

UNIVERSITAS ATMA JAYA YOGYAKARTA  
GEDUNG SANTO THOMAS AQUINA

# The Dialectic of Enlightenment

Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg

**Dr. Marcel M. Baumann**

DAAD Guest Lecturer

Department of Political Science, University of Freiburg



UNI  
FREIBURG



Please feel free to contact me!!



UNI  
FREIBURG

**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



UNIVERSITAS  
ATMA JAYA YOGYAKARTA



UNI  
FREIBURG

## 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



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

supported by

DAAD

Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst  
German Academic Exchange Service



# Overview about today's lecture



- **Reflection:** last session: where are we?
  - German Thought
  - Critical Theory, Dialectics
- **Dialectic of enlightenment**
- **Applications:**
  - Modernity and the Holocaust
  - Dialectic of liberation
  - Dialectic of colonialism: post-colonial theory
  - Dialectic of democratization



# What is German thought?



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





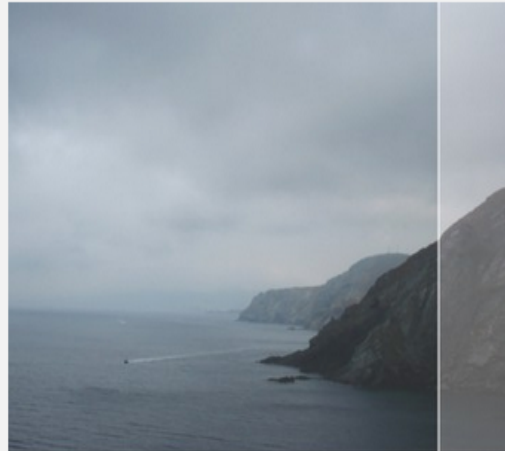
# What is German thought?



## 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 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



UNI  
FREIBURG



1844 – 1900  
Nihilism  
*Übermensch*



- 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 Critical Theory:** 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 Whyl
- 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 versus thought



- German Thought and Frankfurt School: both terms are social constructions
- There is no German **t**hought: the terms suggests the existence of a coherent, unitary, common body of thought – but that doesn't exist
- German **T**hought: 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



# The core of Critical Theory



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

- These 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, reification, fetishization and critique of mass culture
- re-interpretation of Sigmund Freud
- But: be careful with “isms”: *Marx himself once said that he is not a Marxist*
- Critical theory maintains that **ideology** is the principal obstacle to human liberation



# 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





# Horkheimer: applied science?



- rejected mission-oriented research (Project Kamelot: military-funded social science)
- 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



- 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 ...



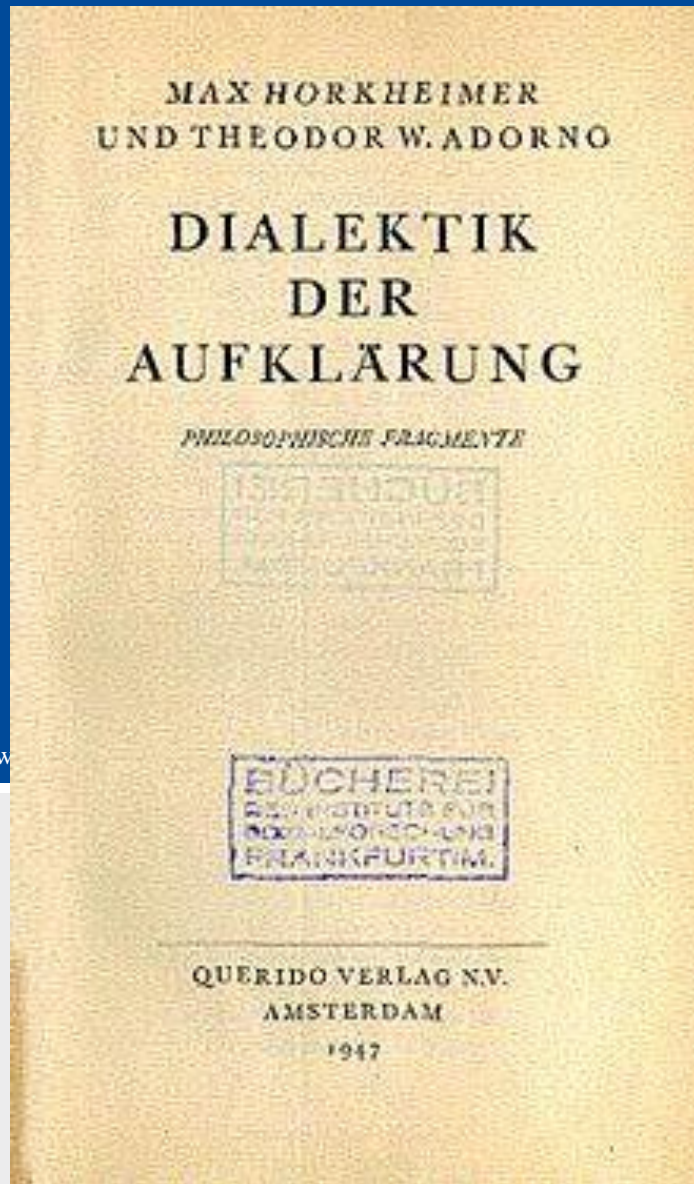
# Dialectics



- **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 concept or idea, then moves to its opposite (antithesis), which represents any contradictions derived from a consideration of the idea . 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 end upon the world’s end***



# The Dialectic of Enlightenment



The peak of  
Critical Theory  
*published: 1944*

Albert-Ludw



UNI  
FREIBURG



# The Dialectic of Enlightenment



- Adorno, Horkheimer and all other Frankfurt intellectuals were forced to flee Nazi Germany
- they ended up in the USA during the Hitler years and although this was a refuge for them, it was not a society they felt had anything to offer humanity:
  - Ernst Bloch: described the US as “a cul-de-sac lit by neon lights”
  - Frankfurt thinkers felt that a society obligated to the pursuit of individualised happiness was the epitome of a world of shallow and inauthentic surfaces and insincerity
  - Adorno: that it is not possible to live a true life in a false system.



# “Living in a false system”



- Most important in this context: the thinkers of the Frankfurt school did not draw a significant distinction between various forms of capitalism, be they consumerist democracies or fascist dictatorships
- “Dialectic of Enlightenment” was written by Adorno and Horkheimer during these years in exile
- pessimistic view of what can be done against a false system which, through the “culture industry”, constantly creates a false consciousness about the world around us based on myths and distortions deliberately spread in order to benefit the ruling class

