

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

Chapter 1 : The Threat of Virtue: Why Independence and Integrity Threaten the State: Winning Essay

It's a therapy of critique that frees the individual from traditional norms and binding social ties, allowing him to make up his own mind about how to live. Gay rights offer an obvious example of where Marxist-inspired critiques of "heteronormativity" dovetail with libertarian arguments.

California has several different and overlapping forms of local government. Cities, counties, and the one consolidated city-county can make ordinances local laws, including the establishment and enforcement of civil and criminal penalties. A city council meeting in Fullerton, California The entire state is subdivided into 58 counties e. The only type of municipal entity is the city e. California has never had villages, never really used townships they were for surveying and judicial purposes only, and allows cities to call themselves "towns" if they wish, but the name "town" is purely cosmetic with no legal effect. As a result, California has several towns with large populations in the tens of thousands and several cities that are home to only a few hundred people. California cities are granted broad plenary powers under the California Constitution to assert jurisdiction over just about anything, and they cannot be abolished or merged without the consent of a majority of their inhabitants. For example, Los Angeles runs its own water and power utilities and its own elevator inspection department, while practically all other cities rely upon private utilities and the state elevator inspectors. San Francisco is unique in that it is the only consolidated city-county in the state. The city of Lakewood pioneered the Lakewood Plan, a contract under which a city reimburses a county for performing services which are more efficiently performed on a countywide basis. Such contracts have become very popular throughout California and many other states, as they enable city governments to concentrate on particular local concerns like zoning. A city which contracts out most of its services, particularly law enforcement, is known as a contract city. There are also thousands of "special districts", which are areas with a defined territory in which a specific service is provided, such as schools or fire stations. These entities lack plenary power to enact laws, but do have the power to promulgate administrative regulations that often carry the force of law within land directly controlled by such districts. Many special districts, particularly those created to provide public transportation or education, have their own police departments e. District of Columbia[edit] Main article: District of Columbia home rule The District of Columbia is unique within the United States in that it is under the direct authority of the U. Congress, rather than forming part of any state. Actual government has been delegated under the District of Columbia Home Rule Act to a city council which effectively also has the powers given to county or state governments in other areas. Following this, the United States Congress has the power to overturn the law. Georgia[edit] The state of Georgia is divided into counties the largest number of any state other than Texas, each of which has had home rule since at least All municipalities are classed as a "city", regardless of population size. For an area to be incorporated as a city, special legislation has to be passed by the General Assembly state legislature; typically the legislation requires a referendum amongst local voters to approve incorporation, to be passed by a simple majority. This most recently happened in and in several communities near Atlanta. Sandy Springs, a city of 85, bordering the north side of Atlanta, incorporated in December One year later, Johns Creek 62, and Milton 20, incorporated, which meant that the entirety of north Fulton County was now municipalized. The General Assembly also approved a plan that would potentially establish two new cities in the remaining unincorporated portions of Fulton County south of Atlanta: South Fulton and Chattahoochee Hills. Chattahoochee Hills voted to incorporate in December; South Fulton voted against incorporation, and is the only remaining unincorporated portion of Fulton County. Revocation by the legislature last occurred in, when dozens of cities were eliminated en masse for not having active governments, or even for not offering at least three municipal services required of all cities. New cities may not incorporate land less than 3 miles 4. The body approved all of the recent and upcoming creations of new cities in Fulton County. Four areas have a "consolidated city-county" government: Columbus, since; Athens, since; Augusta, since; and Macon, which was

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

approved by voters in Hawaii[edit] Hawaii is the only U. Instead it has four counties, one of which is the "consolidated city-county" of Honolulu. Kalawao County is the second smallest county in the United States, and is often considered part of Maui County. Louisiana[edit] In Louisiana , counties are called parishes ; likewise, the county seat is known as the parish seat. Maryland[edit] Maryland has 23 counties. The State Constitution charters the City of Baltimore as an independent city , which is the functional equivalent of a county, and is separate from any county " e. Other than Baltimore, all cities are the same, and there is no difference between a municipality called a city or a town. Cities and towns are chartered by the legislature. North Carolina Councils of Government North Carolina has counties, the seventh highest number in the country, The North Carolina Councils of Government or the Regional Councils of Government are voluntary associations of county and municipal governments, established by the North Carolina General Assembly in that serve as an avenue for local governments across North Carolina to discuss issues that are particular to their region. In banding together at the regional level, the voice of one community becomes the voice of many, thus providing a better opportunity for those issues to be addressed. Today the majority of citizens and local governments in North Carolina are represented by regional councils, making them an increasingly important facet of local government operations. Today North Carolina calls itself home to 16 regional councils of government. Regional councils in North Carolina are committed to working together. In the seventeen regional councils existing at that time signed an inter-regional cooperative agreement that established a policy to enhance their value by sharing member resources and capacity to deliver services to the state of North Carolina. This agreement also endorses regional councils, to carry out activities in regions outside their boundaries with consent when those services are to benefit the region and the state. Regional boundaries correspond to county borders, with each council being made up of both county and municipal governments. Although the number of regional councils in North Carolina has decreased over the years, the number of citizens served by the councils continues to rise. Local government in Pennsylvania Pennsylvania has 67 counties. With the exception of Philadelphia and Allegheny County , counties are governed by three to seven county commissioners who are elected every four years; the district attorney , county treasurer , sheriff , and certain classes of judge "judges of election" are also elected separately. Philadelphia has been a consolidated city-county since and has had a consolidated city-county government since Each county is divided into municipal corporations, which can be one of four types: The Commonwealth does not contain any unincorporated land that is not served by a local government. However, the US Postal Service has given names to places within townships that are not incorporated separately. For instance King of Prussia is a census-designated place , having no local government of its own. Townships are divided into two classes, depending on their population size and density. Townships of the "First Class" have a board made up of five to fifteen commissioners who are elected either at-large or for a particular ward to four-year terms, while those of the "Second Class" have a board of three to five supervisors who are elected at-large to six-year terms. Some townships have adopted a home rule charter which allows them to choose their form of government. One example is Upper Darby Township , in Delaware County , which has chosen to have a "mayor-council" system similar to that of a borough. Boroughs in Pennsylvania are governed by a "mayor-council" system in which the mayor has only a few powers usually that of overseeing the municipal police department, if the borough has one , while the borough council has very broad appointment and oversight. A small minority of the boroughs have dropped the mayor-council system in favor of the council-manager system, in which the council appoints a borough manager to oversee the day-to-day operations of the borough. As in the case of townships, a number of boroughs have adopted home rule charters; one example is State College , which retains the mayor-council system that it had as a borough. Cities in Pennsylvania are divided into four classes: Class 1, Class 2, Class 2A, and Class 3. Class 3 cities, which are the smallest, have either a mayor-council system or a council-manager system like that of a borough, although the mayor or city manager has more oversight and duties compared to their borough counterparts. It has a government similar to that of the Commonwealth itself, with a mayor with strong appointment and veto powers and a member city council that

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

has both law-making and confirmation powers. Certain types of legislation that can be passed by the city government require state legislation before coming into force. Administrative divisions of Texas Texas has counties, the most of any state. Each county is governed by a five-member Commissioners Court, which consists of a county judge elected at-large and four commissioners elected from single-member precincts. Elections are held on a partisan basis. Counties have no home rule authority; their authority is strictly limited by the State. They operate in areas which are considered "unincorporated" those parts not within the territory of a city; Texas does not have townships unless the city has contracted with the county for essential services. In plain English, Texas counties merely exist to deliver specific types of services at the local level as prescribed by state law, but cannot enact or enforce local ordinances. As one textbook produced for use in Texas schools has openly acknowledged, Texas counties are prone to inefficient operations and are vulnerable to corruption, for several reasons. Cities may be either general law or home rule. Once a city reaches 5, in population, it may submit a ballot petition to create a "city charter" and operate under home rule status they will maintain that status even if the population falls under 5, and may choose its own form of government weak or strong mayor-council, commission, council-manager. Otherwise the city operates under general law; those cities have only those powers authorized by the State. Annexation policies are highly dependent on whether the city is general law annexation can only occur with the consent of the landowners or home rule no consent is required, but if the city fails to provide essential services, the landowners can petition for de-annexation , and city boundaries can cross county ones. The city council can be elected either at-large or from single-member districts Houston uses a two-layer single-member district structure , or a mixture of the two. Ballots are on a nonpartisan basis though, generally, the political affiliation of the candidates is commonly known. State law requires seven trustees, which can be elected either at-large or from single-member districts. Although Texas law allows for home rule school districts, no district has applied to become such. The Texas Education Agency TEA has state authority to order closure and consolidation of school districts, generally for repeated failing performance; the former Wilmer-Hutchins Independent School District was an example of a failing district closed by TEA. In addition, state law allows the creation of special districts, such as hospital districts or water supply districts. All of these districts are governed by state law; there is no home rule option. Texas does not provide for independent cities nor for consolidated city-county governments. However, local governments are free to enter into "interlocal agreements" with other ones, primarily for efficiency purposes. A common example is for cities and school districts in a county to contract with the county for property tax collection; thus, each resident receives only one property bill. Administrative divisions of Virginia Virginia is divided into 95 counties and 38 cities. All cities are independent cities , which mean that they are separate from, and independent of, any county they may be near or within. Cities in Virginia thus are the equivalent of counties, as they have no higher local government intervening between them and the state government. The equivalent in Virginia to what would normally be an incorporated city in any other state, e. For example, there is a County of Fairfax as well as a totally independent City of Fairfax , which technically is not part of Fairfax County even though the City of Fairfax is the county seat of Fairfax County. Within Fairfax County, however, is the incorporated town of Vienna , which is part of Fairfax County. Similar names do not necessarily reflect relationships; Franklin County is far from the city of Franklin , while Charles City is an unincorporated community in Charles City County , and there is no city of Charles.

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

Chapter 2 : State of emergency declared across France after Paris shootings and explosions | Hacker News

Thesis statement: There is a widespread desire for governments to manage all manner of social problems, a desire which is propagated by governments primarily through the co-option of intellectuals through the trafficking of awards, titles and government positions in areas pertaining to its desired functions.

