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THE EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT OF HERBERT MARCUSE.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

THE EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT OF
HERBERT MARCUSE

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SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
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By
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Norman, Oklahoma

1975

THE EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT OF

HERBERT MARCUSE

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THE EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT OF
HERBERT MARCUSE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

Education always takes place in a particular social matrix. The type of society in which people live is perhaps the most important factor in determining the educational system. Social and cultural beliefs, facts, and values are the bases for the educational philosophy that underlies educational practice.

In a society which is homogeneous, where people agree on what the most important values are, on what type of knowledge is most important, on who should be the leaders, it is comparatively easy to formulate an educational philosophy that a majority of the people can accept. However, in a society which cannot agree on its goals and values, opposite groups will try to use education for their own purposes. In a situation like this, communication between the different groups easily breaks down. This lack of communication can lead to a crisis. Many critics of society argue that America is in such a crisis. Max Rafferty and Ivan Illich are representatives of opposite educational positions. In order to rebuild

the lines of communication there has to be an effort to try to understand different viewpoints. It is very important that we examine the different voices in our society that offer various and often extreme social alternatives.

One of the most critical voices of our society is the "New Left." Herbert Marcuse is one of the intellectual leaders of the "New Left." He has written extensively on the ills of society and has pointed to a path which, he believes, society must follow in order to be truly democratic. Central to Marcuse's new society is the educational process. Marcuse sees education as the "prerequisite for liberation: only the freedom to learn and to know the whole truth, to grasp the arrested, violated, and destroyed potentialities of man and nature can guide the building of a free society."¹ Marcuse stresses the importance of education in several books, (A Critique of Pure Tolerance, An Essay on Liberation, One-Dimensional Man, Five Lectures). Unfortunately he has not talked in detail about his theory of education. It is important that we formulate his educational philosophy and study the educational implications of his social theory because in his opinion education is the primary tool to prepare people for a complete change of society. An understanding of his educational philosophy and its practical implications will help to determine how his proposed system would effect our society.

Statement of the Problem

The problem of this study is: What is Marcuse's educational philosophy and what are the implications of this philosophy for the

¹Herbert Marcuse, Soviet Marxism, A Critical Analysis (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 166.

present day curriculum in United States public schools?

The following questions will be investigated:

1. What is Marcuse's educational philosophy as it results from his social theory?
2. Marcuse states that only a revolution can bring about a qualitative change of life. How would Marcuse's educational philosophy affect the curriculum during and after the revolution?
3. Who determines the educational needs of the students?
4. What are the objectives of education?
5. How are decisions reached determining the selection and organization of the curriculum?
6. How are decisions reached determining the selection and organization of the teaching methods?
7. How is the educational process and product evaluated?

Significance of the Study

Following the student riots in the 1960's, there has been great popular interest in Herbert Marcuse. He has been condemned by his critics as an advocate of totalitarian repression from the Left, and praised by his followers as an advocate of freedom and liberation. Over the last forty years Marcuse has systematically analyzed our society in his work. He has come to the conclusion that only an absolute change, an overthrow of the existing social system can avoid a progressive enslavement of man and bring about liberation and pacification. According to Marcuse, the reeducation of man plays a decisive role in this revolution. Marcuse

himself has, however, not made a systematic analysis of the total educational process. His work has been extensively analyzed from a political, economical, philosophical, and social viewpoint, but so far only one study exists that examines Marcuse's critical theory of society from the viewpoint of the educator. This study is Devitis' dissertation "The Concept of Repression in the Social and Educational Thought of Erich Fromm and Herbert Marcuse." Marcuse's educational thought is only one aspect of this dissertation. The author does not discuss Marcuse's educational philosophy in detail. He concentrates on the concept of repression in Marcuse's educational thought.

This study attempts to present Marcuse's educational philosophy based on his social theory. It also attempts to show the implications of this educational philosophy for the present day curriculum.

Marcuse totally rejects the organization and many of the values of our society. He also rejects the present educational system which in his opinion helps to keep the status quo and hinders qualitative change. Marcuse does, however, insist on the vital role of education for the success of the revolution and the liberation of man from domination without ever giving a clear description of this education. Therefore it seems necessary that the educational implications of his social theory be developed in order to determine how the present day society and education would be affected under his proposed revolution. This examination is all the more necessary in view of the fact that the established educational system has come under attack both from the Right and the Left, and the pressure for radical changes grow stronger.

Research Design and Methodology

This is a historical and analytical study. Specifically the following procedure is used: All works by Marcuse that develop his critical theory of society have been read and evaluated in terms of the significance for Marcuse's educational philosophy and the present day curriculum.

Marcuse granted the researcher a personal interview. The following areas were discussed in the interview:

1. Marcuse's educational background.
2. Marcuse's definition of the revolution.
3. The role of education in the various stages of the revolution.
4. The locus of control of the educational process.
5. The most important educational goals and how they are met.
6. The selection and organization of subject matter.
7. The selection and organization of methodology.
8. The problem of equal opportunity in education.

A review of the secondary sources includes all available sources that analyze Marcuse's educational and social thought. Material from the interview, the primary, and the secondary sources form the basis for the description of Marcuse's educational philosophy. The analysis of Marcuse's educational philosophy provides the framework for practical implications in the present day curriculum.

In establishing the curriculum as it results from Marcuse's educational philosophy, Hilda Taba's model for the development of a curriculum is used as a guide.² The key characteristic of Taba's model is a syste-

²Hilda Taba, Curriculum Development (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1962).

matic approach to the design of the curriculum. The design involves seven steps: (1) diagnosis of needs; (2) the formulation of educational objectives; (3) selection of content experiences; (4) organization of content; (5) selection of learning experiences; (6) organization of learning experiences; and (7) evaluation of the curriculum. There are many different approaches to curriculum design. Saylor and Alexander see the curriculum as ". . . the sum total of the school's efforts to influence learning, whether in the classroom, on the playground, or out of school."³ Smith, Stanley, and Shores define the curriculum narrower. They see the curriculum as ". . . a sequence of potential experiences set up in schools for the purpose of disciplining children and youth in group ways of thinking and acting."⁴ Taba stands somewhere between these two definitions. Her systematic approach to the design of the curriculum facilitates a formative evaluation of the curriculum. One of the advantages of Taba's model is that it can not only be used for the building of a schoolwide curriculum but also for the planning of smaller learning units within this curriculum. In conclusion, this study evaluates the implications of this curriculum for our present educational system.

Limitations

This study is limited to Marcuse's thought on contemporary society and the prospects of liberation and pacification. It does not analyze his writings on psychology and the history of philosophy, but his work on

³J. G. Saylor and W. M. Alexander, Curriculum Planning (New York: Rinehart & Winston, 1954), p. 5.

⁴Othaniel Smith, William O. Stanley and Marlan J. Shores, Fundamentals of Curriculum Development (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company, 1950), p. 3.

Hegel, Marx and Freud are used as a background for Marcuse's educational philosophy.

Marcuse does not discuss in detail the educational system he envisages during and after the revolution, but he has talked about it in the interview with this researcher.

Review of the Literature

In order to examine the educational implications of Marcuse's social theory, all books by Marcuse were read. "Repressive Tolerance," Counterrevolution and Revolt, An Essay On Liberation, and One-Dimensional Man are the main sources for Marcuse's educational thought.

There are six dissertations on Marcuse. Five of these examine Marcuse's social theory on the background of Western history and philosophical thought. These dissertations are: Robinson, "The Freudian Left;" Graubard, "The Political Position of Herbert Marcuse;" Lipshires, "Herbert Marcuse: From Marx to Freud and Beyond;" Kavanaugh, "Whole and Part in Hegel, Marx and Marcuse;" McVeight, "Comparative Analysis of Ortega y Gasset's and Herbert Marcuse's Theories of Social Change."

The dissertation by Devitis: "The Concept of Repression in the Social and Educational Thought of Erich Fromm and Herbert Marcuse" is the only secondary material that deals at all with Marcuse's educational thought. Marcuse's educational thought is only one aspect of Devitis' dissertation and Devitis does not discuss Marcuse's educational ideas in detail. Devitis comes to the conclusion that Marcuse favors an education in which the educator knows and teaches the Truth. Therefore it is the educator's task to free men from repression and enslavement who may

not realize that they are repressed and enslaved. Devitis rejects Marcuse's educational ideas as totalitarian and authoritarian.

Leiss in "Marcuse as Teacher" and Kettler in "The Vocation of Radical Intellectuals" talk about Marcuse as a teacher. Their descriptions provide some insight into what Marcuse might envision the revolutionary educator to be like.

Martin's article, "The Institut Fuer Sozialforschung and the Origins of Critical Sociology" deals with the historical background of the development of Marcuse's Critical Theory of Society. William Leiss in "Critical Theory of Society: Present Situation and Future Tasks" insists that the critical theory has to change each time society changes in order to find the best possible way to true individuation and pacification.

Walton's article, "Marx and Marcuse," Robinson's book, The Freudian Left, Kavanaugh's dissertation, "Whole and Part in Hegel, Marx and Marcuse," and Lipshire's dissertation, "Herbert Marcuse: From Marx to Freud and Beyond," mainly examine Marcuse's connection with Hegel, Marx and Freud. Andrew, in "Work and Freedom in Marcuse and Marx," shows basic differences between Marx and Marcuse concerning the relation between work, freedom and pleasure. In his opinion these differences are so great that Marcuse is not a Marxist any more.

Woddis, in New Theories of Revolution and Campbell in "Marcuse on the Justification of Revolution" concentrate on Marcuse's position as a revolutionary. Woddis criticizes Marcuse for not accepting the working class as the revolutionary agent. His viewpoint is that of a Soviet oriented Marxist.

Marcuse's thought on society and human nature is analyzed in Kettler's "The Vocation of Radical Intellectuals," Schulte's "Marcuse's Kritik an der Gesellschaft," Wiatr's "Herbert Marcuse: Philosopher of a Lost Radicalism," Graubard's "The Political Position of Herbert Marcuse," and Read's "Rational Society and Irrational Art."

Eidelbert, in "Temptation of Herbert Marcuse" also analyzes Marcuse's critique of society and examines the philosophical foundations of this critique. In his view, Marcuse's utopian society will be preceded by a reign of terror, and education will degenerate to indoctrination.

In "The Limits of Integration," Mattick looks at Marcuse from an economic viewpoint. He shows that Marcuse's statements on the strength and unity of the capitalist countries are too strong and are not reflecting the true state of affairs.

The essays in The Critical Spirit and in Critical Interruptions are mainly sympathetic with Marcuse's critique of society. Bernstein, in "Herbert Marcuse: An Imminent Critique," Macintyre, in Herbert Marcuse, and Vivas, in Contra Marcuse, give some of the strongest, almost polemic criticism of Marcuse.

CHAPTER II

MARCUSE'S EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

Marcuse's Life and Educational Background

Herbert Marcuse was born in Berlin on July 19, 1898. He attended the Humanistische Gymnasium in Berlin from where he graduated with the Abitur. The Abitur is the final exam of the Gymnasium. It is required for studying at a university.

In Germany, parents decide at the end of the fourth grade whether their children continue their studies at the Volksschule (elementary school) or change to a Realschule (intermediate school) or a Gymnasium (secondary school). Only the Gymnasium prepares the student for entering a university. There are three main types of the Gymnasium. (1) The Mathematisch-Naturwissenschaftliches Gymnasium is science oriented; (2) The Neusprachliche Gymnasium stresses modern languages; and (3) The Humanistische Gymnasium stresses Latin, Greek and History. The main objective of the Humanistische Gymnasium is to develop the intellectual capacities of the student, to develop his reason, and to develop his ability to think. Supporters of the Humanistische Gymnasium believe that the great classical works of art, literature, and philosophy will best prepare the student for understanding life and solving the problems of our society. The educational philosophy that underlies the Humanistische Gymnasium is close to perennialism. Marcuse's educational ideas

were strongly influenced by his own educational background.

In 1918 and 1919, Marcuse was active in the Spartacist movement in Germany. He considers his involvement in the German revolution and his work at the Institut für Sozialforschung as the two most important events in his life.¹ Marcuse studied philosophy and comparative literature at the universities of Berlin and Freiburg, Germany. In Freiburg, he studied under Heidegger. Marcuse received his Ph.D. from Freiburg in 1922. In his dissertation, "Hegels Ontologie und die Grundlegung einer Theorie der Geschichtlichkeit," Marcuse analyzed the Hegelian conceptions of reality, subject and object, mind and body, reason and sensuousness. The work exhibited philosophical expertise but did not indicate Marcuse's later highly original interpretation of Hegel as a revolutionary in Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory.

In 1933, Marcuse joined the Institute for Social Research which had moved from Frankfurt to Geneva. In 1934, the Institute moved to Columbia University. At the Institute, Marcuse worked together with Adorno, Horkheimer and Fromm. The Institute established the critical theory of society, a critique of society based on the discrepancy of existing conditions versus existing possibilities.

During the 1930's, Marcuse extensively studied Freud. In Eros and Civilization, he interpreted Freud as a revolutionary by emphasizing the radical and negative element in Freud. Marcuse felt that the social criticism of the future would have to be both more negative and more utopian than even Marxism.

¹Herbert Marcuse, private interview, December, 1974.

In 1940, Marcuse became a U. S. Citizen. During World War II and until 1950, he worked in the Office of Strategic Service and the Office of Intelligence Research. Between 1951 and 1953 Marcuse worked at the Russian Institute at Columbia and Harvard. From 1954 until 1965 he was professor of politics and philosophy at Brandeis University. Since 1965 he has been professor of philosophy at the University of California, San Diego.

Marcuse did not write much during the 1950's. It was not until the revival of leftist politics in America in the 1960's that he renewed his radical criticism of our society.

With One-Dimensional Man, Marcuse became the hero of the New Left. Students in Germany and America worshipped him. Marcuse has always rejected the role of a philosopher of the New Left² and yet his critics and his followers regard him as the spiritual leader of the movement.

Marcuse's View on What is Real

In Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory Marcuse writes: "Philosophical thought begins with the recognition that the facts do not correspond to the concepts."³ This indicates that for Marcuse the main task of philosophy is to criticize what exists and to find the true reality. In this process the philosopher utilizes the culture and the history transmitted by the society in which he lives,

²Sam Keen and John Raser, "A Conversation with Herbert Marcuse," Psychology Today (February, 1971), pp. 35-40 and 60-66.

³Herbert Marcuse, Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory (Boston: Beacon Press, 1954), p. VII.

and he projects the possibilities of the present into the future.⁴ He is not concerned about mere abstract reality and form but he criticizes in the light of what realistically could be. Transcendence for Marcuse means to change the established universe into its realistic historical alternative. Philosophy has to free thought from the enslavement of the established universe of discourse and behavior, elucidate the negativity of the establishment, and project its alternative.⁵ This Marcuse calls negative thinking. In his opinion, negative thinking is the only way to uncover the irrationality of the existing reality. To Marcuse, negative philosophy is the main tradition of philosophy from the Greeks to Hegel. Negative philosophy is basically critical in that it rejects the existing reality as the mark of the genuinely real.⁶

According to Marcuse, the discrepancy between the established modes of existence and the real possibilities of human freedom is obscured and rendered meaningless by positive thinking. The negative is absorbed by the positive and the daily experience wipes out the distinction between rational appearance and irrational reality. Marcuse argues that positive philosophy neutralizes the tension between appearance and reality, fact and factor, substance and attribute, but the irrationality of reality has to be uncovered and changed so that man can be free.⁷

In Counterrevolution and Revolt, Marcuse says that the Marxian vision recaptures the ancient theory of knowledge as recollection.

⁴Herbert Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), p. 217.

⁵Ibid., p. 199.

⁶Ibid., p. 141.

⁷Ibid., p. 85.

Science is a rediscovery of the true forms of things which is distorted and denied in the established reality. This recollection he considers the perpetual materialistic core of idealism.⁸ Marcuse insists that there is an objective truth which can be discovered.⁹ The key to uncovering the absolute reality is the unrepressed understanding of reality, nonconformist and critical thought. Critical thought alone can lead to a full understanding of the "unabridged and unexpurgated intent of certain key concepts."¹⁰ For Marcuse, these concepts are universals and as universals, they are primary elements of experience. The concepts are particulars only insofar as they are seen against a general background. Universals are conceptual instruments which help in understanding the particular conditions of things in view of their potentialities. Elements of experience, projection and anticipation of real possibilities enter into the conceptual synthesis. These possibilities are unrealistic to a certain degree because they go beyond the established experience and behavior.¹¹ A concept then transcends its particular realization as something that has to be surpassed. In this view, negative thinking is a positive act because the real can be discovered only through the negation of the appearance of the real. Marcuse believes that the reality

⁸Herbert Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972), p. 69.

⁹Herbert Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," A Critique of Pure Tolerance, Herbert Marcuse, Robert Paul Wolff and Barrington Moore, Jr., (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), p. 89.

¹⁰Herbert Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. 209.

¹¹Ibid., p. 215.

of any particular social order can be changed once man's interpretive reason views that order as irrational.¹² The abyss between the rational and present reality, however, cannot be bridged by conceptual thought alone, it cannot be bridged within the "framework of individual psychology and therapy, nor within the framework of any psychology--a solution can be envisaged only on the political level: in the struggle against society."¹³

Marcuse charges that most modern forms of philosophy like empiricism, utilitarianism, positivism, and linguistic analysis through their exclusive reliance on given facts cannot break the irrationality of the given reality. As soon as the facts are raised to the stage of unchallenged authority, Marcuse argues, it is impossible to distinguish between good and bad facts. One of the reasons why Marcuse admires Hegel is Hegel's opposition to uncritical empiricism. Marcuse considers it an illusion that mathematization of nature creates an autonomous absolute truth. This mathematization is to him nothing but a veil of symbols which represents and at the same time masks the world of practice. In this process the objective qualities and laws lose their mysterious and uncontrollable character. They appear as calculable and manipulatable. Any outer dimension of existence is closed and the world is explained and governed by total administration.¹⁴ Marcuse sees empiricism as one

¹²Joseph L. Devitis, "The Concept of Repression in the Social and Educational Thought of Erich Fromm and Herbert Marcuse," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1972, p. 13.

¹³Herbert Marcuse, Negations: Essays in Critical Theory (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), pp. 154, 254.

¹⁴Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. 169.

sign of a world that moves more and more towards totalitarianism. Marcuse also vehemently rejects the therapeutic empiricism of sociology. The exposition and correction of abnormal behavior in isolated cases excludes the understanding of overriding critical concepts that might be capable of relating such behavior to society as a whole. Any meaningful critique or analysis of the entire apparatus is rendered meaningless and immediately absorbed by the system. For the same reason Marcuse considers utilitarianism as inherently conservative, since it also offers exclusively individualistic solutions to any problems.

Positivism is rejected on the grounds that it is an attempt to discover through empirical research a system of inexorable social laws, analogous to those of natural science. In One-Dimensional Man, Marcuse defines positivism as follows: "Positivism is a struggle against all metaphysics, transcendentalisms, and idealisms as obscurantist and repressive modes of thought."¹⁵ The positivist in Marcuse's opinion is an individual who experiences only the facts and not the factors, whose behavior therefore is one-dimensional and manipulated. Positivism criticizes within the social framework and labels non-positive notions as mere speculation, dreams or fantasies. The problem as Marcuse sees it, is that "not only the illusions are debunked but also the truth in those illusions."¹⁶ In positivism, the metaphysical dimension which was formerly a valid field of thought becomes irrational and unscientific.¹⁷

¹⁵Ibid., p. 172.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 188.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 173.

But as Marcuse points out in Reason and Revolution, the true reality of things can be comprehended only if the mere factuality is rejected. In order to do this philosophical thought has to move beyond the immediate experience of existence and turn to its historical structure: the principle of freedom.¹⁸

Marcuse also turns against the reality concept of the existentialist. He charges that existentialism gives the illusion of radicalism whereas in reality it perpetuates the dualism of inner freedom and outer enslavement. This critique becomes very explicit in Marcuse's article on Sartre. "The essential freedom of man, as Sartre sees it, remains the same before, during, and after the totalitarian enslavement of man. For freedom is the very structure of human being and cannot be annihilated even by the most adverse conditions. Man is free even in the hands of the executioner."¹⁹

In Marcuse's opinion, total empiricism reveals its ideological function in the contemporary philosophy of linguistic analysis.²⁰ Linguistic analysis, according to Marcuse, has a therapeutic function. It is supposed to cure thought from the ghosts of any metaphysical concept. He considers linguistic analysis as philosophic behaviorism that exhibits false concreteness whereas philosophic language should abstract "from the immediate concreteness in order to attain true concreteness."²¹ When

¹⁸Marcuse, Reason and Revolution, p. IX.

¹⁹Herbert Marcuse, "Existentialism: Remarks on Jean-Paul Sartre's *L'Être et le néant*," Philosophy and Phenomenological Research, VIII, 3 (March, 1948).

²⁰Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. 169.

²¹Ibid., p. 180.

concepts like mind, will, soul, and self are dissolved into behavioral operations, the access to true reality is blocked and the reality concept is confined to the experience of the immediate facts.

In Marcuse's view, the repression of unoperationalized concepts serves as a vehicle of coordination and subordination. The results, so Marcuse says, is a functional anti-critical and anti-dialectical language which transforms critical into positive thinking.²² But Marcuse believes that memory fights this closing of the universe. He is convinced that memory makes possible the development of concepts which open the universe. Memory acts as an agent to understand the world as a historical world. In this process, critical thought turns into historical consciousness.²³ History shows man's fight for freedom. This fight is a continuous fight which requires the negation of the accepted definitions of freedom. No concept is immune against history. All are subject to change as history changes.²⁴

Applied to Marcuse's reality concept, this means that true reality is not static but dynamic. Reality in his philosophy is not absolute in the sense of an immovable and unchangeable higher form, it is absolute in the sense that it transcends appearance and points the way to the changing and rising potentialities of reality. It demands the absolute realization of existing possibilities. The capability of seeing beyond the existing facts is the key for understanding freedom, for freedom to

²²Ibid., p. 97.