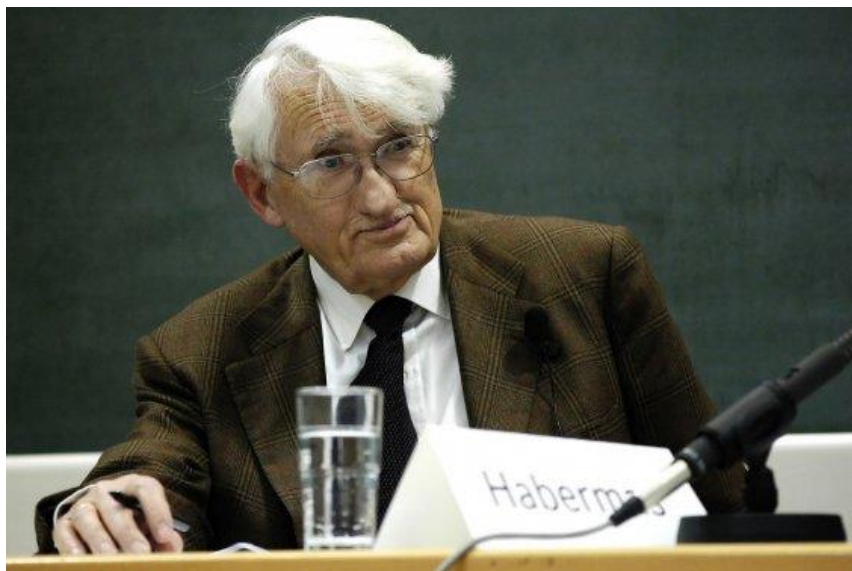




# The Dialectic of Enlightenment



- Because of the pessimistic view: **Habermas** called it the “**darkest book**” of Critical Theory
- Because it highlights the potential of ***self-destruction of and by enlightenment***



# Enlightenment



- Age of **R**eason, *Aufklärung*
- **Light**: a very, very important metaphor/symbol for centuries: used by Protestants during the Reformation, but also used by xxxx
- Prometheus: stole the light from the gods and brought humanity technology (Günther Anders: Promethean shame)
- Enlightenment thinkers: questioned traditional authority and embraced the notion that humanity could be improved through rational change
- New books, inventions, scientific discoveries, laws, wars and revolutions



# Enlightenment



Have the courage to use your own reason- That is the motto of enlightenment. "Foundations of the Metaphysics of Morals" (1785)



# Enlightenment, yes, but ...



## Don't forget:

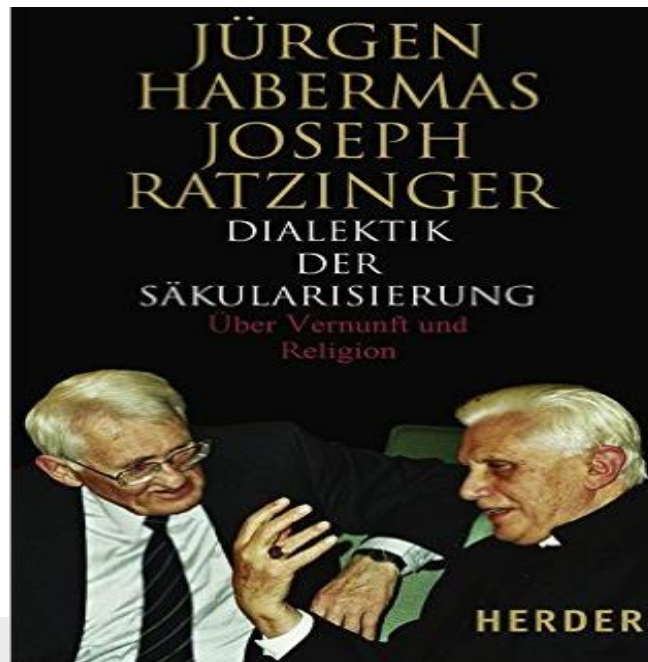
- Reformation: 1517, Counter-reformation
- Thirty Years War: 1618 - 1648
- Treaty of Westphalia: 1648
- 18th and 19th century: **religious tolerance?** Not at all
- Huguenots in France ... Genocide
- Protestants and Catholics in Ireland
- *Enlightenment did not diminish religious conflicts, but made people more aware of their religious identity!*



# The missing link of Critical Theory: Religion

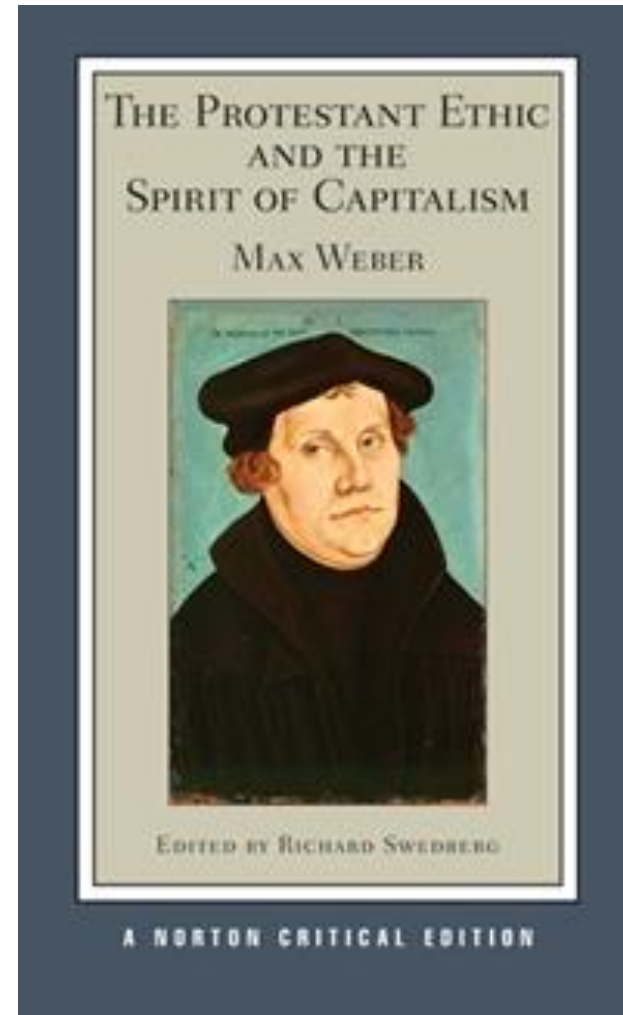
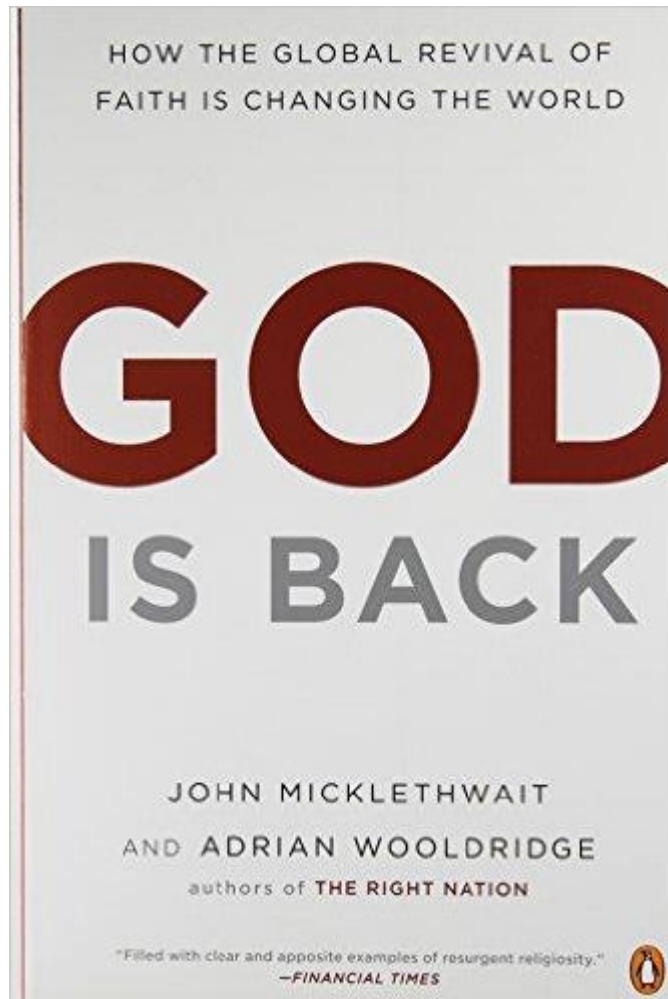


- Adorno, Horkheimer and others were atheists and some were even hostile towards religion
- Did not include religion or religious identities into their thinking: either ignored it or declared it irrelevant
- BUT: Secularism: itself a mythology?





