

The Liberty + Power Lectures

**University of Alabama,
November 16, 2010**

**The Culture of Liberty vs.
the Culture of Authority II:
“Marching to the Beat of a
Different Drummer.”**

Dr. David M. Hart





Questions to keep in mind:

- why do so many people obey authority?
- what role does coercion play in enforcing obedience?
- what role does culture and political values play in making people obey willingly?
 - “the culture of obedience to authority”
- what makes some people challenge or reject authority?
 - “the culture of liberty”
- how can we promote a "culture of liberty"?
- how can we oppose a "culture of obedience to authority"?

Why do People March to the Beat of the Official Drummer?



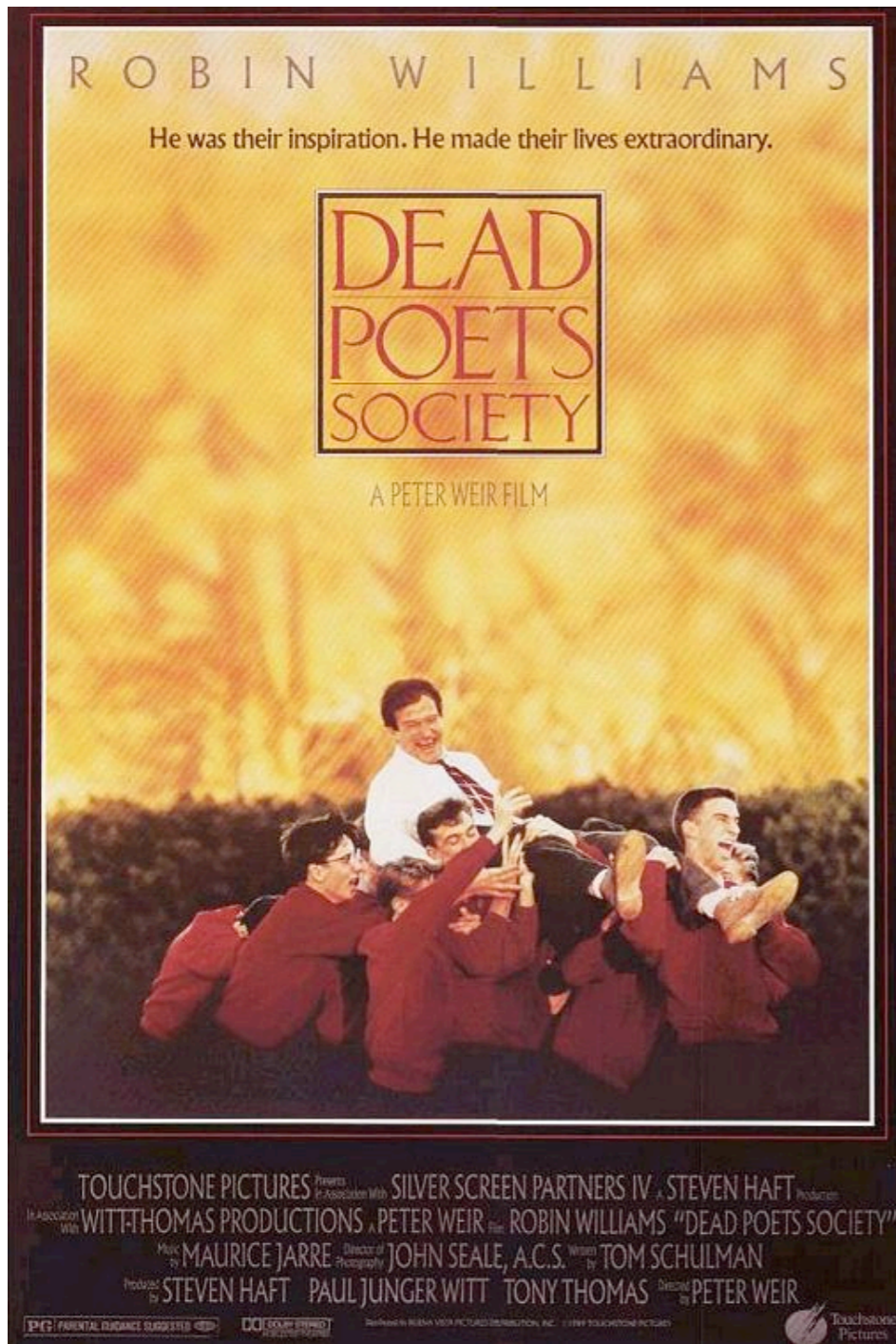


Challenge to Orthodoxy I:
Why should People March to the Beat
of the Official Drummer?



Why should we be in such desperate haste to succeed and in such desperate enterprises? **If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music which he hears, however measured or far away.** It is not important that he should mature as soon as an apple tree or an oak. Shall he turn his spring into summer? If the condition of things which we were made for is not yet, what were any reality which we can substitute? We will not be shipwrecked on a vain reality.

Henry David Thoreau, *Walden*, (1854)



Peter Weir, *Dead Poets Society* (1989)

Peter Weir, *Dead Poets Society* (1989)



Peter Weir, *Dead Poets Society* (1989)

The Culture of Authority vs. the Culture of Liberty





A Definition of Culture:

- the customs, arts, social institutions, and achievements of a particular nation, people, or other social group

Political Aspects of Culture: Symbols, Images, Rituals, & Ceremonies

- have political or ideological content and meaning
- reveal the values and beliefs of the person or persons who created them
- are used to further the aims & promote the ideals of particular individuals & groups



Libertas Americana Medal

The Cultures of Two Rivalrous Groups: The Rulers vs. The Ruled

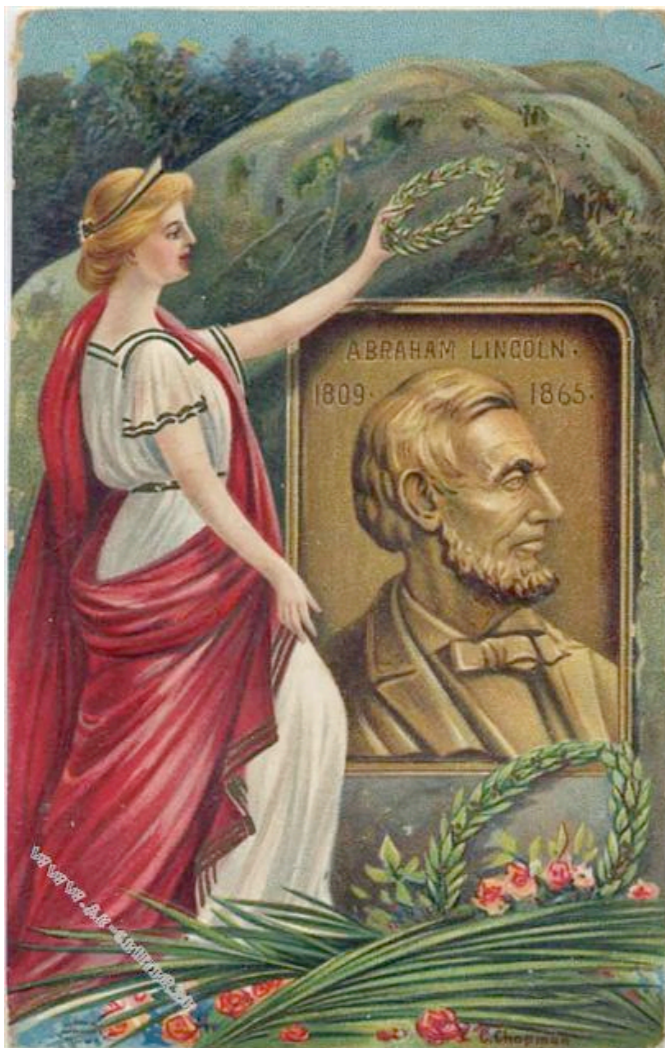
- Rulers & the Culture of Authority/Obedience
- the Ruled & the Culture of Liberty/Resistance





The Rulers

- those members of the state who live off tax dollars and exercise the power to confiscate, regulate, imprison, and order some to their deaths
- kings, emperors, presidents, popes, generals, senators, MPs, judges, well-connected special interest groups (MIC, unions)
- rule by mixture of coercion (direct rule) & use of culture & ideology (indirect rule)





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Rulers & the Culture of Authority/Obedience

All rulers share certain common features. They need:

- to get power
- to retain power
- to appear to be a legitimate power
- to be loved (or feared) by their subjects
- to keep opponents and dissidents under control
- to have compliant and obedient citizens and taxpayers (who will “obey and pay”)



The Army Hierarchy.



Rulers & the Culture of Authority/Obedience

All rulers resort to common strategies to maintain their rule:

- seek to legitimize and maintain a ruler in power (respect)
- use civic rituals to get public support
- erect statues and monuments in public spaces to honour the rulers
- legitimize & glorify the nation state & its wars
- demand obedience & sacrifice on the part of citizens
- create a uniform national culture to reduce costs of ruling
- use public media to show rulers in a flattering light





The Ruled

- those individuals who are taxed, regulated, imprisoned, and ordered to their deaths for the benefit of their rulers & their allies



The Ruled & The Culture of Obedience to Authority

- many accept the superiority & legitimacy of their rulers to rule them, tax them, regulate them, send them off to war

The Ruled & The Culture of Resistance to Authority

- many do not accept the superiority and legitimacy of their rulers to rule them, tax them, regulate them, send them off to war
- they protest, oppose, resist, mock, or undermine unjust authority & state power



The Three Pillars of Authority: God, King, & Country





King James I, Political Writings (1616)

Throne & Altar: The Divine Right of Kings

Throne & Altar

Frontispiece to Thomas Hobbes, *The Leviathan* (1651).

Motto

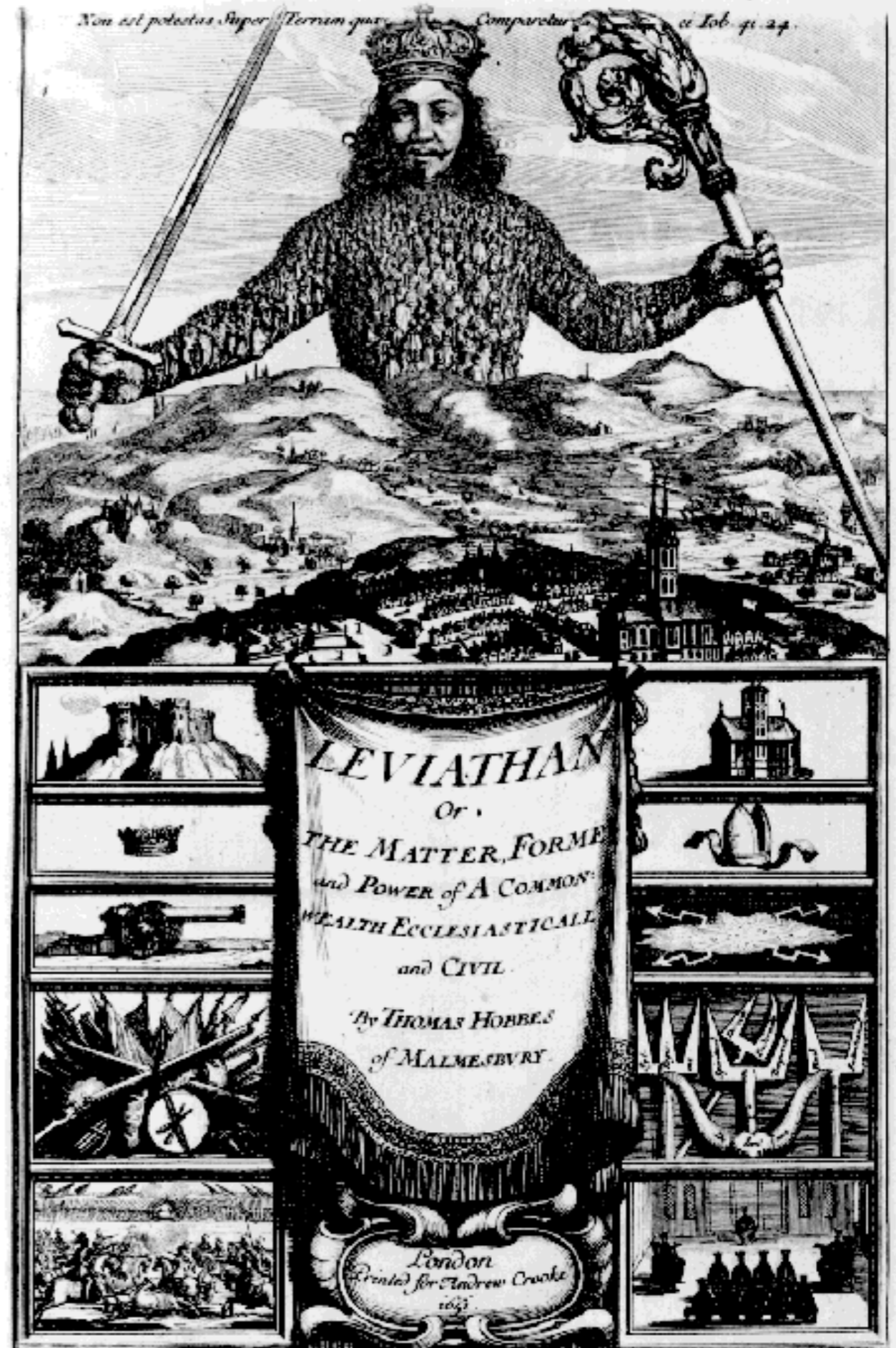
"Non est potestas Super Terram quae Comparetur ei" (There is no power on earth to be compared to him).

