REFLECTIONS ON THE EDUCATIONAL THOUGHTS

OF HERBERT MARCUSE

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ABSTRACT

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Reflections on the Educational Thoughts of Herbert Marcuse
describes some of his basic ideas of the technological society and
its impact upon schools. Modern education and in particular, the
comprehensive school system in industrialised society has resulted
in a general decline of school standards. As a remedy, Marcuse pro-
poses a political counter-education which is based in a supposed multi-
dimensionality of views such as his Critical Theory and a leftist-
leaning analysis of the socio-economic or cultural make-up of modern
societies. The student rebellions of the sixties were in part, in-
spired by Marcuse's writings about the general repression of western,
inddstrial communities and which were countered by the application
of a Marcusean concept of 'self-liberation' of negative thinking.

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generally the writer and his advisor. There are at least, a few
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Montréal, Spring 1981.   Dieter Anton Halbwidl

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents and Dr. Harold Entwistle.

It must be considered that there is nothing more difficult to carry
out, nor more doubtful of success, nor more dangerous to handle, than
to initiate a new order of things. For the reformer has enemies in
all those who profit from the old order, and only lukewarm defenders
in all those who would profit by the new order, this lukewarmness
arising partly from fear of their adversaries, who have the laws in
their favour; and partly from the incredulity of mankind, who do not
truly believe in anything new until they have had actual experience
of it....

                                        N. Machiavelli

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INTRÓDUCTION

Some Problems of Mass Education

This thesis is a study of the writings of Herbert Marcuse in relation to cultural and educational developments since World War II and, in particular, with reference to recent developments in educational systems which have diminished the earlier optimistic expectations that desirable social change could be engineered through the schools.

Marcuse's Life and Works

Herbert Marcuse was born (1898) into an era of social change; political polarization and cultural turmoil. The <u>Kaiser's</u> Reich was locked in a political-industrial struggle with Europe, bent on expansion of colonies in Africa culminating in the ferocious World War I (1914–1918). Berlin, Marcuse's birthplace, remained the cultural and political focal point of the monarchy until 1918, and until 1945 with the downfall of the Nazi dictatorship. Here, in the early 1900's a German nationalist <u>Realpolitik</u> defeated the pacifist 'Socialist lectern' policies of international co-operation and peace. The young Marcuse became politically active at an early age; he was part of the Soldatenrat or soldiers council in 1918, at Berlin-Reinickendorf and in a Socialist-Communist group attached to the renowned Rosa Luxemburg.[1] He attended the universities of

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[1] Jürgen Habermas and Silvia Bovenschen, <u>Gespräche mit Herbert Marcuse</u> (Frankfurt a/M: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1978), p. 10.

Berlin and Freiburg where he graduated or habilitiert with a
doctorate in philosophy under the reputed Martin Heidegger.[1] In
1927, Marcuse became for a short while the editor of the Social
Democratic journal 'Die Gesellschaft'.[2] With the demise of the
Weimar Republic (1919-1933), the Frankfurt Institut fur
Sozialforschung and its founders, Erich Fromm, Theodor Adorno,
Max Horkheimer and Marcuse were forced to leave Germany. Marcuse
moved first to Geneva (1934), then Paris and later to the United
States.[3] Marcuse became involved for the next thirty five years in
academic work, research or teaching, with the major exception of the
war years (1941-1945), which were spent at Washington, D.C., as an
expert on Central European affairs at the State department. A host
of internationally well-known universities offered Marcuse teaching
positions: Columbia (1934-42), Harvard (1952-54), Brandeis (1954-65),
Yale (1963-64), the university of California at San Diego (1965-69),
the École Pratique des Hautes Études (1959-60), at Paris, or the
Freie Universität Berlin (1966).[4]

Marcuse's academic reputation was considerably enhanced and
solidified with the publication of philosophical treatises or social
theories. His major works are: Reason and Revolution, Hegel and the

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[1] Jean-Michel Palmier, Présentation D'Herbert Marcuse (Paris:
Union Générale D'Editions, 1968), p. 12.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Robert Marks, The Meaning of Marcuse (New York: Ballantine
Books, 1970), pp. 135-36.

[4] Ibid.

Rise of Social Theory (1941), Soviet Marxism, A Critical Analysis (1958),
One-Dimensional Man, Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial
Society (1964), Counterrevolution and Revolt (1972), and The Aesthetic
Dimension, Toward a Critique of Marxist Aesthetics (1978), as well as
numerous articles. These and other works which are difficult to
obtain indicate a life long dedication to analysis and criticism of
the oppressiveness of modern governments, irrespective of their
political ideologies and advocay of the potential of a 'mass liberation';
particularly, from man-made laws hindering social justice. Until
the early nineteen sixties, Marcuse's books were primarily read by
academics and students. With the rise of student protests, specifically
on the European and North American continents, against the undeclared
U.S. war in Viet Nam, the race riots of 1965-67 in American cities and
the drafting of thousands of eligible young people into the U.S. army,
Marcuse's writings became a guide for many of the disenchanted. His
ideas were not critically viewed, but rather, accepted as a sort of
one-dimensional opinion (s) on life; an exact opposite of what Marcuse
urges throughout his works. Marcuse evolved into a guru of the 'new
left'. Many of Marcuse's ideas were used as a panacea for instant
happiness or 'revolution'. Students and the media 'popularized' slogans
such as "we see Marx as prophet, Marcuse as his interpreter, and Mao his
sword."[1] Whilst most obvious and immediate use of Marcuse's work was
an inspiration for student unrest in the sixties, his writings have a
wider reference to educational problems in the modern, industrial
world.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

Some Problems of Mass Education

Socio-economic, technological or cultural changes in industrial countries have brought about large scale educational innovations. Examples of these were the English Education Act (1944), and Sweden's 'democratization' of schools. In Québec, Bill 60 ushered in the creation of a Ministry of Education in 1963, and with it a series of attempts to modernize a largely religion oriented educational system. Prior to 1939, both in Europe and North America, secondary education had been the near exclusive domain of the middle classes. After World War II, students from all social backgrounds were obliged under law to attend secondary schools throughout industrialized countries of the Western hemisphere. Secondary schools became easily accessible to all social classes since no fees had to be paid by anyone.

The ensuing school explosion represented in Western societies an unprecedented social development; by 1970, most Western European children of both sexes were in school compulsorily until the age of 16.[1] This cultural revolution was necessitated by the need for trained manpower for industry just as much as it was required by the prevailing social democratic ideology of Western societies. The geo-political-technological competition between the Western democracies led by the United States, West Europe and Japan, and the Soviet bloc nations crystallized the need for an 'educated' labour force.[2] Added to this momentum was the Sputnik phenomenon (1957), when the Soviet

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[1] Raymond Poignant, Education in Industrialized Countries, Europe 2000 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972), p. 11.

[2] See Herbert Marcuse's Soviet Marxism, A Critical Analysis (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958).

Union began the space race by 'manning' satellites with animals on board. This race exploded in scientific-technological research expansion in Western countries lasting well into the late nineteen sixties ending this phase with the American landing on the moon (1969).

An expanding economy usually promotes a renewed or resurgent interest in educational problems and innovation. In the nineteen sixties many educational journals described the lack of educational quality in North America; inner-city schools catering to immigrant or migrant populations compared badly with the more affluent middle or upper class areas and their private schools.[1] Comprehensive education became the catch-phrase and fact during the late nineteen fifties and sixties in industrialized countries. It replaced the classical or language oriented secondary schools, 'Gymnasiums', grammar schools or lycées in the United States, Canada, West Germany, England and Sweden. Classical schools are still popular in these countries though many of them are private and expensive. The comprehensive school was to have offered a panacea for many of our social and educational ills. The comprehensive idea or 'Gesamtschulen' offers the academic choice of core subjects such as English/French, mathematics and science, social science and humanities with automotive or home economics and wood working courses. The public at large, in particular the highly mobile professional-managerial sectors in Canada, often assumed the comprehensive school to be automatically inferior to the public grammar or classical schools. In many instances the standards

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[1]See The School Review, Daedalus or The Harvard Educational Review.

vary greatly between secondary schools in France, West Germany, England,
Canada or the United States. The middle class bias against the public run
comprehensive school is often well-founded. This assumption has recently
led to a significant trend towards enrollment in private schools, in
particular Canada and the United States. It is sometimes argued that the
basic problem of comprehensive education is one of erosion of its standards
and not the idea of the comprehensive school itself. On the other hand it
has been argued that an erosion in comprehensive schools is implicit in the
idea.[1] The disparity of educational standards between comprehensive and
private schools become clear and suggest that many of our public schools
have an unsatisfactory curricula and educational standards.[2] The social
doldrums of many an industrialised society of hooliganism, drugs, a general
lack of parental as well as self-discipline all add up at times to a
'burnt' out or poorly motivated teaching staff. All these symptoms are
the byproducts of economic disparities or cultural anomalies and contra-
dictions of industrialized societies such as North America. A flurry of
official reports such as the Coleman Report, Schooling for the Future
(1971), or from the United Nations, Paris based, Center for Educational

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[1] See Harold Entwistle's Class, Culture and Education (London:
Methuen Co., Ltd., 1978).

[2] See Professor Ludwig van Friedeburg's 'Schule ist Kampfthema
unserer Gesellschaft', Der Spiegel, (July 14, 1980), pp. 58-67.
Take for example the case of Québec. Here, the educational scenery is
literally inundated with a series of educational, financial mismanagement
on part of the government and school boards, constant tampering with
teachers' scholarity, or the polarizations of teachers' union vis-à-vis
the government which all cast a serious doubt to the effective credulence
of the provincial Ministère.

Research and Innovation supplied the reader with a series of useful
analyses of what ought to be done to improve the sagging educational
standards at secondary schools. One educational innovation, especially,
was intended to solve some of these economic or cultural disparities.
Temporary Head Start programs, involving community participation by
ethnic or racial minorities, were intended to solve some of the more
basic students' difficulties with grammar or reading and to assure an
easy transition of a minority into the vast-White oriented culture.[1]
However, during the economic slowdowns in North America in the mid-
seventies, Head Start or other educational innovative programs which
were publicly funded were stopped. This retrenchement represents the
expression of a conservative opposition to liberal, reform programs of
all sorts. A new era of conservatism of consumer society ensures a
widening gulf between social groups within technological nations. Marcuse
terms this historical period as a 'Counterrevolution'.[2] This is particularly
poignant since the platform of President Reagan (1980) proposes to cut
many of the social aid programs in the United States.

[1]Head Start was originally meant to aid the less affluent migrants
of a community achieve a better academic standing at schools, minimize
some racial tensions between Jewish landlords and Black tenants and get
parents involved in the day to day learning process of their children.
The author was involved in a Head Start program, L'esprit Côte des Neiges,
a federally sponsored community project in 1971-72. After the cut-off of
fundings, I had met one of the Black grade school students who said something
to the order of:"Heh, man, you guys really left us hanging, nobody gives a
damn about us anymore"! This comment perhaps, symbolizes the bitter attitudes
of some Côte des Neiges students who came to like and depend on many of
the staff members as teachers or friends who helped them to spell, read or
play games. The financial cut off forced many members to seek employment
elsewhere.

[2]See Herbert Marcuse's Counterrevolution and Revolt (Boston: Beacon
Press, 1972), as well as Actuels (Paris: Editions Galilée, 1972), p. 29.

This thesis is simple in intent. It attempts to show clearly some political-technological relationships and their impact upon modern education and its tentative results. Schools are normally not the motivating factors in bringing about social change(s). Rather, political forces, parties and governments usually create educational reforms which are then superimposed upon schools and students. Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis have stated in their work (1976), that:

> An egalitarian program of educational reforms must
> make it perfectly clear that equality is not just a
> question of subcultural vlaues, nor is it a biological
> issue, nor is it a narrowly economic issue. Equality
> is a political issue, and the only route to a more
> equal society lies through political struggle. Second,
> egalitarian reforms in education must seek to disable
> the myths which make inequality appear beneficial, just
> or unavoidable. Finally, a program of egalitarian
> reforms in education must seek to unify diverse groups
> and combat attempts to segment workers of different social
> circumstances.[1]

Such demands would involve a vast socio-cultural revolution in North America, specifically in the United States, which under the present political circumstances is unlikely. Important reforms are essential if a nation's population is to assume the responsibility of balancing personal autonomy and communal well being. Chapter One entitled: Tolerance in Totalitarian Democracies, analyzes some of Marcuse's political notions of socio-political contradictions in democracies. Chapter Two, a): Some Notes on Marcusean Students, deals with some political and cultural reasons which forced the student movement of the sixties to demand some educational changes as well as oppose governments and their technological or political support for the U.S.

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[1] Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America, Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1976). p. 252.

led war in Viet Nam. Part b) centers on Marcuse's Political Counter

Education and the need to foster intellectuals who are bent on creating

social changes. Chapter Three, One-Dimensional Society: A partial view

of the technological impact upon schools, focuses upon some government

policies regulating technological innovation and thus, conformity upon

many students. Chapter Four, Some Notes on Marcuse's Concept of Woman's

Liberation, suggests several important themes or changes necessary to a

more equal status of women and indirectly, men. Finally, Chapter Five,

The Conclusion, formulates various tentative ideas of the importance of

a varied, multi-dimensional education in technological societies.

CHAPTER ONE

Marcuse's Tolerance in 'Totalitarian Democracies'

Technological society is often politically repressive, sometimes undemocratic and, in part, socially disintegrative. These are the views of Herbert Marcuse, the student guru of the 1960's, popularized in his widely read One-Dimensional Man, Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society. The legislative powers of many a modern, democratic government or one-party dictatorship have enormously increased their powers over the individual. Legislation in many Western democracies has limited the freedoms of individuals. Individual liberties such as freedom of speech, assembly, the right to vote, to work and to be happy have been limited in technological societies by a general, one-dimensional or one-sided, uncritical attitude by the press, government or educational organizations. Socialist one-party states have no parliamentary opposition except for some extra-parliamentary, underground groups offering little effective criticism of the state. Criticism necessary to the balanced well-being of any state, is at times, manipulated by the media or government and sometimes stifled by repressive police methods. The 19th century liberal separation of state and society is a myth.[1] The individual tends to become socially isolated, psychologically conditioned by circumstances to accept his or her political manipulation by organized

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[1] Herbert Marcuse, Negations, Essays in Critical Theory, trans. by Jeremy J. Shapiro (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), p. 36.

parties or institutions. Twentieth century man can readily be likened to G.W.F. Hegel's (1770-1831), dictum "....of a cog in a machine."[1]

It is important to note that Hegel and, indirectly, Marcuse since the latter became a Hegelian of the left, suggested the abolition of the state, the feudally-inclined German states of the late 18th century, since these limited the freedom of man.[2] To a few political romantics this abolition is nowadays an attractive notion, but unrealistic and unlikely to be achieved. Since modernization or industrialization of the 19th and 20th centuries, in many if not all societies, man has transferred his inalienable rights of life, liberty and freedom to the state as the guardian in return for his/her individual subjection to the nation. Government expansion of social legislation has created the apparently irreversible trend of a supra-national government, one with all pervading powers. The exact opposite to what Hegel or early Marxian philosophers had contemplated is evolving: the abolition of the state remains a dream. Of primary importance here is Herbert Marcuse's (1898-1979) socio-political ideas that while the state is a necessary evil, modern man has the technological capability to eradicate social or economic inequalities.[3] This is one of the most important ideas of Marcuse,

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[1] Herbert Marcuse, Reason and Revolution; Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory, With a New Preface A Note on the Dialectic by the Author (Boston: Beacon Press, 1941, 1968), p. 12.
Hegel was one of the most influential idealist philosophers of the 18th century. He can be considered as a forerunner to Marxian thought of the 19th century.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Herbert Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), p. 69.

because if the powers of the state were limited and replaced by self-governing individuals, a new civilization or a more equal existance between men and women could be created. However, reality points towards an entirely different direction; a majority in Western, Welfare states vacillates between inflation and temporary wage settlements producing a sense of social security and manipulation. Settlements can be manipulative at times, since governments have the legal power to settle any labour strife at their own choosing. A redistribution of national wealth, as suggested by Marcuse, is not expected since Western governments do not, nationalize multi-nationals such as International Business Machines, General Motors, Boeing, Rockwell International etc... Nationalization would not guarantee, nor ensure the public a more just distribution of wealth; it would merely suggest that the state is now the corporate owner of all companies, making for an enormous increase of economic as well as social powers over the individuals, as is seen in Communist states. The political dilemma of creating a fairer equalization of wealth is nearly impossible to solve within the current framework of powers, without endangering individual freedoms or limiting these even further. Public pressure or expectations for more effective social aids such as unemployment insurance, welfare, pensions, medicare, et al., leads to an inevitable state intervention in limiting industrial profits. Consequently, a mixed market economy of a combined state-private enterprise points to a hybrid capitalism or Welfare state which achieves, in some measure, social reforms, keeping various social groups at bay between discontent or outright violence. However, the

vulnerability of democracies to both organised crime and political
terrorism forces at times, the balancing of constitutional freedom with
political realities of combatting crimes.

