B</u>
Conspirators Cooperate	-5 years	-5 years
"Rat Out"/Cooperate	go free -25 years	-25 years go free
<u>"Rat Out" Each Other</u>	<u>-10 years</u>	<u>-10 years</u>

I. The Good (Ethics)

A. Hobbes—peace

We must discuss factors that lead man to be irrational, such as competition stemming from scarcity; diffidence with a first strike capability of the person acting in "bad faith" to seize another person's property or even life; and honor, in which man seeks to be the "dominant wolf" because of his vainglory.

B. Locke—pursuit of life, liberty, and property; man is rational. C.
Rawls—justice is fairness; man optimizes his life's utilities.

II. State of Nature (Sociology of Knowledge)

A. Hobbes—historically true, but man is bad.

B. Locke—historically true, but man is good, and out of convenience forms a social contract.

C. Rawls—utopia—an ideal against which to measure man's progress toward social justice; a matter of sound judgment of what can be beautiful in life.

III. The Sovereign (Political Philosophy)

A. Hobbes—Leviathan.

B. Locke—King in Parliament.

C. Rawls—participatory democracy—information revolution.

IV. Society (Historiography—are the origins of society as described historically true?)

A. Hobbes—the rule of law with power ultimately in the hands of the absolute, but enlightened sovereign who delegates power. The sovereign is subject only to his conscience and God.

B. Locke—sovereignty cannot be alienated to a third party; always resides in the people with vested interests in society. The trustee is outside the contract.

C. Rawls—sovereignty in the community with people participating directly so that they form a social contract by unanimity—not efficient, given man's fractious nature.

V. The Economy (Philosophy of Science—in its heyday, how did England amass the capital to emerge as the dominant power in the world?)

Discuss the Protestant Work Ethic versus the mercantile states of the static Roman Catholic states, which had fixed estates with little or no social mobility, living off the plunder of their respective empires.

A. Hobbes—mercantile society; allow people to prosper to keep social stability; not so among nations. Sovereign through laws must protect property and men's lives because that is the reason that individuals alienated their power to legitimate the central government.

B. Locke—commercial, bourgeois society with persons judged by blend of money and merit (labor theory of value); still pre-Industrial Revolution.

C. Rawls—post-industrial society with a global village; social democracy prevails in an era of plenty.

Multiculturalism: "Hot" Issue

The idea of multiculturalism has to be defined against the traditional, classic body of knowledge and its models that have dominated the universities for the past hundred years. Our university system is based on the German example. Basically, there are the natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities. Science explains nature. Period. The social sciences and the humanities are value laden insofar as how you frame a question will determine the answer.

The question today is whether there are many paradigms to explain and understand the human condition. The multiculturalists say yes. They understand and explain via the mechanisms of race, class, sexual orientation, ideology, culture, gender, religion, physical handicap, status as a Vietnam veteran, and so forth. Each group argues that its point of view is equal to the next. The classicists and traditionalists argue that there can be only one truth in the final analysis, fixed for all time and natural, though they allow for a slow, organic development in which they assimilate the best from each new generation. It is really a battle of the radicals and revolutionaries versus the conservatives and reactionaries.

They are fighting the battle to the finish at the universities because universities are the ultimate guardians of the values of capitalist society and producers of the elite for the next generation of leaders. In the end, we are talking about who will rule the nation, anticipated in how knowledge is disseminated to the general society through the socialization process at the universities.

The general consensus is that the traditional and core body of knowledge and its teaching have broken down into constituent interest groups organized around departments, such as Jewish Studies, Women's Studies, African American Studies, and so forth, representing pressures from inside and outside the university who want radical change. Knowledge and its models are being put into attending to ethnic and gender pride and the self-esteem of members of former pariah groups, such as sexual minorities and Vietnam veterans. Too, special treatment is given to children of wealthy alumni and athletes, although that has always been the case. However, once you begin the path of appeasement, there is no end. In the final analysis, who does not think that their particular circumstances are exceptional?

Thus, relativism is the philosophy of the day in which whoever has the power defines what is to be studied and with what grants. We hold this trend most applicable to the humanities and social sciences because their disciplines are not strictly empirical but rather have a strong subjective, emotive, and value-ridden component. The university curricula have been rearranged along the following lines.

1. Political agitation is an integral part of devising new areas of study for students. Affirmative action and quotas are used to achieve a representational sample of the whole population. Open admissions, where uniform academic standards are set aside, aim for a political goal of equality. Equality through preferential treatment of historically mistreated groups is opposed to freedom to compete openly irrespective of your history. The traditionalists argue that this double standard is upsetting old, established guidelines of excellence and virtue to develop a moral/cultural elite best suited for the nation above particular interests. For instance, there is now a cap on Asian American students in the California university system. They are being punished for doing too well. This group is an unrivaled success story in terms of immediate adaptation to the system. So, there is reverse racism at work. In the end, you must balance achievement with ethical and humanitarian considerations to arrive at social equity.

2. A market mentality now prevails in which students shop for courses that make them feel better about themselves and courses that will enrich them by taking as many business credits as allowable. This commercialism reflects the original business foundations of our country.