Throne

- King, Emperor, President

Altar

- God, established Church

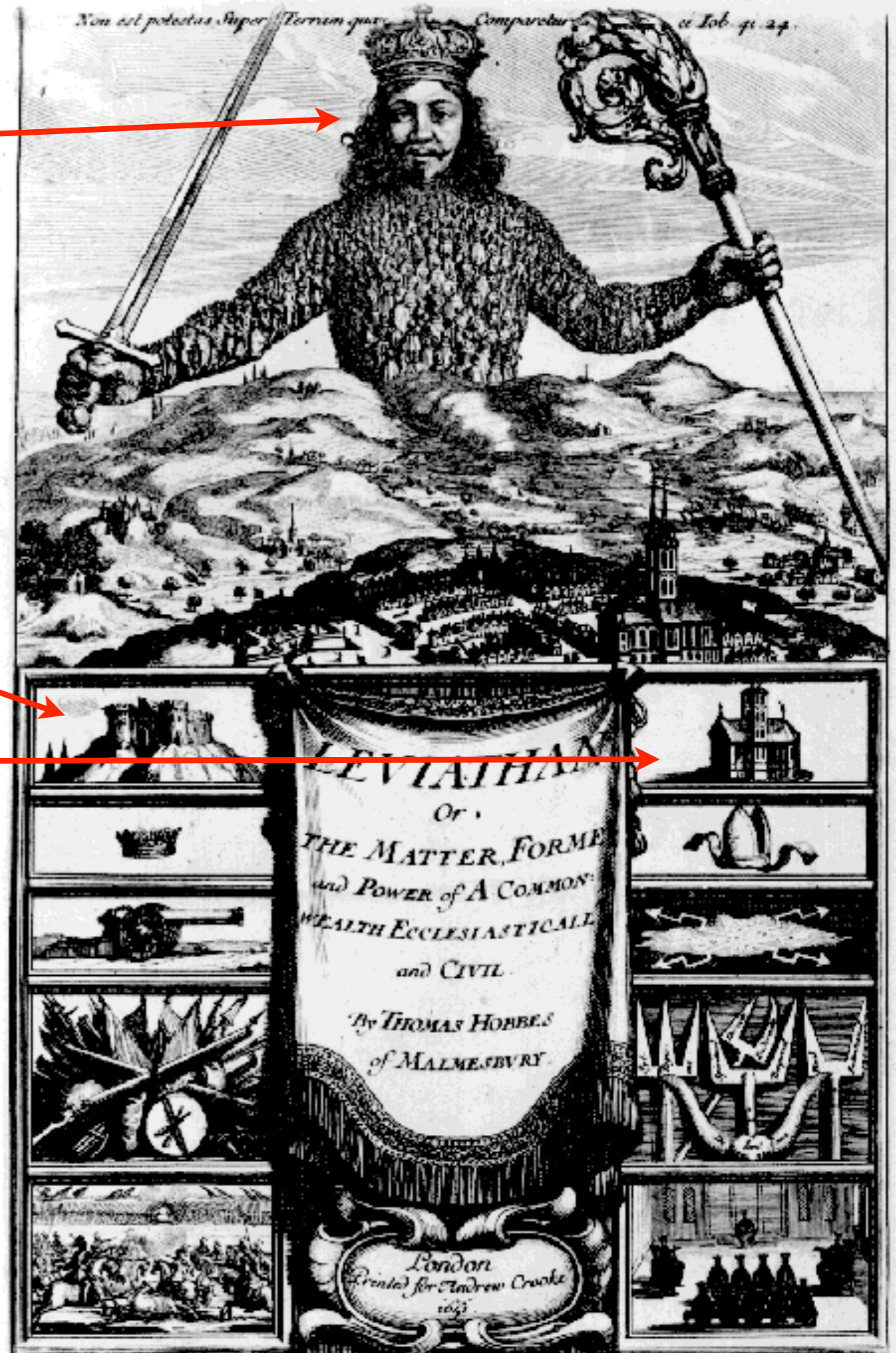


1. The **Leviathan** (or absolute monarch) wearing a crown and holding a sword (military power) and a crosier (religious power). His body is the “body politic” (made up of his subjects) and he is the “head” of state.

2. The two pillars of his power are the army (left) and the established church (right)

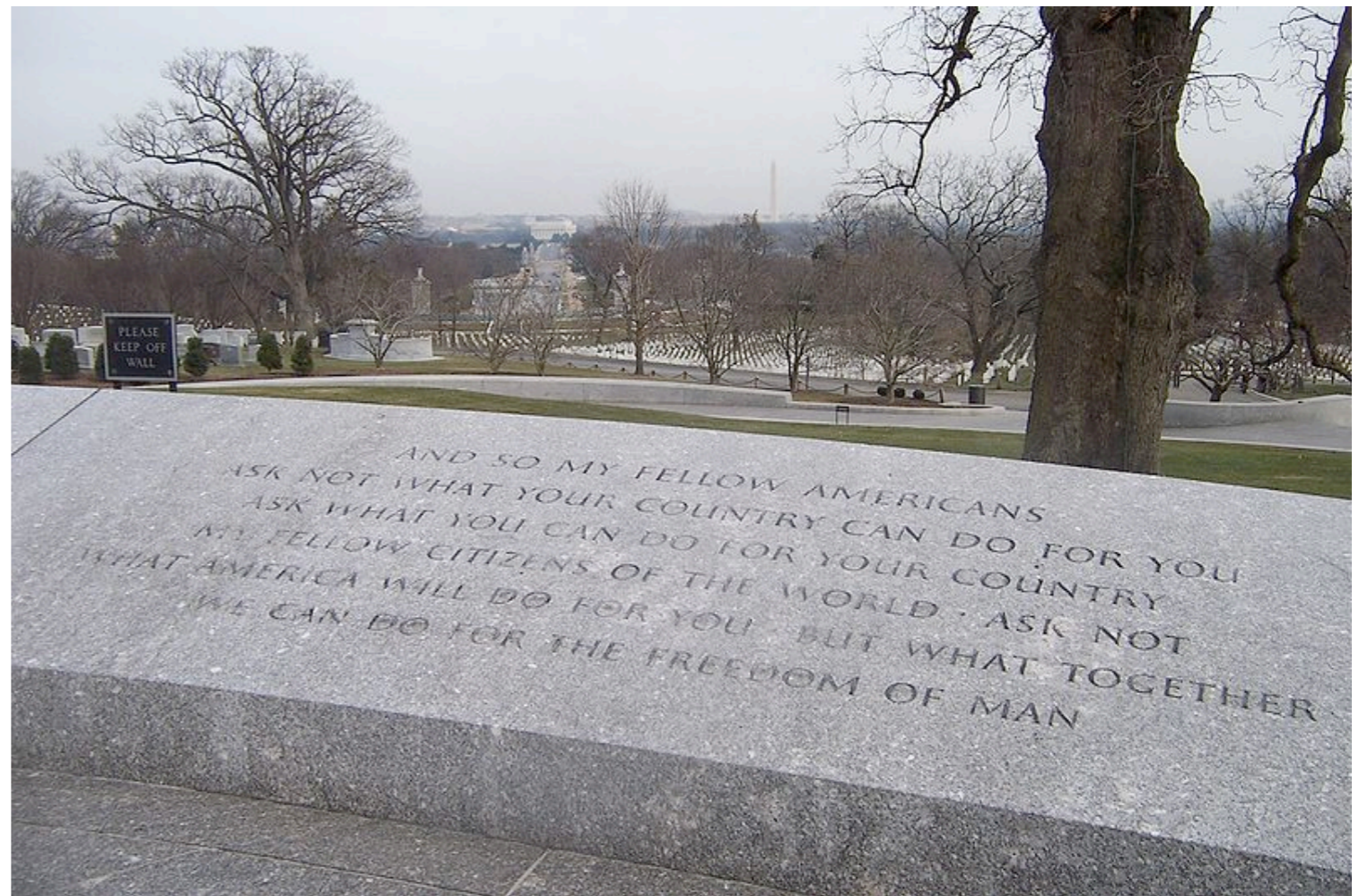
3. **Army:** castle, crown, cannon, weaponry, battle

4. **Church:** cathedral, bishop’s mitre, excommunication, logic, religious court

