

UNIVERSITAS ATMA JAYA YOGYAKARTA  
GEDUNG SANTO THOMAS AQUINA

# Critical Theory

## The Frankfurt School

Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg

**Dr. Marcel M. Baumann**

DAAD Guest Lecturer

Department of Political Science, University of Freiburg



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Please feel free to contact me!!



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**Don't be shy!**

[marcel.baumann@politik.uni-freiburg.de](mailto:marcel.baumann@politik.uni-freiburg.de)

***There are no stupid questions. There are only stupid answers!!***



# Lecture Series



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## Travelling to Indonesia with German Thought

*Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta Lecture Series on New Trends  
in Applied Social Theory and Conflict Studies*

speaker

**Dr. Marcel M. Baumann**

Areas of expertise:  
Peace and Conflict Studies, Social Theory,  
Terrorism, Conflict Transformation

**Lecturer and Senior Researcher**, Department of Political Science, University of Freiburg  
Visiting Lecturer, Department of Sociology, FISIP, Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta



CLASS  
LECTURE

20  
OCT  
2016

*Science of Knowledge I*

27  
OCT  
2016

*Science of Knowledge II*

03  
NOV  
2016

*Critical Theory*

🕒 07.30-10.00 | 📍 Room 4306, Campus 4 FISIP UAJY

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# Lecture Series



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PUBLIC  
LECTURE

10

NOV  
2016

*Dialectic of Enlightenment*

17

NOV  
2016

*Hannah Arendt & Günther Anders  
in Yogyakarta*

24

NOV  
2016

*Conflict Transformation:  
from Northern Ireland to Maluku*

🕒 10.00 - 12.00  
📍 Ruang Diskusi,  
Basement of  
Campus 2 UAJY

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# Overview about today's lecture



- **Reflection:** Last session
- Critical theory and “German Thought”
- The historical background
- Key thinkers and concepts
- **Dialectics: the most difficult term in the whole discipline of sociology!!**
- Application of Critical Theory: Dialectic of Enlightenment (next session), Hegel and the RAF, Critical Theory after the rise of the Global South, dealing with the past

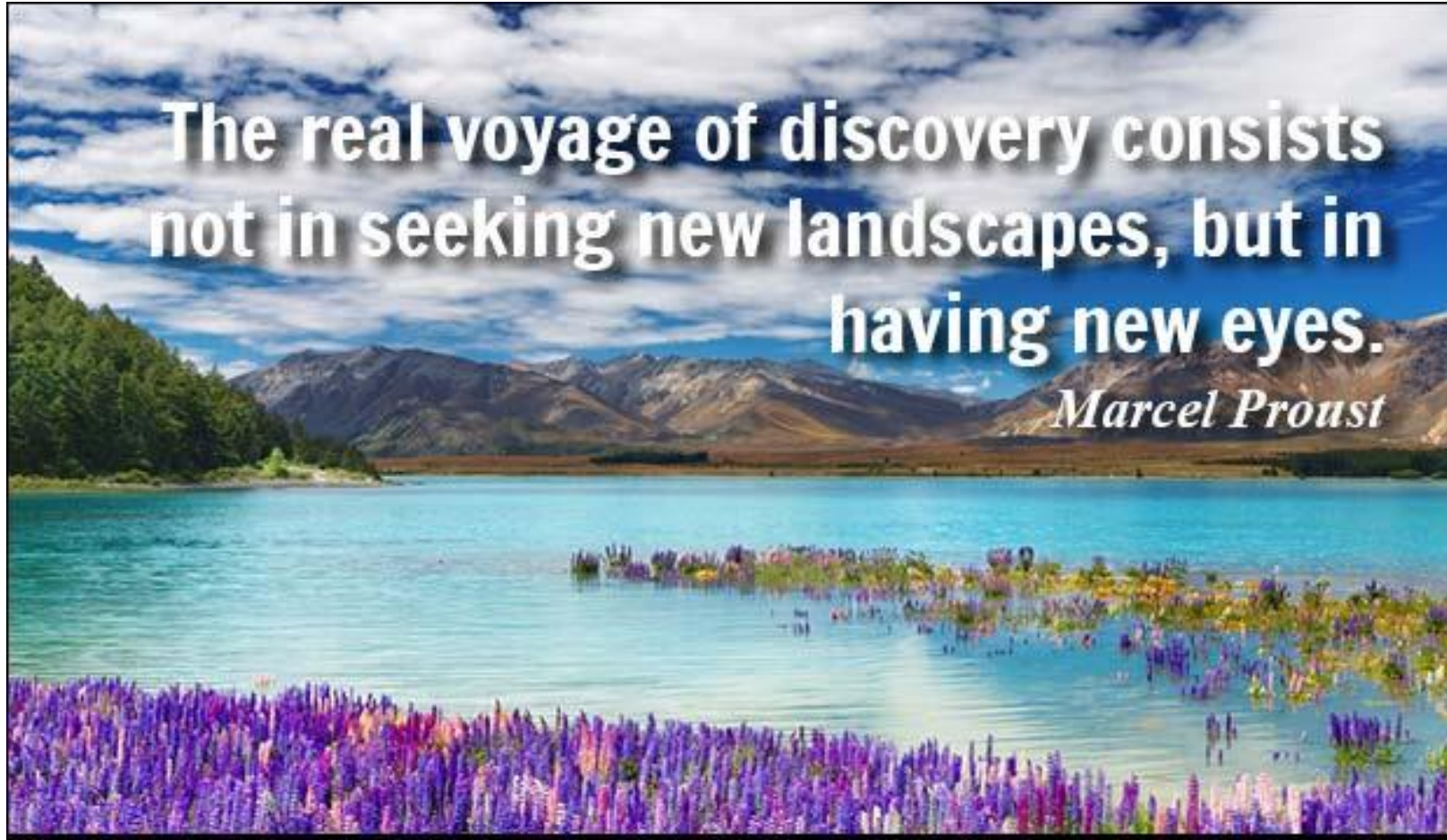


# Reflection: Last session



The real voyage of discovery consists  
not in seeking new landscapes, but in  
having new eyes.