²³Ibid., p. 99.

²⁴Ibid., p. 216.

Marcuse means rational self-determination. The absolute negation of the existing is necessary to realize the possibilities. "Marcuse plunged into the depths of negation only in order to ascend to a more lofty vision of human affirmation."²⁵

The cultivation of reason and critical thought would be one of the highest tasks in this view since only reason can undermine the existing historical order insofar as that order is irrational. In the Hegelian dialectic, Marcuse finds the tool to bridge the gap between what is and what can be. This is possible because Marcuse interprets Hegel's dictum "the rational is the real and the real the rational" not as an acceptance of the established order but as a political and moral imperative.²⁶

In several of his books, Marcuse discusses the role of art in the discovery of reality. It violates the taboos established by society. Art is alienated from the established reality in spite of its use as a status symbol and refinement, because "it lends voice and sight and ear to things which are normally repressed."²⁷ In this process, the transcendent reality is uncovered, the one dimensionality of existence is overcome. Marcuse does insist, however, that art can open the universe only as art, in its own language and image, which invalidate the everyday language. In Marcuse's opinion, art has to promote the realization of reality but it cannot identify itself with the praxis of attaining that goal without losing its identification as art. It is through its form

²⁵Paul A. Robinson, The Freudian Left (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), p. 186.

²⁶Ibid., p. 157.

²⁷Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 100.

that art works in the established reality against the established reality.

Art for Marcuse is closely connected with science and philosophy. All three are conscious of the discrepancy between the real and the possible, between the apparent and the authentic truth, and all three try to comprehend and master this discrepancy.²⁸

If, as Marcuse argues in One-Dimensional Man, men are conditioned to be happy in a one-dimensional world, who can claim to see beyond this world? Who is capable to see beyond the irrationality of reality? Who can see the dormant potentials?

Plato believed that some men were genetically incapable of rising to the truth. Marcuse too is convinced that some people are hopeless and will never be able to fully develop their rational capacity necessary to go beyond the existing. Marcuse argues in Studies in Critical Philosophy, that "Freedom originates indeed in the mind of man, in his ability . . . to comprehend his world, and this comprehension is praxis in as much as it establishes a specific order of facts, a specific organization of the data of experience."²⁹

Most critics charge that Marcuse's theory would establish an intellectual ivory tower for an elite that has lost all touch with the mass of the people. Marcuse himself is acutely aware of the problems that his reality concept presents but he argues that intellectualism can lead

²⁸Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. 229.

²⁹Herbert Marcuse, Studies in Critical Philosophy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973), p. 217.

to the ivory tower but also to independent thinking.³⁰ Like Plato, Marcuse seems to be unable to envision the actual equality of all men. "Philosophy envisages the equality of man but, at the same time, it submits to the factual denial of equality."³¹ Not all men are capable of arriving at the truth.

One of the ways to minimize this difference among people is education. In all his writings Marcuse insists that education is the prerequisite for liberation of discovering reality behind the irrationality of actual existence.

Marcuse is convinced that there is an objective truth and that the true reality behind appearance can be discovered. If man has access to objective truth, it can be taught. One of the goals of education would be to ensure that all students are led to see this truth, and recognize it as the only truth. Since this truth is absent in our one-dimensional society, it "must be made present because the greater part of the truth is in that which is absent."³² The existing present represents both a negation as well as a realization of the universal. "Snow is white but not 'whiteness.'"³³

Education has to help the student develop his reason, his ability to think, the one faculty which enables him to act in accordance with ideas and principles that transcend the given reality. Education has

³⁰Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 128.

³¹Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. 129.

³²Marcuse, Reason and Revolution, p. X.

³³Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. 213.

to open the universe and make it two-dimensional, and education has to prepare students to see so that they may be able to change the present society into a better reality.

Marcuse's View on Knowledge

True reality lies beyond the present and obvious reality. It finds expression in the realization of human and social possibilities that are now repressed. Knowledge of this potentiality is necessary in order to change the present misery. The recognition of truth is based on the ability of the individual to think autonomously. He has to be able to free himself from the irrationality of society.

Marcuse sees an internal connection between liberty and truth. In "Repressive Tolerance" Marcuse defines liberty as self-determination and autonomy. He insists, however, that this autonomy is not based on the individual as a private person but on the individual as a human being who is capable of being free with the others.³⁴ This liberty cannot be achieved through compromise but only through genuine cooperation. Freedom and autonomy are the "work of a supra-individual historical Subjectivity in the individual--just as the Kantian categories are the syntheses of a transcendental Ego in the empirical Ego."³⁵

In his discussion, Marcuse contrasts the truth with what he considers to be mere fact and he insists that a person who is limited to the factual of this reality is not capable of knowing and of seeing the

³⁴Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 86.

³⁵Marcuse, Studies in Critical Philosophy, p. 217.

truth. The majority of the people, Marcuse claims, are not capable of thinking autonomously and consequently they cannot see truth and be in possession of true knowledge.

Marcuse believes that knowledge is based on recollection. He defines recollection as "synthesis, reassembling the bits and fragments which can be found in the distorted humanity and distorted nature. This recollected material has become the domain of the imagination, it has been sanctioned by the repressive societies in art, and as 'poetic truth.'"³⁶ The artist, according to Marcuse, can see the truth and present it in his work. Through the aesthetic form the artist pictures the liberated world. The truth, so claims Marcuse, appears as the hope at the end of Shakespeare's tragedies. It is in the beauty, tenderness, and passion of victims not in the rationality of oppressors.³⁷ These transcendent images of art resemble Plato's "innate ideas."

Marcuse again and again insists that reality, true knowledge, truth and freedom are based on the existing possibilities of mankind. These possibilities, however, do change in history. The possibilities to improve life now are quite different from those in antiquity. This means that reality, knowledge, truth, and freedom are only absolute as ideas, but that their actual nature changes with history. This is very explicitly stated in Counterrevolution and Revolt where Marcuse says, "Dialectical materialism understands freedom as historical, empirical transcendence, as a force of social change, transcending its immediate form

³⁶Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 70.

³⁷Ibid., p. 94.

also in a socialist society . . . This is the philosophical core of the theory of the permanent revolution."³⁸ Marcuse, in One-Dimensional Man and in An Essay on Liberation, vehemently rejects the relativism of modern philosophies but he himself seems to be a relativist too in that he believes everything changes with history, with time, and with place.³⁹

In Marcuse's opinion, knowledge is the ability to comprehend the world, and in this process a specific order of facts, a specific organization of the data of experience is established. The mind then subjects the data received to certain concepts of rigidly universal order in time and space.⁴⁰ For Marcuse, true knowledge tries to establish a connection between the abstract and the concrete social institutions and practices.

Knowledge is the ability to assess the present. It is recollection and prediction. It is the ability to abstract from the obvious and existing reality in order to discover the universal concepts. In this process knowledge opens the meaning of words and facts. Knowledge of the universals is the precondition for negation and criticism. Marcuse insists that knowledge originally was negative, e.g., highly critical of any established values and institutions.

In "Repressive Tolerance" Marcuse says that all those who can think autonomously can arrive at knowledge and can discover the truth. But he nowhere clearly states what the criteria are for thinking autonomously. From his writings, it appears that a precondition for autonomy is the

³⁸Ibid., p. 70.

³⁹Alasdair Macintyre, Herbert Marcuse (New York: Viking Press, 1970), p. 15.

⁴⁰Marcuse, Studies in Critical Philosophy, p. 217.

rejection of anything now existing. He himself admits that under this condition the majority of the people do not "know" because they are content with what is, and if they are for reforms they only favor step by step changes but hardly ever radical change. Knowledge depends on education, but while education is the essential prerequisite, it is not a guarantee that man will be free. To a certain degree man can know instinctually that things are wrong. Marcuse cites as an example for instinctual knowledge the rebellions of the oppressed in the third world. Marcuse insists, however, that instinctual knowledge is not sufficient because the instinctual sphere is manipulated too in our society. Intellectual knowledge is indispensable in the struggle for freedom.

From his view of reality, it is obvious that one of the forms of knowledge is the ability to see reality. Since it is a reality transcending the existing, this can only be accomplished through the process of thought and reason. The development of reason then is one of the most important objectives in education. The educational system has to provide instruction so that students can learn how to think.

Knowledge of the absolute truth is the main goal. Since the main goal is known, teaching has to be geared towards that goal. Teaching, therefore, cannot be neutral in the sense of treating crusades against humanity with the same impartiality as the struggles for humanity.⁴¹ Knowledge becomes the guide for political action. In order to arrive at knowledge the present education has to be reconstructed. Deceptive neutrality and apologetic teaching has to be counteracted. The students

⁴¹Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 113.

have to be provided with the conceptual instruments for evaluating their society. Everybody, Marcuse believes, can learn to think rationally to some degree. This demands, however, the abolition of the class character of education. All students have to have access to humanistic education.

Marcuse believes that knowledge is based on a theoretical and practical synthesis of experience. The ability to do this is freedom. To deny anybody the possibility to develop his reason is to deny him freedom. Education has to provide theoretical and practical leadership so that students can reach the maturity of their faculties. Marcuse admits that in the beginning only a few "know" but the aim of education is to open the doors of knowledge to everybody. "The answer to Plato's educational dictatorship is the democratic educational dictatorship of free men."⁴²

Marcuse does not satisfactorily answer how we can be sure that educators actually do know and how they are educated. Most of Marcuse's critics charge him with intellectual elitism, snobbery and pedagogical dictatorship. They argue that he looks at people as marionettes and is not really interested in the liberation of the people. Marcuse himself says that in the political sector, the New Left assumes an apparently elitarian character by virtue of its intellectual content. His answers to the charge of intellectual elitism is that the risk of an intellectual educational dictatorship would not be worse than the risk we take with the great liberal societies.⁴³

⁴²Ibid., p. 106.

⁴³Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. 41.

Although Marcuse insists that only intellectual training can provide the necessary theoretical leadership for qualitative change and that only a few people have been able to withstand the integration into the system he rejects the idea of intellectual elitism. He is opposed to a dictatorship by the intelligentsia and maintains that guidance of the intellectuals can only be effective in close communication with the masses.⁴⁴ According to his theory the actual political guidance of the intelligentsia would only be brief and would be replaced by a rule of all men. This position may be too idealistic but it does show that he does not advocate a pedagogical dictatorship. If his theory is misused it could, however, very easily turn into terror and tyranny.

Marcuse also rejects isolated intellectual skills and intellectualism for its own sake. Knowledge is not mere contemplative wisdom. Intellectual skills and capabilities have to become social and political factors.⁴⁵ Knowledge is to be used in the service of society. It has to become a guide for political action. In this goal Marcuse's educational philosophy agrees with reconstructionism. "Reconstructionism . . . seeks to design cultural patterns for the future upon the solid foundations of burgeoning knowledge about nature and man, and to develop viable means of establishing them . . . goals that are concretely grounded in experience and that invite practicable measures for human renewal."⁴⁶

⁴⁴Marcuse, private interview.

⁴⁵Herbert Marcuse, Eros and Civilization: A Philosophic Inquiry Into Freud, Boston: Beacon Press, 1955. Second edition with new preface, "Political Preface, 1966" (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), p. XXV.

⁴⁶Theodore Brameld, Patterns of Educational Philosophy (New York: Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1971), p. 347.

Marcuse believes that in order to be free men should not have to worry about their daily existence. Complete automation could free men economically and provide the basis for human liberation.

Knowledge is not only intellectual knowledge but it includes technical knowledge. Any education based on Marcuse's philosophy would educate all students in both areas.

In this sense he favors polytechnical education. He warns, however, that technical education should never lead to a reduction in humanistic education. Marcuse demands liberal education, an education in human excellence.

Marcuse's Value System

Marcuse insists that there are certain permanent values which are absolutely necessary if men and women want to live in a decent society, and these qualities are not relative. An individual does not have the right to base his values exclusively on personal preference.⁴⁷ Marcuse considers the realization of freedom an objective process in which an established society is transformed and based on the respective historical conditions.⁴⁸ The roots of this process are in Western civilization itself. According to Marcuse, it is Western thought that propagates the translation of internal values into external conditions of subjective ideas into objective reality and of ethics into politics. Freedom according to this definition is not confined to inner freedom that does not concern itself with outward conditions. True freedom has to find

⁴⁷Marcuse, private interview.

⁴⁸Herbert Marcuse, Soviet Marxism, A Critical Analysis (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 206.

realization in the mind as well as in the objective world. The translation of the humanistic values into practice is a political process. It involves society as a whole and not merely the private individual.⁴⁹

Marcuse calls one of the absolute and permanent values "non-alienated relationships." In non-alienated relationships human beings relate to each other as human beings and not as competitors or as exploiters.⁵⁰ The value of "non-alienated relationships" includes the value of love. In the Marcusean society of the future, the relation between man and man will have become thoroughly eroticised. Love will have taken the place of power.⁵¹

The value of love is both social-centered and self-centered. It finds its ultimate expression in social-self-realization. It dynamically connects economic, political, educational, and personal goals as well as scientific aesthetic and religious goals.⁵² People striving for this goal would be human, tender and sensuous. This eroticization does not have any thing in common with the liberalization of sexuality. On the contrary, the liberalization of sexuality, Marcuse argues, is a conscious device of the powers that are to repress the true liberation of the instinctual basis.⁵³

In the struggle against violence and exploitation, a new sensibi-

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 206.

⁵⁰Marcuse, private interview.

⁵¹Marcuse, Soviet Marxism, p. 453; One-Dimensional Man, p. 235.

⁵²Brameld, Patterns of Educational Philosophy, p. 421.

⁵³Herbert Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), p. 9.

lity will be born. At the present, the realization of this sensibility is limited to the aesthetic dimension. Only the writer and artist is allowed to name the otherwise unnameable.⁵⁴ In An Essay on Liberation, Marcuse demands an aesthetic ethos, which would involve all aspects of life. Under the aesthetic ethos the liberated consciousness would promote the development of a science and technology that would become art and art that would turn into reality. The new sensibility requires a revolution in perception. It also demands a new language to express the new values. The ability to see the truth and to communicate with each other is a precondition for the liberation of the senses and the discovery of new possibilities and capabilities.⁵⁵

Marcuse values critical thinking as a guide in the evaluation of the past for the present and the future. Critical thinking is based on freedom of thought and freedom of expression. It necessitates tolerance. Marcuse warns, however, that "this tolerance cannot be indiscriminate and equal with respect to the contents of expression, neither in word nor in deed; it cannot protect false words and wrong deeds which demonstrate that they contradict and counteract the possibilities of liberation."⁵⁶ This tolerance Marcuse calls destructive tolerance; it is in his eyes misplaced tolerance and a technique consciously used by the establishment to integrate any radical protest into the existing system.⁵⁷ Marcuse argues that tolerance should only be granted to progressive forces.

⁵⁴Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. 247.

⁵⁵Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 71.

⁵⁶Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 88.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 88.

In reality the issues may be much more complex and it may be much harder to decide which forces are on the progressive side than Marcuse seems to think. An issue can be dealt with from many angles. There is no single solution, there is no absolute right or wrong side to an issue. In order to overcome destructive tolerance, Marcuse demands non-authoritarian learning. People have to have the possibility to acquire full and unpartisan information. They have to have access to the complete facts.

The ability to see the facts and to evaluate them depends, in Marcuse's opinion, on the ability to think, to draw comparisons between the past and the present, between different places. It is quite obvious that the person who has a vast learning at his command is at an advantage in this process. Marcuse over and over again rejects the anti-intellectualism of the New Left. To him any successful change is based on reason. The demand for intellectualism therefore is not a demand for intellectual elitism but for intellectual tools that help to improve the present conditions. Marcuse argues the better the revolutionary is educated the better he will be able to lead the revolution to success.

Values which could be realized at this moment are the abolition of material poverty, peace, joy, and the abolition of labor. Progress in technology can provide freedom in the realm of necessity.⁵⁸ The striving for utopia is a concrete value for Marcuse. But for him, utopia loses its "phantastic" character since it represents a real alternative and possibility.⁵⁹ Marcuse cherishes political and intellectual freedom,

⁵⁸Marcuse, Negations, p. XX.

⁵⁹Marcuse, Five Lectures, 1970.

which presupposes freedom from the daily struggle for the necessities of life, which in turn presupposes the existence of a classless society.⁶⁰

In One-Dimensional Man, Marcuse says that the historical achievement of science and technology has rendered possible the translation of values into technical tasks. This could represent a new stage in the conquest of oppressive, unmastered forces in society as well as in nature. What, however, according to Marcuse, has happened is a welding together of technology and manipulation into new forms of social control. The entire society is organized and administered. Scientific facts and human values are separated. In this separation from the objective reality values have become subjective, they are not binding any more. Consequently they are mere ideals, and as mere ideals they cannot effectively oppose the established reality.⁶¹ The objective laws that govern life appear as calculable manifestations of scientific rationality.

The technical apparatus tends to invalidate any metaphysical values. In Marcuse's opinion, this process leads to the disintegration of the value of truth. Truth becomes one-dimensional and closed. As discussed earlier, empiricism, positivism, linguistic analysis, all help to close the depth of meaning and prevent the realization of the supreme value of "non-alienated relations."

In his prefabricated freedom of choice man cannot be free. Commodity society provides the illusion of freedom whereas in reality it destroys mental autonomy.⁶²

⁶⁰Marcuse, Soviet Marxism, p. 191.

⁶¹Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. 148.

⁶²Marcuse, Negations, p. 268.

The pacification of man and nature is a task that is future oriented. Only in a state of pacification can man fully develop his nonaggressive, erotic and receptive faculties. The transvaluation of present values will be led by those who can see behind present reality, for breaking through the administered consciousness is a precondition of liberation. The progress in freedom demands progress in the consciousness of freedom. The original link between science, art, and philosophy has to be reestablished in order to stop the disintegration of values.

In history the metaphysical stage precedes the scientific, but according to Marcuse, advanced industrial society could have a metaphysical transcendence. Marcuse very explicitly says that this is not a return to the past but the realization of the "good life" based on liberated technology. It is Marcuse's conviction that technology has to be guided by philosophical principles. Unless people can agree on basic philosophical principles, on truth, values and the nature of knowledge, there will be confusion as to what end technology should be used. It is one of the tasks of the intellectual to analyze problems and to provide guidance for their solution. Technology in itself is neutral, it can be used well and badly depending on the underlying motives and convictions. Since Marcuse does believe that some values are absolute, education should try to teach these values. In order to reach the value of autonomy and self fulfillment, Marcuse insists on uncensored equal and universal education.⁶³ He cherishes the values of humanism and believes that through education they could be translated into reality.⁶⁴

⁶³Marcuse, Five Lectures, p. 101; One-Dimensional Man, p. 44.

⁶⁴Marcuse, Soviet Marxism, p. 206.

Education has to provide opportunities for students to work together, to experience things together in order to see the relationship between men.

He values the all rounded person who can do many things well, the ideal of the Renaissance. The division of labor, rationalized and over-centralized working conditions have led to political and cultural coordination, to a corrosion of humanistic ethics. Education has to provide the opportunity to develop all faculties and abilities to their highest potential because universal all sided education toward exchangeability of functions is a precondition for liberation.⁶⁵

The ideal of the all rounded person is a dynamic fusion of economic, political, educational, and personal goals, as well as of scientific, aesthetic goals.⁶⁶ If man is free, Marcuse claims, he will be happy.⁶⁷

Marcuse's View on Human Nature

In "Political Preface" Marcuse says that "liberation of the instinctual needs for peace and quiet . . . presupposes liberation from repressive affluence."⁶⁸ This becomes increasingly harder as men grow less and less aware of the repression. Marcuse rejects economical as well as instinctual repression. The term repression, for him, includes anything that hinders autonomy or self-determination.

Freud insists that repression is necessary to build civilization. Marcuse agrees that a certain amount of repression is needed for individ-

⁶⁵Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. 44.

⁶⁶Brameld, Patterns of Educational Philosophy, p. 421.

⁶⁷Marcuse, Negations, p. 180.

⁶⁸Marcuse, "Political Preface," p. XIV.

ual and social existence. He distinguishes this basic repression which is humanizing from what he calls surplus repression. Surplus repression, he considers any repression which is not vital for men to live in a humane society. Surplus repression becomes apparent in the conditioning of the individual for affluent society. Marcuse charges that the scientific management of instinctual needs has become a vital factor in the reproduction of the system. Advertising conditions people to want things they don't need but that are necessary to keep the uninterrupted production and consumption of waste, gadgets and planned obsolescence going because affluent society depends on these means to contain radical change.⁶⁹

Man is concerned about status and wealth and willing to forego the capacity for autonomous moral judgment. Public and private spheres are no longer separated. Desires are imposed from outside, they are not growing inside the person. The organization of desires and needs makes possible a scientific manipulation of instincts. Society gives the illusion of freedom, but it is only an illusion. The discrepancy between existing reality and possibilities is so great that only through systematic manipulation a revolutionary explosion can be avoided.