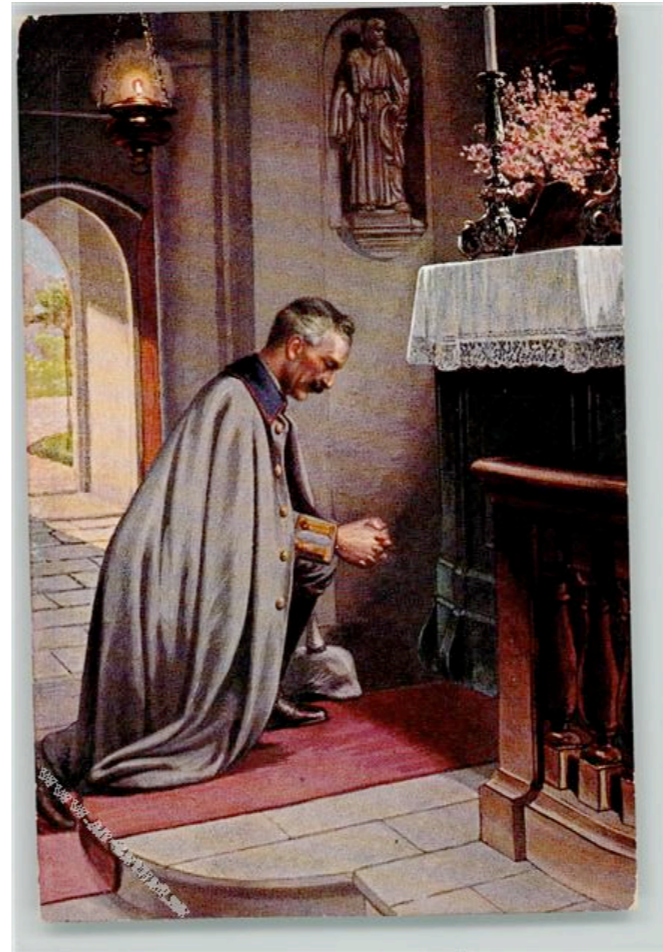


Country

- Empire
- Nation
- La Patrie or Fatherland
- Das Volk
- Homeland or Heimat



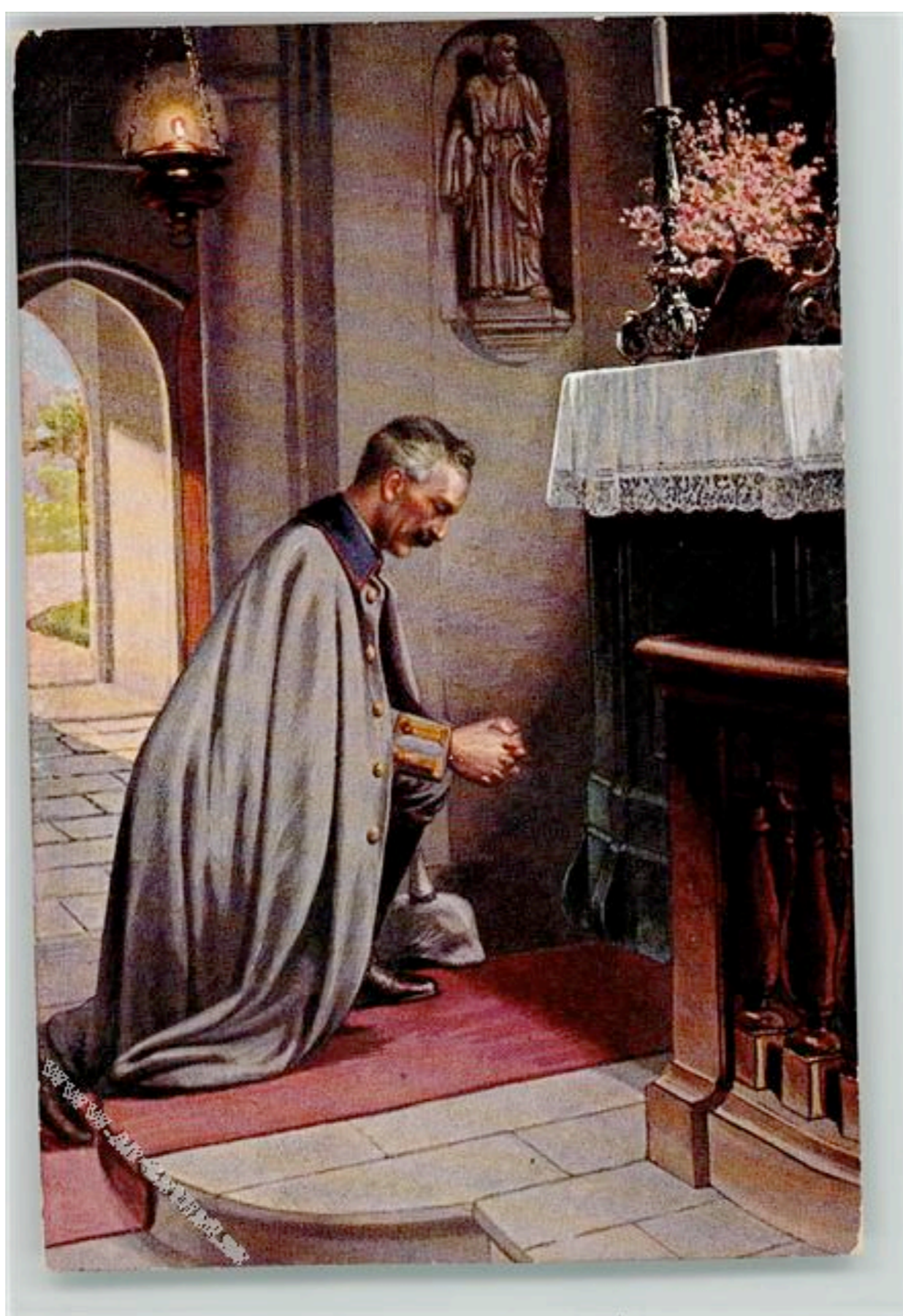
The Culture of Authority: God/Altar





Bismarck: "We Germans fear God but nothing else in the World"

The Culture of Obedience to Authority: God (Altar)



Kaiser Wilhelm praying for Guidance

The Culture of Obedience to Authority: God (Altar)



Russian Empire (1883) - "God is with Us"

The Culture of Obedience to Authority: God (Altar)



German Soldier's Belt Buckle "Gott mit Uns" (1939)

The Culture of Obedience to Authority: God (Altar)



With God as Our Champion



Lincoln 2 Cent Piece (1864)



"In God we Trust" (1956)

The Culture of Obedience to Authority: God (Altar)

THE
ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

A MAGAZINE OF LITERATURE, ART, AND POLITICS.

VOL. IX.—FEBRUARY, 1862.—NO. LII.

BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC.

MINE eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord :
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored ;
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword :
His truth is marching on.

I have seen Him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling camps ,
They have builded Him an altar in the evening dews and damps ;
I can read His righteous sentence by the dim and flaring lamps :
His day is marching on.

I have read a fiery gospel writ in burnished rows of steel :
" As ye deal with my contemners, so with you my grace shall deal ;
Let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with his heel,
Since God is marching on."

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat ;
He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment-seat :
Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer Him ! be jubilant, my feet !
Our God is marching on.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me :
As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1862, by TICKNOR AND FIELDS, in the Clerk's Office
of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

VOL. IX.

10

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord:
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored;
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword:

His truth is marching on.

I have seen Him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling camps,
They have builded Him an altar in the evening dews and damps;
I can read His righteous sentence by the dim and flaring lamps:
His day is marching on.

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Our God is marching on.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me:
As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on.

He is coming like the glory of the morning on the wave,
He is Wisdom to the mighty, He is Succour to the brave,
So the world shall be His footstool, and the soul of Time His slave,
Our God is marching on.

**The Culture of Obedience to
Authority: God (Altar)**

Julia Ward Howe, November 1861

Battle Hymn of the Republic (Brought Down to Date, Feb. 1901)

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the launching of the Sword;
He is searching out the hoardings where the stranger's wealth is stored;
He hath loosed his fateful lightnings, and with woe and death has scored:

His lust is marching on.

I have seen him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling camps;
They have builded him an altar in the Eastern dews and damp;
I have read his doomful mission by the dim and flaring lamps—
His night is marching on.

I have read his bandit gospel writ in burnished rows of steel:
"As ye deal with my pretensions, so with you my wrath shall deal;
Let the faithless son of Freedom crush the patriot with his heel;
Lo, Greed is marching on!"

We have legalized the strumpet and are guarding her retreat;*
Greed is seeking out commercial souls before his judgement seat;

O, be swift, ye clods, to answer him! be jubilant my feet!
Our god is marching on!

In a sordid slime harmonious Greed was born in yonder ditch,
With a longing in his bosom—and for others' goods an itch.
As Christ died to make men holy, let men die to make us rich—
Our god is marching on.

* NOTE: In Manila the Government has placed a certain industry under the protection of our flag. (M.T.)

**The Culture of Opposition to
Authority: God (Altar)**



**Mark Twain, The American Lion
of St. Marks, *Life*, Feb. 28, 1901
(scattering the imperialists)**



“God Bless America” (Indianapolis, Memorial Day 2009)

The Culture of Obedience to Authority: God (Altar)



Jon McNaughton, "One Nation under God" (2000?)

The Culture of Obedience to Authority: God (Altar)

The Culture of Authority: King/Throne

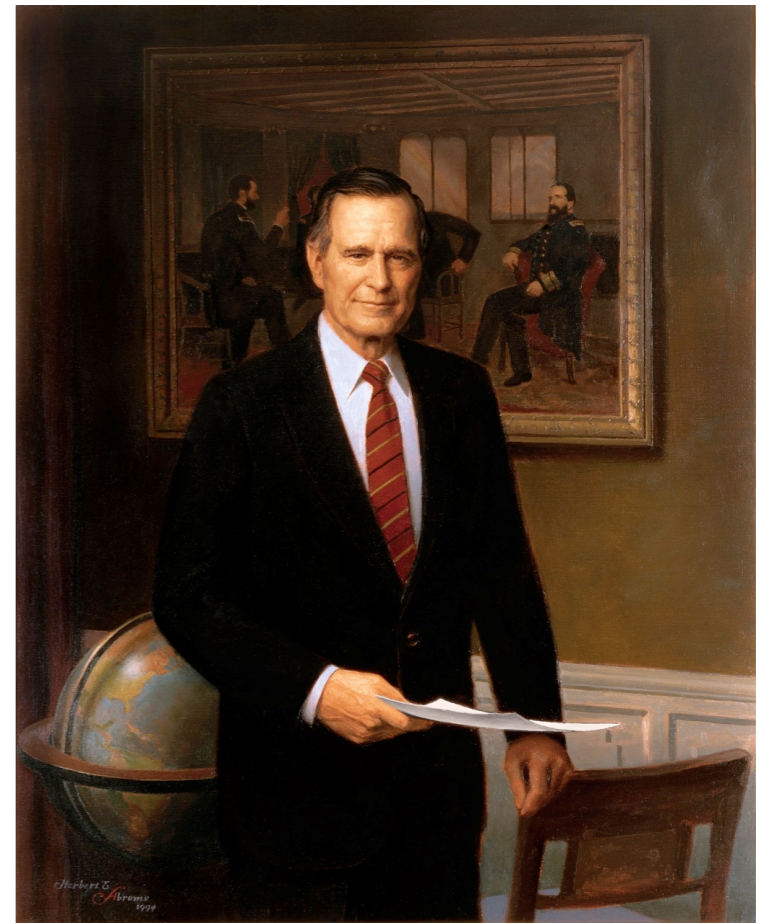




Kings, Emperors, Presidents

- Official portraits
- Heads on coins
- Coronations & Inaugurations
- Statues in public spaces
- Choosing the party leader
- State funerals
- Great powers of the leader
- Leaders in military uniform





Official Portraits of Kings, Emperors, Presidents



Hyacinthe Rigaud, Louis XIV (1701)



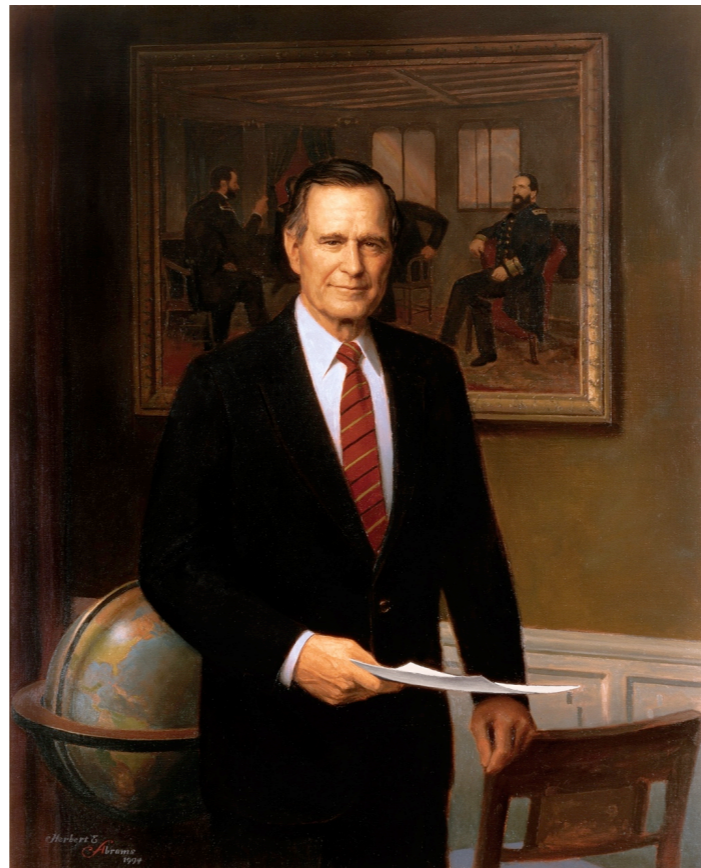
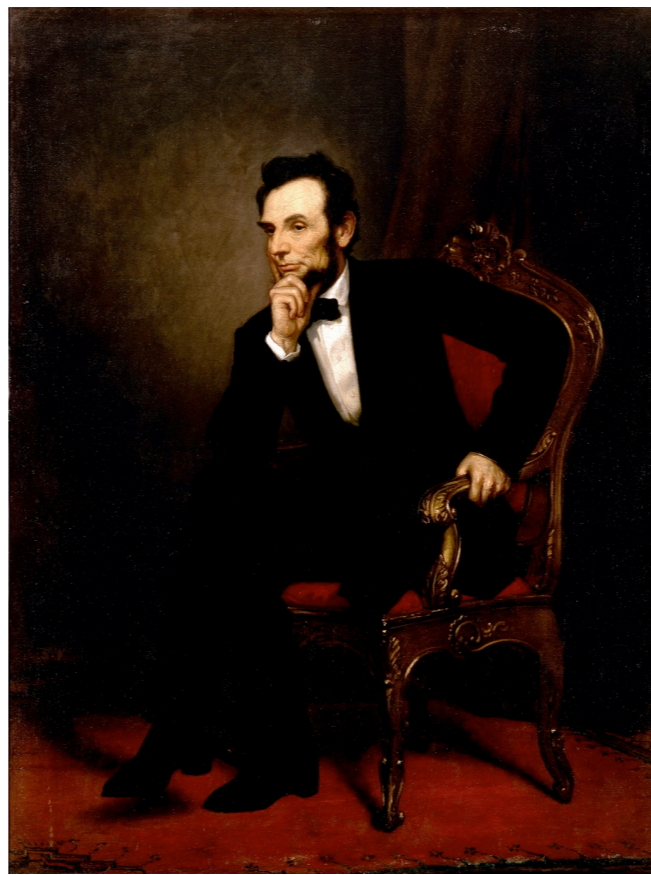
Jacques-Louis David, The Emperor in his Study in the Tuileries (1812)