All segments in modern democracies are vulnerable from within, in
contrast with dictatorships, where direct censorship or exacting police
surveillance make these attacks rare or isolated. In democracies, terrorism,
kidnappings or murder are tolerated to an extent and, at times of war,
even sanctioned or legally permitted. In A Critique of Pure Tolerance
(1965), Marcuse and several other well-known scholars have attempted to
dissect some essential contradictions of democracies, offered some
analytical statements and suggested some possible solutions. Legal
violence is an integral part of all state machinery, independent of
ideology, democratic or communist. Institutional opposition, however, is
accepted in democratic countries by definition while extra-parliamentary
or non-legal, violence is not. Marcuse defines the tolerance in democracies
in terms of two vital repressive functions: passive and active tolerance.
In these following lines he defines the institutional limits of tolerance
and violence in democracies:

> Within the framework of such a social structure
> tolerance can be safely practised and proclaimed.
> It is of two kinds: 1) the passive toleration of
> entrenched and established attitudes and ideas
> even if their damaging effect on man and nature
> is evident: and 2) the effective, official tolerance
> granted to the Right as well as to the Left, to
> movements of peace, to the party of hate as well
> as to that of humanity. I call this non-partisan
> tolerance "abstract" or "pure" inasmuch as it
> refrains from taking sides--but in doing so it
> actually protects the already established machinery
> of discrimination. [1]

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[1]Robert P. Wolff, Barrington More, Jr., and Herbert Marcuse,
A Critique of Pure Tolerance (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), p. 85.

Marcuse distinguishes repression in the established attitudes of political

ideas sometimes expressed in kidnappings, terrorist attacks or outright

murder since the lawful authorities are at times, incapable of prohibiting

such actions on suspicions alone, or if the state is capable of moving

against lawbreakers, it is usually after the crime has been committed.

In other words, democracies have a few weak barriers compared with dictator-

ships, where the police move in often on suspicions alone.[1] These tendencies

of upholding the law in democratic countries are vital, to a democratic

state. At times, the distinction between lawful and illegal police activity

(eg. illegal break-ins, wire tapping) becomes increasingly blurred much as

in dictatorships. Examples are seen in the break-ins of the Royal Canadian

Mounted Police (see the Macdonald Commission), the Federal Bureau of

Investigation's phone tappings or the scandals involving the Central

Intelligence Agency's unlawful activities. Of prime importance is the

investigation into these dubious activities, and secondly, the necessary

follow-up of disallowing these state organs to commit these crimes again.

If there are no direct limitations built-in to control the activities,

however useful, then the totalitarian tendencies of democracies, such as

the break-ins by police, are similar to those of dictatorships and signify

an arrival of near-totalitarian powers within democratic states. Marcuse

views these tendencies with alarm and suggests, paradoxically in his

analysis of "pure" or abstract tolerance, that the right of freedom of speech

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[1]Ibid., p. 99.

should be taken away from organizations such as the American Nazi
movement or the Klan.[1] This is in part, understandable since Marcuse
had to flee from the Nazi regime in Germany and, obviously, would not
like to see a renaissance of such a movement anywhere else. Another
view can be that   taking away such a constitutional right, it may
contribute to the already existing 'totalitarian' tendencies found
in repressive, police or law forces, and would work at times to the
detriment of the population in their loss of rights and liberties
(see the Canadian War Measures Act, 1970). Marcuse is found here,
ironically, supporting undemocratic notions, or directly, dictatorial
exigencies to protect a semblance of democracy within industrial
states. Marcuse's notion of the restriction of speech may be
useful, given his argument that 'equal time' is often harmful to the
proponents for 'justice' or 'peace' since, at times, equal time is
insufficient to sway a jury or court on the supposed, perpetrated
crimes of an organization such as the Mafia. The major weakness
of Marcuse is found in his agreement with the disallowance of rights
for others upholding differing opinions, even if clearly evil or
totally negative. He has not found a workable mechanism of assuring
the continuity of democratic growth and as such his ideas on tolerance
are likely to contribute to intensifying the dictatorial tendencies
already existent within democracies. The dilemma of the all-pervading
state powers or 'status quo' forces has shown the difficulty of
balancing the constitutional rights of speech, or movement to sway a

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[1]Ibid., pp. 85-86.

majority. The individual or intellectual has the alternative of either accepting these notions of tolerance or rejecting them, and facing the powers of the state, organizations or mob.

Tolerance of free speech is essential to the development of objectivity in democracies. Objective truth is a discovery or learning of 'that is' and it can lead to a general improvement of mankind, living standards, peace, etc...[1] The Marcusean intellectual has to be capable of learning or reason(logos) or if necessary, be able to arrive at an opinion independent from the majority. This presupposes in educational terms a perception and sound judgment. In essence, universal tolerance or the acceptance of differing views is needed to achieve the recognition of right and wrong. If not, then the opinions of most people become indoctrinated or manipulated. This manipulation or its tolerance in general, regresses into mistaking heterodoxy for autonomy and as such the abrogation of universal tolerance.[2]

In constitutional democracies, open dissent is legally tolerated. Civil rights movements or pro-war demonstrations can, with permission, normally voice their opposition or consent.[3] The overall principle of tolerance in democracies is that evolution will likely take care of political changes. The crux of evolutionary politics or tolerance is the assumption that any multitude of diverse

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[1] Ibid., p. 89.

[2] Ibid., p. 90.

[3] Ibid., p. 92.

opinions are 'equal'. It is the state's challenge of majority opinion.
to show that opinions are often not equal. The weight attaching to
ostensibly equal opinions differ considerably. John Stuart Mill spoke
of a 'truth of inherent power' or of ending invariably "against the
dungeon and the stake".[1] In modern democracies, social minorities can
under optimal conditions, which rarely exist for a prolongued time,
exercise freedom of speech. Eventually, the opinions of social minorities
are often rendered harmless in the face of the overwhelming majority
opinions.[2]

The dilemma of Marcuse's analysis of tolerance vacillates between
his ideas of politics, between dictatorial tendencies or democratic growth.
He recognizes that Western states are in "an emergency situation", but
his suggestions are, at best, thoughtful but not always practical or
realistic.[3] His views on the necessity of changing tolerance bring out
his idealism of a freer society, one which would involve dictatorial means,
a paradoxical fact of his life's work:

> When tolerance mainly serves the protection and preservation
> of a repressive society, when it serves to neutralize
> opposition and to render men immune against other and better
> forms of life, then tolerance has been perverted. And when
> this perversion starts in the mind of the individual, in his
> consciousness, his needs, when heteronomous interests occupy
> him before he can experience his servitude, then the effects
> to counteract his dehumanization must begin at the place of
> entrance, there where the false consciousness

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[1] Ibid., p. 90.

[2] Ibid., p. 91.

[3] Ibid., p. 110.

takes form (or rather: is systematically formed)--
it must begin with stopping the words and images
which feed this consciousness. To be sure, this is
censorship, even precensorship, but openly directed
against the more or less hidden consorship that
permeates the free media. Where false consciousness
has become prevalent in national and popular
behaviour, it translates itself almost immediately
into practice: the safe distance between ideology
and reality, repressive thought and repressive
action, between the word of destruction and the
deed of destruction is dangerously shortened.   Thus,
the breakthrough the false consciousness may provide
the Archimedian point for a larger emancipation--
at an infinitesimally small spot, to be sure, but
it is on the enlargement of such small spots that
the chance of change depends.[1]

The utopian-like character of Marcuse's analysis or proposals for

emancipation do not diminish the arguments for tolerance of

diminishing the dictatorial-like powers of states. As a Hegelian,

Marcuse views governments as a universal threat, specifically in

terms of their near or all pervading powers of legislation. The

prevailing differences between democratic and communist governments

are evident, but are at times, to an alarming rate diminishing.[2]

Marcuse's desire to limit the rights of the Nazi movement or the

Klan and by definition, any other extra-parliamentary leftist

terrorism or violence, proposes a dilemma. This is one of the basic

and inherent weaknesses of any democracy-like government. Ironically,

it is this desire to limit freedom of speech of terrorists, which

would strengthen the all-too powerful mechanism of state. Marcuse

attempts to use a 'pre-censorship' to limit all these forces, leaving

the question how and by whom this mechanism is going to be stopped once

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[1]Ibid., p. 111.

[2]See also Jean-François Revel's, The Totalitarian Temptation
trans. by David Hapgood, Penguin Books, (New York: Doubleday & Company,
Inc., 1977).

all 'false consciousness' has become extinct or limited. The prevailing ideas of 'equality' are shown to be a myth, and serve to preserve the status quo rather than to promote social equality. Marcuse has attempted to define the limits of tolerance whilst also showing the democratic state's vacillation between liberal and dictatorial-like tendencies. At the same time Marcuse himself, throughout his work, is ambivalent towards freedom in democratic societies. He favours freedom for everyone but also seems to imply that most people are ill prepared to exercise freedom. However, ironically his educational philosophy is elitist. Instead of emphasizing a comprehensive scheme of mass education, he focusses primarily upon the need to educate an elite; i.e. students in higher education. We now turn to a consideration of Marcuse's influence upon students in the nineteen sixties and of his proposals for their political education.

CHAPTER TWO

a) Some Notes on Marcusean

Students:

Ideological notes

of the 1960's.

Je réprouve toute action qui implique là
destruction des moyens éducatifs de l'université
(pas administratifs mais éducatifs). D'autre
part, je réprouve contre les personnes
qu'elles-mêmes n'usent pas de tout la violence.[1]

Herbert Marcuse

Students in general represent, for Marcuse, the potential for social

changes; activist students may help bring about these changes along with

a social/cultural revolution. Periodic revolts or dissenssion in industrial

states amongst students or social groups are inherent factors of modern

society and constitute a vociferous opposition to the traditional insti-

tutions of government or universities. This idealism was personified in

a student activism which called for the 'democratization' of universities

and schools, or participation in administration, course planning and eva-

luation of teachers of the nineteen sixties. Cogestion or Drittelparität

were some unrealistic, democratic demands students pronounced during their

heyday of activism and whose acts of civil

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[1]Keba M. Baye et al., Liberté et l'ordre social (Neuchâtel: Edition
de la Baconière, 1969), p. 282.

disobedience were, partially, rooted in Marcuse's philosophical 'natural law' of a universal right to fight against all kinds of oppression.[1] The other and, possibly, more effective tool was the youthful fervour of ideals, which according to many a student desire should have been instituted instantly.

Students have been active in politics or university politics dating from the incorporation of the most important universities of Paris, Oxford-Cambridge, Bologna, Salamanca, Padua, Prague or Vienna.[2] Student participation or the lack of it in university life seems to date to the early universitas or studio. Medieval students were both active in university politics as well as in the makings of town governments. This traditional involvement in town politics was commonly violent or, at least, rumbustious. Violence was an inherent part of feudal town life in which most, if not all, charter granted universities existed, legally independent from town governments. This meant that universities were often self-regulating bodies with their own codes of law and behaviour. This much desired immunity of the university is today non-existent, a dilemma, since often research or university life in general is indirectly controlled by a Ministry which does not necessarily have the benefit of the university, students or community in mind. Many European universities enjoy a much greater sense of freedom than most North American colleges or

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[1] Herbert Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972), p. 105.

[2] For a historical rise of the universities and students see Heinrich Denifle's Die Entstenhung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400 (Graz: Akademischer Druck und Verlaganstallt, 1965).

universities. The European sense of freedom, tested in the 1968 riots in which the police had to ask permission of the rector to enter the university premises, dates back to their 'traditional' university independence from the town, duchy or, later, the state. Students from the Middle Ages (circa 1100-1400's), until modern times, along with their professors, were and remain a privileged lot, sometimes of ill repute but, generally, the precursors of the modern spirit of learning. A remnant of a cultural disdain for the full-time student is still found today in North America. This attitude is probably deeply rooted in the anti-intellectual tendencies of North America which often regards students of higher learning or education as being synonymous with trouble or advocacy of social changes and reformism. It is of little surprise that within many a university, the students' demands for smaller classes or better equipment utilization were often met by a stonewall-like opposition of administrators or government bureaucrats than a more reasoned, scholarly compassionate attempt to meet or attempt to diffuse and solve existing difficulties before they exploded.

Students' participation ranges from the nationalist 19th century German Studentenbund or Burschenschaften to the Ultra-Marxian Japanese Zengakuren of the nineteen sixties. These years mark with little doubt the cultural apotheosis of a loose youth movement in most Western democracies. Street demonstrations, strikes from classes or boycott became the means of propagandizing the student discontent which at its peak constituted an in toto

rejection of many established political beliefs. In other words, the
contradictions of modern society, of abject poverty in <u>bidonville</u>
around industrial towns or the pressure for nuclear disarmament made
up some of the more urgent issues many students or adults heartily
expressed. The student-inspired revolts of the mid-1960's in Europe
and North America can be compared to the 1848 revolutionary outbreaks
of the European continent.

Students in higher education are part of a privileged minority
regardless of their socio-economic position. Marcuse sees students
as a contradictory social category. At first, in 1968, he saw
students as not being part of a <u>déclasse</u> group.[1] This view has to be
compared to Marcuse's definition of a new proletariat of slum dwellers,
racial minorities or underprivileged citizens.[2] In 1975, Marcuse
viewed Californian students as impoverished and unlike many American
workers:

> Übrigens kenne ich Hunderte von Studenten, die persönlich
> so leben, wie keine Arbeiter leben würde. Es ist einfach
> nicht wahr, dass die Studenten eine privilegierte Elite
> sind die in Säuss und Braus leben, während es den
> Arbeitern entsetzlich schlecht geht; das ist einfach eine
> Entstellung.[3]

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[1]Herbert Marcuse, <u>La fin de l'Utopie</u> (Paris: Editions du Seuil,
1968), p. 23.

[2]Marcuse, <u>Counterrevolution and Revolt</u>, p. 85.

[3]Herbert Marcuse, <u>Zeit Messungen, Drei Vorträge und ein Interview</u>
(Frankfurt a/M: Suhrkamp Verlage, 1975), p. 62.
> By the way, I know of hundreds of students who live
> as no worker would. It is absolutely not true that
> students are a privileged elite who live high off the
> hog, while the workers merely exist; this is simply a
> distortion . (Translated by author).

One possible explanation of this apparent contradiction could be Marcuse's inadvertent comparison between North American or European students. In Western European countries university students have free tuition while North Americans have to pay considerable amounts. In fact, fees and living costs at many reputed American universities are close to the yearly salary of non-unionized labourers. Marcuse could be comparing the social positions of hundreds of Californian students with many a middle class American worker who by no stretch of the imagination make up a proletariat. At this point it is helpful to consider the status of students, their demands for reform and the possible impact of Marcuse upon their actions.

A student normally includes anyone of either sex who attends, for sound economic or more intrinsic, idealistic reasons, courses at college, university or higher institutes of learning working towards a degree or diploma on either a full-time or part-time basis. The terminology describing some politically active students of the mid-sixties is vast and ranges from C.P. Snow's 'luddites', the French extreme leftist groupuscules to the more sedentary American leftists incorporating different shades of liberalism. It is difficult to judge at this time in history (1981), largely because of a lack of research possibilities as well as the proximity in time, to what degree Marcuse's writings had a direct effect on the pliable minds of many students. However, a few tentative suggestions can be made. Marcuse wrote and published a few of his more, non-scholarly books during the student crisis of the sixties. Some of these are:

An Essay on Liberation (1969), Five Lectures: Psychoanalysis, Politics and Utopia (1972), and Counterrevolution and Revolt (1972). Some conservative writers go as far as to suggest that Marcuse was criminal in directly misleading students into an anarchistic-like utopia, and hold him responsible for the terrorism of some students like the 'Weathermen'. This accusation is overly harsh since it does not deal with Marcuse's politics of contradictions of contemporary society – while rendering an Inquisition-like verdict. Marcuse points to the various inequalities of the democratic system such as the unequal application of laws or constitutions on people in general. It is clear that Marcuse appealed to a circumscribed, elitist audience: students, academics and political reformists at large.