*Marcel Proust*



# Lumpenintellectuals



- A very, very big danger: “*Auftragsforschung*”: *Mission-oriented research: **research funded by and for somebody***
- Project Camelot: military funded social science
- Germany: SFB 700 (FU Berlin)
- Example: The predictions of Political Economy are often unreliable, even if they are awarded with Noble Prizes



# Recent example from Germany: SFB 700



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SFB 700



**Governance**  
in areas of limited  
statehood







- Mission-oriented research: focussed on the premises and conditions of the government
- Guided-research, contracted research
- *Lumpenintellectuals*: bogus research
- 2007: “Research” on Afghanistan: supported the government position, without any critical reflection; no questions asked
- Researchers in Germany are too scared to voice any criticism against the SFB 700
- SFB 700: not only useless, but very dangerous





- **Starting point:** develop a (sociological) theoretical framework; are apply an existing framework
- Conflict typology: What kind of conflict is our research about?
- Causes or drivers of conflict: political, ethnicity, religion, land, rressources ....
- Clarification of all terms used: definitions
- **Methodology:** qualitative or quantitative?
- Comparison or case study?
- Which data is going to be used?



# HOW to do research



- Which data? Interview data, newspaper sources, archive research
- Expert interviews
- Participatory observations, taking field notes

Analysis. Qualitative or quantitative?

***Both approaches are equally important. None is better than the other.***



# HOW to do research: field research



# Field research



# HOW to do research: desk research



Keep in mind: You don't have to be normative,  
but you can be



Understanding  
& Reflection

~~Normativity~~



- **Normativity**: but also **awareness** of the dangers and threat
- If your research involves issues of conflicts, death and victims, it is almost impossible to be **neutral**; but be aware of the biases
- Research is never completely neutral, it always happens under specific conditions, in certain times and circumstances



also true for the Frankfurt School



# What is German Thought?



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## SYDNEY INTELLECTUAL HISTORY NETWORK

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You are here: University of Sydney / Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences / SIHN / Activities & events / Reading Groups / Modern German Thought Reading Group

### ACTIVITIES & EVENTS

- Public Lectures +
- Reading Groups -
  - Long Eighteenth Century Reading Group
  - Modern German Thought Reading Group**
  - Legal Philosophy Reading Group
  - Rereading the History of Ideas Reading Group
- Symposia and Seminars
- Workshops
- Conferences

### MODERN GERMAN THOUGHT READING GROUP

Since the mid-eighteenth century, German-language thinkers have played a key role in shaping ideas about modernity and its discontents. This reading group aims to bring together researchers and scholars across the University working on modern German thought. It is open to anyone interested in understanding the contribution German thought has made and continues to make to discussions of human societies and cultures, and their relationships to one another and to the non-human world.

We will read theoretical texts originally written in German, but which are also available in English translation. This choice is motivated by two complementary considerations: the focus on German-language texts acknowledges that ideas are in part products of specific historical circumstances and traditions. However, ideas never emerge in linguistic and cultural isolation, and their meaning is also contingent upon the context in which they are interpreted. The aim of the reading group is therefore to consider the selected texts both in terms of their specific historical limitations and their general and continuing relevance.



# What is German Thought?



- German thinkers are central to modernity
- German thinkers are also central to violence and war
- German thought includes Germans and German-speaking thinkers
- The term German thought does not exist in Germany. Most Germans would be very hesitant to use it at all
- Because the term might carry some baggage or normative biases



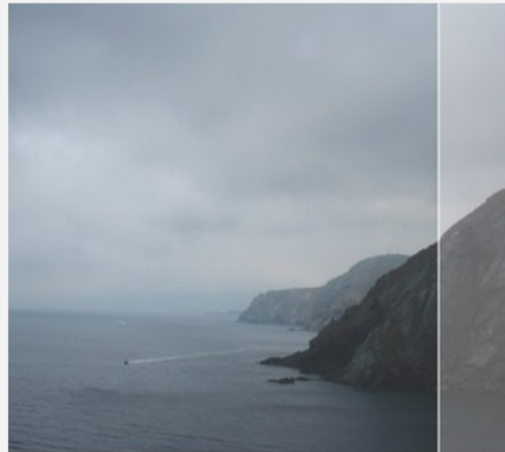
# What is German Thought?



## Modern German Thought from Kant to Habermas An Annotated German-Language Reader

Edited by Henk de Berg, Duncan Large

Studies in German Literature Linguistics and Culture, German  
Literature, Philosophy



Modern German Thought  
from Kant to Habermas

*An Annotated  
German-Language Reader*

Edited by Henk de Berg and Duncan Large

# German-language thinkers



- “German-language thinkers such as Kant, Marx, Nietzsche, and Freud are central to modernity. Yet their reception in the English-speaking world has largely depended on translations, a situation that has often hampered full engagement with the rhetorical and philosophical complexity of the German history of ideas.”