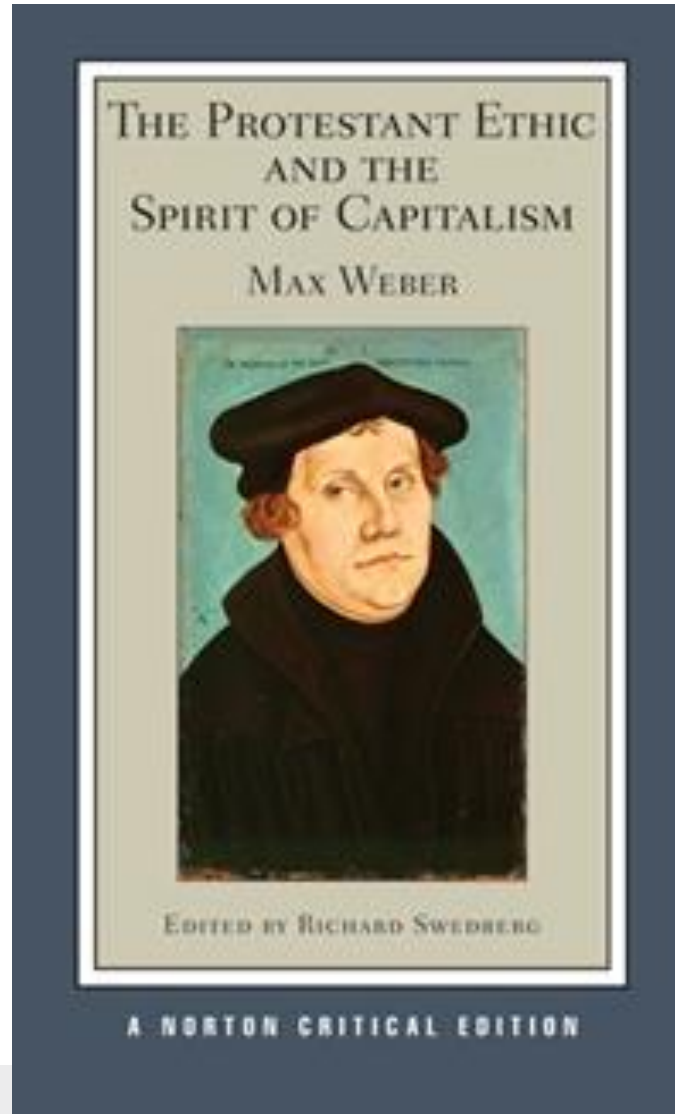
# The missing link of Critical Theory: Religion



# The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism



UNI  
FREIBURG





# What Critical Theory ignored: Calvinism and Capitalism



- very important: READ THE PREFACE of the book:
  1. **Not** Protestantism as a whole, but Calvinism
  2. Calvinism was not **the** cause of capitalism, it was **one** factor, one condition (*multi-perspective of sociology of understanding*)
- Johan Calvin hated Martin Luther!
- the Protestant ethic was one important factor in the economic success of Protestant groups in the early stages of European capitalism: because *worldly success* could be interpreted as a sign of eternal salvation



- The Roman Catholic Church assured salvation to individuals who accepted the church's sacraments and submitted to the clerical authority
- Reformation had removed such assurances
- Weber argued that Protestants began to look for other signs that they were saved
- Calvin: doctrine of predetermination, in which from the beginning God chose some people for salvation, therefore: worldly success became one measure of that self-confidence

# Is or was calvinism a false system, too?



- Weber saw the fulfillment of the Protestant ethic not in Lutheranism, which was too concerned with the reception of divine spirit in the soul, but in Calvinistic forms of Christianity
- By not working, one failed to glorify God: “If you don’t work, you should not eat”

Horkheimer et al.: **no** distinction between various forms of capitalism (consumerist democracies or dictatorships):

*Did reformation create a (new) false system?*



# Dialectic of Enlightenment: Culture



- Adorno & Horkheimer: **authentic culture** is not simply to be equated with **high culture**, which is equally commodified. Authentic culture directly resists commodification and punishes audiences for expecting to be entertained
- a “little thesis”: ***the Dialectic of Enlightenment in Yogyakarta: What is authentic Javanese culture?***



# Culture industry: enlightenment as mass deception



- culture industry: describes the commodification of cultural forms that had resulted from the growth of monopoly capitalism
- The culture industry plays a central role in cementing its audience to the status quo, and has transformed culture itself into an ideological medium of domination
- mass-produced entertainment aims



# Application of the culture industry



- My favourite quote:

***“yet [they] base their popularity precisely on the magic of the unintelligible as creating the thrill of a more exalted life.”***

- Applied to modern academics:

Many academics journals are today “unreadable”, overcomplicated. Many buzzwords and complicated terms are used in order to create something special or advanced (“magic”) about them



- Modern social science has become a victim of the culture industry:

*discourse, deconstruction, performativity, hybridity, fluidity, transdisciplinary etc.*

Science Home News Journals Topics Careers

the links below.

SHARE



1



Multidisciplinarity: Today's Hottest Buzzword?



Why are so many rushing to jump on to the interdisciplinary bandwagon?

# Culture industry in modern academics



PROFESSIONAL JOBS SUMMITS RANKINGS STU

## Use buzzwords to be cited, study suggests

Is 'robust' the new 'clustering'? Hannah Fearn on an anthropologist spotting trends in vocabulary

August 28, 2008





# Don't use buzzwords! *Plastic words*



***Discourse*** instead of ***debate***

***Deconstruction*** instead of ***analysis***

***Advanced*** instead of ***very good***

***Dialectical*** instead ***related to***

***Ambivalent*** instead of ***difficult***

***Postfactual*** instead of ***wrong***

***Implementation*** instead of ***doing***

***Straight: Keep it short and simple!***



# Stand up against this trend!!



UNI  
FREIBURG

~~Triangulation  
Discourse  
Implementation  
Deconstruction~~



# Culture industry in modern academics



- **Peer-review**: your article is only published, after it was evaluated by referees
- Ranking of journals: good versus bad journals: A, B, C, D
- Who decided about these rankings?
- **Censorship and control**
- same logic and mechanisms:  
“*Reichsschrifttumskammer*” (organized in 1933 by Joseph Goebbels)

# Critical Theory and Peer-review?



- If there would have been (still) a peer-review in Germany after 1945, the Critical Theory would not have been able to develop itself
- Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcuse and others: They would boycott the peer-review
- Ideological control
- To those who support the peer-review: don't confuse **debate** with **control!**
- Debate is necessary, (ideological) control is dangerous