The student participants' or activists' ages ranged from the mid-teens, especially in North America where college students are quite young, to the twenties in European universities and American graduate schools. Some activists were older, i.e., in their thirties but this was rare. The peculiar age symptom is particular to North America and its booming expansion amongst the campuses of the sixties. Many of the relatively older students if compared to the great mass of teenage undergraduates, differed in at least two important aspects. Many of the mature, evening students were or are already settled in their work, profession or aspirations of future professional capacities.[1] Most of them were not interested in the issues of participation of course planning, evaluation or any sort of reforms

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[1] 'Burning the Weekend Oil', Time, (August 11th, 1980), 42.

because of the nature of their work which largely disallows
professional interest in the social ills of a society. This lack
was particularly manifest amongst the business or science students and
precluded in many cases, their personal or even theoretical,
educational involvement in these matters. It also excluded those that
simply had 'too much to do' and any interest would deviate from their
precious studies. These day students would most likely not be
considered a hardy majority in view of many students or their work
ethics. The presence of mature students or adults signifies the
beginning of an increasing enrollment of diverse age groups on
campuses compared to the declining attendance of primary/secondary
students. Mature students can also symbolize the ever increasing
conservative influence upon universities or politics during the
early-late 1970's and possibly, the 1980's. It was, however, the
youthful day students who led the rebellious demonstrations for peace
and love.

The primary objective of many European or North American
students and Marcuse was to bring about an end to the undeclared
American war in Vietnam (1954-1975). This seemed to be the overwhelming
contention of students the world over. It was an idealistic or humane
concern to protest against war and propagandize the collective insanity
and an arms race. In academic circles and liberal political
establishments the war was equally opposed and opposition reached
popular heights when the war was televised into the living room. This
war became the exacting crucible of a lack of general faith in the
American way of life and in its enormous implications, especially

since the war evolved into a political liability to various American
presidential administrations. An equally threatening dilemma of the
United States during the sixties was the racial explosions or as it
is ironically known to many Black or minority people--the White
Problem. In educational terms this meant that large numbers of Black
Americans were often not accepted at universities even if qualified,
or larger numbers dropped out of schools because of a lack of
interest or relevancy in education to the thousands of Black students,
who then found their way into the army, vagrancy or the life of petty
crime. The sixties were also the years in which some minority groups
made it into colleges but, if compared with the majority of white
students, social progress was agonizingly slow at times, adding only
to the already existing, teeming tensions of the American social fabric.

The student movement in the States exhibited a dual nature;
one that included the civil rights movement and the opposition to the
war.[1] Protests in the American South took on new spheres of activities
and dimensions. The struggle for racial equality exuded an air of
internationalism, that is, readers throughout the world could
participate in the quest for social emancipation seen at Little Rock
(1957), the Mississippi summer (1964), the burning of slum districts
in 1964, 1965 or view the eventful 'Black Day of July' (1967) at
Detroit. The symptoms of a gross inequality within the American social
fabric seemed all too evident, yet it was this nation that attempted
to fight for democracy in Vietnam and buttressed an already corrupt

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[1]Marcuse's, <u>Counterrevolution and Revolt</u>, p. 186.

and tottering Vietnamese regime. The evolution of the social rage

as well as its publicity was, partially, the work of student

movements such as the Students for Democratic Society or the religiously

devoted Southern Student Organizing Committee. Black and White

students harmoniously worked together for civil rights or equal rights

for all minorities in the segregated south. Success in registering Black

voters or enabling their exercise or freedom of speech was slowly,

laboriously attained in midst of threats, actual murder, rape or

beatings. A Black-White populism seemed on the rise in the mid-sixties

only to be slowed down by the professional assassinations of President

J.F. Kennedy (1963), Malcolm X (1965), Dr. M.L. King, Jr., (1967),

and senator R.F. Kennedy (1968). A lack of evidence persists in these

murders; the manipulation of the existing findings seems designed to

nurture printable information by secret organizations of government

or extra-governmental forces such as branches of the CIA and others.[1]

This lack of belief in the institutional viability of various

organizations created an atmosphere of belligerence, conspiracies and

rumours more akin to a totalitarian democracy than a constitutional

one. The epitome of these undemocratic tendencies or the breaking of

laws, lies and cheating can be seen in the apparent involvement of the

former President Richard M. Nixon in the misuse of government agencies

and harassement of war dissenters or misinformation to the public.[2]

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[1]L.F. Prouty, <u>The Secret Team, The CIA and Its Allies In Control of the United States</u> (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1973).

[2]John Dean 111, <u>Blind Ambition, The White House Years</u> (New York: A Kangaroo Book, 1976).

The combined malaise of social injustices, tensions and aspirations
found amongst students is a sign of a lack of democracy or its
ideals within governments as well as universities. Against this
debilitating background of pressures or counter-pressures the
student crisis reached a pinnacle of furors and demands for more
'humane' schools and universities.

Marcuse sees the activists of the sixties as integral or vital
to the 'democratization' of universities. Higher schools of learning
can be viewed as educational institutes, which like any other
specialised organisations form monopolistic knowledge factories. This
is   peculiar to the administration and occasionally the professorial
staffs who, because of tenure or a lack of job rotations or
opportunities, are opposed to a democratization of the university.
Often an acute dose of self-criticism, analysis or subsequent
changes jostle any bureaucratic establishment into action or adaptations.
Some students of the sixties can be taken as challengers of this <u>status
quo</u> or fossilization of attitudes towards improvements needed at a
university and wanted to bring another dimension of reality to the
fore. Marcuse believes the students to be the avant-garde or
intellectual workers who not only make up the future but change or
reform society:

> The role of the students today as the
> intelligentsia out of which, as you know
> the executives and leaders of even existing
> society are recruited, is historically more
> important than it perhaps was in the past.[1]

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[1] John Fry, Marcuse, <u>Dilemma and Liberation, A Critical Analysis</u>
(Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell, 1974), p. 64.

It becomes obvious that Marcuse regards students as the potential leaders of tomorrow's governments, business or academia both in the Western, industrial democracies as well as in the Third World. The students of the sixties represented the basic ingredient or embryo of a cultural revolution resulting from the attempt to unify their educational work or studies with their application to political work or reality. The student revolts of 1968 throughout industrial countries is one such example: here, the reform-minded students and workers allied themselves to bring about the downfall of the imperious DeGaulle and 'bourgeois' society. This alliance soon fell apart, the union leadership was less radical and certainly more middle-class oriented than many a student, while simultaneously, the society or upper and middle classes, did not support the students and workers. In contrast, the effects of politicalization on many activist or nationalist minded students in Québec in the sixties can be readily seen. Some have graduated to become provincial ministers, civil servants, academics, writers or journalists, many of them bent on achieving social progress through reforms in laws.[1] Many of the former student leaders are now the spokesmen/women of the various middle classes of industrial societies and are wholly integrated in the social make-up of communities. The former students' views of social change by peaceful or lawful means have to be compared to their student days of the sixties in which many wanted to 'tear down' Capitalist

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[1]Graham Fraser, "The UGEQ Connection, 60's student activists were hailed as 'elite of tomorrow'--and it turned out to be true", The Gazette, (September 10, 1980), p. 50.

society. In educational terms, the students obtained support to
redress some archaic work situations: overcrowding, lack of equipment
or the ever present demand for cogestion or decision making powers
were important. Marcuse supported these but saw no reason for any
university to close down as happened in China with the Cultural
Revolution.[1] This incident, or more precisely historical phenomenon,
played an important role encouraging Western students to demand
changes and go out and bring them about. A clear distinction ought
to be made here: in educational terms, students demanded rational
changes of things experienced by them on a daily basis such as
overcrowding, lack of teachers et al., at European universities. As
far as their demands of 'Down with Imperialism' or 'Ban the Bomb'
are concerned, their cries or actions were slightly less common or out
of touch with other social sectors, and involved a lot of idealism
since many students believed that their actions might just curtail
the construction of atomic bombs or the war in Vietnam. The anti-war
demonstrations of 1968, certainly led or contributed greatly to the
eventual American defeat in Vietnam in 1975. This comment must not
be understood as an attack on the students' motives but rather, as a
rationalization of the potential, namely that their idealism was
necessary to carry them or, for that matter, their ideological mentor
Marcuse, through their concerns into political action. It is also
fair to say that without the students' quest for reforms, perhaps,
little would have changed within universities or would have taken so

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[1]Keba M Baye et al., op. cit., p. 282.

much longer to take place. One contention of the sixties and

student activism is the lack of acceptance that studying can be, if

taken seriously, hard work and as such just as rewarding or equal

to physical labour. There is however, a lingering doubt amongst

many North Americans which suggests that going to college is a youthful

prank far removed from reality and as such inessential. This opinion

is nowadays slowly changing for at least two important social reasons.

The effects of the student revolts and the importance of Adult

Education to which thousands of adults gravitate for the chance to

learn or adapt a new profession or career.[1] The inclusion of middle-

aged students on the campus or its politics has several far reaching

tendencies both for university politics and the larger social

philosophies of the outside world. Many of these part-time students

bring with them a down-to-earth approach or realism to university,

although it is questionable how much interaction or exchange of opinions

rubs off on younger, less experienced students. Moreover, adults are

generally, if compared to younger students, more conditioned to the

demands of their work or offices, are probably not unionized, and

remain largely passive in student issues or educational changes, or

for that matter social problems. The greying of the part-time

educational scene in North America suggests an acceptance of the

status quo and indicates a discouraging trend towards some sort of

mass uniformity, which is useful to the development of a one-dimensionality.

In contrast, Marcuse sees the idealistic or utopian-like youthful agitators

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[1]John Cruikshank, "It's a long way back to school--for adults"
The Gazette, (November 22, 1980), p. 22.

of the 1960's as the prime movers for a more just or utopian society,
one which neither Marcuse nor the students knew what it was going to
be like except that it would be without war or poverty.[1]

Marcuse shows a near millenarian belief in the possibilities that
students can achieve a self-governing, equal society of individuals. In
his last work The Aesthetic Dimension (1978), he spoke of:

> .....men and women capable of living
> in that community of freedom....
> which is the potential of the
> species--this is the subjective
> basis of a classless society.[2]

It is for these part-anarchistic, part post-industrial tendencies that
Marcuse supported the students of the sixties in the hope of building
a 'better society'. It is imperative to list some of Marcuse's analysis
of the 'youthful' or pubertarian attacks on the Establishment since
these present a more complete view of Marcuse and students. He believed
that the New Left or many students, writers, academics and professionals
have a chance after the defeat of 1968 in France, to build an esprit de
sérieux (seriousness) and broaden its basis for support.[3] This chance
depends on channelling the self-discipline, intelligence and sensibility
of young people who practise a 'direct democracy' or non-hierarchical
decision making procedures, which are applicable and seem to work only
in revolutionary movements before their attainment of power. This shows

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[1]Hans Küng, On Being a Christian (New York: Doubleday and Company,
Inc., 1976), p. 57.

[2]Herbert Marcuse, The Aesthetic Dimension, Toward a Critique of
Marxist Aesthetics (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978), pp. 16-17.

[3]Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 51.

the democratic-dictatorial conflict within Marcuse. It has been exemplified throughout his writings and has not been resolved at any level of satisfaction. Another example of Marcuse's dilemma of viewing students as pubertarian revolutionary potential can be read in these lines:

> It is possible to regard the student opposition
> as the nucleus of a revolution, but if we only
> have a nucleus, then we don't have a revolution.[1]

This Marcusean categorization is important because it clarifies the students' role as a member of an elite, as well as relegating the worker to a secondary role as far as the revolutionary nucleus or dynamo for social change is concerned. This clearly points to the evolution of Marcusean politics or self-development. He has become a post-Marxian writer, one which Sidney Hook (1970) categorizes as Utopian.[2] It is vital to balance the opinions of Marcusean students with reality; only then can the grand refus or all important need of youthful opposition be channelled towards social reforms and not stagnancy.

Students and academics are by definition alike in that they are often considered as romantics, unrealistic or pubertarian. It is this utopian-like psychological make-up that serves as the necessary base of hope for any subsequent reforms in the face of apparently insurmountable obstacle of dictatorial, technological conceptions.

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[1]John Fry, op. cit., p. 61.

[2]Robert Marks, The Meaning of Marcuse (New York: Ballantine Books, 1970), p. 8.

The 'humanization' of universities or schools at large starts with the students' right to participate in the running of their schools. Marcuse's idealization of the students activists is akin to a religious-like fervour. Albert Einstein, like Marcuse a German expatriate from totalitarian government writes, the following lines applicable to the education of students everywhere:

> It is not enough to give a man only professional training. He will, as a matter of fact, become thus a sort of usable machine, but not a full and worthy personality. It is important for him to develop a sense of what is worth making efforts for. He must learn how to understand what moves people, their ideals and illusions, their sufferings and struggles.[1]

The ideal result, by far a Prothean achievement, would be the creation of intellectual and physical albour that is dedicated to a life-long, peaceful struggle for the betterment of mankind. As such the Marcusean notions of students being an elite serves unintentionally, the all important purpose of instilling into them a choice of two alternatives: to ponder, analyze and object as well as to strive for a better life for all or be manipulated by events and institutional powers.

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[1] Miroslav Pecujlic, "The University of the Future", Socialist Thought and Practice, (September, 1980), p. 36.

b) <u>Marcuse's Political Counter-Education.</u>

<u>The need to politicize.</u>

> Political freedom would mean liberation of
> the individual from politics over which they
> have no effective control.
>
> Herbert Marcuse

Political analysis is pivotal throughout Marcuse's writings and

is concomitant with his need for political <u>praxis</u>. True education,

suggests Marcuse, has to be based on counter-education; an examination

of competing political ideologies aimed at demonstrating the superiority

of socialism over fascism, for example. Marcuse wants the learner to

be aware of the warped rationality which caused Auschwitz, Nagasaki,

Hiroshima or Czechoslovakia. In educational terms, scholarship which

has no political direction is often intellectually imbalanced since

intellectuals or their work should not exist in a social vacuum. The

balancing of facts or opinions is vital, for social values often

isolate knowledge from the all important"......context of the whole,

truth".[1] This is to say that the breakdown of the tyranny of public

opinion, the media or other institutions are the <u>apriori</u> conditions

that have to be met to eventually attain an autonomous intellectual

balance or self-liberation and education.

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[1]Robert P. Wolff, <u>et al</u>., <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 113.
See also Harold Entwistle's <u>Political Education in a Democracy</u> (London:
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971), which takes a closer look at political
education in schools in democracies.

An integral part of Marcusean politicalization of education is
the usage of a Critical Theory. Marcuse supposes that with the
application of a Marxian analysis of the economy or a class analysis
of modern society combined with a Freudian view of personal or social
repression may help to bring about a political self-education. It
is interesting to note that Marcuse cites in one of his last
published interviews before his death (1979), in Theorie und Politik
(1977), his vision of a Marxian critique. He said: "Aber die Marxsche
Kritik der politischen Ökonomie is even keine Einzelwirtschaft, man
kann sie nicht als Einzelwirtschaft der philosophischen Intergrierung
gegenüberstellen".[2] This liberal view of Marxism clarifies to a degree
the Marcusean idea of a 'diverse knowledge of facts'. His Critical
Theory is based on several philosophical concepts written in an essay
entitled 'Philosophy and Critical Theory' (1937). He postulates a
few important ideas: these are reason, freedom, liberation and
imagination. In short, his point of departure is that man as a rational
being requires both physical and intellectual freedom. This is,
presumably, achieved by a rational man's domination of technology which
in turn delegates man to an 'intellectual autonomy' or independent
thinking through imagination. It is, questionable whether or not
modern man is rational. This point is not altogether clear in
Marcuse's writing and as such may present a weakness. He follows,

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[1]Jürgen Habermas, Silvia Bovenschen et al., Gespräche mit
Herbert Marcuse (Frankfurt a/M: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1978), p. 17.
"But the Marxian critique of the political economy is not a single
field of study, one cannot compare this study as a philosophical
integration".

however, the traditional philosophical roots of Hegelian and German

idealist writers. As such, Marcusean Critical Theory may be a

method of achieving a more balanced view of facts. In more concrete

educational terms, Marcuse shows a clear disdain for subjects like

sociology which he thinks as isolated and not integrated with other

knowledge. He suggests that:

> Sociology that is interested only in the dependent and
> limited nature of consciousness has nothing to do with
> truth. Its research useful in many ways, falsifies the interest
> and the goal of critical theory. In any case, what was
> linked, in past knowledge to specific social structures
> disappears with them. In contrast, critical theory concerns
> itself with preventing the loss of truths, which past
> knowledge laboured to attain.[1]

It is at best difficult to follow Marcuse's reasoning about sociology

or its supposed breakage of a link with past knowledge since he does

not explain in detail this process. Nor is it clear how his

Critical Theory or a Marxian analysis is superior to sociology _per se_,

as an analytical tool, or how this theory is to foster any social changes.

