

One-Dimensional Man by Herbert Marcuse (1964 Beacon Press)

One Dimensional Thought, p. 123-220

5. Negative Thinking: The Defeated Logic of Protest

p.123: "Reason is the subversive power, the 'power of the negative' that establishes, as theoretical & practical Reason, the truth for men and things,--that is, the conditions in which men & things become what they really are. The attempt to demonstrate that this truth of theory & practice is not a subj. but an obj. condition was the original concern of Wes. thought (the origin of its logic--logic not in the sense of a special discipline of phil. but as the mode of thought appropriate for comprehending the real as rational.)"

"The totalitarian universe of tech. rationality is the latest transmutation of the idea of Reason."

p.124: "The stabilizing tendencies conflict with the subversive elements of Reason, the power of positive with that of negative thinking, until the achievements of advanced industrial civilization lead to the triumph of the 1-dimensional reality over all contradiction."

"This conflict dates back to the origins of phil. thought itself & finds striking expression in the contrast bet Plato's dial. logic & the formal logic of the Aristotelian Organon."

pp.124-5: "for Being is better than Non-Being. The latter is not simply Nothing; it is a potentiality of and a threat to Being--destruction. The struggle for truth is a struggle against destruction, for the 'salvation' of Being (an effort which appears itself to be destructive if it assails an established reality as "untrue": Socrates against the Athenian city state) ... If man has learned to see & know what really is, he will act in accordance with truth. Epistemology is in itself ethics, and ethics is epistemology."

p.125: "To the extent to which the experience of an antagonistic world guides the dev. of the phil. categories, phil. moves in a universe which is broken in itself (dechirement ontologique) two-dimensional. Appearance & reality, untruth & truth (and, as we shall see, unfreedom & freedom) are ontological conditions."

"The distinction is not by virtue or by fault of abstract thought; it is rather rooted in the experience of the universe of which thought partakes in theory & practice. In this universe, there are modes of being in which men are "by themselves" and "as themselves" & modes in which they are not--that is, in which they exist in distortion, limitation or denial of their nature (essence). To overcome these negative conditions is the process of being-for-thought. Phil. originates in dialectic; its universe of discourse responds to the facts of an antagonistic reality."

p.126:

Relates Greek to Cartesian idea of intuition. "It (intuition) is not a mysterious faculty of the mind, not a strange immediate experience, nor is it divorced from the conceptual analysis. Intuition is rather the (proliminary) terminus of such an analysis--the result of methodic intellectual mediation. AS SUCH, IT IS THE MEDIATION OF CONCRETE EXPERIENCE."

"It so happens phil. was born with these values. Scientific thought had to break this union of value judgment & analysis for it became increasingly clear that the phil. values did not guide the org. of society but the transformation of nature. They were ineffective, unreal. Already the Greek conception contains the historical element--the essence of man is different in the slave & in the free citizen, the Greek & Barbarian."

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p.127: "To the Plato of the later dialogues & to Aristotle, the modes of Being are modes of movement--transition from potentiality to actuality, realization... This phil. quest proceeds FROM the finite world TO the construction of a reality which is not subj. to the painful diff. bet. potentiality & actuality, which has mastered its negativity & is complete & independent in itself--free."  
"This discovery is the work of Logos & Eros."

"Truth transforms the modes of thought & existence, Reason & Freedom converge."

p.128: "The classical concept implies the proposition that freedom of thought & speech must remain a class privilege as long as this enslavement (labor) prevails... The dividing line bet. pre-tech. & the technological project rather is in the manner in which the subordination to the necessities of life--to "earning a living"--is org'd. & in the new modes of freedom & unfreedom, truth & falsehood which correspond to this org."

p.129: "Aristotle uses the term 'apophantic logos' in order to distinguish a specific type of Logos (speech, communication)--that which discovers truth & falsehood etc. in its dev., determined by the difference bet. truth & falsehood (De Interpretatione, 15b-17a). It is the logic of judgment... From this ontological basis, the Aristotelian phil. proceeds to est. the 'pure forms' of all possible true (& false) predications; it becomes the formal logic of judgments."

"When Husserl revived the idea of an apophantic logic, he emphasized its original critical intent. He found this intent precisely in the idea of a logic of judgments.... Husserl sees in this orientation on judgments a restriction & a prejudice with respect to the task & scope of logic."