Marcuse turns against the administered life, against alienated work relations, and against the integration of opposites which makes protest impotent. Alienation is most obvious in the work process. Through division of labor and the institution of private property, the worker is alienated from what he produces, and consequently, he is

⁶⁹Ibid., p. XII.

alienated from himself.⁷⁰ In its present form, labor cripples. According to Marcuse, automation is advanced enough to discontinue many jobs to allow people to be free. Instead, people are misused for unproductive activities, and during their free time, they are steered into administered cultural activities that are sponsored by the government and the big corporations, "an extension of their executive arm into the soul of the masses."⁷¹ Marcuse envisions a revolutionary change in the work-world. "Workers would cease to be the 'principal agents' of material production, and become its 'supervisors and regulators.'"⁷² When the material needs are fulfilled and the struggle for existence ends, Marcuse argues, society can dispense with the regulation of the instinctual and intellectual life of its members.⁷³ Once social labor is organized rationally, there will be harmony between ethical and political values. This harmony will mean political and intellectual freedom. It can be realized only if the individual does not have to fight for the daily struggle for the necessities of life. This in turn presupposes a classless society.⁷⁴ Marx felt that labor would always be unfree, that man could only be free outside the realm of necessity. Marcuse, on the other hand, thinks that the realm of freedom can appear within the realm of necessity due to change in technology over the last one hundred years.

⁷⁰Marcuse, Reason and Revolution, p. 277.

⁷¹Marcuse, "Political Preface," p. XXIII.

⁷²Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation, p. 49.

⁷³Marcuse, Soviet Marxism, p. 166.

⁷⁴Marcuse, Studies in Critical Philosophy, p. 215; Soviet Marxism, p. 191.

Marcuse is convinced that the rift between work and pleasure can be overcome in post capitalist society.

Repression is not limited to work relations. Repression also takes the form of sexual repression. Freud argues that sexuality originates in general eroticism that involves the whole body. The infant, for example, gets pleasure out of his entire body. The sexual concentration of the genitals is gradual. Marcuse claims that the sexual concentration on the genitals and the accompanying desexualization of the rest of the body is stressed and promoted by society because this leaves the rest of the body free for use as an instrument of labor.⁷⁵ Man therefore is alienated from his body. He can no longer experience his entire body as a source for pleasure. Marcuse, in Eros and Civilization, correlates the repression of pregenital sexuality with the economic needs of the capitalist society.

Marcuse requires that sexuality be liberated. The political rebellion has to be connected with the moral-sexual rebellion.⁷⁶ Sexual repression is surplus repression in Marcuse's eyes but sexual permissiveness is surplus repression too. It is a way to contain the sexual revolution, it is an attempt to make real protest ineffective. It gives the illusion of freedom. Marcuse does believe in sexual restraint, he turns against what he calls sexual surplus repression.

In An Essay on Liberation Marcuse states that the constant manipulation of consciousness, needs and wants does create a certain aggres-

⁷⁵Marcuse, Eros and Civilization, p. 48.

⁷⁶Marcuse, Five Lectures, p. 92.

siveness. The struggle for existence continues as former luxuries become basic needs. This aggressiveness which the establishment is aware of has to be channeled in the "right" direction to prevent it from turning against the system itself.⁷⁷ To keep people in line a common enemy is found and identified and inflated out of all proportions. This device, Marcuse argues, diverts attention from the real problems. Aggression is also converted into socially useful aggression, like production of waste and construction of guns and bombs. "Just as in the contemporary scientific enterprise, so in the economic enterprise and in that of the nation as a whole, constructive and destructive achievements, work for life and work for death, procreating and killing are inextricably united."⁷⁸ Aggression is often socially useful destructiveness, but at the same time it is fateful because of its self-propelling force.

The tyranny of false needs, manipulation and alienation has to be overthrown within the individual. Ability for individual self-determination is the precondition for liberation. As people become disillusioned with consumer society, there is the possibility for a basis for the transition from slave to free man. Marcuse envisions this turn as a revolution in perception, conscience and sensibility.⁷⁹

In Marcuse's opinion the long process of repression has adapted people to their state of unfreedom. "The needs of a repressive society have become their own; social compulsion appears as the liberty of the

⁷⁷Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation, p. 50.

⁷⁸Marcuse, Negations, p. 257.

⁷⁹Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation,

individual."⁸⁰ The liberation of man therefore requires biological changes in affluent man.⁸¹ The domination of the instinctual level has to be broken. Man's primary impulses and senses have to be recovered so that they may serve as foundations for the new rationality. Marcuse requires nothing less than a change of human nature. He requires "the emergence of a new type of man, different from the human subject of class society in his very nature, in his physiology."⁸²

Man would acquire a new conscience, a new sensibility. Marcuse discusses this new sensibility throughout his work, but pays particular attention to it in An Essay on Liberation. Marcuse realizes that it is hard to make people see the necessity for a new sensibility if they have achieved pacification up to a certain point. But he insists that the will itself has to be transformed so that people no longer want what they now want.⁸³ Liberation requires liberty or at least the ability to see through the irrationality of existing reality. Liberation becomes increasingly harder as society becomes more and more one-dimensional and the private realm where the individual can be himself is getting smaller and smaller. Marcuse is not against the harmony between the individual and society as such. In the "good" society man may gain true individuality through the identification with all people. Marcuse is against this harmony when the conditions for the development as a human being

⁸⁰Marcuse, Studies in Critical Philosophy, p. 221.

⁸¹Marcuse, "Political Preface," p. XXV.

⁸²Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 64.

⁸³Marcuse, Five Lectures, p. 77.

are not in accord with the available possibilities of freedom, peace, and happiness.⁸⁴ Marcuse demands that the emancipation of the senses be accompanied by the emancipation of consciousness. Man has to be involved with his whole being. Marcuse hopes that a new consciousness can overcome the dualism of idealism where man is free in thought but chained in reality. Only a radical political consciousness can recognize and overthrow the politics of domination.⁸⁵

Marcuse believes that some people are so hopelessly indoctrinated that they will never be able to see things as they really are.⁸⁶ The majority, he is convinced, can be educated for liberation. Marcuse considers it as absolutely essential that there are at least some human beings with new values and new aspirations who can prepare the ground for the general liberation. The leaders in this process are those that have had intellectual training, people who can think on their own. It includes people from those groups that assume an increasingly vital role in the process of production, namely, the cadres of the technical and scientific intelligentsia, who in turn would activate the consciousness of the traditional working classes. Although the intelligentsia leads this process the individuals have to eventually liberate themselves. Liberation cannot come from without. No institution and no group of people, Marcuse repeatedly insists, can demand the right to decide what needs should be developed and satisfied.⁸⁷ Marcuse, in fact, rejects

⁸⁴Marcuse, Negations, p. 254.

⁸⁵Marcuse, Studies in Critical Philosophy, p. 223.

⁸⁶Marcuse, Five Lectures, p. 102.

⁸⁷Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. 6.

the idea of leadership of the intelligentsia. He envisions much more a guidance of the intelligentsia rather than a hierarchical order. The intellectuals emerge from the people and stay in constant cooperation with the people. They will formulate the basic philosophy for the qualitative change of life and discuss it, but not lay down the law.⁸⁸ Nowhere does Marcuse say exactly how educators are educated. The only criteria for their competency that he cites is their ability to think and their determination to radically change existing reality.

Marcuse defines the goals of the change of human nature with pacification of existence, freedom, liberation, and new sensibility. The essence of man is, in Marcuse's view, an ideal that shows the possibilities of man. The realization of these possibilities will bring the fulfillment of everything that man wants to be.⁸⁹ The new man would be "nonviolent, nondestructive; oriented on the life-enhancing, sensuous, aesthetic qualities inherent in nature."⁹⁰ In "Political Preface," Marcuse describes this new man as follows: "man intelligent enough and healthy enough to dispense with all heroes and heroic virtues, man without the impulse to live dangerously, to meet the challenge; man with the good conscience to make life an end-in-itself, to live in joy a life without fear."⁹¹ The new human being that does not exist yet would no longer tolerate aggression, domination, ugliness, and hypocrisy. The

⁸⁸Marcuse, private interview.

⁸⁹Marcuse, Negations, p. 72.

⁹⁰Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 67.

⁹¹Marcuse, "Political Preface," p. XIV.

liberated consciousness would use science and technology in the service of freedom. Nature would be changed to allow a humanization of life. The present cities would be dissolved to make possible quality life.⁹²

Marcuse does not mention the possibility of new forms of conflict and domination at some time in the future after human nature has changed. Based on examples from history, this absolute belief in the realization of pacification and liberation appears utopian. Marcuse seems to indicate that once man has regained his reason, a permanent and everlasting stage will have been reached. This conclusion Marcuse rejects, however, he insists that the development of man is a permanent process, a permanent revolution.

Human nature changes and will continue to change as society changes. The goal remains the same in the sense that it always represents the highest possible realization of man's potentiality but in practical terms the goal does not remain fixed. It changes with history. Human needs are historically determined and historically mutable.

If this is the case, the question arises why the human needs that Marcuse and his followers believe to be most important, are superior to the needs that are thought important by other people. Marcuse's ideas are subject to the change of history too under this view. Marcuse might argue that he does not consider his proposed needs as the absolute best, but as the ones that are best at this particular time, and that he considers it his obligation to make people conscious of the possibilities of human nature and also of the forces that hinder the realization of these possibilities now.

⁹²Keen and Raser, "A Conversation with Herbert Marcuse," p. 61.

The main problem with Marcuse's view on human nature is that he nowhere clearly states how exactly this change would be achieved. On the one hand, he seems to give the impression of favoring a kind of social engineering and manipulation towards the new and "right" goals.⁹³ On the other hand, he very strongly rejects any conditioning of the individual. In "Repressive Tolerance," he demands that facts be slanted in favor of the Left so that people may see the irrationality of the existing society.⁹⁴ In a personal interview with this researcher, Marcuse definitely rejected any idea of favoring a certain side.

You have to give the students the facts and make the facts speak for themselves. The good teacher who is really giving them the facts will not have to make propaganda. The students can, by themselves, come to the conclusion this is the way their society is. It does not have to be this way, what can we do about it? That you can learn. A certain bias you will always have. If you think the bias is from the right you can go to the left and correct and the other way around. Gradually you are coming to the position where you can decide what to do with the facts.⁹⁵

This definitely presents a change in position from "Repressive Tolerance." Marcuse does not say what should be done if people will not see things as he thinks they should be seen. He sometimes advocates persuasion, at other times he turns against any type of indoctrination even if or especially if it is for the good. He believes that the Left does not need any propaganda. Knowing the facts and being able to explain the facts is enough to justify a leftist policy.

⁹³Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 99.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 99.

⁹⁵Marcuse, private interview.

The individuals will have to decide for themselves and bring about their own liberation. But Marcuse is convinced that free individuals will agree with him. One thing which Marcuse is very clear about is that a change in human nature is based on education and the goal of this education is to develop the reasonable capacity of man.

Since, according to Marcuse, bourgeois education has introjected in people utilitarian goals, the new education would have to change this manipulation so that people can find new goals.⁹⁶ Education is a guide but the actual liberation has to come from the individuals themselves. Through courses in history, art, literature, science, and political education, the educational system has to provide the resources so that students can see the manipulation of human nature. Seeing the truth would be the first requirement towards effective change. The actual change of human nature, however, goes beyond the scope and ability of the school.⁹⁷ This involves changes in the economic and political area.

Marcuse's Social Thought

Marcuse says that all throughout history to the very present, the liberty of some has always been based on the servitude of others. He further contends that the only true freedom has been an "inner freedom" disconnected from existing outer conditions. In Marcuse's view, true freedom has never been a historical reality. The official argument has always been that freedom to determine one's own life without depriving

⁹⁶Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 82.

⁹⁷Marcuse, private interview.

others of this ability has necessarily been precluded by the persistence of scarcity, the requirements of the struggle of nature, and the asocial character of human nature.⁹⁸ Marcuse holds the thesis that the development of science and technology have made possible the elimination of scarcity but he argues that the technology is misused to dominate man.

In his discussion of the history of culture, Marcuse stresses two features. The first is an intensifying rift between the inner and outer world in the bourgeois culture. The second one is the separation of work and happiness. Freedom is freedom from work. This view further tends to widen the gap of inner freedom and outer necessity and toil. The latter is made more palatable by surrounding it with the ideas of duty, sacrifice and dedication in order to reconcile the masses to their unhappy fate as hard-working servants. Under such conditions, Marcuse considers it the essential function of philosophy to criticize what exists and to criticize in the light of what could be. He insists that all the material and intellectual forces which could be put to work for the realization of a free society are at hand.⁹⁹

Marcuse bases his own theory of society essentially on three men: Hegel, Marx and Freud. He especially interprets Hegel and Freud in a new light. Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory is dedicated to a highly original analysis of Hegel. Marcuse believes that Hegel sees civil society basically from the same viewpoint as Kant: as a universal coercive order for the safeguarding of the property of

⁹⁸Marcuse, Studies in Critical Philosophy, pp. 212-213.

⁹⁹Marcuse, Five Lectures, p. 64.

free private property owners.¹⁰⁰ Hegel, in Philosophy of Right, argues that the creation of wealth is closely connected with the dependence and distress of those that work. Marcuse sees in this the first breakthrough of the revolutionary character of dialectic into the dimension of civil society. Much of Reason and Revolution is devoted to the thesis that a direct line goes from Hegel to Marx.

Marcuse concentrates on three themes in Hegel to establish him as a revolutionary: alienation, conflict and labor. Both Hegel and Marx consider the institution of private property as the basis of alienation. Marcuse believes that for both Hegel and Marx the system of conflicting social forces has its origins in the mode of social labor. Marcuse argues that Hegel thought it was necessary to transcend the existing social order to rationalize reality.¹⁰¹ Hegel sees progress in freedom, e.g., the development to higher stages, as a historical necessity. In Marcuse's opinion, Hegel inseparably links progress in freedom to progress in thought. Marcuse believes that the history of philosophy reaches a climax in Hegel. Hegel completes philosophy. In Marx philosophy is overcome and replaced by a social theory which makes possible the transformation of thought and of social reality.

If Hegel is a revolutionary, as Marcuse thinks, then of course he could not be a forerunner of Nazism. Marcuse is convinced that Nazism has its roots in the nineteenth century. In Soviet Marxism, he argues that Nazism grew out of liberalism, the central nineteenth cen-

¹⁰⁰Marcuse, Studies in Critical Philosophy, p. 96.

¹⁰¹Robinson, The Freudian Left, p. 163.

tury ideological tradition which on the surface seemed most hostile to totalitarianism.¹⁰² What Marcuse does not see or neglects is Hegel's theoretical debt to European conservatism.

For Marx, as well as for Hegel, history means progress in the consciousness of freedom, progress from alienation to self-realization. Marcuse believes that the economic criticism of Marx grew out of Hegel's thought. According to Marcuse, Marx has overcome philosophy. All the philosophical concepts of Marxian theory are social and economic categories.¹⁰³

In Marx, Marcuse concentrates on three things: alienation, consciousness and communism. Alienation grows out of the separation of the worker from the means of production by private owners. The possession of the means of production is the basic precondition to overcome alienation. This is based on growth in political consciousness and revolutionary awareness.¹⁰⁴ Marcuse argues that in Marx, "freedom does not appear as a historical imperative, in the sense that the prevailing conditions 'prescribe' it as the necessary next . . . stage of the development."¹⁰⁵ Marcuse points out repeatedly that there is the possibility both of liberation and of servitude in the future. As to the concept of communism Marcuse insists that communally owned property is the precondition but not a guarantee of liberation.

¹⁰²Marcuse, Soviet Marxism, p. 221.

¹⁰³Marcuse, Reason and Revolution, p. 318.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 318.

¹⁰⁵Marcuse, Studies in Critical Philosophy, p. 214.

In Eros and Civilization Marcuse attempts to bring Freudian theory into line with the categories of Marxism. In Eros and Civilization, Marcuse tries to prove that "beneath the apparent pessimism and conservatism of Freud's thought was an underlying critical tendency . . . which contained both a crushing indictment of the established civilization and a promise of ultimate liberation."¹⁰⁶ Marcuse undertakes a systematic analysis of psychoanalytic theory in order to reveal its critical, even revolutionary, implications. For Freud civilization is based on the repression of instinctual desires. The pleasure principle cannot govern the life of the free individual. For Freud then, the theory of society is based upon two contrasts, that between freedom and happiness and that between sexuality and civilization.¹⁰⁷ Marcuse argues that these contrasts are the result of specific institutions which belong to particular stages of human development. The two concepts he introduces in order to overcome the gap and to establish Freud as a revolutionary are surplus repression and the performance principle. As with Hegel Marcuse neglects Freud's conservatism in his interpretation.

The development of Marcuse's theory of society is closely connected with his work at the Institute for Social Research. In 1923, the Institute for Social Research was founded as an affiliate of the University of Frankfurt. The purpose of the Institute was the interdisciplinary study of problems in social theory with the goal of integrating the social sciences into a comprehensive theory of society. The analysis of con-

¹⁰⁶Robinson, The Freudian Left, p. 195.

¹⁰⁷Macintyre, Herbert Marcuse, p. 47.

temporary society and its historical roots was called "the critical theory of society." Marcuse joined the Institute in 1932. Other men at the Institute were Max Horkheimer, Frederick Pollack, Leo Lowenthal, Erich Fromm, Franz Neumann, and Theodor Adorno. The critical theory of society represents an effort to synthesize Hegel, Marx and Freud. The school very strongly reacted to the rise of Nazism. The principles on which the critical theory is founded are: (1) The concrete social reality is always changing, even though the basic form persists. This means that the critical theory and political practice cannot orient themselves on a revolutionary concept of the nineteenth century. The critical analysis of this society calls for new moral, political and aesthetic categories; (2) Theoretical constructions are part of concrete social reality and as such, their change with time is an objective necessity. The initial theory does not pretend to be neutral. It has a definite goal, the complete change of existing conditions. It examines the present situation from the standpoint of a goal to be realized. Critical theory, therefore, has to be concrete and specific. It is a connection of theory and practice. Marcuse stresses this throughout Negations. "From the beginning the critical theory of society was constantly involved in philosophical as well as social issues and controversies . . . The philosophical contents relevant to the theory are to be deduced from the economic structure."¹⁰⁸ This unity of theory and practice, Marcuse points out, is a basic principle in Marxism.¹⁰⁹ In

¹⁰⁸Marcuse, Negations, pp. 134-135.

¹⁰⁹Herbert Marcuse, "Beitrage zur Phanomenologie des Historischen Materialismus," Philosophische Hefte, No. 1 (1928), p. 45.

One-Dimensional Man, Marcuse says that the increasing irrationality of reality validates the principles of critical theory. The theory is both past and future oriented. Critical theory wants to preserve historical alternatives that have become utopian possibilities. In this connection, Marcuse emphasizes the critical character of idealist philosophy, its demand for rationality and happiness. Today these ideals, Marcuse suggests, have been adopted by critical philosophy. The theory does insist that the goals adopted must present a real possibility of the present. Many critics denounce the theory as utopian but Marcuse maintains that the utopian element has long been the only progressive element in philosophy and that it is a necessary part of any reconstruction effort of society. The critical theory of society "took" as its basis the viewpoint that science had sufficiently demonstrated its ability to serve the development of the productive forces and to open up new potentialities of a richer existence.¹¹⁰ The critical theory presupposes the disengagement of science from the established relations of domination. Critical theory is also critical of itself. Marcuse thinks that the weakest point of the theory is its inability to demonstrate the liberating tendencies within the established society. Marcuse believes that the theory can only be radical if it actualizes the needs of the masses. The masses, according to Marcuse, are absorbed by the values of commodity society. The critical theory then loses its connection with practice for the future. Marcuse, himself, admits at the end of One-Dimensional Man that the critical theory of society possesses no concept which could

¹¹⁰Marcuse, Negations, p. 156.

bridge the gap between the present and future. Marcuse's strong criticism of society is based on the concept of one-dimensionality. He devotes a whole book to the analysis of affluent society. Affluent society is sick because it does not permit the use of the available material and intellectual resources for the optimal development and satisfaction of individual needs.

As pointed out earlier, the cause for one-dimensionality lies partly in positivism, empiricism and linguistic analysis. Since they rely on facts only they close the entire area of metaphysical concepts. The existing reality consequently appears as rational. If people can be effectively convinced of the truth of this argument, any change is contained within the system. Radical change of the system itself is made impossible. Marcuse argues that the system consciously uses this process in order to divert any rebelling forces that threaten the system as a whole. Protest is absorbed into the system. Marcuse charges that the one-dimensionality is total and includes all facets of life.

In language, the closing of any metaphysical dimension is clearly shown in the turn towards behavioral objectives, Marcuse claims. The communication of transcending contents becomes technically impossible. Words become cliches and they can be interpreted only in one way. Concepts that cannot be put into behavioral objectives are rendered illusory and meaningless.¹¹¹ Language is taken out of its historical context. Marcuse sees in this process, a "democratic abolition of thought."¹¹² The

¹¹¹Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. 15.

¹¹²Marcuse, Negations, p. XIII.

necessity of thought is wiped out and the scientific management of instinctual needs becomes a vital factor in the reproduction of the system. Any opposition in the instinctual sphere is absorbed. The result is the belief that the real is rational and that the system delivers the goods. This reflects the new conformism which is a facet of technological rationality translated into social behavior. The individual loses his critical consciousness in the process.

The same phenomenon can be observed in the area of art and literature. In Marcuse's opinion, the antagonism between culture and social reality is flattened out through the obliteration of the oppositional, alien and transcendent elements in the higher culture through which it constitutes another dimension of reality. "This liquidation of two-dimensional culture takes place not through the denial and rejection of the 'cultural values,' but through their wholesale incorporation into the established order, through their reproduction and display on a massive scale."¹¹³ When higher culture becomes part of the material culture, it loses the greater part of its truth, Marcuse insists.

