

"Omnes et Singulatim: Toward a Critique of Political Reason" / *Power* 298-325 / DE2  
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## Part One

### I. Introductory remarks

- A. Philosophy as critique: establishing limits to reason in knowledge and politics
- B. Critique is not a "trial" of "reason"
  - 1) There is no guilt or innocence here
  - 2) Reason is not the unitary contrary of unreason
  - 3) Frankfurt School has already investigated Enlightenment reason
- C. F's suggestions: look to the "problem of individualization"
  - 1) Investigate multiple domains / fundamental experiences: madness, sickness ...
  - 2) Specify the type of rationalization involved
  - 3) Go back beyond the Enlightenment

### II. Pastoral power in ancient Middle Eastern societies vs ancient Greek thought

- A. Egyptian
- B. Hebrew: God alone is the shepherd of the people
  - 1) Pastoral power exercised on the flock, not on the territory
  - 2) Pastor gathers, guides and conducts the flock
  - 3) Pastor assures health: constant, individualizing and finalized benevolence
  - 4) Pastoral power is a duty: vigilance on all and each

### III. Objections: doesn't the shepherd image appear in Greek literature and philosophy?

- A. Homeric epics use theme of king as shepherd
- B. In Greek thought, Pythagorean texts often use pastoral image
- C. But in political thought, only Plato interrogates this image, as in the *Statesman*
  - 1) Is the Platonic interrogation evidence of a commonplace, or is it the interrogation of Pythagorean themes? Probably the latter.
  - 2) How does Plato define the role of the shepherd?
    - a) At head of the flock
    - b) Oversees the nourishment of flock
    - c) Cares for their illnesses
    - d) Plays music to gather and guide them
    - e) Organizes their breeding
  - 3) But the king has only one of these functions, being at head of the city
  - 4) The great myth of revolutions
    - a) Golden Age in which gods were shepherds of men
    - b) Fallen Age
      - (1) Men take care of themselves: politics = assembling people
      - (2) Politicians are not gods, they cannot be shepherds of people
        - (a) They form and assure the unity of the city
        - (b) They do not guide the life of a group of individuals

### IV. Major distinction: between juridical power and pastoral power

- A. Juridical power concerns civil subjects

- B. Pastoral power concerns living individuals
- C. "Welfare State" is latest in series of modifications to interplay of these powers
- V. Some aspects of Christian pastoral power as a technology of power
  - A. Early Church fathers
    - 1) Responsibility: Pastor responsible for all actions of members of flock
    - 2) Obedience as a virtue: Greeks obey laws; Christian flock obeys the pastor
    - 3) Individualizing knowledge by pastor:
      - a) Objects of this knowledge: material needs, public sins, soul
      - b) Techniques: the examination and the direction of conscience
    - 4) Mortification in this world leading to salvation in the other world
  - B. Preliminary summary and conclusions:
    - 1) Christian pastoral power inaugurates a "strange play" of life, death, truth, obedience, individuals, identity
    - 2) Modern state is "demonic" in articulating this Christian play with that of (Greek) civic obligation: the city lives through sacrifice of citizens
    - 3) F's thought moves among experiences, knowledge, and power

## Part Two

- I. Medieval pastoral power
  - A. Middle Ages were not simple scene of triumph for pastoral power
    - 1) Rural dispersed economy not conducive to urban pastoral guidance
    - 2) Low level of culture (literacy) hindered pastoral power
    - 3) Feudalism establishes different set of personal / legal obligations
  - B. However, we do see some examples
    - 1) Monastic rules were laboratory for pastoral power
    - 2) Millennial sects searched for new settings for pastoral power
- II. Forecast: rationality of the modern states: "reason of State" and the "police"
  - A. Reason of state is specific: not God's rule, nor father's, nor religious superior's
  - B. "Police" defines realm of exercise of reason of State: objects, goals, techniques
- III. Reason of State
  - A. Common traits
    - 1) Technique conforming to certain rules: rational knowledge, not arbitrary
    - 2) Focused on State; no analogies w/ human or divine law; hence "atheism"
    - 3) Opposed to Machiavellian tradition:
      - a) Not retention of possessions by Prince
      - b) But reinforcement of State itself (given competition w/ other States)
    - 4) Dependent on development of statistics or "political arithmetic"
- IV. Evolution of police as technique of government proper to the State
  - A. Turquet's utopian text (French, 1611)
    - 1) Police is concurrent director of state, along with justice, army, and treasury
    - 2) Police is global: relations of men and things: active, living, productive man
    - 3) Police goals:
      - a) Assure the vigor of the State via concern with form and splendor of city
      - b) Develop relations of work – commerce / mutual assistance among men
  - B. De Lamare's administrative text (French, 1705)

- 1) Police as novelty, alongside feudal powers of justice, army, treasury
  - 2) Police see to the happiness of man; to society, to the *living* [biopower]
- C. Justi's scientific text (German, 1756)
- 1) Object of police: see to "the life in society of living individuals"
  - 2) Four differences with De Lamare, showing evolution of police
    - a) Maintain happiness of men in order to reinforce power of State
    - b) Politics is negative (battle enemies of State); police is positive
    - c) Focus on *population* as "group of living individuals" [biology]
    - d) Scientificity: use of statistics to govern a population
- V. Conclusion
- A. Historical investigation as more discomfiting than an abstract critique of reason
- B. Basic postulates
- 1) Power is not substantial, but relational:
    - a) Conduct of conduct of others
    - b) Always possibility of refusal, revolt, resistance
  - 2) Government [power] has its own rationality [and not instrumental violence]
  - 3) Resistance must focus on form of rationality
    - a) It cannot simply denounce violence or critique one specific institution
    - b) Otherwise, other institutions will use the same form, to same effect
  - 4) The modern State is both individualizing and totalizing
    - a) We can't simply champion the individual or the community vs the State
    - b) We have to get to roots of political reason: pastoral power, reason of State