

# Contents

Acknowledgements XI

- 1 Introduction: Marcuse, the Utopian 1
  - Idealism, Materialism, Romanticism, and Judaism 9
  - Marcuse's Importance for Radical Politics Today 13

## PART 1

### *Marcuse's Life, 1898–1979*

- 2 Early Years: Childhood and Youth, War and Revolution, Romanticism, Utopian Socialism, Hegel, Marx, and Heidegger 19
  - Childhood and Youth, War and Revolution 19
  - Post-War Investigations: Aesthetics, German Romanticism, and Hegel 23
  - Friedrich Schiller and Charles Fourier: Utopian Socialism 28
  - Marcuse's Torturous Relationship with Heidegger 35
  - Heideggerian Marxism 40
  - Hegel's Ontology and the Theory of Historicity* (1932) 44
  - Hitler's Accession and Flight of the Marcuse Family and the Frankfurt School 48
- 3 Militant Theorizing in Resistance to Fascism, 1933–1945 50
  - Negations* (1934–1938) 58
  - Studies on Authority and Family 68
  - Marcuse's Direct Investigations of Nazism 74
  - Early Theories of Social Change 80
  - The Progression of Marcuse's Thought on the Functions of Art Under Fascism 82
  - Reason and Revolution* (1941) 84
  - Reason and Revolution*, Part 2: The Rise of Social Theory 93
- 4 State, Freud, and Orphic Marxism: 1945–1960 96
  - Post-War Studies: "33 Theses," Francis Bacon, Lukács, Goethe, Friedrich Hölderlin, and Erasmus 101
  - Continued Investigations of Historical Progress, Russian Studies, and the Trajectory of Communism and Reason during the Early Cold War 105
  - On Sartre's Existentialism 110

- Orphic Marxism and the Struggle of Eros against Thanatos 112
- Lectures on Freedom and Progress in Freud's Theory of the Instincts 124
- Marcuse's Debate with Fromm on Freud, Therapy, and Adjustment 127
- Soviet Marxism: A Critical Analysis* (1958) 132
- The Ideology of Death 137
- 5 Radical Struggle in the 1960s 139**
- Marcuse on Cuba 148
- Continued Engagement with Critical Theorists and Lecture on Weber 149
- Humanism, Feminism, and Revolution 151
- Critical Reflections on Science and Technology 154
- One-Dimensional Humanity: Diagnosis, Reflections, and Recommendations 156
- Part 1: One-Dimensional Society* 158
- Part 2: One-Dimensional Thought* 163
- Part 3: The Chance of the Alternatives* 165
- Marcuse on Marx, Louis Napoleon, and Benjamin 167
- Justification of Revolutionary Praxis: "Repressive Tolerance," "Ethics and Revolution," Guerrilla Warfare, "The Question of Revolution," and "Thoughts on the Defense of Gracchus Babeuf" 169
- Psychoanalytical Interventions 182
- Activism against the Vietnam War 187
- Summer 1967 Lectures before the German SDS and Congress of the Dialectics of Liberation: On Utopia, Radical Opposition, and Violence 189
- 1968: A New Dawn for Humanity? 197
- An Essay on Liberation* (1969) 206
- Other Interventions from 1969: On Student Protest, "The Relevance of Reality," Qualitative Change, and Self-Determination 210
- Marcuse's 1969 Debate with Adorno on Theory and Praxis 214
- Revisiting "Repressive Tolerance" and Civil Rights with the ACLU and Fred Schwarz of the Christian Anti-communist Crusade 217
- "Marxism and the New Humanity: An Unfinished Revolution" 219
- "Freedom and the Historical Imperative" 220
- 6 Marcuse's Final Decade: Continuities, Discontinuities, and Intensification (1970–1979) 222**
- Marcuse's Assessment of the State of the Radical Opposition in the Early 1970s: "Cultural Revolution," "The Movement in a New Age of Repression," and "A Revolution in Values" 229
- Revolution or Reform? Marcuse's Debate with Popper 236

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| <i>Counterrevolution and Revolt</i> (1972)   | 238 |
| <i>Part 1: The Left under the Counterrevolution</i>  | 238 |
| <i>Part 3: Art and Revolution and Conclusion</i>   | 243 |
| Marcuse's Late Championing of Feminism   | 245 |
| International Relations: Vietnam and Israel/Palestine  | 248 |
| Continued Engagement with Aesthetics   | 255 |
| 1974 Paris Lectures at Vincennes University  | 260 |
| "It is Right to Revolt" and "Theory and Politics": Late Discussions with Sartre and Habermas   | 263 |
| Marcuse's Final Interventions in Life: On Political Violence, the New Left, the U.S. Bicentennial, "The Reification of the Proletariat," Rudolf Bahro, Technology, and Ecology | 266 |
| <i>The Aesthetic Dimension</i> (1978)  | 277 |

## PART 2

### *Reflections on Marcuse*

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| <b>7 Nature and Revolution</b>  | 285 |
| Nature, Evolution, and Morality   | 298 |
| "Repressive Tolerance" and Radical Struggle for Animal and Earth Liberation Today | 304 |
| Conclusion  | 310 |
| <b>8 Critique of Marcuse</b>  | 313 |
| The Limits to Integration   | 313 |
| The Problem of Sources: Political Philosophy and Empirics                         | 316 |
| Marcuse the <i>Edelkommunist</i>  | 318 |
| Marcuse the Zionist?  | 321 |
| Feminism, Gender, Eros  | 324 |
| Conflicts with Poststructuralism and Postmodernism                                | 327 |
| Marcuse on Authority and the Transition: Between Jacobinism and Anarchism         | 331 |

## PART 3

### *Conclusion*

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| <b>9 Marcusean Politics in the Twenty-First Century</b> | 355 |
| Radical Ecological Politics                             | 356 |
| Feminist Socialism and Anarcha-Feminism                 | 362 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| The "World Mind" in International Relations: Global<br>Anti-Authoritarianism | 366 |
| Means and Ends: The Question of Counter-Violence                             | 370 |
| Close: Eros and Revolution   | 376 |
| <br>   |     |
| References   | 379 |
| Index  | 393 |