3. "Political correctness" is the doctrine that certain topics, issues and questions are taboo to ask, for instance, why have so few women achieved eminence in the sciences; what is the real relationship of race and intelligence; what are the relative merits of cultures—every culture is now human, hence equal, so knowledge must be put into the service of empowering minority groups; what is the authority now of

the teacher in class if his tenure is put to a popular vote, so educators must be entertainers and politicians as well as scholars who publish; talk of abortion, eugenics, and euthanasia are suppressed so as not to offend anybody. But excellent teaching is offending prejudices by inciting rethinking to adapt to a changing world.

Charles Murray's *The Bell Curve*, Harold Bloom's *The Western Canon*, and Robert Hugh's *Culture of Complaint*, to name a few notorious examples, are slighted at universities because of their ultraconservative, if not reactionary viewpoints. Their theses are that the universities are producing professional politicians and bureaucrats who exploit being victims to such a degree that they are undermining their own limited, legitimate concerns. They are saying let the status quo make a case on even terms where there is an open competition of ideas. In effect, they feel the best of our Western heritage is being censured and politically edited to the extent where standards no longer have meaning in the academy. These two sides are extreme presentations. There is a large middle stratum who is saying "cool it" and "let's get to work and talk through these differences."

4. Nihilism presents itself in the universities. Anything goes.

5. When you arbitrarily discriminate for an individual, you correspondingly deny a place to another deserving individual, particularly in scholarship monies and grants. Universities are blatantly engaged in social engineering, compromising their disinterested roles as critics of society's weaknesses and strengths, and becoming participant in the political process as both agent and subject. Is this lobbying of interests and causes in their original purpose? If they become too political, do they become part of the problem in the intense partisanship characteristic of our new "attack" politics? Too, should they be the vanguard of the ruling political class as in the elite schools? Why are Marxist analyses tabooe in the more conservative institutions? Also, is it proper for the Christian Coalition to educate warriors for Christ based on faith alone and then place them into the public schools? Since Jews/Muslims and Hindus have no souls, they are not really welcome. Consider Falwell's Liberty University.

6. There is no longer objectivity about the "great works"—now subject to mediation and negotiation by people who are not even qualified. Often trivial or marginal texts are introduced to appease an audience who can no longer read critically. Most readers do not have the educated taste to tell a good piece of work from a bad one. The normative drive toward consensus in a university that disinterestedly pursues truth is gone, perhaps forever. Ideological factors displace due process. The civil discourse of mutual respect and recognition where the unforced force of the best argument prevails no longer holds true.

7. Interest group politics prevail, in which each group has veto power so that no one articulates a general interest above all groups. What we have in the end are mutually exclusive, antagonistic departments; there is no longer a healthy competition of ideas based on intrinsic merit. There are now deeper divisions between classes and races than at any time since the Second World War.

Will the democratization of education render an undergraduate degree without value? Do you really create equality with open admissions with no standards with the rationalization that everyone must be given a chance, however slim, to succeed? If they are passed along the system, what does that do to the degree? It becomes worthless because of an inflationary effect. There must be the freedom to allow conservative and radical points of view a full airing if we are to have integrity. The truth will set us free.

8. If religion is introduced by the right into the schools through a constitutional amendment, the result will be the end of the separation of church and state and we will become a confessional state. All our freedoms would be placed in jeopardy. Private interest groups based on religion will subvert universal and general education for all and make education a field for debates over moral conduct instead of teaching students the basic tools to survive in a highly competitive capitalist society. Belief in God or not-God will not help you hold a job or build the achievement-oriented character necessary for the work ethic. The end result can only be interminable litigation in a court system already overloaded with crank cases.

9. Is there a master model of how to approach multiculturalism? Yes. The destruction of European Jewry by the paganized bourgeois Christian world demonstrated the dangers when a political/cultural/educational elite puts itself into the service of a totalitarian society: nationalism plus racism plus imperialism equals genocide in an era where it is now technologically feasible. The Jews' fate is our fate because we all have lost a way of life, leading thinkers, artists and scientists, and a population. World War II was ground zero for our collective morality.

The murderers were abetted by those who knew and stood by, including the top officials in the governments of the United States and Great Britain. The destruction of the Jews was not in the interest of the species, humanity, or the forces of life, Eros. The death instinct or unbridled aggression triumphed in the Second World War since Hitler did achieve his main biopolitical objective and Stalin conquered Eastern Europe. Realpolitik superseded common sense and human decency. We know there were Righteous Gentiles; hence, we have a starting point from ground zero to build for a better humanity.

Marginalized groups, the outcasts, need a weapon. That is to be found in higher education. If the truth is not politically manipulated, then it will be the antidote to the big lies that make totalitarian movements so attractive to mob actions. The ultimate payoff is a victory for Eros, which binds people together in cooperation, and mutual respect and recognition. Then, you are a citizen of the world where all are at home and welcome. Universities can be a focal point for such praxis since their diversity represents the world. But that diversity must be able to produce and perform to objective criteria of the real world, and go into society civilized and ready to work and love without being part of Freud's civilization and its discontents' mentality, that is, neurosis-ridden and dysfunctional like Joseph K. of Kafka's *The Trial*.