# Friedrich Nietzsche



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1844 – 1900  
Nihilism  
*Übermensch*



# Friedrich Nietzsche



- philosopher of the late 19th century who challenged the foundations of Christianity and traditional morality
- Nietzsche's scepticism was a sophisticated and radical challenge against all doctrines and religions. His intellectual focus on "life affirmation" concentrated on the realities of the real world – here and now – and not in any spiritual world beyond



# Nietzsche's philosophy of history



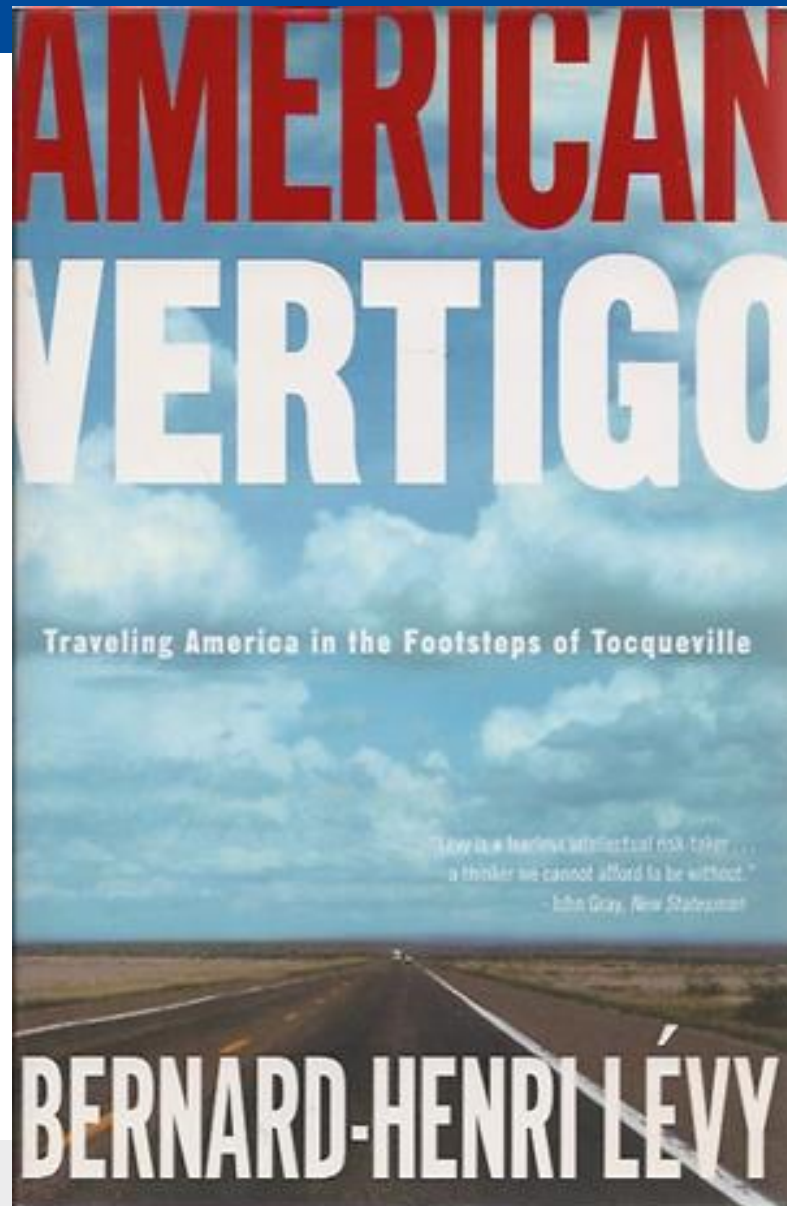
- Nietzsche's philosophy of history is based on the core distinction between three types of history:
  1. *Monumental*
  2. *Antiquarian*
  3. *critical history*
- antiquarian memory can lead to a form of absurd, pathological memory: "anxious and lazy, febrile and idle"
- antiquarian memory will be the "grave digger of the present time," and will be a "harbinger of identity crises"



# Bernard-Henry Lévy: Nietzsche in the USA



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# Bernard-Henry Lévy



- In 2004, the famous French philosopher Bernard-Henri Lévy embarked on an intellectual journey, in which he spent a year traveling throughout the USA.
- In this book he asks, what it means to be an American and what America can be today. Lévy analyses the nature of American patriotism, the coexistence of freedom and religion, the prison system and much more. He also focuses on the American way of dealing with the past, the way of remembrance and memorialisation.



# Bernard-Henry Lévy



- Lévy found examples of how Nietzsche's philosophy of history can be applied to the American way of memorialisation. One example, which left a lasting impression on Lévy, happened in the Hotel Fort in Des Moines. He had booked the same room that was also booked by **John Kerry** a few days later, who was then the presidential candidate of the Democratic Party in the middle of the presidential election campaign
- In that room Lévy found a very disturbing example of memorialization:
  - “[...] they’ve taken care to display on my night table, next to a framed photo of the candidate playing the guitar, a plate of cheese wrapped in cellophane identical to the one that will be served to him on the evening of his arrival [...]” (Lévy 2006: 45).



# Nietzsche can explain America's uncertainty



- The fact that even the “future” plate of cheese of a presidential candidate is taken as a memorable relic struck Lévy and he was obviously struggling in how to cope with it:
- “The craze for the relic, this time. A taste for preservation and for the museum, taken to the nth degree. [...] even if it’s under the heading ‘fake,’ we might as well make a museum of everything right away. But, even more striking, even more extravagant: yes, everything is becoming a relic; a mere plate of cheese is becoming a museum piece [...]” (Lévy 2006: 46).
- Lévy’s main conclusion is that no modern nation today is as uncertain and unconfident as the USA.