Sociology is a recent study, popularized in the late 19th century,

whereas Marxian ideas or analysis is slightly older. It must be noted

that Marx was one of the founding fathers of modern sociology which,

of course, Marcuse is not questioning. Marcuse's Critical Theory

basically analyzes a given social reality which, perhaps, sociology,

because of a lack of economic elements, according to Marcuse, does

not do as well. His stress on the usefulness of his Critical Theory

suffers in clarity or concrete educational examples making his

deductions abstract and confusing.

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[1]Herbert Marcuse, _Negations, Essays in Critical Theory_,
trans. by Jeremy J. Shapiro (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), p. 152.

Marcuse's political self-education or liberation is an
intellectual process combining knowledge with _praxis_. This learning
does not normally take place at school or university and cannot be
considered formal education in that sense. Marcuse opposes the
'loss of truths' which formal education sometimes exhibits through
a lack of objectivity. This is extremely important, although Marcuse
does not actually come out directly against any formal education. His
Critical Theory will, in part, bear out to some extent the Marcusean
desire of a 'true education' or how a _praxis_ can be achieved.
Pseudo-revolutionary events project some university students to a
socio-political struggle ideally exemplified by the 1968 Student
Rebellions in France, West Germany and the United States. The
social experience alone seems to suggest a political education or
dynamism as well as an, at times, effective opposition to the étatist,
status quo. Such attempts at trying to create social reforms cannot be,
at best, duplicated in any classroom or laboratories except in the
perception that society itself is a laboratory. This process of
political education may also be viewed as akin to a 'living theater' in
which the viewers are the participants of the play. Jerry Rubin, a
former sixties student leader, and now financial consultant on Wall
Street, New York, has captured this attitude of living theater and
published it in his book _Do It_ (1970). This political education found
in demonstrations, slogans, analysis or critiques to organize realizable
solutions may be found in these lines of Marcuse's _One-Dimensional Man_:

> ....However, entertainment and learning are not opposites;
> entertainment may be the most effective mode of
> learning. To teach what the contemporary world

> really is behind the ideological veil, and how
> it can be changed....Not empathy and feeling
> but distance and reflection are required. [1]

It must be made clear that Marcuse used the analysis of Bertold Brecht

and his ideas to bring about in a theater, a social reality of the con-

temporary world. Another equally important aspect of self-education or

political education is the cleansing of one's mind of biased information,

through critical thinking. Marcuse's intentions are to break through the

impartiality or objectivity of public opinions in a 'perverted world',

and by implication, in our educational system:

> .....In a world in which the human faculties and words
> are arrested or perverted, autonomous thinking leads
> into a "perverted world": contradiction and counter-
> image of the established world of repression. And this
> contradiction is not simply stipulated, is not simply
> the product of confused thinking of phantasy, but is
> the logical development of the given, the existing world.
> To the degree to which this development is actually
> impeded by the sheer weight of a repressive society
> and the necessity of making a living in it, repression
> invades the academic enterprise itself, even prior to
> all restrictions on academic freedom.....The pre-
> empting of the mind vitiates impartiality and objectivity;
> unless the student learns to think in the opposite
> direction, he will be inclined to place the facts in
> the predominant framework of values. [2]

This powerful and timeless indictment of society is, perhaps, an ideal

example of the purism of Marcuse. 'Pure thought', has become for him a

matter of political education, which at times seems to express the desire

to wipe the minds of students clean, akin to a _tabula rasa_ or blank mind.

Although Marcuse's proposal for political education seems to imply brain-

washing or indoctrination, this has to be seen in the context of his view of

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[1] Marcuse, _One-Dimensional Man_, pp. 66-67.

[2] Robert P. Wolff, _op. cit._, pp. 112-113.

the worth of scholarship and how it may distort opinions and views:

> ....Scholarship, i.e. the acquisition and communication
> of knowledge prohibits the purification and isolation of
> facts from the context of the whole truth. An essential
> part of the latter is the recognition of the frightening
> extent to which history was made and recorded by and for
> the victors, that is the extent to which history was the
> development of oppression.[1]

This quote is not to suggest that Marcuse is against any sort of

scholarship. Rather, he ponders the apparent neutralization of

facts or opinions of 'struggles for humanity' or its 'executioners'

in history. This is to say, that Marcuse would like to see a

balancing of differing views of facts through writing which often

goes against the 'mainstream' of popular opinions or trends. To

create this 'intellectual balance' Marcuse is nearly asking the

impossible. He wants students and academics alike to become aware of

"thinking in the opposite direction", or that contrary views find

expression amongst students and academics alike. At best, scholarship

is to attain an objectivity where students or non-academics may arrive

at an independent, largely unbiased opinion(s). This alone is

difficult since generally, one has to combat a value system(s) to

finally, arrive at some independent view. Consequently, this Marcusean

counter-proposal is obviously only found in the domain of some

university courses and remains as such socially isolated from the

larger population. Mass education is not geared nor was it intended

to 'popularize' such specialized knowledge of independent thinking.

What, ironically, Marcuse seems to be demanding in attaining a 'total

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[1]Ibid., p. 113.

truth' is a sort of think-tank of specialists which can be found in several countries which are training first-rate minds for government or other more dubious services. One other aspect of this argument may be that Marcuse uses the term 'total truth' for its shock value to bring about discussion amongst students or readers in general.

Reading between the lines of Marcuse's educational writings is necessary to achieve clarity and conciseness. In the essay 'Repressive Tolerance' (1965) he urged his readers to think 'rationally and autonomously'. One way to achieve this autonomy is to read his dated version in the Theorie und Politik (1977). In 1965, Marcuse seemed to desire to establish in society the rule of reason, while in 1977 he questions the necessity of forcing reason upon others. He first wrote that:

> The answer to Plato's educational dictatorship is
> the democratic dictatorship of free men, John
> Stuart Mill's conceptions of res publica is not
> the opposite of Plato's: the liberal too demands
> the authority of Reason not only as an intellectual
> but also as a political power.[1]

In this statement, for Marcuse "the authority of Reason" is obviously supreme and must be reached via a political education. This is to suggest a creation of a dimensionality or frame of mind in which an intellectually autonomous being can evolve.[2] It is not so much a question of creating an educational dictatorship for Marcuse, but the breaking of the tendencies of a monolithic thought or expression.[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 106.

[2] Ibid., pp. 114-115.

[3] Ibid., p. 106.

Marcuse opposes the media's presentation of half-truths, ill expressed
ideas or facts. By suggestion, a Marcusean intellectual or a politically
motivated, autonomous individual has to express him/herself in the context
of the ideas as well as the presentation of a two-dimensional analysis.
In short, it is the balancing of diverse facts within a social reality
that is of the utmost importance to Marcuse. Twelve years later, Marcuse
interestingly admits that the usage of an educational dictatorship was
more of a provocation than the possible, real need within democracies.
This important admission is probably due to the availability of information
for all those who take the time and effort to inform themselves. Here,
Marcuse bases his later judgements on two vital value analyses upon which
his argument is irreducibly based. One: " Es ist besser zu leben als nicht
zu leben", and two: "Es ist besser ein gutes Leben zu haben als ein
schlechtes".[1] This materialist concept shows decidedly the elitist
tendencies of Marcuse as well as the ever present logical, well-rounded
philosophy for a better life. At least two things must be kept in mind.
The first is Marcuse's near monolithic, public opinion makers and their
representation of half-truths or badly described ideas that has to be
broken and substituted by a more detailed development of ideas. The
second is, perhaps, his incomplete elaboration of the idea of counter-
education. More important is the question of whether or not this type of

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[1]Habermas and Bovenschen, op. cit., p. 30.
It is better to live than not to live at all .
It is better to live well than not to live well .

indoctrination does not achieve a reverse result; that is a political

dogmatism compared to a current, manipulated publication of news.[1]

The danger with any accepted idea such as Marcuse's notion of political

education is that once these ideas are not questioned or debated to

uncover their weaknesses, the acceptance of these works may be more

harmful and lead to a paradoxical one-dimensional opinion.

Marcusean thoughts of 'Erziehung'or counter-education are grounded

in his application of social change to reality. This suggests that

Marcuse does not wish to see his ideas become 'institutionalized' or

accepted as they are. The apparent contradictions may be, in part,

explained by his views of the need of consciousness of a political

change or education. He said in 1977, that:

> ....Die erste ist psychologisch-politische Erziehung.
> Sie zielt zwangsläufig immer auf das Individuum die
> Vermittlung zwischen dem Einzelnen und dem
> Allgemeinen bleibt dabei prekär. Die zweite
> Möglichkeit (und sie ist für mich die wahrscheinliche)
> ist dass das Bewusstsein einer notwendigen Veränderung
> von den gesellschaftlichen Bedingungen des
> Spätkapitalismus selbst aktualisiert wird.[2]

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[1]In the recent article 'U.S. media uphold elite: Study', H.J.
Gans, a noted sociologist wrote in ' Deciding What's News' that:"When
all things are equal, the news pays most attention to and upholds the
actions of elite individuals." In other words, journalists often do
not search out all the facts that may differ or be contrary to the
accepted pattern of social thoughts or trends, at times, similar to a
'one-dimensional thought'. The Gazette, April 9, 1979, p. 83.

[2]Habermas and Bovenschen, op. cit., p. 107.
The first is a psychological-political education. These are
necessarily oriented upon the individual whose relationship with
the singular and the common is seen as difficult. The second
possibility (and this one is the more probable) is that the
consciousness of a necessary social change of a late capitalist
society will likely self-actualise itself.

While this new consciousness evolves out of the contradictions of Western, industrial societies, Marcuse does not imply that he is against a university education as may be derived from some of his opinions. The ideal dynamic of self-education is to translate the university-knowledge acquired into a reality of usefulness. In different words, it is the translation of his ideals typified as "...a bridge between the ought and the is"...[1] Marcuse's political praxis is realistic enough to include the all important work experience. He said that: "Mit Büchern allein geht es nicht, Erfahrungen sind unerlässlich--verarbeitete Erfahrungen".[2] In concrete terms, Marcuse wants to see a university curriculum to include the non-conformist movements in history and to establish a more critical analysis of contemporary societies.[3] He is here too harsh since most university curricula include his demands but, of course, not with the political intensity Marcuse would like these to be. For Marcuse, a more critical analysis or its application to slums and communities would inevitably involve social changes or political motivations. The transition of applying theory and practice to the realities of a slum, is not unique to Marcuse but these are the hinges upon which his political self-education or new consciousness are rooted.[4] Without this realization in action, political pressures

[1] Herbert Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation, p. 61.

[2] Habermas and Bovenschen, op. cit. p. 99.
It does not work with books alone, experience is essential, a work proven experience .

[3] Marcuse, op. cit., p. 61.

[4] Ibid., p. 63.

or educationl adaptations are fraught with the possibilities of remaining purely moralistic and ineffective. One recent example of former Black Panther Party in California during the 1970's was their breakfast campaign to low-income school children or the self-help movements of the North American Indians in particular, in the United States. A few idealistic students or professionals such as England's former Prime Minister, C.R. Attlee, or the contemporary South American bishop, Dom Helder, have in the past been working in slums to aid thousands of impoverished human beings. These cases would not have been enough for Marcuse since poverty continues to exist as a sort of built-in mechanism within modern, industrial states. Marcuse clearly wants to see this poverty in the western world abolished and he terms this as 'eine Abschaffung'. This desire is not reformist since reforms in the past have failed in the United States to create the 'Great Society' under President Lyndon Johnson or the supposed 'Just Society' of Canada with Prime Minister Pierre E. Trudeau. Marcuse announced his belief in 1977, when he stated that the world's poverty could be abolished within a few years:

> ....Ein Beispiel; die Abschaffung der Armut, des Elends.
> Heute ist der gesellschaftliche Reichtum so gross, dass
> bei einer vernüftigen und wirklich auf das Interesse
> aller gerichteten Organisationen der Produktivkräfte
> die Überwindung der Armut in der Welt in wenigen Jahren
> möglich wäre. [1]

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[1] Habermas and Bovenschen, op. cit., p. 98.
One example; the eradication of poverty and misery.
The social wealth is today so great that with a reasonable and just interest the organization of productivity can curtail the world's poverty within a few years.

This is a perfect example of Marcuse's realistic, idealism or
ideology moving beyond politics of either spectre, including Marxism.
It is radical and utopian because these claims have been made again
and again by great men or women throughout history. Indeed, modern
Christianity professes such a belief: an eradication of poverty.
Yet, poverty persists probably because of man's greed as well as
the ineffectiveness of political or social programs. Marcuse's
views concerning student politics or participation at universities are
reformist, in contrast to his radical opinions on eradication of
poverty.

One of the major political requirements for educational change
is student participation at university levels. This co-authoring of
academic administration, writes Marcuse, supposes that the student
body is more progressive or willing to bring about realistic socio-
educational changes at a university than the faculty or administration.[1]
If the opposite is the case and the students are not keen on
participating, as is seen in contemporary phlegmatic students, their
participation ought still to be thought of as necessary.[2] Marcuse
shows here an inordinate amount of faith in the possibilities of
social changes being brought about by such a student participation.
The enthusiasm seen in his writings and indications for student
participation is partly due to his own activities or encouragements
as well as the popularity of student activism during the mid-sixties

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[1] Herbert Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 45.

[2] Ibid.

and early seventies. Marcuse's <u>Counterrevolution and Revolt</u> (1972),
reflects this positive attitude but also underlines the tendencies of
the already set-in lethargy amongst many students-activists. The
counteraction or opposition to any real democratization or
politicalization of universities can, partly, be exemplified by the
Nixon administration who labelled all activist students as 'preferring.
coercion to persuasion' and 'bullying authorities into yielding.
their demands'.[1]

Marcuse's political ideology of education centers in a humanist
education, by definition an elitist concept. This elitism may be seen
in Marcuse's own 'Erziehung' at Gymnasium and private tutors with its
classical curriculum including old Greek and Latin as well as modern
languages. Marcuse would like to see more of a balance between pure
science and social science. He is criticizing the lack of a humanistic
basis in science students who, generally, show a lack of knowledge
in languages, literature, history, philosophy <u>et al.</u> Marcuse's
argumental thrust is, possibly, best seen in the following quotation
from 'Revolution or Reform? A Confrontation, Herbert Marcuse and Karl
Popper', (1976):

> ...There is a scientific method that rests on a
> critical analysis of facts and embraces those
> realms that are not at all accessible to the
> methods of natural science and its quantification.
> I would even say, that scientific method as it

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[1] Immanuel Wallerstein and P. Starr, <u>The University Crisis Reader,
The Liberal University under Attack</u>, Vol. 1, (New York: Random House,
1971) p. 53.

> prevails in the social sciences, or at least,
> should prevail, is in a certain sense even more
> exact and correct than the model of the natural
> sciences.[1]

This is one of the main cores of Marcuse's educational thoughts.

It is not a refutation of scientific thought but stresses the validity

of a critical analysis which must go beyond mere facts or figures.

Here, Marcuse is encouraging an educational 'Lebensphilosophie' which

balances facts or their realities with the ideal or possibilities.

The humanities represent for Marcuse, a fundamental education upon

which individuals may specialize in various scientific studies.

Because of this very bias, he attacks the views of the former

Chancellor of the California State College and his attempts to curtail

the humanities or social science programs.[2] The Chancellor's views

are:

> ...a lot of students are coming to college who
> aren't sure why they are there....they have
> gone almost reflexively into the humanities
> and social sciences without specific
> occupational goals.[3]

Marcuse sees this view not as a positive criticism of the many

students who are at college without any real goal or direction. This

quotation can be seen as a direct attempt to undermine the potential

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[1]A.T. Ferguson, ed., _Revolution or Reform? A Confrontation,
Herbert Marcuse and Karl Popper_, trans. by Michael Aylward and
A.T. Ferguson with an introductionary essay by F.L. Bender (Chicago:
University Press, 1976), p. 90.

[2]A recent article 'Up, Humanities, Thinking should be basic',
describes the return popularity of 'liberal arts' courses at many
American colleges. Research has indicated that humanities students
in general, read and write better than others and credit people by
being able to think more logically or critically. _Time_, October 13, 1980,
p. 69.

