

**“MARCHING TO THE BEAT OF A
DIFFERENT DRUMMER”:
THE CULTURE OF LIBERTY VS.
THE CULTURE OF OBEDIENCE**

**IHS “Liberty and Society” Summer
Seminars 2012**

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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”
 - the problem of the “willing slave”
- what makes some people challenge or reject authority?
 - “the culture of liberty”
 - are rebels “born or made”?
- 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?





U.S. Marine Corps recruiting video [1 min 32]



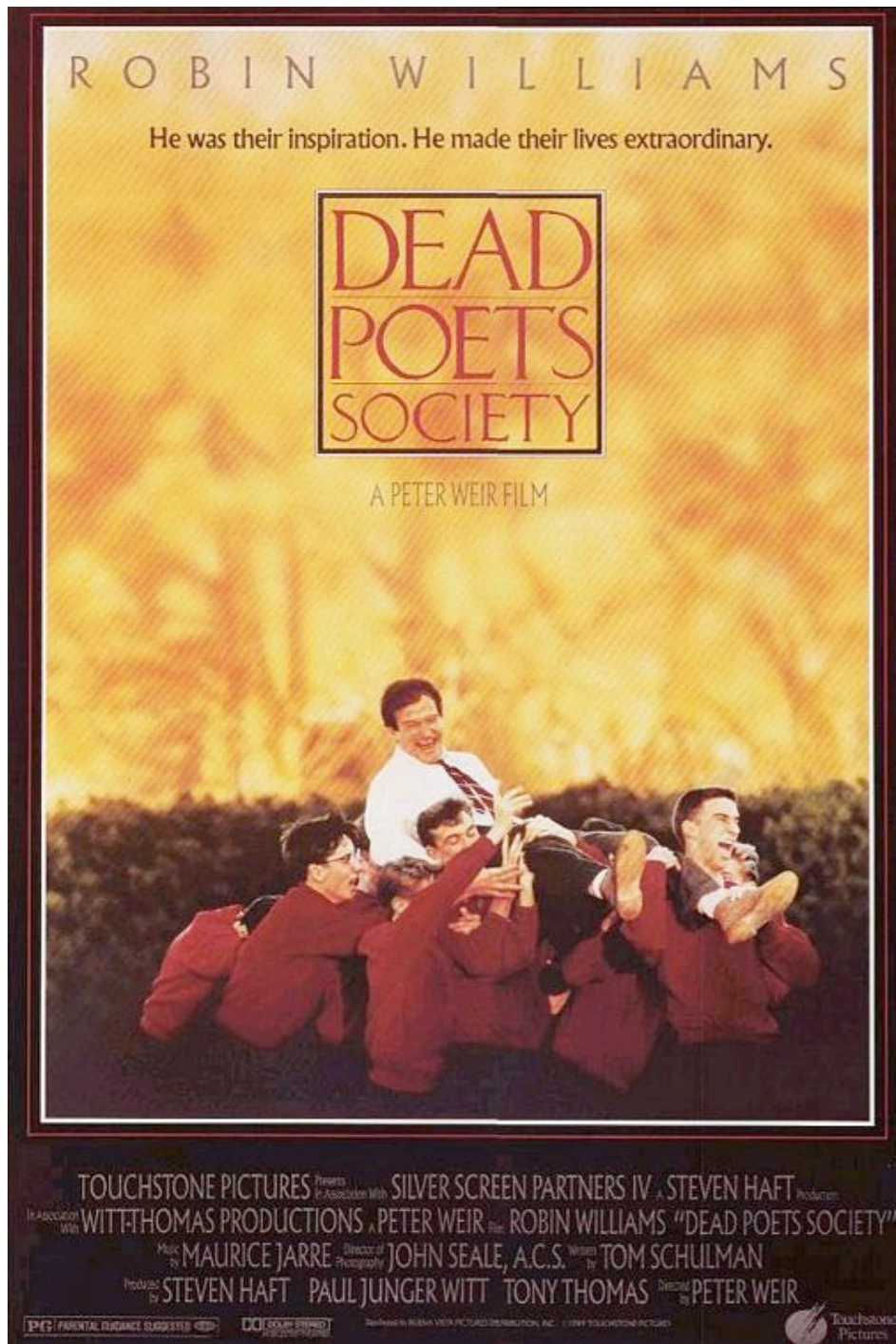
Challenge to Authority: Why should People March to the Beat of the Official Drummer?

[Muntadhar al-Zaidi, an Iraqi broadcast journalist, threw his shoes at President George W. Bush during a press conference in Baghdad on December 14, 2008 to express his opposition to the war in Iraq.]



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)
[2 mins 15]



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



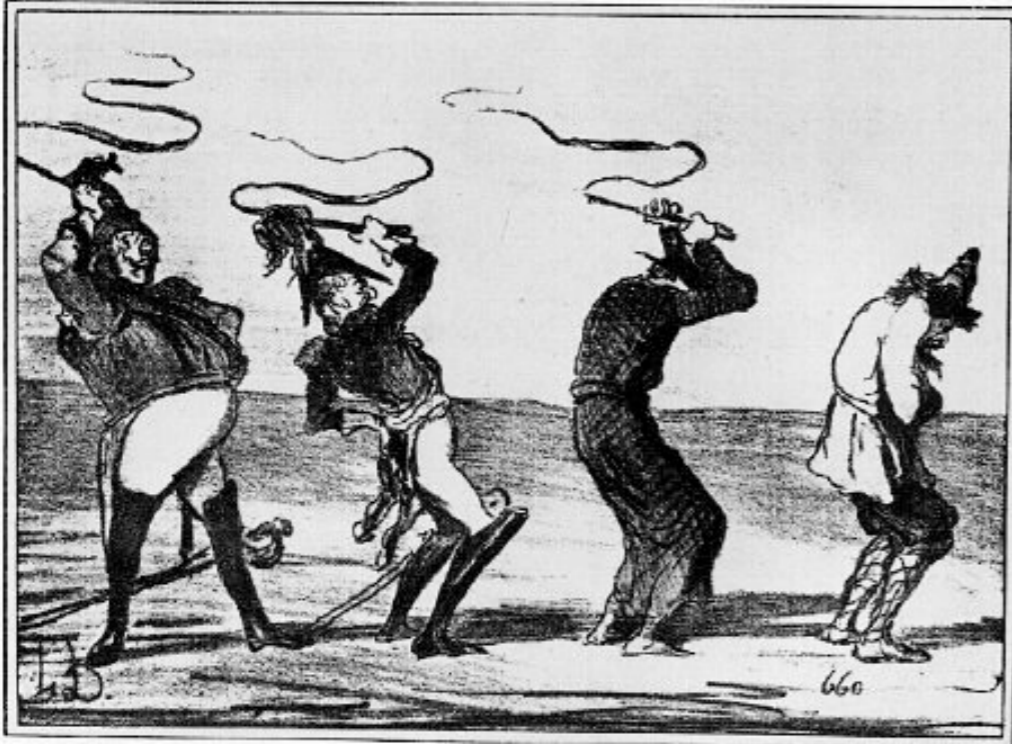
Libertas Americana Medal



All rulers have similar aims.

They need:

- to get power & to retain power
- to be able to “extract” resources from citizens (i.e. taxation)
- to exercise a monopoly of the use of force
- to be considered the legitimate power
- to keep opponents and dissidents under control
- to have compliant and obedient citizens and taxpayers (who will “obey and pay”)
- to be loved (or feared) by their subjects



The Army Hierarchy.

Why don't rulers just use their monopoly of the use of force to compel compliance?

