

# CIVITAS

## STUDIA Z FILOZOFII POLITYKI

Nr **17**

Warszawa 2015

## Abstracts

*Nina Gładziuk*

### **Beautiful Cruelty. Violence in Fascist Imagery**

This paper discusses the roots of fascist (and Nazi in particular) ideas, which were anchored in the aesthetic heritage of Romanticism, later developed by the Nietzschean vitalism and the modernist avant-garde. From the perspective of twentieth-century intellectual history, special attention should be given to the theme of violence committed in the name of beauty, as well as the relations between the initial romantic idea of art as *Sturm und Drang*, the concept of the artistic avant-garde attacking the world of bourgeois values and fascist shock troops.

*Adam Leszczyński*

### **Economic Modernization and Violence in the Twentieth Century**

In the twentieth century, economic modernization projects were often part of a broader programme of social engineering, which did not avoid – and in many cases assumed – the use of violence. The author analyses the relationship between definitions of modernity developed by the classic authors of modernization theory during the 1950s and 1960s (D. Lerner, D. Apter, E. Shils), tries to look for their roots in Marx's writings on colonialism, and shows the consequences of the radical version of such projects, using the example of the Chinese modernization programme implemented



by Mao (1949–1959). In conclusion, Leszczyński assumes that a clear relationship can be traced between socio-economic modernization programmes and political violence in the twentieth century

*Lech M. Nijakowski*

**Genocidal Microbes and Deserts.  
Latour's Influences in Genocide Studies**

The dominant approach in genocide studies focuses on the intentions and motives of mass murderers. However, in many cases, natural phenomena, pathogens and machines determine the nature and course of genocidal mobilization. The aim of this article is to present the advantages of the actor-network theory (ANT) in explaining genocidal mobilization, taking into account environmental factors. "Natural objects" have been selected from a rich catalogue of non-human actors. The author divides these objects into three classes, showing that pathogens (associated with "the asymmetry of resistance" of victims and perpetrators) and deserts are of key importance in the history of collective violence. Referring to specific cases (in particular, the conquest and colonization of the Americas and Australia, the genocide of the Herero and Nama peoples, the Armenian genocide, Shoah), the author identifies that adopting the assumptions and methods of ANT reveals new aspects of the genocidal process. This indicates the need for considering the politics of non-human actors, delegating morality and law, tracking consecutive translations, rejecting the division into qualitatively different micro- and macro-actors, and tracking the emergence of new actants and forms of knowledge during genocide.

*Rafał Wonicki*

**Hobbes and Grotius about war and violence  
in international relations**

This article compares two philosophical traditions and their attitudes to war and violence within the context of international



relations. The first refers to Hobbes' political realism, the second to the Grotian idea of international community. Each of these traditions understands the role of violence and war at an international level differently. From the perspective of political realism, violence is part of anarchistic relations between states and a means for achieving their goals. From the perspective of international community, violence is a factor that needs to be minimized via the mechanisms of peaceful international cooperation between states. Based on the analysis of these two approaches, it is claimed that the Hobbesian perspective can be partly included in the perspective of the English School, which is based on the Grotian tradition.

*Agnieszka Nogal*

**Can a New Type of War Be Just?**

The thesis of this article is that the just war theory must be reformulated in such a way that it can be applied to new types of wars. Today, there has been a theoretical shift when discussing the nature of war, encompassing both a change in language and a practical shift. The theoretical shift has brought about a crisis regarding the idea of sovereignty as the notion that orders both internal and international relations. Consequently, other concepts related to the theme of sovereignty have lost their relevance. On the other hand, due to the practical shift, war has been redefined as "a new type of war" War has become a not entirely overt confrontation of forces supported by various, not always explicit sides in the conflict. The legal aspects of war, responsibility for war and future visions of peace cannot be considered without a sovereign power, a political community and a hierarchy To date, the just war theory has been the basis of international law concerning war Contemporary international relations and armed conflicts cannot be governed by the laws of war and ordered by the just war theory An alternative is



therefore emerging: the basis of martial law can be discarded or the just war theory can be reformulated. However, it must be reformulated in such a way that it takes into account the changes that have occurred with respect to sovereignty and forms of political community

