

POLS BC 1014y: POLITICAL THEORY II

TuTh 10:35-11:50

SPRING 2003 PACKET: SYLLABUS, STUDY GUIDES AND READINGS

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This is the second half of Political Theory. The main difference from classical theory is that the principal focus of political theory in the last 150 years is on ways that ideas can be expressed in action. Karl Marx, in 1845, announced this revolutionary direction in political theory by declaring that "The philosophers [of the past] have only *interpreted* the world in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it." A specific concern of this course, beginning with the first lecture, is with how theory in practice helps us to understand the causes and consequences of violent or nonviolent behavior. That is, the philosophies of idealism and realism analyzed last semester in classical thought will be explored further in the modern context, extending the analysis, in particular, to study the themes of violence and nonviolence.

Since Marx there have been unprecedented attempts to translate ideas into reality, especially in the context of mass movements inspired by communism, anarchism and Nazism; nationalisms, religions and terrorism. These movements, whether employing violence or nonviolence, have all shared three dynamics: a distinctive set of ideas, a prominent leadership and a tight organization. These dynamics were not developed in classical political theory, when mass movements did not exist. Our purpose is to understand these relationships of theory to practice: of how ideas can have momentous consequences. For example, the lengthiest reading for this course is from Hitler's Mein Kampf, of which Lucy Dawidowicz wrote: "Few ideas in world history achieved such fatal potency. If only because these ideas had such consequences, they deserve serious analysis despite their irrationality, historical falsehood, scientific sham, and moral loathsomeness" (War Against the Jews 1933-1945). Other readings offer values or insights of different kinds. Whatever the text, the main point is that ideas serve functions. We study theories to ask how they are actualized, the functions of political leadership, and, when we examine the relationship of means to ends, the significance of using methods of violence or nonviolence.

Course Requirements:

- 1) An optional midterm exam of 7 short and long identifications, taken from the assigned readings, given in class on March 13th. This will count 40% of course grade, if you choose to take it.
- 2) Final exam, consisting of two parts: 6 identification questions (10 points each) and an essay question (40 points), given on the date set by the Registrar. This counts 60% of course grade with midterm, or 100% if not (see Packet, pp. 18-20).

The following required paperback texts for the course (listed in order of assignment) may be purchased at the Columbia University Bookstore, Papyrus Bookstore, or Labyrinth Books. They are also available on Reserve at the Barnard and Columbia College Libraries. It is strongly advised to read the editions that are noted here because references in the syllabus and lectures will be made to them. Also, please read the specified assignments in this Packet before each lecture, especially the lecture outlines.

Malcolm X, Autobiography (Ballantine)

Erich Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man (Ungar)

Sigmund Freud, Civilization and Its Discontents (Norton)

William Golding, Lord of the Flies (Perigee)

Carol Gilligan, In A Different Voice (Harvard)

John Stuart Mill, Mill (Norton)

F. Dostoevsky, Notes from Underground and The Grand Inquisitor (Meridian)

Henry David Thoreau, Walden and Civil Disobedience, edited by W.S. Merwin (Signet)

Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf (Houghton Mifflin Sentry)

Mahatma Gandhi, Selected Political Writings (Hackett)

Dennis Dalton, Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action (Columbia)

JANUARY 21: INTRODUCTION

Recent experience here and around the world, especially since September 11, '01 has made the subject of violence a core concern. This course addresses this urgent issue by introducing its study in the first lecture. From the perspective of modern political theory, three major systems of thought seek to explain the causes of violence, whether related to world war or contemporary terrorism, domestic or international. These three theories relate economics or psychology to politics. They are expressed by Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud and Stanley Milgram, and comprise schools of thought that may be applied together to comprehend causes and seek solutions. See the first of the Lecture Outlines in this Packet, pp.4-5.

JANUARY 23: The Socratic quest for truth, self-realization and happiness in the modern age. Malcolm X exemplified an "examined life," illustrating major themes of this course: the search for personal identity amidst conflicting economic and psychological forces; truth possessed vs. truth pursued; exclusivist and inclusivist forms of individual behavior and political leadership.

Reading: The Autobiography of Malcolm X (entire book) and Packet, pp. 6, 21-22

I. HUMAN NATURE AND SOCIETY

Contrasting theories of the nature of the human species. Implications of these theories of human nature for ideas about politics, society and the future of humanity.

JANUARY 28 TO FEBRUARY 4: MARX'S THEORY

1. Karl Marx. The tripartite self in evolution: the natural self, species self, and alienated self.

Reading:

Erich Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man, pp. 1-168, 197-220, 258-263. Analysis of Marx's writing in the Packet, pp. 6-8, 22-28, 34

FEBRUARY 6 TO 18: FREUD'S THEORY

2. Sigmund Freud. The tripartite self in conflict: id, ego, superego. Illustrated by William Golding's fiction.

Reading:

Freud, analysis and excerpts from his writings in the Packet, pp. 8-10, 29-34

Freud, Civilization and Its Discontents (entire book)

William Golding, Lord of the Flies

FEBRUARY 20 AND 25: GILLIGAN'S THEORY

3. Carol Gilligan's critique of Freud and her "ethic of care," introduced by Adrienne Rich's poetic exploration of the self and then developing into a theory of nonviolence and education.

Reading:

Carol Gilligan, In A Different Voice (entire book)

Packet, pp. 10-11, 35-36

II. FREEDOM AND AUTHORITY: JOHN STUART MILL AND THE GRAND INQUISITOR

The value of freedom and of individual choice opposed to the assertion that most people want not to pursue freedom but to escape from it: they seek security not liberty. Implications of these theories for contrasting conceptions of human nature. Mill's "harm principle" and the Inquisitor's use of violence.

FEBRUARY 27 TO MARCH 6: MILL'S THEORY OF FREEDOM AND THE "HARM PRINCIPLE"

1. John Stuart Mill: The sanctity of individual liberty against the "tyranny of the majority."

Reading:

J.S. Mill, analysis and excerpts from his Autobiography in Packet, pp. 11-12, 37-40.

J.S. Mill, On Liberty and The Subjection of Women pp. xxvi-xlv, 41-221; and I. Berlin's essay on Mill, pp. 253-279

MARCH 11: DOSTOEVSKY'S GRAND INQUISITOR: Not freedom but security, even at the cost of submission

2. Dostoevsky: The Grand Inquisitor's appeal to authority and his legitimization of violence

Reading:

F. Dostoevsky, "The Grand Inquisitor" in Notes from Underground and the Grand Inquisitor, pp. 119-141.

Analysis of Dostoevsky's writing in the Packet, pp. 12, 40-42.

MARCH 13: OPTIONAL MIDTERM EXAM IN CLASS

III. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF NONVIOLENCE IN AMERICA AND RUSSIA

MARCH 25: Henry Thoreau's Civil Disobedience and its contribution to Gandhi's ideas.

Reading:

H.D. Thoreau, "Civil Disobedience" and "Conclusion" in Walden and Civil Disobedience pp. 253-288 [in old Signet edition, pp. 212-240].

Packet, pp. 13, 42-45.

MARCH 27: Anarchism: Violence to Nonviolence. A critique of authority and an affirmation of freedom and revolution. Contrasted with the Marxist theory of the means-end relationship.

Reading:

Anarchism defined and excerpts from the writings of the anarchist theorists Peter Kropotkin, Leo Tolstoy and Emma Goldman in Packet, pp. 13, 45-57.

IV. POLITICAL MOVEMENTS OF NONVIOLENCE AND VIOLENCE AND THEIR LEADERS

Gandhism and Nazism represent sharply contrasting theories of nonviolence and violence as well as of human nature, conflict, relationship of means and ends, and the role of leadership. Consequences of these ideas when expressed in the political action of mass movements.

APRIL 1 TO 10: GANDHI'S NONVIOLENCE: FREEDOM AND POWER

Gandhi: Nonviolence in action. Its theory and practice in the Indian movement for independence.

Reading and Viewing:

M.K. Gandhi, Selected Political Writings(entire) and Packet, pp.13-15, 58-62, 78-79.