Esteemed Colleagues:

The nonagenarian Dr. Jacques Barzun has come out with his magnum opus *From Dawn to Decadence* this year [2000]. If ever the adage held true of respecting your elders, he would be the model. The last time I heard him lecture was in 1965 at Columbia University on the Romantics and the French Revolution. He seemed old then; in fact, he was then what I am now in age. Then, I lost contact with him for thirty-five years. What I particularly like about the person is his founding of the Reader's Subscription Book Club, as he makes available at popular prices priceless books. I just received a two-volume set at a 50 percent discount (making it affordable), of the total correspondence of Walter Benjamin, the renowned humanist Marxist and Hebrew Studies scholar who suffered a crisis of faith in his last year of life. What I appreciate about Professor Barzun is his tolerance; he would never let ideology, or even personal dislike, interfere with professional judgment about publishing works that are anathema to his norms.

He is a highly conservative thinker who believes the thrust toward the emancipation of the individual has been the leitmotif of history since 1500. He understands world history; but remember, history is a very idiosyncratic interpretation of a peculiar kind according to your worldview. The writer is a signifier for a "collective mentality" in the final analysis. The Renaissance and the Reformation, according to our author, were overlapping happenings in the sixteenth century that worked for the liberation of individual men and women from tradition. Barzun expresses problems with evaluating the Enlightenment and the Age of Reason, which he roughly equates with the year 1750 when England underwent an agrarian and mechanical arts revolution (the Industrial Revolution) in which the techne of mass production alienated men from themselves (their very human nature divided against the mode of production that threatens the extinction of the species); that is, capitalism itself objectified the product, the social activity and the surplus value of the workers' labor. Labor, in its capitalist formation, persecuted men; men became an appendage of the machine, in the words of another thinker of the nineteenth century. It is in the course of this analysis that Barzun laments man's loss of his spirituality to materialism. In short, there is a disenchantment with the world when you perceive that you can not only not grasp its meaning, but much less be a heroic participant in its making of events (is this the elitist Carlyle speaking through his twenty-first-century medium?). Man becomes the incubus of mindless consumerism to salve his alienation from an anomic world. However, I must point out that the Industrial Revolution made England, arguably, the preeminent power from 1750 to 1920.

So, in Barzun's career of nearly seventy years, he remains the Romantic. I somewhat disagree with him that materialism precludes full emancipation. I believe that a certain standard of living, measured by quantitative indices, provides the baseline for enjoying life. He is more in the line of thinking that there is an inalienable right to property in a generic sense. If the worker does not enjoy it, then the state need not redistribute wealth to create equality of opportunity, such as Roosevelt did when he created the New Deal to spin out of the Great Depression, with World War II giving an extra impetus to productivity. The concept that property has a species origin, the means of production, is foreign to him. For him, the collectivity, in whatever form, threatens the liberties of men, and dampens reason and progress. So, he is on the freedom side of the freedom and equality continuum. Unfortunately, he believes the ultimate evil is boredom that comes from the acquisitive mentality of the West (he sounds like Weber and Tawney),

which is an essential part of his definition of decadence. To the contrary, if scholars look at the macro-level, the monopoly practices of "late" capitalism trammel the development of democracy and hence the emergence of the sentient and social individual, who can rise above his narcissistic concerns to involve himself in changing the environment while finally coming to a self-understanding that the processes of history do have a cunning reason, with a Hegelian twist in which Barzun would be stood righted. My problematic would be his uncritically bonding conceptually and empirically democracy and laissez-faire capitalism as the ideal political economy.

He claims our civilization has been on the verge of collapse since the first world war. I find that claim highly disputable. Granted, the level of mutual annihilation was unprecedented because of innovations in technology and strategy--or the lack thereof. However, the leaders still fought for traditional foreign policy goals, although the three empires of the Central Powers disintegrated, but scholars can attribute that phenomenon to their internal contradictions in which there was a certain inevitability and even desirability to that outcome. The turning point was 1917, when our own ally, Russia, had been for all realistic purposes knocked out of the war. Lenin came to power by putsch in the October Revolution; then Mussolini and Salazar in the twenties, followed by Hitler and Franco in the thirties. Humanity then found itself faced with barbarism because whole populations became targeted for physical extermination in which politics changed from traditional and limited foreign policy objectives to limitless expansion and ethnic genocide. Why Barzun should worry about Oprah Winfrey corrupting our youth, I find bemusing. I worry more that there has been a revival of the cult of Wagner worldwide. History does repeat itself; humankind certainly has memory parapraxes. This repetition cult (a fixation in time of a mythic and hence imaginary imago of the neurotic mind: for example, Valhalla) in the medium of music certainly has thanatopsistic (sic) undertones that vindicate Freud's construct of the Death Instinct. This displaced speechlessness from place defies progressive institutions working for the socialization of man. The forces of reaction ever again challenge the bases of civilization, born of Eros to deny man his "after-education."

—Ron Schindler

What to the African American and Professor Schindler is the meaning of the Fourth of July?

Address Given the Second of July, 1998 to the McNair Fellows at Temple University, Kiva Auditorium, Philadelphia

Re: Unconditional Gift: New Beginnings

Esteemed Colleagues:

Having myself been born into a working-class Jewish refugee family from National Socialist Germany of the thirties, I have always been acutely aware since childhood of being different but nonetheless special with a historical mission to fulfill. I acquit that obligation to you today as we come to celebrate our nation's birthday this weekend. But that revolution's promises have not yet been redeemed. So, let us today try to define once again the tasks at hand since my understanding of them might not coincide with yours. That would be good because it is the basis of academic discourse.