"The classical idea of logic shows indeed an ontological prejudice--the structure of the judgment (proposition) refers to a divided reality."

p.131: "Prior to this formalization, the experience of the divided world finds its logic in the Platonic dialectic. Here the terms 'Being', 'Non-being', 'Movement', 'the One & the Many', 'Identity', 'Contradiction' are methodically kept open, ambiguous, not fully defined... The laws of thought are laws of reality, or rather become the laws of reality if thought understands the truth of immediate experience as the appearance of another truth, which is true Forms of reality--of the Ideas. Thus there is contradiction rather than correspondence bet. dial. thought & the given reality....."

p.132: "Judged in the light of their essence & idea, men & things ~~xxx~~ exist as other than they are; consequently thought contradicts that which (given), opposes its truth to that of the given reality. The truth envisaged by thought is the Idea. As such it is, in terms of the given reality, 'mere' Idea, 'mere' essence--potentiality."

"THIS CONTRADICTION IN 2-DIMENSIONAL STYLE OF THOUGHT IS THE INNER FORM NOT ONLY DIAL. LOGIC BUT OF ALL PHIL. WHICH COMES TO GRIP WITH REALITY." (the predicative 'is' implies an 'ought')

p.134: "Phil. shares this abstractness with all genuine thought for nobody really thinks who does not ABSTRACT from that which is given, who does not RELATE the facts TO the factors which have made them, who does not-- in his mind--UNDO the facts. ABSTRACTNESS IS THE VERY LIFE OF THOUGHT, THE TOKEN OF ITS AUTHENTICITY."

"But there are false & true abstractions. Abstraction is a HIS event in a HIS CONTINUUM. It proceeds on the his grounds & it remains related to the very basis from which it moves away: the established societal universe."

"At the classical origins of phil. thought, the transcending concepts remained committed to the prevailing separation bet. intellectual & manual labor-- to the est'd. society of enslavement." Plato Aristotle.

*Handwritten notes:*  
Phil. quest proceeds FROM the finite world TO the construction of a reality which is not subj. to the painful diff. bet. potentiality & actuality, which has mastered its negativity & is complete & independent in itself--free.  
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Abstract thought  
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p.137, fn. 6, quotes M. Horkheimer & T.W. Adorno, Dialektik der Aufklärung, p.25 (Amsterdam 1947): "The general concept which discursive logic had developed has its foundation in the reality of domination."

p.137 "the pure form (of Aristotle's Metaphysics, rd) is still that of the content which it formalizes. The idea of the formal logic itself is a hist. event in the dev. of the mental & physical instruments for universal control & calculability."

(RD) Only thing funny here is that when he speaks about formal logic as the principle of identity separating from principle of contradiction "contradictions are THE FAULT OF INCORRECT THINKING" HE IS IN FACT DESCRIBING (MAC.)

p.138 "Long before technological man & technological nature emerged as the objects of rational control & calculation, the mind was made susceptible to abstract generalization. Terms which could be org'd. into a coherent logical system, free from contradiction or with inagable contradiction, were separated from those which could not. Distinction was made bet. the universal, calculable, 'obj.' & the particular, incalculable, subj. dimension of thought; the latter entered into science only through a series of REDUCTIONS"

p.139 deals with fact that neither the Schoolmen nor the rationalists & the empiricists of the "early mod. per." had reason to object to "analytics"

p.140: "In contrast, dial. thought is & remains unscientific to the extent to which it is such judgment, & the judgment is imposed upon dial. thought by the nature of its obj. -- by its obj-ity. THIS OBJ. IS THE REALITY IN ITS

TRUE CONCRETENESS: dial. logic precludes all abstraction which leaves the content alone & behind, incomprehended. HEGEL detects in the critical phil. of his time the "fear of the obj." (Angst vor dem Object) & he demands that a genuinely scientific thought overcome this position of fear & comprehend the "logical & the pure-rational" (das Logische, das Rein-Vernünftige) in the very concreteness of its objects. DIAL. LOGIC CANNOT BE FORMAL BECAUSE IT IS DETERMINED BY THE REAL WHICH IS CONCRETE... It is the rationality of contrad. of the opp. of forces, tendencies, elements, which constitute the movement of the real & if comprehended, the concept of the real."

p.141 "The obj. of dial. logical is NEITHER the abstract, general form of obj-ity OR the data of immediate experience. Dial. logic undoes the abstractions of formal logic & of transcendental phil., but it also denies the concreteness of immediate experience. To the extent to which experience comes to rest with the things as they appear & happen to be, it is a limited & even false experience. It attains its truth IF IT HAS FREED ITSELF from the deceptive obj-ity which conceals factors behind the facts, that is, IF it understands its world as a HISTORICAL universe in which the est'd. facts are the work of the his. practice of man. This practice (intellectual & material) is the reality in the data of experience; it is also the reality which dial. logic comprehends."