Her mother who brought her to the U. They were split apart just four days after presenting themselves to border guards upon entry into the country. Their contact with each other has been limited to about half a dozen phone calls since then. This was an intentional separation that is no one-off instance of cruelty on the part of law-enforcement, but rather an emblem of a systematic approach taken by immigration enforcement agencies in the name of deterring immigration. The American Civil Liberties Union filed for a preliminary injunction Saturday to reunite the mother and daughter. The Department of Homeland Security has declined requests for comment on the suit from the press. The mother, referred to as Ms. L in the lawsuit, went directly to the authorities upon entering the country with a plea for asylum. Bloomberg reports that 5 million people have been displaced due to the conflict. According to the lawsuit, Ms. L, fearing for her life, she and her daughter, referred to as S. The lawsuit claims the government has violated Ms. L's rights. In a Senate hearing in January, she told Sen. Charles Schumer and given the laws in court cases, we must immediately treat them as if they are seeking asylum and put them into the system. Pending applications have climbed to nearly 100,000 for U.S. I spoke with Christina Remlin, who worked on the lead amicus brief for this case with several advocacy organizations. She contends, as does the memorandum, that Ms. L. There is no compelling reason to separate the mother and daughter, legally speaking. In fact, there are compelling legal reasons to do just the opposite. An amicus brief filed by Lisa R. The Trump administration is seeking to end the Flores agreement as part of its efforts to reform immigration laws. If current actions are any indication, it would permit separation of parents and children for no greater reason than deterring immigration. But is this case just a fluke? A maverick official with an ax to grind, who would do such a thing? Several immigration advocacy organizations claim the same in a letter sent to DHS in December, citing cases of family separation at the U.S. Sometimes families are separated for as arbitrary a reason as needing to fill a bed space in a different facility ICE has quotas for filling bed spaces. A piece in the Houston Chronicle by Lomi Kriel outlines many instances of separation. Not even so much as a hearing precedes this removal. Lora Makowski, a spokeswoman for the ACLU. One party is untraceable to the other. Not to mention, the logistics of moving the little Congolese girl halfway across the country would be an obstacle to resolving the case. A proposal to separate families awaiting deportation has already been approved by Immigration and Customs Enforcement and is pending approval from Homeland Security secretary Kirstjen Nielsen. I am considering exactly that. They [the children] will be well cared for as we deal with their parents. After a backlash from members of Congress and immigrant advocates, Kelly resolved that families should only be separated in extreme cases, such as if a parent was putting a child in danger or had an illness. But one must ask if it even makes a difference what the government officially decides. These goals are generally viewed positively by the public; everyone wants to be safe, and most people want to live in an orderly society where the law is consistently and reasonably enforced. Arguably, the child is an important witness and they should want to have the child close by. If you want strict enforcement of immigrant laws, this does not further that goal. Everyone should draw a line at some point. No immigrant is insulated from that goal – not even a mother and seven year old child fleeing political violence in central Africa, who followed all the right processes. This asylum case should be a PR nightmare for Trump and his immigration team. To make it a policy – not just a policy, but an unwritten policy to circumvent due process and separate parent and child in the name of deterring desperate souls from partaking in the blessings of American safety and prosperity is the very definition of undermining the rule of law.

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

Chapter 3 : Why Reverse Racism Isn't Real - Democratic Underground

*Akeel Bilgrami is the Johnsonian Professor of Philosophy at Columbia University and the director of the Heyman Center for the Humanities. He is the author of *Belief and Meaning* (), *Self-Knowledge and Resentment* (), and *Politics and the Moral Psychology of Identity* (forthcoming).*

The Sir John M. There is a widespread desire for governments to manage all manner of social problems, a desire which is propagated by governments primarily through the co-option of intellectuals through the trafficking of awards, titles and government positions in areas pertaining to its desired functions. Such a climate makes the virtues of independence and integrity fundamental to achieving political freedom. Civil institutions that advocate freedom from government power need to operate from an independent property base to ensure that they are not subject to the co-option of government. With such a base, these institutions can strengthen the virtues of independence and integrity by putting forward a radical and consistent vision of a free society. In doing so, they must maintain their own integrity, and refuse to compromise on the ultimate goal of a totally free society. As nations become corrupt and vicious, they have more need of masters. When one observes the historical record of semi-free nations which have, over time, descended into greater and greater levels of political control and repression, it is not need which drives this process but misplaced desire. As nations become corrupt and vicious, their people have a greater desire for masters who will exercise control over the lives of their neighbors. Indeed, the statement that vicious nations are in need of masters is an unwitting acceptance of a quintessentially statist notion: One can hear this same argument playing out in parliaments around the world, from politicians who assure us of their reluctance to intervene in our lives, but cite crisis after crisis almost always caused by them as necessitating expansions of their power. There are no politicians who support bigger government. The desire for political masters But what need does one ever really have of political masters? No-one ever truly needs them. They need masters to give them property forcibly taken from others. They need masters to prevent others from engaging in behavior which they disapprove of, but cannot prevent in a free society. They need masters because they do not want this troublesome freedom. They have been told all their lives, by the most eminent experts and public intellectuals that the government is their protector and provider. It is not that they need their political masters, they want them. This desire is manifest in mainstream public opinion on a host of political issues, particularly in matters involving aspects of the welfare state. On basic issues of welfare, the vast majority of people are in favor of government intervention over freedom and independence. Public polling from across the world shows widespread support for government responsibility over basic food, healthcare and education. However, mainstream public opinion shows that most people have virtually no conception of such a system. Indeed, it is so entirely discontented from concrete political issues that people are prone to describing highly interventionist mixed economies as free markets. This phenomenon is hardly new. The [agenda of welfare statism] gratifies various types of pathological dependency; augments primitive feelings of envy and inferiority; reinforces paranoid perceptions of victimization; implements manic delusions of grandeur; exploits government authority for power, domination and revenge; and satisfies infantile claims to entitlement, indulgence and compensation. Sociologist Helmut Schoeck has rigorously examined the role of envy in shaping western political ideas and has forcefully argued that envy is the primary motive force behind redistributionist policies that are the bedrock of the modern welfare state. It is this sense of dependency on others and longing for authority which is the primary vice responsible for the support of government intervention over freedom. It is both a consequence and a reinforcing cause of the expansion of government. Those afflicted by this vice do not want freedom from the coercion of government. It is not that they genuinely need political masters; they want them, they crave them. They want the security and reassurance of a second childhood, with the government as benevolent parent, and all those other adults as playground bullies, who must be held in check and forced to share their toys. Independence and integrity Since the desire for freedom

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

is suppressed primarily by dependence on others both intellectual and material dependence, it is the virtues of independence and integrity that are most important not only to achieve freedom, but even to desire it. The desire for freedom requires that one reject feelings of dependency, inferiority, entitlement and envy, which are manifestations of judgment oriented primarily to other people, rather than to reality. In every issue that human beings encounter, a person can distinguish between what people say about the issue and what reality says, what is actually so. The independent person resists it, however. The independent person charts his own course by his own judgment of reality. There is a common type of second-hander whose lack of independence leads him to uncritical acceptance of the prevailing moral and social values propagated in the society around him. He is specified primarily by a moral, not an intellectual, inadequacy. He is dangerous, not on account of his opinions or desires, for he has none: His disposition is to endow government with power and authority such as it has never before enjoyed: People commonly face countervailing pressures, primarily social and emotional which are not mutually exclusive. Each temptation to violate integrity offers some apparent value, which is why it is attractive. Yet its appeal rests on dropping the larger context. Others simply never think to critically consider views which are so widespread. This kind of opportunism is self-defeating and has been widely condemned among advocates for liberty. But their importance becomes far clearer when we examine how governments maintain and expand their power. How is it that they are able to foster the widespread desire for government control that exists in a corrupt and vicious nation? How have the public become so thoroughly convinced that governments should be responsible for providing for their needs and therefore empowered to interfere with their property rights? How have the public been convinced to see their government as beneficial and to obey its edicts? On the face of it, this seems an implausible idea. The alliance is based on a quid pro quo: In return for this panoply of ideology, the State incorporates the intellectuals as part of the ruling elite, granting them power, status, prestige, and material security. These values are promoted by anointed public intellectuals as well as in the curriculum of government schools. Sowell examines several government policies in which the vision of the anointed has been forced on the public. When the programs result in exactly those outcomes predicted by the critics, outcomes which are contrary to the previously stated intentions and predictions of supporters, the programs are redefined as successes according to some new standard usually either so minimal or so vague as to ensure success and opponents who predicted the outcomes are again dismissed. Because the vision of the anointed is primarily a means of self-congratulation rather than a useful explanatory theory of reality, opponents of the prevailing intellectual vision must be prepared to encounter a level of hostility, scorn and ridicule that cannot be explained merely by a differing account of causal relations in reality. Opposition to this vision is not an easy task. Sowell explains how statist intellectuals take their vision of the world as axiomatic and immune to empirical evidence: Characteristic patterns have developed among the anointed for dealing with the repeated failures of policies based on their vision. Other patterns have developed for seizing upon statistics in such a way as to buttress the assumptions of the vision, even when the same set of statistics contains numbers that contradict the vision. Finally, there is the phenomenon of honored prophets among the anointed, who continue to be honored as their predictions fail by vast margins, time and again. Government and its technicians As Sowell observes, despite treating their vision as axiomatic, the anointed attempt to buttress their views using selective empirical findings to explain away repeated policy failures. These experts are often highly educated and technically adept people, with impressive skills and qualifications in the social and physical sciences. The increasing use of scientific jargon, especially in the social sciences, has permitted intellectuals to weave apologia for State rule which rival the ancient priestcraft in obscurantism. Technical experts use their specialized knowledge and access to government data to ensure that the benighted public must defer to their superior expertise. The offering of technical arguments in support of the vision of the anointed may seem to contradict the notion that this is an axiomatic worldview, which is immune to empirical evidence. However, the reality is that the technical arguments for intervention offered by scientific experts are usually mere rationalizations of an existing vision, rather than a genuine attempt to derive sound policy principles from all available possibilities including no intervention at all. While technical