I grew up in a nurturing atmosphere, dearly loved by both parents. I have reciprocated in kind. I have honored my elders because they are living witnesses who survived this century's most evil deed: the genocide of my people in Europe. You, too, are survivors. I can walk in your shoes to an extent. As a person with limited financial means, I am willing to help you achieve your goals to the utmost extent that I can. I am the product of an excellent education through the Philadelphia public school system and a prestige university. Despite grinding poverty, I prevailed. Given free rein by my parents and the sacrifices of other people who befriended me in my coming to maturity with the best possible education, I am responsible, ultimately, for who I am and how I shall be remembered in the final analysis.

Life events changed radically when I went to an Ivy League school. I encountered prejudice because of my low income background and Jewish origins. The prejudice was not only among my fellow students but widespread in establishment professors who felt threatened by the social upheavals of the sixties. I was undaunted by the System. My class was all white except for one person. That struck me as odd. More so, I felt deeply offended by the flagrant lack of fairness in the status quo. Usually, a place in an Ivy League school underwrites your ticket to positions of power in our dominant political and economic class in commanding both social respect and community recognition. A system based on rigid guidelines of ideologically defined criteria of class, gender and race runs counter to a legitimate democracy. I want to be a force working with others with a like educational philosophy where no person ever has to apologize for his or her existence. The essence of being human is difference. The recognition of the other provides unity in that difference. When combined with respect, we might have a viable democracy.

Three decades later, despite significant civil rights legislation, the rules of the game have changed only in form not substance. We still have the unresolved issues of class, sex and race. These antagonisms exist despite the fact that there is unprecedented economic prosperity. All ships are supposed to rise with the flowing in of the tide. We had better find a better metaphor. My dinghy is still in repair at dockside. Laws can be expediently and cynically issued to appease the unpredictable changes in public mood. But how do you change attitudes that are deep-rooted in character? In part, charismatic and dedicated teachers like us in this forum can do that. We must make unsolicited commitments to people who are even less fortunate than ourselves, and hope by example that other decent people will be inspired to develop more loving demeanors. Dr. King taught us the power of soul force in his public demonstrations. Regrettably, this century has seen the collapse of Enlightenment ideals in this postmodern era of might makes right. Legitimate communal self-defense is our birthright, as we can see in the writings of Hannah Arendt and Malcolm X. Our freedoms must often times be baptized by blood in extreme situations. That is the American way of life, where you have to prove your humanity if you are not of the right blood line. The

distribution of wealth has never been more unjust than now so that your opportunities in life cannot help being constrained. Now is the time to send a message to the powers that be if there ever was a time to do so. If you bow before the false idol of the golden calf, forever hold your peace. As a benefactor, I want to enable you to overcome society's handicap of color.

So, I realize that by making a monetary gift I could start that moral revolution in seedling form that Dr. King had in mind. Act as if the maxim of your actions can be legislated authoritatively into a universal law. So said Kant. In short, my gift of these moneys, and additionally a not insignificant bequest in my will of one hundred thousand dollars in an insurance policy, has been inspired by a personal wish to subvert the Social Darwinism philosophy of Wall Street and our business civilization that makes for a war of each against all in fashioning an everyday life that is unworthy of our humanity. In short, I believe to be truly human I feel more myself by giving than receiving. That is my main message. I hope you can change the rules to replace the addiction to profits with human standards. Hence, I am being selfish in an enlightened way. When we are no longer under economic constraints that need not be, prejudice cannot find profit. In a spiritually renewed and politically reconstructed civil society where all can be engaged in win/win strategies by aiding each other, we can find rightful conduct will be dictated solely by conscience.

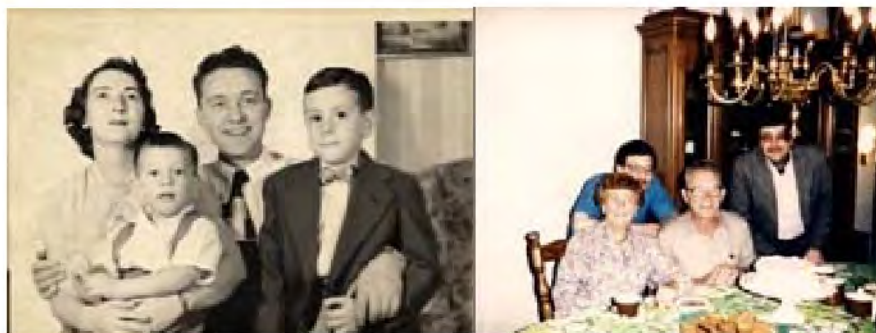
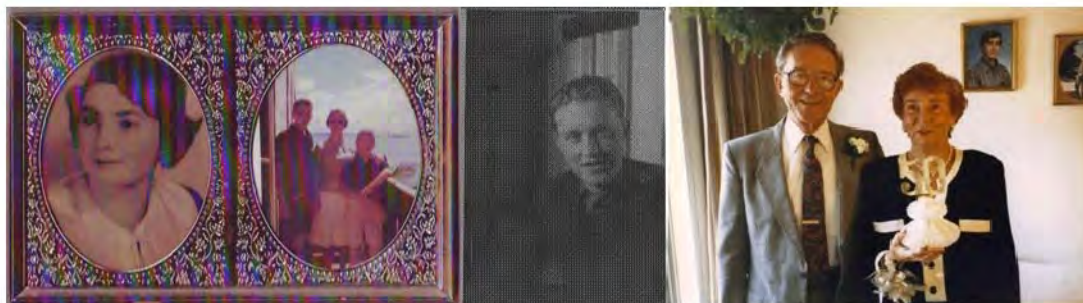
Our very survival in the next millennium will depend upon truth questers and moral revolutionaries who will be selfless leaders, who by their natural talents will create equality of opportunity. In you, I see the future not only of Temple University but of a reborn republic. By your sacrificial choice to be college teachers in spite of the historic outrages you have been enduring, I know intuitively that you are an elect and if there be a heaven above the heavens you will be God's chosen people of the third millennium. For the weak, we will evidence charity. That is our collective mission. We are today's freedom fighters. We are all friends here who will stand side by side. That is our historic duty to fulfill to find community and social equality. I am but one facilitator. I will be there for you always.