- Nietzsche's philosophy was not considered at all by the Frankfurt School
- There is no similarity, no link, nothing in common with Critical Theory
- There is one indirect agreement: the key thinkers of the Frankfurt School were atheist and some of them openly rejected religion

# Germany's "Ground Zero"?



- Starting point of Adorno and many others: The danger and threat that the **Holocaust could be repeated**
- This threat was not philosophical, it was real
- 1968 Revolution
- Peace movement, peace research, peace and conflict studies
- anti nuclear movement: started in Whyll
- again: the threat of a nuclear destruction was not an abstract fear, it was a reality
- Many of the peace movements founding fathers: sociologists, political scientists; academics



# Thought or thought?



- German Thought and Frankfurt School: both terms are social constructions
- There is no **German thought**: the terms suggests the existence of a coherent, unitary, common body of thought – but that doesn't exist
- **German Thought**: may be used to refer to the totality of or history of influential German thinkers
- Frankfurt School: Thinkers like Horkheimer: aim was to treat an emancipatory view of society that goes outside and beyond the narrow limits of a school
- “**German Thought in Indonesia**”: also has an imperialistic touch; it is about joint-learning, cooperation, Germans may learn a lot from Indonesians



# Historical background



- 1923: Institute of Social Research (*Institut für Sozialforschung*)
- after 1933: the Nazis forced it to close and move to the United States, where it found hospitality at Columbia University, New York.
- WW2: Many German thinkers exiled
- Came back to Germany and became the intellectual foundation of post-war Germany
- 14 November 1951: official reopening of the institute



# 1968 Revolution



German student revolution; aims:

- Dealing with Germany's and their parents' Nazi past
- Changing society for more democracy
- Stopping the war in Vietnam and improving the conditions in the Third World





# 1968 Revolution



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# 1968 Revolution



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# Key thinkers: a little bit name dropping, I am sorry 😊



- Max Horkheimer (1895-1973)
- Theodor Adorno (1903-1969)
- Herbert Marcuse (1898-1979)
- Walter Benjamin (1892-1940)
- Leo Löwenthal (1900-1993)
- Eric Fromm (1900-1980)
- Since the 1970s: the second generation has been led by **Jürgen Habermas**



# Jürgen Habermas



- *Theory of communicative action* (1981)
- rationality, argument and understanding
- “We call a person **rational** who interprets the nature of his desires and feelings in the light of culturally established standards of value, but especially if he can adopt a reflective attitude to the very value standards through which desires and feelings are interpreted.”



# Jürgen Habermas



- “The concept of communicative action presupposes the use of language as a medium for a kind of reaching understanding, in the course of which participants, through relating to a world, reciprocally raise validity claims that can be accepted or contested.”
- “Every consensus rest on an intersubjective recognition of criticisable validity claims; it is thereby presupposed that those acting communicatively are capable of mutual criticism.”
- “Every process of understanding takes place against the background of a culturally ingrained preunderstanding. [...] The interpretative task consists in incorporating the others interpretation of the situation into ones own [...] this does not mean that interpretation must lead in every case to a stable and unambiguously differentiated assignment.”



# Deliberative Democracy



- political theory that claims that political decisions should be the product of fair and reasonable discussion and debate among citizens
- citizens exchange arguments and consider different claims that are designed to secure the public good: citizens *can* come to an agreement about what procedure, action, or policy will best produce the public good



# Deliberative Democracy



- deliberation is a necessary precondition for the legitimacy of democratic political decisions
- deliberative democracy shifts the emphasis from the outcome of the decision to the quality of the process
- deliberative democracy is based not on a competition between conflicting interests but on an exchange of information and justifications supporting varying perspectives on the public good



# Example: decision to go to War



- most nations and democracies: have ceded much of the power to make this decision to their chief executives: to their presidents and prime ministers
- Deliberation: leaders should give reasons for their decisions, and respond to the reasons that citizens give in return.
- Many forms of decision-making: have to be justified at some point in a deliberative process: **character** and **form** are important





# Example: decision to go to War



- Reasons: neither merely procedural ("because the majority favors the war") nor purely substantive ("because the war promotes the national interest or world peace")
- They are reasons that should be accepted by free and equal persons seeking fair terms of cooperation





*a philosophical approach to culture that seeks to confront the social, historical, and ideological forces and structures that produce and constrain it*

- These ideological forces and structures had created the Holocaust
- The German thinkers had to flee from these forces into exile



# Characteristics of Critical Theory



- re-interpretation of Marxist philosophy: commodification, fetishization and critique of mass culture
- re-interpretation of Sigmund Freud
- Critical theory maintains that **ideology** is the principal obstacle to human liberation

***Critical Theory instead of critical***

“critical” must not be used as a nice label



**The Frankfurt School** is the name given to the Institute for Social Research, which opened in 1924. Their project was to modernize Marxism and understand modernity.





- confrontational (*Pierre Bourdieu: habitus*)
- elitist
- middle-class background
- very big egos
- At various times: turned against each other
- example: Adorno against Günther Anders: actively prevented him from becoming a Professor
- many personality clashes



# Key terms and concepts



- Traditional versus critical theory
- Dialectics
- Dialectic of enlightenment (*next session*)
- The culture industry (*Günther Anders, in two weeks*)
- Subjective enlightenment: a turn towards the subject
- Reeducation



# Max Horkheimer: Traditional versus Critical Theory



- Critical theory seeks “to liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them.”
- Critical theory is a social theory oriented toward criticizing and changing society as a whole, in contrast to traditional theory oriented only to understanding or explaining it.
- radical, emancipatory form of Marxist theory



# Critical Theory: Radical Thought



- a multidisciplinary theory which reveals the inherent antagonisms and negative social conditions of contemporary society, and condemn existing social institutions and practices as “inhumane”
- a fundamental critique of society, which contemplates the need for “an alteration of society as a whole”
- a critical theory is adequate only if it meets three criteria: it must be *explanatory*, *practical*, and *normative* - all at the same time
- a theory is critical to the extent that it seeks human “emancipation from slavery”, acts as a “liberating [...] influence”, and works “to create a world which satisfies the needs and powers” of human beings





# Horkheimer: applied science?



- rejected mission-oriented research (Project Kamelot)
- traditional theory: conventional wisdom
- critique of instrumental reason: blind obedience to “instrumental reason”, the scientific method and uncritical approval of empirical results: “it is naïve and bigoted to think and speak only in the language of science”
- Horkheimer rejected rational sciences as the basis of valid knowledge on which “arbitrary capitalism” is constructed



# Dialectics: THE MOST DIFFICULT CONCEPT



- in general: a method of philosophical argument that involves some sort of contradictory process between opposing sides
- **Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel:**  
*Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807)  
Die Phänomenologie des Geistes
- ***dialectical process: thesis-antithesis-synthesis***



# Dialectics



- the Hegelian process of **change** in which a concept/thought/idea passes over into and is preserved and fulfilled by its opposite

## THESIS

A thought is affirmed which on reflection proves itself unsatisfactory, incomplete or contradictory ...