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

analysis may involve a genuine comparison of different policies within the prevailing vision, [43] and therefore involve some attempt at efficiency within those constraints, such analysis invariably preempts the issue of the efficacy of government intervention with hidden value judgments that are not a proper part of the scientific analysis. In particular, hidden assumptions about coercive intervention versus freedom, which is the proper domain of political philosophy, are routinely smuggled in to so-called scientific analysis of government interventions. Because of the complicated technical analysis involved, this kind of non sequitur argument can appear to the layman to be a scientific demonstration that government intervention is beneficial, when, in fact, no such question has been asked. In social welfare policy, technical experts can produce reams of statistics on the correlations between demographic factors and socio-economic outcomes. In labor policy, technical experts cite statistical models of employment levels, participation rates and demographic outcomes. In each case the complexity of the technical analysis distracts from the flawed logical structure of the interventionist argument. Rather, these disciplines are perverted into crude advocacy tools in the hands of bureaucrats and policy intellectuals. Government housing policy may involve issues of economics, sociology and criminology as well as technical analysis using mathematical and statistical models. Similarly, government healthcare may involve issues of medical science, economics, and other disciplines. Only the bureaucracies themselves, with their cadres of various technical experts are allowed to escape this indictment, regardless of their actual historical performance. This situation creates an epistemological difficulty for the public. There is no doubting that government interventions often pertain to areas involving specialized knowledge, and people must make some choice as to what they believe in these areas. In this case, titles, qualifications and honors tell the public who has expertise on the issues under consideration, and whose opinion on technical matters is the most credible. But as we have seen, it is precisely the trafficking of these titles, qualifications and honorariums that gives the government its grip over the intellectuals. It is agencies of the government, or associated groups subject to government privilege or control such as universities and professional academies, which, for the most part, award these titles and honorariums and determine who is an esteemed expert. Moreover, it is the government that appoints people to its august central planning positions where they are hailed by the media as top experts in their field. It is therefore the government which, directly or indirectly, has the greatest influence on determining who the experts are. Even when the anointed experts cause disaster through their own policies, or repeatedly make highly inaccurate predictions in areas of their alleged expertise, they are still recognized as experts because of their titles, honorariums, or high position in the central planning apparatus. These top officials and other anointed experts had for years assured the public that the economy and monetary system were sound, [48] and had denied warnings by Austrian school economists and others of an impending crash, which was caused by their own loose monetary policies. Yet, in the aftermath of the crash, it was those who had failed to see the crisis coming and had failed to see the causes who were called upon by the president and the media to comment on the issues involved. Incentivized ideas When power, status, prestige, material security and other inducements are available for the propagation of certain kinds of ideas, these ideas will be fostered regardless of whether they are true or not. When these inducements are secured by political power. In this case the inducements work to reinforce the legitimacy of the political power of government. Economic theories which hold that central planning can improve economic outcomes will provide a theoretical basis for these central planning skills, whereas economic theories that reject central planning will not. Those who accept the premise of central planning and become technically proficient in theories which promote this view are rewarded with prestigious careers, money and honors; those that subscribe to opposing theories which are hostile to central planning miss out on the gravy train. This process occurs regardless of whether theories supportive of government power are true or not. Since all government activities must be predicated on the legitimacy of its power, any ideas conflicting with this basic requirement will be weeded out by an intellectual process akin to evolutionary natural selection. It should therefore come as no surprise that flimsy economic theories such as Marxism and Keynesianism have swept the academy, the bureaucracy and the news media, despite their shoddy logic, predictive failures and policy misadventures. Critically assessing policy analysis

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

involving specialized knowledge is especially difficult. The point is not that this is an easy task, but that it is a necessary task for any thinker with independence and integrity. Such an explanation can reveal even to the layman whether it is based on hidden premises or faulty reasoning.

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

Chapter 4 : Project MUSE - Mothers and Maidens: Gendered Formation of Revolutionary Heroes in North I

She despised Prussian men and resented what she saw as the grip of urban Capitalism on social democracy. In the Social Democratic Party of Germany 's women's section she met Clara Zetkin, of whom she made a lifelong friend.

Other opponents of the simple picture maintained that pleasure requires a much larger cognitive context than, on the simple picture, it does. Coan and Allen , Rachels That pleasure includes these has been prominently noted e. Duncker, , ; Alston, , ; Gosling, , ff. Exclusive focus on salient episodes with acute onset caused by typically pleasant stimulation, as from sweets and caresses, may mislead one to think such episodes or sensations are the main topic of hedonic discussion or to misread others as making this mistake. Pleasure neither easily fits, nor has been widely thought by theorists to fit, the standard paradigms of sensation, whether of qualities of outward things or of those of either localized or diffuse bodily sensation, since it seems any typically pleasant sensory state or quality may be enjoyed less or even not at all on occasions, while its sensory quality and intensity remain much the same Ryle , p. The pleasantness of tastes is modulated by nutritional state and experience Young , Cabanac , Bolles And differences in mood, temperament, personal history, and how one feels toward a particular person in a specific social context may make all the difference between feeling great pleasure or great distress from what seems the same sensation of touch cf. Both science and reflection on everyday experience thus distinguish mere sensation proper from hedonic reaction cf. Their view that pleasure is an at least cognitively isolable conscious event or feature has counterparts among those ancient hedonist materialist philosophers who thought of pleasure as some smooth or gentle stimulation, motion, or physiological change see Gosling and Taylor , pp. Hedonist views that explain human value, motivation, and concepts of good and evil in terms of such supposedly simple affective feelings of pleasure and pain e. Pleasure was widely taken for granted as foundational in this way by the nascent behavioral and social sciences, until more demanding standards, first for stricter introspection and later for more objective in this use: He thus took the concept of pleasure to be irreducibly evaluative and normative, but still to apply to experience; experience is pleasant to the extent it wholly grounds reasons to desire, seek, or actualize it merely in how it feels. Mid-twentieth-century British and American philosophers departed still farther from the simple picture and associated empiricist traditions, influenced in part by behaviorism in psychology. Justin Gosling, insightfully appraising the Ryle-inspired literature toward the end of its run, argued that it had largely missed the ethical and psychological importance of pleasure by neglecting the conceptually central cases of positive emotion and mood. For a forthright denial of pleasant occurrent mood, see Taylor He concluded that our being pleased in these ways shows pleasure to be, in a relaxed way of speaking, a feeling, after all, and that the concept is extended from these cases to include enjoyments that may please one at the time or else cause or dispose one to be pleased later. Wanting things for their own sake, which hedonists often seek to explain in terms of their being pleasant, is actually connected to the central cases through its often being caused by being pleased at some prospect. While Gosling used such distinctions to block some arguments for hedonist theses, he also defended the importance of pleasure in both moral psychology and ethics , chapters 9 and She influentially judged the concept so obscure and problematic that theories placing weight upon it, such as hedonistic utilitarianism, should be rejected out of hand. John Rawls, quoting her even more influentially, did just that, abandoning utilitarianism for a more constructivist and less realist approach to ethics. Attributing pleasure to a subject, rather, involves understanding what it is for a subject to regard and behave toward something as good however nonconceptually represented and this in turn involves background knowledge of the ways something may intelligibly be considered good and an object of voluntary pursuit. Thus the possession of the concept of pleasure presupposes the presence of a rich and contextually embedded concept of the good that no mere momentary qualitative experience could supply. Therefore no such experience could serve as the origin of our concept of pleasure or of our concept of good, as empiricists aiming to account for these concepts as acquired from a feeling of pleasure had supposed. Our feeling pleasure or pain is just our

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

having our attention and motivation directed in this way, a, b, To the extent that someone has predominantly such a pattern of desire and emotion, it would seem, on this view, that sensory pain or, as Helm has it, the stimulation that would otherwise have been painful must, as signaling the approach of the desired end, be if not purely then at least on balance pleasant. And in the unconflicted limiting case, we need not offer palliative analgesia for relief of pain, since experiencing pain is supposedly unintelligible lacking an appropriate larger pattern of desires and emotions. No need for morphine to palliate any such seeming pain of our patient, it seems. Such views may have testable consequences. They may predict that broad attitude changes accompany effective antidepressant therapy and, less plausibly, all transient enjoyments and lightening of mood. But as Helm perhaps halfheartedly acknowledges by deferring in passing to biological constraints, we may not be as unitary and governed by a coherent pattern of feelings, desires, and evaluative judgments as he seems officially to propose. In such cases, at least, it seems plausible that our relevant concerns and practical reasons are small and local, centered on the pleasure and perhaps a perception Sidgwick, ; Goldstein, , or appearance Plato and Aristotle, according to Jessica Moss of its goodness, rather than necessarily embedded in a much larger package deal. Even if pleasure is or involves a functional role of some kind, this may be a relatively small and local one of a kind shared with simpler animals, constituted by intrinsic functions of brain and mind. Opponents who privilege a holistic model of evaluation and deliberation may demand, instead, that all feeling be made intelligible in its terms. We should be equally skeptical of both demands and also of the claims for special and exclusive intelligibility on which they trade. It appears that affective experience is present in infants who have as yet no large pattern of desires and concerns and also in dying people who have lost any relevant ones or even the capacity for them. We thus have some reason to return to something closer to the simple picture that retains its momentary experiential core. While a mature conception will distinguish behavioral expression from its inward cause as Walther does, in lines 28–29, quoted in note 8, the very young child may possess a less differentiated conception in which the salient contrasts between smiling or laughing and crying Walther, line 29, and generally between the external expressions of the positive and negative affects, are prominent. Experience of pleasure may thus play a role in allowing direct reference to pleasure and also in forming our concept of the good without its giving us any deep knowledge or justified confidence about either. Even whether there actually is such a kind as pleasure, as there appears to be, is open to refutation by new science. For recent defenses of aspects of such an experiential approach to pleasure, see, e. There may be reason, moreover, to believe introspection of affective, as opposed to, for example, sensory, experience, to be especially prone to errors of omission. Competitive alternation between the two modes of experience was a commonplace of past psychology and is receiving increasing confirmation. If so, the very focusing of introspective scrutiny on pleasure provoked by the demand to accurately report it, may, thus, sometimes turn down the gain on systems involved in representing it. If this is so, it may explain some of the inconsistency of views mentioned in the previous paragraph and those of the introspectionist psychological laboratories. However that may be, pleasure seems generally to attract attention and motivation to salient stimuli and especially toward ends it is pleasant to envision, rather than to itself. Such a perspective may answer the objection to experiential views of pleasure that if pleasure were felt, it would divert our attention from what we are enjoying, such as music, to itself Ryle, Madell, pp. Pleasure may typically be easier to notice sideways than straight on. And as task demands increase, these may degrade our ability to even cognitively notice our affective state, so that the pleasure we phenomenally experience is out of the limited-capacity cognitive awareness of our mind cf. Neither should it be surprising that introspectionist psychologists. If diligent introspection of some kinds tends to make momentary feeling cognitively inaccessible, then such introspection will often be a worse guide than untutored experience about it. Rather than relying exclusively on introspection and unknowingly on the naive or trained intuitions and prejudices that may shape reports of it we should bring the totality of our evidence to bear, drawing on psychology and biology as well as direct experience, as the best philosophers before the heyday of modern empiricism and introspectionism did. Finding Unity in Heterogeneity There are four chief pleasures, a saying among Afghan