D. Dalton, Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action, Intro., chs. 1, 4, 5, pp. 1-62, 91-167.

D. Dalton, "Nonviolent Power in Action," Columbia Interactive Series of E-Seminars, Part 1 (of 3) of Columbia Learning Website at <http://ci.columbia.edu>

APRIL 17: MARTIN LUTHER KING'S THEORY AND PRACTICE OF NONVIOLENCE

King's redemptive nonviolence to reform America. Concluding categorizations of violence and nonviolence, and an assessment of the role of leadership.

Reading and Viewing:

Selections from Martin Luther King, Jr.'s writings in "Reading on King" (Xerox, distributed in class)

D. Dalton, Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action, ch. 6 and Conclusion, pp. 168-200 and Packet, pp. 14-15, 78-79. Film: "Eyes on the Prize" (Documentary, Pt. 1 on Emmet Till lynching and bus boycott)

D. Dalton, "Nonviolent Power in Action," E-Seminar, Part 2.

APRIL 22, 24, 29: HITLER'S IDEA AND PRACTICE OF VIOLENT STRUGGLE: NAZISM, THE HOLOCAUST, AND THE PROBLEM OF EVIL.

I. Hitler's theory of redemptive violence related to ideas of struggle, race, sex, power, domination, and the role of leadership and the state.

Reading:

Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf, pp. xv-xxi (Introduction), 3-206, 284-353, 386-407.

Analysis of Hitler's ideology in the Packet, pp.16, 63-72.

II. Insights from commentators on Hitler and Nazism, pp. 72-74. Focus on the uses of political, military and psychological violence as essential to Nazi movement and the problem of evil. (Film: "Triumph of the Will" Documentary, shortened version). Return to theories of violence from the 3 schools of thought arguing the case for "situational violence" (first lecture) by citing cases of nonviolent resistance to Nazism. Packet, pp. 74-76.

MAY 1: CONCLUSIONS. VIOLENCE, NONVIOLENCE: CAUSES AND CATEGORIES OF ANALYSIS. Packet, 16-17, 76-79

OUTLINES OF LECTURE NOTES:

FIRST LECTURE: Three theories on the causes of violence. What or who is to blame?

I) Blame the economic system. As we shall see, in the forthcoming lectures on Marx, this theory stresses the primary and determining force of economics (see Marx's economic determinism in Fromm, pp. 217-18 and Packet, pp. 26-27, 76-77). Marx contended that there is violence from the system and against it, but the problem is with the former, i.e., the exploitative and alienating violence from the rich dominating the poor, the privileged classes throughout history oppressing the underprivileged. In the modern industrial age, the capitalist or bourgeois system, using the political state as its tool, "has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous cash payment."

Human relationships have been drowned "in the icy water of egotistical calculation...naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation." (Marx, "The Communist Manifesto," in Packet, pp. 27-28 and The Marx-Engels Reader, edited by Robert Tucker, p. 475). Against this systemic violence coming from the economic inequality of an unjust class society, Marx believes that retaliatory violence from the oppressed is understandable and legitimate. Although he concedes the possibility of a nonviolent revolution in Britain and America (Tucker, p. 534), he predicts that throughout the world the just goals of the "proletarians" or poor "can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of...the ruling classes." ("Manifesto" in Tucker, p. 500) Marx's theory, therefore, manages to put the ancient argument for retributive justice, "an eye for an eye," in modern terms. He defines retaliatory violence as the logical response to "brutal exploitation." Class privilege has perpetuated a system that has alienated rich and poor alike from their own humanity. This must end: "In place of the old bourgeois [capitalist] society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." ("Manifesto" in Tucker, p. 491)

II) Blame the aggressive self. Freud opposes Marx by asserting that inborn instincts of aggression are responsible for violence, domestic or international. Born 38 years after Marx, he refuted Marx from the perspective of the twentieth century, finding proof of Marx's delusions in the brutality of Russian Communism (see Freud's comments in this Packet, pp. 32-33). He found in ancient and modern history, whether in the civil wars of Greece or his contemporary Nazi persecutors, clear evidence of an inherent human drive to inflict harm. "Men are not gentle creatures who want to be loved...they are, on the contrary, creatures among whose instinctual endowments is to be reckoned a powerful share of aggressiveness." Far from following the moral dictum to "love thy neighbor," the human instinct is "to satisfy their aggressiveness on him, to exploit his capacity to work without compensation, to use him sexually without

his consent, to seize his possession, to humiliate him, to cause him pain, to torture and to kill him. *Homo homini lupus* ["man is a wolf to man"].” (Freud, “Civilization and Its Discontents”, pp. 68-69) When Einstein asked Freud to explain the reasons for war, Freud replied that “It is a general principle that conflicts of interest between men are settled by the use of violence. This is true of the whole animal kingdom, from which men have no business to exclude themselves.” Human behavior is inevitably motivated by “a lust for aggression and destruction,” as evidenced by “the countless cruelties in history and in our everyday lives.” (Packet, p. 32) Freud’s refutation of Marx, therefore, was that violence did indeed exist as “brutal exploitation.” But it came from inherent aggressive drives, often unconscious, rooted in each personality. Freud’s theory thus projects a psychological determinism to match Marx’s economic determinism. Whereas Marx was idealistically optimistic in believing that a change of economic systems could create a peaceful society, Freud was realistically pessimistic, arguing that Marx’s utopian communism was a dangerous delusion, turned from a dream into a nightmare by the tyrannies of Lenin, Stalin and Mao, who claimed to be Marxists.

III) Blame the “destructive process” of situations, in which unthinking people blindly obey aggressive authorities. This theory, expressed by Stanley Milgram, a Yale behavioral psychologist, opposed both Marx’s economic and Freud’s psychological determinisms. Milgram based his theory on an empirical experiment conducted at Yale from 1960-63, recounted in his book “Obedience to Authority” (1974). He begins this study by referring directly to the violence of the Holocaust, observing that this “could only have been carried out on a massive scale if a very large number of people obeyed orders.” He then connects this to his own experiment, perhaps one of the most famous laboratory tests on humans ever conducted, in which a relatively small sample of unsuspecting men and women of New Haven are duped into inflicting on Milgram’s subjects what appear to be lethal electric shocks. In reality, these people are set up to demonstrate that “ordinary people, simply doing their jobs, and without any particular hostility on their part [i.e., neither determining aggressive instincts nor economic interests], can become agents in a terrible destructive process.” (p. 6. See the film of Milgram’s experiment, entitled “Obedience” in the Barnard Media collection). In our analysis of Hitler and Nazism, this theory will be related to Hannah Arendt’s concept of the “banality of evil,” and Christopher Browning’s study of the Holocaust, “Ordinary Men” (Packet, pp. 72-74). Still another variant of the “blame the situation” theory has been developed by Richard Rhodes in his two important studies of violent behavior, *Why They Kill* (Vintage, 2001) and *Masters of Death* (Knopf, 2002), the latter applying his theory of situational violence (esp. Ch. 2, pp.19-37) solely to the Nazi SS and causes of the Holocaust. It is significant that these various theorists try to relate their work to one another: Milgram thus uses Arendt’s writing, Browning refers to Milgram, Rhodes to Browning.

Finally, it should be emphasized that in our consideration of all three of the above theories, an understanding of the causes of political violence demands study of nonviolence in politics. In the specific case of Nazi violence, three particular instances of effective nonviolent resistance to it are noted in the Packet, pp. 74-76. However, the larger study of political nonviolence, in the course of Gandhi’s and King’s movements, illustrate the theory of situational causes, i.e., that a particular historical context may be capable of either violent or nonviolent conduct or political action, depending on the choices and socialization of the culture.