"The histological tension bet. essence & appearance, bet. 'is' & ought becomes his. tension, & the 'inner negativity' of the obj-world is understood as the work of the his. SUBJ. -- man in his struggle with nature & society."

p.142 on TRANSFORMATION of ontological into his. dialectic.

p.144 5/ From Negative to Positive Thinking: Technological Rationality & the  
Logic of Destination

(RD There is here a great deal of skipping not only over Marx, but phil. as such  
before it reached "tech.rationality.")

p.162: Husserl has offered a genetic epistemology which is focuses on the  
socio-historical structure of scientific reason. I shall here refer to  
Husserl's work (Die Kriasis der Europäischen Wissenschaften und die  
transcendentale Phänomenologie) only insofar as it  
emphasizes the extent to which mod. science is the 'methodology' of a pre-given  
his reality within whose universe it moves.'

7) The Triumph of Positive Thinking: One-Dimensional Phil.  
an attack on linguistics



xiii: "The surrender of thought, hope & fear to the decisions of the powers that be."

ONE DIMENSIONAL MAN. Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society by Herbert Marcuse (Beacon, '64)

Introd.: The Paralysis of Criticism: Society Without Opp.

ix. "Does not the threat of an atomic catastrophe which could wipe out the human race also serve to protect the very forces which perpetuate this danger?"

x: "Our society distinguishes itself by conquering the centrifugal forces with Technology rather than Terror, on the dual basis of an overwhelming efficiency & an increase in the standard of living."

xi: "It (critical theory) is opposed to all metaphysics by virtue of the rigorously historical character of the transcendence." (1) (1 ftn) The terms 'transcend' & 'transcendence' are used thruout in the empirical critical sense: they designate tendencies in theory & practice which, in a given society, 'overshoot' the est'd. universe of discourse & action toward its his. alternatives (real possibilities)."

(ff. pp. xi) The claim is made that "the cap. dev. has altered the structure & function" of the 2 basic classes: prol. & cap. "An overriding interest in the preservation & improvement of the institutional status quo unites the former antagonists in the most advanced areas of contemporary society"... "In the absence of (demonstrable) agents & agencies of social change, the critique is thus thrown back to a high level of abstraction. [There is no ground on which theory & practice thought & action meet.]"

(ff. p. xvi) He uses word choice of alternatives in a Sartrean manner & further acknowledges debt to Sartre in ftn: "The term 'project' emphasizes the element of freedom & responsibility in his determination: it links autonomy & contingency. In this sense the term is used in the work of JFE..." xvii: "There are many undeological analyses of facts—such as Berle & Mead, The Mod. Corp. & Pvt. Prop., TNEC reports, AFL-CIO publications on Automation & Major Tech. Change, (but also) those of NAL & Corr. in Detroit."

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- ONE DIMENSIONAL SOCIETY
- 1) New Forms of Control, pp. 1-18 ;
  - 2) The Closing of the Pol. Universe, pp. 19-55
  - 3) The Onquest of the Unhappy Consciousness: Repressive Desublimation, pp. 56-83
  - 4) The Closing of the Universe of Discourse, pp. 84-100

p. 1 "A comfortable smooth reasonable democratic (un)freedom prevails in advanced industrial civilization a token of technical progress."

p. 3: "By virtue of the way it has org'd. its tech. contemporary ind. society tends to be totalitarian. For 'totalitarian' is not only a terroristic pol. coordination of society, but also a non-terroristic eco-tech. coordination... But the (political) trend may be reversed; essentially the power of the machine is only the stored-up projected power of man. To the extent to which the work world is conceived as a machine mechanized accordingly, it becomes the potential basis of a new freedom for man."

Handwritten notes on the left margin:

- I - K 9
- II - 1-20 97
- III - 1-20 97
- IV - 1-20 97
- Handwritten scribbles and initials.

Handwritten notes in a circle:

- 1970
- Manufacture
- Technology
- 1970
- Handwritten scribbles.