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

men goes: He observed that simple personal-report level motivational accounts fail because we may experience pleasure without any previously felt distress, desire, or noticed need, as sometimes when looking, listening, smelling, or learning, and also that one may fulfill physiological needs without experiencing pleasure in the process of so doing Philebus 51A–52C. Pleasure could be accorded a place in the best life attainable for beings like ourselves, imperfect enough to have recurrent needs but sometimes aware of their however partial and temporary satisfaction. Such Improvement Indicator Views may account for diversity within pleasure by the different species of improvements indicated. But they need not attribute explicit awareness of needs or of their fulfillments as such to the experiencing subject. Pleasure is thus no accidental addition to life; it naturally reflects and tracks success in living and its value. This value is teleologically explanatory of our biological development and of the lower animal desires in which we share, but also gives to human life and rational human action their own characteristic higher ultimate goal and point. Living a life that brings its biologically highest constitutive capacities to their complete development and then exercises them without impediment upon their naturally best and most suitable objects is success in life and brings the most pleasant pleasure with it. Trivial or ignoble pleasures are sought instead by those who are stunted in their capacities for higher activities, having failed to develop the intellectual and moral virtues needed to use these well, and consequently fall short of the highest natural human fulfillment and goal. That is the fully human happiness which consists in using reason well, which at its best approximates to the best and pleasantest life form of all, the changeless purely intellectual activity of God. Our pleasure tracks the perfection of our current activities and thus our proximity to this, life at its cognitively clearest, most awake, and best Protrepticus B87–B91, , p. It has had a deservedly great influence on later accounts, from later antiquity to recent philosophy and welfare economics. He and more recent writers have posed simple counterexamples to these being even sufficient or necessary conditions for pleasure, using perceptual examples such as Aristotle used in expounding his theory. But this, it seems, may be the worse of two bad smells. The excellent acuity of the olfactory system and even its unimpeded operation and the mutual suitability of faculty and object NE X, 4: Neither is any such condition necessary for pleasure, as in a relaxed and lazy mood. Of course, we might downgrade or upgrade sensory interactions ad hoc, counting those we enjoy as excellent, but then we move in a small circle and offer no independent characterization of pleasure. But whether any plausible way can be found remains to be shown. Epicureans cultivated philosophy, however, to free people from groundless fears of afterlife suffering and death, and inculcated habits of living enabling one to live simply and thus securely because not needing, and thus not fearing loss of, luxuries. Gosling and Taylor, , and Erler and Schofield, , and further references cited there; for further references supporting a variety of interpretations see n. Many ordinary mental states recognized by common sense, such as particular beliefs and desires, are essentially directed upon their object or content. If not always of Aristotelian activities we enjoy. According to a Christian philosophical tradition, pleasure constitutively depends on a mental act of willing or loving that may be directed toward different cognitively presented things. And according to the contemporary analytic philosopher Fred Feldman, pleasure itself is a single propositional attitude, like belief, that, similarly, may be directed toward diverse propositional contents. The tenability of such accounts concerns not only philosophers primarily interested in pleasure but also those more generally concerned with the nature of mind. Brentano claimed that all mentality is intentional and some recent analytic philosophers that the phenomenal character of experience is constituted by its representational content e. If there are representationally contentless but phenomenally conscious pleasant moods, such claims and theories cannot be correct. Perhaps this is all an account short on biological or computational detail, and on the deep functional insight these might offer, can provide. However, taking introspection to be a source of scientific knowledge led to disquiet when introspectors failed to agree about what, if any, distinctive introspectible item they had found in experiencing pleasure. Even before this method had run its course in psychology see n. Broad to suggest, in passing, that the pleasant experiences might be just those we like. Some authors use it for an intrinsically hedonic state distinguished from wanting or desiring but not from pleasure. Others use it instead for an attitude such as

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

desire they suppose either to constitute from within, or else to pick out and thus unify from outside, experiences of pleasure as such and sometimes to insist wrongly that their opponents, by using the same language, have conceded their view. Problems with such language were flagged by Zink , 90â€”2; Trigg , 52â€”3, â€”19; Katz , â€”17; Tanyi ; and Labukt , but still afflict the ethics literature. This issue is also often run together with that of whether the related reasons are value- or desire-based, but distinguished from it by Heathwood The involvement of pleasure and emotions with beliefs and desires had been a starting point for discussions in Plato Philebus 36ff. In the following tradition pleasure was often regarded as, in part, a bodily phenomenon not belonging to our true, nonbodily, self or true good. They debated competing views concerning the causation and intentionality of thought-mediated pleasure, regarded as occurring in the intellectual soul or power. For Ockham, this pleasure is distinct from the loving acceptance on which it depends, as is shown by the example used similarly earlier by John Duns Scotus of a cognitively pleased scholar in a depressed mood, in which the normally resulting pleasure fails to occur. Others denied these two were distinct. Some of them allowed, however, a distinct second-order loving taking the original loving as its object and thus as that of its pleasure; another thought this higher-order loving and pleasure might be included in the original act of loving. For Brentano, sensory pleasure takes as its intentional content, rather, the sensuous experiencing of sensory qualities. It is a loving directed toward a sensory act. In intellectually-caused pleasure, our purely spiritual nonbodily loving as it seems: Caution is required when appropriating the medieval language of intentionality in contemporary non-Scholastic use. In the older deployments considered above, in the context of an Aristotelian teleological metaphysics of mind and nature in which minds and natural forms were made for each other and their moving toward perfected acts of knowing did explanatory work, naive realism about content ascriptions had a fundamental place. In contemporary cognitive sciences and analytic philosophy, they are sometimes understood more instrumentally than as expressing precise ground-level truths.

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

Chapter 5 : Common Good Conservatism by R. R. Reno | Articles | First Things

Against the backdrop of the spectre of climate change, cycles of austerity and short-term profit thinking produce seemingly inexorable consumer behaviour; infantilizing advertising and social media interfaces make increasing demands on our attention - in each case, the seemingly unthought nature of bodily habits makes provocative demands upon us.

Europe, to Although "feminism" is a nineteenth-century neologism, it is now generally accepted in anglophone historiography as a shorthand label for discourses that criticize misogyny and male dominance, argue for an improvement of the female condition, and demand a public voice for women speaking on behalf of their sex. A large corpus of writings, published all over Europe from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, can be considered "feminist" in this sense. Pisan argued that the pervasive misogyny of the classical and Christian canon presented a distorted image of female nature produced by male arrogance and prejudice: A few examples will illustrate its most widespread arguments: Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa opens his "On the Nobility and Excellence of the Feminine Sex" with the thesis that sexual difference is confined to the reproductive organs while God has endowed "both male and female. The opposition of feminine piety, virtue, and refinement to male profanity, vice, and vulgarity is found in much feminist literature. Another popular genre, found all over Europe from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, is the galleries of illustrious women, proving by historical example that they could equal men in every respect. In the first half of the seventeenth century, feminist voices were raised in several countries. The arguments of the querelle were thus widely disseminated. It seems safe to conclude that by the middle of the seventeenth century most literate women and men in western Europe were conversant with at least some of the arguments of the querelle. Its main themes were: The Amazon faded into the background while the learned woman became a more common, but also highly controversial, figure. In Italy a learned woman, Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia, was awarded a doctorate in philosophy Padua, ; probably a European first. Poulain criticizes the contradictory use of the concept of "nature" by the philosophers of natural law. He proposes an entirely nongendered curriculum for the education of both women and men *On the Education of Women*, The result is an early instance of an Enlightenment social philosophy. Poulain turns feminism into a systematic philosophy and establishes a space for feminism within Enlightenment discourse. This is probably true of the bulk of Enlightenment feminist theory. A good example is Antoinette de Salvan de Saliez, a lady from Albi in southern France, who declared in that "among civilized people, the equality of the sexes is no longer contested. This type of argument was double-edged: We should not forget that, despite all the Enlightenment discourses about equality, universities and scientific academies continued to exclude women. Cartesian rationalism influenced most late-seventeenth-century and early-eighteenth-century feminists in one way or another. Poulain de la Barre was translated into English London, , and his arguments, if not his name, are copied and paraphrased over and over again. In England, William Welsh, Mary Astell, Judith Drake, and John Toland defended the equality of the sexes in Cartesian terms, as well as by an environmentalist psychology they took from Poulain or from John Locke. At the same university, Maria Gaetana Agnesi held a chair of mathematics. Agnesi was one of the protagonists of a debate on the academic education of women that went on until the s. Another critical discourse on gender emerged in the ambit of philosophical history. Poulain de la Barre had outlined a hypothetical history of the origins of inequality in which the subjection of women was depicted as a historical result instead of a "natural" condition. However, the combination of travelogues and speculations about the primitive past of the species also resulted in a theory of the progression of European, and especially French, civilization. This was evidenced by the greater liberty enjoyed by women of the eighteenth century compared with both the European past and the Asian present the latter point was made by Montesquieu as well as Voltaire. To the eighteenth-century mind, gender had become an "essentially contested concept. Rousseau voiced egalitarian-feminist opinions in his early essay *On Women* as well as in his unpublished notes *On*