# Freedom, values and “transvaluation”



- The values of enlightenment themselves are not automatically progressive and the potentially liberating process of the unfolding of human freedom is undermined by our enslavement within the totality of capitalist social relations
- Fascism, Stalinism and consumer capitalism: all produced the widespread socialization of the means of production and the corporatization of the economy
- As a consequence: the worst excesses of class exploitation were replaced by a social complicity *between* the classes with the help of mythologies and ideological control



# Freedom, values and “transvaluation”



- Control: not only through direct repression but through the apparently non-ideological aspects of our everyday lives
- *Indirect* reference to Friedrich Nietzsche: modernity and the Enlightenment have brought about the **transvaluation** of all values and undermined all traditions (“*Entwertung aller Werte*”)
- Karl Marx: in capitalism “all that is solid melts into air”





# Antisemitism



- myths about Jews were used *by both fascism and liberal democracies* to create an outsider group which can be blamed for all problems
- Culminated in the Nazi theory that the world is being dominated by a Jewish conspiracy in which rich Jewish bankers finance the communists
- Reference to Freud: hatred of the other is actually a way to mask jealousy
- Fascism is thus successful not because it is repressive but because it permits and encourages our deepest desires to find the culprit (=pelakunya) for our own complicity





## Probably the most important quote:

*“Enlightenment, understood in the widest sense as the advance of thought, has always aimed at liberating human beings from fear and installing them as masters. Yet the wholly enlightened earth is radiant with triumphant calamity. Enlightenment’s program was the disenchantment of the world. It wanted to dispel myths, to overthrow fantasy with knowledge”.*



# Horkheimer & Adorno in their own words:



“Knowledge, which is power, knows no limits, either in its enslavement of creation or in its deference to worldly matters. Just as it serves all the purposes of the bourgeoisie economy both in factories and on the battlefield, it is at the disposal of entrepreneurs regardless of their origins. Kings control technology no more directly than do merchants: it is as democratic as the economic system with which it evolved. Technology is the essence of this knowledge”.



# Horkheimer & Adorno in their own words:



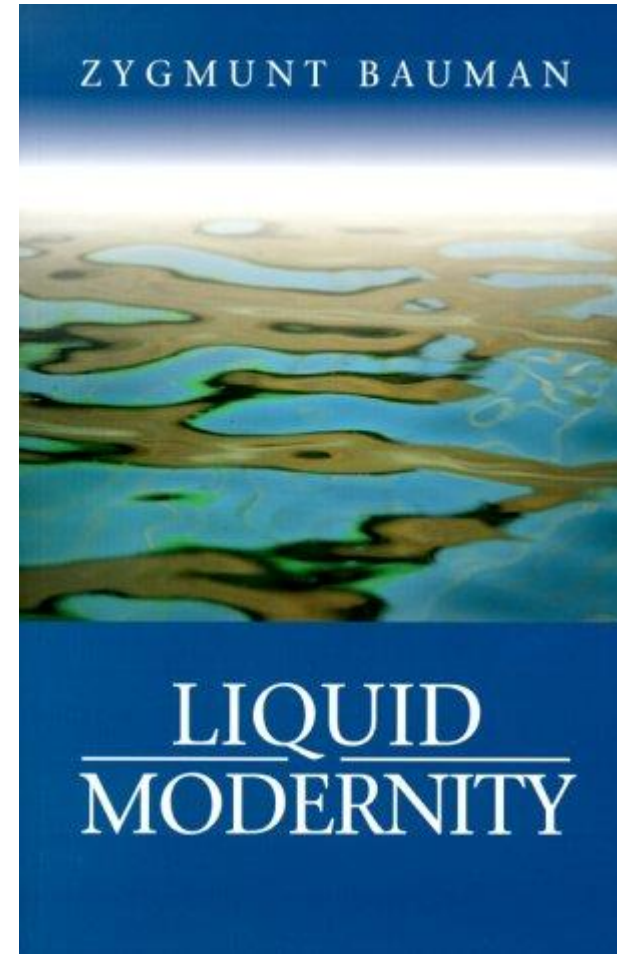
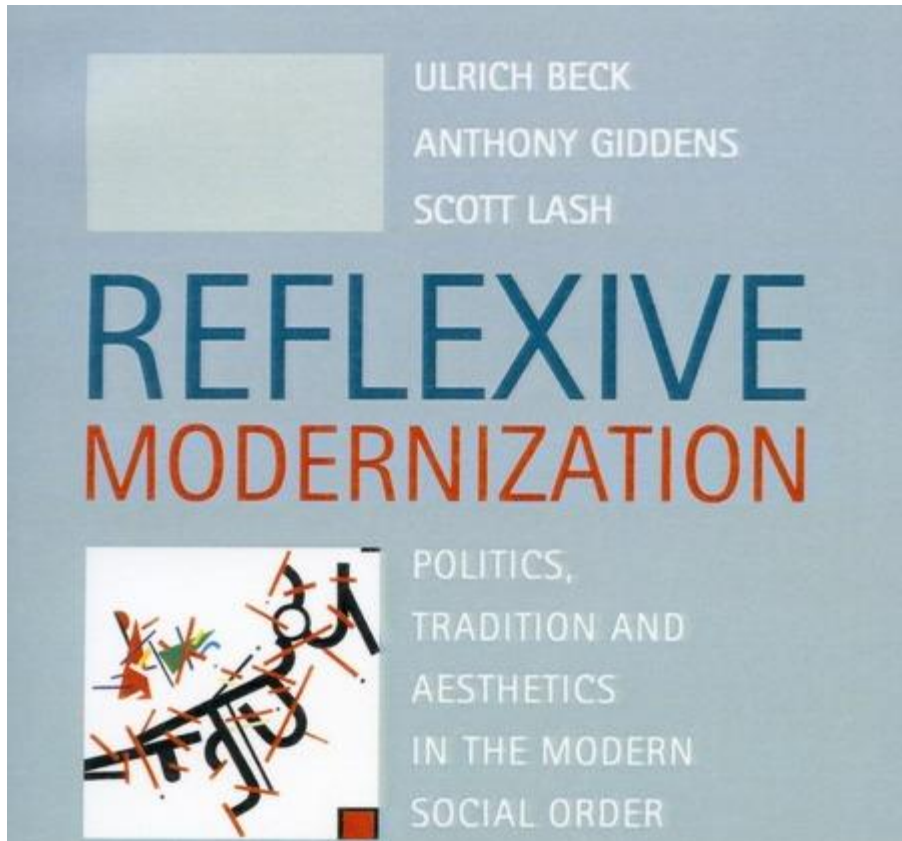
- “What human beings seek to learn from nature is how to use it to dominate wholly both it and human beings. Nothing else counts. Ruthless towards itself, the Enlightenment has eradicated the last remnant of its self-awareness. Only though which does violence to itself is hard enough to shatter myths”.
- “For the Enlightenment, anything which cannot be resolved into numbers, and ultimately one, is illusion; modern positivism consigns it to poetry. [...] All gods and qualities must be destroyed”.