SECOND LECTURE: The Socratic quest revisited with the life of Malcolm X. The search for a personal identity and development of a leader within an oppressive, alienating system. Key concepts:

<u>subject</u>	<u>pages, old ed.</u>	<u>pages, new ed.</u>
<u>primary identity</u>	4	7
	8	10-11
<u>emulative identity</u>	37-8	42-4
	56-7	64-5
	86	97
<u>exclusivist identity</u>	164	186
	255-60	288-95
<u>inclusivist identity</u>	311	351
	340	383
	347	391
	373	421
	378-9	427-8
	382-3	431-33
	420	474-5
	430-2	486-8

436-7
465-6

492-3
526

I) Truth: possessed and pursued. What is truth? Often, it is defined as that which conforms to facts or objective reality. Truth also means, in political theory, a unifying principle that may be seen either as a working hypothesis (truth pursued) or as an infallible final solution (truth possessed). The idea of a search or journey suggests pursuit of truth, which applies to Malcolm's life. He first found absolute truth in the Nation of Islam, but then rejected this as dogma and embarked on a new quest for personal truth (pp. 164, 257-258, 262-263, 311, 347, 373, 379, 388-89).

II) The journey toward freedom: in Malcolm's case, a lifetime evolution occurs through stages of personal development, demonstrating the development of a leader (Packet pp. 21-22).

- 1) primary identity: initial formation of self-image (Autobiography, pp. 4, 8)
- 2) emulation: accept assigned identity (pp. 37-38, 56-57, 86)
- 3) exclusivist: separatist (pp. 255-60)
- 4) inclusivist: humanist (pp. 340, 378-79, 382-83, 430-32, 436-37, 465-66). See also Malcolm X, The Final Speeches (pp. 148-50)

III) An analysis of Malcolm's life suggests the continuing antinomies of the course: truth pursued vs. truth possessed, freedom vs. authority, exclusivism vs. inclusivism and violence vs. nonviolence, personal identity and political leadership.

THIRD LECTURE: Marx's message: his vision of the tripartite self and system in history (Packet, pp. 22-28).

I) Marx's life (1818-1883) and purpose: born in Germany, exiled to London, lived at 28 Dean Street, Soho, London from 1850-56, buried in Highgate Cemetery, north London (Fromm, pp. v, vi, 3, 5, and Engels' eulogy pp. 258-59). His purpose was profoundly revolutionary: to inspire a fundamental change of human behavior. This would occur in the form of a historical evolution of self and society which may witness violent revolt and upheaval, yet must result in new forms of social interaction that would replace class conflict with nonviolent relationships. The intent in these lectures on Marx is, first and foremost, to convey the spirit of Marx's message, the humanist optimism at the core of his theory. This begins with an understanding of his condemnation of capitalism as a corrupt or perverse way of pursuing our needs, and his vision of transcending this phase to achieve a higher form of humanity, conscious of our real potential to relate to one another in a humane and nonviolent capacity.

II) Marx's vision of human nature and society in history (Packet, pp.23-26).

- 1) natural needs of self and society: "constant, fixed drives," (Fromm, p. 14):
 - a) subsistence needs
 - b) sex
 - c) work
- 2) alienated self/system in today's capitalist society; human needs are "acquired" through the capitalist system; they are "illusory," "false," "synthetic," "egoistic." Hence, the system distorts the natural needs of people in these ways:
 - a) exaggerated "egoistic needs" produce addiction to property with accompanying disparity of wealth (pp. 25-26, 140-41). This inequity inevitably causes systematic social violence.
 - b) sexual domination distorts capacity for love with pervasive power of money (pp. 30, 165-68, 62-3). This kind of patriarchy enforces violence against women.
 - c) labor becomes alienated (pp. 40-43). This is basic because of the primacy given to work.
- 3) in a socialist or communist society, alienation is transcended with the realization of species needs:
 - a) security based on equality
 - b) love based on mutual respect
 - c) creative, satisfying, socially productive work (pp. 58-59). These changes provide the basis for a nonviolent economic, political and psychological system of advance human evolution.

FOURTH LECTURE: Marx's theory of work in history (Packet, pp. 23-27).

I) In the natural self/society, work is an instinctive need that demands satisfaction; we have an innate desire for productive activity.

II) In the alienated self/society, work becomes alienated. This estranges each from all.

1) in our work activity, we try to express ourselves, but capitalism thwarts this effort as it encourages increasing addiction to money, specialization (division) of labor and private property. This creates economic and psychological barriers to species consciousness (pp. 40-43, 47).

2) theory of objectification, defined as a reflection or representation of the subject (you) in the object (external world). Note that the subject may be either the alienated self or the species self, depending upon the objective economic system (pp. 47, 95-99, Packet, pp. 26-27).

III) Species self/society; "objectification" of species life (essence) through unalienated labor (pp. 102, 131-34).

FIFTH LECTURE: Marx's diagnosis and remedy for the self and system

I) Marx's diagnosis: affliction of alienated self, caused by unjust economic system (Packet, p.34).

1) Marx and his family experienced alienation in an unjust system. Testimony of Jenny Marx.

2) Such alienation must be seen in a fully human sense, from our essence, as when the system thwarts individual self-realization and estranges one from another (Fromm, pp. 54-57).

II) Marx's remedy is the socialist system, which is achieved through revolution. This system will allow us to "objectify our essence," and eliminate violent conflict.

1) revolution in values means understanding of our true needs (Fromm, pp. 58-63)

2) "emancipation" from the capitalist ethos enables us to "appropriate" our "human essence" instead of private property; we realize our "objective humanity" and our "social being" (Fromm, pp. 68-69, 127, 131-35). This vision is the basis of Marx's idealism and optimism.

III) Marx's theory of the social system is that all systems throughout history have had 2 components (pp. 217-18, 198, 212):

1) First, a political superstructure that consists of the state (political institutions) and ideology (political, moral, legal, religious ideas). The function of the superstructure is to rationalize or justify its source, the structure, which determines its nature.

2) Second, an economic structure or foundation of society with 2 parts:

a) class and property relations of rich and poor; division or specialization of labor

b) productive forces and natural resources: technology, raw materials, sources of finance, ways of managing and controlling it. This is Marx's theory of economic determinism.

c) despite this determinism, the role of Communist leadership is recognized/

SIXTH LECTURE: Freud's theory of the tripartite self in conflict (Packet, pp. 29-34).

I) Freud's concept of human nature: the 3 parts of the self

1) id: entirely unconscious, aggressive, irrational part of self. A bundle of instincts, passionate, destructive and self-destructive. Dominated by pleasure principle, but pleasure gained from both eros (aggressive lust and domination, sadism) and thanatos (self-destructive death wish, submissive, masochism). The id is the major source of power in personality [later illustrated in lecture on William Golding as personified by Jack in Lord of the Flies].

2) ego: uses common sense and rational analysis, to cope with limitations imposed by outside world; guided by the reality principle, the ego tries to mediate among id, superego, and external reality, but lacks power within; it is the least influential part of personality. It can be strengthened through psychoanalysis [personified by Piggy in Lord of the Flies].

3) superego: makes stern, dogmatic, moral judgments, usually irrational; sets unrealistic goals and punishes when these goals are not met. Dominated by the morality principle. The superego has 2 sides: conscience, which uses guilt to maintain control; and the idealized self, which originates in the parents' impossible expectations of child [personified by Ralph in Lord of the Flies] (Packet, pp. 29-34; Civilization and Its Discontents, intro., pp. xx-xxi)

II) Coping mechanisms are tried to contain the "irremediable antagonism" (Civilization, p. 4) that exists among the 3 forces of the self and creates the "alienated split self" (Packet, p. 34). We try to cope with this conflict by using 2 psychological mechanisms:

1) displacement, defined as the transference of aggressive energy to another object, e.g., the sucking instinct transferred from breast to pacifier to cigars or the fighting instinct transferred to sports or to war.

2) sublimation, defined as socially respected displacement, e.g., a murderous aggressive intent is legalized in war or lust becomes romanticized in love. Thus all forms of sublimation are displacement, but not all displacement is sublimation. Most types of work are displacement, not sublimation.

SEVENTH LECTURE: Freud's realism and pessimism in Civilization and Its Discontents

I) The theory of the self as split into an "irremediable antagonism" is "the main theme of the book." (intro., pp. xx-xxi, 4) Eros is at war with thanatos in the id, then the id is in conflict with the superego.