Official Portrait of Adolph Hitler



**Official Portrait of Queen Elizabeth II by Christian Furr
(1995)**



Official Portrait of American Presidents



Official Portrait: George Washington



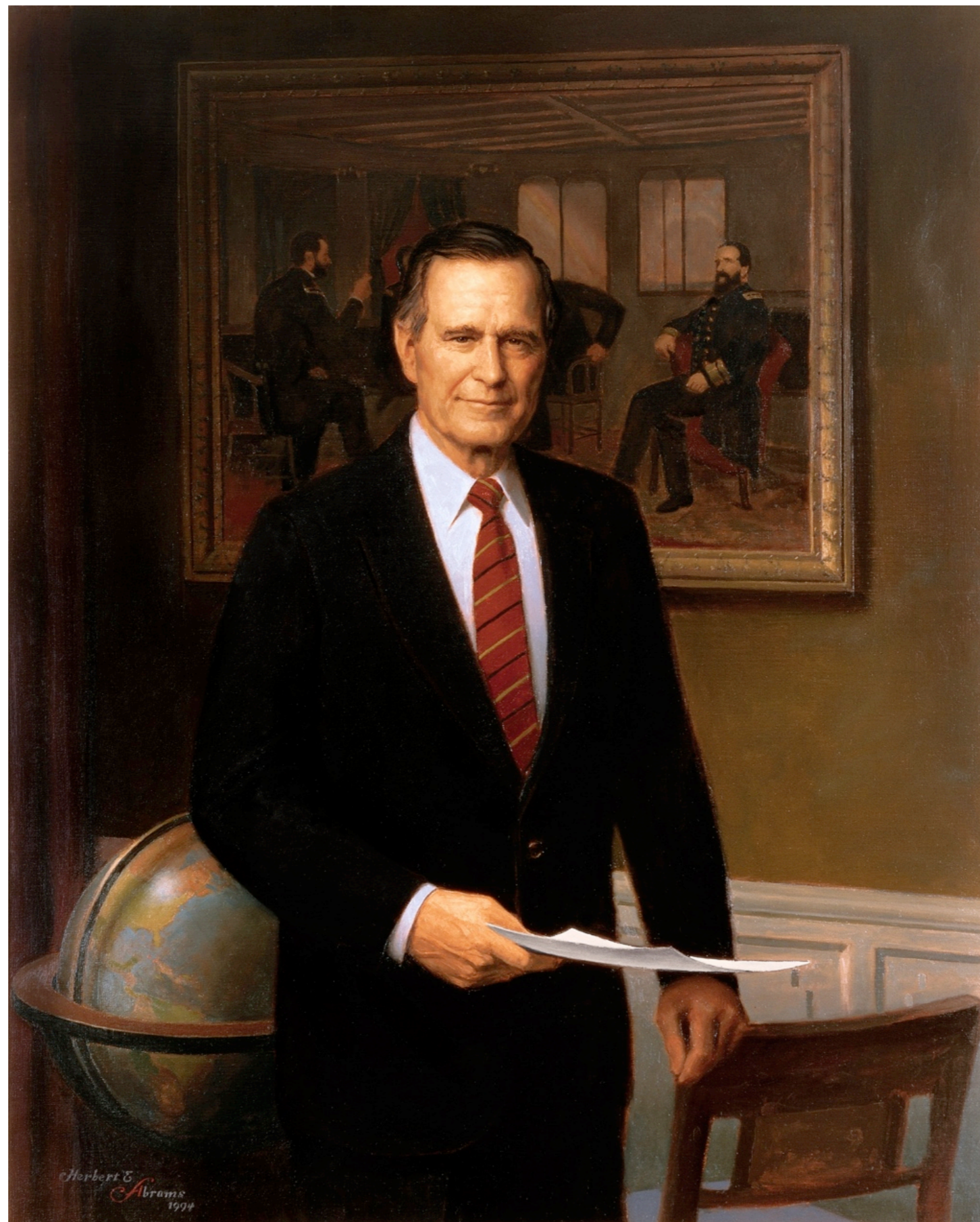
Official Portrait: Abraham Lincoln



Official Portrait: F.D. Roosevelt



Official Portrait: W.J. Clinton



Official Portrait: G.H.W. Bush



Official Portrait: Barack Obama

Coronations and Inaugurations



François Gerard, Napoleon in Coronation Robes (1804)

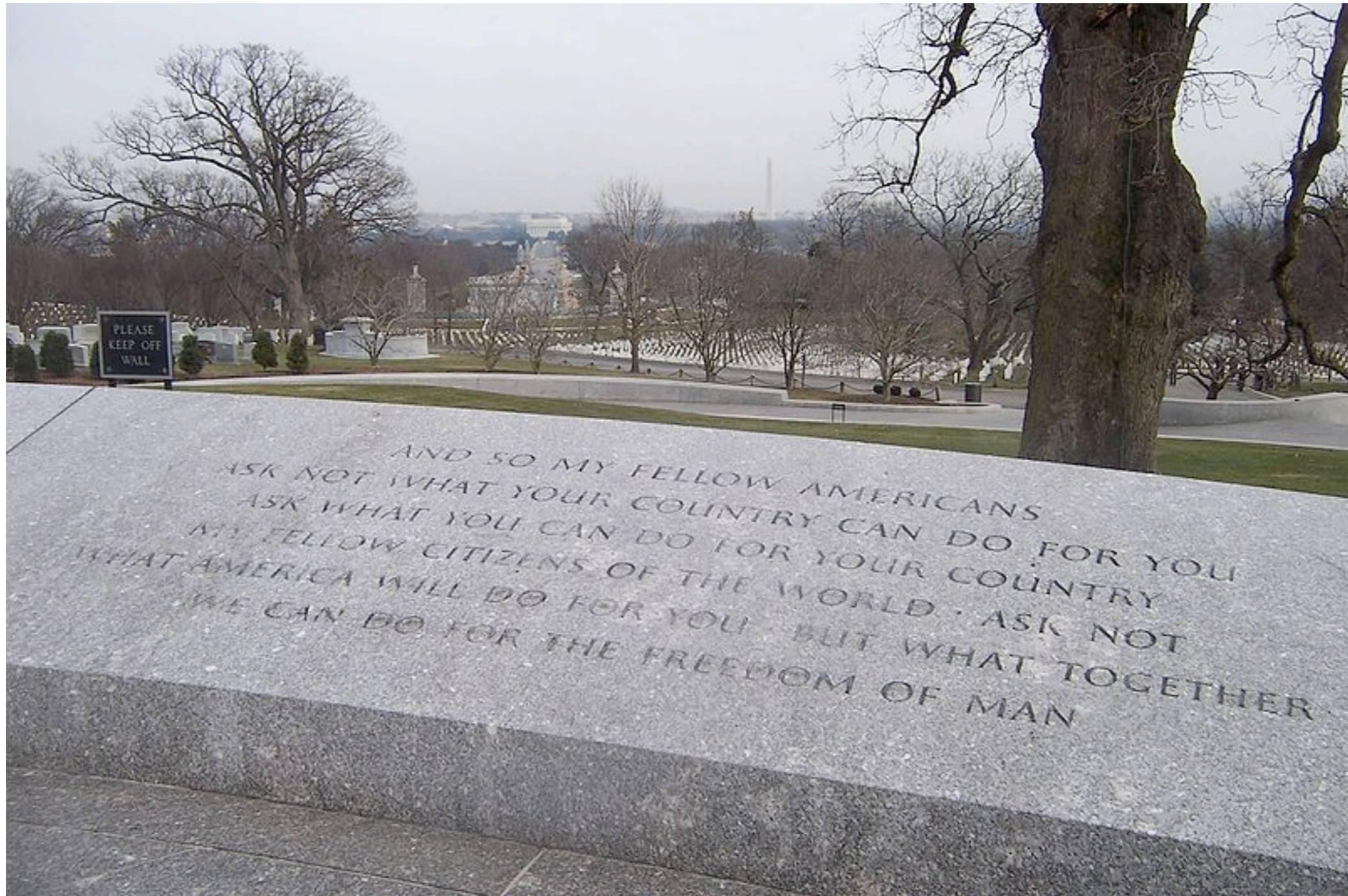


The crowned Queen Elizabeth II

The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II (1952)



Queen Elizabeth II and the Duke of Edinburgh (1953)



**Memorial to John F. Kennedy, Washington D.C.
Inauguration speech: "What you can do for your country" (1961)**



The Inauguration of Barak Obama (January 2009)



President Obama and the symbols of his office

Monumental Statuary



The Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C.



The Bismarck Memorial, Hamburg



Vladimir Lenin (location unknown)



**Mount Rushmore: Washington, Jefferson, T. Roosevelt,
Lincoln (1927-1941)**



**Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and David Hart in Shanghai
(2009)**

Choosing the Party Leader



**Scene from Leni Riefenstahl's film "Triumph of the Will
(1935)**



Democratic Party Convention (2008)

State Funerals for the Leader



State Funeral of Winston Churchill (1874-1965)



State Funeral of JFK (1917-1963)

The Great Powers of the Leader



Leaders Kissing Babies



Chinese Propaganda Poster celebrating Mao Tse Tung's feat of swimming the Yangste river (1956)