- number of taxpaying & law abiding citizens vastly outnumber the number of soldiers and policemen
- force alone is not sufficient to ensure compliance & obedience
- all rulers depend upon the voluntary obedience of the ruled
- Etienne de la Boétie, *Discourse of Voluntary Servitude* (1576)



[Etienne de la Boétie (1530-1563)]



Revolutions occur when enough people withdraw their voluntary compliance with existing authority & transfer it to another authority

- most recent example is the “Arab Spring” of February/March 2011 in Tunisia, Egypt
- collapse of Soviet Union 1991 - rulers lost confidence to rule; the ruled lost belief in their legitimacy to rule



Library and Archives Canada / Bibliothèque et Archives Canada
www.collectionscanada.gc.ca



Given the **insufficiency of force alone**, all Rulers have to persuade the people that their rule is:

- inevitable
- necessary &
- just
- in other words that it is “legitimate”

Over hundreds of years Rulers have resorted to **similar strategies to encourage voluntary compliance** on the part of the Ruled



Strategies to encourage voluntary compliance:

- **civic rituals** to get public support - “pomp & ceremony” of inaugurations, coronations, weddings
- public **national holidays** to commemorate founding of the nation/state, important wars, birthdays of leaders
- to erect **statues and monuments** in public spaces to honour the rulers, past wars
- to show **rulers in a flattering light** - official portraits, heads of coins, flattering & sycophantic media
- writing of **national history** to glorify the nation state, its leaders, & its wars - idea of national “**exceptionalism**”
- to create a **uniform “national culture”** to reduce costs of ruling - conscription into army, compulsory public education



The sum of all these strategies is what I call the “**Culture of Authority**” or the “**Culture of Obedience**”



Our task:

- to understand this “culture of authority/obedience” & what its purpose is
- to challenge the claims of the Ruler that their rule is “inevitable, necessary, & just”
- to strip away cloak of “legitimacy” & show that “the emperor has no clothes”
- “god, king, & country” have historically been the key pillars of this ideology or culture of political authority
- these ideological pillars go back hundreds of years & have been modified & adapted by modern Rulers to suit their own purposes

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



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

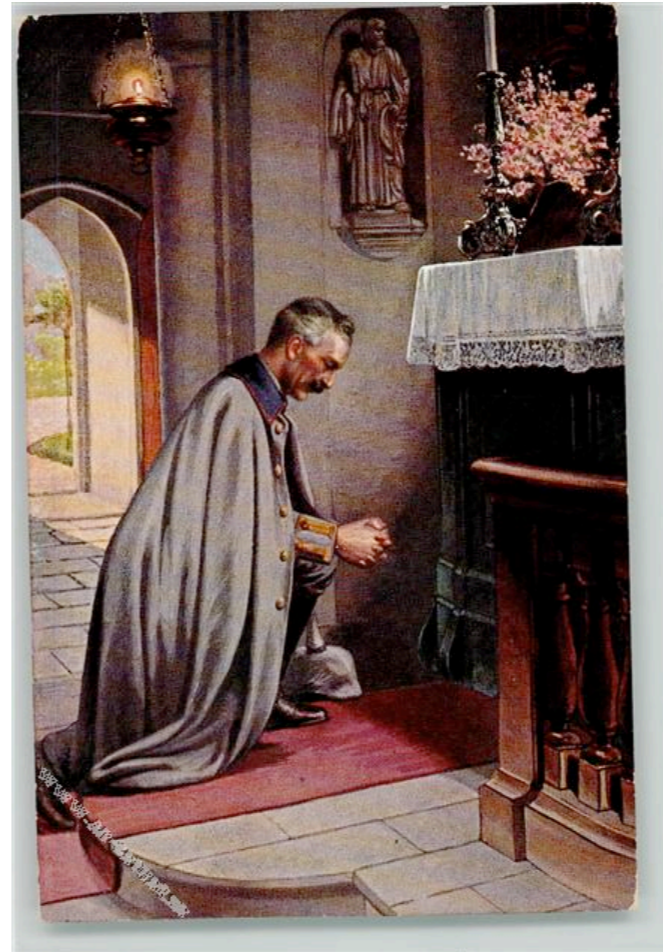
- King, Emperor, President

Altar

- God, established Church



The Culture of Authority: “Altar” (God)





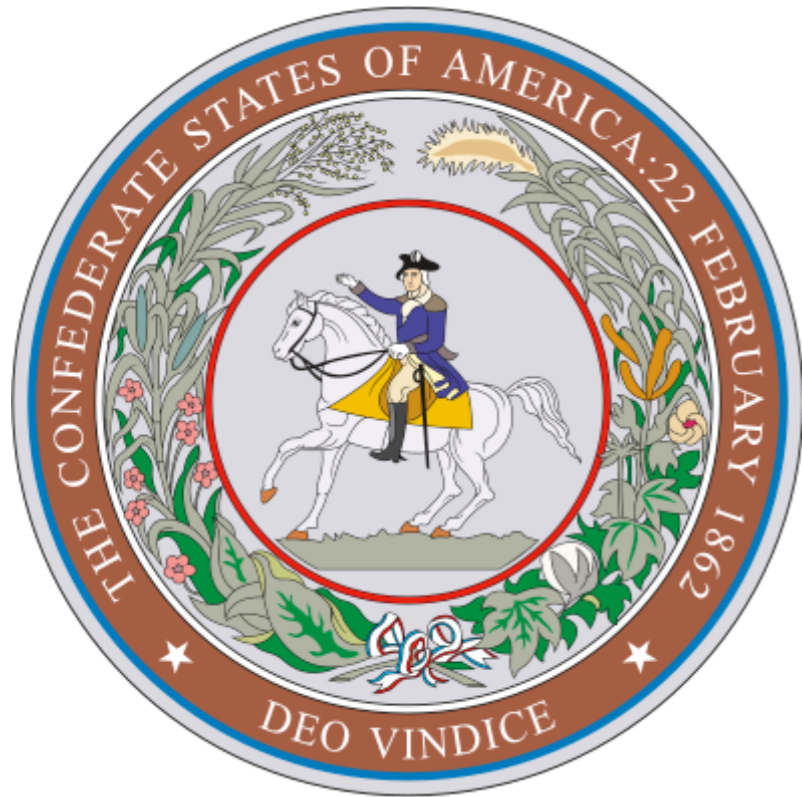
German Soldier's Belt Buckle "Gott mit Uns" (1939)

The Culture of Obedience to Authority: God (Altar)



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

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)

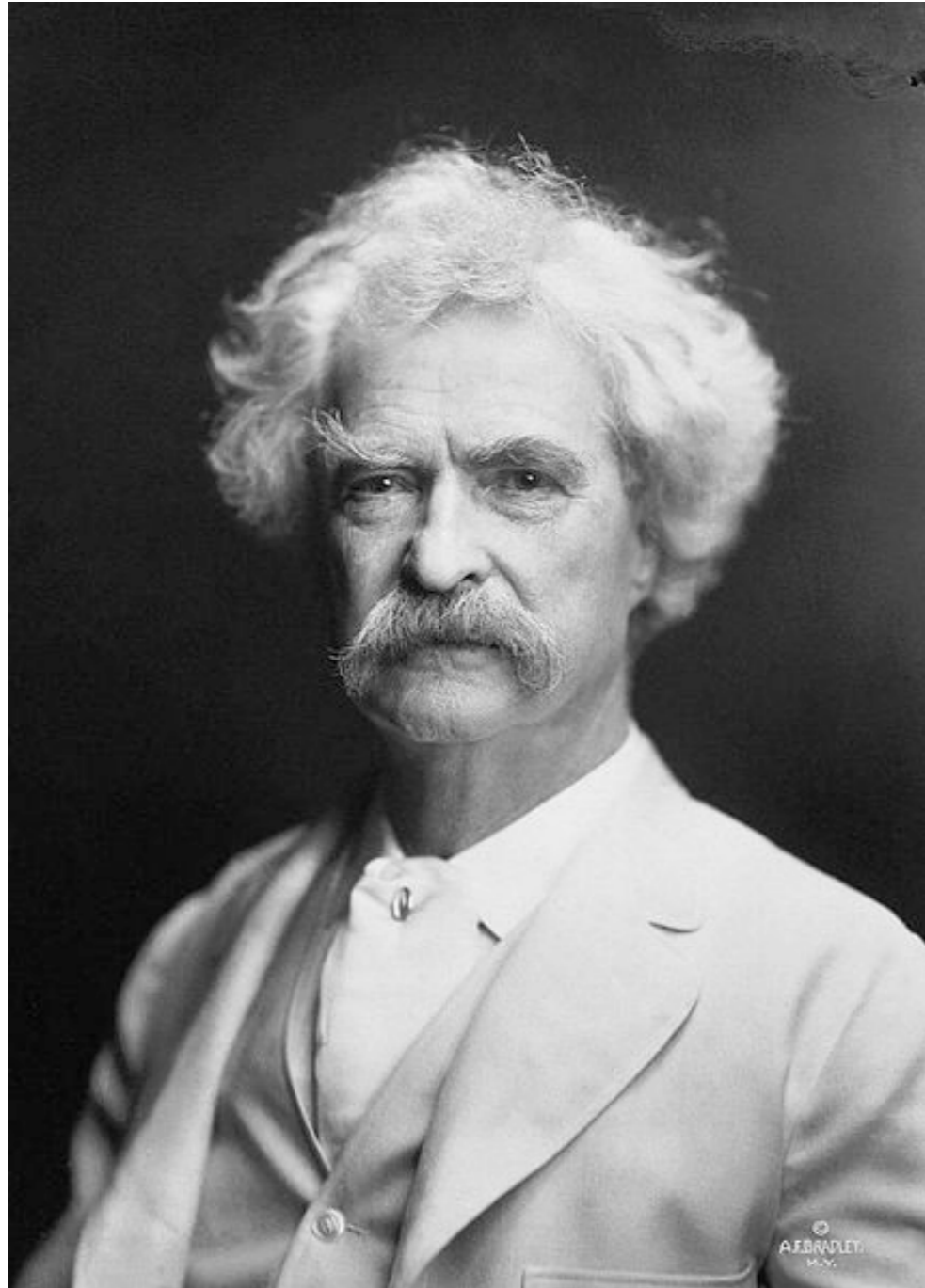


“God Bless America” (Indianapolis, Memorial Day 2009)

The Culture of Obedience to Authority: God (Altar)



Challenge to Authority: Is God on our side?



