

The (New) Authoritarian Personality

Seminar WiSe 2021/22, Dienstag 12-14 Uhr, SH 1.101
Dr. Arthur Bueno, e-mail: oliveira@normativeorders.net

19.10. (1) Introduction: The Role of Psychology in a Dialectical Theory of History

Background:

Horkheimer, Max. 1931. "The Present Situation of Social Philosophy and the Tasks of an Institute for Social Research," in *Between Philosophy and Social Science. Selected Early Writings*. Cambridge/London: MIT Press, 1993, pp. 1-14.

Horkheimer, Max. 1932. "History and Psychology," in *Between Philosophy and Social Science. Selected Early Writings*. Cambridge/London: MIT Press, 1993, pp. 111-128.

I. Marxism and Psychoanalysis: The Character Structure of Modern Capitalist Society

26.10. (2) The Bourgeois Character

Fromm, Erich. 1932. "Psychoanalytic Characterology and Its Relevance for Social Psychology," in *The Crisis of Psychoanalysis. Essays on Freud, Marx, and Social Psychology*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970, pp. 163-189.

Optional:

Fromm, Erich. 1932. "The Method and Function of an Analytic Social Psychology," in *The Crisis of Psychoanalysis. Essays on Freud, Marx, and Social Psychology*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970, pp. 137-162.

Fromm, Erich. 1934. "The Theory of Mother Right and Its Relevance for Social Psychology," in *The Crisis of Psychoanalysis. Essays on Freud, Marx, and Social Psychology*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970, pp. 106-134.

02.11. (3) Studies on Authority and the Family: The Decline of Paternal Authority

Horkheimer, Max. 1936. "Authority and the Family," in *Critical Theory. Selected Essays*. New York: Continuum, 1972, pp. 47-128. (Selection: '3. Family', pp. 97-128)

Optional:

Horkheimer, Max. 1936. "Authority and the Family," in *Critical Theory. Selected Essays*. New York: Continuum, 1972, pp. 47-128. ('1. Culture', '2. Authority', pp. 47-97)

09.11. (4) Freud's Massenpsychologie

Freud, Sigmund. 1921. *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*. London: Hogarth Press, 1949. (Selection: Chapters V – XI, pp. 41-109.)

Optional:

Freud, Sigmund. 1921. *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*. London: Hogarth Press, 1949. (Selection: Chapters I – IV, pp. 1-40.)

16.11. (5) Studies on Authority and the Family: The Authoritarian-Masochistic Character

Fromm, Erich. 1936. "Studies on Authority and the Family. Sociopsychological Dimensions." *Fromm Forum* 24, 2020, pp. 8-58. (Selection: Part 4, pp. 37-58)

Optional:

Fromm, Erich. 1936. "Studies on Authority and the Family. Sociopsychological Dimensions." *Fromm Forum* 24, 2020, pp. 8-58. (Selection: Parts 1-3, pp. 9-37)

23.11. (6) Escape from Freedom

Fromm, Erich. 1941. *Escape from Freedom*. New York: Avon, 1969. (Selection: Part V, Mechanisms of Escape: 1. Authoritarianism, 2. Destructiveness, pp. 157-208.)

Optional:

Fromm, Erich. 1941. *Escape from Freedom*. New York: Avon, 1969. (Selection: Part V, Mechanisms of Escape: 3. Automaton Conformity, pp. 208-230).

Kellner, Douglas. 2018. "Donald Trump as Authoritarian Populist: A Frommian Analysis", in J. Morelock (ed.). *Critical Theory and Authoritarian Populism*. London: University of Westminster Press, pp. 71-82.

II. A Dialectical Anthropology? Reason and Self-Sacrifice

30.11. (7) *Dialectic of Enlightenment: The Ego as Internalized Domination*

Horkheimer, Max. 1947. "The Revolt of Nature," in *Eclipse of Reason*. London: Continuum Press, 2004, pp. 63-86.

Optional:

Horkheimer, Max; Adorno, Theodor W. 1944/47. "Excursus I: Odysseus or Myth and Enlightenment," in *Dialectic of Enlightenment. Philosophical Fragments*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002, pp. 35-62.

07.12. (8) *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Anti-Semitism in Post-Liberal Capitalism*

Horkheimer, Max; Adorno, Theodor W. 1944/47. "Elements of Anti-Semitism: Limits of Enlightenment," in *Dialectic of Enlightenment. Philosophical Fragments*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002, pp. 137-172. (Selection: Sections I-V, pp. 137-153)

Optional:

Horkheimer, Max. 1938. "The Jews and Europe," in S. Bronner and D. Kellner (eds.), *Critical Theory and Society. A Reader*. New York/London: Routledge, 1989, pp. 77-94.