Rulers in Military Uniform or on Horseback



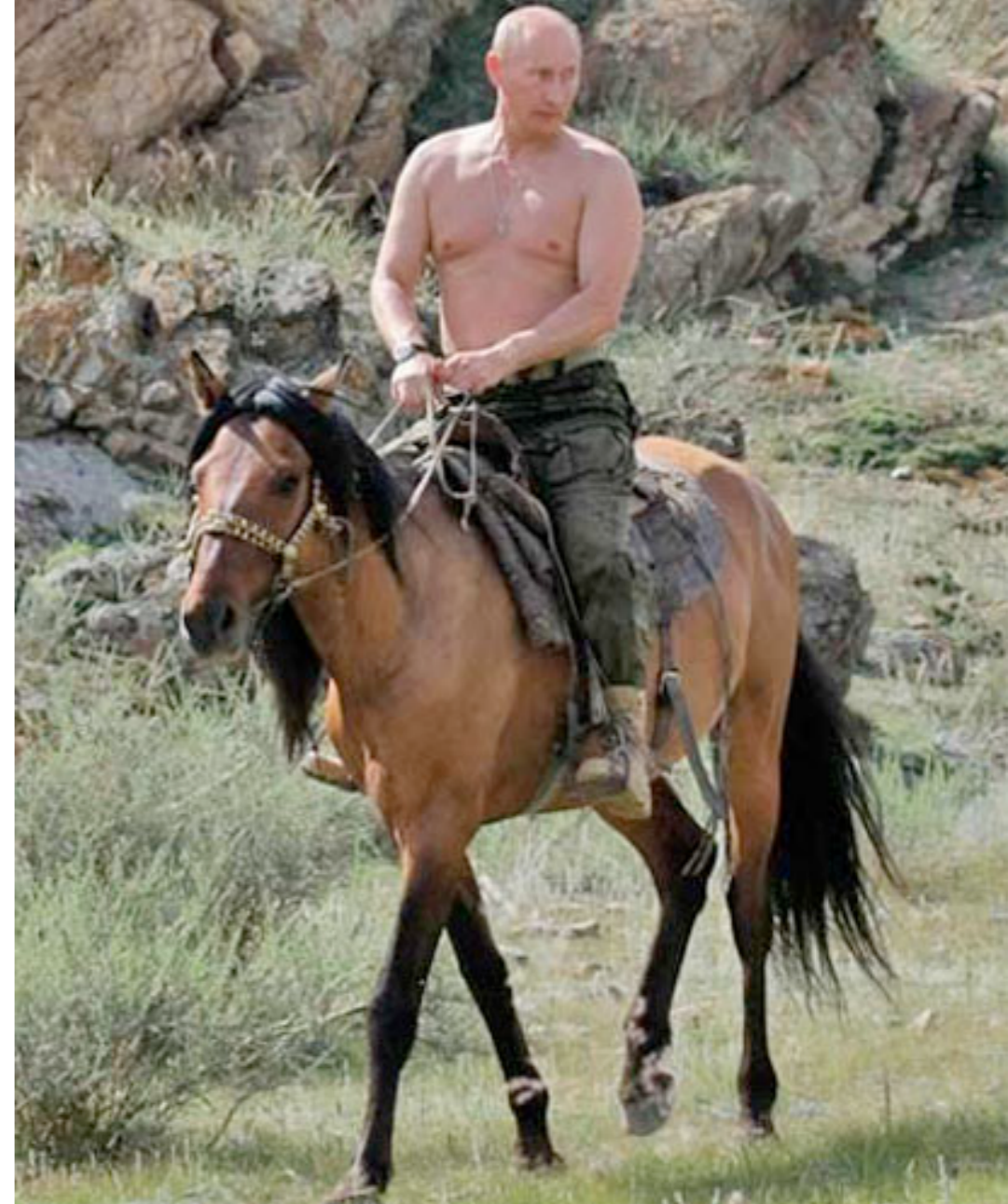
Jacques-Louis David, “Napoleon Crossing the Saint Bernard Pass” (1805)



Hermann Goering (194?)



George W. Bush announcing “Mission Accomplished” on USS Abraham Lincoln (May 1, 2003)



**Vladimir Putin, President of the Russian Federation
(2000-2008)**

The Culture of Authority: Country





Nation, Fatherland, Heimat

- Sacrifice for the nation (enlistment)
- Dying for one's country
- Monuments for mourning the dead
- Public displays of military force
- Oaths of allegiance to country & leader
- Anthems & hymns to the country & leader





Propaganda to urge Enlistment - challenge one's Manhood



Propaganda to urge Enlistment - Guilt

**YOUR KING & COUNTRY
NEED YOU**



**TO MAINTAIN THE HONOUR AND GLORY
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE**

British Propaganda Poster c. Boer War (1899)



Propaganda to urge Enlistment - Guilt

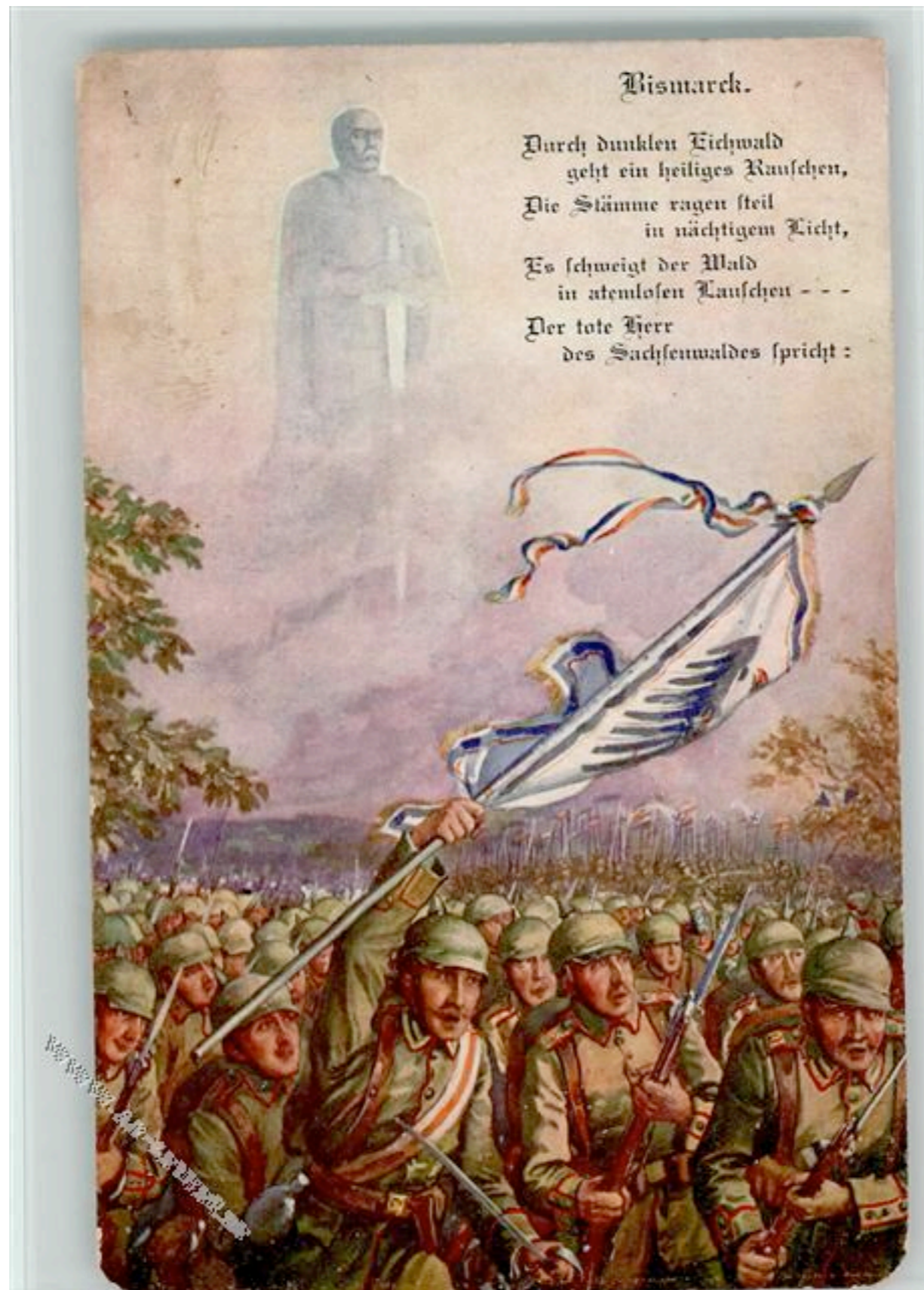


US Propaganda Poster by James Montgomery Flagg (1917)

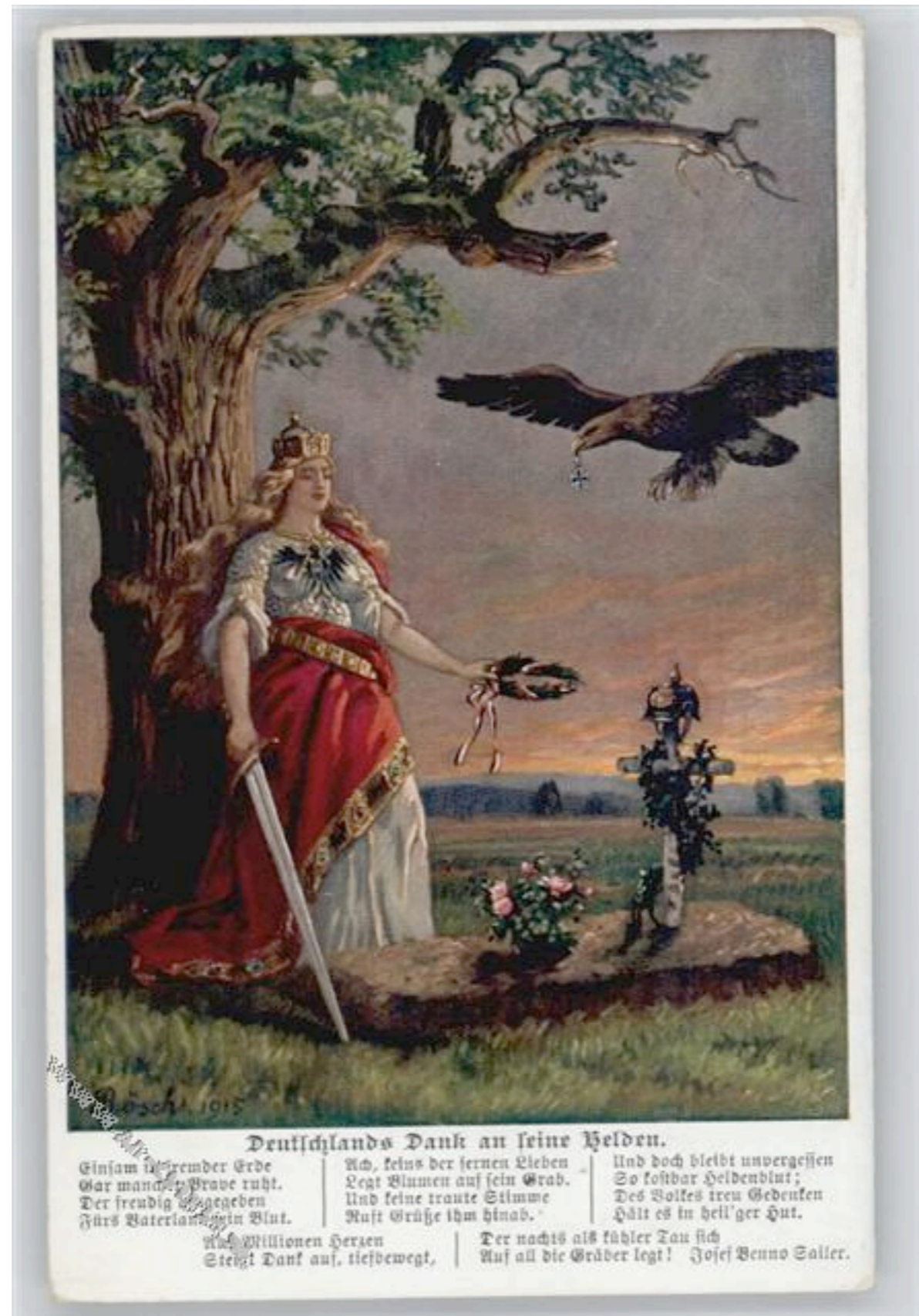


Are YOU in this?