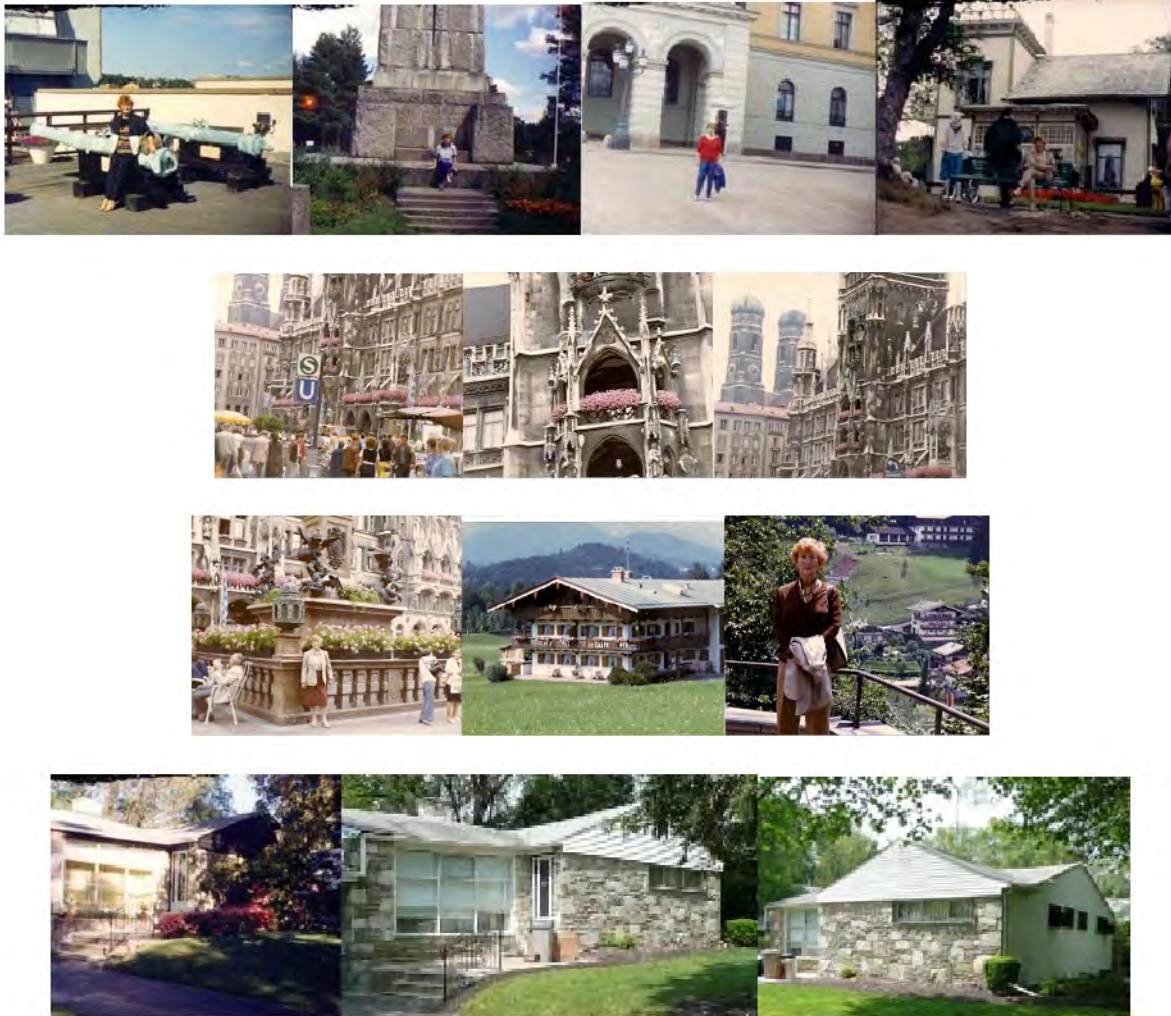
I feel honored by your presence and too kind acknowledgment.

Yours,

Ronald Jeremiah Schindler, Ph.D.

Unit 6: Witness





Erna Lowenthal Schindler

14 September 1916-19 January 2010

Mrs. Schindler was a Holocaust survivor. Ironically, the ninety-three-year-old and severely disabled Mrs. Schindler was murdered by her Russian Nazi neighbors in a hate campaign that lasted five years by a forty-seven-year-old "unemployed" Russian immigrant and his ten-year-old son, neighbors who live catty corner behind our house. The violence escalated over the years, climaxing in six break-ins of our house and ending with the infliction of bodily harm with the intent to kill. The father of this man is a powerful Russian landlord who knows how to fix the township system (called "The Machine" by those outside its jurisdiction) to give immunity to his antisocial son and equally morally disturbed grandson. I lived with my mother, and no effective help could be rendered by family members, Jewish institutions, neighbors, police, lawyers, and friends. The love and friendship between my mother and me bonded us closely, so we found our human dignity intact and our Jewish consciousness raised.