II) How do illusions of idealism and of religious belief originate? (ch. 1, pp. 10-15, 20-22)

1) a sense of "oceanic feeling" (p. 11) comes from an illusion of an "indissoluble bond" with the world (p. 12) This is based on infantile "narcissism" (p. 20).

3) a "religious consolation" comes from the desire for paternal protection (pp. 20-22).

III) Realism means facing life's unhappiness and trying to cope, effectively, to contain pain.

1) Freud's basic premise is that "life is too hard;" it is filled with suffering (pp. 23, 25-26, 37-38).

2) we try these coping mechanisms but Freud doubts their efficacy:

a) "deflection" of instinctual drives, needs, by reclusive "isolation" (pp. 23-4, 27) and suppressing or "killing the instincts" through renunciation, e.g., asceticism (pp. 28-29)

b) "intoxication," drugs (p. 27)

c) "sublimation of the instincts" (p. 29)

IV) Forms of sublimation:

1) work (pp. 29-30)

2) art (p. 31)

3) religion (pp. 32, 36)

4) love (pp. 32-33, 56-57)

EIGHTH LECTURE: Freud's perspectives on the sources and meanings of love

I) Love as a personal form of sublimation and suffering (pp. 32-33, 56)

II) Universal, impersonal love as loving all people (e.g., St. Francis) becomes a religious code (pp. 56-57). Freud's objections (p. 57) lead to his critique of "civilization" as a collective superego, and his view of women (p. 59).

III) Society has 2 parts: collective superego and id

1) by the collective superego Freud means civilization, which includes religion. As civilization idealizes a concept of love, it uses conscience and guilt, thus becoming the illusion of "love thy neighbor as thyself" or, even more extreme and illusory, "love thy enemy." Therefore Freud resumes his attack on religion as irrational. He views it as a source of suffering and guilt because it sets impossibly high, moral standards (pp. 65-8, 109).

2) the collective superego stands irrevocably opposed to the collective id of mass aggression, expressed in war and social violence. Thus the split self is the microcosm for the split society. Freud's theory of civilization includes his critique of Marx (pp. 68-73). Freud's idea about leadership is implicit (Packet p.31), and should be carefully noted for its meaning for mass political movements.

NINTH LECTURE: William Golding's Lord of the Flies (1954) as an argument for Freud's realism. [See also critical comments in Casebook edition of Lord of the Flies (1964), and film versions in 1963 and 1990. For contrasts, see Robert M. Ballantyne, The Coral Island (1857) and Marianne Wiggins, John Dollar 1989].

The realism and pessimism of Golding and Freud stand in sharp contrast to the optimism and idealism of 19th century Victorianism. Queen Victoria reigned from 1837 to 1901 and personified the immense power and arrogance of British imperialism. Freud reflected on the disasters of World War I and its consequences. Golding was able to reflect on World War II as well as World War I, the Holocaust and the use of the atomic bomb. Thus, Golding developed Freud's realism further, through fiction, and shows more implicitly the role of leadership.

Page correlations between older and latest editions of Lord of the Flies:

<u>older edition</u>	<u>new edition</u>
186	204
29	31
63	69
103-4	113-5
123	135-6
138-9	152-3
164-5	180-1
178-82	195-200

I) Golding's theme is to blame the self, not the system because "the beast" is within us. (Lord of the Flies, pp. 204, 207, 143)

II) Golding's mythic journey of discovery is represented allegorically in 7 steps in the descent of the self to savagery, which reveals the grim truth of human nature

- 1) Jack's hesitation over spilling blood: the idea of "the pause" (p. 31)
- 2) Jack kills, yet "twitches," "shudders" (p. 69)
- 3) Robert plays the role of pig; the boys chant "kill the pig" (pp. 113-15)
- 4) they kill the sow in ecstasy without hesitation (pp. 135-36)
- 5) they kill Simon, combining 3) and 4) (pp. 152-53)
- 6) they kill Piggy (pp. 180-81)
- 7) there is a premeditated attempt to kill Ralph (pp. 195-200)

III) Freud's theory of aggression is expressed in his letter to Einstein (Packet, pp. 32). The id's aggression is manifest in:

- 1) eros, "life instinct" or erotic aggressivity and thanatos, "death instinct," or "non-erotic aggressivity" (Civilization, pp. 77-79). There is a constant fusion of both forms of aggression in the id (e.g., Jack's behavior in Lord of the Flies). This is especially evident in warfare.
- 2) civilization is opposed to both eros and thanatos; yet, it is locked in a symbiotic embrace with them.

IV) Freud's message is to give up your illusions and face reality (Civilization, pp. 70, 97-98). We should honestly confront the power of compulsive, self-destructive instincts within us; these are continuously in conflict and beyond our conscious perception, as the main irremediable sources of violence in our society.

TENTH LECTURE: Carol Gilligan's critique of Freud and Lawrence Kohlberg in In a Different Voice, (Chs. 1, 2; Packet, pp. 35-36)

I) What's in Adrienne Rich's "wreck"? (Packet, p. 35) Both Freud and Gilligan dive into the wreck, but they make different discoveries. Gilligan is critical of Freud's discovery about women, that their superego and sense of justice are undeveloped (Civilization, pp. 59, 71; New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis, Ch. 33, "Femininity.")

II) In a Different Voice, Gilligan presents her critique, focusing on Freud's view of women, of the superego and of separation (pp. 6-7, 45-46)

III) Lawrence Kohlberg's theory of "moral development" follows from Freud's theory of the female personality. Kohlberg's Philosophy of Moral Development (1981) outlines 6 progressive stages of moral growth:

- 1) obedience
- 2) conformity
- 3) sociability (according to Kohlberg, women's moral development is usually arrested here)
- 4) know your duty
- 5) assert your rights
- 6) practice justice

IV) Gilligan's summary and critique of Kohlberg:

- 1) he is sexist (p. 18)

- 2) he undervalues responsibility and relationships (p. 19)
- 3) his "Heinz dilemma" is misleading as applied to Amy and Jake (pp. 25-26, 28-30, 32, 35-36, 38, 43). Gilligan suggests an "ethic of care," which she locates in human connection.

ELEVENTH LECTURE: Gilligan's ethic of care contrasted with the ethic of rights

- I) Gilligan in context of political theory (Packet, p.36, 78)
- 1) Gilligan revisits the classical concept of the ethic of responsibility or care: values of community, connectedness, relationships and cooperation.
 - a) theorists of an ethic of responsibility include both classical and modern philosophy: Plato's Republic, Rousseau's Social Contract, Marx, Gilligan, Gandhi, King.
 - b) in the ethic of responsibility, maturity is exemplified by commitment, social conscience and civic duty.
 - 2) the ethic of rights stands in contrast to the ethic of responsibility. This ethic advocates values of diversity, individual autonomy, liberty, private property and competition.
 - a) theorists of an ethic of rights have fewer classical exponents and carry a distinct modern emphasis. They are: Aristotle, Locke, Freud, Kohlberg, Mill, Thoreau.
 - b) in the ethic of rights, maturity signifies separation in the sense of self-reliance, freedom from dependency and non-conformity.
- II) Gilligan's formation of and contribution to "an ethic of care":
- 1) she clearly states that the ethic is based not on gender but theme (Different Voice, p. 2)
 - 2) values of "relationships and responsibilities," based on idea of connectedness: example of Claire (pp. 51, 54-55, 57, 61-62, 160)
 - 3) "ethic of rights" vs. "ethic of care or responsibility" (pp. 64-65, 164-65)
 - 4) connected to value of non-injury or nonviolence (pp. 173-74)

III) Gilligan has led us to a renewed critique (after Marx) of rights theory. This has been developed especially by Jean Elshtain, Democracy on Trial (1995) and Mary Ann Glendon, Rights Talk (1993). The ideal of political community has been expounded by social and political theorists: Michael Sandel Democracy's Discontent (1996) and Amitai Etzioni The Spirit of Community.

TWELFTH LECTURE: Gilligan and Mill (Packet, pp. 36-39): reformers for social responsibility and individual liberty.

