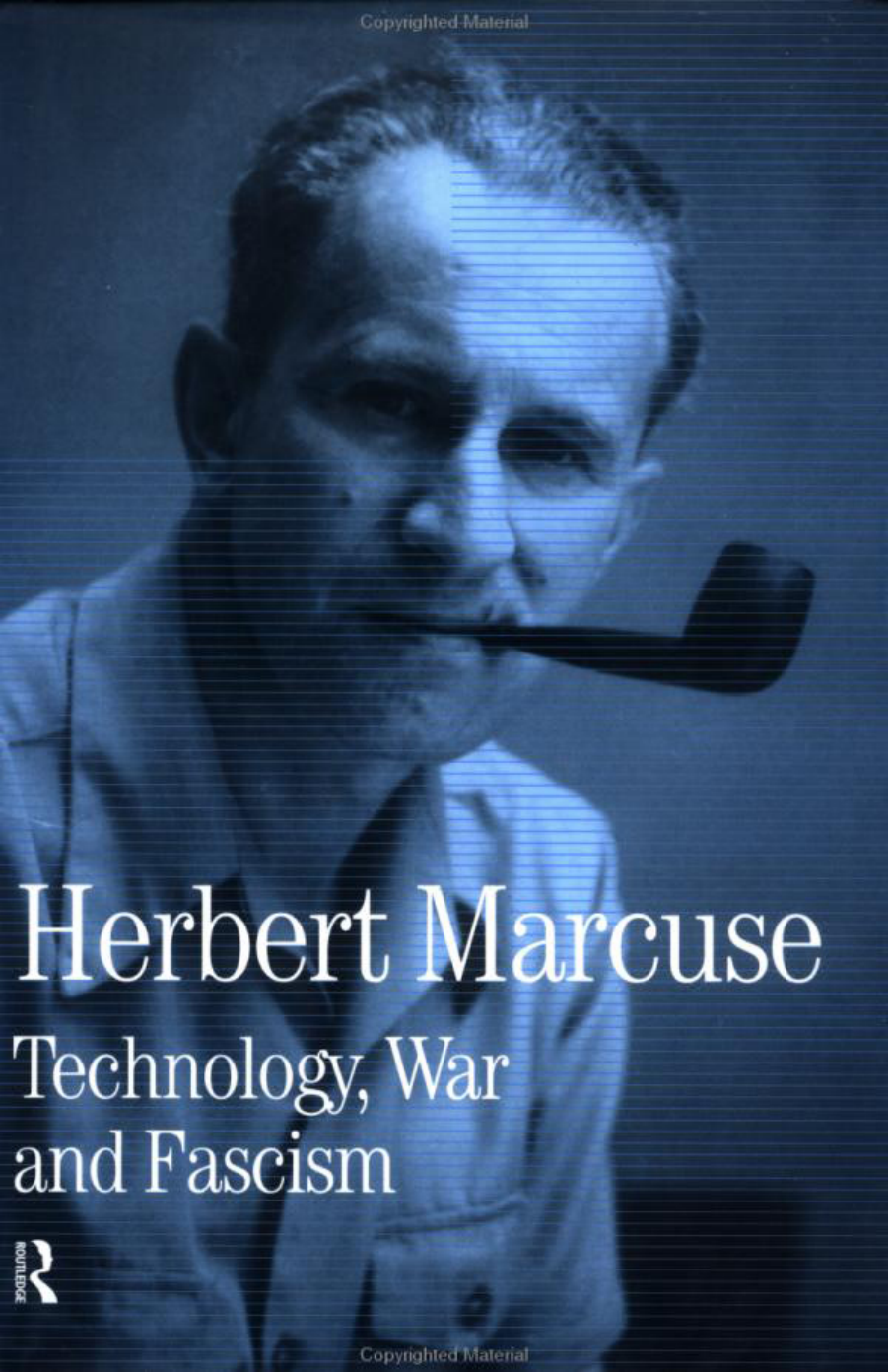

Herbert Marcuse

Technology, War and Fascism

ROUTLEDGE

First published 1998 by Routledge
11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
29 West 35th Street, New York, NY 10001

Typeset in Sabon by Keystroke, Jacaranda Lodge, Wolverhampton
Printed and bound in Great Britain by Biddles Ltd,
Guildford and King's Lynn

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data
Marcuse, Herbert, 1898–
Technology, war, and fascism / Herbert Marcuse; edited by Douglas
Kellner.
(Collected papers of Herbert Marcuse; v. 1)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
1. Technology—Philosophy. 2. War (Philosophy) 3. Fascism.
4. National socialism—Germany. 5. Political science—Philosophy.
I. Kellner, Douglas. II. Title. III. Series: Marcuse,
Herbert, 1898– Collected papers of Herbert Marcuse; v. 1
B945.M2983T43 1988
[T14]
191—dc21 97-14885

ISBN 0–415–13780–2

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PREFACE

The Unknown Marcuse: New Archival Discoveries

Douglas Kellner

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, Herbert Marcuse was considered one of the world's most important living theorists. Acclaimed throughout the world as a philosopher of liberation and revolution, Marcuse was a prominent figure in the Zeitgeist of the times, deeply influencing the New Left and oppositional movements. His work was passionately debated by individuals of every political and theoretical persuasion, and he deeply influenced a generation of radical intellectuals and activists. Indeed, his books even reached a general public and he was discussed, attacked and celebrated in the mass media, as well as scholarly publications.

Since his death in 1979, however, Herbert Marcuse's influence has been steadily waning. There has been, to be sure, a steady stream of books on Marcuse,[1] and the publication of his unpublished texts could lead to new

1 Significant texts on Marcuse since his death include Morton Schoolman, *The Imaginary Witness*. New York: Free Press, 1980; Vincent Geoghegan, *Reason and Eros: The Social Theory of Herbert Marcuse*. London: Pluto Press, 1981; Barry Katz, *Herbert Marcuse and the Art of Liberation*. London: New Left Books, 1982; Douglas Kellner, *Herbert Marcuse and the Crisis of Marxism*. London and Berkeley: Macmillan Press and University of California Press, 1984; C. Fred

interest in his work. While the waning of the revolutionary movements with which he was involved helps explain Marcuse's slip in popularity, the lack of new texts and publications has also contributed. For while there have been a large number of new translations of works by Benjamin, Adorno and Habermas during the past decade, little untranslated or uncollected material by Marcuse has appeared. In addition, while there has been great interest in recent years in the writings of French "postmodern," or "poststructuralist," theorists, such as Foucault, Derrida, Baudrillard, Lyotard and others, Marcuse did not fit into the fashionable debates concerning modern and postmodern thought.[2] Unlike Adorno, Marcuse did not anticipate the postmodern attacks on reason and enlightenment, and his dialectics were not "negative." Rather, Marcuse subscribed to the project of reconstructing reason and of positing utopian alternatives to the existing society – a dialectical imagination that has fallen out of favor in an era that rejects revolutionary thought and grand visions of liberation and social reconstruction.