# Critical Theory, Enlightenment and Modernity



UNI  
FREIBURG



# What are the characteristics of modernity?



- **Bureaucracy**: impersonal, social hierarchies that practice a division of labor and are marked by a regularity of method and procedure
- **Disenchantment** of the world: the loss of sacred and metaphysical understandings of all facets of life and culture
- **Rationalization**: the world can be understood and managed through a reasonable and logical system of objectively accessible theories and data



# What are the characteristics of modernity?



- **Secularization**: the loss of religious influence and/or religious belief at a societal level
- **Alienation**: isolation of the individual from systems of meaning: family, meaningful work, religion, clan, etc.
- **Individualism**: growing stress on individuals as opposed to meditating structures such as family, clan, academy, village, church
- **Commodification**: the reduction of all aspects of life to objects of monetary consumption and exchange





# What are the characteristics of modernity?



- **Nationalism**: the rise of the modern nation-states as rational centralized governments that often cross local, ethnic groupings
- **Urbanization**: the move of people, cultural centers, and political influence to large cities
- **Objectivism**: the belief that truth-claims can be established by autonomous information accessible by all
- **Universalism**: application of ideas/claims to all cultures/circumstances regardless of local distinctions



# What are the characteristics of modernity?



- **Mass society**: the growth of societies united by mass media and widespread dissemination of cultural practices as opposed to local and regional culture particulars
- **Industrial society**
- **Democratization**
- **Mechanization**: the transfer of the means of production from human labor to mechanized, advanced technology



# Not all characteristics are “nice” ...



- Individualism
- Alienation
- Mass society
- Mechanization

..... the obsolescence of man (Günther Anders)

The human soul has been changed dramatically under the pressure of industrialization

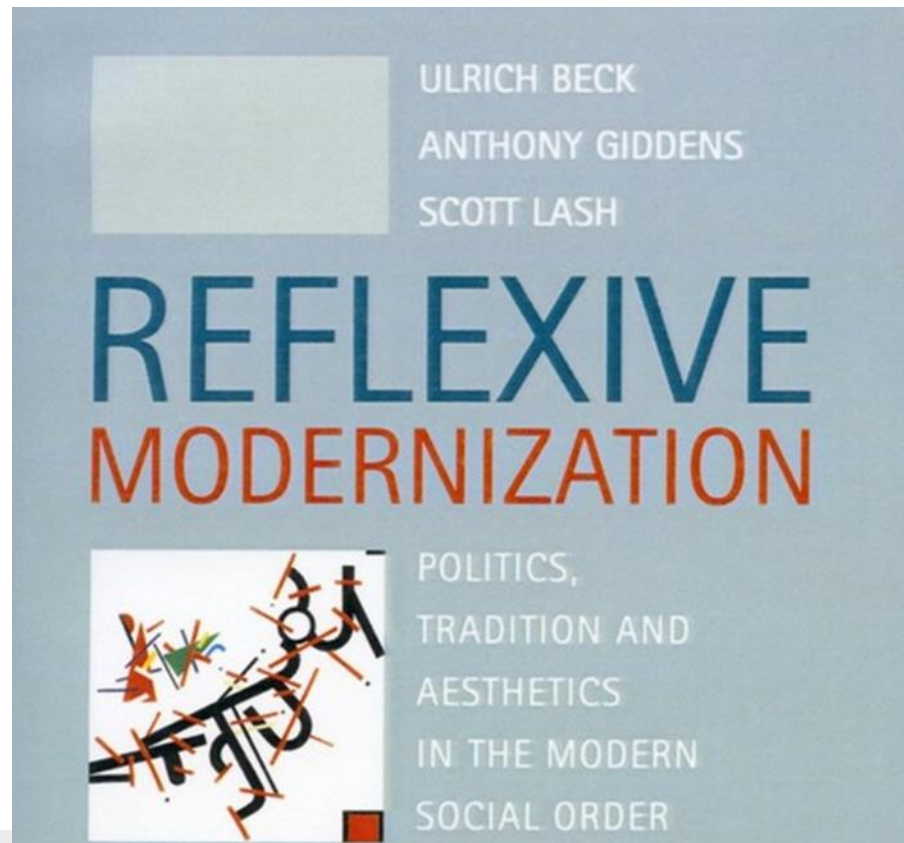
“*Verdinglichung des Menschen*”: human beings have become objects (*next session*)



# The dialectic of modernity



Ulrich Beck: the modernization of modernity: the second modernity, reflexive modernization