"TOTALITARIAN LOGIC OF ACC'D.-2-  
FACTS"

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"OPERATIONAL POINT OF VIEW"

p.11: "The achievements of progress defy ideological indictment as well as justification; before their tribunal, the 'false consciousness' of their rationality becomes the true consciousness."

into reality does not however, signify the 'end of ideology.' On the contrary, in a specific sense advanced ind. culture is more ideological than its predecessor, inasmuch as today the ideology is in the process of producing itself." (The fin to this statement is: Theodor W. Adorno Prismen, Kulturkritik und Gesellschaft Frankfurt: Suhrkamp 1955)p.24f)

p.12: "The trend may be related to a dev. in scientific method: operationalism in the physical, behaviorism in the social sciences. The common feature is a total empiricism in the treatment of concepts: their meaning is restricted to the representation of particular operations & behavior."

p.14: "But such modes of protest (Zion, existentialist, hippie beat ways of life, etc.) & transcendence are no longer contradictory to the status quo & no longer negative. They are rather ceremonial part of practical behaviorism, its harmless negation & are quickly digested by the status quo as part of its healthy diet.... This totalitarian logic of accomplished facts has its Eastern counterpart. There freedom is the way of life instituted by a communist regime, & all other transcending modes of freedom are either capitalistic, or revisionist, or leftist sectarianism."

p.18: "The techniques of industrialization are pol techniques; as such, they pre-judge the possibilities of Reason & Freedom."

p.19: "The society of total mobilization, which takes shape in the most advanced areas of industrial civilization, combines in the productive union the features of the Welfare State & the Warfare State."

For collusion of labor & mt. ideology HM quotes Labor Looks at Labor: A conversation, pub'd. by Center for the Study of Dem. Institutions, 1963)

p.20: "As for the strong CPs in Fr. & Italy, they bear witness to the general trend of circumstances by adhering to a minimum program which shelves the rev. seizure of power & complies with the rules of the parliamentary game." (p.21) "These nat. CPs play the his. role of legal opposition parties 'condemned' to be non-radical. They testify to the depth & scope of cap. integration, & to the conditions which make the qual. difference of conflicting interests appear as quantitative differences within the est'd. society."

p.21: "IS THIS STABILIZATION 'TEMPORARY' IN THE SENSE THAT IT DOES NOT AFFECT THE roots of the conflicts which Mx found in the cap. mode of prod. (contradiction bet. pvt. ownership of the m.p. & social productivity), is it a transformation of the antagonistic structure itself, which resolves the contradictions by making them tolerable. AND IF THE 2nd ALTERNATIVE IS TRUE, how does it change the rel. bet. cap. & soc. which made the latter appear the his. negation of the former?"

UNDER CONTAINMENT OF SOCIAL CHANGES:  
ffp.25 is the one where CP's WBA is referred to as illustrating "stupefying, inhuman slavery -- even more exhausting because of increased speed-up control of the machine operators (rather than of the product), and isolation of the wks. from each other" which is immediately followed, by pagination this time of Charles E. Walker "Toward the Automatic Factory," regarding "for muscular fatigue technology has substituted tension &/or mental effort." To be followed (p.27) by claim "Moreover, in the most successful areas of automation, some sort of technological community seems to integrate the human atoms at work", further quoting Sartre: "the machine process in the technological universe breaks the innermost privacy of freedom & joins sexuality & labor into one unconscious rhythmic automation..."

Applied  
Cultural Studies  
D. 11/11/71

22  
Provisional  
Party

NO

pp 22-34  
Worst

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GRUNDRISSE, below

-3-

ff. HM further quotes Daniel Bell, author of Automation & Major Technological Change who claims "With automation, you can't measure output of a single man; you now have to measure simply equipment utilization", & WHO DEFINITELY REWRITES HIS. OF INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM IN EXACT OPPOSITE FORM TO KM when he writes "industrialization did not arise with the introduction of factories, it 'arose out of the measurement of work.'..." IT WILL CERTAINLY BE NEWS TO WIRS. TO HEAR HIM Q AS IF IT IS TRUTH WALTER'S TALK OF "EAGERNESS" OF WIRS "to share in the solution of prod. problems", a "desire to join actively in applying their own brains to technical & prod. problems which clearly fitted in with the technology."