[3]Marcuse, _op. cit._, p. 27.

of a liberating education which could become a political force
inherent in 'liberal arts' studies. One cannot put the blame
entirely on the students, the humanities, or the trend of the
sixties and early seventies, but one can indicate through forecasting
a prognosis by both governments and universities as to what jobs are
available. This is difficult or even, at times, impossible because
of a series of unknown factors such as population migration or a
drastic change in a job popularity. More importantly, a liberal
arts education was often seen by many a middle class family as the
goal-oriented education upon which a professional education was to
be founded. This trend is still visible and practised. An excellent
example of this inclination is the slogan of the Advertisement
Council of America which said:

> Drop out Now--Pay later
> The cost is only low wages and
> unemployment. To get a good
> job, get a good education.[1]

Educational planning or greater information about available jobs as
well as a sound basis in humanities for any future studies ought to
develop a better grasp of independent thinking amongst many students.
A more efficient government-industrial prognosis of the current or
future needs for trained labour or manpower, seems essential in view
of the following Canadian problems. There is a current scarcity

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[1]John Holt, _Freedom and Beyond_, (New York: A Laurel Edition
Dell Publishing Co., 1972), p. 217.
See the letter to the editor by Professor Robert Tittler, 'University
training is not just for work', in which he suggests that: "Let's
not equate higher education with technical training; let's not
assume that intellectual growth is a barrier to employment".
The Gazette, July 25, 1980), p. 8.

of trained aeronautical workers or tool and dye makers in Canada.
Community colleges should speedily establish basic courses to train
and specialize these needed workers. The government for its part,
ought to encourage unemployed Canadians through grants or low cost
loans to enter such fields, if interested and, thus, alleviate the
unemployment crisis. The hiring of highly trained foreign workers
discourages many potential Canadians from specializing in a high-
technological area as is done in West Germany. Social and educational
programs must be geared towards a more balanced approach to education
and not be seen as a hindrance to obtaining a job but as a cultural
necessity. Conversely, private industry, governments and communities
must make sure that a retraining of those under-qualified, qualified
or overqualified, takes place to enable them to compete for meaningful
work. The federal government spends around 700 million dollars per
year to train low qualified people while totally ignoring those better
qualified in any retraining programs.[1] These government initiatives
are but a step in the right direction. Clearly, a more balanced
approach to the socio-educational needs of a society has to be created;
more responsibilities have to be distributed amongst the individuals,
business and governments. Often, this general lack or social void is
seen in youthful disenchantment at home, at school or at work.

Student awareness at school of youthful unemployment is
partially, grounded in the social contradications or hypocrisy of
educational authorities. There are several; a major cause of concern

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[1]Consumerscope, C.B.C., October 7, 1980.

is the apparent academic relevancy of some subjects to life. This
is to say, the curriculum of high schools is often not relevant to
students who play electronic games at home and find it difficult to
assimilate history as a living progression of causes and effects.
Most students in North America have not been inculcated at an
early age with cultural studies or references explaining the rise of
civilizations. This general lack of historical knowledge creates
an ignorance on part of many students and enhances a void in
understanding a people, race and cultures. Marcuse shows in the
following quotation the lack of an intellectual balance or learning
and criticizes the industrial-educational systems in these harsh,
concise terms:

> The authorities in education, morals and
> psychology are vociferous against the
> increase in juvenile delinquency; they
> are less vociferous against the proud
> presentation, in word and deed and pictures,
> of ever more powerful missiles, rocket
> bombs--the mature delinquency of a
> whole civilization.[1]

Marcuse indicts Western society as he indicts Eastern or Communist
society; he objects to both and finds them far from the ideals they
are supposed to be.[2] Again, it is a critique that is nearly timeless
since Plato and others have argued similarly. It is of little
surprise that Marcuse calls on sensitized students, intellectuals or
workers to establish or redress an inbred imbalance of learning.
He concentrates here, on those middle class students or labour leaders

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[1] Robert P. Wolff, op. cit., p. 83.

[2] Marcuse, One Dimensional Man, p. 55.

who are aware of these imbalances. Marcuse uses here the term

Bürgertum which calls for middle class intellectuals as the potential,

future leaders for the 'cultural revolution'. In Zeit Messungen, Drei

Vorträge und ein Interview (1975), the writer is aware of the political

dilemma of using middle class intellectuals and recognizes this

necessary elitism:

> ... erziehende intellektuelle Praxis. Sie ist
> heute noch das Privileg einer Elite; aber
> gerade die privilegierte Position des
> Intellektuellen kann zum Ursprung radikaler
> Praxis.[1]

The Marcusean intellectuals or elite are the prime movers of translating

knowledge into political praxis or action. In his last work, The Aesthetic

Dimension, Toward A Critique of Marxist Aesthetics, Marcuse desired to see

intellectuals regain their former preeminent, social positions and

uses a quotation from Jean Paul Sartre for his argument. Marcuse writes

that intellectuals "must regain as fast as possible the place that awaits

him among the people".[2] This is reminiscent of his earlier call for

establishing a democratic, intellectual dictatorship to rule the country.

It suggests clearly, Marcuse's desire to attain a factual, elitist

position for intellectuals along with the building of a radical political

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[1] Herbert Marcuse, Zeit Messungen, Drei Vorträge und ein Interview,
(Frankfurt a/M: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1975), pp. 32-33.
    ... educational intellectual praxis.
    These are today still the privilege
    of an elite; but precisely because
    of the privileged position of an
    intellectual may a radical praxis
    evolve .

[2] Herbert Marcuse, The Aesthetic Dimension, Toward A Critique of
Marxist Aesthetics, English version, translated and revised by
Herbert Marcuse and Erica Sherover, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978),
p. 33.

consciousness. It must be noted that Marcuse's idea of intellectuals
in a preeminent position is possibly similar to the 'philosopher kings'
of Karl Mannheim, thirty years ago. Marcuse, however, tends to
exaggerate, to the point of controversy and disagreement when examining
his views of political education:

> All authentic education is political education,
> and in a class society, political education is
> unthinkable without leadership, educated and
> tested in the theory and practice of 'radical
> opposition.'[1]

The importance of Marcuse's argument is not so much his definition of
authentic education--this is at any rate debatable--but what should
be done with political education. This is reminiscent of Vladimir I.
Lenin's What's to be Done (1902), to a degree, but the Marcusean tone
is tempered by the North American experience of democracy. His views
are here, not so much political dogmatism but hope of what a Critical
Theory. i.e. a political-economic analysis within a more balanced
education could achieve. This self-liberation presupposes for Marcuse,
an education by others or self-liberated pedagogues.[2] This term is in
itself used loosely and points most likely to those new left individuals
such as workers, students or academics whom he calls the anti-
authoritarian individuals in his Counterrevolution and Revolt (1972).
The cultural or political individuals constitute for Marcuse the
leadership whose goals are to initiate social changes or change society.[3]

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[1] Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 47.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Marcuse uses the word 'Verpflichtung' or duty to conjure a
sense of necessity of the intellectual to create needed changes, in
Zeit Messungen, Drei Vorträge und ein Interview, p. 62.

The Marcusean, political-intellectuals must adapt their acquired knowledge into practical realities. These men and women have to translate art, poetry, literature, economics, et al., or the 'higher culture' shown in the works of Zola, Ibsen, Brecht or Picasso into its intrinsic, universal truth or applicability.[1] It is art which holds for Marcuse or for Friedrich von Schiller the key to another cultural dimension of self-liberation or education. The Schein or illusion in an art object may transcend its class character and point towards a new realm of possibilities and sensibility.[2] This new found consciousness may in time, and if developed into a mass movement or proletarian proportions, move towards the ".....transformation of technical and natural universe in accordance with the emancipated sensibility (and rationality) of man".[3] Marcuse has, therefore, accepted and agreed with von Schiller's theory that "one must pass through the aesthetics, since it is beauty that leads to freedom.[4] This example personifies the critical, utopian-like thinking of Marcuse, although Utopie is a term which he abhors since in his opinion, utopia is realizable.[5] Marcuse has moved beyond this point, particularly in his Aesthetic Dimension, Towards A Critique of Marxist Aesthetics which depict the philosophical limits of his futuristic, socio-political-aesthetic liberation. It is vital to pinpoint some general flaws

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[1] Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 86.

[2] Ibid., pp. 87-88.

[3] Ibid., p. 47.

[4] Herbert Marcuse, Eros and Civilization, A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955, 1966), p. 187.

[5] Habermas and Bovenschen, op. cit., p. 98.

of Marcuse's views to facilitate a more comprehensive analysis of
his educational process of liberation.

One of the main weaknesses of Marcuse's rationale is his
assumption that politically motivated students or intellectuals will
translate their knowledge into action and _praxis_. Many a time,
intellectuals, artisans or workers have become socially or politically
isolated by an institution or organization because of their humanity
or interest in aiding people. Radical language or politics of even
simplistic demands are sometimes made ineffective or neutralized.
Examples of these abound: the American Students for a Democratic
Society floundered in obscene terrorism; the Black Panther Party or
most of its leaders were shot, imprisoned and made ineffective. Rudi
Dutschke has died and Angela Davis, a prime student of Marcuse who
herself, was imprisoned, now is free to lecture and propagates a
political language that is foreign or out of touch with the majority
of people. Daniel Cohn-Bendit, has written a pedagogy of kindergarten
children and for the time being retreated into work and solitude. As
Dr. Entwistle has aptly analyzed these lines and suggested that people
have opted out. "One danger is always that poeple will merely consume or
use aesthetically their humanistic education".[1] The question to be
asked now is whether the time for the proposed Marcusean socio-political
changes had come, or ever will come. The potential of a 'bürgerliche
Revolution' remains; Marcuse believes this to be the harbringer of a
new society.[2] A Marcusean vision of a new society is one which

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[1]Dr. Entwistle's comment made on this theme.

[2]Habermas and Bovenschen, _op. cit._, p. 136.

".....men and women capable of living in that community of freedom which is the potential of the species--this is the subjective basis of a classless society.[1] It is utopian but the task of changing society to a better, more human environment is left to the 'engagé' intellectuals. Any subsequent discussion of the political leadership is, at best, difficult, since Marcuse hinted little on the very ingredient of this intellectual force. One criticism made of Marcuse is his utter conviction that some intellectuals are the only people capable of bringing about needed changes.[2] Marcuse becomes less paradoxical when talking about the adaptations necessary for university graduates joining the labour market.[3] The implication here is that politics take a backseat over one's immediate job or future since radical politics usually are incongruous with an employer's beliefs.[4] Students, intellectuals and academics are realistically condemned to borrow Rudi Dutschke's phrase of 'the long march through the institutions' to perhaps, someday create

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[1] Marcuse's Aesthetic Dimension, Towards a Critique of Marxist Aesthetics, pp. 16-17.

[2] See Hans Heinz Holz's, Die abenteurliche Rebellion, Bürgerliche Protestbewegungen in der Philosophie Stirner, Nietzsche, Sartre, Marcuse, (Darmstadt und Neuwied: Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, 1976), p. 245. Holz speaks of Marcusean 'Aussenseitern und Unterpriviligierten' and intellectuals who might achieve a revolutionary consciousness.

[3] Habermas and Bovenschen, op. cit., p. 105.

[4] The political example of how radical students become ostracised from the labour market after graduation can be best seen in the example of Milan's Technical university which during 1969-70, was on strike. Italian industry refused to hire architectural graduates from that school because of its politics, or rather students politics. Certainly, this is an extreme example but unfortunately, an indication of the importance of politics and the hiring powers of Italian firms and laws. Based on an interview with Reverend George Predelli, Milan, Italy, October 1972.

and lead the arduous process of social change.

CHAPTER THREE

One Dimensional Society: A partial view

of the impact of technological

change on schools in Québec.

> ....Technological progress, extended to a whole system
> of domination and coordination, creates forms of
> life (and power) which appears to reconcile the
> forces opposing the system and to defeat or refute
> all protest in the name of the historical prospects
> or freedom of toil and denominations. Contemporary
> society seems to be capable of containing social
> change—qualitative change which would establish
> essentially different institutions, a new direction
> of the productive process, new modes of human
> existence. [1]

The potential misuse of modern technology for purposes of domination represents one of the greatest dangers to modern man. Individuals increasingly come under the control of governments and other institutions, through technological devices like data control and censoship. This inhibits their development as well rounded persons, able to respond intelligently to a variety of environmental stimulii and challenges. In Marcuse's term we have One-Dimensional Man. The essence of Marcuse's criticism is that man is prevented from utilizing to create a "......society without war, without exploitation, without repression and poverty and waste."[2] The basis of Marcuse's criticism throughout his works is the need to create 'intellectuals' to bring about, through reform if possible, or by revolutionary means if necessary, a new society. Modernization or

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[1] Herbert Marcuse, _One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society_ (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), p. xii.

[2] A.T. Ferguson, ed., _op. cit._, p. 69.

automation of industry since 1945, greatly altered many, if n ot most

social institutions of the 'Welfare' state.[1] Schools, like many other

social organisms have become to a large extent socially stratified.

This suggests that diverse educational standards exist within government

run schools and private schools. Some schools take on the nature and

characteristics of their neighbourhoods, unorganized, run down, with

poorly motivated teachers and students. Primary and secondary schools

are not as automated or regulated as some business enterprises or

factories; the early stages of academic mechanization can, however,

be seen in tests and computer designed standardization of examinations

and, not least, the treatment of teachers by the provincial governments

or school boards. Government imposed norms indicate, in a sense, the

increasing pace of scholastic industrialization. In 1961, in Québec

a Ministry of Education, formerly known as the Département de l'Instruction

publique, was established with the main purpose of streamlining schooling

and bringing the province into the 'industrial' age of modern education.

Throughout industrialized countries, governments regulate the set pattern

of educational progress or changes. In Québec, la révolution

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[1]The term 'Welfare' state was popularised after the Second World
War (1945), by the Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myrdal and became accepted
subsequently for describing all western, industrial democracies. Marcuse
stipulates that the 'Welfare' state is essentially 'unfree' largely
because of the general restriction of free time which ought not to be
confused with 'leisure time'. In essence, the modern individual is
dominated by technology in his/her usage of time as well as being wholly
relegated by technology to the nearly unrestricted expansion of techno-
logical productivity. Marcuse, op. cit., p. 49.
Marcuse, believes that if reforms are possible within industrial societies
these should be attempted. He said, that "Reforms can and must be
attempted. Everything that can serve to alleviate poverty, misery, and
repression must be attempted". A.T. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 73.

tranquille, or quiet revolution, was throughout the n ineteen sixties,

the socio-political basis of most if not all educational changes.

Reports such as the Parent Report (1964), The Green and White Paper

and The Schools of Quebec(1977, 1978 and 1979 respectively), typified

the attempts to turn educational institutions into large scale compre-

hensive high schools. Many a school evolved slowly into a polyvalent,

factory-like complex in which the relationship between students,

teachers and administrators shows a similarity to factory workers in

relation to their bosses.

Mechanization and automation of industrial labour projected

technological society towards a drastic reduction of physical labour

accompanied with an increase of psychological stress. Automation or

machine labour streamlined the personal output "....for muscular fatigue

technology has substituted tension and/or mental fatigue".[1] Modern

man has to come to rely heavily on machines for his livelihood or

pleasure. In educational terms, difficulties arise if students are

allowed the usage of calculators in mathematics or physics. Much of

the mental work is done by a calculator and not by the student. Any

attempts at measuring the students knowledge of a subject or a given

problem will, inevitably, have to include a redefinition of any eva-

luation of his/her work or answer in a given subject. Mechanization

of learning has revolutionized education, that is to say the process of

accumulating knowledge or the methods by which the

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[1]Marcuse, op. cit., p. 25.

students ought to be graded or evaluated. In an attempt to clarify these socio-educational difficulties or changes let us look at the definition of a measurement of labour by Daniel Bell. In cultural or industrial terms, Bell noted some twenty five years ago that 'industrialization' has been achieved out of the measurement of work.[1] Once a worker is being paid by the hour or measured by his labour 'industrialization' has evolved.[2] More precisely Bell wrote:

> industrialization did not arise with the introduction
> of factories, it arose out of the measurement of work.
> It's when work can be measured, when you can hitch a
> man to the job, when you can put a harness on him, and
> measure his output in terms of a single piece and pay
> him by the piece or by the hour that you have got modern
> industrialization. [3]

The implication is that automation jeopardizes not only the individual labourer but creates unemployment. Automation determines productivity and relegates the modern labourer to the machine, the factory owner or manager. Similarly, the learning or intellectual process at school is drastically altered if students rely on machines without knowing

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[1]Ibid.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

Teachers are commonly paid hourly wages, which makes them in a Marcusean analogy 'Lohnarbeiter' or wage labourers. Marcuse makes the important distinction of unionized workers in North America such as teachers and the non-unioni ed blue collar workers. He views organized labour and presumably teachers as "eine Arbeiteraristokratie" or labour aristocracy and as such have little similarity with the time worn definition of a proletariat. Paul Mattick, Kritik an Herbert Marcuse, Der eindimensionale Mensch in der Klassengesellschaft. (Frankfurt a/M: Europäische Verlaganstallt, 1969), p. 57.

the intrinsic process of solving a problem in their minds. In other words, students ought to learn both the way to solve a mathematics problem without and with the calculator. Apparently, results indicate that Americans are "headed toward virtual scientific and technological illiteracy".[1] One report criticizes teacher shortage and also shows that American schools lag behind the Soviet Union, Japan and West Germany in the teaching of science and mathematics.[2] One possible reason for the current lag in science education may be the reliance of students upon machines such as calculators which, in turn, affects the students knowing how to solve a problem, combined with the lack of a sufficient number of qualified science teachers who would be needed to boost the sagging standards of education. In industry, the phenomenon of automated labour makes the measurement of labour or work often, difficult, obsolete or impossible. Marcuse, quotes Daniel Bell in 1964 that:

> Automation in its largest sense means, in effect the end of measurement of work....With automation, you can't measure output of a single man; you now have to measure simply equipment utilization. [3]

It is, thus, automation which increases productivity, in both industry and at school. However, the potential of 'complete automation', writes Marcuse, would enable technological society to present man

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[1] 'Report criticizes teacher shortage', The Gazette, October 23, 1980, p. 36.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. 28.

with the 'dimension of free time' and facilitate transition towards
a new civilization.[1] Marcuse becomes more radical or anarchistic when
suggesting that work ought to be abolished. This has to be understood
in the Hegelian sense that the working class is not to be exploited
since automation has taken over the physical labour.[2] This abolition
of the exploited work has further to be understood to mean mannual
labour is replaced by mental labour. Eric Volant quotes Marcuse's
theory in these words:" passage d'un niveau de travail plus élevé".[3]
The abolition of exploited work signified the potential of viewing
the world objectively.[4] This abolition would further mean doing
away with the working class since it would not be exploited anymore,
heralding a possible, new working relationship between people. Marcuse's
views are utopian, since no present government, or future government,
is likely to allow the kind of personal freedom for citizens to rule
themselves which is the prerequisite to the abolition of exploitive
work. Marcuse's opinions are objectively speaking possible, but
realistically unlikely ever to be realised. In technological society,
measuring or evaluating types of progress within schools points to
the intensifying industrialization of many of our schools. This is
to say that computer tests, aptitude test or test scores are useful
means to categorize and differentiate students' performances.