# Modernity and the Holocaust



UNI  
FREIBURG

ZYGMUNT BAUMAN



728  
Kurt Schöningh Verlag

Dialektik der Ordnung  
Die Moderne und der Holocaust

Holocaust (Shoa):  
6 million Jews murdered  
in the gas chambers

**The Dialectic of Order**



# Dialectic of Order



**UNI  
FREIBURG**



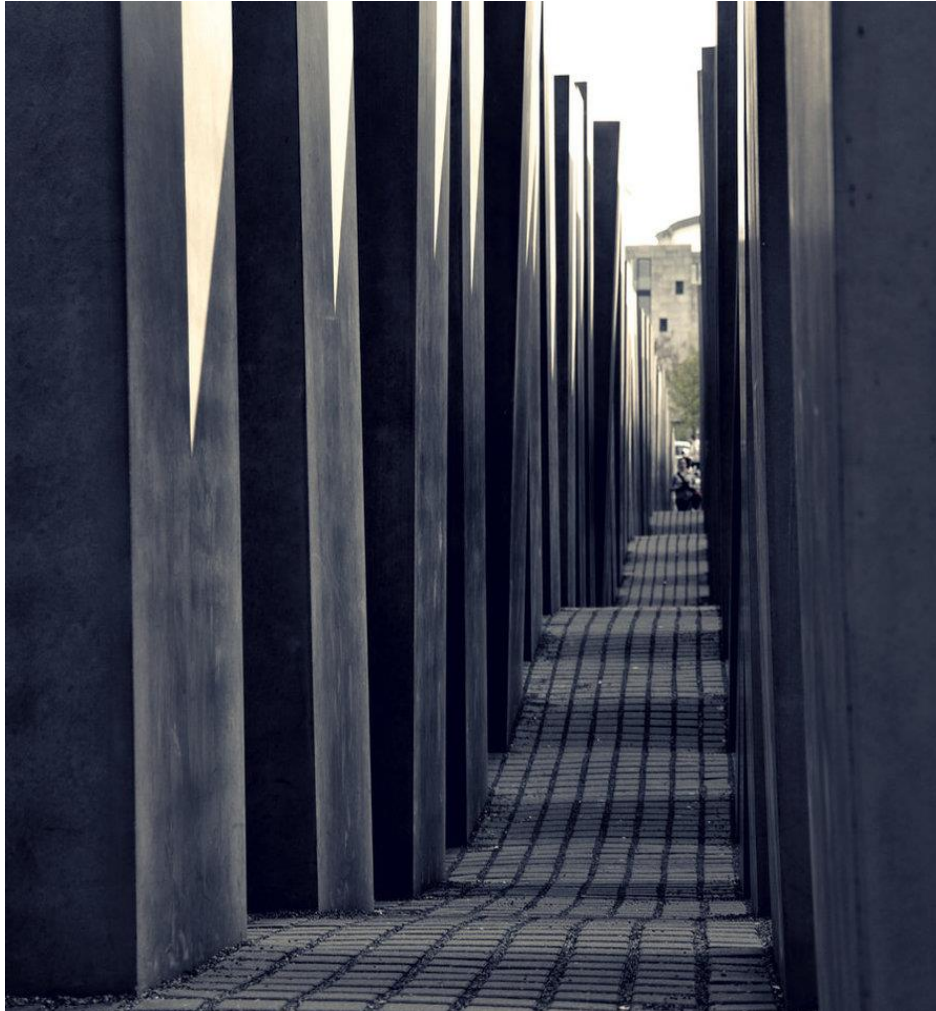


# Dialectic of Order





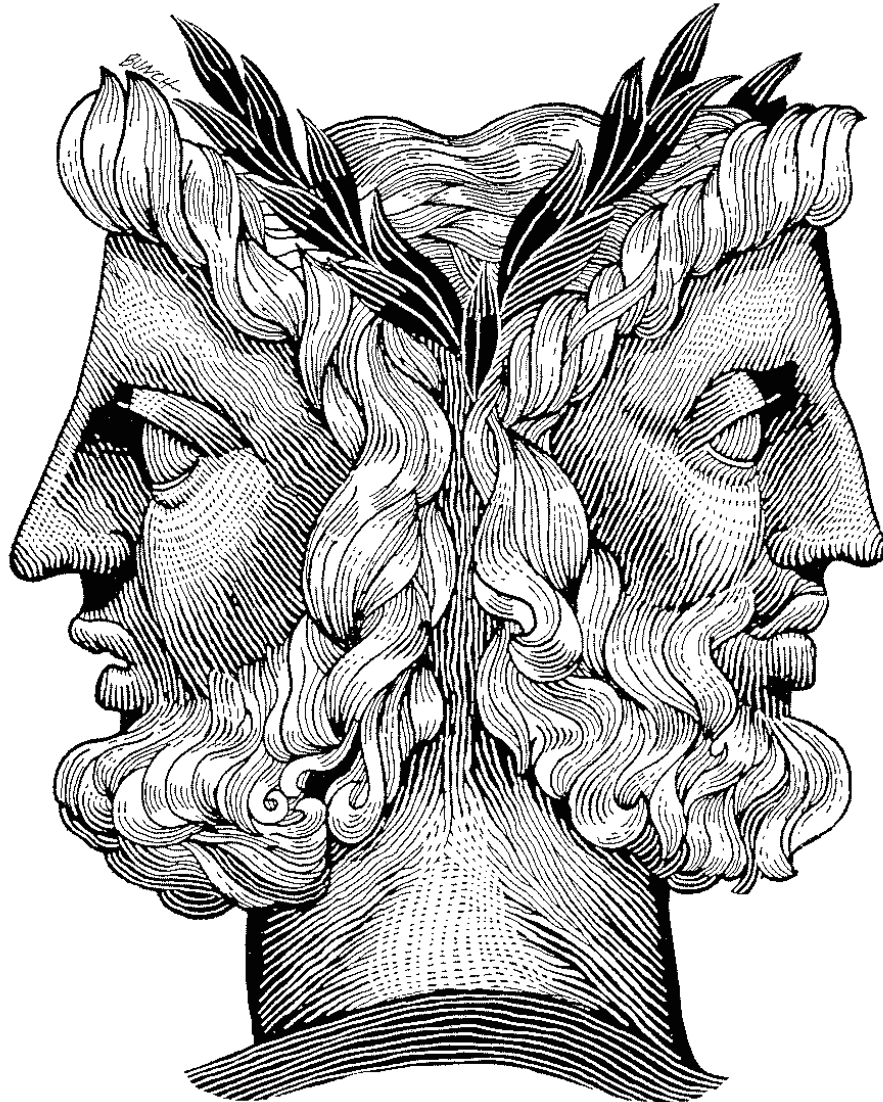
# Dialectic of Order



**Order:**  
**Stability,**  
**but also threatening**  
**machinery of order**  
**Cement blocs**  
***Cementing***



# Modernity is Janus-faced



**Comparison:  
Interviews with couples,  
who were victims  
of hijacking**

# Janus-faced modernity



- abnormally high incidence of divorce among the couples
- Most interviewees told him that they had never contemplated a divorce before the hijack.
- “they saw their partners in a new light”:
  - Ordinary good husbands, “proved to be” selfish creatures, caring only for their own stomachs;
  - daring businessmen displayed disgusting cowardice;
  - resourceful “men of the world” fell to pieces and did little except bemoaning their imminent perdition.
- Which was the true face? Neither was “truer” than the other
- ***Enlightenment and modernity have two “true” faces, too***





- Richard L. Rubenstein: *“Civilization means slavery, wars, exploitation, and death camps. It also means medical hygiene, elevated religious ideas, beautiful art, and exquisite music. It is an error to imagine that civilization and savage cruelty are antithesis [...] In our times the cruelties, like most other aspects of our world, have become far more effectively administered than ever before. They have not and will not cease to exist. Both creation and destruction are inseparable aspects of what we call civilization.”*



# Dialectic of Freedom



**China:** in the fight against terrorism:  
state collects huge amount of data from social media  
state control / total control





# Modernity and the Holocaust



- **Zygmunt Bauman:** Holocaust was not simply an accident along the road to modernity
- modernity provided the “necessary conditions” for it: the Holocaust was “a legitimate resident in the house of modernity”
- the principles of rationality and efficiency  
*“at no point of its long and tortuous execution did the Holocaust come into conflict with the principles of rationality. The ‘Final Solution’ did not clash at any stage with the rational pursuit of efficient, optimal goal-implementation” (Bauman)*



# (Modern) Bureaucracy and the Holocaust



- The Nazis mass murder of the European Jews was not only the technological achievement of an **industrial society**, but also the organizational achievement of a **bureaucratic society**
- **Dehumanization was necessary**: Mass deportations and murder could not begin immediately. First, the Jews had to be turned into non-citizens, and ultimately into non-humans. The dehumanizing process was achieved by bureaucrats
- The **bureaucracy society** was an essential component of the machinery of destruction



# Bureaucratization and the Holocaust



- Max Weber: “modern bureaucracy, rational spirit, principle of efficiency, scientific mentality, relegation of values to the realm of subjectivity”
- ***all of these characteristics were present in the Holocaust***
- Bauman argues that the Holocaust is a significant and reliable test of the hidden possibilities of modern society
- The Holocaust would have been impossible without the advancements of modern society





# Bureaucratization and the Holocaust



- Bauman: Not only is the Holocaust a powerful reminder of how ethically blind the bureaucratic pursuit of efficiency is, but the Final Solution itself was an outcome of the bureaucratic culture
- The systematic slaughtering of Jews and other outcasts was modelled on the **factory system: producing death instead of goods**
- Without modern industrialisation and technological know-how it would have been impossible to kill so many people so efficiently



- **Luis Moreno Ocampo**: 2003-2012: Chief Prosecutor at International Criminal Court (ICC):
    - Big problem for prosecutions: Mass murders, genocide are normally done by **bureaucrats** – referred to Hannah Arendt's analysis of the Eichmann trial (*session: 17 November*)
    - Challenge: which role in the chain of evidence did the bureaucrats play? Did they just follow orders?
- Adolf Eichmann: **Bureaucrat No. 1**: he organized the Holocaust from his desk (***civil servant: PNS***)

# Sociology after the Holocaust



- Bauman: The Holocaust was not abnormal as we would like to think; it is not so far away from us as we would hope; ***it is all too possible that such a thing might happen again***
- The civilizing process doesn't simply make us better, kinder people: it also involves the separation of violence from questions of morality, and screens off ethics from questions about the most rational solution.
- **“Holocaust-like events”** are a constant potential of the sort of society we live in
- Bitter dispute: uniqueness of the Holocaust?