When you have prayed for victory you have prayed for many unmentioned results which follow victory – must follow it, cannot help but follow it...

O Lord our God, help us to tear their soldiers to bloody shreds with our shells; help us to cover their smiling fields with the pale forms of their patriot dead; help us to drown the thunder of the guns with the shrieks of their wounded, writhing in pain; help us to lay waste their humble homes with a hurricane of fire; help us to wring the hearts of their unoffending widows with unavailing grief; help us to turn them out roofless with their little children to wander unfriended the wastes of their desolated land in rags and hunger and thirst, sports of the sun flames of summer and the icy winds of winter, broken in spirit, worn with travail, imploring Thee for the refuge of the grave and denied it – for our sakes who adore Thee, Lord, blast their hopes, blight their lives, protract their bitter pilgrimage, make heavy their steps, water their way with their tears, stain the white snow with the blood of their wounded feet!

Mark Twain, “The War Prayer” (1904-5)

The Culture of Authority: Country





Nation, Fatherland, Heimat, la Patrie

- 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



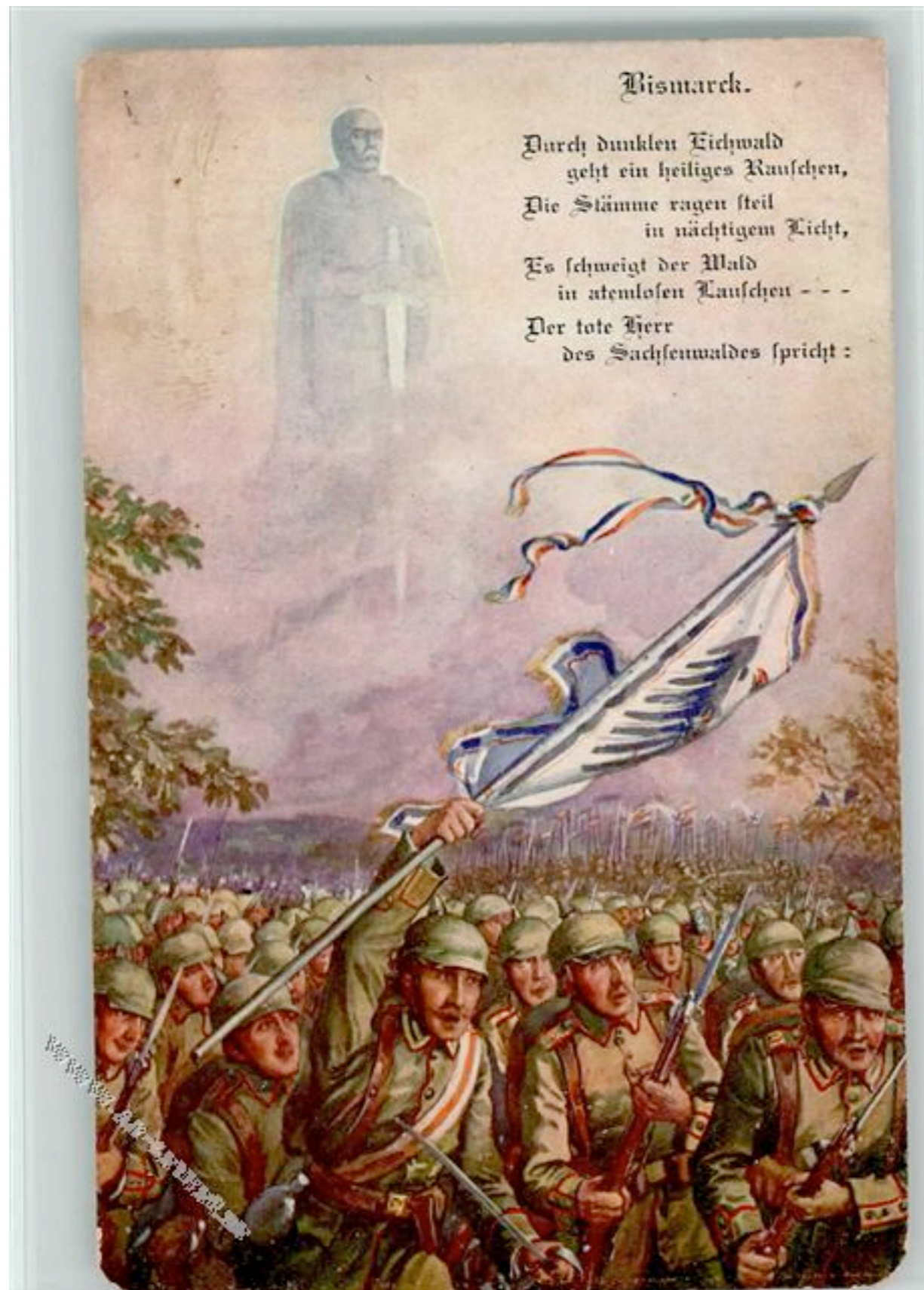


US Propaganda Poster by James Montgomery Flagg (1917)



Are YOU in this?

“War Socialism” - The Mobilization of all Classes



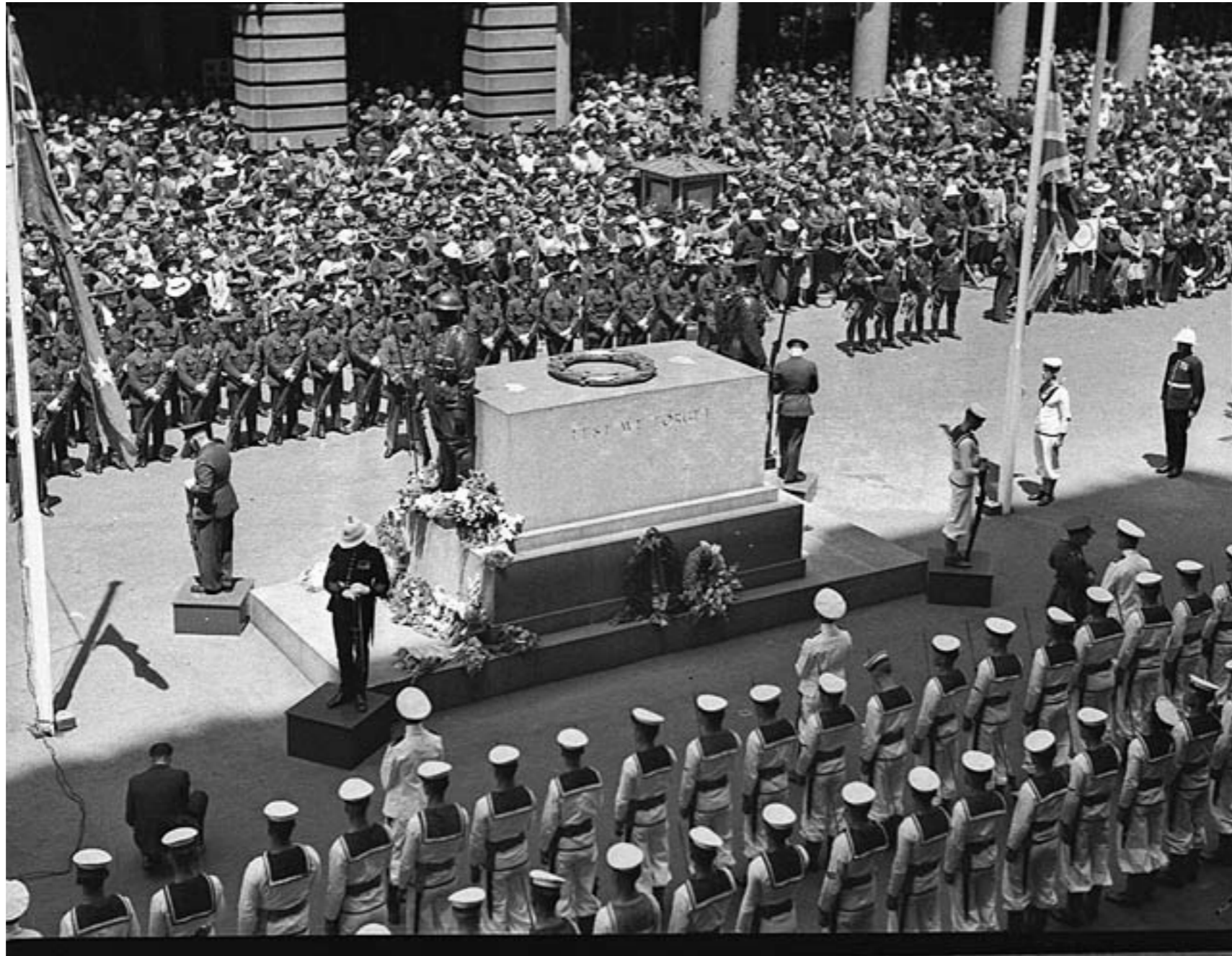
Dying for One's Country: WWI Postcard with Bismarck