Erna was discriminated against by her heavy German accent, which she never lost. For instance, when she called the Anti-Defamation League, the receptionist hung up immediately. Ironically, it is by and large a Russian Jewish-controlled political instrument to serve the State of Israel. There is a mutual historical hatred between German Jews and Russian Jews that goes back to the nineteenth century. The Nazis were aware of this legacy and exploited it to divide and conquer, particularly in the concentration camps. Their wrath has now turned on me.

I hope that justice eventually will be set into inexorable motion to remove these enemies of the public from our society. Americans must be assured that immigrants do not bring over the bigotry of the Old World. In all senses of the word, this clan is anti-American and anti-Christian. American citizenship is not a right but a privilege with a distinct set of duties to respect others and not deny members of a religious minority their natural and human rights to pursue life, liberty, and happiness. I weep for America, who lost a loyal citizen and warm human being because the justice system simply does not work. If there was one word I could use to characterize Mrs. Schindler, it is integrity.

Too, she was an Aristotelian at heart, in that *mit maz und ziel* characterized her philosophic recommendation to me as the best way to conduct oneself. She never incurred debt that she could not quickly draw down. In running my family, she provided a model for the state, much as Aristotle looked to the family to model politics in Athens. Too, she was very fashionable, always dressing in good taste. She had the best clothes while still doing comparative shopping, often waiting a year to get the right bargain. She could postpone the need for gratification. She shocked me in May 2004, after telling me her net worth. She had never talked about money. The issue only came up in that I expressed concern about the life of adjunct faculty at various universities, which do not pay a living wage to their employees. She said don't worry, be happy! She said she had saved for me over the years, knowing I loved her unconditionally, showed her respect, and in her last eight years, after the death of Simon, was her caretaker, serving her round the clock, unstintingly. She appreciated my faithful devotion.



[Schindler Interview - Part1](#)

[Schindler Interview - Part2](#)

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An In-Depth Character Sketch of ERNA LOWENTHAL SCHINDLER: A Life of Duty, Devotion, and Good Deeds (14 September 1916-19 January 2010)

Enthusiastically written intermittently from 19 January 2010 to 13 May 2011

Erna Lowenthal was born 14 September 1916, in Munich, Germany. Her father was Julius Lowenthal, who made his livelihood by buying and selling farms in Bavaria. Her mother was Justine Kistler, who died young, when my mother was just ten. That death had an impact for life on my mother, who was an only child. She grew up lonely, even though she had a housekeeper, Paula, who eventually had to leave because of the Nuremberg Racial Laws. Her loneliness deepened with the loss of this young caretaker, who was very close in age and served more as a substitute older sister. Erna spent her spare time reading a lot. Her favorite book was The Count of Monte Cristo. Erna had an elite private school education at the Santa Anna Maria Gymnasium. She was very popular with all the different religious and ethnic groups in her school. Teachers loved her because of her enthusiasm and sharp mind. In particular, she excelled in French and gymnastics, and had she been allowed to retain her citizenship, she could have qualified for the 1936 Olympics. However, just as she graduated, further schooling and career opportunities were closed off to her when Hitler came to power. She went to work for the local Jewish newspaper. One day she returned from work only to discover her father had been taken away by the Gestapo.

She decided to leave Nazi Germany as soon as possible. That was made possible because her neighbor and boy friend, Simon Schindler, had contacts and money to arrange for her passage to America. They married the week after she arrived in March 1938. They were married for sixty-three years. She was completely faithful to him. She had two sons. She encouraged my intellectual activities at a very early age, buying me books from a sparse budget whenever the opportunity presented itself. Although "simply" a housewife, Erna managed all moneys in the household and arbitrated interest rates so that small sums eventually grew exponentially into a small fortune. Too, she had inherited two small sums from her father Julius Lowenthal and aunt Senta Kistler, which she subsequently managed successfully. She had come to America poor. Erna always remembered that. She gave generously to an assortment of charities. In particular, she felt for children, the disabled, handicapped war veterans, and old people, who are now our largest oppressed minority group. By her demeanor of modesty, she exhibited her main virtue in that she was never ostentatious in her mannerisms. I did not know how well off she was until the end of her life, when she assured me that I could pursue my passion for philosophy, as she had well endowed me with the finances to assure this gentlemanly pursuit. Erna always felt that money distorted human relationships; hence she played the role of the simple *Hausfrau* for most of her life, keeping her arbitrating ventures a secret. She was to do that role playing, recognizing that it is in human nature to slack off if you know there are guarantees in place in making your life projects. There is a need for a certain degree of anxiety to motivate workers to excel. Money is really a two-edged sword. It can empower you to get things, but also corrupt your drive toward excellence. Mrs. Schindler never fell under the spell of money's allurements; she worked as if she was poor her whole life. She was a product of both the Holocaust and the Great Depression.