Alford, *Science and the Revenge of Nature: Marcuse and Habermas*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1985; Roland Roth, *Rebellische Subjektivität: Herbert Marcuse und die neuen Protestbewegungen*. Frankfurt: Campus Press, 1985; Timothy J. Lukes, *The Flight Into Inwardness: An Exposition and Critique of Herbert Marcuse's Theory of Liberative Aesthetics*. Cranbury, N.J., London, and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1986; Alain Martineau, *Herbert Marcuse's Utopia*. Montreal: Harvest House, 1986; Hauke Brunkhorst and Gertrud Koch, *Herbert Marcuse zur Einführung*. Hamburg: Junius Verlag, 1987; *Herbert Marcuse, Text + Kritik* 98 (April 1988); Robert Pippin, *et al.*, editors, *Marcuse: Critical Theory and the Promise of Utopia*. South Hadley, Mass.: Bergin & Garvey Publishers, 1988; *Faut-il Oublier Marcuse?, Archives de Philosophie*, Tome 52, Cahier 3 (Juillet–Septembre 1989); *Politik und Asthetik am Ende der Industriegesellschaft: Zur Aktualität von Herbert Marcuse, Tüte*, Sonderheft (September 1989); Peter-Erwin Jansen, editor, *Befreiung denken – Ein politischer Imperative*. Offenbach: Verlag 2000, 1990; Bernard Görlich, *Die Wette mit Freud: Drei Studien zu Herbert Marcuse*. Frankfurt: Nexus, 1991; Institut für Sozialforschung, *Kritik und Utopie im Werk von Herbert Marcuse*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1992; Gérard Raulet, *Herbert Marcuse. Philosophie de l'émancipation*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1992; and John Bokina and Timothy J. Lukes, editors, *Marcuse: From the New Left to the Next Left*. Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1994.

2 In the Marcuse archives, I found an ad for one of Derrida's books with a contemptuous scrawl over it in Marcuse's handwriting: "This is what passes for philosophy today!" There are no references that I have found in Marcuse's texts, letters or other manuscripts to the major French theorists who I just noted. Although Marcuse spent some years in France, which he frequently visited, and kept up with many currents of French thought, he seemed to have little interest in the trends eventually identified with poststructuralist or postmodern theory. On these trends, see Steven Best and Douglas Kellner, *Postmodern Theory: Critical Interrogations* (London and New York: Macmillan Press and Guilford Press, 1991) and *The Postmodern Turn* (New York: Guilford Press, 1997).

The neglect of Marcuse may be altered through the publication of a wealth of material, much of it unpublished and unknown, that is found in the Herbert Marcuse archives in Frankfurt.[3] The present volume – the first of six planned collections from the Marcuse archives which will be published by Routledge – contains some extremely interesting material from the 1940s, when Marcuse was engaged in collaborative work with the Institute for Social Research, and then working for the U.S. government in Washington as his contribution to the war against German fascism. Our reader opens with essays on modern technology, National Socialism and theories of social change that Marcuse composed during his collaboration with the Institute for Social Research. This material is followed by analyses of German fascism drafted just before and during his work with the U.S. government. Next, we provide some unpublished post-war 1940s essays that anticipate Marcuse's later theoretical, political and aesthetic perspectives. And the volume concludes with letters to Max Horkheimer and Martin Heidegger which are of historical and theoretical interest, illuminating Marcuse's life and thought during a momentous historical epoch that shaped the contours of the second half of the twentieth century.

The work collected in this volume should make clear the continuing relevance of Marcuse's thought to contemporary issues. The texts published here exhibit his penetrating critiques of technology and analyses of the ways that modern technology is producing novel forms of society and culture with new modes of social control. His analyses of fascism reveal the connections between totalitarianism, capitalism, technology and potent forms of cultural domination. Several essays demonstrate the abiding importance of philosophy, social theory and art for the emancipatory project. Indeed, much of the material collected provides exemplary attempts to link theory with practice, to develop ideas that can be used to grasp and transform existing social reality.

The texts that we have assembled should thus provide fresh insight into Marcuse's work and indicate his enduring significance in the contemporary moment. Succeeding collections from the archives will be published at one-year intervals and will also provide inaccessible and unpublished material that should demonstrate Marcuse's contemporary relevance and abiding interest. The collections will be organized thematically around topics such as Marcuse's aesthetics, philosophical work, critical theory of society, engagement with Marxism and interventions in the 1960s. Each

3 Information on the origin, genesis and significance of the essays will be found in my Introduction, and bibliographical notes will precede each essay.

volume will contain unpublished manuscripts, or texts difficult to access, letters and notes, plus introductory essays which contextualize the works and indicate the persisting importance of Marcuse's thought as we prepare for the next millennium.

INTRODUCTION

Technology, War and Fascism: Marcuse in the 1940s

Douglas Kellner

From 1942–1951, Herbert Marcuse worked for various agencies of the United States government, including World War Two intelligence agencies and the State Department. During this period, Marcuse wrote some important essays on German fascism and carried out historical and theoretical studies that shaped his subsequent oeuvre. His 1940s work provides substantive historical insight into German fascism and a strong historico-empirical grounding for his later thought and writings, which would continue to engage the most important issues and events of his times. The insights into fascism, the trends of advanced industrial societies and the emancipatory potential of critical social theory and art present in Marcuse's 1940s work continues to be of importance today, as new technologies transform every aspect of life and various fascist and rightwing movements persistently prey on the insecurities and fears of our epoch.

In this Introduction, I provide some contextual analysis of the genesis of Marcuse's texts of the 1940s and indicate why I think this work is of continued significance in helping us to understand technology, war, fascism and various forms of totalitarianism which continue to threaten our future.

I argue that the 1940s were extremely important for Herbert Marcuse's own life and work, and that his unknown writings both illuminate a vitally important historical epoch and provide theoretical and political resources for the present age.[1]

MARCUSE AND THE INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

The Institute for Social Research was founded in Frankfurt, Germany, during the 1920s as the first Marxist-oriented research institute in Europe.[2] Under the directorship of Max Horkheimer, who assumed his position in 1930, the Institute developed a conception of critical social theory which they contrasted with "traditional theory." In addition, members of the Institute produced critiques of dominant theories and concepts of bourgeois ideology, philosophy and social science, and carried out analyses of the transition from liberal and market capitalism to state and monopoly capitalism, including analysis of German fascism. Marcuse participated in all of these projects and was one of the central and most productive members in the Institute along with Horkheimer, T.W. Adorno, Erich Fromm, Leo Löwenthal, Franz Neumann and Friedrich Pollock.

Yet it was Horkheimer who was the central and ruling figure of the Institute. Letters and other documents from the Horkheimer and Marcuse archives reveal the deference of the associates of the Institute toward Horkheimer and the intense competition for his favors and friendship during the insecure situation of exile when the various members were dependent on the Institute for financial support, and academic positions in America were scarce for the German exiles.[3] Horkheimer controlled

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1 For material helpful in writing this introduction and producing this volume I am grateful to John Abroweit, Barbara Brick, Stephan Brundshuh, Helmut Dubiel, Benjamin Gregg, Martin Jay, Gunzelin Schmid Noerr and Alfons Söllner.

2 On the history and projects of the Institute for Social Research, also known as the "Frankfurt School," see Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1973 (new edition, University of California Press, 1996); Helmut Dubiel, *Theory and Politics*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1985; Douglas Kellner, *Critical Theory, Marxism, and Modernity*. Cambridge and Baltimore: Polity Press and Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989; and Rolf Wiggershaus, *The Frankfurt School*. Cambridge and Cambridge, Mass.: Polity Press and MIT Press, 1995.