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[1] Ibid., p. 37.

[2] Eric Volant, Les Jeux des Affranchis, Confrontation
Marcuse-Moltmann, Préface de Pierre Lucier (Montréal: Fides, 1976),
p. 87.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 89.

In this sense, students or their answers and behaviour are processed
for easier identification or future job training.

Workers, students and teachers are usually measured in their
work performance, teacher-principal cooperation, teacher-teacher
relationships, teacher-parent attitudes, adaptability to group work
et al., by government or school board set norms. Usually these norms
vary between schools and commissions and even different principals'
views of a teacher's classroom performance, communication skills,
class preparation and student evaluations, etc...The principal's
observation of a teacher's work is done several times a year, again
depending on the time available. These observations are graded or
measured on various scales known to the evaluator, filed or deposited
with the school commission and the teacher's personal file at the
personnel office. Another recent example of measurement is the
current occupation of testing in Québec's public schools. This is
not a critique of the need of scholastic evaluation. Several
pedagogical probabilities have to be included in such an evaluation
to offer the individual an optimum chance of a balanced testing.
Information such as the socio-cultural background, language fluency,
possible psychological difficulties within families who face unemployment
or marital disharmony, etc...have to be built into these tests.
Without the inclusion of these probabilities, standardized tests run
the danger of stereotyping and committing the mistake of falsely
analyzing students. The Green and White Papers (1977, and 1979),
are attempts to institute a series of tests as well as prop up a
failing educational system. In essence, these papers are a political

statement and as such pose a dilemma. Because of the political

repercussions of admitting that the educational system is weak or

failing, the present government is unlikely to initiate drastic

upgrading of scholastic standards. The problem of standards is not

entirely one of the government's making. An upgrading of standards

would involve an unpopular return to the ethics of 'hard work' within

a culture that demands easy solution.[1] Nevertheless, the proposals

of a return to basics in the Green Paper is a step in the right

direction. It offers some aid in the nature of a more intensive

language teaching in both mother tongue and second languages and

mathematics. At some schools the academic standards are so low

though, judging by the incapacity of many high schools graduates to

write coherently or correctly in either English or French, that the

proposals of the Green and White Papers are insufficient. In fact,

these proposed reforms are often nullified through the use of legal

powers of a principal to upgrade students who have been in the same

school grade twice. Sometimes, children are allowed to fail one or

two or even three courses and yet, magically, pass the year only to

be once again faced with the prospect of failing these same subjects

the subsequent year, and being promoted the next year. In this

light, the reformist Green and White Papers attempt to improve the

educational standards but are facing too many ingrained constraints

such as the pass or fail system. The series of contemplated, stereo-

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[1] Marcuse, Eros and Civilization, A Philosophical Inquiry
into Freud, p. 35.

typed testing with the accompanying weak scholastic levels which
personify a one-dimensional educational system that is ill balanced
between reforms and traditional weaknesses.

In education, technological utilization of films, television or
mini-computers may prove helpful in the dissemination of a general or
specialised knowledge. It must be made clear that Marcuse proposes
films without the mindless indoctrination of commercials or simplistic
programs offered on many stations. Television programs are often void
of any educational value. Here, is his general view of television:

> To take an unfortunate fantastic example; the
> mere abscence of all advertising and all
> indoctrination and entertainment would plunge
> the individual into a traumatic void where he
> would have the chance to wonder and to think
> to know himself (or rather the negation of
> himself) and his society. [1]

The denial of television within a nominal democracy is at this time
unthinkable, even when considering that programs like Charlie's Angels,
Dallas, The Dukes of Hazzard or Harper Valley P.T.A. or other stereo-
typing of women and ethnic minorities perpetuates, in many ways,
fossilized views among many viewers. However, we must not overlook
some of the excellent programs offered on Public Television which
offer an alternative. The current problem is that while alternative
programs exist, these do not balance or create a cultural value

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[1] John Fry, op. cit., quoting Marcuse, p. 57.

necessary to offset the damage created by many a program. Consequently, while some choices do exist in television viewing, the mass of the population gravitates towards weak shows. A cultural pattern is established that is similar in public schools; a majority attends schools of low standards while a minority obtains a quality education at private schools. There is also no certainty that if television would upgrade its programs people would begin to think or analyze themselves and society, as Marcuse had suggested. However, the usage of technological equipment or films cannot be viewed in the same vein as Marcuse analyzes television for these reasons. Children, students and adults have been living with television for over twenty years and as such television represents a dimension offering a potential gathering of more information or entertainment. The usage of audio-visual equipment by itself cannot be seen by educational authorities or the industry who produces them as an end in itself, nor can it be expected to solve all mathematical, reading or interest problems. Its usage, therefore, is not a guarantee of solving any remedial reading difficulties or learning problems. In fact, the use of audio-visuals is commonly seen by industrial proponents as the mechanism suited to solve many educational problems. Marcuse, as an idealist, in the sense that he desires modern man to be free of domination or influences by government or industry, sees the abundant usage of technology and, by implication, education as a further means of social control of individuals.[1]

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[1] Marcuse, Eros and Civilization, A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud, p. 93.

Marcuse's explanations are weak insofar as he does not write how modern technology is to be controlled or how a more humane utilization may be achieved. The contemporary usage of technological advancements of standardized I.Q. tests or stereo-typed exams lend some credence to Marcuse's argumental thrust. The Marcusean notion of man's dependence on or control by technology can be, in part, rationalized in the following argument. Technological innovations making possible a standardized curriculum has harmful effects upon some students. It is this potentially harmful regimentation which as seen in a general lack of varied opinions in books which is exemplified in the Plan of Action.[1] To attempt to balance out this analysis it is helpful to state that a democratic ideology, that is, the enforcing of a standardized curriculum upon all students, is the prime motivating factor behind the provincial government's 'academic equalization'. This is not altogther negative, though any equalization attempts without drastic increase of standards are bound to fail or, at least, achieve little more than a dilution of academic standards. This is to say that a well meaning publicity campaign such as the Plan of Action will likely achieve a better language learning or perhaps, mathematics, but this will not lead to any sort of academic equalization of various social groups in public schools. Marcuse has written that in both the industrialised West as well as in the Communist world man is dominated and regulated by various institutions:

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[1] Ministére de l'Education du Québec, The Schools of Québec, Policy Statement and Plan of Action (Québec, 1979).

> ...When capitalism meets the challenge of communism, it
> meets its own capabilities: spectacular development
> of all productive forms, after the subordination of
> the private interests in profitability which arrests
> such development. When communism meets the challenge
> of capitalism, it too meets its own capabilities:
> spectacular comforts, liberties, and alleviation of
> the burden of life. Both systems have these
> capabilities distorted beyond the recognition and,
> in both cases, the reason is in the last analysis
> against the same--the struggle against a form of life
> which would dissolve the basis for domination.[1]

Marcuse has pinpointed the fallacies of both systems in that most

people are dominated or regulated by governments or institutions

which are dominating life. Marcuse, has not made clear how man could

evade or limit such a domination since society depends on technology

for its well-being. The educational example of the standardization

process within industry cited by Marcuse in One-Dimensional Man, shows

this dangerous application of conformity:

> ...the social value of the individual is
> measured primarily in terms of standardized
> skills and qualities of adjustment rather
> than autonomous judgment and personal
> responsibility.[2]

Standardization usually leads to a conformity or sameness which now

schools or other social organizations have taken over from the family.

These standardizations are typical for dictatorships or one-party states

but can also be discerned in democratic societies. For Marcuse,

the family's importance is on the decline as a 'prime educating' force

and replaced by the mass media. Individualization is often frowned

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[1] Marcuse, One Dimensional Man, p. 55.

[2] Marcuse, Eros and Civilization A Philosophical Inquiry into
Freud, p. 96.

upon as a deviance or a negative social quality, Marcuse categorizes

this power of standardization of the strength of the collective media

who set up patterns of values. He suggested that:

> .....As early as the pre-school level, gangs, radio
> and television set the pattern for conformity
> and rebellion; deviations from the pattern are
> punished not so much within the family as outside
> and against the family. The experts of the mass
> media transmit the required values; they offer
> the perfect training in efficiency, toughness,
> personality, dream and romance. With this education,
> the family can no longer compete.[1]

The general argument of the influence of television has been discussed

pro and con for the past twenty five years. Suffice it to say that

television has an inordinate impact upon children as well as adults.

We have already noted Marcuse's claim that the family's influence is

declining vis-à-vis the mass media. The various tremendous socio-cul-

tural strains on the family as a social unit are transforming this unit

from the traditional, extended form into one parent families. Although

Marcuse exaggerates the importance of television, the dangers involved

are clearly recognizeable in social trends, fads or styles which spread

throughout industrial societies with the aid of the media. For many

students, public schools undoubtedly remain an important knowledge

gathering factory. However, it is more important to ascertain how

general facts are presented in the face of the ever-more aggressive

streamlining of curriculum or stereo-typing of some exams. These can

present a dangerous one-dimensionality of knowledge distribution because of

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[1]Ibid., p. 97.

a lack of balance of interpetations. The shortcoming of the public schools have encouraged the growth of elitist private schools, or the education these schools stand for, because of their apparent higher standards, traditional humanistic educational value as well as a multi-dimensionality of accepted opinions and interpretations.

Middle Class Reaction: Several Aspects of the Rise
of Private Schools in Canada.

Private schools have evolved during the 1970's as a major educational enterprise and challenge to public schools. The growing exclusive educational primary and secondary population is rooted in the number paradox. This is to say that while public schools generally, loose students because of a birth decline or migration to other parts of the country, private schools have to turn away students due to a lack of space. More specifically, the overall primary and secondary enrollment accross Canada declined from 1975-79, by about ten percent. Many Canadian private schools have, however, increased their student bodies from five to twenty percent.[1] These figures alone suggest a dissatisfaction with, or an indictment of, many public schools as well as symbolizing the traditional elitist standards of the middle-upper Canadian social segments. Fees are high and range from $5000-10,000 per annum.[2] These sums are often socio-academic investments well spent since many, if not most, students enter an ivy-league university and

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[1] Barry Eastbrook, "The public demand for private schools", Financial Times, September 10, 1979, p. 3.

[2] Judith Knelman, "A public withdrawal into the private", Maclean's, February 23, 1981, p. 54.

later join the Canadian corporate elite. It is the opportunity to hobnob with upper social echelons that represents a means of upward mobility, similar to the Old Boy network in England, the industrial blue-bloods in the United States or the hierarchy of the Communist party in the Soviet Union. Traditional schools have, according to B. Eastbrook (1979), supplied one-third of Canadian corporate directors while their student population accounts for a mere 0.5 percent of all primary and secondary students in Canada.[1] Provincial governments, such as Québec's, offer yearly grants in small amounts to these private schools in a time of economic recession, cutbacks or slowdowns (1981). This is not to imply that many private schools are financially healthy, but government grants, private donations or their Board of Directors financial infusions establishes these schools in a different category from public schools. This may entail a better usage of schools funds, utilized by a small administrative staff whereas the public, comprehensive schools use or misuse the tax payers' funds due to a top-heavy bureuacracy.[2]

Loyola High school, collége Stanislas, collége Brebeuf, Lower Canada College or Stanstead College and others represent to an extent the conservative antithesis to many public schools. This is to say that the transmission of the cultural values of private schools includes amongst 'higher culture' a humanist education. As a proponent

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[1] Barry Eastbrook, op.cit., p. 3

[2] Jean-Marc Lavoie, "Le trou de $500 millions", La Presse, April 10, 1980, p. 46.

for a balanced, humanist-oriented education, Marcuse criticizes its

apparent exclusivity in these terms:

> To be sure, the higher culture was always
> in contradiction with social reality; and
> only a privileged minority enjoyed its
> blessings and represented its ideals. [1]

This critique ought under no circumstances be viewed as an opposition

by Marcuse since he sees this type of education, with various changes,

as one to be desired. It offers a realm of a two-dimensional reality. [2]

This apparent paradox in Marcuse is vitally important and, perhaps, in-

explicable since as has been seen in the previous chapter, he attempts

to transcend, via a political education, the structures of a minority

based, higher culture. Once this culture becomes part of the material

reality of everyday life, it loses the greater part of its truth. [3] For

Marcuse, the possibility remains that a technological society is cap-

able of rendering an excellent, humanist education by distributing the

social means for such to everyone. This theory is another example of

Marcusean idealism or philosophical possibilities.

Let us turn to the present day features of many private Canadian

schools and suggest some probable reasons for their popularity. In many

private schools 'academic efficiency' is, evidently, a major attraction.

Many parents, irrespective of their social backgrounds, are in an uproar

about the drug abuse, a lack of student motivation or performance cap-

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[1] Herbert Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man, p. 56.

[2] Ibid., p. 57.

[3] Ibid., p. 58.

abilities. This is a natural reaction to a sensitive dilemma. Most
importantly:"parents are feeling cheated by the public school system.
They are....looking for standards, a degree of rigor and solid course
core".[1]

Private schools offers a type of humanist education grounded in
a 'bourgeois philosophy' of a balanced, academic competition and work
ethic. Marcuse is paradoxical, largely due to his own scholarly
training in Imperial Germany as well as his basically, classical-di-
rected, class based education at the university of Freiburg. This
critical academic footing coalesced into a fundamental educational,
political philosophy of how rational man can obtain more personal
freedom. Throughout his works Marcuse has tried to 'transcend' this
class based thought. His idealistic opinions and hopes of a supposed
humane education are shown in these words: Everyone,

> ought to be educated not for the present
> but for the better future condition of the
> human race, that is for the idea of humanity.[2]

This details in simple terms Marcusean philosophy. It is reminiscent
of an oath which doctors take to serve 'man' and shows the idealism
of Marcuse in that man has the chance to make a better or more humane
life. It is again, a necessary call for those who are intent on
forging evolutionary changes in educational institutions. It can be

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[1] Eastbrook, p. 3.

[2] Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 27.

argued that private schools offer a type of education that is geared
to the betterment of sciety since many of the graduates become industrial
or government leaders. Equally, it may be said that private schools
do not really aid the underprivileged since few, if any, students with
the help of scholarships attend private schools and, as such, gain
little from a humanist education. The important question to be asked
is whether or not students are prepared for the present or the future.
Judging from the tentative results of the criticisms of public schools
it is not unreasonable to remark that, in general, private schools do
prepare their students for the present and the future. Politics or
political education and the presentation of diametrically diffused
political thought, a two-dimensionality of thought, is not popular
within many public schools and as such not deeply ingrained in our
educational culture.

The educational system is rarely a "prime mover of change";
and it is questionable whether it ever could be.[1] Most primary and
secondary teachers as well as many a university administrator are often
all too prone to reach concensus and becqme "the loyal tool of the
status quo".[2] Prolongued public discussions of teaching methods, text-
books or government policies amongst teachers or professional groups
have taken place without any vital grass root participation, e.g. the
involvement of a⬛t groups such as parents. Teachers or administrators

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[1]Richard Henley, 'Education and Political Change: The Québec
Experience' in K. Mazurek's ed., Educational Future Anticipations by
the next Generation of Canadian Scholars (Edmonton: Department of
Educational Foundations, 1979), p. 89.