Too, her expertise in the culinary arts excelled over many years with hot and exquisite meals prepared for the family every day of the week. On the last day when she left for her last trip to the hospital, she had made a superb dish of meat balls and spaghetti, even though she had the use of only one arm. My mother had a rage to live to the fullest and always be useful. Because of our devotion to and love for each other, she made me her sole heir. In her last ten years of life, I took care of her physical, emotional, and spiritual needs, as she had done for me when I was a child. She apologized to me for living so long, and she felt she had burdened me with my care taking role. As a loving son, I felt no such constraints.

Mrs. Erna Lowenthal Schindler had interesting personality traits. She was scrupulously honest in all her financial dealings with people. With family, friends, chance acquaintances, and authority figures, Erna expressed personal feelings in a very factual, commonsensical way. There was nothing phony or pretentious about her self-presentation. She hated debt and acquitted financial obligations in a timely

way. She could defer any needs for immediate gratification in order to achieve the greater goal of economic independence. She exercised the same judiciousness with her physical appearance. Erna hardly gained weight because of her ability to exercise will power, as she referred to herself as an old-fashioned woman. She could demonstrate virtue or moderation in whatever endeavor she found herself involved. She was the most real, authentic person I ever met, and her love for me she repeatedly demonstrated. In giving life to me, my mother went against the advice of her physician to abort me because of excessive internal bleeding. She put her life on the line to assure that I would see the light of day. Too, she was fearless and always spoke truth to power, although that would put her in personal danger at times. As a teenager, she stormed Gestapo Headquarters in Munich to attempt to release her father. She came close to being one more victim of the Holocaust, but fate intervened and allowed her to escape unpunished.

The one phrase that captures her essence as a moral person is heroic integrity. People who came to know her never had to guess if she had a hidden agenda in their dealings with her. No, she had none. She was the real deal, and she lives on in my soul as an inspiration to achieve great deeds in my chosen vocation of philosophy—independent of any academic affiliation.

She will not be forgotten. I thank her profoundly. A scholarship at a Jewish institution, as yet not determined, will be set up in her memory.



Introduction to Philosophy/Twentieth-Century Philosophy: The Moral Problem of Evil

Sophie's Choice

One of the themes of this course will be how to recover lost memories in order to learn the truth about ourselves. There is a tremendous *resistance* to learning the truth about ourselves because it injures our idealized self-concept. It requires an ego strength and integrity of character not common among ordinary people, so traumatized individuals *repress* the unthinkable.

In *Sophie's Choice*, the class will see the two main protagonists of the film dealing with the ghosts of the past that create a living hell in their relationship. Layer after layer of the truth discloses itself to Sophie as she returns to a primal crime committed on her in Auschwitz, a process that is unequaled in the annals of film making. Sophie's Jewish lover, Nathan, empathizes and at the same time cross-examines her throughout the narrative as to what compromises she had to make in order to survive. There is a third protagonist, Stingo, who articulates the story to the observer of this unfolding tragedy. He plays the role of the chorus (the audience). What observers helplessly witness is the very destruction of existence itself. The setting is the summer 1947 in Brooklyn, with flashbacks by Sophie to her painful losses in Cracow, Poland, and then Auschwitz. She has to make choices that are not really choices in that the system is rigged to let death trump, no matter what decision she could have made. There is a struggle between Eros and Thanatos, redemption through love—or death.

There are several questions to ask while viewing the film.

1. Is character fate? Could there have been any other rational outcome to this story?
2. Sophie is Catholic—a fallen one. Can she be considered an exemplar of the Holocaust in which the primary purpose of the extermination factories was to annihilate the Jews? After all, she is only there for "criminal" and not "racial crimes."
3. In the final scene in the bedroom, has redemption of both Sophie and Nathan been attained? Or is the ending a statement that it is better not to have been born in the first place—an ancient Greek precept of the Cynics? The theme of death as an ultimate resolution of life's conflicts shows itself in the poems of Emily Dickinson. It certainly raises the final question of whether philosophy is relevant for understanding profound evil.
4. The ancient Greeks had ways of defining evil. Plato thought of evil as taking the path of ignorance. Aristotle thought of evil as a life of viciousness and excess, which deviates from the ultimate golden mean of happiness; Epicurus defined evil as a life of pain. The most sophisticated version of evil was embodied in Augustine (really the early Middle Ages) in which your soul was

damned because you chose to turn away from God voluntarily, even though the decision had been foreordained. Of course, there is the issue of free will, which does not exactly fit into a scheme of a life that has been set in stone by God. In sum, just how relevant are these four thinkers for understanding unimaginable events that were to happen fifteen to twenty centuries later?

The early Augustine condemned the world as Manichean in nature, a world in which good and evil are in eternal combat; hence most people, concerned with earthly matters, could not partake of the paradise intimated in *The City of God*. After Auschwitz, would not the earthly kingdom be completely devoid of any promise of redemption? Are there any characters in the film who might be worthy of consideration of God's Grace, if momentarily you could assume the transcendent judgment of an Almighty Power? In fact, is there not a perspective that can really view all characters as pathetically tragic, hence needing the Grace of God to forgive earthly sins and weaknesses in character?

Also critique the characters from the standpoint of Plato, Aristotle, and Epicurus. How might they have written *Sophie's Choice* and with what other possibilities? In recent political philosophy, Augustine had a profound influence on Hannah Arendt. In particular, he influenced her concept of the faculties of willing and judging.

Identify the following quotation, which demonstrates the *radical evil* being portrayed.