3 See the collections of letters and documents in Max Horkheimer, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Volumes 1–19, edited by Gunzelin Schmid Noerr and published by Fischer Verlag. These texts are an indispensable aid in understanding the vicissitudes of the Institute work and relationships during the difficult period of

the Institute purse-strings and doled out monthly stipends to the various members and associates. He also supervised publications and projects, and the Institute members contended for his approval and assignments.

Marcuse joined the Institute in 1933, fleeing from Frankfurt to work in their Geneva Branch after Hitler's rise to power. He emigrated to the United States on July 4, 1934, and soon took out naturalization papers, becoming an American citizen in 1940. In July 1934, Columbia University invited the Institute to affiliate with them and placed a building at their disposal, enabling them to organize an "International Institute for Social Research" to continue their projects. Marcuse was one of the first of the members to arrive in New York and help set up the Institute. During the 1930s, the group continued to publish their studies in German in the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, which they began publishing in Europe in 1932, though the final 1941 volumes were published in English.

H. Stuart Hughes has described the migration of European intellectual scholars to the United States fleeing fascism "as the most important cultural event – or series of events – of the second quarter of the twentieth century."[4] The German émigré scholars organized around the International Institute focused intently from the late 1930s through the 1940s on the genesis, structure and effects of German fascism, producing important insights into it and into the broader features of new forms of totalitarianism, different aspects of which were appearing in both capitalist and communist countries. Marcuse was one of the first critical theorists of the new forms of technological and political domination in the advanced industrial societies. He thus emerges from this era as an important theorist of technology, fascism and the vicissitudes of advanced industrial society – themes that he would develop in his post-World War Two writings.

While working with the Institute, Marcuse was their philosophy specialist who prepared a book *Reason and Revolution* which would introduce Hegel, Marx and social theory to English-speaking audiences and would delineate the origins and perspectives of the sort of critical social theory being developed by the Institute, which itself had strong Hegelian and Marxian roots.[5] Marcuse sought to demonstrate the incompatibility of

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exile. Volume 12 contains many documents concerning Institute projects, including protocol descriptions of seminars, and Volumes 15–18 contain the voluminous correspondence between Horkheimer and various members of the Institute during the period of exile.

4 H. Stuart Hughes, *The Sea Change*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975: 1.

5 Herbert Marcuse, *Reason and Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. The 1954 edition published by Columbia University Press contains an important Afterword which delineates the emerging theoretical-political

Hegelian philosophy with German fascism, and how Hegel's philosophy and dialectical method contained socially critical and emancipatory motifs that were taken up in Marx and a later tradition of critical thought. Strong emphasis was put on the categories of critique, negation, contradiction and the relation of theory to practice – motifs central to Frankfurt School critical theory.

In the context in which it was written and published, *Reason and Revolution* demonstrated an anti-fascist potential in the German tradition and the continued relevance and indeed increasing importance of the need for critical social theory in the current conjuncture. In the early 1940s, when Hitler's armies were taking over Europe and marching on the Soviet Union, it appeared that German fascism would conquer the world and that vestiges of freedom, democracy and the progressive heritage of Western civilization would be eliminated. Another of Marcuse's texts of the period contained passages and pathos which articulated the dire threat to human freedom and well-being at the time. In one poignant passage, Marcuse wrote: "Under the terror that now threatens the world the ideal constricts itself to one single and at the same time common issue. Faced with fascist barbarism, everyone knows what freedom means."[6]

Our collection opens with several important texts written in the context of Marcuse's work with the Institute. An extremely significant 1941 article, "Some Social Implications of Modern Technology," published in English in the Institute's journal, contains Marcuse's first sketch of the role of technology in modern industrial societies and anticipates his later analysis in *One-Dimensional Man*.[7] In this article, Marcuse delineates the historical decline of individualism from the time of the bourgeois revolutions to the rise of the modern technological society. Individual rationality, he claims, was won in the struggle against regnant superstitions, irrationality and

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perspectives that would inform Marcuse's *One-Dimensional Man* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964). The 1960 Beacon Press paperback edition of *Reason and Revolution* contains a new Preface that delineates the continuing importance of Hegel's dialectical thought for Marcuse's critical theory.

6 Herbert Marcuse, "Some Social Implications of Modern Technology," *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*, Vol. 9, Nr. 3 (1941): 435f.

7 Marcuse, "Some Social Implications." Most of the first eight volumes of the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* (1932–1940) were published in German, while beginning with Volume VIII, Nr. 3 (1940) and through Volume IX (1940–1941) the Institute journal was published in English because of conditions of war and to connect more vitally with English-language scholars. Horkheimer's introduction to the volume which contains Marcuse's essay on technology indicates that: "The present issue is made up exclusively of articles written in the Institute alongside the pursuit of larger bodies of research. Dr. Pollock's article and that of Dr. Kirchheimer originated from lectures aiming at a fundamental economic and social critique of National Socialism, delivered at Columbia University as a part of a

domination, and posed the individual in a critical stance against society. Critical rationality was thus a creative principle which was both the source of the individual's liberation and society's advancement. In the emerging bourgeois ideology of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the nascent liberal-democratic society was deemed the social arrangement in which the individual could pursue its own self-interest and at the same time contribute to social progress. The development of modern industry and technological rationality, however, undermined the basis of the critical rationality and submitted the individual to increasing domination by the technical–social apparatus. As capitalism and technology developed, advanced industrial society demanded increasing adjustment to the economic and social apparatus, and submission to increasingly total domination and administration. Hence, a "mechanics of conformity" spread throughout the society. The efficiency and power of technological/industrial society overwhelmed the individual, who gradually lost the earlier traits of critical rationality (i.e. autonomy, dissent, the power of negation, etc.), thus producing a decline of individuality and what Marcuse would later call a "one-dimensional society" and "one-dimensional man."

In the light of the Frankfurt School tendency to posit technology primarily as an instrument of domination and industrial society as an apparatus of social control and standardization, it is interesting to note that Marcuse presents a more dialectical theory of society and technology in his 1941 study collected in this volume (see page 41f.). He distinguishes between "technology" (defined "as a mode of production, as the totality of instruments, devices and contrivances which characterize the machine age") and "technics" (defined as the instruments and practices "of industry, transportation, communication") to distinguish the system of technological domination from technical devices and their uses. Marcuse thus distinguishes between *technology* as an entire "mode of organizing and perpetuating (or changing) social relationships, a manifestation of prevalent thought and behavior patterns, an instrument for control and domination", contrasted to *technics* which refers to techniques of production and such instruments as cars or computers. Whereas the former constitutes for

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series by the Institute. Dr. Marcuse's article expands his paper for the same occasion into a more comprehensive discussion of the problem of the individual in present day society" (p. 365). This is not completely accurate in Marcuse's case, as examination of his lecture on National Socialism, which follows the study of technology in this volume, indicates that "Some Social Implications" pursues for the first time Marcuse's interrogations of the role of technology in modern societies, while his lecture on National Socialism focused more on the themes of state and individual under German fascism.

Marcuse a system of technological domination, he claims that the latter can themselves "promote authoritarianism as well as liberty, scarcity as well as abundance, the extension as well as the abolition of toil."