## ANTITHESIS

which propels the affirmation of its negation, the antithesis, which also on reflection proves inadequate ...

## SYNTHESIS

and so is again negated ...



# Dialectics



- **Totality**: belief in connectedness, the interrelation of all aspects of the universe: “*das Ganze ist das Wahre*”
- in general terms: Hegel’s dialectic involves the reconciliation of paradoxes to arrive at absolute truth:
  - *One begins with a static, clearly delineated concept or idea, then moves to its opposite (antithesis), which represents any contradictions derived from a consideration of the concept . The thesis and antithesis are combined/integrated and resolved to form the embracing resolution: the synthesis*
- This formula is infinitely renewable; Hegel contended it would only terminate upon the world’s end



# Hegel: Phenomenology of Spirit



- the “opposing sides” are different definitions of consciousness and of the object that consciousness is aware of or claims to know
- Hegel regarded this dialectical method or “speculative mode of cognition”
- The infinite character of the dialectic reflects Hegel's notion of “holistic truth” and his optimistic belief in progress



# Application of Critical Theory



- *Dialectic of Enlightenment (next session)*
- Hegel and the RAF
- Critical Theory after the rise of the Global South
- Adorno: Dealing with the past, reconciliation



# Hegel's dialectic and the RAF



- RAF: Red Army Faction: “terrorist” organization in Germany
- was founded in 1970 by Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Horst Mahler and Ulrike Meinhof

## **German Autumn:**

- 30 July 1977, Jürgen Ponto, the head of Dresdner Bank, was killed
- 5 September 1977: Hanns Martin Schleyer was kidnapped; he was killed on 18 October 1977
- 13 October 1977, Lufthansa Flight 181 from Palma de Mallorca to Frankfurt was hijacked by Palestinian Freedom Front, demanding the release of RAF prisoners. High-risk rescue operation: all four kidnappers were killed, hostages released



# German Autumn



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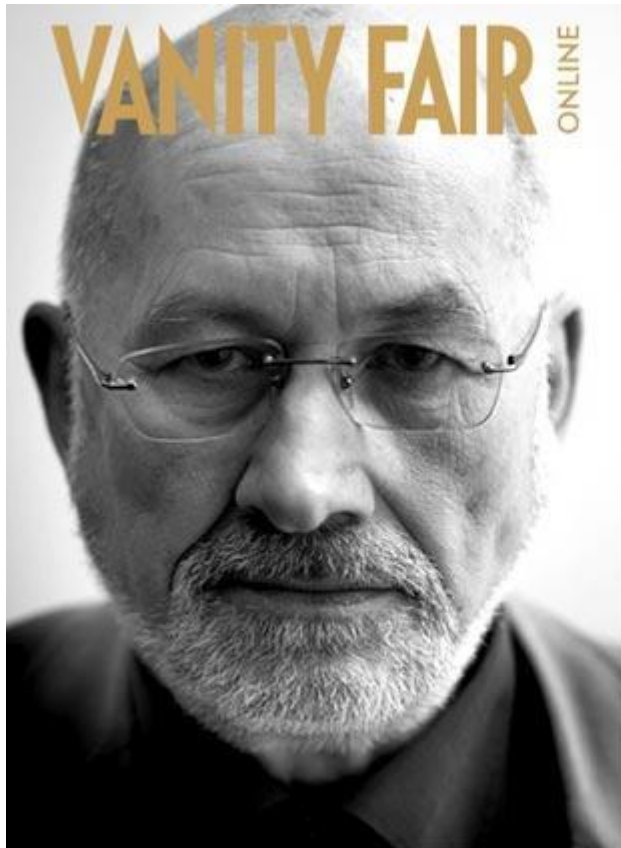




# German Autumn



# Horst Mahler: founding member



LEUTE  
**AGENDA**  
KULTUR  
STIL

SUCHE  
Namen oder Themen finden

HOME | AGENDA | 01.November 2007, 7:53 Uhr **ZURÜCK**

> ZURÜCK 2 / 12 > WEITERLESEN

M.F. Also, es gibt ja einen Terrorismus – ich verwende diesen Begriff, also, ohne dass wir das jetzt lange zerreden müssen –, es gibt einen Terrorismus gegenüber Amerika und dem Westen. Halten Sie den für legitim?

H.M. Ich habe nicht dieses Geschichtsbild im Kopf, dass es darum geht, etwas für legitim zu halten. Ich stelle fest, es läuft ...

M.F. Ja, halten Sie es für rechtens?

H.M. Nein, das ist keine Frage des Rechts, sondern ...

M.F. Na ja, Sie haben es ja selbst erwähnt (lacht). Sie haben die... Also, Moment mal. Noch mal: Wir wollen doch jetzt nicht den schüchternen kleinen Jungen spielen. Sie haben im Jahre 2001 und über das, was in 2001 geschehen ist, ja zweimal gesagt, das sei rechtens.

H.M. Ja.