# Dialectic of liberation: from liberation movements to new suppressors/dictators



- Dialectic of resistance
  - from liberators to dictators
  - from colonized to colonizers
- Dialectic of colonization: post-colonialism
- Example: Zimbabwe and others



# Dialectic of colonialism: post-colonial theory



- Colonial thoughts were imported, implanted
- Freed from colonialism: turned themselves into “*Herrenmenschen*”
- one example: *Hindu Nationalism*



- *Frantz Fanon, Edward Said and others*
- Colonial thoughts were imported, implanted into the former “colonized”
- Freed from colonialism: turned themselves into colonizers
- Postcolonialism signals a possible future of overcoming colonialism, but new forms of domination or subordination can come in the wake of such changes





- New Order: Any political activity was suppressed and the regime was successful, as most of the rebellion regions of the 1950s did not engage in actions of political oppositions
- Only Aceh was an exception, where the Free Aceh Movement raised in the 1970s. However, they faced a military reaction
- A particular important element of New Order: Islamist groups were suppressed, as Suharto distrusted them





# Dialectic of democratization: Indonesia



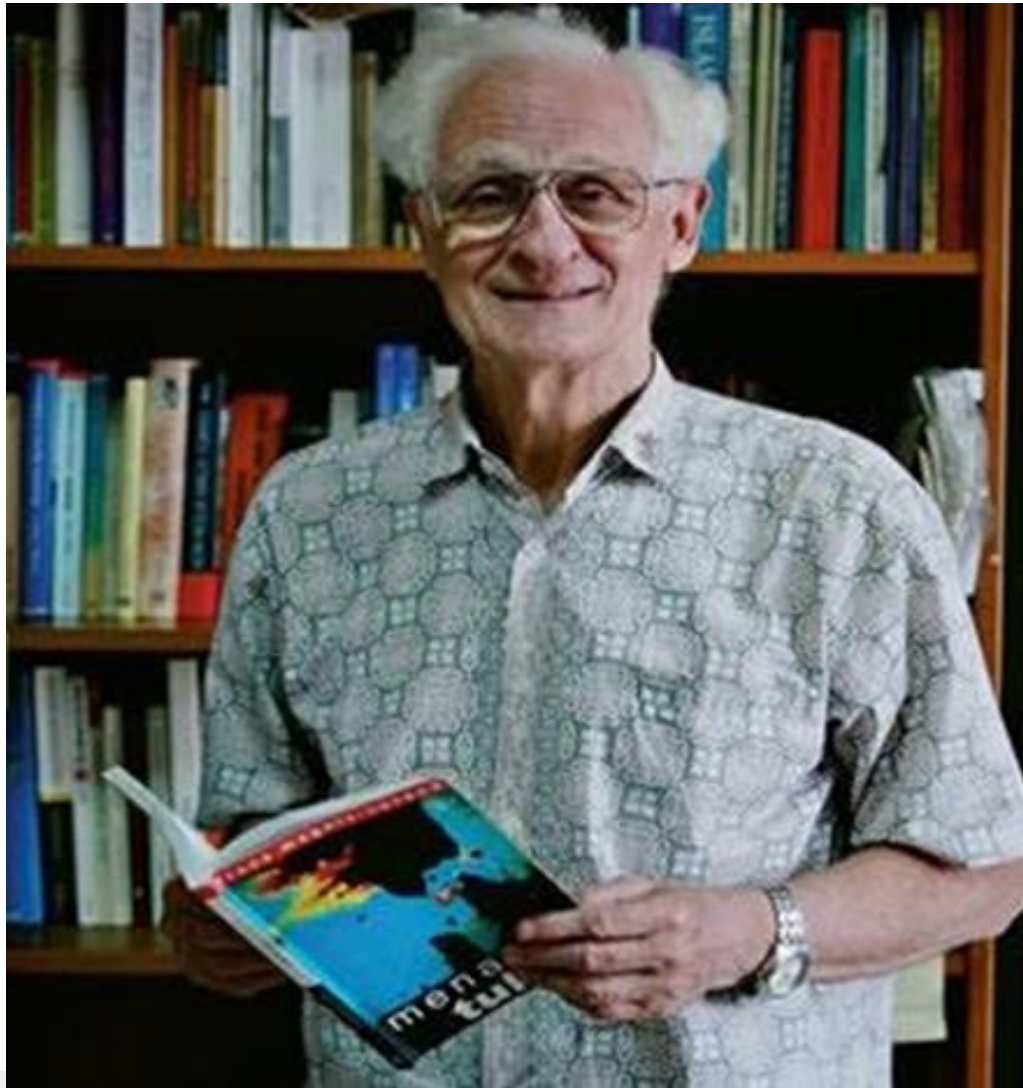
- The relationship between Islamic groups and the regime only changed in the early 1990s, when Suharto started to integrate Islamic organizations into the institutions of the New Order
- May 1998: Suharto was forced to resign
- Whereas most of the ethnic and religious tension during the New Order did not bring any institutional change, the conflicts broke out violently after May 1998
- Conflicts between Christians and Muslim became intensified, especially in Eastern Indonesia, where the religious demographics showed a large percentage of Christians in many provinces: between 40 and above 50 percent, example: Maluku (lecturer on 24 November: Conflict transformation)



# Franz Magnis-Suseno



UNI  
FREIBURG



- According to Magnis-Suseno it is a misperception to label or qualify “Islam” in Indonesia as “moderate” or “soft”:

***“This Islam might be complex regarding the direction of its teachings and its intensity. However, the perception, that is sometimes made, that this Islam in Indonesian is not a true Islam, but rather an Indonesian form of Islam, a softer version or whatever, is totally wrong.”***

- There is no such thing as “the” Islam – and certainly in the largest Muslim country in the world. Islam as a religion and confession is too complex, too heterogenic and too idiosyncratic to be reduced to any label – neither “moderate” nor “fundamentalist.”

## ***Dialectic of democratization:***

- It was the democratic “opening” during the presidency of Habibie, which allowed Islamist extremists to come out publicly



## *Democracy opened the door for those, who oppose it, too:*

- Islamic fundamentalists, who had been hunted down by the security forces under Suharto and fled to exile in Malaysia, were able to return to Indonesia
- They started recruiting and distributing Islamic and anti-Christian literature and, thus, gained significant support amongst the military and the police



# Dialectic of democratization: Indonesia



- From a historical perspective, this development took place in the overall context of an increasing importance of Islam
- “internal Islamization” still continued, even under New Order
- context: *global* awareness of Islamization, which was promoted by Islamic countries
- Dialectic: the democratic opening gave new possibilities for radical Islamists:
- They gained a large degree of free speech, which is still today used frequently by radical Islamic organizations





## *In today's Indonesia: role of extremists?*

- The most important finding or observation is, however, that the Pancasila democracy has the support of between 80 and 90 percent of all Indonesians.
- Since 1998: Islamist parties taken together never got more support than 37 percent in elections





# Herbert Marcuse



- “Temporary, pedagogical dictatorship“
- “the false consciousness has become the general consciousness”
- slaves, who don’t know that they are enslaved cannot free themselves on their own. They have to be guided towards liberation: “to remodel and preform their consciousness in order to make them immune against alternatives”



# Repressive tolerance



“with the concentration of economic and political power and the integration of opposites in a society which uses technology as an instrument of domination, effective dissent is blocked where it could freely emerge; in the formation of opinion, in information and communication, in speech and assembly. Under the rule of monopolistic media - themselves the mere instruments of economic and political power - a mentality is created for which right and wrong, true and false are predefined wherever they affect the vital interests of the society. [...] Rational persuasion, persuasion to the opposite is all but precluded. The avenues of entrance are closed to the meaning of words and ideas other than the established one - established by the publicity of the powers that be, and verified in their practices.”