Marcuse's critique focuses on technology as a system of domination and he presents National Socialism as an example in which technology and a rationalized society and economy can serve as instruments of totalitarian domination, describing the Third Reich as a form of "technocracy" dedicated to the greatest technological efficiency – a trait shared in his analysis with industrial democracies, but which perhaps underplays the obvious irrationality of National Socialism. Yet after documenting in detail the ways that technology and technological rationality promote conformity and erode individuality, Marcuse concludes his study with a vision of how technics might produce abundance for all, eliminate the necessity for excessive toil and alienated labor, and increase the realm of freedom. Building on Marx's sketch on automation in the *Grundrisse* without citing it,[8] Marcuse writes:

> Technics hampers individual development only insofar as they are tied to a social apparatus which perpetuates scarcity, and this same apparatus has released forces which may shatter the special historical form in which technics is utilized. For this reason, all programs of an anti-technological character, all propaganda for an anti-industrial revolution serve only those who regard human needs as a by-product of the utilization of technics. The enemies of technics readily join forces with a terroristic technocracy.

The latter reference is to those German theorists like Heidegger who sharply criticized technology, yet embraced National Socialism, which in Marcuse's vision combined a terrorist technocracy with irrationalist ideology. Unlike the wholly negative critics of technology, with whom he is sometimes identified, Marcuse sketches out a dialectical theory that avoids both its technocratic celebration as inherently an instrument of liberation and progress, as well as its technophobic denunciation as solely an instrument of domination. In the concluding pages, he points to the "possible democratization of functions which technics may promote and which may facilitate complete human development in all branches of work and administration." In addition, "mechanization and standardization may one day help to shift the center of gravity from the necessities of material production to the arena of free human realization."

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8 See Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*. London: Penguin Books, 1973: 704 ff. Later, Marcuse would explicitly and repeatedly call attention to these Marxian analyses of technology as eliminating labor and a world of want, creating the basis for a new realm of freedom.

This dialectical model is important for studying specific technologies and the technological society of the present era since contemporary discourses on technology tend to dichotomize into either technophilic celebrations of the arrival of new technologies upon which they predicate a golden future, or technophobic discourses which demonize technology as an instrument of destruction and domination. Marcuse's critical theory of technics/technology by contrast differentiates negative features with positive potentials that could be used to democratize and enhance human life. Following Marx's classical positions, Marcuse envisages the possibility that new technologies could significantly reduce the working day and increase the realm of freedom: "The less time and energy man has to expend in maintaining his life and that of society, the greater the possibility that he can 'individualize' the sphere of his human realization." The essay thus concludes with Marcusean utopian speculations on how a new technological society of abundance and wealth could allow the full realization of individual potentials and produce a new realm of freedom and happiness.

One notes the great number of American and English-language sources in Marcuse's article on technology, including Thorstein Veblen, Lewis Mumford, Thurman Arnold, Henry Wallace and others, as well as government documents and monographs on technology. Throughout the 1940s, Marcuse immersed himself in a vast variety of academic literature and primary documents, belying the image that he was merely a speculative philosopher. Indeed, Marcuse was engaging the central ideas and events of his period during the 1940s in line with the Institute project of developing a theory of the present age. This concern and the exigencies of history necessitated a serious engagement with National Socialism.

NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND A THEORY OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Throughout the early 1940s, Marcuse hoped for a more secure position with the Institute for Social Research and in particular a more formalized working relationship with Horkheimer. In April 1941, Horkheimer moved to southern California, advised by his doctor to seek a better climate, and Marcuse followed in May 1941. Indeed, part of Horkheimer's motivation to move to California was to leave behind his Institute responsibilities so that he could devote himself full time to theoretical work, especially to a long-announced project on dialectics.[9] In the Fall, however, Marcuse returned to New York to work on Institute projects and to inquire into the

possibility of paid lectures for Institute members with Columbia University. In an October 15, 1941 letter to Horkheimer (see page 231), Marcuse reports a "thorough discussion" with Robert Lynd, a distinguished member of the Columbia University sociology department with which the Institute was attempting to develop closer relations and to get teaching positions for its members. This letter notes Lynd's disappointment that the Institute did not more fully integrate itself in the American cultural and academic scene, and reveals some of the tensions between the Institute and American intellectuals.

Marcuse tells Horkheimer in his October 1941 letter of a lecture that he was planning on "State and Individual under National Socialism." The lecture was part of a series of Fall 1941 lectures that the Institute was offering on German fascism at Columbia University and this volume publishes the text for the first time (see page 67f.). Marcuse opened his lecture, stating:

> Today, we need no longer refute the opinion that National Socialism signifies a *revolution*. If we understand by revolution a change in the very structure of society, that is to say, the transfer of the predominant power to a new social group, the introduction of new standards for the production and distribution of wealth, etc., then National Socialism is nothing of that sort. The following lectures will attempt to show that the same forces and interests which determined German society at least since the first World War still hold sway over the National Socialist state.[10]

Marcuse's conception of National Socialism was deeply influenced by Franz Neumann's *Behemoth*.[11] Neumann's title refers to Hobbes' contrast between the "Leviathan" – a mythical figure he deployed to describe an absolutist state – and "Behemoth," a figure of anarchy and chaos. Neumann used this figure to describe the Nazi state as a "non-state, a chaos, a situation of lawlessness, disorder, and anarchy" (xii). For Neumann, National Socialism was "a form of society in which the ruling groups control the rest of the population directly, without the mediation

9 See the discussion of the project to write a book on dialectics, which preoccupied Horkheimer, Marcuse and other Institute members during the early 1940s, in Wiggershaus, *The Frankfurt School*: 248ff., 302ff., passim.

10 The opening of the lecture text, from which I cite here, is slightly different from the text Marcuse prepared for publication which we include in this volume (see page 69f). We also include the interesting concluding remarks in the lecture on sex and art under National Socialism which were excluded from the version prepared for publication (see page 89f.).

11 Franz Neumann, *Behemoth*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1942 and 1944 (page references in text). Neumann was a distinguished legal scholar and political activist who was closely associated in Weimar Germany with the German trade

of that rational though coercive apparatus hitherto known as the state" (470). Marcuse follows Neumann in his lecture on National Socialism by stating:

> The proposition which we are going to develop is that National Socialism has done away with the essential features which characterized the modern state. It tends to abolish any separation between state and society by transfering the political functions to the social groups actually in power. In other words, National Socialism tends toward direct and immediate selfgovernment by the prevailing social groups over the rest of the population. And it manipulates the masses by unleashing the most brutal and selfish instincts of the individual.

For Marcuse and Neumann, National Socialism puts aside the rule of law and separation of powers which was the defining form of the modern liberal state. Its ruling cliques reject the forms of parliamentary democracy and use a combination of force and ideology to keep the masses in line. The state itself, therefore, is not "totalitarian," but rather the Nazi party attempts to control political, social and cultural life, while, however, leaving ownership of the means of production in the hands of the capitalist class. Yet National Socialism is also characterized by a tremendous degree of societal organization, rationalization and administration. Indeed, in "Some Social Implications of Modern Technology," Marcuse argues: "National Socialism is a striking example of the ways in which a highly rationalized and mechanized economy with the utmost efficiency in production can operate in the interest of totalitarian oppression and continued scarcity. The Third Reich is indeed a form of 'technocracy': the technical considerations of imperialistic efficiency and rationality supersede the traditional standards of profitability and general welfare."