In his opinion, science too has been misused for the domination of man and nature. The individual has to be adapted to affluent society which depends on waste and gadgets. Technology becomes a new instrument of enslavement rather than liberation.

The integrated man lives in a society without opposition. Mass democracy provides the illusion of freedom and self-determination, but transcending political forces are arrested within society. As an example,

¹¹³Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. 57.

Marcuse cites the communist parties of France and Italy, which in his opinion play the historical role of legal opposition condemned to be non-radical.¹¹⁴ Men, so Marcuse charges, are scientifically manipulated and repressed to accept the growing one-dimensionality of life. Marcuse measures the repressiveness of society, not against past conditions but against future possibilities. Consequently he can argue that the affluence and even the high degree of freedom enjoyed by American society constitute subtle forms of surplus repression.¹¹⁵ Sexual repression falls into this category. In Marcuse's opinion, there is no longer any need for the kind of sexual repression which had accompanied the rise of modern capitalism. Sexuality for Marcuse, is something which must be liberated if man is to be liberated. Marcuse argues that man is exploited and alienated in all phases of his existence, in his thinking and in his activity, but the majority is not aware of this since the increasing comforts of life absorb his critical faculties. The misuse of tolerance, the tolerance of repressive forces is another tool of manipulation to contain radical change within society. According to Marcuse, repressive tolerance is generated by an economy based on planned obsolescence. In "Repressive Tolerance" Marcuse states that tolerance originally was based on the assumption that people were free, but if people are not free universal toleration becomes questionable.¹¹⁶ Then tolerance becomes repressive. The dehumanization of the process

¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 20.

¹¹⁵p. Eidelbert, "The Temptation of Herbert Marcuse," Review of Politics (October, 1969), p. 443.

¹¹⁶Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 90.

of production, the conditions of crowding and worse characteristic of a mass society, the resulting injuries to the instinctual structure do lead to frustration and aggression. Marcuse suggests that this aggression finds an outlet in the beloved automobile. The manufacturers sell a Thunderbird, Fury, Tempest, and the oil industry puts "a tiger in your tank."¹¹⁷ Marcuse sees a whole new form of technological aggression developing. He hypothesizes that with the delegation of destruction to an object like a rocket or a missile the instinctual satisfaction is reduced and frustrated. This frustration easily leads to repetition and escalation, to increased violence. At the same time the feeling for personal responsibility is weakened, "the new modes of aggression destroy without getting one's hands dirty, one's body soiled, one's mind incriminated."¹¹⁸ Here too Marcuse sees an increasing one-dimensionality. Destructive work becomes useful since it maintains the existing power. Work for life and work for death are inextricably united. The present system of violence, manipulation, alienation, and repression, Marcuse insists, can only be improved through a revolution. In One-Dimensional Man he argues that existing institutions are used as manipulative tools by the powers that be. Affluent society works through waste and destruction, because technology has been perverted. One-dimensional society has made simple opposition within the system non-antagonistic. The opposition is sucked into the very world which it opposes. Affluent society sustains injustice, exploitation, and repression. In Marcuse's view, a revolution would represent an important

¹¹⁷Marcuse, Negations, p. 260.

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 265.

step forward in man's efforts to rationalize his world.¹¹⁹ This change cannot be brought about within the democratic process because the law in existence serves the status quo.¹²⁰ Marcuse insists, in An Essay on Liberation, that the present society has invalidated its own laws and betrayed its ideals of justice, equality and liberty. In order to fulfill these ideals of the Western civilization, the present system has to be destroyed. Marcuse tries to anchor the right of resistance and disobedience in the history of Western civilization. In "Political Preface" he defines a revolution as a new hope, as a new starting point for mankind.¹²¹

What would the revolution be like that Marcuse so eloquently proposes and requires? Marcuse is not quite clear whether this revolution would be a mass upheaval or whether it would be a long process of change. He also is unspecific on how exactly power would be exercised during any transition period. In An Essay on Liberation, he writes that change within the system would mean eternal delay. Change has to be radical, fast and absolute, not evolutionary. In other writings he sees the revolution as a process that can last many decades and includes work within the system against the system, some kind of evolution. In the interview with this researcher, Marcuse insisted that there was no contradiction in this position. In his opinion, "the alternative is, not democratic evolution versus radical action, but rationalization of the status quo versus change."¹²²

¹¹⁹Marcuse, Reason and Revolution, pp. 5-6.

¹²⁰Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation, p. 67.

¹²¹Marcuse, "Political Preface," p. XXV.

¹²²Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation, p. 69.

In Soviet Marxism, Marcuse talks about different phases of the revolution and insists that the revolution means moving from one step to the next. In the beginning of this process the higher goals of the revolution will necessarily conflict with the self-realization of the individual.¹²³ In Counterrevolution and Revolt he talks about the revolution as a qualitative leap, a radical rupture with existing society. In his revolution, Marcuse faces the old problem of the desires of the individual and of self realization versus necessary control and laws. He tries to overcome the problem through changing human nature. Man will acquire a new sensibility. Marcuse does not come up with a satisfactory answer of how to actually accomplish this ideal.

Marcuse thinks that the necessary repression at the beginning of the revolution would be accepted by the people as self-imposed. Besides that he hopes that the first phase would pass very fast but he does not go into any details. In Counterrevolution and Revolt Marcuse sees the revolution as a process for which careful preparation is necessary. Here he defines preparation for the revolution as education for the revolution. This education does not only include political education for training revolutionary cadres, although this is a part of it, it includes the mastering of the system while undermining it. He accepts Rudi Dutschke's strategy of the "long march through the institutions."¹²⁴ Marcuse even suggests that compromises may be necessary at the beginning. From this it is obvious that the key to a successful revolution is education and

¹²³Marcuse, Soviet Marxism, p. 6.

¹²⁴Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 55.

takes time. How violent and bloody would this revolution be? In his most popular writings, One-Dimensional Man, An Essay on Liberation, and "Repressive Tolerance," he seems to support and advocate any kind of revolutionary terror because this revolution is directed against the existing system in its entirety, not just against certain aspects of it. Therefore, the violence of the revolution is necessarily illegal in relation to the existing law. In Soviet Marxism, Marcuse distinguishes between two kinds of terror--progressive and regressive terror. He defines revolutionary terror as progressive because, he insists, it brings growth of true freedom. He defines this distinction in more detail in Five Lectures. "The violence of revolutionary terror . . . is very different from that of the White terror, because revolutionary terror as terror implies its own abolition in the process of creating a free society, which is not the case for the White terror."¹²⁵ He advocates guerrilla warfare, wildcat strikes, heckling, and any type of direct action. In "Repressive Tolerance" he justifies the use of extralegal means if the legal means have proved to be inadequate.¹²⁶ In the same book he argues that revolutionary violence alone can break the historical continuum of injustice and cruelty and bring progress in civilization. The only "legal" and progressing opposition is extra-parliamentary opposition.¹²⁷ The New Left eagerly accepted his advocacy of violence as a justification of terror. It seems that over the

¹²⁵Marcuse, Five Lectures, p. 103.

¹²⁶Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 116.

¹²⁷Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation, p. 65.

last few years Marcuse's open support and request for actual terror has somewhat disappeared. In An Essay on Liberation he, on the one hand, turns against existing democratic legality while on the other hand, he says it would be fatal to abandon the existing system completely. He is aware that revolutionary violence can turn into cruelty, brutality and terror, but he hopes that this will be prevented. Looking at past revolutions, this hope seems somewhat naive. Over the last few years Marcuse seems to stress the importance of the right revolutionary tactics much more. Tactics include evaluation of the situation, possibility of success, organization of solidarity and systematic education programs for the revolution. In an interview in Psychology Today in 1971, he definitely retreats from his previous position. "I have probably emphasized unduly the most extreme and radical goals of the revolution to be . . . there are acts of violence by pseudopolitical radicals that I think are stupid, criminal, and only play into the hands of the Establishment."¹²⁸ Marcuse has definitely turned against torture and the intentional killing of innocent people even if this is in the interest of the revolution. He insists that there are certain means that are not justified in any revolution.¹²⁹

It seems one of the reasons for this change in position is the fact that terror cannot be used effectively for any length of time, that in the long run it is counterproductive. It is also possible that the violence practiced by the New Left has cautioned him to completely trust

¹²⁸Keen and Raser, "A Conversation with Herbert Marcuse," pp. 64-66.

¹²⁹Marcuse, private interview.

the revolutionary forces so that now he seems to be much more willing to work within existing institutions.

Marcuse invisions nothing less than a total revolution that is carried out on an international scale and involves every facet of individual and social life. Marcuse argues that affluence at home is based on exploitation abroad. The liberation of consciousness cannot be brought about without the liberation in the third world. Only if the superpowers lose their strength can suppression in the backward countries come to an end. Marcuse believes that the revolutionary experiments in Cuba and North Vietnam have not been able to be one hundred percent successful because these countries cannot concentrate on their new social forms but have to defend themselves against the East and Western superpowers. It seems somewhat simplistic to lay all the problems and repression of these countries at the doorstep of capitalism.

This worldwide revolution is of course a political revolution. The existing political system is overthrown and liberated people with a new sensibility and consciousness take over. What Marcuse calls "mock-democracy" will be replaced with true democracy. In Counterrevolution and Revolt, Marcuse says, "From the beginning, the personal and particular liberation, refusal, withdrawal, must proceed within the political context."¹³⁰ Only if all parts of the revolution are seen in a political context can there be hope of qualitative change. If this connection is not guaranteed, then opposition will be neutralized by the establishment.¹³¹

¹³⁰Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 49.

¹³¹Ibid., p. 61.

The revolution affects art, culture, science and the instinctual sphere of man. Marcuse argues that the essence of art is criticism, the negation of what appears as real. Art has to free itself from the establishment and avoid ritualization. He turns against the organization and marketing of pop art and happenings. Art can be liberating only if it is negative.

In One-Dimensional Man Marcuse stresses the necessity for revolutionary change in technology. Some critics have seen this as a sign of Marcuse's opposition to science. Nothing could be further from the truth. Marcuse's utopian society is based on science and technology. His liberated man can only exist with complete automation. What Marcuse demands is the liberation of technology from abuse for waste and destruction. Technology is supposed to help in the conquest of oppressive and unmastered forces in society and nature. It is supposed to help the life and not the death instinct.

According to Marcuse the translation of technical capabilities into reality necessarily involves a revolution.¹³² This revolution is an economic revolution and a cultural revolution. The entire culture is changed in the process. The cultural revolution is not a mere reevaluation of the past and the present. It strikes at the roots of capitalism. As such it is, in Marcuse's eyes, a radically progressive force. Still Marcuse seems hesitant about as radical a cultural revolution as in China. He cherishes the past and its achievements. To him past culture, art, and literature have universal meanings that should not be destroyed, but preserved and studied.

¹³²Marcuse, "Political Preface," p. XV.

The revolution definitely is a change in the possession of the means of production. Alienated labor would end due to the blessings of automation. Marcuse seems to see manual labor done for a living as definitely oppressive that hinders true self-realization of the individual. Still, he admits that certain things will have to be done but hopes and insists that a new human being will not experience them as oppressive. This particular change in human nature has been examined at more detail in the last chapter.

It has been pointed out before that Marcuse believes the revolution has to come from outside the system. The traditional Marxian revolutionary agent is the proletariat because the working class being at the bottom of the social class system has been the most exploited. Communism has kept this concept, at least theoretically, but has included the workers on farms in the proletariat. Marcuse all but excludes the proletariat from a leading role in the revolution. He argues that the proletariat today is a part of the middle class. They are well off materialistically and they rather like the existing system. If anything, they are against the revolution. This presents a major break with a basic foundation of Marxism and Marcuse is well aware of this. In Soviet Marxism he justifies his position by saying that Marx and Engels were already aware of the problem of the Verbürgerlichung des Proletariats.¹³³ Marcuse, based on the principle of history, argues that presently critical theory and political practice cannot rely on the revolutionary concepts of the nineteenth century. The idea of a revolution as a large upheaval led by a revolutionary

¹³³Marcuse, Soviet Marxism, p. 89.

party is outdated.¹³⁴ He considers the working class still as important but its radicalization has to be brought from outside its ranks. "The new political consciousness of the vital need for radical change emerges among social groups which . . . are . . . free from the integrating, conservative interests and aspirations, free for the radical transvaluation of values."¹³⁵ In Marcuse's opinion, the agents of the revolution cannot be identified with one social class any more. In his opinion the revolutionary forces emerge in the process of change itself and to identify them beforehand he considers meaningless.¹³⁶ The revolutionary agents have to necessarily be a minority since they work against the entire system. Marcuse believes that the revolution can best be prepared through the work of small local autonomous bases. Marcuse is aware that in the final analysis the success of the revolution depends on a mass basis but at this point the opposition is physically and financially incapable of reaching the masses. The Left has no equal voice because it cannot afford to buy time on television or pay for the use of public facilities. Therefore, in Marcuse's view, the Left is forced to fight the apparent indiscriminate but in fact, discriminate tolerance of the establishment.¹³⁷

What Marcuse requires in "Repressive Tolerance" is nothing less than that the present democracy is willing to be overturned by a minority who claims to have the only truth. Any restrictions on the majority, as for

¹³⁴Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation, p. 79.

¹³⁵Ibid., p. 54.

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 79.

¹³⁷Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 119.

example, withdrawal of tolerance, are justified if this helps the revolutionary minority. The new radicalism that Marcuse promotes turns against Soviet communism and Western capitalism. One of the reasons why Marcuse so vehemently turns against liberal democracy is expressed in Counter-revolution and Revolt, "liberal democracy is the face of the propertied classes when they are not afraid, fascism when they are afraid."¹³⁸

According to Marcuse, the New Left faces several severe problems. The first of these is the danger of ritualization and mechanistic repetition of an outdated revolutionary vocabulary. Thus the unity of theory and practice is broken. Many people in the New Left are extreme in their belief in individualism not seeing that organization is of highest importance. Often, as in hippy communes or the flower children, the protest against society takes the form of dropping out. It becomes unpolitical and can easily be absorbed by the system. Marcuse is excited about the rebellion of the young, the "pig" language and the "doing your own thing" because these people show that they are not willing to play the game. Marcuse is aware, however, that this does not improve society or change things. Successful change has to be based on knowledge and on effective organization of the Left in order to assume the vast task of political education. The bourgeois individual is not overcome through dropping out.

Marcuse claims that the opposition is concentrated among the outsiders and the underprivileged of society. White and black intellectuals,

¹³⁸Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 25.

white and black blue collar workers, and the exploited of the third world, should be united. In order to act as revolutionaries these people have to develop a revolutionary consciousness, but Marcuse points out the New Left has strong anti-intellectual tendencies that turn against any kind of reason.¹³⁹

For Marcuse, the preparation for the revolution is mainly intellectual and theoretical, the intelligentsia and the student play a leading role. This means revolution is the work of education. Marcuse believes that the establishment has started a counterrevolution against the revolutionary forces among students. As one example, he refers to the attempts of the Chancellor of California State Colleges to restrict the humanities and social sciences, where traditionally nonconformist education has found a place.¹⁴⁰ According to Marcuse, a revolutionary consciousness can best emerge among the intelligentsia who could then activate the traditional working class. The universities are the catalysts in this movement.

Marcuse always avoids answering the question about the right of the intelligentsia to assume the leadership. In "Repressive Tolerance" he answers it with a question. "If the people are no longer . . . sovereign but 'made' by the real sovereign powers--is there any alternative other than the dictatorship of an 'elite' over the people?"¹⁴¹

¹³⁹Herbert Marcuse, "A Reply to Lucien Goldman," Partisan Review, No. 4 (1971), p. 400; Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 128.

¹⁴⁰Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 27.

¹⁴¹Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 120.

In An Essay on Liberation, he argues that an intellectual elite is not less qualified than to rule than the present "elite."¹⁴² In Counter-revolution and Revolt he states that people must liberate themselves but that the self-liberation of manipulated people presupposes education, e.g., leadership by others.¹⁴³

In the interview with this researcher in December, 1974 Marcuse rejected the term elitism completely.

I have always rejected the term elitism. I consider this term establishment propaganda to derogate and defame efforts on the part of intellectuals to help changing society. Elitism to me is not a negative but a positive term. It simply means that I use my mind and whatever education I have in order to understand what is going on beneath the surface and behind the "ideological veil." Intellectuals have always played a decisive part in the historical revolutions. I don't see anything wrong with this kind of elitism, on the contrary.¹⁴⁴

The new revolution has as spokesmen not traditional politicians, but rather such figures as poets, writers, and intellectuals. Marcuse insists that the groups he identifies as revolutionary forces are not the final or only groups. The intellectuals are guides but the revolution itself depends on the will of the majority of the people, and Marcuse says that there will not be a revolution unless the people, e.g., a majority, want one. He is against imposing alien interests upon the people. This is in contrast to his statement that decisions have to be made for the people until they can think rationally.¹⁴⁵ Marcuse thinks

¹⁴²Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation, p. 70.

¹⁴³Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 46.

¹⁴⁴Marcuse, private interview.

¹⁴⁵Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 106.

that one can show them that the majority of the people lives in servitude and alienation and that it doesn't have to be that way. He considers it the task of the intellectuals to enlighten and educate the people but not to persuade them to make a revolution.¹⁴⁶ So far the problem with leading or guiding groups has always been that they increasingly have developed a tendency to represent only themselves. Marcuse always sees things historically. Applying history, it would be suicidal to trust these self claimed leaders. If these groups are composed mainly of intellectuals and there is the additional problem of a split between theory and practice. It seems that the New Left, for example, has only seen one side of Marcuse's teachings, namely the necessity of a revolution, and that this revolution has by force to be extraparliamentary. The New Left has to a great extent overlooked Marcuse's demand for restraint, discipline, learning and intellectual excellence in order to give theoretical leadership towards a qualitative change of life. Marcuse, on the other hand, has failed to see that most people in the New Left would only see the one goal, the revolution, and were willing to force this revolution on the people by any means regardless of the feelings of the majority. The problem is that if Marcuse advocates the total revolution even though the majority seems to be quite happy now he takes a big responsibility. This responsibility goes beyond mere critique and theoretical leadership. It is too easy to argue that those who do not agree have a wrong or manipulated consciousness. As pointed out before, if read superficially, he seems to advocate any kind of terror in the name of revolution. It

¹⁴⁶Marcuse, private interview.

is his responsibility to clearly state what his position is on terrorism from the Left, so that his theory cannot be misused. Otherwise people may overlook and actually have overlooked the limitations he put on revolutionary actions.

Marcuse is not very specific in describing his new society. He insists that theory has to be the guide for practice, but he also insists that the actual form of the new society will grow out of the revolution. This is only natural since as a philosopher and intellectual he is basically concerned with the theoretical base and not the practical details.

In Negations, he says:

The actual course of the transformation and the fundamental measures to be taken in order to arrive at a rational organization of society are prescribed by analysis of economic and political conditions in the given historical situation. The subsequent construction of the new society cannot be the object of theory, for it is to occur as the free creation of the liberated individuals.¹⁴⁷

The prerequisite for liberation is education, for it is only through education that the total transvaluation of values can occur. Communism to him is more than a new economic system. It is a new system of life, a new form of individualism.¹⁴⁸ Marcuse's society is definitely based on the achievement of science and technology. Without automation, his utopia would not be possible. The return to individualized agrarian society is impossible. What is needed are social arrangements that constitute an organic whole where the individual can find his individuality in his relationship to others.

¹⁴⁷Marcuse, Negations, p. 135.

¹⁴⁸Marcuse, Reason and Revolution, p. 286.

Socially necessary labor might be organized for such efforts as the rebuilding of cities and towns, the relocation of the places of work . . . the construction of industries which produce goods without built-in obsolescence, without profitable waste and poor quality, and the subjection of the environment to the vital aesthetic needs of the organisms . . . a development that would reverse the entire prevailing trend. There is little evidence for such a development.¹⁴⁹

In the new society, people will have a new consciousness, a new sensibility. The emergence of a new subject is the first step. This process is based on education through demonstration, confrontation, and rebellion. Man would find self-fulfillment, not away from society, but in society because his and the social needs are the same. He hopes that work would become play in the new order. Marcuse talks about the "exchangeability of functions,"¹⁵⁰ but also says that a division of labor and consequently inequality of functions would continue to some extent. "Such inequality is necessitated by genuine social needs, technical requirements, and the physical and mental differences among the individuals. However, the executive and supervisory functions would no longer carry the privilege of ruling the life of others in some particular interest."¹⁵¹ In Essay on Liberation Marcuse outlines the steps for the development of the new society which can also be considered as a basis for this new order: collective ownership, new sensibility, abolition of poverty, new modes and ends of production, harmony of social and individuals needs, autonomy, abolition of exploitation, and understanding and tenderness. Marcuse admits

¹⁴⁹Marcuse, Negations, p. 256.

¹⁵⁰Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. 44.

¹⁵¹Ibid., p. 44.

that it may be impossible to ever reach this society and that the actual may considerably deviate from the ideal but he insists we have to try because it is man's only chance for pacification.