M.F. So. Nun haben Sie das jetzt relativiert und sagen: Das waren die Amerikaner selbst. So weit, so verstanden. Aber jetzt anders gefragt: Es gibt viele Terroranschläge gegen Amerika. Halten Sie die Terroranschläge gegen Amerika für rechtens? Sie haben ja dieses damals unter dem Gedanken, es sei nicht von Amerikanern geschehen, auch als rechtens bezeichnet.

- Horst Mahler: from left-wing extremist to extreme right-wing extremist



# From one extreme to the other



- Horst Mahler: 1968 generation, left-wing revolutionary, who went to war against the state; TODAY: in prison, right-wing extremist, Holocaust denier
- In prison in the 1970s: asked his lawyer (Ströbele, Schily) to bring him a copy of HEGEL
- Many examples: transformation from extreme left-wingers to extreme right-wingers



- ***“It was a war of the children against their own fathers. And the fathers have won it.”***  
(Bommi Baumann, former RAF member)
- Background of RAF members: middle-class families, they were themselves the bourgeois
- Sons and daughters of pastors
- ***“They were just adventurers”***
- No clear ideology, changed its cause numerous times

# Ideologies: exclusive or compatible?



- **Left-wing “Hegelians” versus right-wing Hegelians**
- Intellectuals: contagion of ideologies: vulnerability to extreme thought; temptation and seduction
- “***Ideologiefälligkeit***”: Vulnerability: into both directions: left-wing or right.



# Vulnerability



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## HEIDEGGERS SCHWARZE HEFTE

IDEOLOGIEANFÄLLIGKEIT  
DER INTELLEKTUELLEN

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# Vulnerability (Ideologiefanfälligkeit)



- Not only people like Horst Mahler were vulnerable of radical thought and thus easily switched from one extremist view to the other
- **Martin Heidegger**: Professor of Philosophy, very influential: Phenomenology: “On Being and Time” (Sein und Zeit)
- 1933: rector of University of Freiburg: wanted to introduce a fascist principle into the university system
- **Hannah Arendt** was his favorite student



# LETTERS

1925-1975



HANNAH  
ARENDT  
*and*  
MARTIN  
HEIDEGGER



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- Frankfurt School: although it saw ideology as the core problem and claimed to be beyond any ideology, it was also vulnerable to ideology:

*Is socialism or marxism not an ideology?*

- Critical in which direction: were less critical towards marxism and socialism than towards other ideologies, like liberalism or conservatism
- Self-critical? Very rarely.

# Critical Theory and the Global South



- After the end of Euro-American hegemony and the return of the multicentric world, Eurocentrism in philosophy and the social sciences has come under attack. However, no real alternative has been proposed.
- The multicentric world has reemerged, and any longer there is neither a paradigmatic social order nor a social-scientific paradigm.
- Societies in the Global South cannot and should not compose their theories along the lines of interpretations of Western societies; rather, their own theories of society ought to be developed and embraced



# Boike Rehbein: “kaleidoscopic dialectic”



- European social sciences should make philosophical and methodological adaptations to the new realities of the social world by becoming more reflexive and, by extension, less Eurocentric.
- “Kaleidoscopic dialectic”: overcome the dichotomy between universalism and relativism by relying on an original approach to the philosophy of science
- the focus is on the configurations embedded in the ethics of understanding, accommodation and learning and on their connections to broader social scientific critique



# Adorno: Dealing with the past



- Key argument: there is the danger of the repeat of the Holocaust
- What can be done to prevent the repeat of the Holocaust?
- Subjective enlightenment: a turn toward the subject
- Adorno: pedagogical approach within his critical theory of dealing with the past

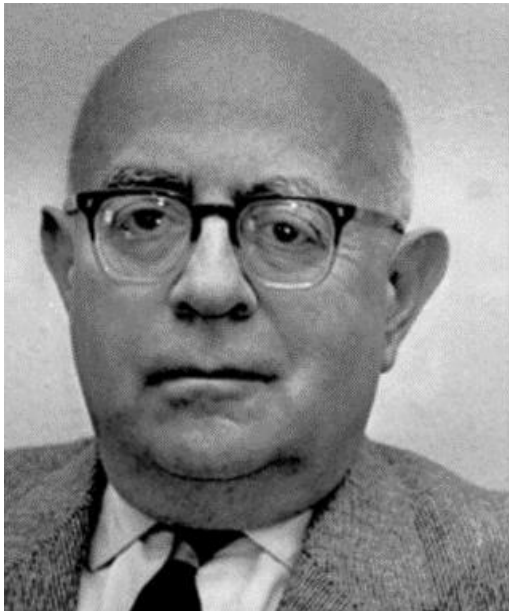


# Adorno: Ethics after Auschwitz



***“In the house of the hangman one should not speak of the noose, otherwise, one might seem to harbor resentment.”***

noose = jerat; hangman = algojo



Auschwitz begins wherever someone looks at a slaughterhouse and thinks: they're only animals.

— Theodor Adorno —



# Adorno: Ethics after Auschwitz



- Can there be any ethics left after Auschwitz?
- Music after Auschwitz?
- Art after Auschwitz?
- “Nach Auschwitz ein Gedicht zu schreiben, ist barbarisch” (“***To write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric***”).

Germany in 2016: Can we make jokes about the Holocaust?