- I) Gilligan's ethic of care vs. Mill's ethic of liberty (pp.41-42, 44)
(pp. 100, 136, 164-65)
- ideal of diversity in free, open market place of ideas; opposition to the "tyranny of majority," which conspires to impose conformity, depriving individuals of rights and privacy
- II) How are these 2 ethics related to Mill's life and thought as a journey? (Mill's Autobiography in Packet, pp. 37-39 and The Subjection of Women, pp. 133-221).
- 1) Jeremy Bentham's utilitarianism as a set of abstract rational rules of behavior. Bentham's utilitarianism tries to establish standards of judgment for a just society through social and legal reform. Its standard of measurement is the "pleasure-pain calculus," its aim the greatest happiness for the greatest number. Mill became a utilitarian.
 - 2) Mill's early education: his father's role as a disciple of Bentham.
 - 3) Mill's breakdown: the effect of his education to "wear away the feelings."
 - 4) Mill is rescued by a determination to "cultivate the feelings," and ultimately through his friendship with Harriet Taylor.
- III) Values of care and liberty exemplified in The Subjection of Women and Mill's subsequent comments (pp. 133-221).

THIRTEENTH LECTURE: Mill's On Liberty: to reform society by enlarging spheres of freedom and diversity

I) Mill diagnoses our problem as being ruled by a "tyranny of the majority." For Mill, the majority fosters thoughtless conformity; society, like the majority, is an enemy of individuality and rights; for the development of their human nature, individuals need a climate of freedom (pp. 44, 87-88, 268). Example of homophobia.

II) Therefore, Mill's remedy is the enlargement of freedom and the establishment of a limit on society's interference with individual liberty and choice. Mill's points include:

- 1) political freedom as set forth by Locke, extended to social freedom (p. 44)
- 2) to establish a principle that the sole justification for restriction of liberty is to prevent harm to others or society (p. 48)
- 3) an enlargement of the concept of freedom as defined on pp. 50-51

FOURTEENTH LECTURE: Mill's defense of freedom, his main argument: "freedom of thought for the thought that we hate," (Oliver Wendell Holmes in Packet pp. 39-40).

This argument can be applied to the Skokie case (Packet, p. 41). Is this view valid? How does Mill justify it? His basic premises are:

I) Opinions have utility and we need vigorous competition among them (p. 53).

II) In this competition, the accepted, conventional or "received" opinion may be: first, false (p. 53); or second, true; (p. 68) or third, a mixture of both (p. 76-77). In all 3 cases, the process of pursuing truth is served best by competition or struggle (p. 78). Note concept of truth pursued, not possessed, is stated clearly and emphatically by Mill (76-78).

III) We are not infallible, so we should value diversity and individuality, unless the speech or action inflicts injury on others. Mill makes a distinction between freedom of opinion (speech) and action, but even speech should be curtailed if it poses a "clear and present danger" to society (pp. xxviii-xxxiii, 84-85)

IV) Mill's principle of harm can be applied to social duty. We should not restrict individual freedom unless it constitutes a failure of social responsibility. For example, it is not correct for society to punish an individual for being drunk, but it is legitimate for society to hold an individual accountable for being drunk on duty. In the latter case, there is a threat of harm to others (pp. 104-105).

V) We may warn an individual of imminent danger, but we may not forbid or ban dangerous activity, e.g., drugs (pp. 116-117).

FIFTEENTH LECTURE: Dostoevsky's "Grand Inquisitor" (Packet, pp. 40-42).

I) Three perspectives on freedom: Mill's reformism, Christ's idealism and the Inquisitor's realism:

- 1) For Mill, freedom means doing what you desire (pp. 50, 116); one should be free from external constraints.
- 2) For Christ, freedom is doing what you should (St. John 8:31-6); "truth will set you free." This means that one is free from internal constraints (ignorance, illusion, sin), liberated to pursue righteous conduct.
- 3) For the Grand Inquisitor, freedom is a burden; free choice is a torment. People want to escape from freedom, they are afraid of it (pp. 124-25, 128-29, 134, Erich Fromm, Escape from Freedom, cited in Packet, p. 41). They welcome control and even domination in order to attain security. This is a realist perspective on freedom, human nature and leadership. State violence is inevitable, necessary and desirable.

II) The Grand Inquisitor's argument, that people want security not freedom, is organized around Satan's 3 temptations (St. Matthew 4:1-11; Packet, pp. 41-42), which Christ resisted.

- 1) temptation of plenty ("1st question," pp. 126-29); people want economic security or "bread."
- 2) temptation of pride ("2nd question," pp. 130-32); people want psychological security, which they find in the dogma of "miracle, mystery and authority."
- 3) temptation of power ("3rd question," pp. 132-35); people want political security, which they welcome through submission to a state or nation.

III) The Grand Inquisitor urges the exploitation of economic, psychological and political power by the state and church to attain the submission of the people. This is the essence of realism, as applied to the idea of leadership.

SIXTEENTH LECTURE: Thoreau's ideas on civil disobedience (Packet, pp. 42-45).

I) Search for self: Thoreau was one of the "journey theorists" (from Socrates to Malcolm X, Mill and Gandhi); life is treated as a journey or a pursuit of truth (Walden and Civil Disobedience, pp. 72-73, 255-59, 285-86). [in old Signet edition, pp. 66, 214-19, 239-40]

II) Critique of government and state (Packet, pp. 43, Civil Disobedience, pp. 265-66, 278-79, 283). [in old edition, pp. 222-23, 233-34, 236].

III) Critique of representative democracy by criticizing the rule of law and the institution of voting. Thoreau advocated "peaceable revolution" through civil disobedience [as an influence on Gandhi] (pp. 266-67, 269-70, 273-76). [in old edition, pp. 223, 225, 226, 229-31]; (Packet, pp.44-45).

IV) Critique of America's economic system with its addiction to capitalism and money [compare with Marx] (pp. 269-70, 276-77). [in old edition, pp. 226, 231-32]; (Packet, pp. 44). Thoreau recommends the reduction of personal wants (pp. 17, 259-60). [in old edition, pp. 20, 218].

SEVENTEENTH LECTURE: Anarchism's contribution to Nonviolent Theory (Packet, pp. 45-57).

I) Theories of Emma Goldman, Peter Kropotkin and Leo Tolstoy. Views of the state as an agent of violence, the enemy of liberty, equality and community. Emphasis on Goldman's ideas (Packet, pp. 49-56).

II) Principles of anarchism expressed in the ideas of Kropotkin, Tolstoy (Packet, pp. 45-48) and Goldman.

- 1) human nature's potential for growth, mutual aid and love.
- 2) cooperation develops out of sense of community.
- 3) state as obstacle to human development.
- 4) liberty with equality, including sexual equality.
- 5) means-end relationship as a vital component of nonviolent theory, contrasted with Marxist theory, especially Trotsky (Packet, pp. 56-57).

EIGHTEENTH LECTURE: Gandhi's idealism in his theories of freedom (swaraj**) and redemptive nonviolence**

I) Freedom means both "internal" (personal) and "external" (political) liberation. Gandhi makes a necessary connection of freedom with social responsibility. Commitment to social welfare and equality is gained through a personal journey of self-discovery. This alone can lead to an understanding of the unity or connectedness of all being; a journey of self-liberation that produces a sense of inclusiveness (Gandhi, Selected Political Writings, pp. 3-22, 97-151; Dalton, Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action, pp. 1-29; and Columbia DKV e-seminar, Dalton. "Nonviolent Power in Action," Part 1 at <http://ci.columbia.edu>). Packet, pp. 58-62.

II) Gandhi's development as a leader is viewed as a journey from the personal to the political; there are several stages in this development (Packet, pp. 59-62). One major personal aim is to redeem one's self-respect.

- 1) similar to Malcolm X, Gandhi was born into a system that regarded white culture as superior. He grew, like Malcolm, to resist racism, eventually calling his struggle a pursuit of truth.
- 2) Gandhi's primary Hindu identity coexisted with a system of British imperialism in India. British colonial authority, called the Raj, dominated India through economic, military, political and psychological means from 1757 to 1947.
- 3) Gandhi moved from emulation to exclusion. His imitation of the British was followed by a rediscovery of his Indian identity in South Africa and a consolidation of an exclusivist ideology (Packet, pp. 58-60).