“War Socialism” - The Mobilization of all Classes



Dying for One's Country: WWI Postcard with Bismarck



Dying for One's Country: Germanica & Fallen Heroes



Die deutsche Frau im Kriege

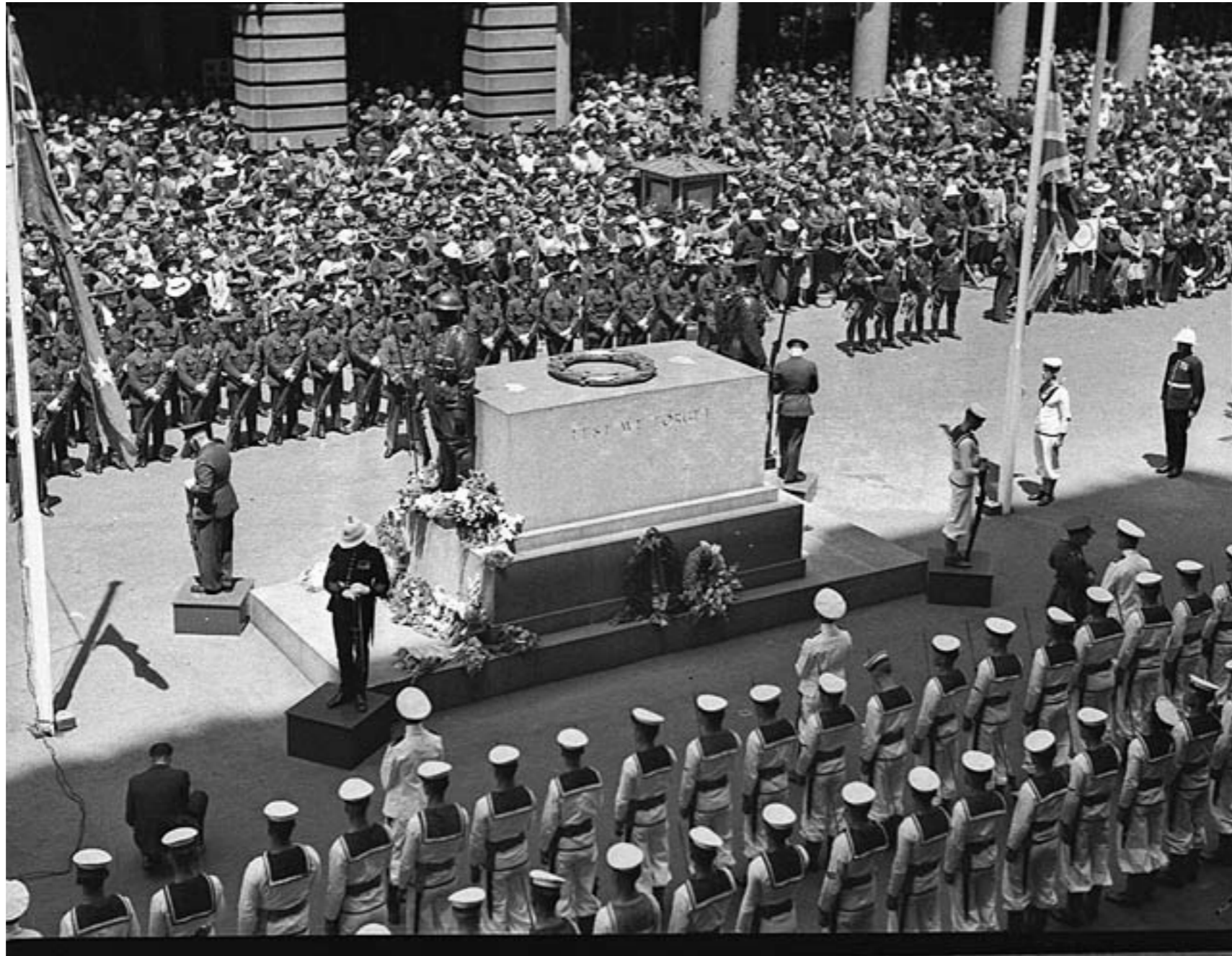
Dying for One's Country: Germanica & the Injured



Dying for One's Country: Kaiser Wilhelm at a Grave



Dying for One's Country: Cenotaph in London



Dying for One's Country: Cenotaph in Sydney



**Dying for One's Country: Artillery
Monument in London**



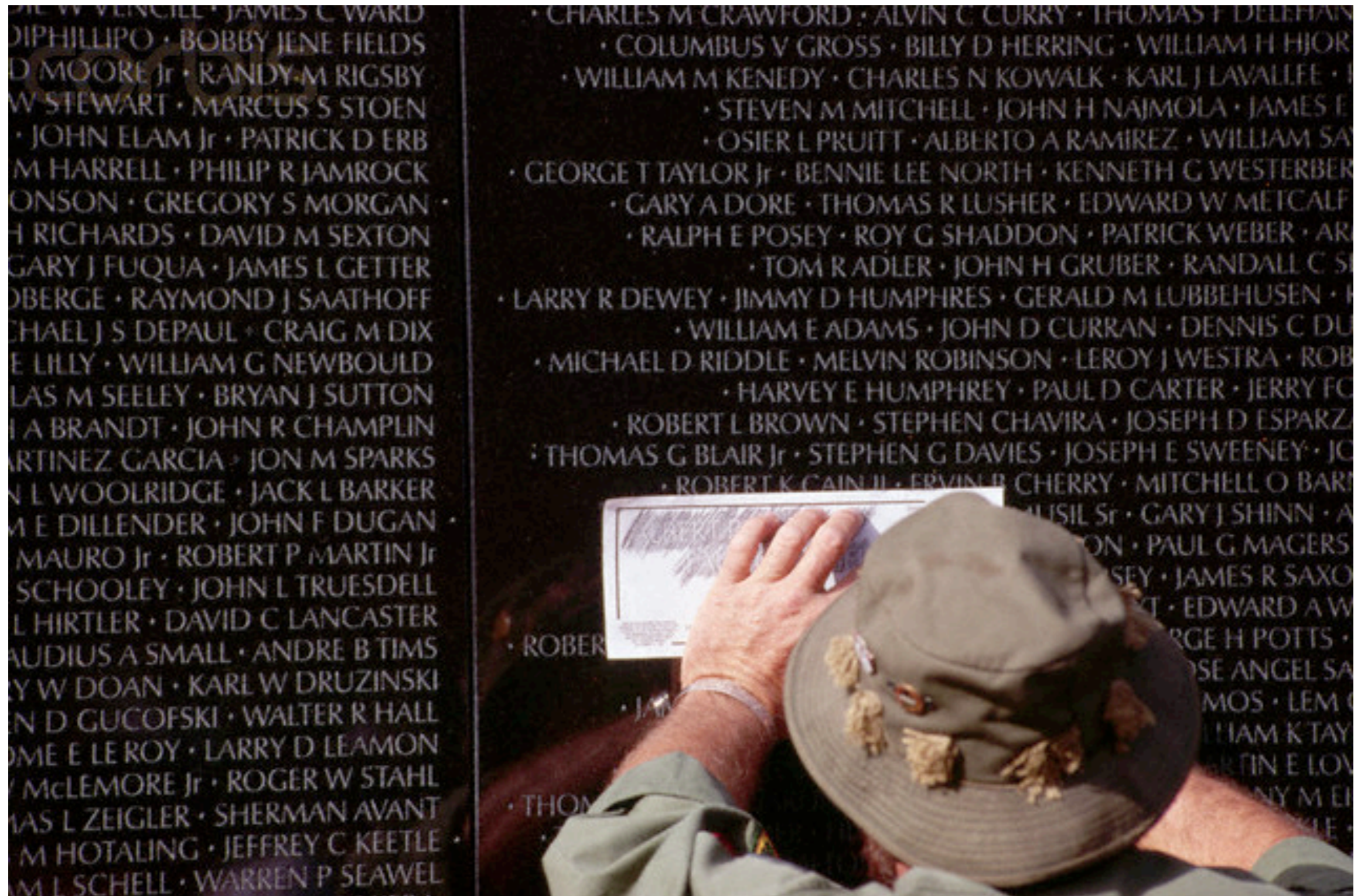
Dying for One's Country: Arlington Memorial Amphitheatre



Dying for One's Country: Vietnam Veterans Memorial



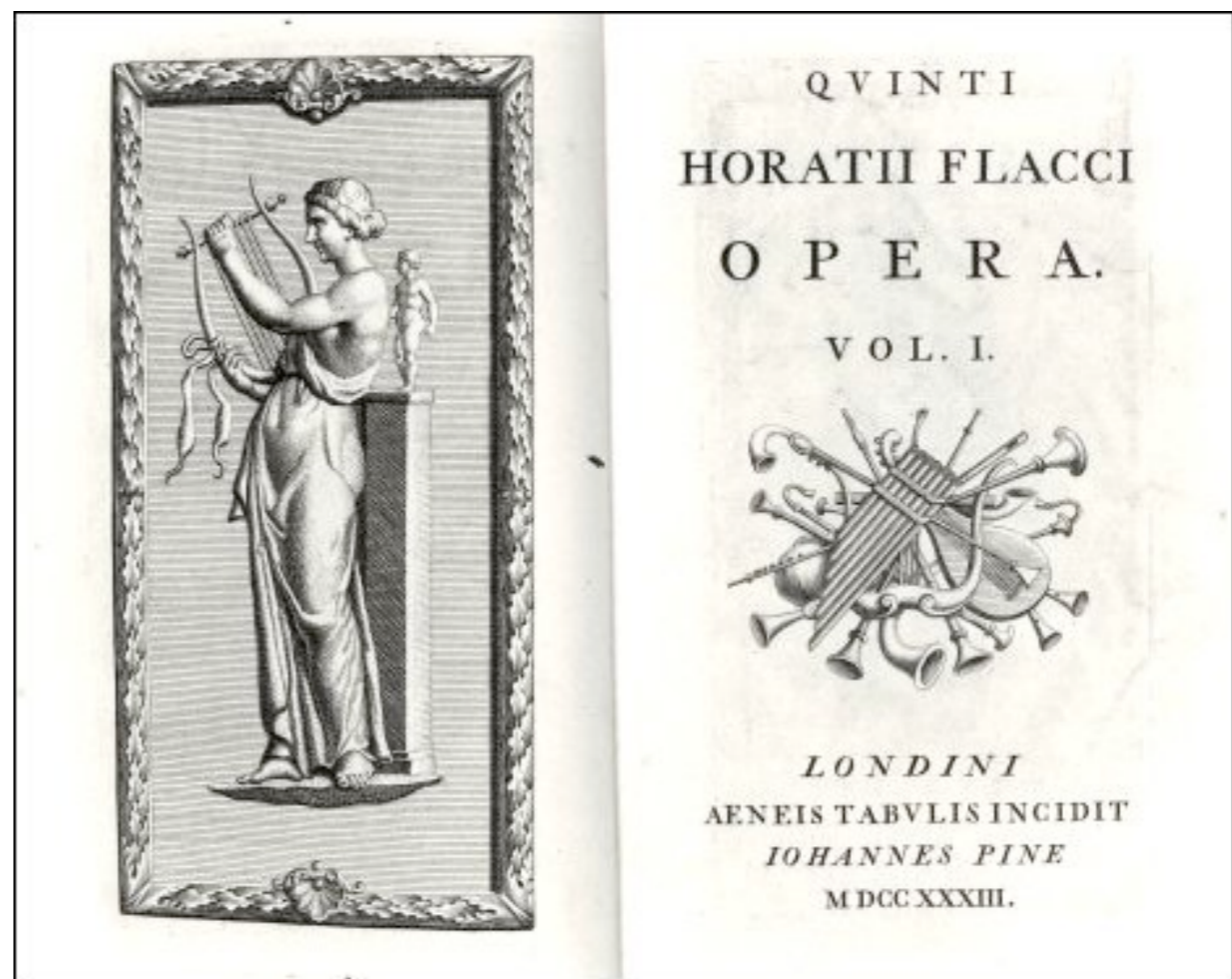
Dying for One's Country: Vietnam Veterans Memorial



Dying for One's Country: Vietnam Veterans Memorial



Challenge to Orthodoxy IIa: Is it sweet and fitting to die for the Fatherland?



It's sweet and fitting to die for one's country.
Yet death chases after the soldier who runs,
and it won't spare the cowardly back
or the limbs, of peace-loving young men.