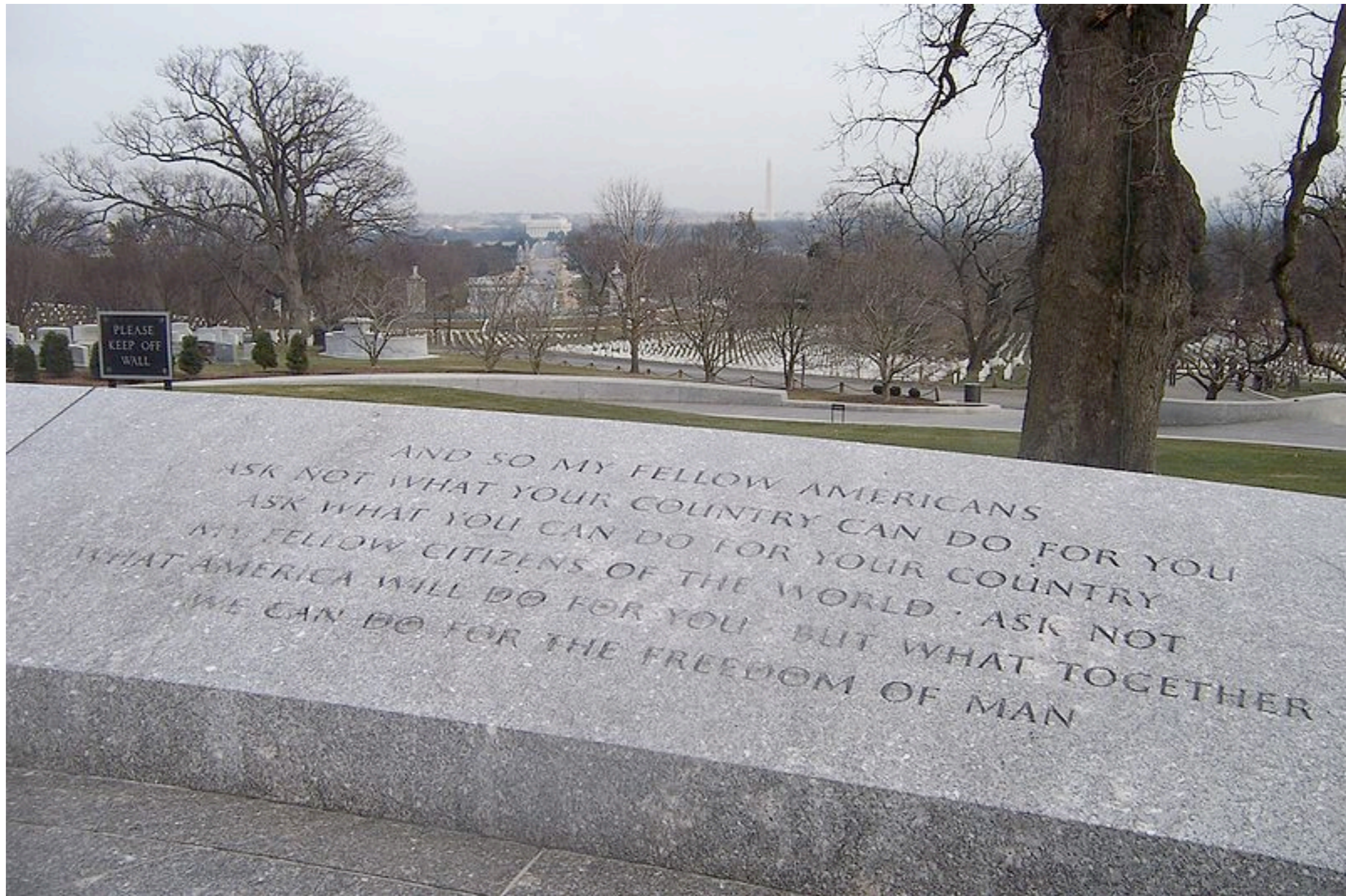
Dying for One's Country: Germanica & Fallen Heroes



Dying for One's Country: Cenotaph in London



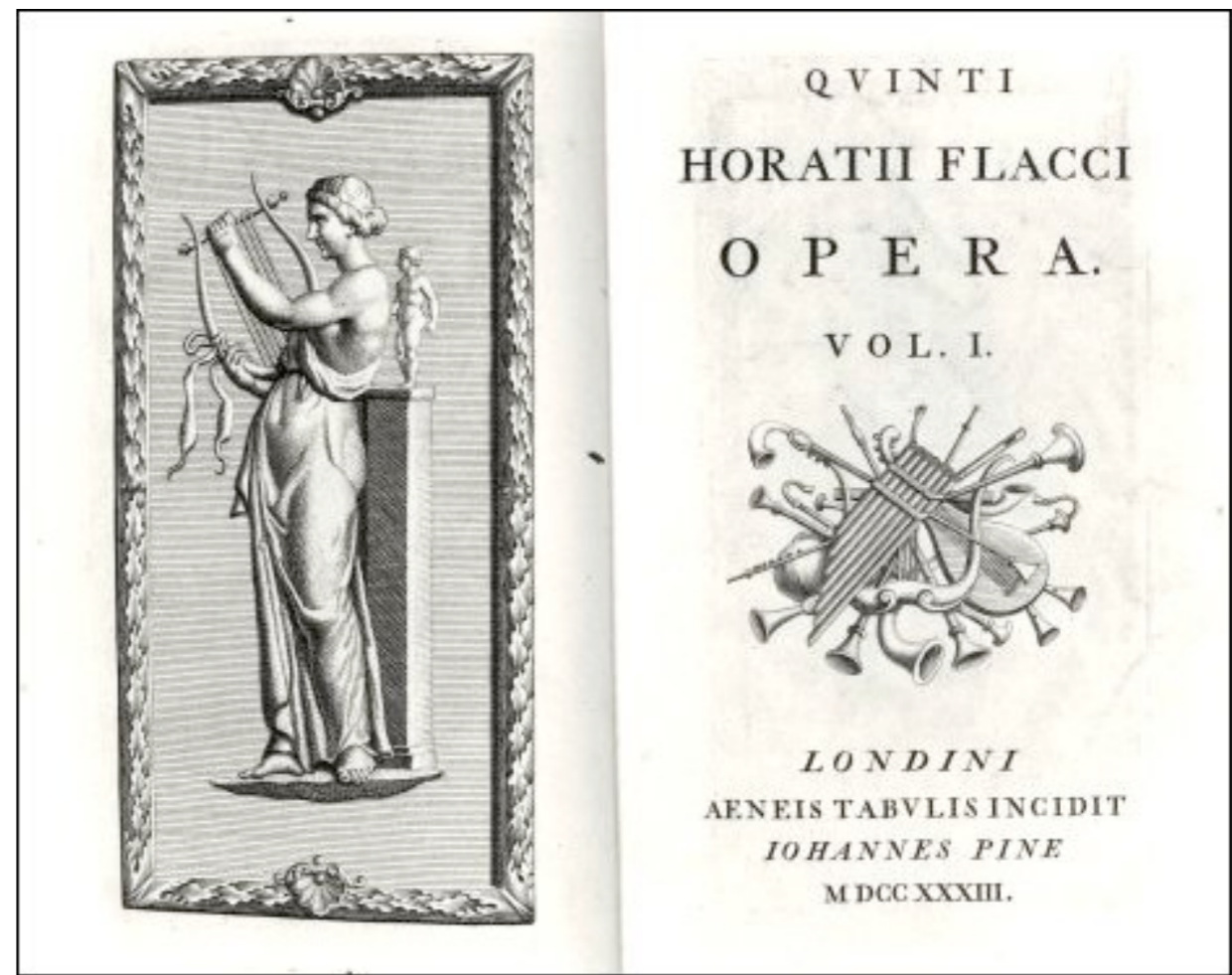
Dying for One's Country: Cenotaph in Sydney



Memorial to John F. Kennedy, Washington D.C.