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

Education, drafted for Mme Dupin in 1791, but later he embraced the contrary theory that a virtuous republic was unthinkable without the exclusion of women from the public sphere. Toward the end of the century, Marie-Jean Caritat, marquis de Condorcet, Olympe de Gouges, Marie-Madeleine Jodin, and others formulated a full program for the emancipation of women. Similar programmatic feminist writings were published in most parts of Europe, notably by Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel in Prussia, Mary Wollstonecraft in England, and in an anonymous pamphlet in the Dutch Republic, arguing "that women ought to take part in the government of the land. Pending a full quantitative investigation, only tentative conclusions are warranted. Before, elite women possessing literary and intellectual skills were probably more numerous in Italy than anywhere else. It was also in Italy that women were admitted to several literary academies, and, in a few cases, acquired a university degree. There are also two German examples: In the course of the seventeenth century, French feminism became the strongest in Europe, exercising a notable European influence, as French supplanted Latin as the main language of international elite sociability. From the late seventeenth century, a steady stream of feminist publications began to come from British presses. In the eighteenth century, feminist arguments were found all over Europe. This is now fairly well documented for France, England, Spain, Italy, the Dutch Republic, and the German lands, and there are examples from Denmark, Sweden, and other nations. One gets the impression that Enlightenment feminism was strongest in France and Britain, but this picture may well be corrected by future research. The development of feminism over time is not easy to ascertain. To picture it as a linear "rise" would be to simplify a story that is probably better captured by the metaphor of waves and backlashes. The main watershed in the history of early modern feminism is the transition from the Renaissance querelle to the Enlightenment, but even here caution is required, for many Renaissance themes lived on within eighteenth-century feminism. This is especially true of the "feminine virtues," which were in various ways combined with egalitarian, rationalistic arguments. It remains true, however, that the linkages between feminism and Cartesianism, as well as the frequent use by feminists of the environmentalist social psychology of Poulain, Locke, and others, gave Enlightenment feminism a "philosophical" tone that had been less conspicuous in the literary genre of the querelle. Theological themes were gradually marginalized, while the new "science of man" acquired a greater importance, both for feminists and for their opponents. Finally, the acceptance of the female author, albeit with ups and downs, seems to be a European phenomenon from the early eighteenth century onwards. At the present time it is not possible to determine whether the quantity of feminist publishing increased over the long run. In the French case there is a distinct peak in the 1790s period, and perhaps another one in the early eighteenth century, but after that the picture is less clear. From the late seventeenth century, the periodical press played an increasingly important role, but again, quantitative investigations are not yet available. Eulogies of the "beautiful Sex" by male authors frequently give an impression of frivolity and "literary gallantry. While it cannot be doubted that some texts lend themselves to such a reading, it is seldom the whole story. The literary games people play tell us what is on their minds. The pro- and anti-woman literature of the querelle bespeaks a deep-seated ambivalence and anxiety about the place of women in society. In the most literal sense it shows that the subjection of women was not "unquestioned. Finally, different feminisms and "feminist moments" should be interpreted in the context of struggles over particular practices, such as literary authorship and taste, elite sociability, female networks, university politics, forms of religious worship, marriage laws and customs, and social and political issues. Many feminist utterances that seem outlandish at first sight only disclose their real meaning and significance when read in their specific context. The feminism of the early Enlightenment partook of the philosophical turn of that age. It demonstrated that the status of women is liable to be questioned in a period of transition when the entire intellectual and cultural landscape is shifting. A similar dynamic was visible in the late eighteenth century when feminism developed in tandem with the democratic revolutions. Seen over the long run of European history, the writings of the early modern feminists present us with a consistent sequence of rejoinders to the mainstream apologies for male supremacy, a countercanon that originated somewhere in the Late Middle Ages and has continued ever since. It represents a major feature of European history that has no

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

parallel in the other great civilizations of the world. From the Middle Ages to the Present. London and New York , Bock, Gisela, and Margarete Zimmermann, eds. *Geschlechterdebatten seit dem Stuttgart and Weimar, The Eighteenth Century Feminist Mind. Women and the Origins of the Novel in France.* New York , *Women and Publishing in Early Modern France. Women and the German Parnassus in the Early Enlightenment. Die Ordnung der Geschlechter: Die Wissenschaften vom Menschen und das Weib, â€”* Frankfurt am Main and New York , *Literary Texts and Political Models. Learned Women of the European Past.* New York and London, *Le Paradis des Femmes: Feminism in French Literature, â€”* Lucrezia Marinella e Arcangela Tarabotti. *The Celebrated Mary Astell: An Early English Feminist.* Chicago and London, *The Mind Has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science. Mary Wollstonecraft and the Feminist Imagination.* Siep Stuurman Pick a style below, and copy the text for your bibliography. *Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World.* Retrieved October 17, from *Encyclopedia.* Then, copy and paste the text into your bibliography or works cited list. Because each style has its own formatting nuances that evolve over time and not all information is available for every reference entry or article, *Encyclopedia.*

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

Chapter 6 : Georgi Boorman | calendrierdelascience.com | Page 3

The maiden's solitary journey takes her to sites of colonial and class exploitation "to the mining fields and prison" that open her eyes to the connections between her own individual suffering and the larger social context.

Luxemburg later stated that her father imparted an interest in liberal ideas in her, while her mother was religious and well read with books kept at home. From 1892, she belonged to the Polish left-wing Proletariat Party founded in 1882, anticipating the Russian parties by 20 years. She began political activities by organizing a general strike in 1893; as a result, four of the Proletariat Party leaders were put to death and the party was disbanded, though the remaining members, including Luxemburg, kept meeting in secret. In 1894, she passed her Matura secondary school graduation examinations. After fleeing to Switzerland to escape detention in 1895, she attended the University of Zurich as did the socialists Anatoly Lunacharsky and Leo Jogiches, where she studied philosophy, history, politics, economics, and mathematics. She specialized in Staatswissenschaft government science, the Middle Ages, and economic and stock exchange crises. Her doctoral dissertation, "The Industrial Development of Poland" Die Industrielle Entwicklung Polens, was officially presented in the spring of 1898 at the University of Zurich, which awarded her a Doctor of Law degree. Her dissertation was published by Duncker and Humblot in Leipzig in 1899. She was an oddity in Zurich as she was one of the very few women with a doctorate. She plunged immediately into the politics of international Marxism, following in the footsteps of Georgi Plekhanov and Pavel Axelrod. Luxemburg believed that an independent Poland could arise and exist only through socialist revolutions in Germany, Austria, and Russia. She maintained that the struggle should be against capitalism, not just for Polish independence. Her position of denying a national right of self-determination under socialism provoked a philosophic disagreement with Vladimir Lenin. Germany Rosa Luxemburg around 1900 Luxemburg wanted to move to Germany to be at the centre of the party struggle, but she had no way of obtaining permission to remain there indefinitely. In April she married the son of an old friend, Gustav Lubeck, in order to gain a German citizenship. They never lived together and they formally divorced five years later. Luxemburg hated the stifling conservatism of Berlin. She despised Prussian men and resented what she saw as the grip of urban Capitalism on social democracy. Their clear position was that the objectives of liberation for the industrial working class and all minorities could be achieved by revolution only. The recently published Letters of Rosa Luxemburg shed important light on her life in Germany. This farsightedness partly explains her remarkable popularity as a socialist icon and its continued resonance in movies, novels and memorials dedicated to her life and oeuvre. She was active there in the left wing of the SPD, in which she sharply defined the border between the views of her faction and the Revisionism Theory of Eduard Bernstein. She attacked him in her brochure Social Reform or Revolution, released in September 1902. She argued that the critical difference between capital and labour could only be countered if the proletariat assumed power and effected revolutionary changes in methods of production. She wanted the Revisionists ousted from the SPD. Foreseeing war, she vigorously attacked what she saw as German militarism and imperialism. Between 1903 and 1905, she was imprisoned for her political activities on three occasions. In 1905, she told a large meeting: The Reichstag unanimously agreed to financing the war. The SPD voted in favour of that and agreed to a truce Burgfrieden with the Imperial government, promising to refrain from any strikes during the war. This led Luxemburg to contemplate suicide: Shortly after her death, her fame was alluded to by Grigory Zinoviev at the Petrograd Soviet on 18 January 1918. As a result, in June Luxemburg was imprisoned for two and a half years, as was Karl Liebknecht. Rosa Luxemburg, Friends smuggled out and illegally published her articles. Among them was The Russian Revolution, criticising the Bolsheviks, presciently warning of their dictatorship. Nonetheless, she continued to call for a "dictatorship of the proletariat", albeit not of the one party Bolshevik model. In that context, she wrote the words "Freiheit ist immer die Freiheit des Andersdenkenden" Freedom is always the freedom of the one who thinks differently and continues in the same chapter "The public life of countries with limited freedom is so poverty-stricken, so