NINETEENTH LECTURE: Gandhi's break with exclusivism in 1919 and movement to inclusivism

I. Gandhi ultimately matured out of exclusivism and into inclusivism. This occurred after the Amritsar massacre when the nationalist movement began. Gandhi's inclusivism was defined by **satyagraha**, through which he found a workable, inclusive method of resistance to British rule.

II. Gandhi's diagnosis and prescription is found in his grasp of India's economic and psychological deprivation described as by Jawaharlal Nehru (cited in Gandhi's Selected Political Writings, pp. 16-19). Nehru describes the dynamics of Gandhi's leadership and the essence of his remedy.

III. The Amritsar Massacre, its significance and Gandhi's response (see Packet, pp. 59-60).

TWENTIETH LECTURE: Gandhi's inclusivist prescription: nonviolent power (satyagraha**) through civil disobedience**

Gandhi's theory and practice of **satyagraha** or the power of nonviolence expressed in the salt march:

mass civil disobedience in the "salt **satyagraha**" in 1930 against the British rule in India (Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action, ch. 4, pp. 91-138). This was inclusive in the following respects:

- a) choice of issue (salt tax), method (march of 24 days), style (simplicity of dress and food); all calculated appeals to the Indian masses
- b) inclusion of other groups not previously politicized, especially Indian women
- c) inclusive spirit toward the British adversary, e.g., Gandhi's letter to Lord Irwin, the Viceroy (Gandhi's Selected Political Writings, pp. 29-91; Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action, "the Salt Satyagraha," ch. 2, 4, pp. 30-62, 91-138; "Gandhi," films on Salt March from documentary "A Force More Powerful" and "Gandhi" film directed by R. Attenborough in 1982.)

TWENTY FIRST LECTURE: Satyagraha: the power of fasting, illustrating Gandhi's mode of leadership

Gandhi's prescription was tested in his fast in Calcutta, September 1947 (Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action, ch. 5, pp. 139-167). India gained independence from Britain on August 15, 1947. On this same day, India was divided into the two states of India and Pakistan. Civil war encircled this event. Calcutta, one of India's largest cities, was deeply divided into Hindu and Muslim populations. In August, Gandhi arrived in Calcutta, confronted the division, then fasted from September 1st to 4th. Gandhi's idea of the fast required:

- a) fasting should be used only as a last resort
- b) fasting should be employed to prompt reflection, not for retaliation
- c) fasting cannot be used against an unmerciful authority who under no circumstances will come to sympathize with the cause (e.g., Hitler). Gandhi, however, both practiced and preached, as seen in Calcutta, that the **goondas** (thugs) could be reached through fasting.
- d) the purpose of the fast is to elicit a spirit of civic responsibility (Mahatma Gandhi: Selected Political Writings, pp. 20-21, 84-90; "Gandhi" film dir. by R. Attenborough (1982) on Calcutta fast.)

TWENTY SECOND LECTURE: From Gandhi to King: Changes in **satyagraha and leadership from India to America**

I. For both Gandhi and King, the effectiveness of **satyagraha** depended on a distinction in theory and practice between 2 methods of nonviolence (discussed in Gandhi's Selected Political Writings, pp. 10, 50-57; Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action, pp. 40-46; Film: Documentary on Civil Rights Movement: "Force More Powerful" and DKV e-seminar Part 2 on King). The way that these leaders interpreted and implemented these 2 methods underlies the crucial importance of leadership.

	Satyagraha	duragraha or "passive resistance"
<u>attitude toward truth:</u>	pursued, not possessed	Possessed
<u>motive:</u>	to resolve conflict, redeem respect	to satisfy vengeance or inflict bias
<u>aim:</u>	peace with justice, but must transform relationships between conflicting parties	victory at any price
<u>toward nonviolence:</u>	belief in nonviolence as a creed	use of nonviolence as a tactic only, allowing for "violence of the spirit"
<u>toward adversary:</u>	interest of both parties in dispute is considered with an inclusive view adopted toward the opponent	selfish interests with an exclusive perception of "the enemy"

King's reformist goal contrasted with Gandhi's revolutionary movement, but maintained the central Gandhian tenet that "the end is preexistent in the mean" (Reading on Martin Luther King [xerox distributed in class], p. 3). Once again, there is the similar goal of redeeming self-respect through the means of nonviolence.

At the core of King's transference of **satyagraha** from India to the US was the capacity of the civil rights movement to understand and achieve this adaptation of method. This achievement, of course, was not King's alone, as indicated in the documentaries shown, but the singular role of leadership is evident.

II) King's and Gandhi's contributions to political theory with the idea of the relationship of means to ends. Are violent means necessary for political and social change?

- 1) Emma Goldman: yes, because revolution regrettably must be violent to attain the desired goal. Yet her struggle with the vital issue of means and ends is evident (Packet, pp. 54-56).
- 2) Marx and the Marxists: yes, violence is necessary and desirable if the end is "revolutionary" (Packet, pp. 4, 28, 56-57).
- 3) Hitler and Nazism: yes, violence is "humane" and redemptive if it achieves a German victory (Mein Kampf, pp. 170-2, 177-79; Packet, pp. 66-68, 77).
- 4) Malcolm: yes, but only in self defense (Autobiography, pp. 373-4; Packet, p. 22).
- 5) King and Gandhi: no, violence is never justified because we "reap as we sow;" violence begets more violence (Reading on Martin Luther King, p. 3; Mahatma Gandhi, ch. 6, pp. 176-78; Packet, p. 78)

TWENTY THIRD LECTURE: King's redemptive nonviolence: **satyagraha in America**

I) King's journey in terms of his intellectual development. He was educated at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia (class of 1948); Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, PA (1951); Boston University, PhD in Theology (1955). He was influenced by the ideas of: Reinhold Niebuhr (1892-1971), Protestant theologian who taught at Union Theological Seminary; Henry David Thoreau's writings on civil disobedience; Marxism and Gandhi. King's journey may be compared with those of Malcolm X and Gandhi (Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action, ch. 6, pp. 168-187). Film documentary: "Eyes on the Prize," Pt. 1 on Emmet Till lynching followed by Montgomery bus boycott.

II) King's development of a theory of nonviolence as he set it forth in six principles:

- 1) nonviolence is not passive but active
- 2) the goal is not defeat or victory but redemption of a sense of humanity
- 3) the method opposes the sin and not the sinner (compare with Malcolm, Autobiography, p. 378)
- 4) self-sacrifice as a source of power
- 5) "violence of the spirit" is overcome by the force of love as **agape**, or redemptive nonviolence
- 6) an optimistic attitude toward the future (Reading on Martin Luther King, pp. 5-11, 14)

TWENTY FOURTH LECTURE: Lectures on Hitler's Nazism in Mein Kampf: first lecture on Hitler's ideology of violence, and its relationship to his charismatic leadership. His conceptualization of "redemptive violence."

1st lecture: pp. 3-43 (and other pages cited in Packet, pp.66-72)

2nd lecture: pp. 51-206; Packet, pp. 63-65.

3rd lecture: pp. 284-353, 386-407, Packet, pp. 67-77.

Ideology of violence expressed in these major themes, all related to his concept of leadership and the movement:

- I) Idea of struggle, its necessity and desirability for successful domination by a nationalist leader (Packet, pp. 65-66; Mein Kampf, pp.42-43, 63-64, 135, 285, 688).
- II) Nationalism: "One blood demands one Reich (rule)" (pp. 3, 10-16, 33-34).
- III) Militarism: "Great heroic struggle" of war (pp. 6, 161-64).
- IV) Anti-Marxism or anti-Communism because Marxism rejects German nationalism, law, education, religion and morality (pp. 21-22, 38, 40-42) [contrast between Marxism and Nazism].