Theoretical leadership that Marcuse demands requires intensive education, discipline, knowledge, and skill. It is only natural that education has a key role in his system. Education has the big task of preparing and educating man for the future and for utopia. Marcuse talks so much about revolution, rebellion, education for revolution, that this can lead to the assumption that the new education would be a complete break with the past. This, however, is not true. Marcuse is willing to work within the existing institution of the school. He believes that education has to develop the ability to think rationally and autonomously. Most educators would agree with Marcuse on these points. The revolution he envisions is not anarchy but can only be won by self control. The education in this process would be demanding both in skill and discipline. Self realization does not mean that everybody is free to do as he pleases. At this point, Marcuse argues, education is preparation for the status quo rather than preparation for qualitative change. It is committed to this system, to the peaceful production of the means of destruction to the perfection of waste, to being educated for a defense which deforms the defenders and that which they defend.¹⁵² He thinks that a reversal of this trend could be brought about by students and teachers themselves. In "Repressive Tolerance" he demands the systematic withdrawal of tolerance toward regressive and repressive

¹⁵²Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. IX.

opinions.¹⁵³ Even if Marcuse's aims are the right ones, this would be indoctrination, although if one agrees this practice would probably be called enlightenment. In the personal interview, Marcuse was definitely opposed to slanting facts in any direction but demanded, "Let the facts speak for themselves." The problem is, however, how are the facts selected? How would a school react if different groups see things different? Marcuse insists that education has to stress the negative side, that it has to show the other side of the facts which is covered up by the establishment so that students will learn to see. He requires that the intensive manipulation of the people calls for an intensive counter-education.¹⁵⁴

Summary

In this chapter Marcuse's educational background and his educational philosophy were discussed. His educational philosophy was divided into several categories.

1. Marcuse's view on what is real:

Marcuse does believe in an absolute reality which transcends the existing reality. This higher reality can be discovered through non-conformist and critical thought. Man is hindered in recognizing the transcendent reality by the one-dimensional way of thinking which is dominant in our society. According to Marcuse this one-dimensionality is strengthened through positivism, relativism, empiricism, utilitar-

¹⁵³Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 101.

¹⁵⁴Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 47.

ianism, and linguistic analysis. Since these philosophies rely on given facts only, they cannot break the irrationality of reality. Marcuse also turns against behaviorism because behaviorism confines the reality concept to the experience of the immediate facts. In this process the understanding of universal concepts becomes impossible. Marcuse believes that the cultivation of reason and critical and negative thought is necessary to overcome the existing reality.

2. Marcuse's view on knowledge:

In Marcuse's opinion knowledge is the ability to comprehend the world. Knowledge is recollection and prediction. It tries to connect the abstract and the concrete. In this process knowledge of universal concepts is necessary. The universals transcend the existing reality. They can be discovered with the help of independent thought and reason. Therefore the development of the intellectual capacities becomes the main objective of education. Marcuse argues that at this point only a few people "know." These people guide the others in the search of knowledge. Marcuse does not see knowledge as mere contemplative wisdom. Knowledge has to be used for the betterment of society. It is a guide for action. Knowledge includes both intellectual and technical knowledge.

3. Marcuse's value system:

Marcuse believes in certain permanent values. These values are not relative. The values which Marcuse cherishes the most are non-alienated relationships, love, critical thinking, scholarship, the rounded person, peace, joy, and freedom. In non-alienated relationships men relate to each other as human beings. The value of love connects the social and individual spheres. It leads to the eroticization of human relations.

As a result a new sensibility develops. Critical thinking is based on freedom of thought and freedom of expression. Critical thinking and scholarship act as guides in evaluating the past and the present for building a better future. The all rounded person who has developed all his potentials will be a leader in this process. Peace, joy and freedom can be achieved through the abolition of poverty. The freedom from the daily struggle for the necessities of life is a prerequisite for political and intellectual freedom.

4. Marcuse's view on human nature:

Marcuse argues that people are repressed and manipulated to accept the present society. This manipulation includes all facets of life. The indoctrination reaches the interpersonal relationships, the work world, and the instinctual sphere. Most people have lost the ability to think autonomously and critically. They have made the repressive needs of society their own. They have accepted the illusion of freedom as freedom. Much of the work man does could be done by machines. Marcuse argues that the establishment deliberately keeps man busy to avoid any political engagement. Life is administered and organized for the individual. In order to overcome the manipulation man has to develop a new sensibility and a new consciousness. This liberation cannot come from without. Man has to liberate himself if he wants to reach autonomy. In this process guidance is necessary. The guidance is provided by those that have not been manipulated and indoctrinated. The guides have to be able to think critically. The new human being that Marcuse envisions would be non-violent, non-destructive, sensuous, and creative. Marcuse does not see this change as a final and last change. He insists that

man will continue to change as society changes.

5. Marcuse's social thought:

The development of Marcuse's social theory is closely connected with his work at the Institute of Social Research. He bases his critical theory of society mainly on Hegel, Marx and Freud. The theory is not neutral. It is dedicated to the complete change of existing conditions. It represents a connection of theory and practice. Marcuse maintains that only a revolution can bring about a qualitative change of life. Since most people have been conditioned to accept the present system, the revolution has to be prepared by groups which stand outside the system. These groups include the rebellious young, the exploited of the third world, the students, and the intellectuals. The proletariat, according to Marcuse, has been integrated into the establishment and is no longer a revolutionary force. The avant garde of the coming revolution is forced to use apparently undemocratic means because the existing pseudo-democracy is dedicated to the status quo. In spite of his insistence on revolutionary change Marcuse does support working within the existing institutions with the purpose of changing them. Marcuse is convinced that any meaningful change requires theoretical leadership. Theoretical leadership is based on education, discipline, knowledge, and skill. In Chapter III a curriculum will be set up based on Marcuse's educational philosophy as discussed in Chapter II.

CHAPTER III

THE IMPLICATIONS OF MARCUSE'S EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY FOR THE CURRICULUM

Introduction

In order to set up a curriculum one has to first clarify the educational philosophy that is to underlie the curriculum. This was done in Chapter II of this study. A curriculum that is not based on a clearly formulated educational philosophy will not have unity and it will lack clear goals.

Chapter III of this study is an attempt to formulate a curriculum based on Marcuse's educational philosophy. Chapter III is a practical application of Marcuse's theory. As discussed in Chapter I, Hilda Taba's model is used as a guide.¹ The design in Chapter III follows the steps of Taba's design: (1) The establishment of educational needs; (2) The formulation of objectives; (3) The selection and organization of subject matter; (4) The selection and organization of methodology; and (5) The evaluation of the curriculum.

The Establishment of Educational Needs

Before any detailed course of study can be designed, the educational

¹Hilda Taba, Curriculum Development (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1962).

needs must be assessed. This phase includes an assessment of the present state of affairs, an analysis and evaluation of the present system and its influencing agents. The findings of this step will help determine new needs and goals, the reason for new needs and their order of priority. The educational philosophy will, to a great extent, determine who will conduct this step and who will be involved in the assessment of needs.

Dominating groups in society have throughout history greatly determined and influenced the needs and interests of the rest of the people. Education has been used by these groups as a tool for social and political control, and according to Marcuse, this trend has become stronger in affluent society. Marcuse criticises the present educational system as surplus-repressive, as supporting the status quo. Education is used by the establishment as a tool to adjust and manipulate people. From the very beginning the individual is subject to outside demands that encroach upon his personal freedom. Through education the establishment tries to introject its values into the individual. Marcuse believes that this process has been successful mainly because the manipulation begins with the education of the small child. In his view the child does not develop mental autonomy, the child does not develop a value system of his own. Marcuse says that the establishment has been so successful that the majority of the people are not even aware of what is happening. This process naturally makes the entire educational system biased in favor of one group, namely a powerful minority whose interest lies with the status quo.

In spite of claims to the opposite, Marcuse contends that education is undemocratic and does not give an equal chance to all. Whole groups,

minorities and the poor are not given equal educational opportunities.² The main thing that Marcuse finds wrong with the present educational system is its one-dimensionality. The one-dimensionality of society that Marcuse criticises in One-Dimensional Man is also reflected in the educational system. According to Marcuse, the educational process is based on utilitarianism, positivism, and relativism. Any transcendental area is effectively blocked out. This leads to the belief in the young that only those things are true that can be verified by hard facts and data. Relativism with its insistence that everything is subject to change, that there are no Truths and Values but only truths and values results in a lack of orientation and loss of goal and purpose of life. Education, according to Marcuse, has greatly contributed to the disorientation of modern man. The individual as a result very easily gives up his independence and accepts the guidance and authority of the leading and dominating groups. Marcuse believes that even progressive movements that start out opposing this repressive society will turn into their opposites if they accept the rules of affluent society.

Another major criticism that Marcuse launches against the present educational system is its "narrow bourgeois utilitarian" goals.³ Under this concept education is not an unfolding and developing of the whole individual, the rounded person, but a training of those faculties that will be of the most advantage on the job market. In order to climb the

²Herbert Marcuse, Five Lectures: Psychoanalysis, Politics, and Utopia (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970), p. 101.

³Herbert Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972), p. 82.

social ladder, to get the highest paying jobs, schools are willing to discard the humanities as useless and irrelevant and concentrate on those areas that prepare students for industry. Marcuse sees a major threat to freedom in this development. A weakening or even dismissal of the humanities closes one of the niches where students can study society, its history, its problems, and possibilities. Even those schools that still stress humanities, Marcuse argues, treat them more as decoration than as a means to true enlightenment. In these cases they are absorbed into the current of one-dimensionality and lose their potential power to help in the improvement of life. What happens in many institutions is a preparation for a life long enchainment by one specialized job, accompanied by a reduction in humanistic education. Marcuse is not against the preparation for a job. He is against it if this happens at the cost of a humanistic liberal education. This, however, he charges, usually happens in the vocational preparation that schools provide.⁴ The overorganization of society is also present in the school systems. Students are not given the opportunity to study at leisure. They are pressured by credit hours and bureaucratic requirements to finish on time. Many do not have the money to devote all their time to their studies but knowledge and wisdom take time to develop. Education is hard to be measured in an efficient unit of hours.

In their choice of educational offerings, students get the impression of real freedom. Numerous courses seem to guarantee freedom of learning and freedom of teaching. Marcuse charges that this freedom is

⁴Herbert Marcuse, Soviet Marxism, A Critical Analysis (New York: Random House, 1961), p. XIV.

just another illusion like the freedom of choice in consumer society. The freedom is a prefabricated freedom of choice.⁵ The illusion of freedom is strengthened by course offerings that at first glance include opposite and controversial points of view.⁶ Marcuse believes that within the present social structure tolerance can be safely practiced and proclaimed to a certain extent. This tolerance is of two kinds:

1. The passive tolerance of entrenched and established attitudes and ideas even if their damaging effect on man and nature is evident; and 2. The active, official tolerance granted to the Right as well as to the Left, to movements of aggression as well as movements of peace.⁷

Courses that really might threaten the established order are hardly offered. Marcuse claims that many teachers have accepted the values and needs outlined by affluent society. They have accepted the illusion of freedom as freedom.⁸ This acceptance equals the giving up of the autonomy of thought but this is not forced upon the individual but subconsciously introjected. Marcuse is convinced that the "democratic abolition of thought" is caused by positivistic trends in philosophy, sociology, and psychology.⁹ As a result it is not only the "wretched of the earth" but also the more educated that are subject to control and repression.

⁵Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 14.

⁶Herbert Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), p. 61.

⁷Herbert Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," A Critique of Pure Tolerance Herbert Marcuse, Robert Paul Wolff and Barrington Moore, Jr. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), p. 85.

⁸Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 14.

⁹Herbert Marcuse, Negations: Essays in Critical Theory (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), p. XIII.

Marcuse feels that the present educational system still reflects the national states. The world is divided into nations, the good ones and the bad ones, the East and the West, the rich and the poor. National interests, interests of special power groups divide the world into friends and enemies, and prevent a broad international outlook. Marcuse argues that the present problems are international problems that cannot be solved at a national level. In ignoring international education, education once more serves the forces of exploitation and the status quo.

Another sign for the surrender of autonomy and rational thought, Marcuse claims, can be seen in the way educational institutions are financed. Many people still have the illusion that at least the universities are free, but many universities, heavily involved in military research, are financed by the government, and large foundations. Therefore, education is politicized, it is serving the powers that are.¹⁰

As discussed in Chapter II, Marcuse believes that the present problems can only be cured through radical change, through changing the needs and interests of the people. Education will be true education only if it negates the established ideas of freedom. Since the majority of the people believe in the system, direct action by students, and enlightened teachers and parents is necessary, and is a means of democratization. Direct action, like student demonstrations, Marcuse contends, could have a powerful and positive impact on the entire educational system.

Liberation, as Marcuse envisions it, would mean a liberation from bourgeois values and bourgeois needs. Any change in education would have

¹⁰Marcuse, Five Lectures, p. 87.

to serve the development of new needs. It would have to develop a new theory of man, not only as a theory but also as a way of existence.¹¹ So far, Marcuse claims, a revolution has never changed the repressive needs. In his opinion, this fact is responsible for the failure of most revolutions in history. New needs cannot be a continuation of the old ones, they have to present a break with the historical continuum.¹² In "Political Preface" Marcuse maintains that the emergence of new, qualitatively different needs and faculties is the prerequisite, the content of liberation.¹³

In "Repressive Tolerance" Marcuse says that it is possible to determine the direction in which institutions, policies and opinions would have to be changed to bring about liberation. If this is possible, then it is also possible to define the educational practices which could promote this change.¹⁴

The critique of current conditions and the analysis of their tendencies necessarily includes future oriented components. Education has to change its outlook from serving the present to establishing a better future. Marcuse decidedly denies that he envisions a utopia, he insists that what he envisions is the realization of present possibilities. He claims that the term utopia is used by the establishment in order to contain change.

¹¹Ibid., p. 65.

¹²Ibid., pp. 62 and 65.

¹³Herbert Marcuse, Eros and Civilization: A Philosophic Inquiry Into Freud (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955. Second edition with new preface, "Political Preface, 1966," Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), p. XV.

¹⁴Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 105.

In An Essay on Liberation Marcuse states that the educational work to develop new needs and demands goes beyond the educational institutions. It includes work in the streets, in the slums, in the ghettos. Since the established systems have closed the opportunity for the development of different needs, new ways have to be found to reverse the repressive indoctrination. Many young people refuse to play the game of affluence. They refuse to speak the dead language of affluence, to enjoy the gadgets of affluence, to go through the education for affluence.¹⁵

Who would be involved in the assessment of needs in Marcuse's educational system? From his writings it appears that Marcuse would like to bring education under the control of the Left, because he considers the Left the only group that tries to overthrow the existing system. All the others are slaves of the consumer society. The Left's refusal of society extends to the entire organization of the existing liberal-parliamentary democracy.¹⁶ The acts of these rebels often become undemocratic in terms of the system because within the system they do not have a chance of being heard. They do not have equal access to the mass media and public facilities.¹⁷

The fact that Marcuse is a supporter of the New Left should not prevent seeing the great differences between many of the radicals and Marcuse. A majority in the New Left seems to have adopted only parts of Marcuse's philosophy. Marcuse's demand for revolution and total overthrow has led many to believe that he advocates dropping out of the system.

¹⁵Marcuse, "Political Preface," p. XXI.

¹⁶Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation, p. 62.

¹⁷Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 119.

In education these radical groups have often left the established schools. They have in many instances set up "free schools" or have turned against formal schooling all together. Education, as it exists, is seen as irrelevant to the immediate needs of the students, the poor, the minorities, and the world. Education is considered archaic in its humanistic requirement, and as preparation for the exploitation on the job market in the more practical skills.

As much as Marcuse hails these rebels in politics, in education he definitely does not agree with them. His insistence on individuation may have led many Leftists to believe that they acted in accordance with Marcuse's teachings when they left the schools. His condemnation of the corruption of existing institutions sounds as if he would favor the establishment of the new "free schools," and a radical change in the curriculum. These Leftists have read Marcuse very superficially. Marcuse is for individuation, but also for discipline. He is for relevance, but also for basic knowledge. Asked whether he would keep the institution of the school or abolish it and go to "free schools," Marcuse answered:

We don't have the choice. It is easy to sit at your desk in an armchair and think out what institutions we want. But we have, for the time being, to work with the institutions we have, and it has always been my opinion that the function of these institutions is a twofold one; on the one hand they certainly are to prepare the students for doing their job within the established society, on the other hand, if they want to, students can learn in these institutions what is really going on and how they can change the institutions. One can learn that even in a conservative college or university.¹⁸

This is an indication that Marcuse accepts a slower change than he demanded in An Essay on Liberation. There he rejects evolution and working within the existing institutions.

¹⁸Marcuse, private interview, December, 1974.

Throughout his work Marcuse demands that the radical revolutionary groups should convince the majority that the present system has to be changed.¹⁹ Those that see the truth have to make it their task to help others see that truth too. In "Repressive Tolerance" Marcuse advocates apparently undemocratic means to reach a state of pacification. This implies, if not the use of physical force, so the use of mental force, the establishment of a pedagogical dictatorship. In the interview with this researcher Marcuse rejected any idea of convincing people that they are wrong and should change. This, he said, he considers as propaganda. In his opinion the teacher should let the facts speak for themselves. If the teacher does this, Marcuse is convinced, the students will learn to see for themselves.

Marcuse sees in the rebels the beginning of a possibility for the revolution. As that he supports them and praises them, but at the same time he rejects the wide-spread anti-intellectualism of the New Left. The group that will be leading in the assessment of needs for education are the intellectuals, people who have skills, discipline, knowledge, command of learning, and ability for theoretical leadership.²⁰ The philosophical avant garde can protect the importance of reason against attacks from the right as well as the left.²¹ It is this belief that many critics

¹⁹Herbert Marcuse, Studies in Critical Philosophy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973), p. 220; Five Lectures, p. 91; "Repressive Tolerance," p. 99; An Essay on Liberation, p. 17.

²⁰Marcuse, Five Lectures, p. 96.

²¹Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 128.

consider the basis of intellectual elitism and dictatorship.²² Marcuse refers to it as enlightenment. He argues that the intellectuals are neither an elite nor leaders, but that they serve as guides who through the right presentation of facts can help the others to see the truth, but in the final analysis the people have to find the truth for themselves. Marcuse is against any manipulation of the individual. This is a definite contrast to "Repressive Tolerance" where he says that facts should be slanted in favor of the Left.

The educational reform that Marcuse envisions is only an expression of wider and more fundamental aims, namely the pacification of existence and the liberation of man.²³ Marcuse argues that at the present many teachers are slaves of the system, but he is convinced that teachers can also use their positions as a preparing ground for the change of needs and interests. Marcuse demands that enlightened teachers and students systematically withdraw tolerance from repressive and regressive opinions.²⁴ This again is in sharp contrast to other passages where he insists that no group or individual can assume the right to force the change on others. Even if one accepts that Marcuse is correct theoretically, the problem remains that in practice it is harder than Marcuse thinks it is to determine which actions are repressive and which ones are not. Marcuse claims that

²²Joseph Liberatore Devitis, "The Concept of Repression in the Social and Educational Thought of Erich Fromm and Herbert Marcuse," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1972, p. 117; Alasdair Macintyre, Herbert Marcuse (New York: Viking Press, 1970), p. 72; Lucien Goldman, "Understanding Marcuse," Partisan Review, 3, 1971, p. 254.

²³Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation, p. 59.

²⁴Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 101.

the distinction between repressive and non-repressive forces can be learned if people want to.²⁵

Marcuse strongly favors student involvement in curriculum development. Curriculum reform is one of the keys to changing society. Any changes in the curriculum would have to aim for the "translation of knowledge into reality, of humanistic values into humane conditions of existence."²⁶ This demand for a unity of theory and practice proves that Marcuse does not want knowledge for its own sake but knowledge in the service of mankind. It is also a rejection of ivory tower intellectualism. The new education would counteract the present deceptive neutrality and apologetic teaching. A curriculum reform would "provide the student with the conceptual instruments for a solid and thorough critique of the material and intellectual culture."²⁷ According to Marcuse the students rightfully demand a new curriculum and consequently they should participate in its reform and supervision.²⁸ Marcuse gives the impression that the students would have an equal voice in the decision making with teachers and professors. Marcuse does realize, however, that only too often justified demands turn into demands that are not more than an attempt to avoid vigorous and demanding intellectual work.²⁹ What appears as an absolute support of student involvement Marcuse does take back to a considerable extent. There are certain courses, in Marcuse's opinion, that students

²⁵Marcuse, private interview.

²⁶Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation, p. 61.

²⁷Ibid., p. 61.

²⁸Marcuse, Five Lectures, p. 87.

²⁹Marcuse, private interview.

have to take no matter whether they consider them as relevant or not. Students, he believes, cannot make the decision until after they have had the course. Student involvement, while necessary and important, is definitely limited.³⁰ Students are young, their mental capacities have still to develop. Students cannot know all their real needs. Marcuse would probably argue that the educational permissiveness of the establishment is a means to contain radicalization of the students.

Marcuse does not feel that the involvement of the parents is too important or too positive in the assessment of educational needs. He sees the family as being controlled by public power and opinion. The family does not have any integrity. The family takes all its models and examples from outside sources.

Throughout his career Marcuse has never been very much interested in the family. In the 1930's the Institute of Social Research worked on a study of the political function of the European family, "Studien über Autorität und Familie." In his part of the study

Marcuse made practically no mention of the family . . . Marcuse . . . felt that the peculiar development of European and American civilization in the twentieth century had effectively eliminated the family as a vehicle of repression . . . The repressive father had been edged out by the bureaucracy and the mass media.³¹

Marcuse believes that the family today is no longer the primary social unit. The socialization of the child no longer takes place in the nuclear family but through the media, television, radio, peer groups, and sports teams. In Marcuse's opinion this development may be good because it opens

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Paul A. Robinson, The Freudian Left (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), p. 210.

the possibility for counteracting the reactionary influence of the family.³² Marcuse feels that most parents are in more need of education than their children. If this is the case their role in educational decision making should obviously be limited.