Inauguration speech: “What you can do for your country” (1961)

“And so my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you. Ask what you can do for your country.” (1961)



“Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori”

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**



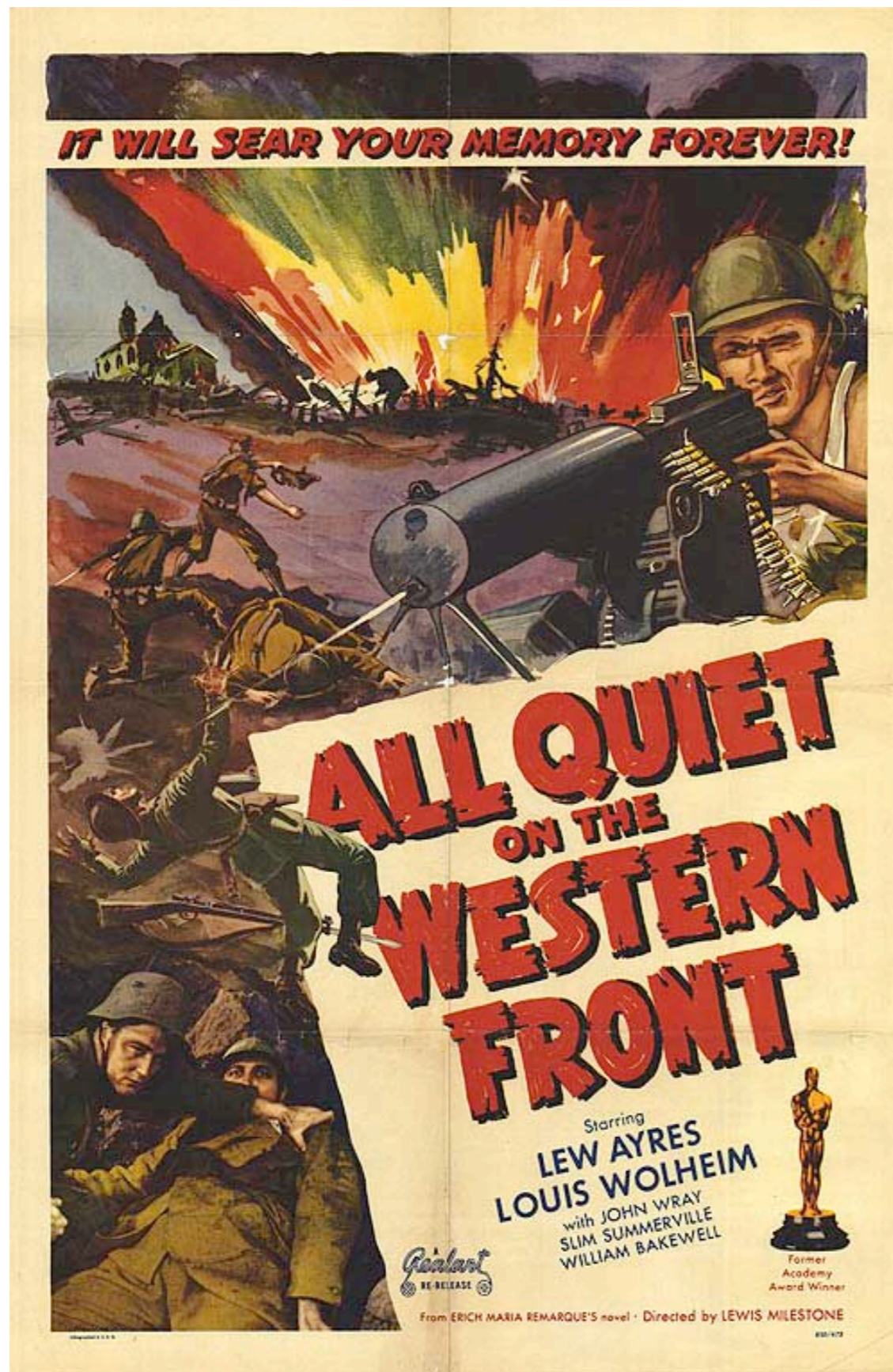
Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori - "The Great Lie" (1917)

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)



Dying for One's Country: Arlington Memorial Amphitheatre



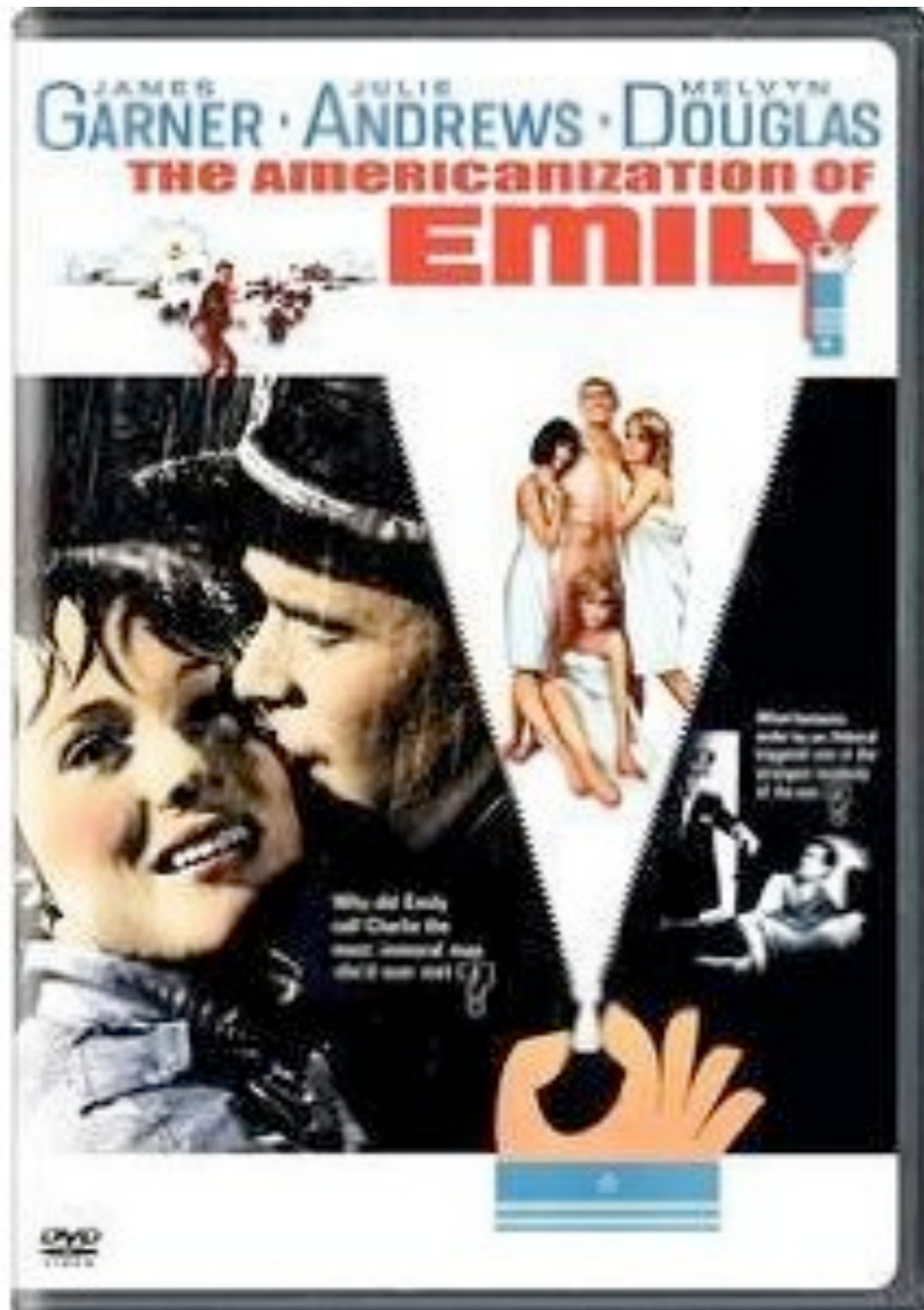
Dying for One's Country: Vietnam Veterans Memorial