TWENTY FIFTH LECTURE: Hitler's diagnosis of Germany's ills:

I) The defeat of Germany in World War I culminated in the humiliating Treaty of Versailles. The German Socialist Party was forced by the Allies to sign the Treaty in June 1919. The Treaty deprived Germany of its colonies and natural resources and demanded war reparations of 33 billion dollars. Most humiliating was the "war guilt clause," which forced Germany to accept full responsibility for WWI. The harsh terms of the Treaty caused the breakdown of the German economy by 1924 with massive inflation. See Niall Ferguson, The Pity of War.

II) According to Hitler, Germany's ills were the symptoms and not the cause of the country's decline. The real cause was the conspiracy of the Jews. Hence, the main feature of Hitler's diagnosis was anti-Semitism. See Lucy Dawidowicz, The War Against the Jews, Ch. 1.

III) Anti-Semitism did not begin in Germany with Hitler. Leading German scholars espoused it in the 19th century: Paul Anton de Lagarde (1827-1891) and Heinrich von Treitschke (1834-1896). Packet, pp. 63-64 and Dawidowicz, Ch. 2.

IV) Hitler traces the origins of his anti-Semitism to before WWI when he was a youth in Vienna. In Mein Kampf, he records his personal transformation (Mein Kampf, pp. 51-52, 55-65, 305, 325).

V) Hitler's strength as a leader was his ability to link the personal to the political. His personal anti-Semitism fueled his political attack on the Jews and Communists as being responsible for the "betrayal" of Germany (Mein Kampf, pp. 168-69, 193, 199-200, 205-06, 327).

TWENTY SIXTH LECTURE: Hitler's remedy: the Nazi mass movement with 3 dynamics that establish a classic model for mass movement politics that has influenced extremist movements since (Packet, pp. 67-77).

I) An exclusivist ideology with 3 sets of twin concepts all inspired by a spirit of struggle

- 1) nationalism and militarism (as illustrated by film documentary, "Triumph of the Will" [1934])
- 2) anti-Marxism and anti-Semitism
- 3) violence and propaganda (Mein Kampf, pp. 170-72, 176-85) The idea of "redemptive violence."

II) Charismatic leadership: the Fuehrer "chosen by Heaven" to remedy despair, channel anger and provide hope (Mein Kampf, pp. 107, 118, 330-32, 338, 342, 349, 350).

III) Nazi organization of the party and the state to preserve racial purity (Mein Kampf, pp. 150-55, 351-52, 391, 393, 397-98, 402-03, 449-50)

IV) Hitler's significance: reflections on the nature of evil, the Holocaust, and on civil disobedience against Nazi authority (Packet, pp. 72-76).

TWENTY SEVENTH LECTURE: Why does violence occur and can nonviolence respond to it? (Packet, pp. 74-79)

I) Diagnosis of the causes of violence

- 1) for Marx, the cause is economic. He blames the capitalist system that alienates and dehumanizes both rich and poor alike, and sees the Communist Party as leading us to humanity (Fromm, p. 52).
- 2) for Freud, the cause is psychological. He blames the aggressive instincts of the id, and how they may become expressed in a leader or movement (Civilization and Its Discontents, p. 68).
- 3) for theorists like Milgram and Arendt, reinforced by historians like Richard Rubenstein, Christopher Browning and John Weiss, the cause of violence is situational: build a violent movement, and they will come. People are conditioned to obey authority, not because of purely economic or psychic drives, but, as Arendt and Milgram insist, due to sheer thoughtlessness. The main task, therefore, is to foster critical thinking to question and examine authority.

II) Prescriptions in nonviolent theory and practice as remedy for violence:

- 1) The idea of the personal journey, personified by Malcolm and Gandhi: self-emancipation
- 2) Gilligan prescribes an "ethic of care" attained through education for connectedness or nonviolence (In a Different Voice, pp. 172-74)
- 3) Mill prescribes more free speech, expanding an "ethic of rights." But free speech must be restricted when it causes or promotes physical harm to others (On Liberty, p. 48).
- 4) Goldman's refutation of Marxism on the relationship of means to ends (Packet, pp. 54-57).
- 5) Thoreau conceives of civil disobedience as a tactic and a theory of nonviolence. He does not espouse a Gandhian creed of "love your enemy" (Civil Disobedience, pp. 229, 236) though he does propound the idea of "truth pursued"
- 6) Thoreau's contribution should not be underestimated, because his concept of civil disobedience is vital for American thought and an important influence on Gandhi and King. Yet, the originality and significance of Gandhi's

and King's development of the theory and practice of nonviolent action must be recognized as supreme because they prescribe "redemptive nonviolence": nonviolence as a creed from which tactics flow; the means-ends relationship and the power of love are the controlling concepts. The role of their leadership and the organization that they used require close analysis to understand why the power of nonviolence worked in their experience.

7) A fundamental tenet of nonviolent theory and practice endorses the situational explanation of the causes of violence introduced on the first lecture (Packet, p. 5). Nonviolent theory recognizes certain key insights of Marx and Freud, but it emphatically rejects their economic or psychologic determinism, asserting instead Mill's freedom of choice, subject to his "harm principle." It asserts, as Gilligan theorizes, that through education a broad yet profound form of socialization can initiate, reinforce and sustain nonviolent behavior at any level of conduct, from early family training to international relations. The basic task is a serious commitment by each of us to a peaceful process of conflict resolution. This requires a steadfast prioritization and application of nonviolence not only to politics but to the whole human experience.

SAMPLE MIDTERM AND FINAL EXAMS

THESE ARE PREVIOUS EXAMS AND ANSWERS. NONE OF THE QUOTATIONS HERE WILL BE REPEATED THIS YEAR. THE FORMAT FOR THE MIDTERM EXAM IS SIMILAR TO THE ONE HERE, BUT THE FORMAT FOR THE FINAL EXAM WILL BE SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT, AS NOTED ON P. 1, BECAUSE IT WILL INCLUDE AN ESSAY QUESTION ON VIOLENCE AND NONVIOLENCE.

MIDTERM EXAM

Please note that the exam is divided into short and long identification questions, each counting 10 and 20 points respectively. The maximum suggested length of answers for short ID's is one page of a blue book, for long ID's, three pages (about 100 and 300 words respectively), but there is no penalty for exceeding this.

For each identification, give the author and title of the text quoted (worth two points each), and then explain the significance of the quotation or the main points associated with it. When writing on the significance, the more precise your explanation, the better. An exact explanation of the context of the quotation is crucial. If you should miss the author and title, then partial credit is not given for significance because the context will not be precisely identified.

SHORT IDENTIFICATIONS (each counts 10 points; please answer all four):

1. "If I had loved anyone sufficiently to make confiding my griefs a necessity, I should not have been in the condition I was."
2. "I said I was seeking for the truth, and I was trying to weigh--objectively--everything on its own merit."
3. "...it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation."
4. "The love of power and the love of liberty are in eternal antagonism."

LONG IDENTIFICATIONS (each counts 20 points, please answer all three):

1. "The object of labor is, therefore, the *objectification of man's species life*..."
2. "...the origins of aggression in the failure of connection."
3. "*Homo homini lupus*."

Answers for Midterm Exam (explanation of the context is given in its briefest form)

SHORT ID ANSWERS:

1. John Stuart Mill, Autobiography ("Packet" is not sufficient for title). Context: Mill is relating his personal crisis (at age 20-21) that may be attributed in large part to the education he received from his father and the lack of love from his family. The strict code of rationalism promoted by his father's Benthamite utilitarianism should be mentioned and also some reference to Gilligan's ethic of care. Subtract one point for either if missed and another point if there is no mention of Harriet Taylor's redeeming influence on him through her appeal to love and feelings.
2. Malcolm X, Autobiography. Context: Signifies Malcolm's attitude of "truth pursued" not "truth possessed" that he adopted in the last "inclusive" phase of his life after leaving the exclusivist "truth possessed" Nation of Islam. Subtract up to 5 points if the opposition between "truth pursued" and "possessed" is missed, and another 3 points if his movement from exclusivism to inclusivism is not explained.
3. Karl Marx, Communist Manifesto. Context: Signifies Marx's description of the "revolutionary role" played by the bourgeoisie, by smashing the old feudal order, leaving no other bond between men than "cash payment" and substituting for the old forms of religious or political exploitation, that of economic exploitation. Subtract up to 5 points if the connection is not made with the idea of all life being absorbed into the "cash nexus," and 3 points if the historical role of the bourgeoisie is not conveyed.
4. John Stuart Mill, The Subjection of Women (the title Mill is unacceptable). Context: Signifies the two major concepts of power and of liberty in this writing. The power of men over women is viewed by Mill as illegitimate because of sexual inequality in society. Liberty is described as "the first and strongest want of human nature," and must be granted to women. Subtract up to 5 pts. if these two ideas of power and liberty are not explained in this context.