And yet Marcuse is for local control in education. He believes that educational reform is much easier at the local level, particularly since really effective legislation at the federal level is impossible at this point. Local control allows room for extreme cases of conservatism like the textbook controversy in West Virginia, or the integration problems in Boston, yet local control is a better start for meaningful reform. While there are these conservative areas there are also more progressive areas that can reform their systems. Under federal control the very left and the very right would be wiped out and with it the hope for real change. The local base is a small unit that can work much more effectively even though its influence is limited. Through local control use can be made of even the most minute possibilities in order to transform the established order from within.³³ To make local control meaningful mass organizations like the present political parties would have to be replaced by small local councils. Universities and the communities can train their cadres and begin the long march through the institutions, teaching at all levels of education, working in the system against it.³⁴ The present democracy, Marcuse admits, does leave room for the building

³²Marcuse, private interview.

³³Marcuse, Five Lectures, p. 103.

³⁴Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 55.

of autonomous local bases. Further centralization, no matter how effective it would be in bringing true change, would bring the change from outside, but Marcuse insists that people have to liberate themselves, they cannot be liberated from above.

Marcuse insists that the quality and the standards of the institutions that are dedicated to change have to be superior to the ones by the establishment. Only superior quality can train the students for effective political work and at the same time win the trust and the approval of a growing number of people.³⁵ So called "free schools" are self-defeating--the establishment can well tolerate them.

The new educational needs that have to be established have to reflect the overall needs for a qualitative change of life. It is necessary to overcome the repressive one-dimensionality that includes all aspects of life.³⁶ Marcuse is convinced that the old needs can be overcome, that human nature can change, and that freedom of thought can be restored. In order for man to discover reason, to change his consciousness intensive countereducation is needed.³⁷ From the very beginning the countereducation has to try to connect the political rebellion with an educational, moral, and aesthetic rebellion.³⁸ If the rebellion concentrates on one aspect only it is easily absorbed by the establishment. If all aspects are combined there is a fusion of theory and practice, and changes in one area are connected with changes in another area.

³⁵Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 55.

³⁶Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 113; Five Lectures, p. 64.

³⁷Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 47.

³⁸Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 112; Five Lectures, pp. 87 and 92.

The present enslavement of man has to come to an end. The distorted and mutilated human beings have to liberate themselves. Man has to find a new sensibility, a new consciousness, a new individuality. There is need to break the authority of the establishment, but there is also need for guidance and discipline. Nonauthoritarian learning is necessary, e.g., autonomy and self determination are necessary, but "the subject of this autonomy is never the contingent, private individual . . . it is rather the individual as a human being who is capable of being free with others."³⁹ In order to optimize the realization of new needs, educational institutions have to be financially independent from political pressure groups and industry. Only then can education be free.⁴⁰ The freedom to learn and the freedom to know have to be guaranteed for everybody. People have the right to know the full truth.⁴¹ Marcuse is deeply convinced that a humanistic education will be the best help towards the liberation of man. The life-enhancing forces have to be given a chance. Marcuse believes that in order to overcome the present problems education has to cross national boundaries and aim at global education. The problems facing mankind today, the threat of the extinction of life can only be solved at the international level.

The Setting of Objectives

The goals and objectives of the curriculum are based on the needs of society, the needs of the individual person, the psychological development

³⁹Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 86.

⁴⁰Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation, p. 61.

⁴¹Marcuse, Soviet Marxism, p. 166.

of the child, and the underlying educational philosophy. The goals that emerge from each of these sources should be interconnected.⁴² Marcuse rejects the present needs of society, he also rejects the present regulating agencies. He demands that education should prepare for and be based on new needs. The present educational administration should be adjusted to these new needs.

Educational goals can be stated on several levels. They can be formulated as broad needs. These general aims provide the orientation that every educational program has to have to set its emphasis. In order to make more specific decisions about the curriculum the broad aims have to be stated in terms of knowledge, skills, techniques, and attitudes that the student should acquire. These more specific goals are the objectives of the educational process. These objectives can be stated in school wide outcomes. In that case they are still fairly general. They can also be narrowed down to specific behaviors that are to be attained during the course of study. Then the objectives are behavioral objectives.⁴³ This study will concentrate more on the wider objectives rather than on the behavioral objectives.

Marcuse is strongly opposed to stating objectives in behavioral terms. In One-Dimensional Man Marcuse argues that behavioral objectives have contributed to making life and society more one-dimensional. If objectives are stated in terms of behavior then, according to Marcuse, the conceptual development of the student is stifled. Behavioral objectives militate

⁴²Taba, Curriculum Development, p. 194.

⁴³Ibid., p. 202.

against abstraction of the concrete since they are necessarily stated in relation to immediate facts. This reliance on facts that can be verbalized and expressed in behavioral terms repels the recognition of overarching factors behind the apparent facts. "Many of the most seriously troublesome concepts are being 'eliminated' by showing that no adequate account of them in terms of operations or behavior can be given."⁴⁴ As a result people cease to think of concepts that cannot be operationally defined.

Marcuse claims that behavioral objectives serve as a vehicle of coordination and subordination. They serve the established reality because they make the communication of transcending contents technically impossible.⁴⁵ As a result meaningful protest cannot develop, and the individual acquires the feeling that behavioral objectives can express everything there is to know not realizing that this is a very restricted experience.⁴⁶ The other dimension is absorbed by the existing state of affairs. Dissent is absorbed as part of a higher culture that does not disturb the present order of things.⁴⁷ The more man accepts behavioral objectives the more he will lose his ability to think in other than the established and accepted ways. In Marcuse's opinion behavioral objectives are the one way to dominate the instinctual level of man. Transcendent concepts are tolerated as poetic truth. This is the most effective way of

⁴⁴Herbert Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), p. 13.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 68 and 97.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 162.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 61.

neutralizing their meaning.⁴⁸ Marcuse says that as a philosopher he is interested in possible changes of society. To express this in behavioral objectives, he argues, would mean to tell how to make a revolution and how to behave as a revolutionary. This he already considers as establishment propaganda because it would limit the revolution to the framework of existing relationships and cut out a whole dimension that goes beyond them.⁴⁹ Marcuse believes that behavioral objectives kill the spirit of intellectual adventure.

Marcuse is not alone in his rejection of behavioral objectives. Many educators do not support the trend towards behavioral objectives.

Scholars such as Atkin (1968), Eisner (1967), Macdonald and Walfron (1970), and Brondy (1970) have voiced serious reservations about the extensive use of behavioral objectives in instruction, evaluation, and curriculum development. A majority of the objections involve what the critics perceive as a lock-step instructional setting and a concomitant lack of provision for dealing with spontaneity and creativity.⁵⁰

One major objective in education, as Marcuse sees it, is the development of the rounded person, the person that really unfolds all his abilities, and consequently realizes his individuality. The ideal of the well rounded person who can do many things well was a goal of Humanism and Renaissance. Marcuse's acceptance of this ideal is another proof that he does not aim for ivory tower intellectual elitism.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 184.

⁴⁹Marcuse, private interview.

⁵⁰David A. Payne, Curriculum Evaluation (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1974), p. 2.

In order to develop all his potentialities the student has to be given the opportunity for learning, he has to have access to the "higher culture" as well as to the technical area. Culture in this education cannot be a prerogative of the leisure class. This, however, is only possible if there is equal and free education for all. The universal satisfaction of all individual potentialities constitutes the principle of social organization. A society that prevents the individual to realize his abilities is sick. The well rounded person is possible only where there is freedom. Marcuse believes that the fully developed person is happy.⁵¹

Marcuse considers the exchangeability of functions as one of the ideal outcomes of education. He insists that this does not prevent individual differences.⁵² In fact, one of his goals for the future is individuation, and in an interview in Psychology Today he expresses disgust at the idea that all people could be made alike. He very strongly opposes any Skinnerian social engineering, and insists on true individuality. If people are to be true individuals and different it is not quite clear, however, how the goal of exchangeability of functions can ever be fulfilled.

Only the person that can think independently and autonomously will be able to develop all his faculties well. Unless schools concentrate on the objective of independent thought a qualitative change of society will never be possible. According to Marcuse the ability to think rationally

⁵¹Marcuse, Negations, p. 180.

⁵²Marcuse, Soviet Marxism, p. 167.

requires a change in human nature. If this process can be started when the child is still very young it will be much easier to succeed because the child has not made the established and advertised needs his own, he is not fully integrated into the system.

Marcuse considers the development of reason and thought one of the major goals of education because the student who can think can evaluate the present situation in view of existing possibilities. The ability to think helps free the student from prejudices, distortions, falsifications. If a person can think autonomously he can judge the present and decide on alternatives.⁵³

It is necessary for schools to establish an atmosphere which is conducive to the growing of autonomy. The student has to experience what it is to be alone without being lonely. Independence, according to Marcuse, cannot grow in the crowd, or the constant noise of radio, television, and the record player.⁵⁴ Most people are incapable of being alone, they are lonely, they depend on a constant organization of their time. The development of reason, self-awareness, and consciousness take time and meditation. The student has to develop an understanding of the meaning and intent of certain key concepts in order to be able to think critically. Marcuse considers the achievement of this goal very challenging because there seems "to be no reason to insist on self-determination if the administered life is the comfortable and even 'good' life."⁵⁵ Self-determina-

⁵³Marcuse, private interview.

⁵⁴Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation, p. 27; One-Dimensional Man, p. 244.

⁵⁵Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. 49.

tion presupposes free available energy that is not wasted in superimposed material or intellectual labor and organized leisure time.

Marcuse insists that freedom originates in the mind of man. It is the ability to comprehend reality, to put facts in order, to organize experience. If, as Marcuse says, progress in freedom demands progress in the consciousness of freedom then education has to make sure that it helps students to understand the concept of freedom.

Schools have to guide the student to look at facts from another than the established angle, because there is the temptation of intellectual laziness to just place the facts into the predominant framework of values.⁵⁶ Autonomy in thought will lead to a new sensibility which is necessary for a qualitative change. "Self-determination will be real to the extent to which the masses have been dissolved into individuals liberated from all propaganda, indoctrination, and manipulation, capable of knowing and comprehending the facts and of evaluating the alternatives."⁵⁷

For Marcuse education has to be education for excellence. He is not willing to accept any mediocrity. The revolutionary movement can succeed only if the avant garde, the guides, are better educated than the leaders of the establishment.⁵⁸ To beat the system one has to know the system. Only if the opposition provides the better education can it attract the masses. These are the reasons why Marcuse again and again condemns the anti-intellectualism of the New Left. His ideal is the

⁵⁶Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 113.

⁵⁷Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. 252.

⁵⁸Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 55.

rounded person who has command of knowledge in many areas. In a complex society like ours one cannot make a revolution without knowledge. The leaders need theoretical and practical training if they want to stand a chance. Discipline of the mind, the ability to think are prerequisites, and education can work on that.

Liberal and humanistic education has to serve the change of the existing order, it is not to be acquired for its own sake. Intellectual skills and capabilities become social and political factors. Education has to make students familiar with the past because knowledge of the past might give dangerous insights into the present.⁵⁹ Marcuse also insists that there are certain things students simply have to learn to be full human beings. Since Marcuse believes, that the truth can be discovered the student has to be made to work towards that truth. Marcuse says of himself that he is very much in favor of learning.⁶⁰ Students of his remember his "sure command of vast learning and his unbounded intellectual curiosity."⁶¹ One of his former students describes how Marcuse uses his knowledge for the analysis of the present, and how he expects others to be able to do the same.

We could appreciate what he was doing, but we couldn't learn from him how to do it--except in the indirect way of making our own the complex intellectual tradition whose accumulated capital he simply took for granted. It was to be taken as a matter of course that the way to discuss the present condition of industrial societies, for example, was to relate it to the

⁵⁹Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. 98.

⁶⁰Sam Keen and John Raser, "A Conversation with Herbert Marcuse," Psychology Today (February, 1971), IV, p. 39.

⁶¹William Leiss, David John Ober and Erica Sherover, "Marcuse as Teacher," The Critical Spirit. ed. Kurt H. Wolff and Barrington Moore, Jr. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), p. 425.

historical patterns displayed by the development of Greek and Roman societies, and that the way to discuss that was to "compare" the "theories" of Alfons Dopsch, Voltaire, Gibbon, Rostovzeff, Toynbee, Max Weber, Gustave Gloth, and so on. Out of such comparisons . . . somehow emerged the adequate view, the theory of social change . . . Historical and empirical studies which did not directly elucidate the issues could then be put aside as irrelevant . . . The great classical works opened the way to self-clarification and self-education for the students.⁶²

Marcuse's demand for excellence is not limited to the humanities, it definitely includes the sciences. His whole social theory is based on the possibility of full automation. Marcuse's utopia is not a romanticized past but a scientific future. Freedom and pacification depend on the abolition of unnecessary work. He never describes the technical education in detail but he makes it clear that he does not consider technical education unworthy of an intellectual as some of his critics think.⁶³ A command of scientific knowledge is necessary to discard unnecessary and repressive work.

Education is responsible for liberating science from being a repressive instrument for the domination and manipulation of man. Science has to be freed from operationalism in order to serve man to achieve liberty.⁶⁴ Science has to be studied in conjunction with the humanities. Without good philosophical guidance science can easily be misused. Education must teach the student how to use technology without becoming its slave. In "Political Preface" Marcuse says that the liberation of science

⁶²David Kettler, "The Vocation of Radical Intellectuals," Politics and Society (November, 1970), p. 33.

⁶³Devitis, "The Concept of Repression in the Social and Educational Thought of Erich Fromm and Herbert Marcuse."

⁶⁴Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, pp. 58, 153-160.

requires a reduction of overdevelopment and of its repressive rationality.⁶⁵

Marcuse requires that education give up its false neutrality. He claims that knowledge is always partisan, that in its origin and intention knowledge is for life and consequently subversive of the established values and institutions.⁶⁶ Education too, has to be for life, e.g., partisan and against the present system. Education should generate social critique and be concerned with the radical transformation of needs.⁶⁷

Political education of the masses Marcuse considers as a prerequisite for any qualitative change.

Since the adjustment of Reason to oppressive social institutions perpetuated unfreedom, progress in freedom depends on thought becoming political, in the shape of a theory which demonstrates negation as a political alternative implicit in the historical situation.⁶⁸

From the very beginning the work of liberation has to be seen in a political context. The critique of the present cannot be separated into aesthetic, technical, and human categories. Education has to combine all of them under political action. In Soviet Marxism Marcuse points out that the protest against the alienation of man is directed against the present political organization of society not against society itself.⁶⁹ Political awareness is the only way to change the present for the better. Knowledge,

⁶⁵Marcuse, "Political Preface," p. XVIII.

⁶⁶Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance."

⁶⁷Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation, p. 61.

⁶⁸Herbert Marcuse, Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory (Boston: Beacon Press, 1954), p. XIII.

⁶⁹Marcuse, Soviet Marxism, p. 180.

scholarship, scientific knowhow have to be guided by a political consciousness. The educational system would be responsible to establish this relationship. A political consciousness has to be developed to loosen the hold of the enslaving superimposed needs.⁷⁰ Political education also has to teach discipline and organization, discipline in action, and discipline of the mind.⁷¹

As pointed out before, one of the vital objectives of education in Marcuse's opinion, is international education. The problems we face today cannot be solved within the boundaries of one nation. Education has to set as its task the international understanding of economical and political problems.⁷² At this point, Marcuse argues, capitalism and communism compete with each other. In this struggle the means easily gain priority over the ends. Marcuse is convinced that this crisis can only be solved through the emergence of a genuine world economy, the decline of national boundaries and interests. At present, Marcuse points out, most nations are mobilized against such internationalization.⁷³ Marcuse thinks that education must make every effort to educate people to reverse this nationalistic attitude.

The main objectives of the curriculum based on Marcuse's educational philosophy are: (1) the development of independent thought as a prerequisite for autonomy; (2) a sound humanistic and scientific education; (3) the development of political consciousness to work against the system

⁷⁰Marcuse, Studies in Critical Philosophy, p. 233.

⁷¹Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 131.

⁷²Marcuse, private interview.

⁷³Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. 53.

for a better future; and (4) international education. A discussion of the selection and organization of the subjects that in Marcuse's opinion would best help in attaining these objectives follows.

The Selection and Organization of the Subject Matter

Marcuse does not treat the elementary school curriculum, but it is possible to determine the basic curriculum for elementary education from his view on secondary and higher education. Marcuse wants the student to develop intellectual and technical skills. He wants the student to be knowledgeable and able to use his knowledge. The basic foundation for this competency is the traditional curriculum composed of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Marcuse does not sympathize at all with people who believe it should be left to the student whether and when he wants to acquire these skills. The common attitude in these circles is that once a person realizes that these skills are relevant, he will be motivated from within and be able to master reading, writing and arithmetic within a few weeks. Ivan Illich, author of Deschooling Society, is one of the strongest voices of this group. He believes that only what is relevant to the individual at a certain time is important to learn. Illich believes that the personal interests of different people, and the technical, humanistic, and scientific needs that arise out of the fact of living together will come to a balance. In fact, he argues, the balance will be much better than it is now.⁷⁴

Marcuse rejects this type of individual freedom as being unrealistic. In his opinion "we are not supposed to educate illiterates, illiterates

⁷⁴Ivan Illich, Deschooling Society (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1970).

cannot build a better society."⁷⁵ Marcuse also is convinced that the child is in no position to decide whether or not the elementary skills of reading, writing and arithmetic are important and relevant or not. He maintains that there are certain things that simply have to be learned, whether students like them or not.

In any curriculum that Marcuse would set up the arts, including literature, would take a prominent place. The plays, novels and paintings Marcuse would select for students to study include the classics of all times. In his discussion of art in One-Dimensional Man Marcuse talks about Plato, Rembrandt, Shakespeare, Tolstoi, Goethe, Schiller, Balzac, Flaubert, Racine, Beethoven. This list is very striking because Marcuse, the revolutionary social philosopher, accepts all the classical artists. His selection does not show any essential differences from the selection in the Great Books. A perennialist would probably study the same works with his students as Marcuse. Marcuse only mentions a few artists in his discussion of art. The selection is, however, wide enough to show that he does not limit the study of art to the works of revolutionary artists. In fact, he does not even include "revolutionary art" in his selection.

One of the reasons why Marcuse stresses the importance of art education is the fact that the aesthetic dimension has always had freedom of expression which allows the writer and artist to call things by their real names. This, Marcuse claims, is usually impossible in the ordinary world. Art can violate taboos, it lends voice and sight to things that are normally repressed.⁷⁶ Marcuse contends that art represents an asylum

⁷⁵Marcuse, private interview.

⁷⁶Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 100.

for revolutionary truth. Art is in his opinion committed to a better future. This commitment finds expression in artistic alienation which is the conscious transcendence of the alienated existence. The actual circumstances are placed in another dimension where the given reality shows itself as that which it is. Thus it tells the truth about itself.⁷⁷ In this process a tension is created between reality and a higher reality. It is the task of art education to make the student aware of this tension. Marcuse argues that art can only be true as long as this dialectical unity exists. This dialectical unity in art is the reason why Marcuse can accept the art of a bourgeois repressive society. He insists that there are anti-bourgeois qualities in bourgeois art and that these anti-bourgeois qualities point to a transcendent reality. The class content of bourgeois art loses its immediate meaning and is idealized and stylized.⁷⁸ Art has a permanent function, it is concerned with the struggle for existence more in the human and metaphysical sense. Art in its highest form is concerned with the essence of being rather than the immediate existence.

In Marcuse's view the essence of art is criticism. If one accepts this interpretation then art education would have to try and crystalize the critical facet out of every art work. This would mean that art would be viewed from one aspect, namely that of negating the existing reality. Art would be forced into one single framework. From his position on revolutionary art it is obvious, however, that Marcuse rejects a narrow and one-sided, one-dimensional interpretation of art. Marcuse would

⁷⁷Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, pp. 60 and 62.

⁷⁸Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, pp. 92-97.

probably demand that art education should stress the negating and political aspects and implications of the classics more than is done now, but this interpretation would always have to be related to the transcendence of the immediate situation. Marcuse insists that art has to be looked upon as art and therefore as something alien to practice, and not as revolutionary pamphlets. Marcuse would probably not fully support Jan Kott's interpretation of Shakespeare's tragedies.⁷⁹ Kott, for example, sees Hamlet as a revolutionary fighting the establishment. Limiting Hamlet or any other art work in this way makes the work one-dimensional because this interpretation grasps only one aspect of the play.

According to Marcuse art has universal meaning, and the cultural revolution easily turns against the aesthetic form as such, against art as such, against literature as such.⁸⁰ Many of the New Left rebels against the established culture, Marcuse points out, also rebel against the beautiful in this culture.⁸¹

Marcuse insists that art can express its radical potential only as art, in its own language, image, and form. Art, in order to stay art, has to always transcend the given reality, even the revolutionary reality. It must remain alienation. "The tension between affirmation and negation precludes any identification of art with revolutionary praxis. Art cannot represent the revolution, it can only invoke it in another medium."⁸²

⁷⁹Jan Kott, Szkice o Szekspirze (Warsaw: Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1961).

⁸⁰Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 90.

⁸¹Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation, p. 47.

⁸²Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 103.

Art remains alien to the revolutionary praxis by virtue of the artist's commitment to Form . . . Form is the achievement of the artistic perception which breaks the unconscious and "false automatism," the unquestioned familiarity which operates in every practice, including the revolutionary practice.⁸³

In Marcuse's opinion the immediate life quality of art in the guerrilla theater is the undoing of this art. It becomes one-dimensional, as has happened to art in the Soviet Union, Marcuse claims. He considers Soviet realism as a connection of art and social reality denying any artistic transcendence. In Marcuse's opinion the Soviet Union asks for art that is not art, and it gets what it asks for.⁸⁴ According to Marcuse the works of apparently unpolitical artists are far deeper committed to the revolution. His students would study the later plays of Brecht rather than his early political Lehrstücke.