*Paulina Piasecka*

**The Narrative of Terrorism:  
the Evolution of the Message of Violence**

This essay focuses on the evolution of communication process as used by terrorist groups and organizations. It deals with this problem by starting with Russian anarchists and ending with the activists involved in modern groups engaged in the global jihad. The author analyses changes within the content of communication, as well as the means of spreading the message of violence. This essay reviews selected means and methods of public communication used by modern terrorist groups, and analyses the usefulness of these tools in the "war for hearts and minds" The keynote of this essay is the need to reflect on the popularity of the leitmotiv of violence in modern popular culture.

*Paweł Kaczorowski*

**Horror Politicus in the Twentieth Century.  
An Attempt at Interpreting Selected Topics  
of Carl Schmitt's Theory of the Partisan**

According to Carl Schmitt, the phenomenon of the political has different forms. These forms can be distinguished based on different possible relationships between political action and the state. This article presents the history of what Schmitt refers to as the phenomenon of partisanship. Partisanship is a specific form of politics, established in the early nineteenth century, which has gradually expanded its presence. Partisan activity is characterized



by totality, which has evolved to become the dominant component of political action over time, particularly in the twentieth century. This totality affects not only the size and range of political activity, but it is also – and perhaps first of all – ruthless in its use of terror and violence, which is considered entirely justified by total partisans/terrorists.

Lukasz Świącicki

**Carl Schmitt's Concept of State  
as a Monopoly of the Political (Rather Than Violence)**

Carl Schmitt is known for his concept of the political (*das Politische*), but little has been said about the relation between the political and violence. The main premise of this article is that violence lurks behind considerations on the political. While Weber wrote about the state as a monopoly of violence, Schmitt develops a concept of state as a monopoly of the political. Weber's theory is rooted in the shaky and revolutionary times of transition from the Wilhelmine monarchy to the Weimar democracy. Schmitt's concept of the political reflects the crisis of the Weimar monopoly of the political, when the existence of the state (its constitution in the Schmittian sense) became endangered by the highly political and ideologically driven groups striving for power. The weaker the executive power, the greater the risk of minority groups seizing power in a legal way. Politically, neutral law is not able to contain them, as it would see such law lose its neutrality. In this, Schmitt sees the possibility for legal revolution that can take place without violence. Weber did not foresee this risk in his concept of state. The main lesson on the part of Schmitt is therefore: what was sufficient for containing revolution in the past (the monopoly of violence) may not be adequate in contemporary Weimar and therefore, the monopoly of the political is crucial.



Michał Pospiszyl

**The Plague of Lawlessness.**

**Civil War and the Paradox of Sovereign Power**

This paper consists of three parts. The first is devoted to the role of the Athenian plague in Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*. There are indications that the civil war that broke out in the country, weakened by plague, was not simply the result of a historical and degraded human nature. Instead of using evil human nature as the key for understanding each social conflict, I suggest interpreting the Athenian civil war (stasis) as a symptom of non-egalitarian social relations. The second part of the paper is devoted to the birth of modern capitalism and the analysis of Thomas Hobbes' philosophy. An English philosopher, Hobbes not only translated *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, but was also an author who treated the reality of modern civil wars as a principal point of reference. Hobbes created his philosophy mainly as a result of fearing a conflict that could undermine the existing division of power and wealth. The result of this fear was a mechanism that I refer to as the paradox of sovereign power. It was a process during which the authority that had been established to defend society against lawlessness and chaos dominated the social life, not respecting existing laws and customs, and thus creating the very world it was supposed to protect the people from. The third part is devoted to Walter Benjamin's criticism of sovereign power. Observing the same processes as Hobbes did, the German philosopher viewed them from the inside (i.e., from the perspective of the victims of modern progress, the same view that aroused fear in the author of *Leviathan*). Benjamin argued that the social order established at the threshold of modernity was built on unlawful violence (primitive accumulation) and that the condition for its duration was the permanent reproduction of this lawlessness (hence, the thesis of the state of emergency which has become the rule). According to Benjamin, this vicious



circle of violence can only be escaped by recovering the memory of folk traditions, past class struggles, lost revolutions and social systems that, like the Paris Commune, pose the possibility of life liberated from the yoke.