LONG ID ANSWERS:

1. Karl Marx, "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts" (Marx's Concept of Man is unacceptable). Context: Signifies Marx's theory of objectification, subject represented in the object. Answer should explain the objectification occurs in every society. Capitalism creates a distorted or alienated representation of the subject, whereas a communist or species

society, overcoming alienation, produces a world, as described in this quotation, where a person "sees his own reflection in a world which he has constructed," thus the individual's essence or species self is represented in reality. Subtract 5 points if there is no explanation of these two contrasting forms of objectification, and then 5 points if this species form is not clearly identifies as the context of this quotation. Subtract 5 points if there is no mention of Marx's goal of the objectification of the human essence."

2. Carol Gilligan, In A Different Voice. Context: Signifies both Gilligan's refutation of Freud's theory of instinctual aggression and also her ethic of care, centered on the idea of connection. Her refutation of Freud (as stated in Packet, p. 38) criticizes his theory that aggression in an innate drive that eventually finds its natural expression is a mature sense of individual separation and autonomy. She sees aggression, conversely, as a lack of mature development of human relationships. This leads to her ethic of care, which rests on the premise of nonviolence, that no one should be hurt. The ability to forge healthy relationships among caring people is developed especially by women due to the nature of their socialization. Subtract up to 7 points for an inadequate statement of her criticism of Freud and another 7 pts. if the ethic of care is not sufficiently explained.

3. Sigmund Freud, Civilization and Its Discontents. Context: Signifies Freud's theory of human nature, that "man is a wolf to man." There should be an explanation of his personality theory, i.e. the tripartite self (as explained in the Packet, pp. 31-32). The superior power of the id's aggressive instincts and the contrasting power of the superego's conscience and guilt are the core of this explanation, and the significance of this for civilization (as the collective superego) and mass aggression (the collective id). Subtract 5 points if the id is not explained, another 5 for the superego and then 5 for the way they are pitted against one another in the contest between civilization and mass aggression.

FINAL EXAM

This exam is divided into two parts: short and long identification questions. You are required to state clearly the author and title of each quotation. Then explain the significance of the quotation or the main points associated of it. When explaining the meaning, be as precise as possible by placing the quotation in the specific context of the reading and analyzing its importance. Explanation of the context is essential. The maximum suggested length of an answer of a short ID is one page of a blue book; for a long ID, three pages. But there is no penalty for exceeding the maximum.

SHORT IDENTIFICATIONS (5 points each, total of 25). Answer all of the following:

1. "When the subject has refused allegiance...then the revolution is accomplished."
2. "Instead, seeing a world comprised of relationships rather than of people standing alone, a world that coheres through human connection..."
3. "God governs the world."
4. "I can only close the gap in broken community by meeting hate with love."
5. "There are three powers, only three powers...miracle, mystery and authority."

LONG IDENTIFICATION (15 points each, total of 75). Answer all of the following:

1. "Emancipate your own self."
2. "...penetrating much more deeply into the details of life, and enslaving the soul itself."
3. "...men are not gentle creatures who want to be loved..."
4. "And struggle is always a means for improving a species' health and power of resistance..."
5. "Thus, the objectification of the human essence, both theoretically and practically, is necessary..."

Answers for Final Exam (explanation of the context is given in the briefest form)

SHORT ID ANSWERS (5 points each, 4 of them for author/title):

1. Henry Thoreau, "Civil Disobedience" (or Walden and Civil Disobedience). Context: Signifies his theory of civil disobedience through tax resistance, voluntary imprisonment or non-cooperation with the state.
2. Carol Gilligan, In A Different Voice. Context: Signifies Gilligan's "ethic of care," which values relationships and human connectedness above rights.
3. Hegel, Reason in History. Context: Signifies his "divine determinism" or theory that a study of the philosophy of history reveals God's plan and determinism, the Reason for all human events and experience.
4. Martin Luther King, "King Reading" (or Stride Toward Freedom or Pilgrimage to Nonviolence). Context: Signifies King's theory of nonviolence and focus on love or agape (universal, redemptive love) at its center.

5. Dostoevsky, "Grand Inquisitor" (or Notes from Underground and G.I.). Context: Signifies the G.I.'s response to the "second temptation" of Christ, that of pride (Packet, p.44), in which the G.I. argues that people desire not freedom of choice but security. They welcome therefore the Church's use of these "three powers" to awe and overwhelm them.

LONG ID ANSWERS (15 point each, 4 of them for author/title):

1. Gandhi, Political Writings (or Collected Works). Context: Signifies Gandhi's emphasis on self-examination and the journey or quest for truth. The context is his theory of SWARAJ or freedom. This idea of swaraj has the following components: a) personal freedom or internal liberation is necessarily linked with political freedom or external liberty; b) this goal of swaraj must be pursued through SATYAGRAHA or nonviolent action; the achievement of swaraj, then, dependent on the means employed; c) the approach to this quest must be inclusive, no exclusive, in the spirit of "truth pursued" rather than "truth possessed." Deduct up to 4 points for any one of these not addressed or explained satisfactorily.

2. John Stuart Mill, On Liberty. Context: Signifies his theory of the "tyranny of the majority," which is the specific context: "Society practices a social tyranny more formidable than many kinds of political oppression." Deduct up to 10 points if the identification is not made with tyranny of the majority. The example of homophobia might be used here, as it was in the lecture, but this is not required. Mill's expansive theory of liberty should be detailed: freedom of conscience, tastes, political and social orientation, of speech, opinion, collective action: these may be legitimately restricted by the state or society only if they inflict harm. Deduct up to 10 points if this concept of liberty is not fully explained, and 2 points if the "harm principle" is missed.

3. Freud, Civilization and Its Discontents. Context: Signifies Freud's theory of human nature. His idea of the tripartite self should be mentioned, but it is most important to emphasize the power of the id or the aggressive instinct as supreme. Freud's theory of the individual personality should then be linked to his theory of society, and the inevitability of endemic warfare or social violence. Deduct 6 points if the personality theory is not well explained, another 6 if the connection isn't made with social violence.

4. Hitler, Mein Kampf. Context: Signifies his ideas of: a) struggle to attain purity and victory. The idea of "redemptive violence" might be mentioned here, his aim of purifying the Aryan people through violence; b) the idea of racism and anti-Semitism, again the notion of purifying the German people, specifically by eliminating the "poison" of Jews, Communists, etc., in their midst. Deduct up to 6 points for each of these two points.

5. Marx, "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts" (Marx's Concept of Man is not acceptable). Context: Signifies his theories of: a) objectification (see Packet, p.27, for my explanation of this idea). The answer here should mention that objectification occurs in any society, that it means "to see his own reflection in a world that he has constructed" in a species (communist) society, but that in a capitalist system his reflection will be distorted, reflecting his alienated self. The communist system enables the person to project or to see reflected his essence or species qualities, the fulfillment of his human needs and capacities; b) the latter point signifies Marx's theory of human nature or of the natural, alienated and species selves, the expression of each determined by the economic system. It is not necessary to detail Marx's economic determinism but the importance of economic forces should be mentioned. Deduct up to 6 points if each of the above two (a, b) are not explained adequately.

For both the midterm and final exams, study guides of relevant quotations from the readings will be distributed in advance. The identifications on the exams will be taken exclusively from these guides. The essay question for the final exam will also be given in advance, at the last class on May 1st.