Although this conception of German fascism seems contradictory, Marcuse would consistently argue that it was characterized by tensions between lawlessness and disorder contrasted to extreme rationalization and order, thus seeing it both as an anarchic gangster state that systematically violated both internal and international law *and* a highly rationalized system of social organization and domination. Marcuse also saw National Socialism as a new kind of state in which it was difficult to

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union movement and Social Democratic Party, both of which he represented as lawyer. After arrest and internment in 1933, he left Germany and studied economics in London with Harold Laski. In 1936, he emigrated to New York and joined the Institute, becoming their most successful lecturer at Columbia University and best-known figure in the 1940s after the publication of *Behemoth*. Marcuse was especially close to Neumann, with whom he worked in Washington during the war and collaborated on several projects. The two families were best friends and Neumann helped to get his job in Washington.

say whether economic or political factors were primary. There was, in fact, a significant debate within the Institute as to whether National Socialism was or was not a new kind of post-capitalist social formation which was governed by politics more than economics. The Institute economic theorist Frederick Pollock openly argued for the "primacy of the political," arguing that National Socialism was a new form of "state capitalism" in which capital accumulation and the profit motive were secondary to fascist political objectives and goals.[12] Neumann, by contrast, argued that German fascism preserved central features of the capitalist economy and should be interpreted as a form of "Totalitarian Monopoly Capitalism," preserving the primacy of economic relations stressed by Marx.[13]

Marcuse's passage cited above describing National Socialism as a "form of technocracy" would seem to side with Pollock's account of the primacy of the political, yet in the same article Marcuse situates the analysis of the new functions of technology in contemporary societies within the context of an analysis of capitalist development, and attempts to demonstrate how "Business, technics, human needs, and nature are welded together into one rational and expedient mechanism. . . . Expediency in terms of technological reason is, at the same time, monopolistic standardization and concentration." Marcuse thus mediates between the two competing Institute positions, arguing that economic and political factors are integrally related in the construction of the fascist society. Instead of arguing for the primacy of the economic or the political, Marcuse thus claims that they are interrelated, pointing to the various connections "between private, semi-private (party) and public (governmental) bureaucracies. The efficient realization of the interests of large scale enterprise was one of the strongest motives for the transformation of economic into totalitarian political control, and efficiency is one of the main reasons for the Fascist regime's hold over its regimented population."

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12 Pollock was a childhood friend of Horkheimer's who remained close to the Director for his entire life. He managed the Institute's funds and was their resident economist. For Pollock's position, see "State Capitalism," *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*, Vol. IX/1941, pp. 200–225; reprinted in Bronner and Kellner 1989: 95–118. On Pollock, see Barbara Brick and Moishe Postone, "Friedrich Pollock and the 'Primacy of the Political': A Critical Examination," *International Journal of Politics*, Vol. VI, No. 3 (Fall 1976), pp. 3–28, and "Critical Pessimism and the Limits of Traditional Marxism," *Theory and Society*, Vol. 11, Nr. 5 (Sept. 1982), pp. 617–58.

13 On the Institute debates over fascism, see the sources in note 2 and Alfons Söllner, *Geschichte und Herrschaft*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1979, pp. 139ff., and the introduction by Söllner and Helmut Dubiel to their collection of Institute essays on fascism, *Wirtschaft, Recht, und Staat im Nationalsozialismus*. Frankfurt: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1981.

On this analysis, although German fascism involves political control over the economy and populace, economic factors continue to play an autonomous role in the constitution of fascist society and, as with Neumann, National Socialism should be interpreted in its relationship to the dynamics of monopoly capitalism. For Marcuse and Neumann, fascism represented a historical stage that followed liberal capitalism and which negated the progressive aspects of the democratic tradition (i.e. human rights, individual freedoms, parliamentary democracy, etc.). In addition, Marcuse, like Neumann, tended to stress the political tensions within National Socialism that could be used to destroy the system, whereas Pollock's pessimistic analysis seemed to posit National Socialism as a new social formation which solved the problems of the crisis-tendencies of capitalism, while preserving intact capitalist relations of production and generating a new system of domination.

In "State and Individual Under National Socialism," Marcuse discusses the structure of German fascism, its differences from the liberal state, and the relationship between its three major powers – industry, the army, and the National Socialist party. The "unity" of the fascist state is in part produced by veneration for the *Führer*, but Marcuse stresses that it is the bureaucracy which creates a systemic apparatus governed by efficiency and a form of technological rationality that really holds the system together. The resultant fascist "state-machine" is geared toward imperialist expansion and promises booty and prestige to those who submit to its dictates and pursue its aims.

The masses, who are the objects of administration and domination, are atomized individuals pursuing their self-interests, and their need for self-preservation binds them to the whole. Marcuse claims that German fascism "is not the reversal but the consummation of competitive individualism," which unleashes forces of aggression, desubliminated erotic impulses and various sado-masochistic impulses. This analysis of how the loosening of sexual taboos and moral restraints helps bind individuals to fascist society anticipates Marcuse's later concept of "repressive desublimation" in which instinctual gratification binds individuals more closely to a repressive order.

Thus, National Socialism for Marcuse both unleashes the bourgeois individual and provides gratification for individual submersion in the masses. Marcuse continued his interrogations of National Socialism in some studies for the U.S. government which I discuss in the next section. Yet a hitherto unknown set of manuscripts by Marcuse and Neumann devoted to the theory of social change, which was evidently produced during their work with the Institute for Social Research, was also found in

the Marcuse archives. In this project, Marcuse and Neumann sketch out their perspectives on social transformation and indicate a more political and activist orientation than many of the other Institute members. This series of manuscripts, published here for the first time, is extremely interesting and suggests a revision of the received history of the Frankfurt School. The manuscripts on theories of social change provide fascinating material that mitigates the widespread opinion that the entire group was turning away from social practice and political action in the 1940s and reveal a quite distinct difference in political orientation between Horkheimer and Adorno in contrast to Marcuse and Neumann.[14]

Manuscripts found in the Marcuse archives suggest that Marcuse was collaborating with Neumann on a project on the "history of the doctrine on social change." Two texts, published in this volume (see pages 94f. and 107f.), indicate that Marcuse and Neumann were working together to produce a systematic treatise on theories of social change in the Western tradition of political and social thought. These comprise a longer and shorter manuscript which present overviews of the project that indicate its scope, content, method and goals. There is also a document in the Marcuse archives which appears to be proposals for a lecture or seminar course on theories of social change, along with a letter commenting on the course and a list of readings. The description of the proposed university course on the topic provides a short precis of the project:

> A historical and theoretical approach to the development of a positive theory of social change for contemporary society.
>
> The major historical changes of social systems, and the theories associated with them will be discussed. Particular attention will be paid to such transitions as those from feudalism to capitalism, from laissez-faire to organized industrial society, from capitalism to socialism and communism.[15]

A note in Marcuse's handwriting on the themes of the study indicates that he and Neumann intended to analyze conflicting tendencies toward social change and social cohesion; forces of freedom and necessity in social

14 Claims that the Frankfurt School was abandoning radical politics in the 1940s are made in Jay's *The Dialectical Imagination* and most other standard accounts of the Institute for Social Research, as well as polemics against the Institute for abandoning or neglecting politics. Marcuse and Neumann's work during the late 1930s and 1940s puts in question this interpretation by showing that some of the Institute members were attempting to politicize their theory and to link theory to practice. Indeed, more differentiated readings of the Frankfurt School are necessary to indicate the range of positions on theory and politics within the Institute.