14.12. (9) *Dialectic of Enlightenment: False Projection and 'Ticket Thinking'*

Horkheimer, Max; Adorno, Theodor W. 1944/47. "Elements of Anti-Semitism: Limits of Enlightenment," in *Dialectic of Enlightenment. Philosophical Fragments*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002, pp. 137-172. (Selection: Sections VI and VII, pp. 154-172)

Optional:

Postone, Moishe. 1980. "Anti-Semitism and National Socialism: Notes on the German Reaction to 'Holocaust'," *New German Critique* 19 (1): 97-115.

Stögner, Karin. 2021. "Vom Antisemitismus zum Antigenderismus und zurück. Die *Authoritarian Personality* neu gelesen," *WestEnd* 18 (1): 115-126.

III. 'The So-Called Psychology of Fascism': Propaganda and Weakening of the Ego

11.01. (10) *The Authoritarian Personality*

Adorno, Theodor W. 1950. "Types and Syndromes," in Adorno et. al. *The Authoritarian Personality*. New York: Harper & Row, pp. 744-783. (Selection: "A. The Approach" and "B. Syndromes Found Among High Scorers", pp. 744-771.)

Optional:

Adorno, Theodor W.; Frenkel-Brunswik, Else; Levinson, Daniel J.; Sanford, R. Newitt. 1950. *The Authoritarian Personality*. New York: Harper & Row. (Selection: "I. Introduction, A. The Problem" [pp. 1-11] and "VII. The Measurement of Implicit Antidemocratic Trends, B. Construction of the Fascism (F) Scale" [pp. 224-242].)

Gordon, Peter. 2018. "The Authoritarian Personality Revisited: Reading Adorno in the Age of Trump," in W. Brown, P. E. Gordon, M. Pensky. *Authoritarianism: Three Inquiries in Critical Theory*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, pp. 45-84.

18.01. (11) *The Post-Psychological Mass*

Adorno, Theodor W. 1951. "Freudian Theory and the Pattern of Fascist Propaganda," in A. Arato and E. Gebhardt (eds.), *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader*. New York: Continuum, pp. 118-137.

Optional:

Bernstein, Jay. 2017. "Adorno's Uncanny Analysis of Trump's Authoritarian Personality," *Public Seminar*. Online: <https://publicseminar.org/2017/10/adornos-uncanny-analysis-of-trumps-authoritarian-personality/>

Bottici, Chiara. 2017. "Adorno with Freud, Adorno Beyond Freud," *Public Seminar*. Online: <https://publicseminar.org/2017/10/adorno-with-freud-adorno-beyond-freud/>

IV. A New Authoritarian Personality?

25.01. (12) Neoliberalism and Authoritarianism (I)

Brown, Wendy. 2018. "Neoliberalism's Frankenstein: Authoritarian Freedom in Twenty-First Century 'Democracies'," in W. Brown, P. E. Gordon, M. Pensky. *Authoritarianism: Three Inquiries in Critical Theory*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, pp. 7-44.

Optional:

Marcuse, Herbert. 1964. "The Conquest of the Unhappy Consciousness: Repressive Desublimation", in *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*. London/New York: Routledge, 2007, pp. 59-86.

Chamayou, Grégoire. *The Ungovernable Society: A Genealogy of Authoritarian Liberalism*. London: Polity Press. (Selection: Part IV, The Ungovernable State.)

01.02. (13) Neoliberalism and Authoritarianism (II)

Gandehsa, Samir. 2018 "Identifying with the Aggressor': From the Authoritarian to Neoliberal Personality," *Constellations* 25: 147-164.

Optional:

King, Vera. 2021. "Autoritarismus als Regression," *WestEnd* 18 (1): 87-102.

Nagle, Angela. 2017. *Kill All Normies: Online Culture Wars from 4chan and Tumblr to Trump and the Alt-Right*. Winchester: Zero Books.

08.02. (14) Neoliberalism and Authoritarianism (III)

Nunes, Rodrigo. 2020. "Of What Is Bolsonaro the Name?". *Radical Philosophy* 2 (9): 3-14.

Rocha, Camila. 2021. "The New Brazilian Right and the Public Sphere". *Mecila: Working Papers Series* 32: 1-30.

Optional:

Gago, Verónica. 2015. "Financialization of Popular Life and the Extractive Operations of Capital: A Perspective from Argentina". *South Atlantic Quarterly* 114 (1): 11-28.

Bueno, Arthur. 2021. "What Comes After Depression? The Crisis of Neoliberal Subjectivity and the New Authoritarian Wave in Brazil". *Krisis* 41 (1): 45-64.

Access to the texts and evaluation:

The texts listed in the seminar plan are available for download from the OLAT page of the course.

Studienleistung: participation in a group presentation of the main questions raised by one of the texts.

Modulprüfung: group presentation plus delivery of an essay (10-15 pages) by the end of the course.