Dying for One's Country: Vietnam Veterans Memorial



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



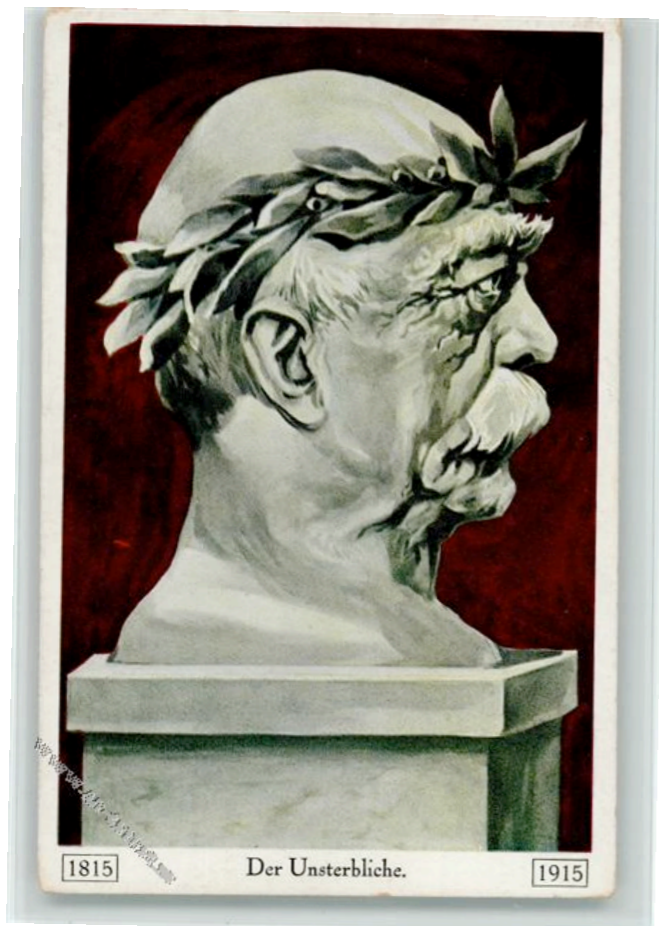
**Arthur Hiller, "The Americanization of Emily" (1964)
[7 mins 10]**



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

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





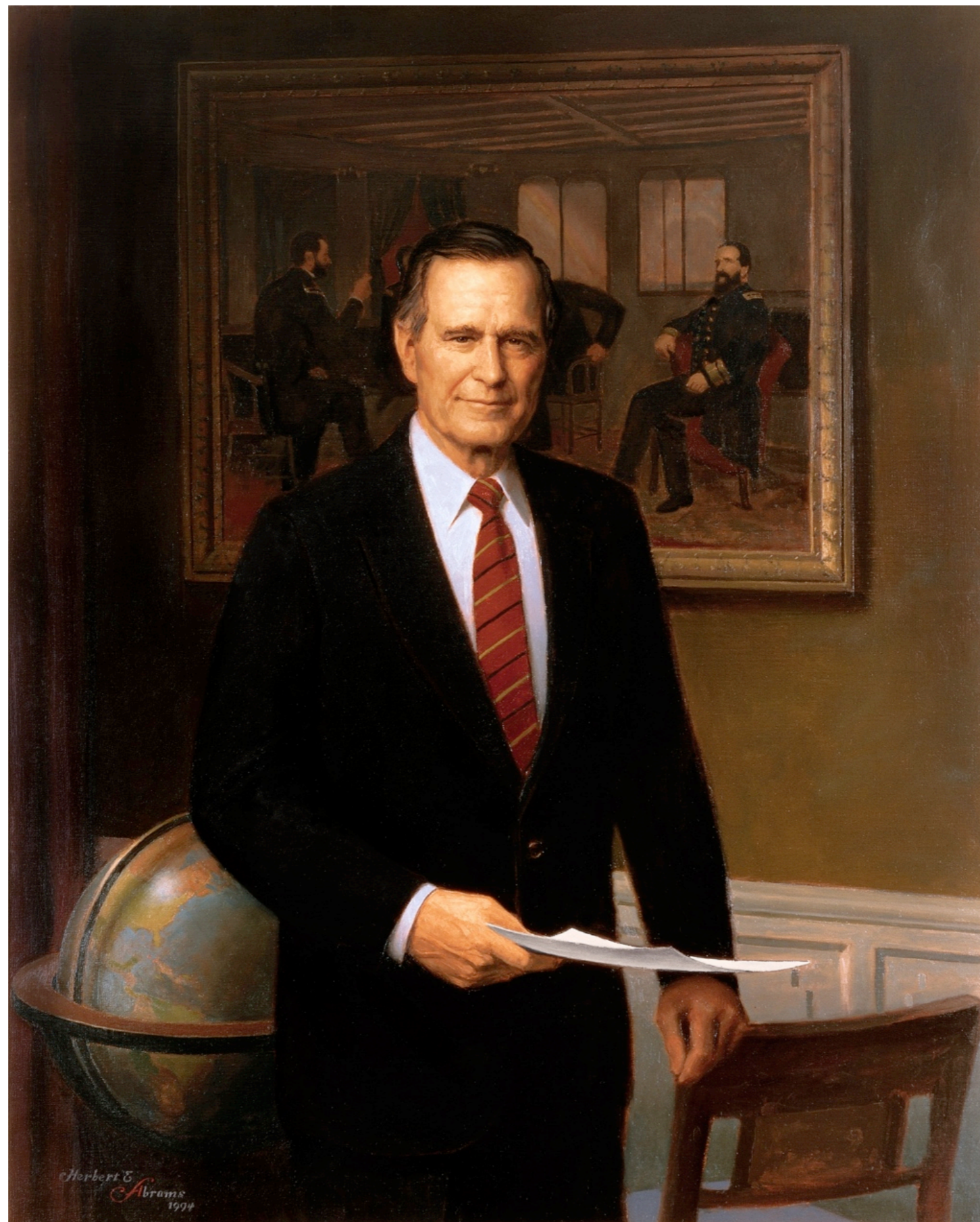
Hyacinthe Rigaud, Louis XIV (1701)



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



Official Portrait: George Washington



Official Portrait: G.H.W. Bush



**Official photo of Pres. Barack
Obama's 1st day in office**

Coronations and Inaugurations



François Gerard, Napoleon in Coronation Robes (1804)



The crowned Queen Elizabeth II

The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II (1952)



The Inauguration of Barak Obama (January 2009)



The River Thames Diamond Jubilee Pageant (3 June, 2012)



Diamond Jubilee Crowds

We, Your Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, the House of Commons of Canada in Parliament assembled, beg to offer our sincere congratulations on the happy completion of the sixtieth year of Your reign.

In this, the Diamond Jubilee year of your reign as Queen of Canada, we trust that Your gracious and peaceful reign may continue for many years and that Divine Providence will preserve Your Majesty in health, in happiness and in the affectionate loyalty of Your people.

[Parliament of Canada (2012), O'Malley, Kady, ed., "To The Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, with love from Her Canadian parliamentarians...", CBC.]



Diamond Jubilee (60th) Anniversary of the Reign of QE2

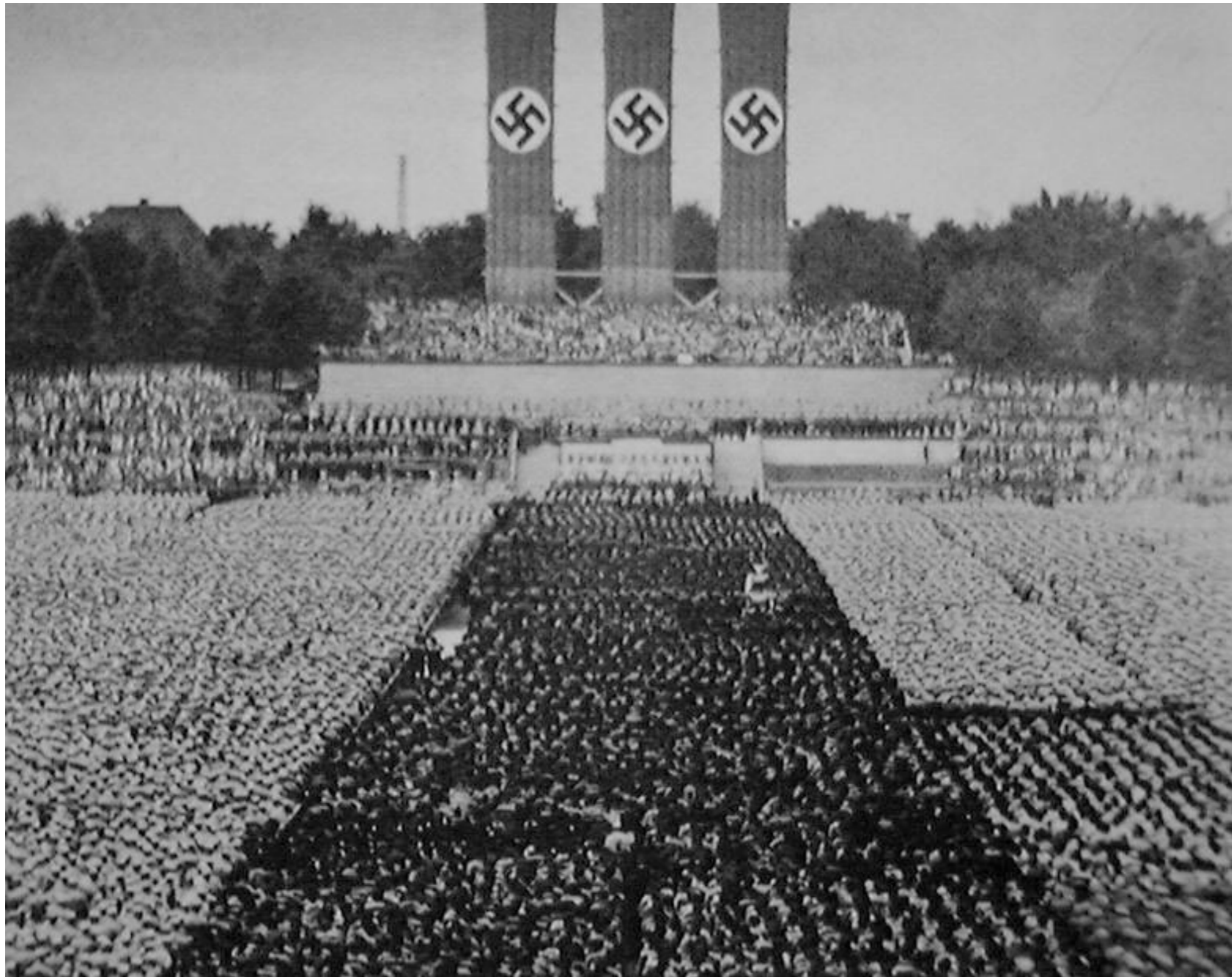


Diamond Jubilee "Memorabilia" (Kitsch)