15 The course description and Marcuse's notes are found in a folder in his archives marked #118.01.

change; subjective and objective factors that produce social change; patterns of social change, such as evolution and revolution; and directions of social change, such as progress, regression and cycles. The project would culminate in a "theory of social change for our society." Curiously, no one seems to know anything about the genesis, nature and fate of this project. There are no references to this work within Institute documents, no extant letters discussing the enterprise, and no surviving associate of the Institute, or scholar of critical theory that I consulted, had any information about the project.[16] And yet the manuscripts exist. They are especially interesting because they develop a theory of social change oriented toward contemporary conditions, thus seeking to fill precisely the gap that its critics had always pointed to at the Institute.

A seventeen-page typed manuscript in the Marcuse archives, entitled "A History of the Doctrine of Social Change," by Marcuse and Neumann, opens:

> Since sociology as an independent science was not established before the 19th century, the theory of society up to that time was an integral part of philosophy or of those sciences (such as the economic or juristic), the conceptual structure of which was to a large extent based upon specific philosophical doctrines. This intrinsic connection between philosophy and the theory of society (a connection which will be explained in the text) formulates the pattern of all particular theories of social change occurring in the ancient world, in the middle ages, and on the commencement of modern times. One decisive result is the emphasis on the fact that social change cannot be interpreted within a particular social science, but must be understood within the social and natural totality of human life. This conception uses, to a large extent, psychological factors in the theories of social change. However, the derivation of social and political concepts from the "psyche" of man is not a psychological method in the modern sense but rather involves the negation of psychology as a special science. For the Greeks, psychological concepts were essentially ethical, social and political ones, to be integrated into the ultimate science of philosophy.

This passage clearly reveals the typically Marcusean tendency – shared by other members of the Frankfurt School – to integrate philosophy, social

16 Part of the problem is that there is no correspondence extant between Marcuse and Neumann, possibly because their close association, first, in New York on Institute work and, then, in Washington on government projects precluded correspondence. Yet it is somewhat mysterious that no Neumann/Marcuse correspondence whatsoever remains and that there is no reference to this text in any Institute documents, letters or discussion. Possibly, Marcuse and Neumann, totally dependent on Horkheimer for Institute support, feared that Horkheimer and others might find their project too "political," and even "Marxist" (since they seemed to privilege Marxian conceptions of social change) in an era when Horkheimer was concerned to cover over the Institute's Marxian roots.

theory, psychology and politics. While standard academic practice tended to separate these fields, Marcuse and his colleagues perceived their interrelation. Thus, Marcuse and Neumann read ancient philosophy as containing a theory of social change which was defined by a search for the conditions that would produce the highest fulfillment of the individual. This project begins, they claim, with the Sophists and proceeds through Plato, Aristotle and the later Greek and Roman schools via medieval to modern philosophy.

Marcuse and Neumann contrasted conservative and progressive theories of social change, thus presenting theories of society as a contested terrain between opposing tendencies attempting to conserve or transform existing societies, rather than, say, as a monolithic bloc of ideological legitimation of the existing social order. Generally, Marcuse and Neumann contrasted critical, materialist and progressivist theories with more idealist and conservative ones.[17] They also championed a synthesis of philosophy, politics and social theory in developing a theory of social change, noting that modern sociology "has severed the intrinsic connection between the theory of society and philosophy which is still operative in Marxism and has treated the problem of social change as a particular sociological question." Marcuse and Neumann, by contrast, argued for the importance of transdisciplinary perspectives in the spirit of critical theory.

This project is extremely interesting within the history of the Frankfurt School since it shows that in the 1940s there were two tendencies within critical theory: 1) the more pessimistic philosophical-cultural analysis of the trends of Western civilization being developed by Horkheimer and Adorno in *Dialectic of Enlightenment*; and 2) the more practical-political development of critical theory as a theory of social change anticipated by Marcuse and Neumann. For Marcuse and Neumann, critical theory was conceptualized as a theory of social change that would connect philosophy, social theory and radical politics – precisely the project of 1930s critical theory that Horkheimer and Adorno were abandoning in the early 1940s in their turn toward philosophical and cultural criticism divorced from social theory and radical politics.

Yet the texts remain a curiosity within the history of the Frankfurt School, delineating an uncompleted project that would have filled a substantial lacuna in Institute perspectives, but which was apparently never

17 This was precisely Marcuse's own way of conceptualizing different philosophical tendencies during the 1930s and thereafter, so the text fits into his work during that era; see the discussion of Marcuse's 1930s work in Kellner, *Herbert Marcuse*: 92ff.

completed.[18] Their work on this enterprise seems to have been interrupted by their wartime activity, and although both lectured on the topic in succeeding years in their university work, they seemed not to have returned to the venture of producing a co-authored book on the topic.

THE FRANKFURT SCHOOL IN WASHINGTON

In early 1942, Marcuse returned to Los Angeles hoping to resume collaborative work with Horkheimer on the dialectics project. He now appeared to have no prospects for a university professorship and his continued support by the Institute was problematical. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the United States entered the war and the prospects for university employment for emigrants were poor, with the rigors of wartime conditions and cutting back on academic funds. Institute resources were also dwindling, partly as a result of Pollock's bad investments,[19] and Horkheimer and Pollock wanted to cut back on the members to whom they were responsible for financial support. The Institute had already cut off their distinguished social psychologist Erich Fromm in 1939 and told Neumann that they would no longer be able to fund him in 1941;[20] Neumann vigorously protested and they agreed to support him temporarily with a reduced stipend. However, in 1941, both Marcuse and Neumann received decreased support and were forced to apply to outside sources to supplement their income.[21]

In the meantime, Horkheimer began closer work with T.W. Adorno, who had moved to California in November 1941, and who would henceforth be Horkheimer's major collaborator. Marcuse was thus in a very insecure situation in California, without guarantee of a continued position with the Institute and seeing himself surpassed by Adorno as Horkheimer's

18 In *The Origins of Negative Dialectics* (New York: The Free Press, 1977), Susan Buck-Morss argues that in the 1930s there were two distinct tendencies of critical theory: the attempt by Marcuse, Horkheimer and others to develop a critical theory of contemporary society and the attempts to develop a radical cultural criticism by T.W. Adorno and Walter Benjamin. The discovery of the manuscripts by Marcuse and Neumann on theories of social change suggest that there were also two distinct tendencies within critical theory in the 1940s.

19 Wiggershaus, *Frankfurt School*: 249.

20 See Wiggershaus, *Frankfurt School*: 262–3; 271; and 293–4.

21 Archives of the New York Public Library, Papers of the Emergency Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars: "Correspondence with Scholars Receiving Grants or Fellowships, 1933–1945." See also, *Ten Years on Morningside Heights: A Report on the Institute's History, 1934–1944*. New York: Institute for Social Research, 1944: 6.

preferred writing partner.[22] Consequently, both Neumann and Marcuse began to consider the possibilities of U.S. government jobs. Neumann received an appointment as chief consultant at the Board of Economic Warfare in July 1942, and in autumn 1942, Marcuse travelled to Washington to investigate the possibility of a U.S. government position. In a handwritten letter dated November 11, 1942 from Washington (see page 234), Marcuse told Horkheimer that he was negotiating for a position in the intelligence bureau of the Office of War Information: "My function would be to make suggestions on 'how to present the enemy to the American people,' in the press, movies propaganda, etc." The job would require, however, that he live in Washington where all the source materials were. But, still hoping to be able to continue to work with Horkheimer, Marcuse states: "As I told you, I would not accept it [i.e. the government job]." However, Marcuse claims that Pollock told him not to be hasty in turning down the position, that "the Institute's budget will not last longer than 2 to 3 years, and that my future is at stake. I think he is over-pessimistic."