# Repressive tolerance



“I suggested [...] the practice of discriminating tolerance in an inverse direction, as a means of shifting the balance between Right and Left by restraining the liberty of the Right, thus counteracting the pervasive inequality of freedom (unequal opportunity of access to the means of democratic persuasion) and strengthening the oppressed against the oppressor. Tolerance would be restricted with respect to movements of a demonstrably aggressive or destructive character (destructive of the prospects for peace, justice, and freedom for all). Such discrimination would also be applied to movements opposing the extension of social legislation to the poor, weak, disabled.”



# Last session: Reeducation



UNI  
FREIBURG

## Anweisungen 1945

für die

# Re-Education [Umerziehung]



Übersetzung  
aus

»What to do with Germany«  
1945

Distributed by  
Special Service Division  
Army Service Forces  
U. S. Army  
Not for Sale





# Reeducation: *Umerziehung*





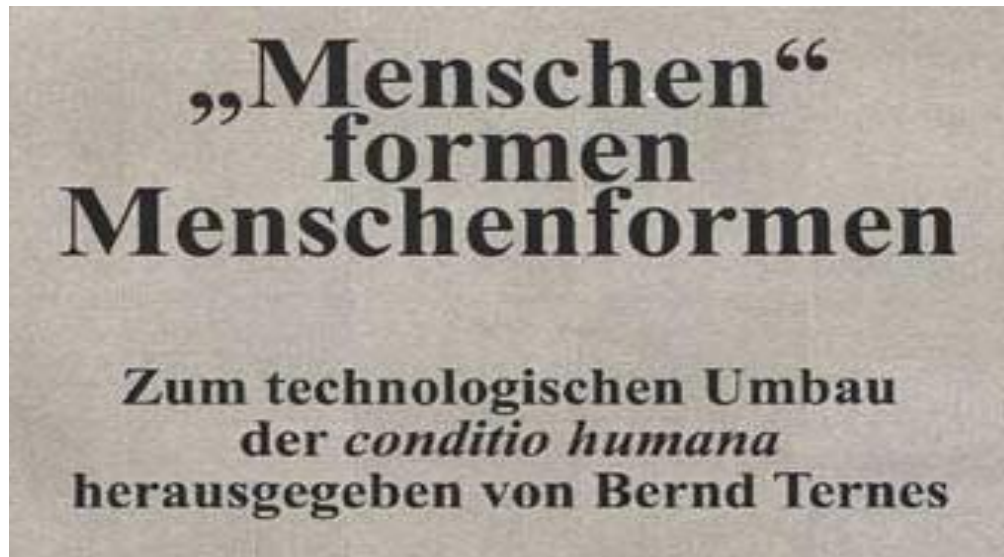
# A new totalitarian temptation of Critical Theory



# Ernst Bloch: *Umbau des Menschen*



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





# Stalinist utopia



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



# What happens with critiques?



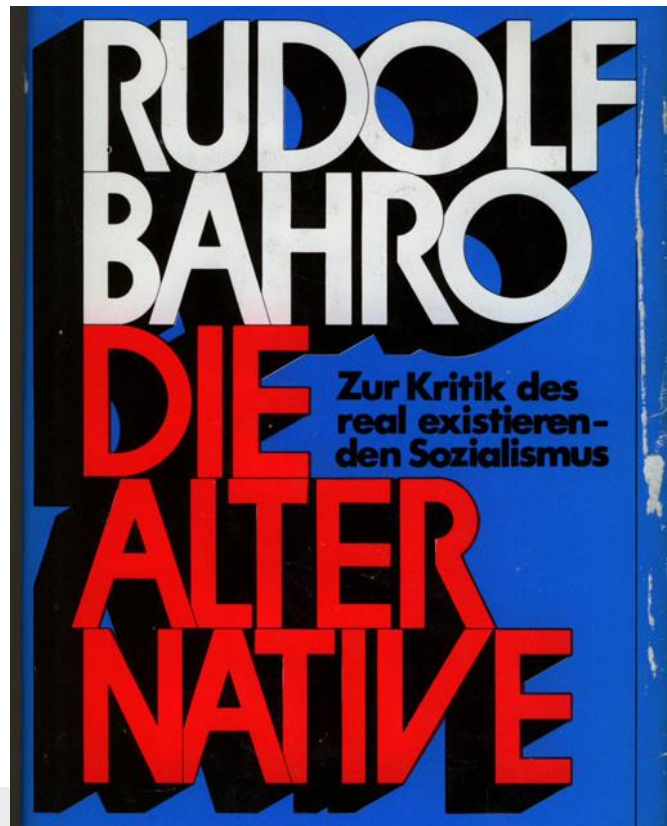
- ***Heil = used by Churches, sects, Hitler, Stalin, Mao etc....***
- ***Heilsversprechen***: promise of future salvation
- Utopia of a coming future: arrival of new mankind in a new society
- Any dissent is a deadly threat: it is a threat against the future
- Anybody who disagrees is a threat to the future: the future salvation



# What happens with critiques?



- There is so much at stake: the future, salvation; any dissent is a threat to the future, must be exterminated, eliminated



# Leon Trotsky



- 1924: Death of Lenin
- Trotsky opposed Stalin's "socialism within a nation" and defended Leninism
- 1937: Trotsky arrived in Mexico after a decade of exile
- 1940: was brutally killed by a Russian agent after being hunted for more than a decade



# Conclusions



- My main argument: the “***critical theorists***” lacked the ability of criticism: self-criticism, self-reflection
- Comparison: peace and conflict studies: “***critical peace researchers***”: lacked any of this: Ekkehart Krippendorff, Dieter Senghaas, Johan Galtung
- Many were “proud atheists” but used secular-religious language and thoughts: justice, fairness, reconciliation



# Conclusions



Radical thought of the day:  
I love myself.



# Conclusions



- The threat of a repeat of the Holocaust was a real threat in post-war Germany
- *“Living in a false system”*: exile
- Threat of a new totalitarianism: “temporary, pedagogical dictatorship” (Marcuse)
- *“Umbau des Menschen”* (Ernst Bloch)
- Radical thought: *It is radical enough, if it is also radical against oneself*
- Critical **must** include *self-critical* and *self-reflection*







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



# Group discussion



- 1. Please explain the “dialectic of enlightenment” in your own words.**
- 2. Please find an example, which can illustrate the dialectic of enlightenment**