*Małgorzata Kwietniewska*

**Imperial Splendour – Hegel and Napoleon Bonaparte**

This article focuses on strong links between G.W.F. Hegel and Napoleon Bonaparte. This dependency occurs in three areas. Firstly, there is the area of historical events, which constitutes a common background for both of these figures living in a time of incessant war. Secondly, there is the area of ideas; a careful analysis of selected works by Hegel shows that he fully accepted and assimilated the socio-political choices of the French Emperor. Finally, there is the area of direct actions, as it can be observed that Hegel shaped his academic career by deliberately taking inspiration from Napoleon. His dream was to become the Napoleon of philosophy, a goal he appears to have achieved.

*Piotr Nowak*

**Transformation of the Christian Body and the Jewish Soul  
during the Early Stages of Capitalism.**

**Notes on the "The Merchant of Venice"  
by William Shakespeare**

The author analyses "The Merchant of Venice" by William Shakespeare, to highlight the transformation of the Christian body and the Jewish soul during the early stages of capitalism. He reveals that the Venice described by Shakespeare is a world without measure, in which money is the only value. People are objects of financial speculation and all of humanity is treated as a commodity, an exchange value. When Bassanio praises the advantages of Portia, he first mentions her ducats (dowry), and



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only after that does he allude to her beauty and virtues of mind. The capitalism that is being formed in the eyes of the viewers mocks significant cultural, ethnic and religious differences. It buries them in heaps of money and then blurs them, forcing a new concept of man, whose existence differs little from plants and animals growing freely. In such a world, a game is the only strategy that allows for survival. In Venice, everyone pretends, wears a mask and lives in hypocrisy. This behaviour is typical of the "carnival" atmosphere. Masks separate people from themselves, covering up their tracks and blurring identities. By wearing them, they can hide behind "someone else"

*Fr Piotr Mazurkiewicz*

**The Right to Conscientious Objection.  
The Primacy of God's Law over the Statutory Law**

This article addresses the issue of the relationship between God's law and secular law, and presents a thesis for the legitimacy of the right to the objection of conscience "in which the voice of God speaks." Considerations relate to conscience as the power of knowing good and duties, the universality of this knowledge, its legitimacy and conditions for its reliability. By referring to stoicism and neo-Platonism, but especially to the elements of St. Paul's theology and the views of Benedict XVI, the author shows how important it is to introduce the category of nature and conscience to a secular, rationalist reflection on law. He presents the position of Christian theologians who spoke out against religious law and his own arguments, as well as the view expressed, among others, by Benedict XVI about the corrective role of religion with respect to human reason, as well as the importance of human reason for religion. The author also highlights the significant lack of reflection on natural law in modern science and the dramatic consequences thereof, such as the denial of the right to conscientious objection.



Zbigniew Stawrowski

**Spank as a Categorical Imperative**

The contemporary cultural trends that introduce regulations weakening parental rights have also come to Poland. Under the influence of utilitarian-statist ideology, which sees the state and its officials as the primary educators and guardians of children, powers naturally enjoyed by parents are being questioned under various pretexts. One of these is the use of violence against children. Due to actions taken by the state towards family, institutional violence used by the state – which is often much more severe for children – often becomes a remedy for parental violence. This text attempts to solve the problem by referring to the basic Kantian distinction between justified and unjustified violence, and to the priority of family and parental rights over the powers of the state. In the same way that the state can use violence towards citizens, so parents can use violence towards their children, as long as its scope and form stems from what is most important for the parental relationship: the categorical imperative of responsible love, aimed at encouraging a child on his or her way of growing up into responsible freedom. A symbol of such parental action is the act of spanking, which – when properly understood and properly used – is sometimes a moral duty of parents.