# Subjective enlightenment



- Adorno: didn't believe that a process of dealing with the past could be successfully established by community meetings or encounters between young Germans and young Israelis
- rejected the notion that anti-Semitism could be challenged through concrete experiences with Jews because the "genuine anti-Semite" is defined by his incapacity for any experience, i.e. by his "unresponsiveness"



# Subjectivization



- Adorno's central idea of "subjectivization," which is basis for the "subjective enlightenment":

*"As far as to combat anti-Semitism in individual subjects is concerned, one should not expect too much from the recourse to the facts, which anti-Semites most often will either not admit or will neutralize by treating them as exception. Instead one should apply the argument directly to the subjects whom one is addressing. They should be made aware of the mechanisms that cause racial prejudice within them (Adorno)."*





# Turn towards the subject



- To make themselves aware of those mechanisms, a turn toward the subject becomes necessary:

*“A working through the past understood as enlightenment is essentially such a turn toward the subject, the reinforcement of a person’s self-consciousness and hence also of his self.”*



# Turn towards the subject



- Who is the subject and who is the object?
- Victim or perpetrator?
- Turn to the subject means a turn towards the perpetrator
- No victim-centered approach, but targeting the perpetrators



# Subjective enlightenment



Subjective enlightenment is the essential element in order to “work through” the past and deal with it constructively:

*“The problem of how to carry out practically such a subjective enlightenment probably could only be resolved by the collective effort of teachers and psychologists, who would not use the pretext of scholarly objectivity to shy away from the most urgent task confronting their disciplines today.”*



# Adorno: Reeducation



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## Anweisungen 1945

für die

# Re-Education [Umerziehung]



Übersetzung  
aus

»What to do with Germany«  
1945

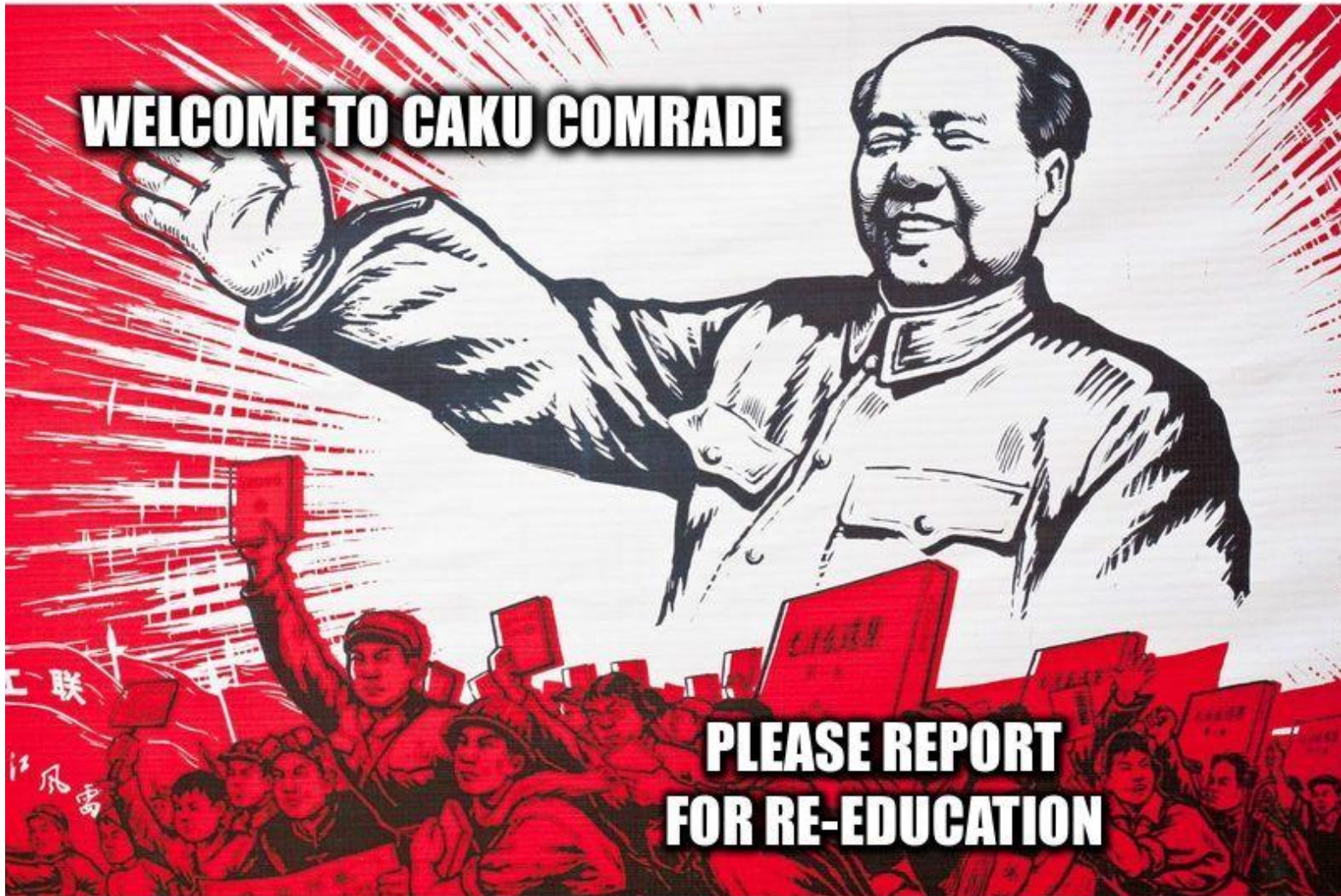
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# A new totalitarian temptation of Critical Theory