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HM introduces KM's Grundrisse, p. 592f (see also p. 596) by saying: "Almost a century before Automation became a reality. Mx envisaged its explosive prospects" but I'm sure it is the type of q like Joan Robinson had from Vol. III where class composition changed in process of his dev. In any case here is Mx's Grundrisse:

"As large-scale industry advances, the creation of real wealth depends less on the labor time & the quantity of labor expended than on the power of the instrumentalities (Agentien) set in motion during the labor time. These instrumentalities, & their power effectiveness, are in no proportion to the immediate labor time which their prod. requires; their effectiveness rather depends on the attained level of science & technological progress; in other words, on the application of this science to production..."

"Human labor then no longer appears as enclosed in the process of production—man rather relates himself to the process of production as supervisor & regulator (Wächter und Regulator)... He stands outside of the process of prod. instead of being the principal agent in the process of production... In this transformation, the great pillar of production and wealth is no longer the immediate labor performed by man himself, nor his labor time, but the appropriation of his own universal productivity (Produktivkraft), i.e., his knowledge & his mastery of nature through his societal existence—in one word: the development of the societal individual (des gesellschaftlichen Individuums). The theft of another man's labor time, on which the (social) wealth still rests today, then appears as a miserable basis compared with the new basis which large-scale industry itself has created. As soon as human labor, in its immediate form, has ceased to be the great source source of wealth, labor time will cease, and must of necessity cease to be the measure of wealth, and the exchange value must of necessity cease to be the measure of use value. The surplus labor of the mass (of the population) has thus ceased to be the condition for the dev. of social wealth (das allgemeinen Reichthums) & the idleness of the few has ceased to be the condition for the development of the universal intellectual faculties of man. The mode of production which rests on the exchange value thus collapses...."

p. 37: "By the order of total administration, automation in the Soviet system can proceed more rapidly once a certain level has been attained."

p. 39: "The his. backwardness not only enables but compels Sov. in. to proceed without planned waste & obsolescence, without the restrictions on productivity imposed by the interests of pvt. profit & WITH PLANNED SATISFACTION OF STILL UNFULFILLED VITAL NEEDS AFTER & PERHAPS EVEN SPURIOUSLY WITH, THE PRIORITIES OF MILITARY & POL. NEEDS."

ff though HM does follow up statement of backwardness that the argument is also that of "the theoreticians of 'educational dictatorship' from Plato to Rousseau" (p. 40)

p. 43: "The other of the truth is that quantitative change would still have to turn into qualitative change into the disappearance of the State, the Party, the Plan, etc. as ind. powers superimposed on the individuals."

p. 48 decline of freedom, opp. as a "obj. societal process insofar as the prod. & dist. of an increasing quantity of gds & services make completion a rational technological attitude."

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Handwritten notes in left margin: "H. H. Adams", "necessity of...", "Education of...", "the...", "in...", "the...".

-4-  
p.52. Welfare State as "a his break bet. org'd. cap. & soc., servitude & freedom. totalitarianism & happiness."

p.53. Liquidation of 2-dimensional culture. "Exchange value not truth value counts."

p.77 "In contrast (to Racine's Phaedre or Tolstoy's Anna Karenina, etc. Goethe's Wahlverwandtschaften), desublimated sexuality is rampant in O'Neill's alcoholics & Faulkner's savages, in the Star Named Desire & under the Hot Tin Roof, in Lolita, in all the stories of Hollywood & NY orgies, the adventures of suburban housewives. This is infinitely more realistic, daring, uninhibited. It is part of the society in which it happens but nowhere its negation. What happens is surely wild & obscene, virile & tasty, quite immoral—& precisely because of that, perfectly harmless."

p.78 "sexuality turns into a vehicle for bestsellers of oppression."

p.79: "The result is the atrophy of mental organs for grasping the contradictions & the alternative & in the one remaining dimension of technological rationality, the Happy Consciousness comes to prevail."

p.80: The Happy consciousness has no limits. It arranges games with death & disfiguration in which fun, semi work & strategic importance mix in rewarding social harmony" bomb shelters & all

pp.96-8 operational rational as suppression of his., p.98: "A universe of discourse in which the categories of freedom have become interchangeable & even identical with their opposites is not only practicing Orwellian or Aesopian language but is repulsing & forgetting the his. reality—the horror of fascism the idea of socialism the preconditions of democcy; the content of freedom."