In a succeeding letter, Horkheimer, in effect, encouraged Marcuse to take the job – which he was indeed to do. A December 2, 1942 letter from Marcuse to Horkheimer indicates that he had been invited to attend a meeting at the Office of War Information "to determine which groups, persons and institutions of Nazi Germany should be actually branded as The Enemy. During the conference, I received the message that my appointment has been approved and that I should take the oath of office tomorrow." Expressing regrets to Horkheimer that they would not be able to continue their work together, Marcuse indicates that he is inclined to take the position. But, holding out against hope the prospect that

22 Horkheimer notoriously played off potential collaborators against each other, making the various Institute members think that they would be major contributors to the envisaged book on dialectics which turned out to be *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, eventually co-authored with Adorno. See Horkheimer's letters in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Volumes 15–17, which document his discussions with various members of the Institute concerning collaboration on the book on dialectics. In one of the low points of Institute in-fighting and back-stabbing, Adorno, while in Oxford working on a book on Husserl, wrote to Horkheimer, describing Marcuse, then one of Horkheimer's close collaborators, as a man only "hindered by Judaism from being a fascist." Adorno complained that Marcuse "had such illusions of Herr Heidegger, whom he thanked all-too-heartily in the foreword to his Hegel book," and that he published his Hegel book with Klostermann, also Heidegger's publisher. Adorno went on to suggest that he should himself replace Marcuse! Adorno to Horkheimer, May 13, 1935 in Max Horkheimer, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Volume 15: 347–8. Horkheimer tactfully replied (July 5, 1935) that he could not engage all of the issues in Adorno's letter in written form, glossing over his attack on Marcuse.

Horkheimer would convince him to stay in California to work on Institute projects, Marcuse adds: "I would not hesitate to reject the position if you have any bad feelings about it, and if you would no longer consider me as belonging to you."[23]

In December 4 and 19, 1942 letters to Marcuse, Horkheimer assures him that it is best that he take the position, that they can continue to collaborate, and that Marcuse can use his government position to advance Institute projects. Indeed, Marcuse had already submitted to the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) a manuscript prepared by the Institute on "The Elimination of German Chauvinism." A December 7, 1942 letter from OSS official Edward Hartshorne to Marcuse indicates his appreciation for the manuscript and proposes the lines along which key aspects of the proposed Institute project should be elaborated. Marcuse informed Horkheimer of OSS interest in the project in a December 4, 1942 letter and Horkheimer responded positively in a December 19, 1942 letter, indicating a desire to develop the project as suggested, although nothing seems to have come out of this exchange.

In December 1942, Marcuse therefore joined the Office of War Information as a senior analyst in the Bureau of Intelligence. An extremely interesting manuscript on "The New German Mentality," found in the Marcuse archives, developed his analysis of the current situation in Germany and how the U.S. could best produce propaganda that would turn the Germans against fascism.[24] The manuscript, published here for the first time (see page 139), is dated June 1942, and was probably written in California during the period when Marcuse worked on the study of "State and Individual Under National Socialism." The perspectives on German fascism are indeed quite similar to the earlier manuscript,

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23 In a November 15, 1942, letter written to Horkheimer on Institute stationery (see page 236), Marcuse pays his respects to the Institute director, indicating: "In spite of my opposition to some of your conceptions, I have never and nowhere concealed my conviction that I know of no intellectual efforts today which are closer to the truth, and of no other place where one is still allowed and encouraged to think. It might be good to say this at this moment, and to tell you that I shall not forget what I learned with you."

24 Herbert Marcuse, "The New German Mentality" (#119.01, see page 139f.). In his history of the German exiles' activity with American intelligence and government agencies during World War Two, Barry Katz claims that "members of the antifascist emigration bombarded the OSS with applications, manuscripts, and research proposals calculated, they insisted, to help win the war. . . . Marcuse sent to the Chief of the Psychology Division manuscripts he had written on 'The New German Mentality' and 'Private Morale in Germany.'" *Foreign Intelligence: Research and Analysis in the Office of Strategic Services 1942–1945*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989: 11. The text "Private Morale in Germany," however, is not by Marcuse and is referred to in note 1 of "New

though the analysis in "The New German Mentality" is much more comprehensive and detailed. Evidently, Marcuse prepared this manuscript before entering government service and, as it turned out, it helped get him a job with U.S. intelligence agencies. The analysis was closely connected to his Institute work on German fascism and presents original and penetrating insights into "the New German mentality."

The title page describes the text as a "Memorandum on a Study in the Psychological Foundations of National Socialism and the Chances for their Destruction." "The New German Mentality" is an extremely rich 63-page text that analyzes the psychological components of the new fascist ideology and mentality. It dissects the linguistic components of German fascism, while offering an interesting concept of "counter-propaganda." Marcuse indicates that the "new German mentality" is split between a "matter-of-factness," or "pragmatic layer," and a "mythological layer" which includes paganism, mysticism, racism and biologism. This bifurcation replicates the tensions between technological rationality and irrationalism in the fascist state and society.

In this study, Marcuse provides a detailed analysis of the logic and language of National Socialism, the psychological foundations of the new mentality, its attack on conventional religion and its cult of efficiency and strength. He also provides some proposals for "counter-propaganda" and ways to exploit the weakness of National Socialism. In particular, Marcuse proposes using the "matter-of-factness" against the fascists themselves, urging counter-propaganda which would make primary use of facts and avoid ideology, especially ideological uses of Western concepts that National Socialism seems to have successfully undermined (such as appeals to democracy or rights). Marcuse's discussions of what forms of language, art and other modes of culture might be mobilized against German fascism contain penetrating insights into the politics of language and the specific ways that discourse and culture functioned in Nazi Germany. He also provides an interesting analysis of how different forms of propaganda should be aimed at varying groups within German society.

Germany Mentality" as a text "submitted to the Office of the Coordinator of Information (April 1942) by the Institute of Social Research." Yet "Private Morale in Germany" is neither in the Marcuse archives, nor the Horkheimer or Adorno archives and I could also not find it in the National archives. In any case, the OSS had not even been founded in April of 1942, and, as noted above, Marcuse stated he sent "The New German Mentality" to the Coordinator of Information (COI) which was the initial government agency set up to coordinate war information, out of which emerged the Office of War Information (OWI) and Office of Strategic Services (OSS), both of which Marcuse worked for.

"The New German Mentality" circulated during his work with the Office of War Information, as there are three later reports found in the Marcuse archives that mention the text and which we include in this volume as addenda. In one report (see page 174f.), Marcuse elaborates his conception of what might be effective "counter-propaganda" aimed at the German people, arguing that "the language of facts" should be the crux of U.S. propaganda efforts.[25] He criticizes allied propaganda which deploys excessively moralistic or bombastic language and provides some examples of what he considers successful anti-Nazi propaganda based on more factual discourse.