Quintus Horatius Flaccus (Horace), (65-8 B.C.)
Odes II.2



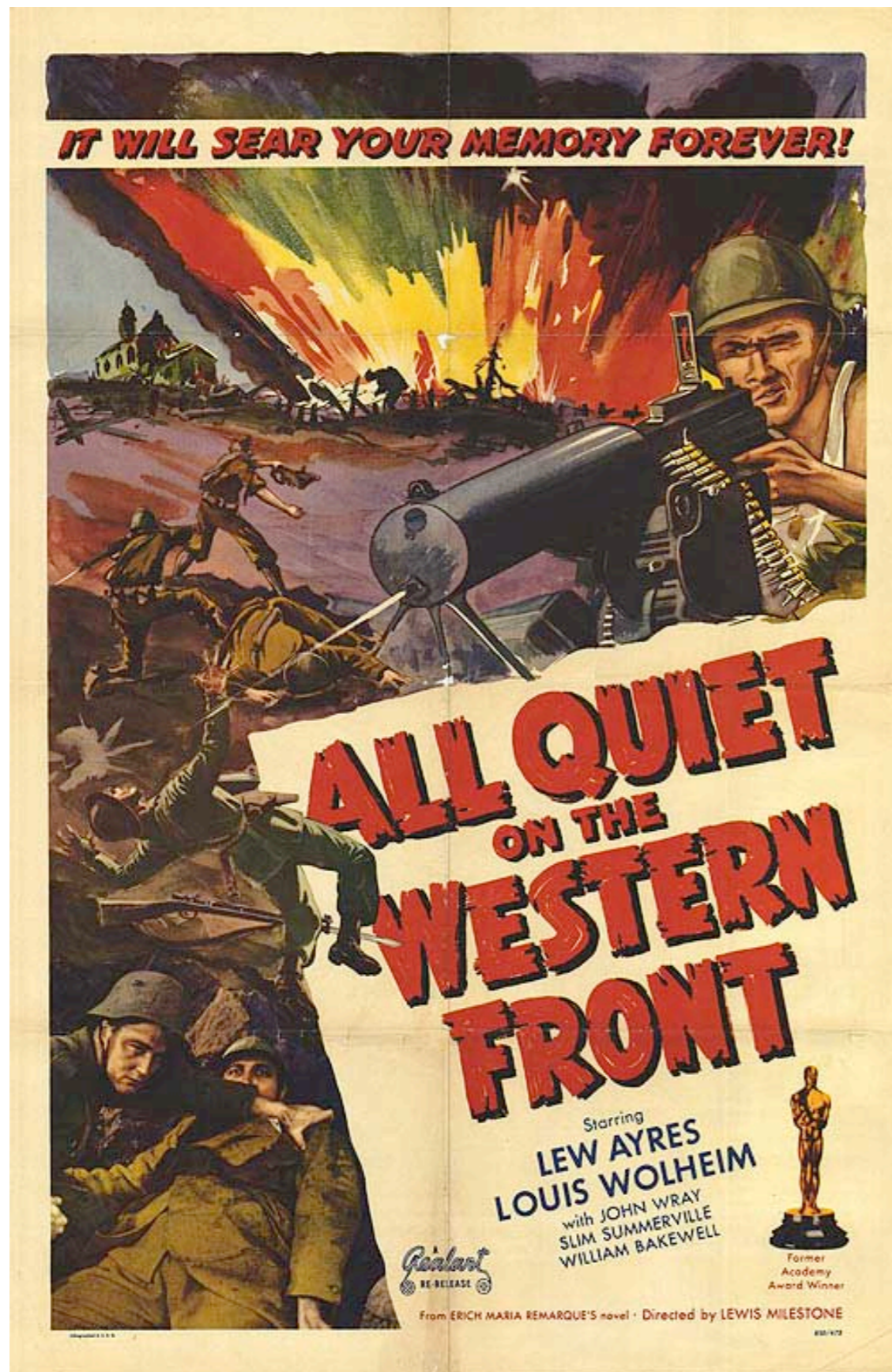
Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori - "The Great Lie" (1917)

If in some smothering dreams you too could pace
Behind the wagon that we flung him in,
And watch the white eyes writhing in his face,
His hanging face, like a devil's sick of sin;
If you could hear, at every jolt, the blood
Come gargling from the froth-corrupted lungs,
Obscene as cancer, bitter as the cud
Of vile, incurable sores on innocent tongues, -
My friend, you would not tell with such high zest
To children ardent for some desperate glory,
The old lie: Dulce et decorum est Pro patria mori.

**W. Owen, “Dulce et decorum est
pro patria mori ” (1917)**



**John Singer Sargent,
“Gassed” (1918)**



Lewis Milestone, "All Quiet on the Western Front" (1930)

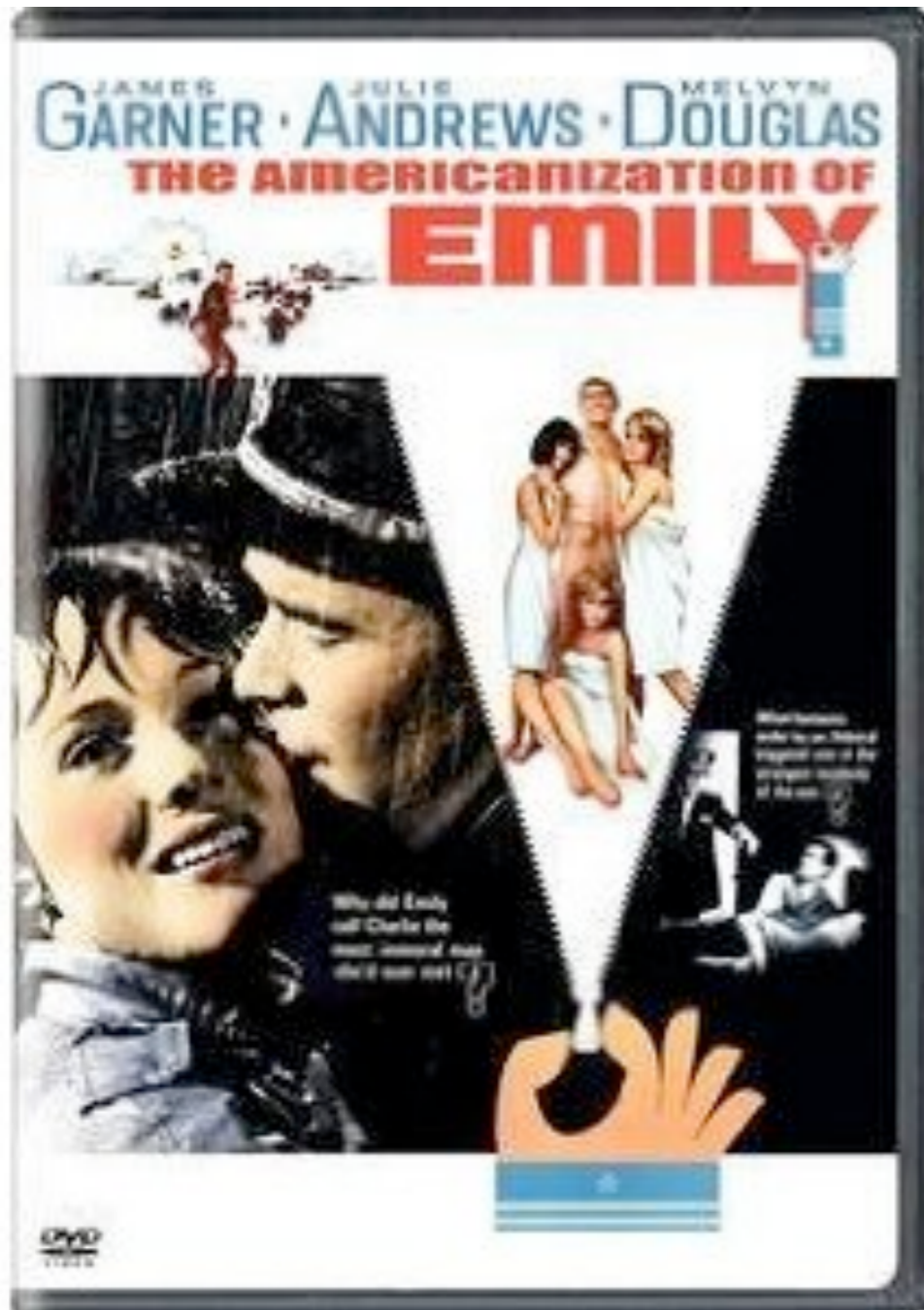
Lewis Milestone, "All Quiet on the Western Front" (1930)



Lewis Milestone, "All Quiet on the Western Front" (1930)



Challenge to Orthodoxy IIb: Is it sweet and fitting to die for the Fatherland?



Arthur Hiller, "The Americanization of Emily" (1964)

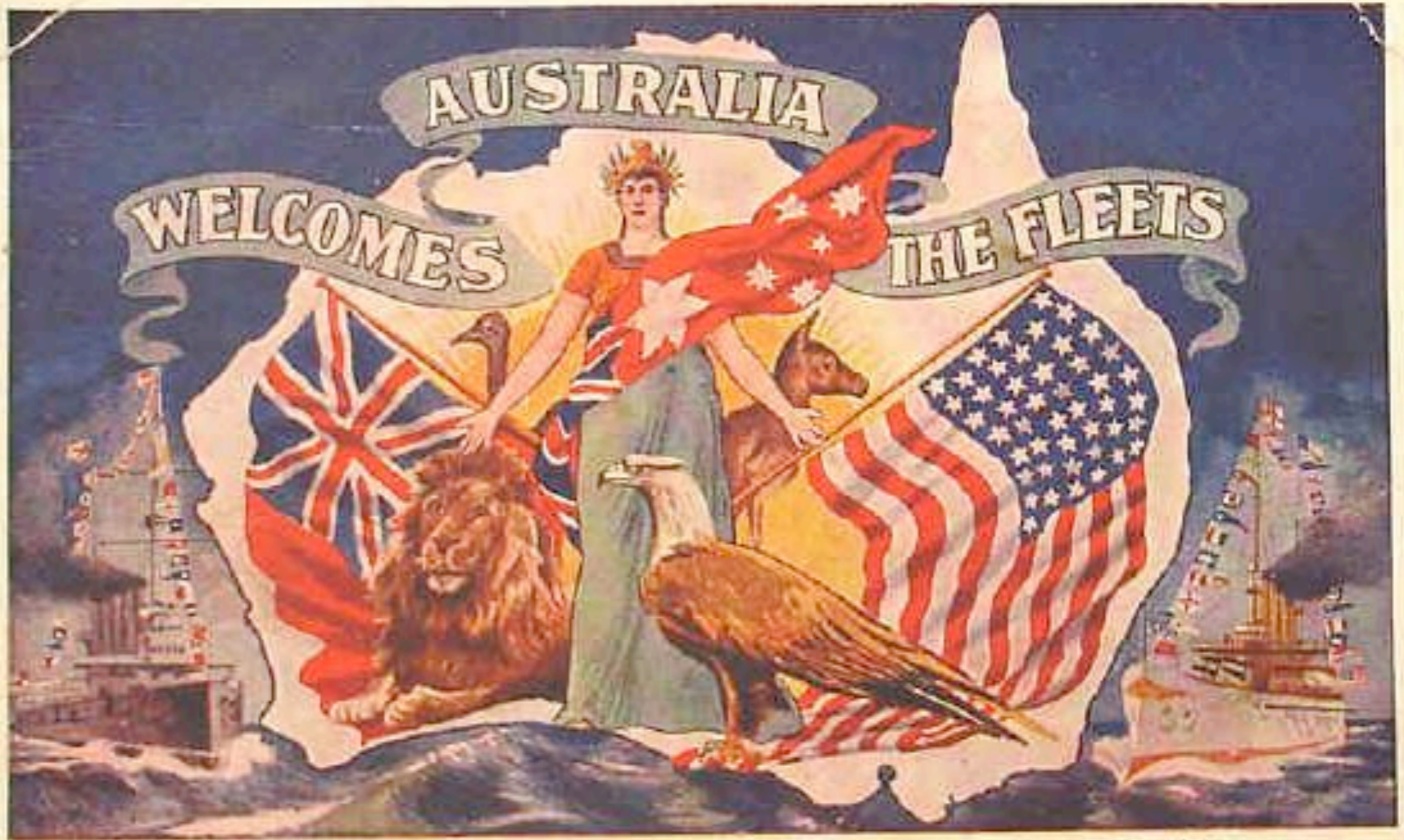
Arthur Hiller, “The Americanization of Emily” (1964)



Arthur Hiller, "The Americanization of Emily" (1964)



The Great White Fleet (1907-09)



WITH COMPLIMENTS—From TYE & CO. PROP. LTD., House Furnishers.
OUR ADDRESSES ARE:—
100-108 Bourke Street, MELBOURNE. 320-326 Chapel Street, PRAHRAN. 81-83 Swan Street, RICHMOND.
237-243 Smith Street, FITZROY. 405-407 Sydney Road, BRUNSWICK. 225-232 Clarendon Street, SOUTH MELBOURNE.