ONE DIMENSIONAL THOUGHT

- 5. Negative Thinking: the Defeated Logic of Protent, pp.123-143
- 6. From Negative to Positive Thinking: Technological Rationality & the Logic of Domination pp.144-169
- 7. The Triumph of Positive Thinking: 1-Dimensional Phil., pp.170-199

p.123: antagonistic structure of reality & of thought trying to understand reality... The totalitarian universe of technological rationality is the latest formulation transmutation of the idea of Reason.... the process by which logic becomes the logic of domination."

Dates conflict back to origins of phil. thought bet. Plato's dial. logic & formal logic of Aristotelian Organon.

p.125: Socrates against the Athenian city state) "Inasmuch as the struggle for truth 'saves' reality from destruction, truth commits & engages human existence. It is the essentially human project. If man has learned to see & know what really is, he will act in accordance with truth. Epistemology is in itself ethics, & ethics is epistemology."... "To the extent to which the experience of an antagonistic world guides the dev. of the phil. categories, phil. moves in a universe which is broken in itself (déchirement ontologique) 2-dimensional. Appearance & reality, untruth & truth (and as we shall see, unfreedom & freedom) are ontological conditions... Philosophy originates in dialectic; its universe of discourse responds to the facts of an antagonistic reality."

(ftn. on p.137 of M. Horkheimer & E. W. Adorno's Dialektik der Aufklärung (Amsterdam, '47), p.35: "The general concept which discursive logic had developed has its foundation in the reality of domination.")

Check  
p. 77  
p. 78  
p. 79  
p. 80  
p. 96-8  
p. 98  
p. 123  
p. 125  
p. 137  
p. 144-169  
p. 170-199

Opposition  
new



6. (Technological Rationality & the Logic of Domination)

p.162: "In contrast to Piaget's rather psychological & biological analysis, Husserl has offered a genetic epistemology which is focused on the socio-his. structure of scientific reason. I shall refer to Husserl's work only insofar as it emphasizes the extent to which mod. science is the 'methodology' of a pre-given his. reality within whose universe it moves."

pp.165-6: "Far from minimizing the fundamental change which occurred with the est. of Galilean science, Husserl's interpretation points up the radical break with the pre-Galilean tradition; the [19th-century] horizon of thought was indeed a new horizon. It created a new world of theoretical & practical Reason, but it remained committed to a specific his. world which has its evident limits—in theory as well as in practice, in its pure as well as applied methods."

7.1-Dimensional Phil.

p.177 Wittgenstein's language games

p.183: "The philosopher is not a physician; his job is not to cure individuals but to comprehend the world in which they live... For phil. is (historically, & its his. is still valid) the contrary of what Wittgenstein made it out to be when he proclaimed it as the renunciation of all theory, as the undertaking that 'leaves everything as it is.'"

*(P198) In our analytic movement of every language, no latter is really given, but only a one, the other is left.*

THE CHANCE FOR ALTERNATIVES

- 8. The His. Commitment of Phil. pp.201-224
- 9. The Catastrophe of Liberation, 225-246
- 10. Conclusion pp.247-257

p.203: "The commitment of analytic phil. to the mutilated reality of thought & speech shows forth strikingly in its treatment of universals... Far from being only an abstract ques. of epistemology, or a pseudo-concrete ques. of language with use, the ques. of the status of universals is at the very center of phil. thought. For the treatment of universals reveals the position of a phil. in the intellectual culture—its his. function."

"Contemporary analytic phil. is out to exorcise such 'myths' or metaphysical 'ghosts' as Mind, Consciousness, Will, Soul, Self by dissolving the intent of these concepts into statements on particular identifiable operations... the impotence of the destruction—the ghost continues to haunt."

p.215: "The stuff of thought is his. stuff—no matter how abstract, general, or pure it may become in phil. or scientific theory." (Q approvingly-Fitchhead.)

p.222: "As his. process, the dial process involves consciousness, recognition and seizure of the liberating potentialities. Thus it involves freedom... Thus, according to Marx, the problem the liberating his. force only as revolutionary forces; the determinate negation of capitalism occurs in & when the social has become conscious of itself as the conditions & process which make up its society..."

p.225: "Positive thinking with non-political phil. counteract the his. content of rationality."

p.226: "The tolerance of positive thinking is enforced tolerance—enforced not by any terroristic agency, but by the overwhelming, anonymous power & efficiency of the technological reality."