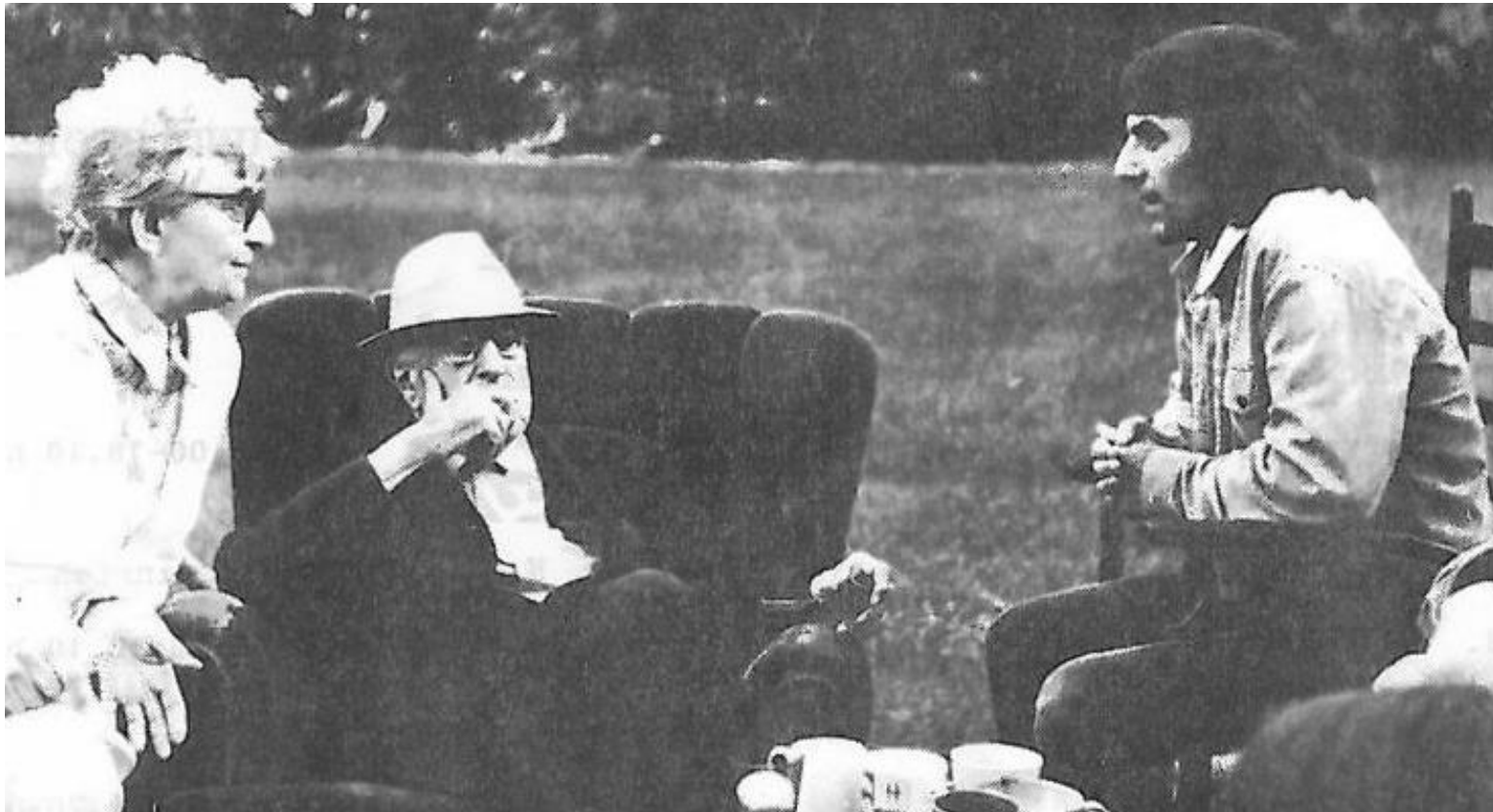
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# Ernst Bloch & Rudi Dutschke



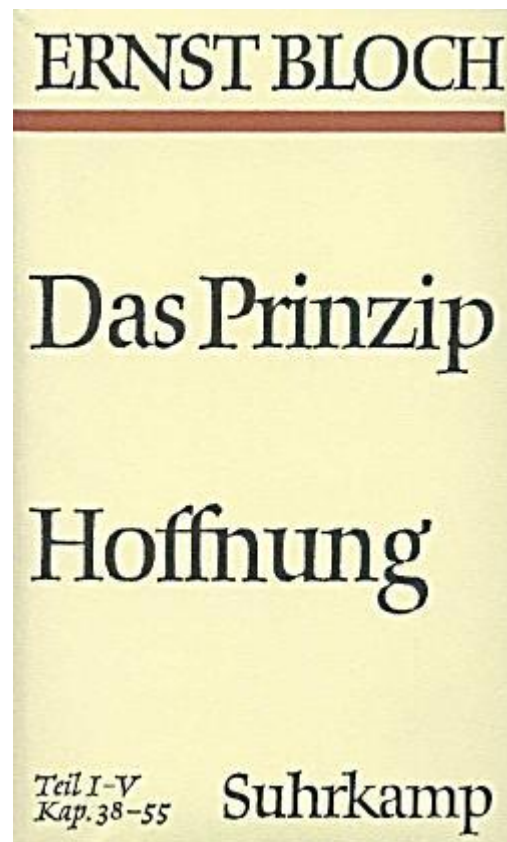
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# Ernst Bloch



- Ernst Bloch (1885-1977): *The principle of hope*



***Umbau* =  
conversion, reconstruction, alteration,  
modification, remodeling**





# Stalinist utopia



- Stalinist view: modelling, creating a new type of man/mankind
- Marcuse: “*die Ankunft des neuen Menschen*”



*Das Heilsziel eines “Neuen Menschen”*

- ***The aim of salvation is a new species of mankind/humanity***
- Stalin: a new Soviet species of mankind (Homo Sovieticus)
- religious language integrated into totalitarian utopia
- *Übermensch (Friedrich Nietzsche)*
- *Herrenmenschen*
- *Masterrace*



**Thank you very much for your  
attention!**



# Group question



*“Societies in the Global South cannot and should not compose their theories along the lines of interpretations of Western societies; rather, their own theories of society ought to be developed and embraced” (Boike Rehbein)*

Please, ask yourself the question:

- **How could an *Indonesian/Javanese* Critical Theory look like?**