Marcuse considers it as one of the objectives of art education to make the student receptive, so that he learns to see things. This receptivity is a precondition for freedom and the soil of creation.⁸⁴

"Neither the most refined aesthetic sense nor the most exact philosophic concept is immune against history."⁸⁶ To study man one has to study his development in history. Without this relation to history any interpretation of man and his society might have serious flaws. Man has always been in a tension between nature and society. The knowledge of

⁸³Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation, p. 39.

⁸⁴Marcuse, Soviet Marxism, p. 116.

⁸⁵Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 74.

⁸⁶Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. 216.

this tension might help solve present problems. Marcuse defines critical thinking as the evaluation of the past for the present and the future.⁸⁷ Any curriculum that does not stress the study of history neglects a basic foundation for critical thinking. Critical thinking becomes historical consciousness. Marcuse, for example, compares the development of Greek and Roman societies with the social theories of Voltaire, Toynbee, and Max Weber. Out of this historic comparison new insights are won, and a new theory of social change can emerge.

Marcuse would change the content of most present history courses. He would much more stress the historic movements against established powers. In his opinion history has shown that violence coming out of the rebellion of the oppressed classes can break the injustice and cruelty of the forces in power for a brief moment.⁸⁸ Violence from the oppressed, he argues, brings progress in civilization, whereas violence by the rulers leads to the decline in civilization. As an example, Marcuse cites the violence of the late Roman Empire which was followed by the Dark Ages.

In Marcuse's curriculum the study of history would include history of politics, history of society, history of the oppressed, history of economics. The history of the oppressed, Marcuse claims, is definitely neglected now. The history of imperialism, history of the sociology of revolutions, the liberation movements of all times should be included in any history curriculum.⁸⁹ The study of history would be closely connected with a study of the present institutions, how they have developed, how

⁸⁷Marcuse, Reason and Revolution, p. 56.

⁸⁸Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 107.

⁸⁹Marcuse, private interview.

they can be improved and changed. A thorough knowledge of the government, the power centers, the big interest groups is necessary to change present conditions.

Philosophy helps in becoming aware of the discrepancy between the real and the possible, between the apparent and the authentic truth. Philosophy also makes an effort to comprehend and master this discrepancy.⁹⁰ Philosophy, in as far as it can help man to grasp the truth and understand the essence of being, should be part of the curriculum. Marxian theory is based on the assumption that when the proletariat will win the revolution the gap between the existing and the true reality will be overcome. If this point is reached, philosophy will come to an end. But today where

. . . the proletariat no longer acts as the revolutionary class representing the "absolute negation" of the established order, it no longer furnishes the "material weapons" for philosophy . . . Reason and Freedom become again the concern of philosophy. The "essence of man", his "total liberation" is again "experienced only in thought."⁹¹

Philosophy therefore is still necessary.

Marcuse, throughout his work, repeats his conviction that a decent human society can only be founded on the achievements of science and technology.⁹² Liberation of man is based on the application of scientific knowledge. Science courses would be core courses and required for everybody. Science includes mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, geography. Science would, however, always be studied in connection with

⁹⁰Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. 107.

⁹¹Marcuse, Soviet Marxism, p. 111.

⁹²Keen and Raser, "A Conversation with Herbert Marcuse," Psychology Today, p. 61.

the humanities in order to liberate science from its ghastly use at the present and direct it to peaceful use. The abolition of poverty and exploitation, the reconstruction of reality, the creation of an environment fit to live in should be the goals of science, rather than the building of weapons and other devices made to kill and destroy man and nature.⁹³ Everybody would have to acquire a basic understanding of the sciences.

Strong emphasis would be placed on the study of the student's native language. Marcuse most definitely rejects the popular notion among Left radicals that any dialect or slang is as good as standard English. The ability to just speak is not enough, a person has to have command of his language. Thinking is connected with the understanding of universal concepts, but these universal concepts are hardly used in everyday language. Thinking requires training and discipline, it requires the ability to abstract from the concrete. The command of one's language also includes the knowledge of grammar. For Marcuse it would simply be required to speak and write and use one's own language well.

In addition his curriculum would include the study of foreign languages. Foreign languages would not be elective but compulsory.⁹⁴ Every student would have to study at least one foreign language, preferably two. The decision which one is left up to the student. Marcuse himself speaks several languages. He knows from personal experience that the ability to speak a people's language opens the door to understanding their culture

⁹³Marcuse, Five Lectures, p. 222; An Essay on Liberation, p. 23.

⁹⁴Marcuse, private interview.

and their way of thinking. Marcuse is strictly opposed to the trend of abolishing foreign language requirements.

It has been discussed earlier that Marcuse believes the present problems facing mankind cannot be solved at the national level. International education is important. It might not appear as a separate subject in the curriculum but would go through the entire curriculum. Foreign languages, art, history, and geography would probably be the subjects with the strongest emphasis on international education. Student and teacher exchange programs can further help to work towards international understanding.

Marcuse believes that the school is limited in what it can do and should try to do. The schools should not make it their task to teach courses like family life, marriage, and grooming. According to Marcuse these subjects should not be part of the curriculum. He feels that one can discuss these problems with friends and in small groups but that it is not the business of the school or college to teach this.⁹⁵ In Marcuse's opinion there are some things a person has to learn on his own. Not everything can be done for him.⁹⁶

The school, Marcuse says, cannot teach the new sensibility either. Something can be done to prepare for this new sensibility in good courses of art and literature, but the new sensibility is in the last analysis a function of changing economic and political positions, and this goes beyond the task and the possibilities of the school. The new sensibility

⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶Keen and Raser, "A Conversation with Herbert Marcuse," Psychology Today.

cannot be taught in the school.⁹⁷

Marcuse wants the curriculum to concentrate on those things that everybody has to know. Marcuse considers it the main task of the school to provide a liberal humanistic education. The mind has to be trained through academic disciplines so that the student can learn how to think, that he can learn to apply his knowledge. Like the essentialist Marcuse believes that there are certain essentials, certain facts and skills everybody has to know and to learn. These essentials are defined by Marcuse. They were discussed in the setting of objectives, and the selection of the learning content. Through the development of reason, education is to lead the student to the transcendent reality so that he can recognize the present problems and bring about a qualitative change of life. The teacher, as will be discussed in more detail in the selection and organization of the methodology is close to this reality. He can see beyond the present one-dimensionality of life, and he therefore guides the student. The student is supposed to learn and follow the teacher. These convictions point towards a subject curriculum.

The subject approach is the oldest and the most widely used curriculum even today. It is based on the assumption that knowledge can be categorized into subjects, and that the mastery of these subjects in turn will give the student knowledge about all important areas. Supporters of the subject curriculum believe that the mind of the student and the ability to think can best be trained through the mastery of subject matter. They are convinced that mastery of knowledge at the same time provides the student with the ability to apply this knowledge.

⁹⁷Marcuse, private interview.

The subject organization is based on the philosophy that subjects differ in their value of developing the ability to think rationally.⁹⁸ Marcuse is convinced that the study of humanities, literature, art, languages and sciences are most effective in the training of the mind and the intellectual powers.

Marcuse does favor a subject organization but his demand for international education and the development of a political consciousness goes beyond a strict subject curriculum. Several subjects might be connected and correlated as in the broad fields curriculum. History and geography can be connected, and international education can and should run through all subjects. Social studies concentrate on political education, but art and literature courses can develop political consciousness too. The broad fields organization permits a greater integration of subject matter. A problem of the broad fields curriculum is that the broad courses can "turn into a passive overview of generalizations which offers little opportunity for active inquiry and active learning. It is possible that a condensation of a field, without an opportunity to pursue any part of it in depth, cultivates superficiality."⁹⁹ The broad fields curriculum is in spite of its connection and correlation of subjects a modified subject approach. Marcuse rejects superficial learning, he demands sound and detailed knowledge in many areas, which is done better through the subject organization.

The main subjects in a curriculum based on Marcuse's educational philosophy would be reading, writing and arithmetic as foundation. In

⁹⁸Taba, Curriculum Development, p. 386.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 395.

secondary education the main subjects would be literature, art, philosophy, foreign languages, social sciences, and natural sciences. Everybody would be required to obtain knowledge in these areas with additional subjects being electives. Marcuse nowhere talks about extra curricular activities. He is probably in favor of them as long as they support the goals of the basic subjects.

The Selection and Organization of the Methodology

The teacher in Marcuse's curriculum takes a very important role. Since Marcuse believes that the revolution has to be initiated by those people that are educated, and have rejected the unrationality of reality, the educational system should be led by people who have attained autonomy and can think rationally.

The teacher should have integrity, he should set an example as a human being. Marcuse requires that the teacher has mental superiority, that he is an expert in whatever he teaches. Mediocrity cannot be tolerated. The teacher has to exercise leadership because education is unthinkable without leadership.¹⁰⁰

The teacher is not just another person among the students like many progressivists believe, but he exerts his influence and provides positive guidance. His superior knowledge and experience gives him authority in his field, and he is expected to use this authority in the education of the students. Although the teacher knows he is not a mere conveyor belt of information, the teacher becomes, himself, a learner to the degree that his own capacity for self-discovery is increased as he instructs others.

¹⁰⁰Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 46.

While he should be the leader, he should not be authoritarian, but fair and generous in his guidance of the student.¹⁰¹

The teacher should be able to use his reason and comprehend the historical causes for the present society. He has to be able to transcend the apparent reality and understand the concepts underlying the facts. This will enable him to see the objective truth and help him in teaching his students to discover this truth too. The good teacher has a sure command of vast learning and unbounded intellectual curiosity.

Marcuse, in "Repressive Tolerance," insists that there is an objective truth.¹⁰² The teacher should be one of the people who can see this truth. If he has the truth the question arises, why can he not just deliver the truth and introject it into the students? Most of Marcuse's critics argue that under Marcuse's system exactly this would happen; replacement of present indoctrination with the indoctrination of Marcuse's values. Marcuse argues that the teacher, even though he may see the truth, cannot just "pour" it into the student. All he can do is guide the student to grasp the truth if the student is supposed to develop intellectual autonomy. The student has to see for himself. Marcuse very definitely rejects any kind of social or behavioral engineering. He hopes that when the student is confronted with the facts, he will gradually learn to see the truth behind these facts but the student cannot be forced into the right direction without destroying his potential individuality.¹⁰³ Marcuse claims that his system

¹⁰¹Leiss, Ober and Sherover, "Marcuse as Teacher," p. 425.

¹⁰²Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 89.

¹⁰³Marcuse, private interview.

is not a pedagogical dictatorship because the guiding group does not separate itself from the rest of the people. It does not withhold access to truth and knowledge from anybody. In fact, the goal of this group is to spread knowledge, to work together with the people so everybody can learn and discover the truth.¹⁰⁴ Marcuse's view of the teacher resembles that of the perennialist and essentialist. In perennialism and essentialism, the educational goal is to arrive at truth, knowledge and the mastery of essentials and the teacher is the one who is close to the truth. Intellectual education is considered the best way to achieve the educational goals.

Marcuse's educational system is perennialist in that it aims for everlasting and absolute values, it is essential in that it concentrates on subjects that are considered as basic foundations for the preparation of the new life. Marcuse, like the perennialist, believes that classical works of art and literature contain the truth. To study these works will cultivate the mind to recognize the truth. There is a basic difference between perennialism and Marcuse. For the perennialist, the final goal is fixed. It has been the same throughout history and will remain the same. For Marcuse, the final goal changes as new possibilities for life arise in history. The final goal is always the realization of the highest possibilities. Like the essentialist, Marcuse realizes that the skills, knowledge and attitudes that are needed to develop into a mature human being do not come automatically. Competency of mind, body and spirit

¹⁰⁴Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation, p. 71; "Repressive Tolerance," p. 106.

have to be consciously developed to achieve this goal. Children have to be directed by adults. This is the reason why Marcuse, in spite of his insistence on student involvement, feels that this involvement has to be limited.

Marcuse recommends a combination of different methods in the teaching process. Both the deductive and inductive method should be used to make teaching and learning effective. It depends on the particular situation which of the two is best.¹⁰⁵ Students of Marcuse describe him as a master of the Socratic method. At times Marcuse exerts strong authority. In an interview with Psychology Today, Marcuse says that he, himself, can be rather authoritarian.¹⁰⁶

From "Repressive Tolerance," one easily gets the impression that the education Marcuse wants would be indoctrination for the "right" values, knowledge and attitudes. Tolerance would be withdrawn from all views that do not agree with the left or revolutionary view which is considered the only true one. In Marcuse's system, as in the perennialist system, dissent is likely to be labeled as falsehood or manipulation. Marcuse argues that true tolerance can be achieved only if absolute tolerance is withdrawn from repressive opinions. Absolute and universal tolerance is false objectivity, it is inhuman.¹⁰⁷ Tolerance should be granted to all those forces that favor the overthrow of the existing reality. In Marcuse's opinion, the existence of these groups is more important than

¹⁰⁵Marcuse, private interview.

¹⁰⁶Keen and Raser, "A Conversation with Herbert Marcuse," pp. 35-40, 60-66.

¹⁰⁷Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 98.

the preservation of misused tolerance.¹⁰⁸ In this connection, Marcuse specifically refers to teaching. Since many educators have lost their ability of autonomous thought and have been manipulated by the consumer society,

. . . the restoration of freedom of thought may necessitate new and rigid restrictions on teachings and practices in the educational institutions which, by their very methods and concepts, serve to enclose the mind within the established universe of discourse and behavior, thereby precluding a priori a rational evaluation of the alternatives.¹⁰⁹

In Studies in Critical Philosophy, Marcuse says that in order to achieve the over arching goal of true liberty and freedom, present liberties of choice and expression may have to be reduced.¹¹⁰ Marcuse justifies this position out of history. According to him,

. . . the all-inclusive character of liberalist tolerance was, at least in theory, based on the proposition that men were (potential) individuals who would learn to hear and see and feel for themselves . . . This was the rationale of free speech and assembly. Universal toleration becomes questionable when its rationale no longer prevails.¹¹¹

And yet Marcuse, again invalidates his whole argument against tolerance when he says: "With all its limitations and distortions, democratic tolerance is under all circumstances more humane than an institutionalized intolerance."¹¹² This would include intolerance from the right as well as from the left and indicates a rejection of intolerance and indoctrination even of the "right" views and values.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 110.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 100.

¹¹⁰Marcuse, Studies in Critical Philosophy, p. 90.

¹¹¹Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 90.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 99.

In the interview with this researcher, Marcuse was strongly opposed to any kind of manipulation and indoctrination. As pointed out earlier Marcuse's statements are often inconsistent. There is strong evidence for the argument that he wants to indoctrinate people with his own values and that he is intolerant of any others, but there is also evidence for the argument that he is against indoctrination and for tolerance. Again it is possible, that he has changed his position over the last years. "Repressive Tolerance" was written in 1965, e.g., before the student riots and terrorist actions from the Left. These actions may have affected Marcuse to adopt a more moderate position.

In Marcuse's view, tolerance, free and equal discussion can fulfill the function attributed to it only if it is rational.¹¹³ The people have to be able to think independently, and according to Marcuse, that is not the case at present. The indication of this position is that until students learn to think rationally they cannot make valid decisions, they should listen and learn. The essentialist and perennialist hold a similar view in regard to student involvement. This position is in sharp contrast to Marcuse's insistence on student role and student importance in setting up the curriculum.¹¹⁴ In A Critique of Pure Tolerance, he expresses hope that students and teachers together could begin the desired change. Students also are one of the groups that he includes into the revolutionary forces, the avant garde for the new life.¹¹⁵ He welcomes students demands

¹¹³Ibid., p. 93.

¹¹⁴Marcuse, private interview.

¹¹⁵Marcuse, Five Lectures, pp. 89-91.

for a new curriculum that includes courses stressing the negative side of the present system.¹¹⁶ Marcuse seems to be for student involvement in the curriculum as long as the students demand the "right" things. As soon as their demands enter the academic area, and concentrate on lowering standards or abolishing certain requirements that he believes to be important, arguing that these academic requirements are irrelevant to their needs, Marcuse rejects student involvement. He believes that students cannot decide from the beginning whether a course is relevant or not. They can do that afterwards. They do not have a basis for their evaluation beforehand. Student participation is definitely limited. Marcuse believes that there are certain basics in education with which the student has to become acquainted whether he likes it or not.¹¹⁷ This attitude is similar to the perennialist view on student involvement. Both the perennialist and Marcuse believes that the mastering of tasks that appear distasteful at the moment may strengthen a student's character and may lead to knowledge. Both Marcuse and the perennialist stress that learning should not be passive or mechanical or dull the mind. Whatever is presented should be actively transformed by the student. Both are willing to employ some progressivist practices like the discovery method, communication, and utilization of child interest.

Marcuse believes that the experience of the students can be helpful in the educational process and should be used to approach the goal. The experience in itself, however, is not the main focus, it is rather the

¹¹⁶Ibid., p. 87.

¹¹⁷Marcuse, private interview.

experience in light of the desired outcome. Teach-ins, sit-ins, be-ins, love-ins have educational value, but they have to be put under the main objective, otherwise these potentially educating experiences turn into mere happenings.¹¹⁸

Too much consideration for the child's wishes is a waste of time because the ultimate goal is known and consequently the best way to get there can be determined. Like the essentialist, Marcuse believes that schools have to make sure that education provides for the acquisition of fundamental skills. On student interest there is agreement too, among the essentialist and Marcuse. Student interest is a strong motivation in learning but much of what has to be learned may not be interesting to the student at all. Interest is not the guiding principle in the selection of subjects or in the teaching method. Marcuse and the essentialist also share their opinion on self-discipline. Self-discipline is one of the goals of education.¹¹⁹ Marcuse again and again stresses the importance of discipline and criticizes the New Left for lack of discipline. Some coercion from outside may be necessary if the student is to achieve self-discipline. True freedom, both agree, is reached through discipline only and mastery of essentials.¹²⁰

Marcuse demands that the educational process be made democratic and provide free and equal education for everybody. At the same time he does recognize differences in intelligence, ability and interest. It seems that

¹¹⁸Marcuse, Five Lectures, p. 87.

¹¹⁹Marcuse, Negations.

¹²⁰E. Andrew, "Work and Freedom in Marcuse and Marx," Canadian Journal of Political Science (June, 1970), pp. 241-256.

equality to Marcuse does not mean absolutely the same for everybody, but for everybody the educational opportunity to go as far as his ability allows him to go. Marcuse demands a liberal education for everybody. Everybody has to receive the same basic education. This basic curriculum is prescribed. Marcuse believes that educators are better qualified to say what children should study than the children themselves or their parents.¹²¹ The perennialist holds the same belief.

Since Marcuse does believe in differences in ability and intelligence, these differences have to be taken into account in the instruction of the students. Marcuse would probably be willing to put students into different levels of the basic courses, as long as there is a guarantee that the student can change to a higher level if he is ready, as long as a lower level is not a dead end. He insists that all students, including the slow ones and those that are less capable, have to receive a liberal and humanistic education. He definitely opposes any kind of specialization at the public school level.¹²² Specialization tends to divide students into groups, those oriented towards humanities, those oriented towards science, and those oriented towards vocational education, and it is exactly this rift that in Marcuse's opinion has led to the repressive society we live in.

Those students that show the highest intellectual ability either in humanities or sciences are to go on to study at a university. These students must show high intellectual interest. The university, as Marcuse

¹²¹Marcuse, private interview.

¹²²Ibid.

sees it, is a place for the superior students only. As much as Marcuse advocates admission to the university of more minority students, he is most definitely against lowering standards in order to admit these students. If necessary these students have to be given special preparation and special help but they have to be held to the same standards as everybody else in the educational process.¹²³ The essentialists, too, believe that certain standards have to be maintained.

The university is to create leaders who know what the truth is and who can use their reason.¹²⁴ The educational system is to find those people that are most capable of leadership, that are capable of thinking and discovering the truth. This selection process resembles the perennialist educational practice and goal.

It seems that Marcuse would prefer the educational system of the United States to the system of Germany. The German system, with its inflexible division into elementary, intermediate and university preparatory education separates students too early into tracks. At the age of ten the decision is made which track a student will follow, and it is hard to change from one to the other. This system does not only limit the student's possibility of upward change, it also separates students into groups that don't have any contact with each other. Vocational oriented, college oriented and university oriented students do not communicate which leads to a separation of practice and theory.

In American there is, at least theoretically, the change for every

¹²³Ibid.

¹²⁴Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation, p. 61.

student to proceed to a higher level. In that the system is more democratic, and Marcuse would prefer this. However, he might argue that this system can easily lead to intellectual and academic mediocrity which he opposes.

Marcuse favors a basic and liberal education which will give the student the necessary preparation for life. The intellectual education, the vigorous training of the mind through art, history, sciences, and languages will provide him with the concepts that are necessary to see the lasting truth behind the irrationality of reality. The command of reason will help man to change this world into a better one. Marcuse, like the perennialist and essentialist, believes in the transfer of intellectual knowledge to practice.

The Evaluation of the Curriculum

As long as there has been formal education there has been some kind of evaluation. Historically, evaluation has concentrated on the individual student and the results of his learning activities. Usually the learning outcome has been tested at the end of a course. Evaluation has mainly focused on the result and content of learning, on the end product. This type of evaluation is called summative evaluation.¹²⁵ In recent years there has been a move towards evaluating the learning process that leads towards the product. There has emerged the view that the learning environment has to be evaluated too and not just the knowledge at the end of a unit because

¹²⁵M. Scriven, "The Methodology of Evaluation," Perspectives of Curriculum Evaluation. A ERA Monograph Series on Curriculum Evaluation, No. 1 (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967).

research has shown that the learning environment strongly influences the learning outcome. Evaluation is moving from individual to system-wide evaluation, from summative to formative evaluation. Educators are more and more interested in a process-oriented evaluation.¹²⁶

This new approach to evaluation has by no means been welcomed and accepted by all educators. There are many different viewpoints on the role and character of evaluation. Many teachers reject the idea of outside evaluation, especially if it is connected with accountability, or evaluation that goes beyond tests at the end of a course.