Australia greets the Great White Fleet



May Day Parade in Moscow I: Soldiers (1980s)



May Day Parade in Moscow II: Ballistic Missiles (1980s)



Memorial Day in the Indianapolis suburbs (2009)

Hail to the Chief we have chosen for the nation,
Hail to the Chief! We salute him, one and all.
Hail to the Chief, as we pledge cooperation
In proud fulfillment of a great, noble call.

Yours is the aim to make this grand country grander,
This you will do, that's our strong, firm belief.
Hail to the one we selected as commander,
Hail to the President! Hail to the Chief!

**Presidential March, "Hail to the Chief"
(Albert Gamse, James Sanderson)
(Andrew Jackson, 1829)**

CHORUS

Hail to the Chief

LADY OF THE LAKE,

Composed by M^r. Sanderson,
NEW YORK Published by W^m. DUBOIS.

Second Voice
First Voice
Bass Voice

Hail! Hail! Hail to the Chief who in Triumph advances
Hail! Hail! Hail to the Chief who in Triumph advances
Hail! Hail!

Honour'd and bless'd be the ever green Pine! long may the Tree in his banner that
Honour'd and bless'd be the ever green Pine! long may the Tree in his banner that

glances flourish, the shelter and grace of our line
glances flourish, the shelter and grace of our line

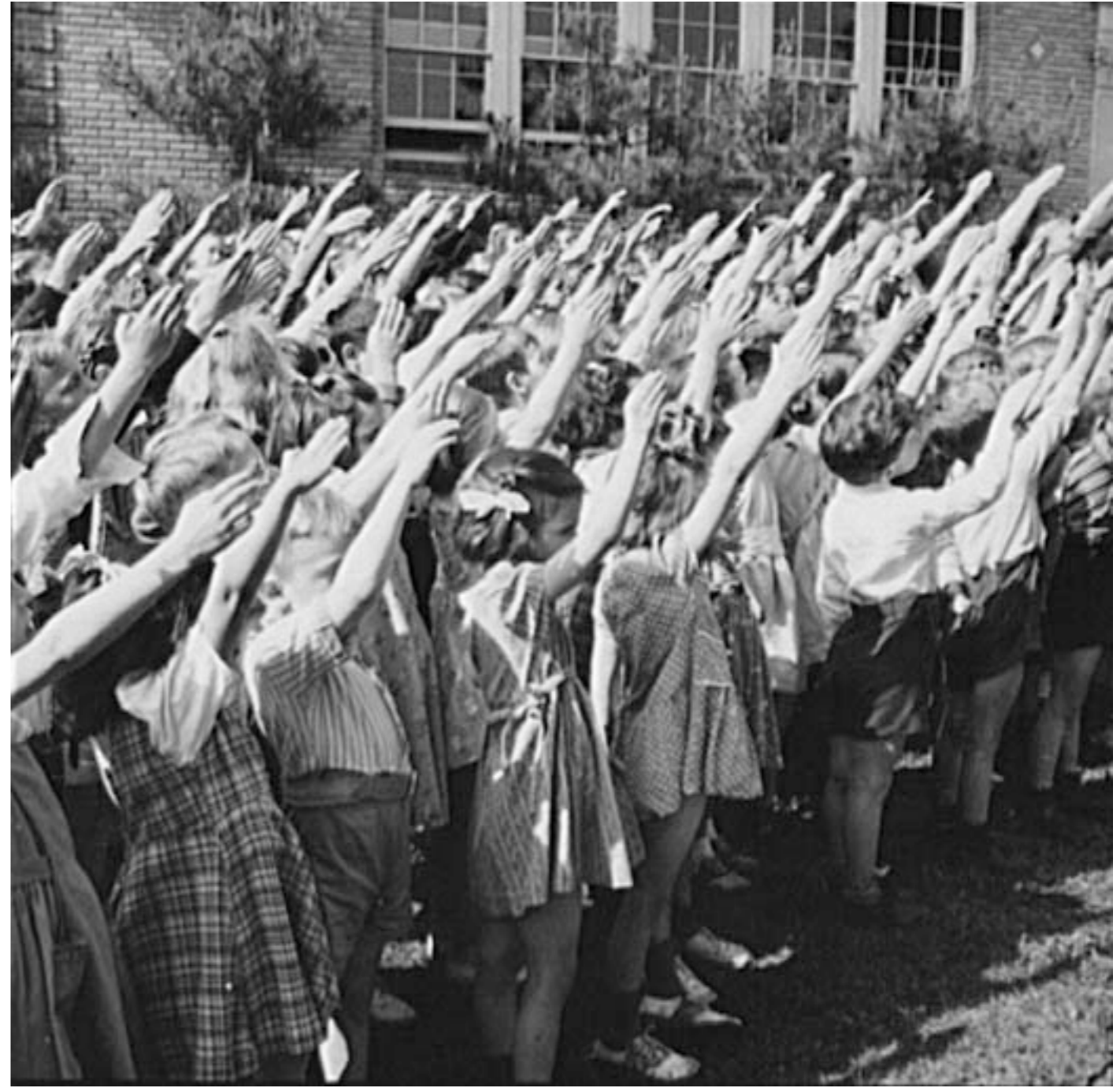
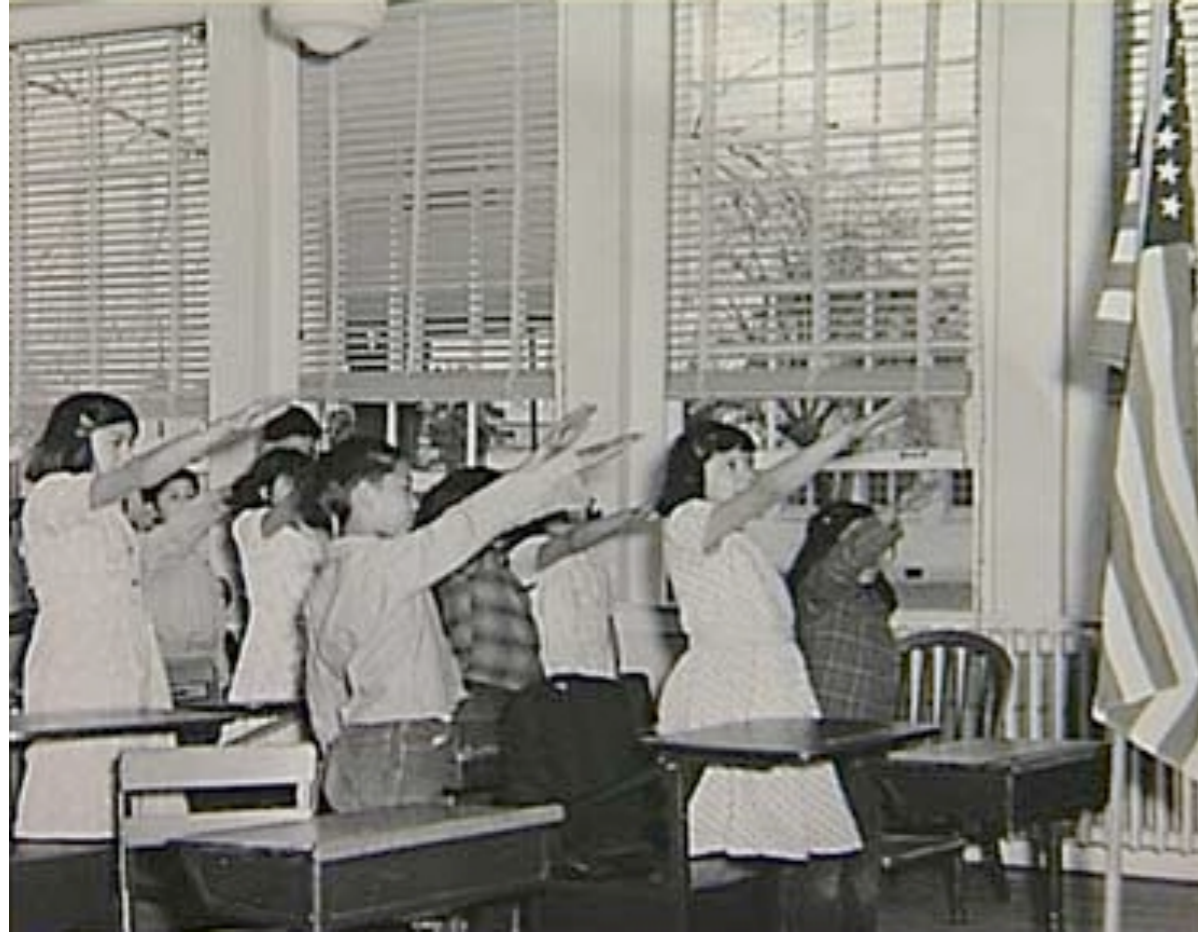
The image shows a page of sheet music for the chorus of the Presidential March "Hail to the Chief". At the top, it is titled "CHORUS" and "Hail to the Chief" in a decorative script. Below that, it says "LADY OF THE LAKE," in a decorative font. The composer is listed as "Composed by M^r. Sanderson," and the publisher as "NEW YORK Published by W^m. DUBOIS." The music is arranged for three voices: Second Voice, First Voice, and Bass Voice, with piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "Hail! Hail! Hail to the Chief who in Triumph advances" for the first two voices, and "Hail! Hail!" for the bass voice. The piano part has lyrics: "Honour'd and bless'd be the ever green Pine! long may the Tree in his banner that" and "glances flourish, the shelter and grace of our line".

God save our gracious Queen,
Long live our noble Queen,
God save the Queen:
Send her victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us:
God save the Queen.

**O Lord, our God, arise,
Scatter her enemies,
And make them fall.
Confound their politics,
Frustrate their knavish tricks,
On Thee our hopes we fix,
God save us all.**

Thy choicest gifts in store,
On her be pleased to pour;
Long may she reign:
May she defend our laws,
And ever give us cause
To sing with heart and voice
God save the Queen

**National Anthem of the United Kingdom &
Royal Anthem of Australia**



The “Bellamy Salute” for the American Pledge of Allegiance (pre-1942)

1892

"I pledge allegiance to my flag
and the republic for which it
stands: one nation indivisible with
liberty and justice for all."

1892 to 1923

"I pledge allegiance to my flag
and *to* the republic for which it
stands: one nation indivisible with
liberty and justice for all."

1923 to 1924

"I pledge allegiance to *the* flag *of*
the United States and to the
republic for which it stands: one
nation indivisible with liberty and
justice for all."

1924 to 1954

"I pledge allegiance to the flag of
the United States *of America*,
and to the republic for which it
stands; one nation indivisible with
liberty and justice for all."

1954 to Present

"I pledge allegiance to the flag of
the United States of America, and
to the republic for which it stands,
one nation *under God*,
indivisible, with liberty and justice
for all."

"Ich schwöre bei Gott diesen
heiligen Eid, daß ich dem Führer
des Deutschen Reiches und
Volkes Adolf Hitler, dem
Oberbefehlshaber der
Wehrmacht, unbedingten
Gehorsam leisten und als tapferer
Soldat bereit sein will, jederzeit
für diesen Eid mein Leben
einzusetzen."

"I swear by God this sacred oath
that to the Leader of the German
state and people, Adolf Hitler,
supreme commander of the
armed forces, I shall render
unconditional obedience and that
as a brave soldier I shall at all
times be prepared to give my life
for this oath."

**Wehrmacht Oath of Loyalty to
Hitler (1934)**



Challenge to Orthodoxy III:
How do we disrupt the official drumbeat
to obey & conform to authority?



Volker Schlöndorff, *The Tin Drum*, (1979)

Volker Schlöndorff, *The Tin Drum* (1979)



It'll be done in 20 minutes.
- Want a bite to eat before you go?

Volker Schlöndorff, *The Tin Drum*, (1979)