p.230: "At the advanced stage of indiv. scientific rationality, translated into (over)"

12905

pol. power, appears to be the decisive factor in the devising of his alternatives."  
-10-Conclusion

p.255: "Liberation of inherent possibilities" no longer adequately expressed the  
his alternative."

p.256: "The totalitarian tendencies of the 1-dimensional society render the traditional  
ways & means of protest ineffective—perhaps even dangerous because they preserve  
the illusion of popular sovereignty. This illusion contains near-truth: 'the people',  
previously the ferment of social change, have 'moved up' to become the ferment of  
social cohesion. Here rather than in the redistribution of wealth equalization of  
classes is the new stratification characteristic of advanced industrial society."

"However, underneath the conservative popular basis is  
the substratum of the outcasts, & outsiders, the exploited & persecuted of other races  
& other colors, the unemployed & the unemployable.... their opp. is revolution even if  
their consciousness is not. Their opp. hits the system from without & therefore  
not deflected by the system; it is an elementary force which violates the rules  
of the game & in so doing, reveals it as a rigged game... The fact that they start  
refusing to play the game may be the fact which marks the beginning of the end of  
a per...."

"A. White Refusal" *Stuffs outgrown that don't grow*

p.257: the spectre is there again... The facile his. parallel with the barbarians threaten-  
ing the empire of civ. prejudices the issue; the 2nd per. of barbarism may well be the  
continued empire of civ. itself// The critical theory of society possesses no concepts  
which could bridge the gap bet. the present & its future... the Great Refusal"

p.234: *Int. soc. process*  
*on to L. L. L. met. physical*  
*of physics, the inner order,*  
*the awareness of mind of*  
*advances technology*

p.246: *Material base*  
*diminution of social*  
*co-unity*

p.252: "Society & Nationalism"  
p.253: *boys, Suck, etc.*  
*new his. Sully*

p.252: *Don't they*  
*can't - ref*  
*only upshots*

*prop. red. way of life*

p.253: *Just*  
*alternatives are*  
*less less fitting*  
*concern*

HM-I-Dimensional Man, p.17:

"Today's fight against this historical alternative finds a firm mass base in the underlying population & finds its ideology in the rigid orientation of thought & behavior to the given universe of facts. Validated by the accomplishments of science & technology justified by its growing productivity, the status quo defies all transcendence.

Faced with the possibility of pacification on the grounds of its technical & intellectual achievements, the mature industrial society closes itself against this alternative. Operationalism, in theory & practice, becomes the theory & practice of containment."

p.57: "Today's novel feature is the flattening out of the antagonism bet. culture & social reality thru the obliteration of the oppositional, alien, & transcendent elements in the higher culture by virtue of which it constituted another dimension of reality. This liquidation of the 2-dimensional culture takes place not thru the denial & rejection of the 'cultural values', but thru their wholesale inc. into the est'd. order, thru their reproduction & display on a massive scale."

) THE LANGUAGE OF TOTAL ADMINISTRATION is 1st subhead under "The Closing of the Universe of Discourse."

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p.141: "The obj. of dial. logic is neither the abstract general form of objectivity, nor the abstract, general form of thought—nor the data of immediate experience. Dial. logic undoes the abstractions of formal logic & of transcendental phil., but it also denies the concreteness of immediate experience. To the extent to which this experience comes to rest with the things as they appear & happen to be, it is a limited & false experience. It attains its truth if it has freed itself from the deceptive objectivity which conceals the factors behind the facts—that is, if it understands its world as a historical universal in which the est'd. facts are the work of the historical practice of man. This practice (intellectual & material) is the reality in the data of experience; it is the reality which dial. logic comprehends."

p.171: "The power of the 'negative' is the principle which governs the dev. of concepts, & contradiction becomes the distinguishing quality of Reason (Hegel). This quality of thought was not confined to a certain type of rationalism; it was also a decisive element in the empiricist tradition. Empiricism is not necessarily positive; its attitude to the est'd. reality depends on the particular dimension of experience which functions as the source of knowledge & as the basic frame of reference."

p.254: "Does this mean that the critical theory of society abdicates & leaves the field to an empirical sociology which, freed from all theoretical guidance except a methodological one, succumbs to the fallacies of misplaced concreteness, thus performing an ideological service while proclaiming the elimination of value judgments?"

*Handwritten notes:*  
M. Adorno  
Consciousness