"Did He not say, 'Suffer the little children to come unto Me'?"



A Lecture on the Holocaust

Lecture by Dr. Ronald Schindler, Spring 1995

[Dr. Schindler- A Lecture on the Holocaust](#)

Click on the link above to connect to Witness Interviews on www.RSchindler.com.



Position Paper on Christianity

Dr. Ronald Jeremiah Schindler

My position on the Roman Catholic Church is that there are moral wrongs that have to be corrected by the church itself in its relations to Jews on three counts: supersessionism; blood guilt; and the role of the church, under the leadership of Pope Pius XII, in World War II with its power of excommunication. The Roman Catholic Church is a world power in both the religious and political sense. Because of the power of the pope in his role of Vicar of God, he can influence the moral decisions of his flock. The institution has a history of anti-Semitism, reactionary conservatism, and misogyny that are part of the integral canons of the church itself. If it were to renounce these dogmas, then it would threaten its own legitimacy and right to dictate morality to its constituency.

This affects how American Catholics form their values in early childhood and family life. The view toward Jews is one of a junior partnership in religious matters. Because of the mixture of politics and religion in the American public forum, there is a condescending attitude not only toward Jews, but additionally toward other groups who do not acknowledge Christ as the savior of mankind. Films like Mel Gibson's *The Passion of the Christ* inflame hatred of the Jews by insinuating the collective blood guilt of the Jews in the death of Christ. The result can be a residual religious anti-Semitism in the workplace, invalidating my moral claims to teach a course on ethics in any individual or institutional capacity, which is a reason that I brought that topic to the course on occupational ethics and twentieth century philosophy and the question of evil.

When you call into question the religious credentials of a person of the Jewish faith, you cannot treat him as an equal and this can lead from religious intolerance to the question of the right of a dissenter to life itself. Hence the Church abetted, however indirectly, a line of thinking that led from religious intolerance to the exterminationist, racial policies of the Hitler regime. The Vatican was the first government to give diplomatic recognition of Hitler, hence giving him respectability. Of course, Hitler dismissed Jews from all aspects of German life by stripping them of civil rights as a prelude to the Holocaust. The Church remained silent, which can be interpreted as complicity. The Church is now considering giving sainthood to Pope Pius XII, which would morally legitimize the complicitous, passive role of the Church in the Jewish genocide. I find the Church to be morally obtuse in this matter of interfaith relations.

I am disturbed how Jews convert to Christian denominations, not from sincere religious beliefs. The case seems to be the strategic advantage that a person gains at the work site by seemingly assimilating himself to the majority culture. If you are a "bad" Jew, in bad faith, you cannot be a "good" Christian. Christian denominations, in general, should desist from proselytizing in the Jewish community as a gesture of good will to further acknowledgement of the plural nature of our democratic society.

As I write this paper on the evening of the fifth of April 2009, I found literature exhorting me to convert to the true messiah. I simply tore up the propaganda, as I find it not de rigeur to slip literature underneath fellow citizens' doors, showing disrespect for their peace of mind.

Ludwig Stadler's Story: The Almost Forgotten Righteous Gentile

There was a Christian hero on the Lowenthal side of my family's history. They were German Jews for centuries. By 1938, my maternal grandfather, Julius Lowenthal, had lost his job, family, citizenship, and human rights in the city of Munich. After Kristallnacht, he was a fugitive from "justice," although he had served the German army with distinction in the First World War. There was a man named Ludwig Stadler, who gave sanctuary in his home, at great risk to his family, to his good friend and neighbor. His Jewishness was never an issue for this friend. Knowing he would put at risk the life of this righteous gentile and his family members, my grandfather turned himself in to the Gestapo in 1943. He found himself in Theresienstadt, the so-called "model camp." Ludwig Stadler at great risk to himself and with much ingenuity sent food packages to my grandfather and several fellow prisoners. That noble gesture undoubtedly saved their lives. After liberation, Mr. Stadler took his friend into his home and nursed him back to health. Julius Lowenthal died in 1947. Mr. Stadler, who owned a textile factory, survived him by twenty-five years, never forgetting his comrade. My mother told me he was a very merry soul who liked to party. I see a different side to this pleasure-loving man. He is a hero who can be defined by Kant's moral conception of the good will. Ludwig Stadler's name is not recorded in Yad Vashem, but nonetheless he will be memorialized by the account in this web site.

Saving one life is like saving humanity; saving several lives is like bringing heaven to earth. As long as we remember and pay homage to the righteous of all denominations and creeds, life will not have been lived in vain.

May all these gentle souls rest in peace.





Poem 712 by Emily Dickinson (1863)

Because I could not stop for Death—
He kindly stopped for me—
The Carriage held just ourselves—
and Immortality.

We slowly drove—He knew no haste
And I had put away
My labor and my leisure too
For His Civility—

We passed the School, where
Children strove
At Recess—in the Ring—
We passed the Fields of Gazing
Grain—
We passed the Setting Sun—

Or rather—He passed Us—
The Dews drew quivering and chill—
For only Gossamer, my Gown—
My Tippet—only Tulle—

We paused before a House that
seemed
A Swelling of the Ground—
The Roof was scarcely visible—
The Cornice—in the Ground—

Since then—'tis Centuries—and yet
Feels shorter than the Day
I first surmised the Horses' Heads
Were toward Eternity—