The British Bulldog and the Royal Corgi

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)

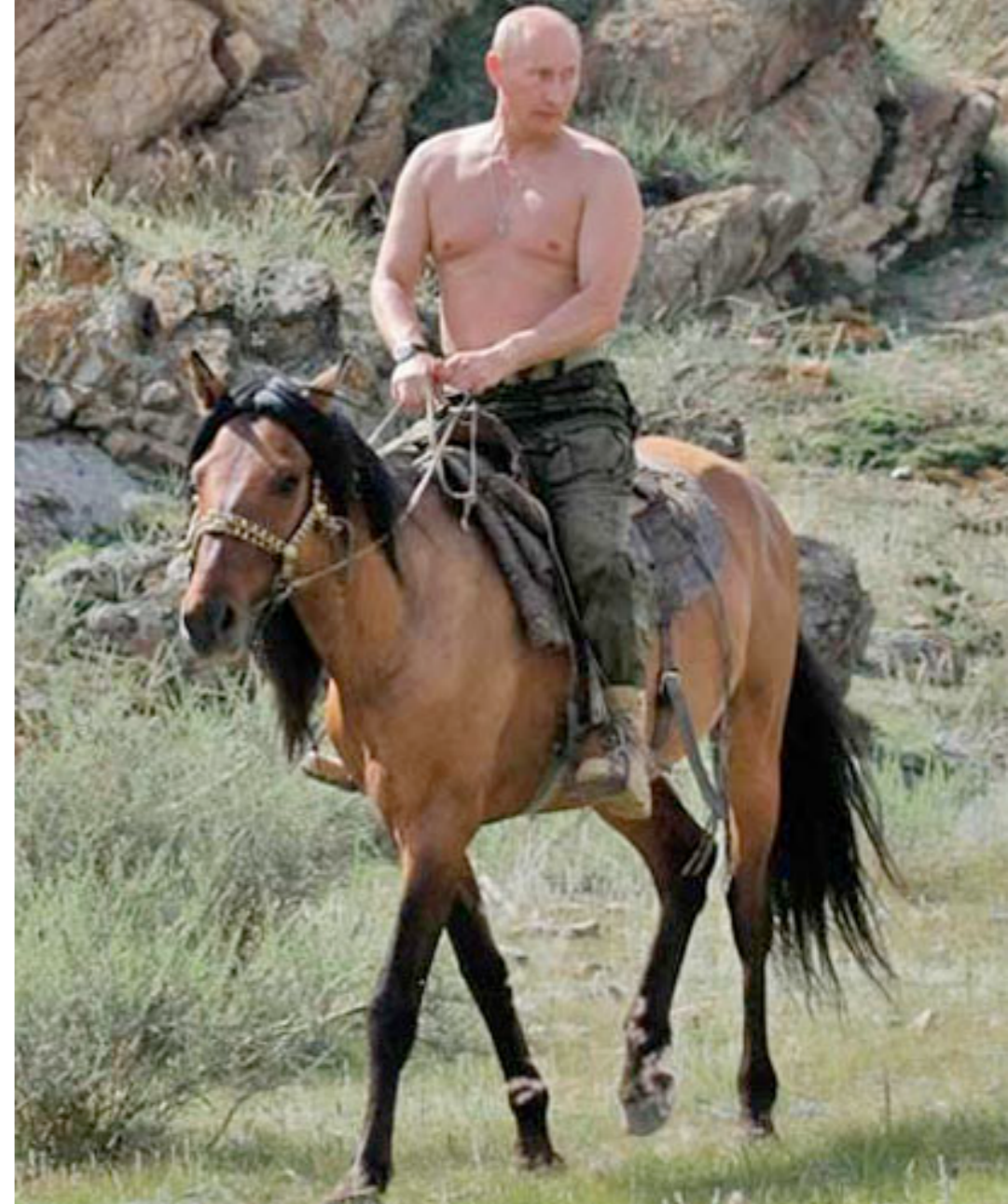
Rulers in Military Uniform or on Horseback



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



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



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

Oaths & Anthems to the State/Leader

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

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!