[2]Ibid.

are often socially isolated and fail to explain various reasons and
demands for changes. Rather, the streamlining of educational methods
is achieved amongst government administrators or school board bureau-
crats who are far away from any classroom, and who align themselves
to the pre-set rational norms of efficiency and acceptability.
Mechanization or automation of public schools can probably be best seen
at the many factory-like, comprehensive schools. The educational
dilemma or, more exactly, the political question of falling standards,
and/or student expectations must be compared with the rise of private
schools with their higher educational norms as well as their catering
to a middle and upper class clientele. We now turn to the last and
possibly, most important stage of a Marcusean educational philosophy
to his thoughts of the liberation of women.

CHAPTER FOUR

Some Notes on Marcuse's Woman's Liberation:

Ideological Concepts.

...die Emanzipation des Mannes als Konsequenz
    oder als Beiprodukt der Emanzipation der Frau .

Herbert Marcuse.

Woman's liberation or the political, economic, social and
cultural emancipation of women is the integral mechanism of a
Marcusean self-liberation or education. Women's liberation or their
quest for an equal social status with men is the cornerstone upon
which the self-liberation of Marcusean intellectuals is built.[1]
This cultural revolution has its antecedents or origins in the
century-long struggles to gain political importance of equality in
a largely, male-dominated industrial society. Marcuse's ideas on
woman's liberation are short, and are basically found in his paper
'Marxismus und Feminismus' (1974), in Zeit Messungen, Drei Vorträge
und Jürgen Habermas' Gespräche mit Herbert Marcuse, entitled:
'Weiblichkeitsbilder' (1978).

It must be stated at the outset of any discussion on woman's
liberation that Marcuse rejects any creation of a future society in
which woman dominates per se or which evolves into a matriarchal

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[1]Jürgen Habermas and Silvia Bovenschen, op cit., p. 78.

...the emancipation of man is the consequence or the
    byproduct of woman's emancipation.

society. Marcuse is quite explicit about the possible evolution
of a society in which the new woman or her sensitivity might constitute
the antithesis to a male-oriented aggressive society. He sketches
this tendency in the 'Gespräche' in these words:

> ...Eine Gessellschaft jedoch, in der die Frau dominiert,
> eine Art Matriarchat als geschichtliche Nachfolge des
> Patriarchat wäre noch nicht per se eine bessere und
> gerechtere Gesellschaft. Erst und nur dann, wenn
> die weibliche Qualitäten, die wirklich antitethisch
> zu Unterdrückung und Aggression stehen, durch die
> Emanzipation der Frau, zu gesellschaftlichen Qualitäten
> werden, wäre das Patriarchat tatsächlich überwunden .[1]

It becomes obvious that those professional women who exhibit
business-like aggressivity at school, work or at home are unlikely
to undergo or will have tremendous difficulty in undergoing, a
supposed Marcusean emancipation. In fact, many business women are
bound by the nature of their work to show a male-like aggressivity _
and deviate from the potentially, feminine liberating quality of
sensibility. This is not to propose that Marcuse hints that women
should stay at home. On the contrary, the underlying argument is that
women like men have to compete in the dwindling job market. In
economic slowdowns, women are, normally, the first to become

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[1]Herbert Marcuse, 'Marxismus und Feminismus', in Zeit Messungen,
Drei Vorträge und ein Interview (Frankfurt a/M: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1975),
pp. 16-17.
    Yet, a society in which women dominate in a sort of matriarchal,
is the historical result of a patriarchal society which would not
constitute per se a better or more just society. First, and only then
when the antithesis of feminine qualities against oppression and
aggression are present and have evolved through women's emancipation
to accepted social qualities will the patriarchal be transcended'.

unemployed, underemployed or to fight for an elusive equal-paycheck
with many males in industries that are not unionized.[1] Women's organi-
zations, especially since the nineteen sixties, have been attempting
to obtain some 'equalization' of salaries or social status with men
in Western societies. Progress has been generally slow to coalesce,
but visible changes did take place. Since the end of World War II,
women have grown into a large minority within the work forces of in-
dustrialised nations. The sheer numbers alone cannot be disregarded
by politicians as could be seen recently at the Democratic Convention
at New York, and the pressures for the Equal Rights Amendments in 1980.
However, legislation, or a general change in male-attitudes towards
better or equal salaries, work opportunities or the salary concept for
house-wives or mothers employed at full-time or part-time, lags behind
the social policies in some Western countries, eg. Sweden and Austria.

In cultural or educational terms alone, women have had an im-
measureable impact upon men, yet have not achieved in social terms a
similar or equal status to that of males. Marcuse suggests, in his
'Weiblichkeitsbilder', that Western culture and its history has not
allowed women to become great writers. He said that:

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[1] The Financial Post, January 3, 1981, p. 4.
In 'Woman on front line in union battleground', Peter Silverman writes
about the radical attitudes of women in their struggle to gain recogni-
tion as union workers as well as getting equal paychecks. "Women are
demanding dignity. They are more dedicated once they join a union because
they are more depserate—their wages are so m uch lower". It is expected
that woman militancy will likely increase since women will have more to
fight for. Hence, the Marcusean notion of the liberating potential of
Women holds more than a mere semblance of hope and truth towards greater
'equalization' amongst men and women, in at least their domain of work
and salaries.

> ....Diese Kultur ist nicht von Frauen geschaffen
> worden, weil den Frauen der Zugang zu dieser Sphäre
> verspärt war .[1]

Marcuse's answer is a direct response to a feminist's query why

woman had been generally shunned, with some exceptions, in pre-

industrial societies and relegated to the home. Marcuse presents a

traditional answer and cites the example of Flaubert's intimate

literary connection with Louise Colet. We find that, in Marcuse's

answer, woman played, the essential part of critic, teacher and

quintessential inspiration or desperation for man.

> ....Stimmt es den tatsächlich, dass die Frau an den
> kreativen Leistungen des Mannes sozusages überhaupt
> nicht teilgenommen hat, an ihnen gar beteiligt war?
> Nehmen wir ein Beispiel, das mir gerade einfallt:
> das Verhältnis zwischen Flaubert und Louise Colet.
> Flaubert hat ihr sozusagen jeden geschriebenen Satz
> vorgelegt.' Sie hat kommentiert. Spielt sich die
> literarische Zusammenarbeit von Männern nicht ebenfalls
> so ab? [2]

The underlying comment made here is that possibly, the literary works

of Flaubert have been enhanced by the criticism of Louise Colet. In

educational terms, this suggests that women must be recognized as

co-workers in literature, for example, but their works must also be

popularized at school, home or work. This conditioning of the public

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[1] Habermas and Bovenschen, op. cit., p. 71.

[2] Ibid., pp. 69-70
    Is it factual that women did not partake of the creative
works of man or had nothing at all to do with it? Let's take an
example which comes to my head: the relationship between Flaubert
and Louise Colet. Flaubert presented her with nearly every written
sentence. She made comments. In exchange, Flaubert commented on
her bad poetry. Has not the literary cooperation of men evolved in
this manner ?

might bring about in time a redress of balance of the inherent

visceral capabilities of woman. It might also develop the opportunity

for women to become great writers and, with it, equal or surpass

the works of a male-centered society. This cultural evolution can

complement the natural contrast of men and women and present the

launching of a new sphere of male- female relations.

The lack of well-known woman writers in the curricula of

primary/secondary schools is indicative of the reforms needed. In

other words the recognition of good and/or excellent feminist writers

should be included to balance an already male-centered literature

in schools. This introduction of women writers and their works would

probably offer students and teachers alike an alternative view(s) or

aspect of any given theme as seen through the eyes of a woman. It

is not sufficient to be faced with women teachers in grade school but

to be exposed to the written words, or the creative media for example,

the PBS television in the United States, which at times, presents

feminists or simply women authors or experts to the public. In this

manner, with time, the eventual 'equality of benefits' of a flexible

curriculum might induce a more balanced social philosophy towards

woman in the minds of students and later adults.[1]

Any introduction of feminist literature or alternative views in

courses in primary or secondary schools is constantly endangered by the

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[1] Tim McMullen, Innovative Practices in Secondary Education,
The Lower Secondary Stage: Problems and Possibilities (Paris: OECD, 1978),
p. 16.
or see Les Actions du Ministère de l'éducation dans le dossier de la
condition féminine, Dossier-Synthese (April, 1980).

erotic merchandising of the female body in the media. Social pressures
to minimize, neutralize and, eventually, eliminate this gross misusage
of the female body have to be constantly exerted so as not to weaken
the tentative gains made by women in various previously male-dominated
areas such as law, medicine, scientific research, private or government
organizations. It is not pure rhetoric that the British Columbia
Teachers' Federation in April, 1980, called for the adoption of a
Student Bill of Rights and, in particular, freedom from sex-role
stereotyping as well as an access to "adequate food, clothing, housing
and safety".[1] It is more than probable that these demands are not
going to be accepted by the provincial government and instituted as
laws, since these issues are not popular with the public now and,
therefore cannot be translated into votes for the government. The
teachers have to go out and popularize or sensitize the public about
the needs of the students. Freedom from sex-role stereotyping is an
essential demand which has to be brought about. More importantly,
public attitudes are only going to be changed as part of a long
drawn out educational process of enlightening the students about the
narrow-mindedness and dangers of designated sex roles or stereotyping.

The integration of women into the workforce in industrial society
results often in a mutilated or diminished feminine sensitivity or
humanity. In many instances working women have to take on the
aggressivity of males and must subject themselves to the demands of an
overly competitive society.[2] Marcuse's interpretation is found on two

[1] 'Delegates devise bill of rights for B.C. students', The Vancouver
Sun, (April 2, 1980), p. 15.

[2] Habermas and Bovenschen, op. cit., p. 75.

levels; on one level he desires to see women at work, while on the other he realizes that women have to adapt themselves to the demands of the market. It is, perhaps, unreasonable to single out women's dehumanization since men too are victims of the aggressive demands of a consumer society. However, it is the woman who in Marcuse's mind has the most potential for changing society through her qualities of tenderness, receptivity and sensousness. In 1977, Marcuse declared his views:

> .....was erläutert, werden müsste, ich weiss nicht ob
> wir das jetzt können, ist in welchen Sinne man, davon
> sprechen kann, dass Sensibilität, Rezeptivität, Sinn-
> lichkeit befreiende Qualitäten werden konnen... Das
> entscheidene, treibende Moment hierbei ist der Eros
> in den alltäglichen Beziehungen der Menschen der inso-
> fern er den totalen Herrschaft des Leistungsprinzip
> widerspricht eine revolutionäre, subversive Kraft bildet--
> natürlich abgeschwächt in dem Masse, in dem diese
> Qualitäten nur ausserhalb der Produktionsverhältnisse
> und in der Privatsphäre oder angeblichen Privatsphäre
> des Haushalts praktiziert werden. [1]

Marcuse seems to project all his hopes into the emancipating tendencies of Eros, or the Freudian 'life instincts' (as opposed to Thanatos, the death instinct) which can propel woman to oppose the profit motive, aggressive-minded society. A more humane approach to business is certainly needed in view of the dire consequences of pollution, acid rain, the diminishing production of oil, et al., Marcuse does not suggest specifically how these feminine qualities may transcend or

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[1] Ibid.,
...What has to be stressed, I don't know if we can do that, is in what sense we can speak of that sensibility, receptivity, sensuousness as liberating qualities...The categorical, evolving moment is Eros and in the daily relations of humans in which a total domination of the reality principle counters a revolutionary subversive force, naturally weakened in the masses, in which this quality outside of the production relationship is practiced in the private sphere of the household.

bring about a new set of sexual roles or expectantions. His hopes
and aspirations remain, as such, unrealistic and too idealistic.
Marcuse's weakness or lack of clarification is slightly offset by
his demand that this sexual revolution has to become politicized or
be endangered by becoming isolated and dissipated. Politicalization
of sexual equalization has to be realistically tailored to the aware-
ness of political parties. Invariably, politicalization of women's
demands leads to a certain breakdown or watering down of their demands
to fit into the narrower policies of political platforms.

The Marcusean women's liberation must develop simultaneously
on three platforms: economical, social and cultural.[1] Equal access to
work, opportunities, professions _et al._, may prove to be a step towards
some sort of equalization between men and women but one which Marcuse
hopes has to be transcended.[2] This Hope expresses his extreme view in
that it proposes a new woman who goes beyond the immense socialization
and rituals of a more than 2000 year old Western civilization. Marcuse
cites the interesting example of the Albigensians of the 12th-13th
century in medieval Europe and their quest for romantic love as well
as the autonomy of woman.[3] Marcuse's romantic ideal of the new woman
is tempered by his political foresight in that he translates or borrows
Angela Davis' six demands for woman. Davis' Woman and Capitalism (1971)
constitutes an advanced political reality that is unlikely to be met.

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[1] Marcuse, Zeit Messungen, Drei Vorträge und ein Interview, p. 11.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 13.

This includes a curtailment of heavy, physical work for woman; a lowering of working hours; neutralization of poverty; the producing of cheap or useful feminine clothing; a liberalization of sexual morality; and a general cultural education.[1] For Marcuse, these demands constitute the antithesis to the Western work principle (Leistungsprinzip) in representing the liberating aspects of feminine sensitivity and intelligence. These suggestions are necessary, but harshly unrealistic, if judged by the political difficulties of bringing about a universal birth control in North America, or the various, halfhearted attempts at stopping poverty in Western democracies. The political idealism of both Davis and Marcuse, and her former teacher, have to be seen in the context of real political potentialities. Sweden, West Germany and Austria are three social democratic countries in which some of the Davis demands have been met. These are examples for other nations to take notice of and adapt to their own situations. Marcuse, however, sees the dangers of reformism in women's liberation movements and rejects outright in these words:

> ...Die patriarchalische Gesellschaft hat eine Stufe in
> ihrer Entwicklung erreicht, die widerholte immer wieder
> erneute Zerstörung, Deformierung, Ausbeutung verlangt.
> Es geht also nicht mehr darum, die Zustände innerhalb
> der bestehenden Produktionsweise zu verbessern.[2]

[1] Ibid., pp. 14-15.

[2] Habermas and Bovenschen, op. cit., p. 78.
The patriarchal society has arrived at a stage in its development which achieves renewed destruction, deformations and exploitation. The question, therefore, is not based in a change or betterment within the process of production.

It is, perhaps, indicative of Marcusean philosophy to see his rejection
based on the fear that patriarchal societies are able to cope with
reformist demands but not with the political reality of Davis' six
demands. Marcuse projects the need for woman to bring about a new
work ethic which is based upon world peace, disarmament and abolishing
built-in obsolescency.[1] No doubt, Marcuse's views go far into the
future but the nagging question persists; is it possible to create
a new work ethic on a mass basis and break through to a new liberty?
Women's rights will have been instituted if laws and social customs
guarantee a legal equalization of their right to work and a free
access to all socio-economic, cultural and biological spheres.
Still, the economic, political or cultural attainment of women's
equality is an immense step forward to a potentially new or changed
woman and/or man. This struggle is enormously difficult; yet the
outcome is not guaranteeing that the feminine qualities will result
in a new work ethic.[2]

Marcuse's feminine socialism bases its _modus operandi_ upon
the potentially liberating qualities of receptivity, sensitivity or
intelligence. These are to evolve into what Marcuse terms creative
receptivity (kreative Rezeptivität), compared to the patriarchal,
repressivity of consumer society. Basic weaknesses of clarity or
direction remain. Marcuse has not proven beyond doubt the Freudian
notions of a general repressive society in his article 'Marxismus

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[1] Marcuse, op. cit., p. 16.

[2] Ibid., p. 19.

und Feminismus'. The onus of the potentially, liberating tendencies
for both women and men remain with those conscious individuals who
attempt to create a new work ethic based on a comprehensive understanding
and compassion. The politicalization of the sexual revolution is the
first step, in a series of drawn out procedures of educating women, in
short, society. In schools, the lack of a woman's literature or point
of view must be changed to redress the imbalance of a male directed, sexist
society. The B.C. Teacher's Convention (1980) has made the first ten-
tative moves in the neutralization of sexual stereotyping. Continued
social,pressures will have to be exerted upon all segments of society
and governments to press forwards with these demands to assure some
vital gains. Marcuse's feminine socialism is based upon Davis' six
demands (1971). These are, unfortunately, politically too advanced,
judging solely by the socio-religious or cultural oppositions encountered
in birth-control. This opposition can however, be overcome by giving
women the right to decide on an abortion alone. A political populari-
zation of these six demands will have to be undertaken to inform, sensitize
or educate the public as to the potential in realizing these suggestions.
A more humane human existence is within reach as presented by Marcuse's
views in one of his last interviews:

> ......Meine These ist dass die wirklichen
> Bedürfnisse menschliche Bedürfnisse
> sind und nicht männliche oder weibliche.