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

miserable, so rigid, so unfruitful, precisely because, through the exclusion of democracy, it cuts off the living sources of all spiritual riches and progress. German Revolution of 1919 See also: German Revolution of 1919 Luxemburg was freed from prison in Breslau on 8 November Today we can seriously set about destroying capitalism once and for all. Nay, more; not merely are we today in a position to perform this task, nor merely is its performance a duty toward the proletariat, but our solution offers the only means of saving human society from destruction. The Red Flag encouraged the rebels to occupy the editorial offices of the liberal press. In response to the uprising, the Social Democratic leader Friedrich Ebert ordered the Freikorps to destroy the left-wing revolution. Luxemburg was knocked down with a rifle butt by the soldier Otto Runge, then shot in the head, either by Lieutenant Kurt Vogel or by Lieutenant Hermann Souchon. Barricade during the Spartacist uprising The execution of Luxemburg and Liebknecht inspired a new wave of violence in Berlin and across Germany. Thousands of members of the KPD as well as other revolutionaries and civilians were killed. Luxemburg was held in high regard by Lenin and Leon Trotsky, who recognised her revolutionary credentials at the Third International. Last to strike was the Bavarian Soviet Republic, which was suppressed on 2 May However, Vogel escaped after a brief custody. Pabst and Souchon went unpunished. His account has been neither confirmed nor denied, since the case has not been examined by parliament or the courts. Luxemburg and Liebknecht were buried at the Friedrichsfelde Central Cemetery in Berlin, where socialists and communists commemorate them yearly on the second Sunday of January. Karl Kautsky, the ethical socialist, rejected neo-Kantian arguments in favour of social Darwinism. The proletariat had to be re-organized in and in 1911, as a precondition, before they could act. These formed the substantive form of arguments with Rosa Luxemburg in 1911, when the two seriously fell out. Kautsky was older than Luxemburg, more cautious, and he read mass strikes as adventurism. But radical qualitative change for the working class would lead Luxemburg into an age of revolution, which she thought had arrived. She was determined to push capitalism to its limits to develop class consciousness. According to Aronowitz, the vagueness of Luxemburgian democracy is one reason for its initial difficulty in gaining widespread support. Luxemburg herself clarified her position on democracy in her writings regarding the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Union. Early on, Luxemburg attacked undemocratic tendencies present in the Russian Revolution: Without general elections, without unrestricted freedom of press and assembly, without a free struggle of opinion, life dies out in every public institution, becomes a mere semblance of life, in which only the bureaucracy remains as the active element. Public life gradually falls asleep, a few dozen party leaders of inexhaustible energy and boundless experience direct and rule. Yes, we can go even further: Freedom is always and exclusively freedom for the one who thinks differently. Not because of any fanatical concept of "justice" but because all that is instructive, wholesome and purifying in political freedom depends on this essential characteristic, and its effectiveness vanishes when "freedom" becomes a special privilege. But socialist democracy is not something which begins only in the promised land after the foundations of socialist economy are created; it does not come as some sort of Christmas present for the worthy people who, in the interim, have loyally supported a handful of socialist dictators. Socialist democracy begins simultaneously with the beginnings of the destruction of class rule and of the construction of socialism. Rosa Luxemburg opposed the sending of the working class youth of each country to what she viewed as slaughter in a war over which of the national bourgeoisies would control world resources and markets. She broke from the Second International, viewing it as nothing more than an opportunist party that was doing administrative work for the capitalists. Rosa Luxemburg, with Karl Liebknecht, organized a strong movement in Germany with these views, but was imprisoned and, after her release, killed for her work during the failed German Revolution of 1918-19 - a revolution which the German Social Democratic Party violently opposed. In the polemic, she argued that capitalism needs to constantly expand into noncapitalist areas in order to access new supply sources, markets for surplus value, and reservoirs of labor. Therefore, according to Luxemburg, capitalists sought to realize profits through offloading surplus commodities onto non-capitalist economies, hence the phenomenon of imperialism as capitalist states sought to dominate weaker economies. This however was leading to the destruction of

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

non-capitalist economies as they were increasingly absorbed into the capitalist system. With the destruction of non-capitalist economies however, there would be no more markets to offload surplus commodities onto, and capitalism would break down. Spontaneity and organisation, she argued, are not separable or separate activities, but different moments of one political process; one does not exist without the other. These beliefs arose from her view that class struggle evolves from an elementary, spontaneous state to a higher level: The working classes in every country only learn to fight in the course of their struggles. The masses are in reality their own leaders, dialectically creating their own development process. The more that social democracy develops, grows, and becomes stronger, the more the enlightened masses of workers will take their own destinies, the leadership of their movement, and the determination of its direction into their own hands. Therefore, "the German proletariat are also Her sharp criticism of the October Revolution and the Bolsheviks was lessened insofar as she compared the errors of the Revolution and of the Bolsheviks with the "complete failure of the international proletariat. They stated that the lessons of actual experience, such as the confrontation with the bourgeois parties, had forced them to revise the Marxian strategy. It is a formidable undertaking, and one that will not be accomplished in the blink of an eye just by the issuing of a few decrees from above. But in spite of her mistakes she was "and remains for us" an eagle. And not only will communists all over the world cherish her memory, but her biography and her complete works the publication of which the German communists are inordinately delaying, which can only be partly excused by the tremendous losses they are suffering in their severe struggle will serve as useful manuals for training many generations of communists all over the world. We have suffered two heavy losses at once which merge into one enormous bereavement. There have been struck down from our ranks two leaders whose names will be forever entered in the great book of the proletarian revolution: Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. They have been killed. They are no longer with us! Freedom is always the freedom of the one who thinks differently. Not because of the fanaticism of "justice", but rather because all that is instructive, wholesome, and purifying in political freedom depends on this essential characteristic, and its effects cease to work when "freedom" becomes a privilege. April Without general elections, without unrestricted freedom of press and assembly, without a free struggle of opinion, life dies out in every public institution, becomes a mere semblance of life, in which only the bureaucracy remains as the active element. Or the victory of socialism, that means the conscious active struggle of the international proletariat against imperialism and its method of war. The contradiction between the powerful, decisive, aggressive offensive of the Berlin masses on the one hand and the indecisive, half-hearted vacillation of the Berlin leadership on the other is the mark of this latest episode. But a new leadership can and must be created by the masses and from the masses. The masses are the crucial factor. They are the rock on which the ultimate victory of the revolution will be built.

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

Chapter 7 : personal | Da Tech Guy Blog

Pleasure, in the inclusive usages important in thought about well-being, experience, and mind, includes the affective positivity of all joy, gladness, liking, and enjoyment - all our feeling good or happy.

So, I tend to agree here. But where that debate is about a live political issue, where outcomes are being shaped, we have to accept that certain discussions can legitimately be seen as menacing by the subjects of those debates. On the internet, and in society generally, these rituals are not performed and the norms of the debating society do not hold. I get it, really, I do. I would like nothing more than to be able to debate any subject, all day long, no matter how controversial. But, sooner or later, I will end up doing that in front of someone who would feel threatened by the debate, and they would challenge me on it. If my objective is to stop the other person feeling threatened then I have to work toward a society where the risk of actual persecution of this person is so minimal that they no longer feel threatened by debating the idea. Of course, I could simply assert that my right to continue the debate outweighs their feelings, and leave it there. I would not be wrong to say this but, to paraphrase The Dude, I would be an asshole. Let me put this another way: You can therefore disagree with me, but you should not feel threatened by my opinion, because freedom of speech is reasonably secure and people who agree with my perspective have no credible means of harming you for your disagreement. We ought to expand the sphere of public life that works this way, thereby expanding the set of things that can be debated without the debate being interrupted by concerns over the political consequences of voicing certain ideas. Such a demand would completely negate their entire politics! I have to expose myself to the noxious emanations of his ideology in the very act of confronting it. In my view, you are entitled to safety in general. You should not be killed by others. You can debate the possibility of being killed, or of killing your enemies, of course. Once we have a realistic threat of violence, it ceases to be an academic debate designed to arrive at some underlying truth, and becomes a political campaign. The standards are different. What I am looking for is a universal baseline that can apply to each person in the same way which, once satisfied, allows anyone to say anything without the terms of the debate to be called into question. The irony is, anyone who could be construed as a part of the IDW has basically liberal moral commitments to individual rights and equality under the law. To the extent that the IDW are committed to the dignity and civil rights of minorities, this is precisely what makes it acceptable for them to say the things that they do. Of course open discussions of certain subjects are menacing to those who stand to be negatively affected if a particular side achieves power to enact policy. A lot of women I know are feeling vividly menaced by the pending situation with the supreme court concerning their right to a legal abortion. This goes to very complex problems of epistemology, categorization, language and moral psychology that result in a clash of incompatible worldviews. Perhaps some pre-registered assurances of basic mutual respect on a human level would lower the temperature, allow for more charitable dialogue and less paranoia and aspersions. As it stands, the predictable effects of the overcompensation I referred to still holds discourse hostage. At least in left-leaning spaces, the most sensitive person in the room has the unquestionable license to set the terms of discourse for everyone based on their personal tolerances. No one can be excluded for being too unreasonable or too extreme, because there is no viable consensus on what that means. Identity epistemology takes precedence over reasoned argument in a crude attempt to rebalance historically inequitable representation of perspectives. Argument itself is delegitimized if it threatens certain sacred narratives. In a pinch, unfalsifiable, unaccountable claims of harm and trauma are abusively deployed to seize the moral high ground, shut down discussion, or engage in moral blackmail and forced contrition. We take so many momentous intergenerational accomplishments bourn of great sacrifice completely for granted and some are willing to burn it all down for a pipe-dream. I cannot respect that. Oh and bad Jim, my handle means nothing in particular, but you throw some good shade. For those unaware, David Quinn is the head of the Iona Institute and advocates for a kind of soft-theocratic, deeply paternalistic traditional Catholic society, and as a result spends much of his time bitterly complaining about

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

feminists and atheists and various other species of heathen that have destroyed our green and pleasant land. Last week Harris a prominent new atheist and Peterson on the record as an atheist did some form of talk in Dublin. Quinn, demonstrating the feel for public opinion that saw his group get shellacked in the abortion referendum, is now penning gleeful articles about how all the cool kids love Jordan. Politics is in the process of reacting to this new situation – in particular with the disintegration of the traditional political coalitions that could be called the Left and the Right in the period – but it should not be surprising that the intellectual discourse on the society is also being transmuted in the process. Now let us pause for a second and try to imagine what could be the most self-serving, the most personally gratifying depiction one could imagine of group 1 , its peculiar characteristics and its rule. Any outcomes coming of this process is both virtuous and optimal. Opponents to this world-view are either jealous of talent, or unfortunately plagued by low intellectual capabilities. In all likelihood both. What cements the IDW is that they believe that inequalities are desirable and that they are justified by intrinsic and probably immutable intellectual qualities of human beings, they themselves being especially endowed with such qualities. Harris, a declared atheist and foe of scriptural fundamentalism, is a stickier wicket. They both strike me as staking out a kind of nec plus ultra between the two sides, as the Quillette editors presumably hope to do in a different way. Harris and Peterson have chosen to face, and thus oppose, the kind of progressivism represented by equal rights for women and tolerance of all religions. Bishops might reasonably conclude they gain more from not making them defensive on the other side, as well as ours.

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

Chapter 8 : Pilgrimage, Retirement, Immigration and other Odd Ideas from Alfred van Amelsvoort: May

Silencing disagreement, demonizing Israel and Jews, subverting free speech and justifying inappropriate often violent reactions to anything the individual deems offensive, and the destruction of democracy and the protection of women against male aggression.