Regardless of whether evaluation is formative or summative, the question arises who is to conduct the evaluation and how is it going to be conducted?

How can we be sure that the evaluation is valid, objective, meaningful and actually concentrates on the important aspects? New evaluation instruments have been developed. PERT, PPBS, systems analysis are used by industry as evaluation tools, but are only now entering the public schools. Most teachers at this point probably don't know much about the new trend in evaluation.

These facts, the changes in the philosophy and technique of evaluation and the disagreement among professional educators on evaluation have to be kept in mind in a discussion on Marcuse's ideas on curriculum evaluation. Marcuse has been accused of making his whole educational system immune to public testing.¹²⁷ From reading Marcuse's work and

¹²⁶Payne, Curriculum Evaluation.

¹²⁷Devitis, "The Concepts of Repression in the Social and Educational Thought of Erich Fromm and Herbert Marcuse," p. 37.

talking to him, it appears that his education would be as open to evaluation as most systems are. That he is not a leader in the field of evaluation is not surprising. Marcuse is foremost a philosopher and therefore interested in the building of theory, in the development of thought. He believes evaluation is necessary but he has not given much time to the practical steps of the evaluating process.

As long as many experts in education are opposed to or indifferent to evaluation because they consider it a threat to their autonomy in the classroom, it is hardly fair to accuse somebody from outside the field of education of making his system immune to evaluation. This researcher has come to the conclusion that Marcuse is not against evaluation. Marcuse does not talk about the practical steps in evaluation which as a philosopher, he is probably not really concerned about. He does require that evaluation, in order to be meaningful, must be the result of autonomous thought.¹²⁸ This implies evaluation has to be carried out by an expert, by somebody who can make valid judgments. Most people in the area of evaluation agree that for good evaluation an expert has to be employed, they also agree that in the final analysis, in spite of all the objective instruments, judgment plays an important role in evaluation.¹²⁹

Asked about evaluation, Marcuse mentioned three factors in evaluating the method of teaching. The first criterion is student evaluation as it is practiced at many schools now. As pointed out before, Marcuse

¹²⁸Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 94.

¹²⁹Payne, Curriculum Evaluation, p. 8.

believes that student opinion and student evaluation are important but he also believes that they are extremely limited in their use. Students may use criteria for their evaluation that are not valid. They may consider a course as irrelevant, whereas it may be very important. They may evaluate courses like foreign languages negatively because they involve a great amount of work. Students are young and their ability for autonomous thought has to still be fully developed. They may evaluate courses based on personal criteria and short range interests and needs rather than on long range goals.

The second criterion in evaluating teaching is the evaluation of one teacher by another teacher. In order to be meaningful, this would involve trained observation using an instrument like the interaction analysis by Flanders. Most teachers reject the idea of being evaluated by colleagues, it is usually considered a threat. Marcuse is convinced that good teaching should be counted highly. The problem is that it is not easy to define good teaching and Marcuse does not define it either. Many people still hold the view that anybody can recognize good teaching if they see it.

The third criterion applies mainly to universities. At the university, Marcuse considers publishing an important factor in any evaluation. At that level, the teacher should definitely be a scholar and researcher and contribute to knowledge.

In Marcuse's opinion, one of the most important parts in the evaluation of the overall educational program is an analysis of the courses that are offered. If courses, that he considers as basic in the education of free people, like the history of imperialism, or revolutionary movements

are not being taught, then that particular system has definitely shortcomings in his opinion. This part of the evaluation leads back to the assessment of needs and the setting of objectives. If the intellectual and humanistic objectives are neglected and pushed aside by vocational objectives, Marcuse would evaluate and judge this particular curriculum as lacking the main task of education.

From his educational philosophy, it can be inferred that Marcuse views evaluation basically as summative evaluation. The main criterion is whether certain things have been learned at the end of a course. Marcuse is more interested in the outcome, the mastery of knowledge, the ability to think, than in the process. But the two types of evaluation are, of course, overlapping to some extent.

Summary

In Chapter III a curriculum based on Marcuse's educational philosophy was set up. Taba's curriculum design was used as a guide.¹³⁰

1. The establishment of educational needs.

Marcuse criticizes the present education as undemocratic, one-dimensional, narrow, and utilitarian. Marcuse demands the establishment of new educational needs and objectives. He is willing to work towards these new goals within the existing institution of the school. Marcuse believes that change can best be brought about through local control of education. Marcuse favors student involvement in designing the curriculum but definitely limits the power of students in this process. The parents he does not consider important or positive in establishing educational objectives.

¹³⁰Taba, Curriculum Development.

The main responsibility rests with the enlightened people in a community who are capable of autonomous thought.

2. The setting of objectives.

Marcuse rejects behavioral objectives arguing that they lead to one-dimensionality in thought and action. The main objectives of the curriculum based on Marcuse's educational philosophy are: the development of independent thought as a prerequisite for autonomy, a sound humanistic and scientific education, the development of political consciousness to work against the system for a better future, and international education.

3. The selection and organization of the subject matter.

Marcuse requires a liberal education for everybody. Required subjects in his curriculum are reading, writing, arithmetic as basics. Every student has to take courses in history, literature, science, languages, international education. Marcuse believes that some subjects are better in developing critical thinking than others. Marcuse favors a modified subject curriculum.

4. The selection and organization of the methodology.

The good teacher is close to the truth. He uses his authority, experience, and knowledge in guiding the student. The student has to discover the truth by himself in order to develop autonomy. Active student involvement and student experiences are considered important as long as they contribute to reach the set goals. Marcuse demands an open and objective presentation of the facts so that students can discover the truth and develop the ability to think independently.

5. The evaluation of the curriculum.

In order to evaluate the quality of teaching Marcuse would use:

a. student evaluations of teachers, and b. evaluation of teachers by other teachers. At the university level Marcuse considers publications an important factor in evaluation. Marcuse bases the evaluation of the entire program on an analysis of course offerings. If courses, which he considers important are not offered then this particular program is considered as weak.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Throughout his work Marcuse seems to support ultra-left anarchy. He appears as a radical revolutionary who will not give up his agitating work until the existing society has been overthrown. He rejects the mere idea of compromise and evolution and claims that only a revolution can bring the qualitative change. Tolerance has to be withdrawn from any conservative group. A few enlightened intellectual leaders serve as the avant garde and provide the theoretical leadership. Marcuse endorses violence of the revolutionary forces if it turns out that violence is the only way to achieve the revolutionary goal.

There are strong implications to support the view that Marcuse's revolution should be run from above, by an elite. People who don't even know that they are exploited are to be liberated from above. They are to be shown that they are manipulated and that they have to change in order to be free. It seems that Marcuse wants to establish a higher democracy using undemocratic means. A phase of intolerance and indoctrination precedes utopia. These radical implications become even stronger when he repeatedly insists that the traditional form of struggle for changing society are inadequate and useless and that resort to force is the only answer. Marcuse holds the view that the individuals are not necessarily themselves the arbiters of what they truly need, therefore somebody else

has to tell them. It is very tempting to use the argument that whoever is not in agreement with the revolutionary agents has been manipulated by the establishment and therefore is not capable of thinking rationally. There is also a tendency to take the fact that the view of Leftists has not been accepted by the public as evidence that it has not been properly presented to the public.¹

In Marcuse's opinion, every society, theory and goals for life are subject to history. Everything changes with history. He does, however, seem to claim objective validity for his own theory in so far as he appears to be convinced that the specific goals he envisions for society are coinciding with the universal interest of mankind. While these radical elements in Marcuse's work are very prominent, they are by no means absolute. Throughout his work he does put limitations on radicalism, violence and intolerance, and in An Essay on Liberation he places restrictions on radicalism. Working according to the rules and methods of democratic legality appears as surrender to the prevailing power structure. "And yet it would be fatal to abandon the defense of civil rights and liberties within the established framework."² On the one hand, he condemns the "snail-paced movement"³ of the democratic process; and on the other hand, he insists "we must proceed from one step to the next."⁴

¹Wolfgang Lipp, "Apparat und Gewalt über Herbert Marcuse," Soziale Welt, 3 (1969), p. 76.

²Herbert Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), p. 65.

³Ibid., p. 63.

⁴Herbert Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," A Critique of Pure Tolerance Herbert Marcuse, Robert Paul Wolff and Barrington Moore, Jr. (Boston: Beacon Press), p. 98.

In "Repressive Tolerance" he severely criticizes absolute tolerance and demands intolerance for movements from the right. Yet in the same book, he says that "the democratic tolerance in spite of all its distortions and limitations is preferable to institutionalized intolerance." In spite of his insistence on revolution he does advocate evolutionary change. In Five Lectures Marcuse goes so far as to say: "I believe that I have not advocated a break."⁵ To work in existing institutions, even if it is with the intent of overthrowing them, is an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary process. He also puts limits on the use and right of violence. This restriction is clearly voiced in an interview with Psychology Today⁶ and in the interview with the researcher. "There are certain means that are not justified for any revolution and revolutionary, for example, torture and the intentional killing of innocents."⁷

The radical side is certainly more prominent and obvious in his books, but to neglect the other side means to misinterpret Marcuse. Marcuse is inconsistent in his views on revolution-evolution, tolerance-intolerance, self-determination-indoctrination, and these inconsistencies cannot be explained away. There are two main reasons for these inconsistencies: 1. Marcuse's intellectual background and commitment, and 2. a possible change of his view. His critical theory of society announces a union of theory and practice. Throughout his writings he attempts to

⁵Herbert Marcuse, Five Lectures: Psychoanalysis, Politics, and Utopia (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970), p. 76.

⁶Sam Keen and John Raser, "A Conversation with Herbert Marcuse," Psychology Today (February, 1971), IV, pp. 35-40; 60-66.

⁷Herbert Marcuse, private interview, December, 1974.

and believes he does keep this union. The intellectual person works in close connection with the people, and all people have equal access to the realm of thought and reason. But basically Marcuse's personal world is a theoretical one. He is an intellectual and does believe that the ability to think is most important and that without reason and intellect nothing can be achieved. Marcuse does stand in the tradition of idealism and the search for the truth, for knowledge and reality are essential to him. Marcuse advocates the union of theory and practice but he does so from a theoretical and intellectual position. He does not have a real connection to the practical aspects of a revolution. As a critic of society he is effective. He does analyze the problems of the consumer society with deep insight into the complexity of affluent life, but his proposed actions, the revolution, are based on practical naivete. Marcuse believes that this revolution will be different from all previous ones. "It would gradually reduce the subordination of man to the instruments of his labor, direct production toward the elimination of alienated labor, while renouncing the wasteful and enslaving conveniences of the capitalist consumer society."⁸

The revolution would be different because the people would be different. A new sensibility would be the guarantee for altruism, love, harmony and unselfishness. Marcuse seems to believe that if only a person knows the good and the right will he do the good and the right. Since the New Left agrees with him on the analysis of the present society

⁸Herbert Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972), p. 2.

and the necessity of the revolution, Marcuse may have hoped they would also agree with him on the necessity of unselfish guidance towards true democracy. Marcuse has been proven wrong on that point. Many of the leaders of the New Left have turned out to be as susceptible to cruelty and terrorism and personal glory as any revolutionary leaders in history.

During the last few years, it seems the moderate side of Marcuse has become stronger. This may be directly connected with the violent acts by some Leftist groups. This does not mean he has given up or modified his criticism of society. He still believes that only a complete change of the existing state of affairs can lead to pacification of existence, but there are indications that he has become somewhat disillusioned with the revolutionary forces he praised so strongly in An Essay on Liberation. As soon as some of these groups felt the affect of power, the revolutionary truth easily moved into the background. As a result of Left terrorism Marcuse appears more willing to work within existing institutions to bring about a qualitative change.

Marcuse's educational ideas are based on his experiences as an intellectual. In his opinion, good and solid education is the prerequisite for effective and successful change. He believes that only education can provide the necessary theoretical leadership for the revolution. Marcuse demands education for theory and education for action. Rebellions, demonstrations, and strikes are all part of the overall education in making people see what is really going on. In all his books, Marcuse emphasizes education as education for the revolution. Students of institutions of higher learning are involved in this process. It seems however, that at the public school level "education as action" is in the background.

Marcuse approaches the revolution and the new society as a scholar and intellectual. In order to prepare students to change society, it is only natural that he highly emphasizes intellectual training as one of the main tasks of the public schools.

Marcuse's educational views have been definitely influenced by his own educational background. As pointed out before, Marcuse attended the Humanistische Gymnasium. The educational philosophy of the Humanistische Gymnasium is close to perennialism. Perennialism is based on idealism. The perennialist believes in timeless and spaceless principles that guide all actions. The core of ancient cultures is considered to be as valid today as it was centuries ago. Truth is fixed, eternal, universal, and absolute. It is not easy to discover the truth but the potentiality exists. Knowledge centers largely in the cultivation of the logical powers of the mind. Therefore, the cultivation of reason is the path to genuine knowledge. Exercising and disciplining the mind are the first obligations of education. The subjects, history, geography, literature, foreign languages, art and music are believed to be the most valuable in attaining this objective. The perennialist strongly stands for liberal education and the development of all powers of the individual. Everybody is to follow the same education and the best students go on to university which prepares for a life of reason.⁹

Marcuse is a scholar of German idealism. He has studied Hegel in depth. Marcuse himself stands in the tradition of idealism. He does

⁹Theodore Brameld, Patterns of Educational Philosophy (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1971), pp. 297-302.

reject the separation of soul and body in idealism and insists on the unity of the human being. He also believes that the transcendent universal forms of the idealist can and should be made part of the future reality. Marcuse also shares some of the educational beliefs of the essentialist. Essentialism according to Brameld has its roots in a combination of idealism and realism. The roots of essentialism emerged with modern times. Modern philosophers, among them Hegel and Kant, Schopenhauer, Locke and Hume, felt the necessity to build a philosophy that would make possible new developments in science and culture that would allow a breaking away from scholasticism. Essentialists believe in a corpus of inherited principles which education has to transmit and citizens have to respect. Education must transmit the social heritage and help the individual to adjust to society through means of facts, skills and knowledge. Essentialists view the mind as a reception of the world of natural realities, truths, and values. The schools have to make sure that education provides for the acquisition of fundamental skills. The essentialist realizes that the essential skills, knowledge, and attitudes that are needed to adjust to the reality of life do not come automatically. Competency of mind, body, and spirit have to be developed to achieve this goal. The children have to be directed by adults. All students are to be educated in academic subjects and skills according to their abilities.¹⁰

A comparison of Marcuse's curriculum with essentialism and perennialism shows several similarities. Like the essentialist and perennial-

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 223-227.

list, Marcuse requires liberal education for everybody before any specialization. Marcuse insists on the cultivation and development of the rational faculties of the mind. He insists on a theoretical base. This is the sound approach of a researcher who knows that without a theoretical base, research, knowledge, and skills, are meaningless and do not lead anywhere. The insistence on the intellectual training tends to neglect however those students that are not capable of doing this kind of work. Marcuse nowhere says how and when students are selected or directed toward different professions, training, or studies.

Like the perennialist, Marcuse seems to consider contemplative wisdom as the highest form of knowledge. Scientific knowledge is absolutely necessary but it needs the guidance of the philosopher. Marcuse rejects wisdom and knowledge for their own sake. Knowledge has to always be used as a guide towards practice and as a tool to change reality. Marcuse's education is definitely more science oriented than that of the perennialist since his whole idea of society is based on the achievements of science. Marcuse requires more humanistic education than the essentialist; but like the essentialist, he requires high standards and discipline. The student has to learn and education has to teach certain things. The school is not there to waste valuable time with nonessentials. The school has to concentrate on its task of educating the student. In Marcuse's opinion, the school is definitely not a public relations institution. Through public relations, he claims the school is pulled along in the main stream of one dimensional society.¹¹

¹¹Marcuse, private interview.

Since Marcuse does accept some of the major aspects of perennialism and essentialism, it is not surprising that he also favors the subject curriculum. The methodology, the role of the teacher and the role of the student are similar in Marcuse's educational ideas and in essentialism and perennialism.

In spite of these similarities, there are some definite and important differences. Marcuse's own educational background is based on perennialism and idealism but in his social theory he has overcome this philosophy. Perennialism and essentialism are past oriented and they take their values and ideals from the past. The past helps to illuminate the present but the preoccupation with the past can lead to a neglect of the present and the future. Marcuse is future oriented. He uses almost the identical educational tools as the perennialist and essentialist, but his long range goals are different. Education is supposed to help in the preparation of the qualitative change. He objects to education as adjustment to the present society. This society is bad and has to be overcome, and any identification with the values of this society has to be broken. The social heritage is studied for the purpose of seeing the development of one-dimensional society and the historical forces opposing this development and not to support the present culture.

The long range goal that Marcuse envisions is much closer to the goal of reconstructionism. Education is to lead towards social-self-realization. Social-self-realization is both social-centered and self-centered.¹² The reconstructionist envisions the self-discovering, self-

¹²Brameld, Patterns of Educational Philosophy, p. 421.

expressing, and self-fulfilling individual not as an isolated human being, but as a human being who is integral with others. Marcuse hopes to reach this same goal through a new sensibility. He does not believe that formal education can actually achieve this goal, but it can prepare for it by developing the rational capacity of the student so that the student learns to think autonomously. In this, Marcuse's own educational background breaks through. Like the reconstructionist, Marcuse stresses the present stage of world history as a revolutionary one and insists that our revolutionary age demands transformative goals.

Most of his critics and his left followers do not understand this connection. The New Left revolutionaries do not recognize Marcuse's insistence on academic excellence, on theoretical leadership, on self-discipline, and on restraint. His critics from the right concentrate on his most extreme revolutionary demands. At the same time they emphasize Marcuse's idea of intellectual leadership. This then is taken as proof that Marcuse advocates a dictatorship of intellectuals and social drop-outs. That he also requires restraint and self discipline and that he repeatedly rejects the idea of intellectual ivory tower elitism is completely neglected by his critics. In research, a sound theoretical base is considered the most important factor in any study. Marcuse's insistence on theoretical leadership is viewed by his critics as elitism. Marcuse has been accused of wanting to establish elite universities that are strictly separated from lowly vocational colleges.¹³ It seems Marcuse,

¹³Joseph L. Devitis, "The Concept of Repression in the Social and Educational Thought of Erich Fromm and Herbert Marcuse," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1972, p. 149.

when talking about universities, has in mind a university that resembles the European form rather than the American form. If a university has the function of research and theoretical work as Marcuse thinks it does, vocational colleges are indeed separated from universities. This does not in itself show a neglect of vocational training nor does it prove to be undemocratic or elitist. It simply shows a separation of research oriented and vocational oriented institutions.

This researcher has come to the conclusion that although Marcuse's social theory is radical and extremely leftist, his educational ideas are rather conservative. This is apparently due to Marcuse's own educational background which is based on perennialism. While his goals are different from perennialism and essentialism, his tools are very similar to these two educational philosophies.

If a curriculum based on Marcuse's educational philosophy were to replace the present curriculum, there would not be the unstructured system as proposed by Illich or the "free school" movement nor would it be a system of leftist political indoctrination. Marcuse's curriculum would be based on perennialism principles as evidenced in the German Humanistische Gymnasium. His curriculum would be more conservative and more strongly academic than the curriculum practiced at most American public schools today. For Marcuse education is not mere life adjustment. Education must train the intellectual capacities in order to develop free and autonomous minds which lend themselves to overcoming and changing the unreasonability of reality. Marcuse believes that these free and autonomous minds are best developed through the study of the traditional academic subjects. The study of these subjects should be demanding and vigorous.

Marcuse would stress the social history and the development of imperialism more than is done in the traditional curriculum, but this would be done in a rational and objective manner. Marcuse would want the facts to speak for themselves. In his emphasis on traditional academic subjects and academic discipline Marcuse separates himself from the anti-intellectualism of the New Left.

The question arises whether Marcuse's social theory fits his educational ideas. It may not be possible to realize his educational ideas within the matrix of his social and political theory. There is a contradiction between Marcuse's advocacy of extraparliamentary revolution and his more recent insistence on the necessity of working with change within the existing institutions. It is impossible to resolve this contradiction. During the course of an extraparliamentary revolution a minority group would be in power against the wish of the majority. This group would, of course, believe that it governs for the good of the majority. The temptation of such a group to use propagandistic methods in education rather than the open and objective method that Marcuse claims to favor would be overwhelming. A person might well conclude that such a hope for free and open education under such circumstances appears naive. Marcuse's more recent willingness to work within the existing institutions means that he will have to subject himself to the will of the majority. According to Marcuse the majority has been manipulated, however, and is incapable of thinking autonomously. Therefore the danger exists that the education which he considers necessary to prepare the qualitative change may never be implemented.

It appears that although Marcuse's social theory is leftist and radical, his educational theory remains conservative and traditional in its

orientation. From an examination of Marcuse's ideas concerning curriculum content and objectives, it further appears that his educational theories may well be used on his own education in the Humanistische Gymnasium. Marcuse's social thought focuses on a complete and absolute change of society while his educational thought focuses on the training of the mind. This is a long process which does not immediately serve the practical aspects of the revolution. From this research one can easily conclude that Marcuse has not been able to fully integrate his social and his educational thought.

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