Sie müssen in gemeinsamer Arbeit und in
gemeinsamer Freude von Männern und von
Frauen entdeckt und erfüllt werden.[1]

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[1]Habermas and Bovenschen, op. cit., p. 87.
My thesis is that the real needs are human and not defined
as man like or woman like. These needs must be realized through
the bond of men and women in their common aspirations and be
fulfilled by them.

In my belief, science and technology cannot survive as substitutes
for religion. They cannot satisfy the spiritual needs for which
religion does try to provide, though they may discredit some of the
traditional dogmas of the so-called "higher religions". Historically,
religion came first and science grew out of religion. Science has
never superseded religion, and it is my expectation that it never
will supersede it. How, then, can we arrive at a true, and therefore,
lasting peace?. For a true and lasting peace, a religious revolution
is, I am sure, a sine qua non. By religion I mean the overcoming
of self-centeredness, in both individuals and communities, by getting
into communion with the spiritual presence behind the universe and
bringing our wills into harmony with it. I think this is the only key
to peace, but we are very far from picking up this key and using it,
and, until we do, the survival of the human race will continue to be
in doubt.

                              Arnold Toynbee

CHAPTER FIVE

The Conclusion

Herbert Marcuse (1898-1979), is a post-Communist, utopian

philosopher who sketched in his works the potential of a freer and

a more just community within technological society. His major works

such as Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Thought

(1942), Eros and Civilization, A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud

(1955), Soviet Marxism, A Crucial Analysis (1958) and other less

important scholarly works deal with intellectual currents of a modern

man's quest for self-liberation and a greater independence from

governments. This shows a perennial belief in and longing for a

more egalitarian society, one which has its cultural and literary

antecedents in the search for the Holy Grail. The political message

of Marcusean educational thought is pivotal; it vacillates between

demands for social reforms and revolution. During the tumultuous

days of the nineteen sixties, Marcusean writings found fertile ground

in the international youth movement contesting just about every

Western institution. Marcuse's search for a more egalitarian community

evolves out of his intense critique of a supposed one-dimensional,

technological culture which propelled into prominence this prophet-

like academic. Students began to popularize Marcuse's works and un-

questioningly followed his ideas into political action and <u>praxis</u>

through demonstrations, strikes or anti-war movements. In a large

measure, Marcuse's political idealism was infectious and crowned

many a student's desire to change his society into one void of war,

poverty and gross inequalities of wealth. It seemed that the limita-

tions of democratic societies were reached and fundamentally shaken,

but survived to react in ushering in what Marcuse termed 'Counter-

revolution'. This is a cyclical, conservative business or political

phenomenon where government, attempting to decrease its spending,

leads to increased social tensions and mass insecurity.

One of the major difficulties of a technological society is

the apparent increasing abuse of freedom of speech, assembly, <u>et al</u>.,

by various government agencies. Police organizations such as the

Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Federal Bureau of Investigation

or other state apparatus break the law which they have been delegated

to uphold by the government in order to obtain information. Sometimes,

this information is manipulated by state authorities to form a public

opinion in favour of a government's policy or action. In simpler

terms, the individual is entirely subjected to awesome legal powers

of a state. This is to say that the state often controls public

opinion. In turn, 'Welfare-Capitalism' offers social improvement

through pensions, medicare and unemployment insurance. This is a

sort of buying of votes, social contentment or control of potential

revolts by various dissatisfied social groups. One other point

is that the powers of the state, are at times, in obvious favour of

its governmental institutions and leave the minorities or individual

isolated. Marcuse analyzes and terms this phenomenon as the 'passive,

established toleration' of things such as the harmfulness of acid

rain and the 'active tolerance' of the political right or conservatives

as well as that of the left. This tolerance is in Marcuse's opinion,

'abstract' or 'pure' since it remains objective.[1] By this "non-par-

tisan tolerance" the mechanism of a built-in discrimination in a

society are left intact, since there is no neutralization or control

of such a tendency. The dictatorial solution of Marcuse is radical

in proposing a "breaking of the tyranny of public opinion",[2] which

can also be understood as the opinion of the majority. Marcuse is

suggesting here, a counter-education with a heavy emphasis upon

Critical Theory, a combination of a Marxian analysis or a leftist-

leaning multi-disciplinary study of various interpretations of politics,

history, science et al. In sum, Marcuse wants a clearcut presentation

of the exploitation of modern man, or simply an in depth study of

history. His thoughts follow a logical pattern, although several

faults are evident. Marcuse has not proven the superiority of a Cri-

tical Theory as applied to disciplines such as sociology, science,

etc..., even though this theory is based "on preventing the loss of

truths, which past knowledge laboured to attain".[3] His philosophical

arguments are too general or obtuse, lacking in clarity. The strength

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[1]Wolff, op. cit., p. 85.

[2]Ibid., p. 106.

[3]Marcuse, Negations, Essays in Critical Theory, p. 152.

of his analysis lies in the concept of an educational multi-dimen-
sionality of views, opinions or facts which 'intellectuals' have to
utilize to clarify the dilemmas of modern society.

The role of the Marcusean intellectual or 'self-liberated'
individual is to institute reforms, or if necessary, revolutionary
changes within technological societies as well as Third World nations.
Marcuse's One-Dimensional Man sheds some light on the effects of
automation in late-capitalist communities and, indirectly, upon the
'industrialization' of many of our public schools. This is to say
that while public schools are open and free to all, their standards
are often low. In particular, in North America, private schools,
largely government subsidized, assume an ever greater importance.
Private schools offer better standards and, generally, a better edu-
cation which can simply mean that private school students know their
subject materials better than many a public school student. One
cannot blame the public school for many of its ills since it mirrors
the diverse socio-economic difficulties of communities. Educational
policies are rooted within the centralizing attempts of inept govern-
ment bureaucracies, school commissions and to a lesser degree in
teacher's, parents and students. As long as these tendencies or
conflicts continue, public education is likely to remain turbulent
or contradictory. Several important innovations come to mind and
must be discussed in view of these declining standards. Recent ex-
amples of streamlining exams or computer oriented tests indicate a

tendency towards a stereotyping of answers in literature, history or
the humanities. These changes or reforms must be seen in the context
of trying to achieve a sense of uniformity or one-dimensionality of
opinions, a dangerous phenomenon and general tool for mass manipu-
lation. The potential stereotyping process reduces learning contrary
to what Marcuse proposes. Another pressing issue is the teaching of
mathematics and science. A recent report in the United States (1980)
castigated the educational authorities for their declining standards
as compared to the teaching of mathematics and science subjects in
the Soviet Union, West Germany and Japan.[1] By implication the schools
in these industrialized countries might be better disciplined. They
show more stringent academic reqirements or a more intense classroom
management which explain, in part, why their educational standards are
higher than ours.[2] One immediate concern that comes to mind is that
small computers and calculators are used in many North American schools
by students who do not know how to solve mathematical problems mentally
without the aid of a machine. Educational technology is and should
be used, but when this becomes a detriment to the learning process
caution must be exercised and teaching methods changed as as not to
shortchange many students. It seems that many h North American student
does not assimilate properly the mental process of thinking indepen-
dently without an excessive reliance upon mechanical learning aids.

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[1]The Gazette, October 23, 1980. p. 36.

[2]The educational series 'Europe 2000', a comparative study of
the educational programs of European countries had already suggested
in 1972, the apparent superiority of educational standards of non-com-
communist and communist schools. The simplest way to compare is to
examine their curriculum and then, if further proof is needed, read
the various studies and analysis of these educational systems. Evidently,
many of our public schools or their standards compare unfavorably.

It remains for the Marcusean inte-lectual, or dedicated pedagogues, parents and adults to bring about improvement of educational standards. The overall picture of social changes is political, hence any amelioration of standards on a mass basis have to become part of a political program.

Political _praxis_ or the bringing about of political changes and reforms are the most important overall activities for students, academics and Marcusean intellectuals alike. Political education is the _sine qua non_ of the Marcusean belief in 'self-liberation' in order to undertake independent decision making:

> ....Where the mind has been made into a subject-
> object of politics and policies, intellectual
> autonomy, the realm of "pure" thought has become
> a matter of political education (or rather:
> counter education). [1]

The student revolts in France (1968) and throughout the industrialized world have to be interpreted within the framework of this Marcusean quotation as well as the attainable political-educational reforms in democracies. In other words, the students pushed for as many reforms as possible while maintaining the idea that few desired to see a 'totalitarian' political set-up. The revolts dealt concretly with issues concerning more space and more teachers at overcrowded European universities. They were equally concerned with obtaining the right to participate in the decision making of a university; this concept was known as _cogestion_. And finally they demanded peace, the stopping of

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[1] Wolff, _op. cit._, p.112.

the war in Vietnam and the eradication of poverty in affluent nations.
The importance of Marcuse's writings for the students is at this point
inclaculable; we are too close to the events to suggest the degree of
influence upon idealistic minds of youthful students. Idealism per se
is a necessary force, though not the only one, to initiate social
reforms. The idealism of Marcuse's utopia or classless society was
one vital factor in mobilizing students to contest governments. However,
neither Marcuse nor many a student demonstrator or leader have always
displayed a calm, logical reasoning with authorities, while university
administrators as well as police have brutally knocked about heads and
forced confrontations which could end only in disarray and violence.[1]
Marcuse's inflamatory writings, <u>An Essay on Liberation</u> or <u>The End of
Utopia</u>, bear responsibility for inciting open frustration and street
fights. Marcuse's aggressive tone and encouragement to student action
are seen in this paragraph:

> In proclaiming the "permanent challange" (la
> contestation permanente), they recognize the mark
> of social repression, even in the most sublime
> manifestations of traditional culture, even in
> the most spetacular manifestations of technical
> progress. They have again raised the specter (and

[1] My own university, Sir George Williams University had its share
of official violence on February 11, 1969, when an irate university ad-
ministration ineptly called in the Montreal riot squad, instead of having
a reasoned dialogue, which could have resulted in the peaceful departure
of the occupying black students at the computer center. The result was
that several students' heads, ribs and other parts of the human anatomy
were beaten, abused and generally maltreated. The treatment of women
students by the police was despicable. The computer crisis was a tragedy
and only the future will indicate whether the university, students and
police have learned from this 'demonstration'. H. Marcuse had been invited
to this university as a guest lecturer for the summer of '69, but after
the fracas he was telegraphed to stay in California.

> this time a 'specter which haunts not only the
> bourgeoisie but all exploitative bureaucracies):
> the specter of a revolution which subordinates the
> development of productive forces and higher standards
> of living to the requirements of creating solidarity
> for the human species, for abolishing poverty and
> misery beyond all national frontiers and spheres of
> interests for the attainment of peace. In one word:
> they have taken the idea of revolution out of the
> continuum of repression and placed it into its
> authentic dimension: that of liberation.[1]

This literature must be seen in the historical period in which student

demonstrations, anti-war slogans or riots took place with frequency

and the belief that peace was near reigned supreme. This time was

characterized by activism and opposition. Many a student and striking

worker in France wanted to attain a state of 'liberation' or conscious

freedom which would enable he/she to cope effectively with an oppressive

government, brutal police tactics, and poor insurance schemes, etc...,

in short, more personal freedom and security. This student movement

produced the type of intellectual who chose to become a reformer in-

stead of an anarchist-like, one-dimensional robot of the 'weathermen'

or Bader-Meinhof mentality.

The primary dielmma of the Marcusean intellectual is the

balancing of differing views without political dogmatism.[2] Marcuse

is ware of this choice between two evils (see The End of Utopia), but

does not suggest, except for an abundance of idealism, how these in-

tellectuals are going to remain non-dogmatic or multi-dimensional in

word and deed after an acceptance of their ideas. The Marcuaean radical

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[1]Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation, pp. ix-x.

[2]Horst Sing, "Herbert Marcuse und die Freiheit", p. 73.

consciousness remains a concise, analytical tool to criticize étatist ideas and, thus, achieve a more balanced view of the world. Any institutionalization of this consciousness would lose the value of its 'truths' and, in time, fossilize itself into a retrogressive idea or opinion and incomplete analysis.[1] The educational value of this Marcusean logic lies in the balance of views of intellectuals who will implement the realization that:

> .....the democratic argument implies a necessary condition, namely, that the people must be capable of deliberating and choosing on the basis of knowledge, that they must have access to authentic information, and that, on this basis, their education must be the result of autonomous thought.[2]

It becomes obvious that Marcuse proposes the creation of an elitist or 'intellectual' type of society, whereby its leaders are educated philosopher kings like Canada's Prime Minister, P.E. Trudeau, who seems to fit Marcuse's definition of an 'educated leader' although, it is questionable whether there exists a person who embodies the exact measurement of a Marcusean 'educated leader'. Marcuse is realistically demanding 'educated' leaders or multi-dimensional people, as opposed to technocratic government personalities, to humanize technological communities and help build a more just society.

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[1] See the works by Milovan Djilas on this theme, in particular, The Unperfect Society, Beyond the New Class (1969), or the author's history dissertation 'Revolution and its Bureaucracy. A comparative analysis of Ignazio Silone and Milovan Djilas' ideas on Revolution and its Bureaucracy: (1973).

[2] Wolff, op. cit., pp. 94-95.

Marcuse is unrealistic in calling for the abolition of 'alienated labour', even though the possibility of eliminating exploitative work or the working class is a tempting notion. This idea has, however, not been realized in any country and is probably, not going to be achieved judging from the past histories of human exploitation. In educational terms, Marcuse has left the legacy of sensitive educators or students to popularize the liberating qualities found in the works, of Zola, Ibsen, Brecht or Picasso and Sartre. At this point Marcuse adopts a reformist orientation. The differences between the present educational standards of public schools and private schools will , continue to segregate the population into two distinct social entities: the vast majority of a population entering a publicly administered school is patterned on achieving a minimum level of education whereas a smaller, elitist segment receives a much better training with its varied implications for future success. The political praxis of attaining a multi-dimensionality of knowledge is found in some students or teachers at public schools. University courses, too, present a multi-dimensionality of opinions which have to be activated into the creation of reforms by intellectuals. But to assure their success, the Marcusean intellectuals have to align with a potentially more radical element than men: woman.

The greatest hope and aspiration of Marcusean thought lies in the development of the egalitarian demands made by some women. Women's

liberation can be seen as the third force of the revolution which
can forge a breakthrough away from a patriarchal society.[1] Marcuse's
analysis of women's rights, needs and demands expresses most clearly
his ideas of a betterment of technological Western societies. In
political terms, women will have to achieve an equal access to work,
pay and, of course, social rights to begin to overcome the age-old
veil of institutionalized sexual and political discrimination. One
of the principal prerequisites essential to this monumental task is
the quality of sensitivity, a characteristic most often attributed
to women. In other words, as compared to men, women often demonstrate
more sensitivity or, precisely show more of a humaneness. This is not
to assert that Marcuse foresees a matriarchal society: on the contrary,
he seeks a society based on humane needs, not selfish ones, and which
is largely void of a sexist-oriented, stereotyping of women's or men's
roles. What Marcuse is asking is literally awesome to most; it means
a total abandonment of the political or social belief that men are
designated to become leaders and women take care of men and their
homes. It is a belief that has been ingrained over 2,000 years of
Western culture, and obviously these changes cannot be brought about
in a few years or generations. One direct way to aid this 'liberation'
is to popularize women authors and their views, to publicize the
struggle for the unionization of women workers for their right to a
humane existence, for day care centers, including the right to return
to the same work held prior to any pregnancy. These issues as well as

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[1]Herbert Marcuse, Actuels (Paris: Editions Galilée: 1976);
pp. 30-31.

the question of a prolongued maternity leave and the abolition of

sexual harassement are currently some of the main projections of

unions in Canada. Clearly, society must be made aware of the social

subjection of many women. Any proposed reforms, if implemented,

will not create new men or women but can establish the foundation

of a new relationship between men and women and not, as Marcuse

idealised, a new man and woman. The attempts to include the Equal

Rights Amendments into a political platform is only one step in the

long and arduous process of limiting existing inequalities. The

Marcusean Utopia of a classless society is expected to remain what it

is: a utopia. The importance of Marcuse does not lies in his 'purism'

and dictatorial tendencies but in his faith in bettering the lives of

man/womankind. The intellectual's task is to bring about a cultural

niveau and consciousness in schools and society in which the popula-

tion is capable of deliberating and choosing autonomously for them-

selves. This quest is not found in the unattainable but in fighting

human limitations and transcending these towards a more humane exis-

tence.

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