The past is past; the future is important. We are the creators. The future is in our hands. Even if we fail, no regrets. We have to make the effort. Motivated always by the altruistic bodhicitta, you in the West should be creative in adapting the timeless essence of the Dharma to your own cultural times and circumstances. When I returned to this country, I only came as far as helping to establish a Tibetan monastery in Woodstock, New York, and then turned right around and lived for nine more years in a cloistered Tibetan retreat center in the forests of southern France. When I first left the United States, I could not have imagined that by the time I returned twenty years later, the Dharma would have fully arrived in the West. My first inkling of this occurred during a short visit back to America in the late seventies. At the advice of his physician, he had taken up meditation—twenty minutes every morning and night. One of the best examples of the spread of Buddhist philosophy in the West is found in the work of Jon Kabat-Zinn who has taken the meditative practice of mindfulness out of the religious setting into the health and healing field, where it has proven effective in dealing with chronic pain and stress. Who but the enlightened Buddha could have imagined a time when mainstream medical doctors would regularly prescribe meditation as a treatment for a wide range of medical problems including stress, asthma, hypertension, and migraines? Who could have imagined the extensive, meaningful work being done in conscious dying at Western hospices and hospitals? Who could have imagined flourishing spiritual bookstores and bookclubs, graduate programs in Buddhist studies, and more than two thousand Buddhist centers in the United States alone? Three Great Traditions, One Contemporary Western Dharma It has often been pointed out that historically whenever Buddhism has entered a culture, it has not only changed the culture, it has also been changed by it. This is the nature of Dharma translation and transmission. The Dharma is always able to retain its essence while reinventing itself anew in order to remain applicable, accessible, and relevant. Outside the windows we could see the towering white snow-clad Himalayan peaks. At first glance, we probably appeared to be a fairly disparate group of men and women. Some of us were in sweaters and jeans, some in sports jackets and ties, some in dresses, some in Kashmiri shawls, some in traditional yellow, orange, maroon, gray, and black monastic robes. Coming from twelve Western countries, the group included senior teachers from most of the major Buddhist traditions. We came from different cultures; we had been trained in different traditions; we utilized different styles of teaching. Yet we shared much common ground. The Dalai Lama teased us about the way we Westerners had taken up old-fashioned Asian ritual instruments, clothing, furniture, and decor. He pointed out that this was not the heart of Dharma, but mere culture that had changed in each country throughout the centuries as Buddhism moved from its homeland of India to the Himalayas, Southeast Asia, China, and Japan. He was reminding us once again that the Dharma is timeless and not culture bound. The essential truth of the Dharma, the heart of enlightenment, is not limited by the trappings of culture, language, or time. Today, Buddhism is at a critical juncture as it encounters the West. It is no surprise that there have been formidable cultural, linguistic, political, and material barriers to overcome in the transmission of Buddha Dharma from East to West and from the past on to the present and the future. This is a transition through time as well as through space, spanning continents and oceans, from a traditional Oriental world to a scientific postmodern Western culture. We have inherited from Asia the three major Buddhist traditions and their various offshoots. They have been translated, synthesized, and distilled into user-friendly forms here in the West, especially by teachers of the Zen, Vipassana, and Dzogchen practice lineages. Now this wisdom is undergoing the rich and fascinating phase of transformation and adaptation while we facilitate and midwife its rebirth into liberating and viable contemporary forms. At the same time, ethnic Buddhist groups have formed pockets where the Buddhist

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

traditions of their Asian homelands are being transplanted almost intact. This inevitably raises all sorts of interesting questions and challenges and even a certain degree of confusion, contradiction, and paradox. This is the first time all of the extant schools of Buddhism have existed together, closely rubbing shoulders, in one place at one time. Many of us study and practice with more than one teacher, each of whom may represent different traditions. It is conceivable that someone could attend a silent sitting group on Tuesday and a chanting or visualization group on Friday. This need not necessarily be considered superficial, dilettantish, or pop Buddhism. We in the West have the opportunity to sample various teachings and practices to see what best fits our own aspirations and interests. The social mobility in our culture can be a wonderful catalyst to the spiritual search. We each have the opportunity to choose for ourselves, to find something that resonates and connects with our experience. We All Come to Buddhism From Different Directions A few years ago, a sincere guy from the southern part of the United States came to be in a long-term practitioner program at a large meditation center in Massachusetts. If he was having a few problems with a mere matter of translation it was simply par for the course. As children, some of us went to Sunday school, some sang in church choirs, some studied Catholic catechism, some learned Hebrew prayers and lit Shabos candles, some were brought up in the religion of science, and some were raised in families where God seemed to be persona non grata. Small wonder that occasionally we get confused. We are part of the encounter between East and West and although the essential truth, the kernel of the Dharma, retains its integrity, the husk continues to evolve and change. Although there are different views on this, one of the most interesting things about Buddhist spirituality is that it does not necessarily require that you immediately abandon your current faith or the faith of your ancestors. Kalu Rinpoche said that you could take refuge in the Three Jewels, practice Buddhism, and get results without necessarily renouncing an earlier faith or belief system. And, in fact, today many people have a Buddhist meditation practice such as mindfulness or zazen without identifying themselves as Buddhists. I personally had to sift through many forms and varieties of the teachings before I could really appreciate the essence of Dharma within myself and in our own culture. I had to learn foreign languages, take ordination, shave my head, wear monastic robes, live abroad in monasteries, and learn to practice all the many rites and rituals of Tibetan Buddhism until finally finding the distilled heart-essence of the Dharma in the Dzogchen teachings. However, within that framework I discovered that finding my own practice actually required that I synthesize and streamline what I found most useful and applicable from different traditions, including my intellectual roots here in the West. My own makeup actually required this synthesis; I could not do otherwise. I am an American, and I am a Buddhist. This is our Western karma. Looking Forward I believe deeply that we must find, all of us together, a new spirituality. This new concept ought to be elaborated alongside the religions in such a way that all people of good will could adhere to it. To be torchbearers in a benighted and violent world we need to collaborate harmoniously, effectively, and with a spirit of mutual respect, genuine understanding, and openness. We need to keep to the high ground and remain honest, ethical, humane, and even lightheartedâ€”not taking ourselves too seriously. We need to be willing to go beyond routine thinking. There have been three waves of Buddhist transmission in the West represented by three generations of Dharma teachers. The first group were the Asian-born teachers, who were mainly traditional in their approach. They introduced meditation and related practices as well as personally instructing Western disciples, both in the West and in Asia. The second wave was the generation of Western Buddhist teachers who trained under these teachers. Their task was to further translate the Buddhist words, concepts, and forms of practice for transmission to Western students in their own countries. Now beginning to emerge are the first generation of Dharma teachers who have trained solely in the West under the guidance of Western teachers. Some people from other cultures are proud that they have maintained much of their cultural identity; others have eagerly adapted and assimilated. We are bringing about a synthesized or an amalgamated Dharma distilled from the best of what has been transmitted to us from the past and from Asia. Added into this Dharma mix is what is most useful from our own modern experience. It is one Dharma, one coherent liberating path to enlightenment. Protestantism altered Christianity without abandoning it; Reform Judaism loosened many of the restrictions of

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

Orthodox Judaism while retaining the core of the Jewish tradition. Something similar is happening to the Buddha Dharma. I think these are mainly positive developments, revitalizing Dharma with a fitting new Western design. One of the main tasks of contemporary Western teachers is to stabilize both the study and practice of Buddhist Dharma and to provide leadership in further integrating wholesome Dharma values, Buddhist lifestyles, and contemplative practices into the mainstream of our postmodern society. We owe it to ourselves to carry on the Dharma in a sane way. We must keep the spirit, the very heart of the Dharma alive while not being afraid to let outmoded forms die and be reborn in accordance with current conditions. Each of us can give birth to a Buddha!

Ten Emerging Trends For a number of years now, I have been observing religious trends and the transplantation of Asian Buddhism into the fertile fields of the Western world. Speaking of the emerging Western Buddhism, there are many colorful, smaller threads woven into the larger tapestry. There seem to be groups variously emphasizing monastic Buddhism, lay Buddhism, ethnic Buddhism, meditation Buddhism, chanting Buddhism, ritualistic Buddhism and bare bones Buddhism; there is mystical Buddhism and practical Buddhism, academic Buddhism, therapeutic Buddhism, intellectual Buddhism, as well as anti-intellectual, no-mind Buddhism. Some people are attracted to hermitage and retreat Buddhism, congregational Buddhism, socially engaged Buddhism, missionary Buddhism, health and healing oriented Buddhism, upper-middle path Buddhism, Jewish Buddhism, Christian Zen Buddhism, vegetarian Buddhism, pacifist Buddhism, tantric Crazy Wisdom Buddhism, Beat Buddhism, eclectic, New Age, and roll-your-own Buddhism, to name a few. This essence consists of living principles that cannot bear any specific formulation. Yet it can involve all these things. When I speak of the ten trends in Western Buddhism, I therefore do so with certain reservations, not the least among them that I am primarily emphasizing meditation practice groups. Remember, these are emerging trends, and there is still a way to go to fulfill this vision. Meditation-based and Experientially Oriented As Westerners, we typically come to Buddhism for meditation and contemplation in an attempt to improve our quality of life. We want to bring more mindfulness to what we do. We are usually attracted to Buddhism not through academia but because we want personal transformation, direct religious experience, and we want to integrate wisdom, goodness, and compassion into our daily lives. The Dharma is not just something we believe in, but something we do. Lay-oriented Although there is certainly room for traditional monasticism—both short- and long-term—Buddhism in the West is obviously much more lay-oriented than it has been historically. Practitioners are now bringing personal issues of relationships, family, and work to the Dharma center in an effort to make more sense out of life. Gender Equal In an effort to go beyond traditional patriarchal structures and cultures, we have already made great strides in supporting women as well as men in teaching and leadership roles. There are more and more women teachers, and they are providing some of the finest teaching. Gender equality remains an ideal, but one that seems reachable. We all—male and female—have an opportunity to refine our more feminine aspects and practice a Buddhism in which we keep the heart and mind balanced, respectful of both body and soul. We are trying to learn from the past so as not to unwittingly repeat the mistakes of others. Democratic and Egalitarian Western Buddhism needs to become Western wisdom. As might be anticipated, it is evolving in a much less institutionalized, less hierarchichal, and more democratic fashion.