CHORUS

Hail to the Chief
LADY OF THE LAKE,

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

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

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

Bass Voice
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

**Adulation of the Leader as the Chief or Commander of the
military (1829-2011)**



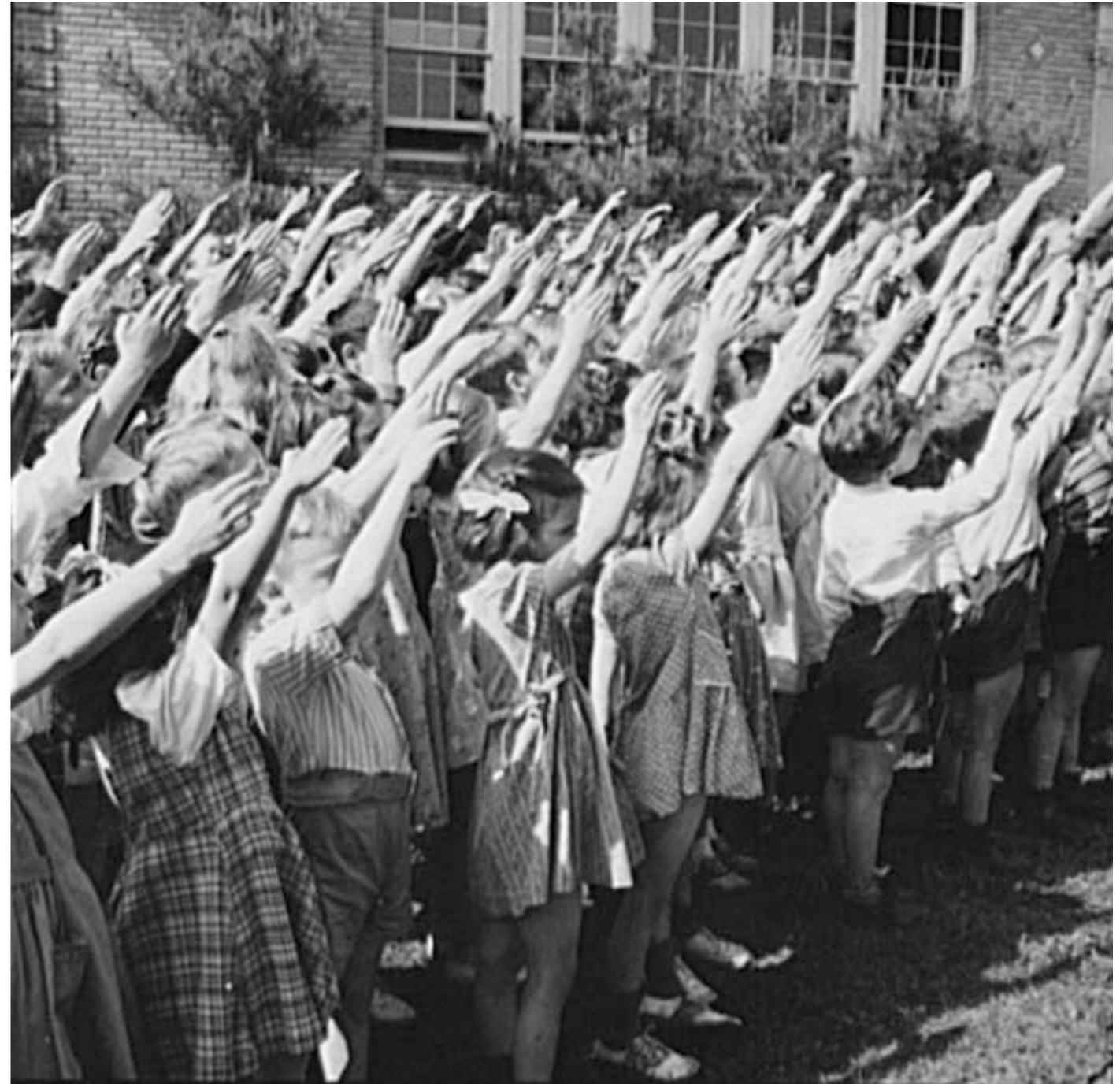
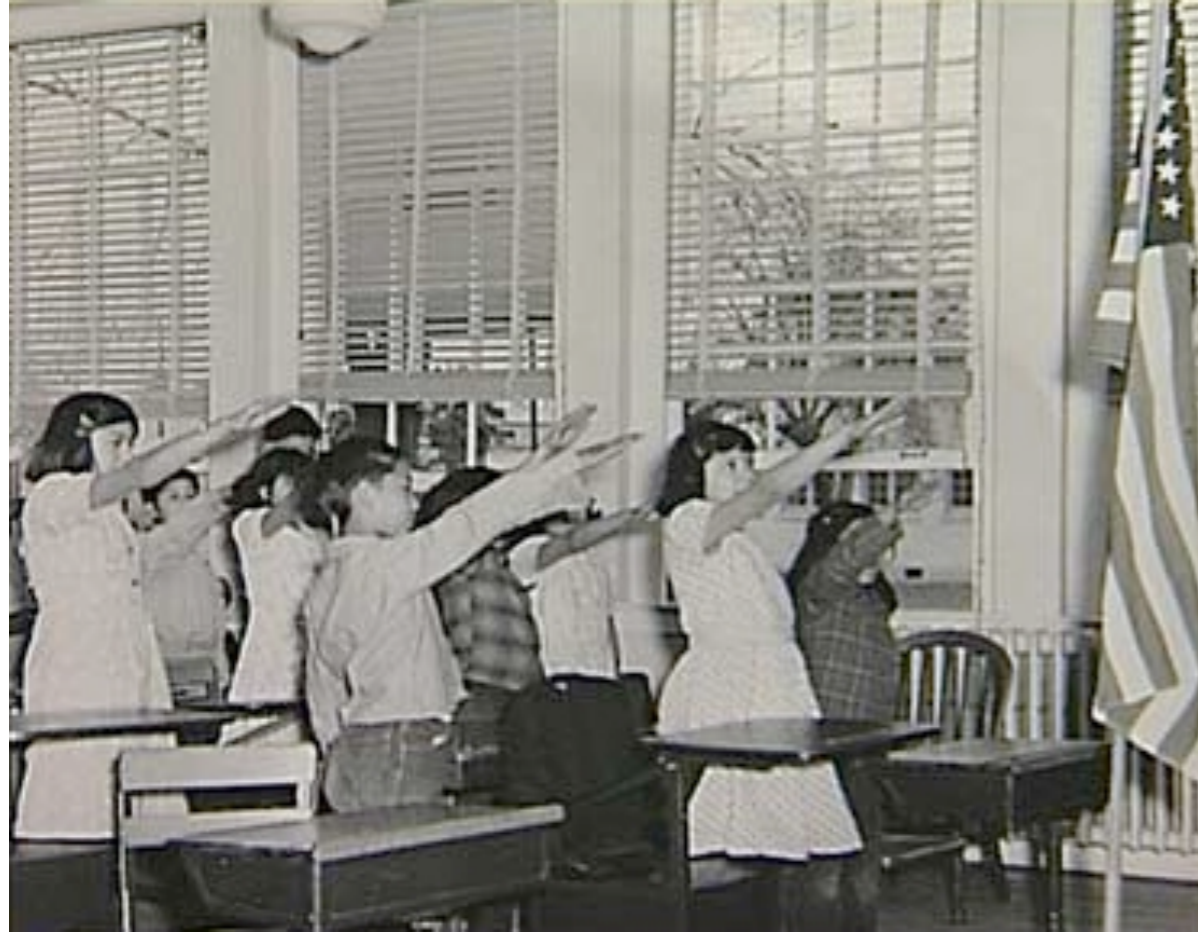
Queen Elizabeth II “Trooping the Colour” (1986)

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)**

Monumental Statuary



The Bismarck Memorial, Hamburg



The Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C.



Vladimir Lenin (location unknown)



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



**Challenge to Authority:
Mocking the Pomposity of our Rulers**



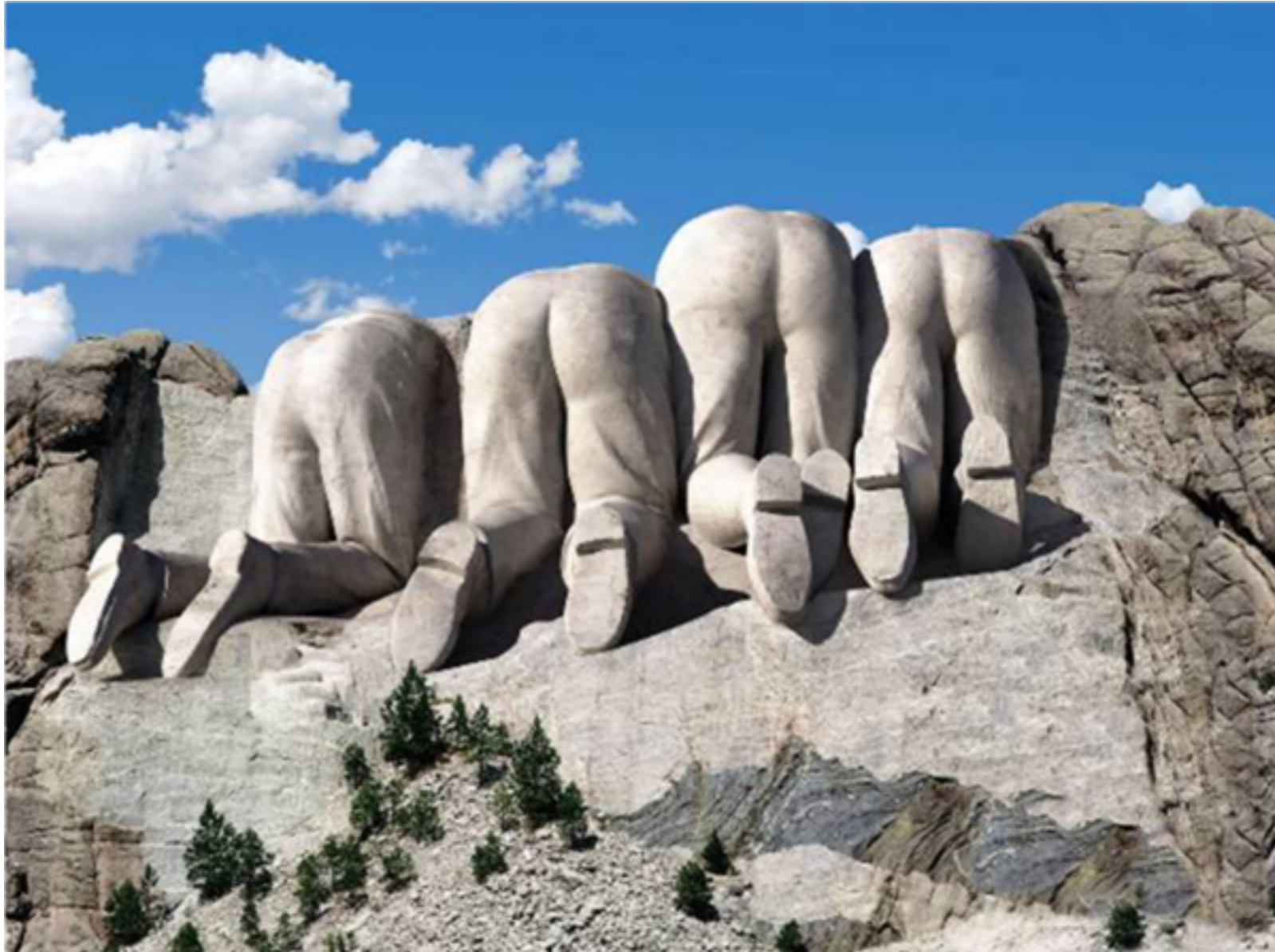
**Press photographer's photo of
Obama at a press conference**



Saint Paul and Christ



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



The backside of Mount Rushmore?

Conclusion: Marching to the Beat of a Different Drummer





**Challenge to Authority:
How do we disrupt the official drumbeat to
obey & conform to authority?**



**Volker Schlöndorff, *The Tin Drum* (1979)
[Günter Grass, *Die Blechtrommel* (1959)]
[6 mins]**



And now, dear party comrades,

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

MERRIE MELODIES
REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

"That's all folks!"

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