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

Chapter 9 : Local government in the United States - Wikipedia

Local government in the United States refers to governmental jurisdictions below the level of the state. Most states and territories have at least two tiers of local government: counties and municipalities.

Thank you so much. Thank you very much. Please, please have a seat. Good evening, goedenavond, bonsoir, guten abend. Thank you, Lara sp , for that remarkable introduction. On -- before she came out, she told me not to be nervous. And I can only imagine -- I think her father is in the audience. And I can only imagine how proud he is of her. Your Majesties, Mr Prime Minister, and the people of Belgium, on behalf of the American people, we are grateful for your friendship. We stand together as inseparable allies. And I thank you for your wonderful hospitality. I have to admit it is easy to love a country famous for chocolate and beer. Leaders and dignitaries of the European Union, representatives of our NATO alliance, distinguished guests, we meet here at a moment of testing for Europe and the United States and for the international order that we have worked for generations to build. Throughout human history, societies have grappled with fundamental questions of how to organize themselves, the proper relationship between the individual and the state, the best means to resolve the inevitable conflicts between states. And it was here in Europe, through centuries of struggle, through war and enlightenment, repression and revolution, that a particular set of ideals began to emerge, the belief that through conscience and free will, each of us has the right to live as we choose, the belief that power is derived from the consent of the governed and that laws and institutions should be established to protect that understanding. And those ideas eventually inspired a band of colonialists across an ocean, and they wrote them into the founding documents that still guide America today, including the simple truth that all men, and women, are created equal. But those ideals have also been tested, here in Europe and around the world. Those ideals have often been threatened by an older, more traditional view of power. This alternative vision argues that ordinary men and women are too small-minded to govern their own affairs, that order and progress can only come when individuals surrender their rights to an all-powerful sovereign. Often this alternative vision roots itself in the notion that by virtue of race or faith or ethnicity, some are inherently superior to others and that individual identity must be defined by us versus them, or that national greatness must flow not by what people stand for, but what they are against. In so many ways, the history of Europe in the 20th century represented the ongoing clash of these two sets of ideas, both within nations and among nations. The advance of industry and technology outpaced our ability to resolve our differences peacefully. And even -- even among the most civilized of societies on the surface, we saw a descent into barbarism. This morning at Flanders Field, I was reminded of how war between peoples sent a generation to their deaths in the trenches and gas of the first world war. And just two decades later, extreme nationalism plunged this continent into war once again, with populations enslaved and great cities reduced to rubble and tens of millions slaughtered, including those lost in the Holocaust. It is in response to this tragic history that in the aftermath of World War II, America joined with Europe to reject the darker forces of the past and build a new architecture of peace. Workers and engineers gave life to the Marshall Plan. Sentinels stood vigilant in a NATO alliance that would become the strongest the world has ever known. And across the Atlantic, we embraced a shared vision of Europe, a vision based on representative democracy, individual rights, and a belief that nations can meet the interests of their citizens through trade and open markets, a social safety net, respect for those of different faiths and backgrounds. For decades, this vision stood in sharp contrast to life on the other side of an Iron Curtain. For decades, a contest was waged, and ultimately, that contest was won, not by tanks or missiles, but because our ideals stirred the hearts of Hungarians, who sparked a revolution, Poles in their shipyards who stood in solidarity, Czechs who waged a Velvet Revolution without firing a shot, and East Berliners who marched past the guards and finally tore down that wall. Here in this country, once the battleground of Europe, we meet in the hub of a union that brings together age-old adversaries in peace and cooperation. The people of Europe, hundreds of millions of citizens, east, west, north, south, are more secure and more prosperous because we

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

stood together for the ideals we shared. And this story of human progress was by no means limited to Europe. Indeed, the ideals that came to define our alliance also inspired movements across the globe -- among those very people, ironically, who had too often been denied their full rights by Western powers. After the second world war people from Africa to India threw off the yoke of colonialism to secure their independence. In the United States citizens took Freedom Rides and endured beatings to put an end to segregation and to secure their civil rights. As the Iron Curtain fell here in Europe, the iron fist of apartheid was unclenched and Nelson Mandela emerged upright, proud, from prison to lead a multiracial democracy; Latin American nations rejected dictatorship and built new democracies; and Asian nations showed that development and democracy could go hand in hand. The young people in the audience today, young people like Lara sp , were born in a place and a time where there is less conflict, more prosperity and more freedom than any time in human history. The difficulties of integration and globalization, recently amplified by the worst economic crisis of our lifetimes, strained the European project and stirred the rise of a politics that too often targets immigrants or gays or those who seem somehow different. Around the world sectarian warfare and ethnic conflicts continue to claim thousands of lives. And once again, we are confronted with the belief among some that bigger nations can bully smaller ones to get their way -- that recycled maxim that might somehow makes right. So I come here today to insist that we must never take for granted the progress that has been won here in Europe and advanced around the world, because the contest of ideas continues for your generation. To be honest, if we define our -- our interests narrowly, if we applied a cold hearted calculus, we might decide to look the other way. Our people and our homeland face no direct threat from the invasion of Crimea. But that kind of casual indifference would ignore the lessons that are written in the cemeteries of this continent. It would allow the old way of doing things to regain a foothold in this young century. And the consequences that would arise from complacency are not abstractions. The impacts that they have on the lives of real people, men and women just like us, have to enter into our imaginations. Just look at the young people of Ukraine, who were determined to take back their future from a government rotted by corruption; the portraits of the fallen shot by snipers; the visitors who pay their respects at the Maidan [Maidan Nezalezhnosti is the central square of Kiev, the capital city of Ukraine]. There was the university student wrapped in the Ukrainian flag expressing her hope that every country should live by the law; a postgraduate student speaking for fellow protesters, saying, I want these people who are here to have dignity. Imagine that you are the young woman who said, there are some things that fear, police sticks and tear gas cannot destroy. Their voices echo calls for human dignity that rang out in European streets and squares for generations. Their voices echo those around the world who at this very moment fight for their dignity. These Ukrainians rejected a government that was stealing from the people instead of serving them, and are reaching for the same ideals that allow us to be here today. None of us can know for certain what the coming days will bring in Ukraine, but I am confident that eventually those voices, those voices for human dignity and opportunity and individual rights and rule of law, those voices ultimately will triumph. I believe that over the long haul as nations that are free, as free people, the future is ours. And I believe this not because of the strength of our arms or the size of our economies. I believe this because these ideals that we affirm are true. These ideals are universal. Yes, we believe in democracy, with elections that are free and fair, and independent judiciaries and opposition parties, civil society and uncensored information so that individuals can make their own choices. Yes, we believe in open economies based on free markets and innovation and individual initiative and entrepreneurship and trade and investment that creates a broader prosperity. And yes, we believe in human dignity, that every person is created equal -- no matter who you are or what you look like or who you love or where you come from. That is what we believe. And our enduring strength is also reflected in our respect for an international system that protects the rights of both nations and people -- a United Nations and a Universal Declaration of Human Rights, international law and the means to enforce those laws. But we also know that those rules are not self-executing. They depend on people and nations of good will continually affirming them. Over the last several days, the United States, Europe and our partners around the world have been united in defence of these ideals and united in support of the Ukrainian

DOWNLOAD PDF VII.11. AN INFANTILIZING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GRIP ON THE ACTIVE INDIVIDUAL.

people. Together, we have isolated Russia politically, suspending it from the G-8 nations and downgrading our bilateral ties. Together, we are imposing costs through sanctions that have left a mark on Russia and those accountable for its actions. And if the Russian leadership stays on its current course, together, we will ensure that this isolation deepens. And meanwhile, the United States and our allies will continue to support the government of Ukraine as they chart a democratic course. Together, we are going to provide a significant package of assistance that can help stabilize the Ukrainian economy and meet the basic needs of the people. Make no mistake, neither the United States nor Europe has any interest in controlling Ukraine. We have sent no troops there. What we want is for the Ukrainian people to make their own decisions, just like other free people around the world. After all, unlike the Soviet Union, Russia leads no bloc of nations, no global ideology. In fact, for more than 60 years we have come together in NATO not to claim other lands but to keep nations free. What we will do always is uphold our solemn obligation, our Article 5 duty, to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our allies. And in that promise we will never waver. NATO nations never stand alone. Going forward, every NATO member state must step up and carry its share of the burden by showing the political will to invest in our collective defence and by developing the capabilities to serve as a source of international peace and security. Nor will Russia be dislodged from Crimea or deterred from further escalation by military force. But with time, so long as we remain united, the Russian people will recognize that they cannot achieve the security, prosperity and the status that they seek through brute force. I believe that for both Ukraine and Russia, a stable peace will come through de-escalation, a direct dialogue between Russia and the government of Ukraine and the international community, monitors who can ensure that the rights of all Ukrainians are protected, a process of constitutional reform within Ukraine and free and fair elections this spring. Of course, there is no evidence, never has been, of systemic violence against ethnic Russians inside of Ukraine. Moreover, many countries around the world face similar questions about their borders and ethnic minorities abroad, about sovereignty and self-determination. These are tensions that have led in other places to debate and democratic referendums, conflicts and uneasy co-existence. These are difficult issues and it is precisely because these questions are hard that they must be addressed through constitutional means and international laws, so that majorities cannot simply suppress minorities and big countries cannot simply bully the small. But NATO only intervened after the people of Kosovo were systematically brutalized and killed for years. None of that even came close to happening in Crimea. Now, it is true that the Iraq war was a subject of vigorous debate, not just around the world but in the United States, as well. I participated in that debate, and I opposed our military intervention there. But even in Iraq, America sought to work within the international system. We did not grab its resources for our own gain. Instead, we ended our war and left Iraq to its people in a fully sovereign Iraqi state that can make decisions about its own future. Of course, neither the United States nor Europe are perfect in adherence to our ideals. Nor do we claim to be the sole arbiter of what is right or wrong in the world. We are human, after all, and we face difficult decisions about how to exercise our power.