Another report (see page 179f.) presents suggestions on the presentation of the enemy to the U.S. and allied public.[26] In it, Marcuse examines ways that the mass media and official government discourse within the allied countries could present images of German fascism to the American public. Marcuse argues that the terms "Nazi" and "Nazism" present the most vivid image of a threatening German enemy, but stresses also the need to present a more differentiated image of the German public, based on factual analysis of the social and economic structure of Nazi Germany and a delineation of the differing groups and organizations, highlighting which groups, such as big business and the Nazi inner circles, are most directly implicated in German war crimes and are thus the main "enemy" of the allies.

Marcuse's government texts which analyze German fascism are important because they provide original analyses of the psychological, cultural and technological conditions of totalitarian societies and the way that these societies dominate individuals, as well as discussions about how counter-propaganda can be produced. Yet Marcuse only spent a few months as a propaganda specialist with the Office of War Information and in March 1943 he transferred to the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), working until the end of the war in the Central European Section of the Research and Analysis Branch. While the Office of War Information

25 No title, no date. Herbert Marcuse archives #110.02. The manuscript begins, "The following remarks are based upon the assumptions outlined in my memorandum on the New German Mentality," so we can assume that the author is Marcuse because of this reference and the analysis which follows that is compatible with his other work of the period.

26 Untitled and undated manuscript, Marcuse archives #129.00. The references to Marcuse's other reports in the text, the fact that it was collected in his archive, and the similarities of positions to his other work of the period again suggest that this report was written by Marcuse. The same criteria hold for a third report "On Psychological Neutrality" (#129.01) which we are also publishing in this volume (see page 187f.).

primarily focused on producing propaganda for the American, allied, and German public, the OSS was more deeply involved in European operations, ranging from research into conditions in Germany to active propaganda and resistance measures against the Nazis.[27]

The members of the Institute of Social Research who found themselves in government service were highly regarded members of the Central European Branch. As a later report by their Section head Eugene Anderson put it: "About the time I took charge of the Section the two leading analysts were appointed – Dr Neumann, who quickly became the research director of the Section, and Dr Marcuse, who at once became the leading analyst on Germany." Anderson also called attention to the interdisciplinary spirit of cooperation and the practice of contextualizing analysis within critical social theory, typical of the Institute of Social Research: "The spirit of cooperation among the members has been remarkably effective. Much credit in this respect is owing to Dr Neumann and Dr Marcuse, who both believe in and practice this approach in their work. . . . The uniqueness of our work, however, consists in the background analysis in terms of the total social setting and the value of the future work of the Section may well lie in the continuation of this method."[28]

Marcuse and his colleagues wrote reports for the Research and Analysis Branch of the OSS attempting to identify Nazi and anti-Nazi groups and individuals in Germany, and they drafted a *Civil Affairs Handbook Germany* that dealt with de-Nazification. No manuscripts were found in the Marcuse archive from his OSS period, although a prospectus titled "Description of Three Major Projects" summarizes what Marcuse evidently thought was his most important work.[29] Because this is the

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27 In an April 18, 1943 letter to Max Horkheimer (see page 243), Marcuse notes that "I have decided to go to the OSS. The latest reorganization has furthermore weakened the position of the OWI, and this agency seems increasingly bound to become the prey of newspapermen and advertising agents. Apart from this fact, I have seen that the OSS has infinitely better material, and that I could do much more useful work there." On the different U.S. intelligence agencies during the war, see Bradley Smith, *The Shadow Warriors*. New York: Basic Books, 1983. On the OSS, see R. Harris Smith, *OSS: The Secret History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.

28 Eugene N. Anderson, *History of the European Section*, February 17, 1945, National Archives Record Group 226; cited in Alfons Söllner, editor, *Zur Archäologie der Demokratie, Volume 1*. Frankfurt: Fischer, 1986: 30. See also Söllner's interviews with Anderson, Herz and Hughes who worked in the European Section with Marcuse and Neumann, *Zur Archäologie*, Volume 2: 22–58.

29 Marcuse told me that he had not taken any of his OSS or State Department reports with him because of national security concerns and government guidelines

only document pertaining to Marcuse's OSS work found in his archives and because it provides the fullest and most accurate description of his major projects, we are including the document in full in this volume (see page 193f.).

The first project refers to the 1944 *Civil Affairs Handbook Germany*, involving the "Dissolution of the Nazi Party and its Affiliated Organizations," and "Policy toward Revival of Old Parties and Establishment of New Parties in Germany." Marcuse describes in detail his own participation in the assignment as "major," involving taking part "in the discussions, organization, and implementation of the entire project," in which he "completed several parts of it independently." This enterprise was related to the work Marcuse and his colleagues had been doing since early 1943. The three Institute members who had been working for the OSS – Marcuse, Neumann and Otto Kirchheimer – had been assembling documents providing a detailed account of the economic, political and cultural conditions in Nazi Germany, including studies of German morale, anti-Nazi jokes, Nazi propaganda, tensions between the ruling military, political and economic elites, war profiteers, and the like. Their de-Nazification studies in turn attempted to specify which forces in Germany could or could not be worked with to provide democratization, and they proposed measures to eliminate the root causes that had produced fascism.

The second project Marcuse described concerned a December 1, 1945 report on "The Social Democratic Party of Germany." Marcuse indicated that he "wrote the entire project" and "was responsible for drawing conclusions, which were then discussed with the staff." This report concerned the extent to which the German Social Democrats could be trusted to promote democracy and it evidently produced a bitter debate. Marcuse and his colleagues argued that Communist forces in the labor movement after the war would confine themselves to a "minimum program" and that Social Democrats would continue their tradition of liberal-democratic reformism.[30] Critics of the report questioned whether it

(December 28, 1978 interview in La Jolla, California), although the existence of some earlier OWI reports in his archives suggests restrictions were not so strict with this agency.

30 Katz, *Foreign Intelligence*: 49. Katz's study is the most detailed and comprehensive study of Marcuse's involvement with the U.S. government, although it contains mistakes, as did his earlier biography of Marcuse; see my review in *Telos* 56 (Summer 1983): 223–9. For instance, Katz is unaware of the reluctance with which Marcuse entered government service and the depth of his desire to continue working with Horkheimer on Institute projects, since he

reflected "objectivity and maturity in political research,"[31] but obviously there were political debates within the U.S. government concerning the future of Germany and the role of socialist and other leftist groups. Marcuse and his colleagues constantly fought for greater democratization of Germany and the incorporation of leftist parties, labor unions and all progressive forces in a reinvigorated German democracy. Political scientist John Herz, who worked with the Institute members in the OSS, said that Marcuse and his associates "advocated a social democratic-reformist position and not so much a Marxist one. They inclined toward a democratic (in the broad sense) constitution in Germany, which was first of all to eliminate the effects of authoritarian, illiberal tradition at all levels in German life. It was a position with which I, as a non-Marxist, could agree: a kind of Anglo-Saxon democracy, but one from which socialist measures could arise when conditions were right."[32]

Marcuse and his colleagues also argued for strong measures against the ex-Nazis, with Marcuse recommending close supervision of all rightwing organizations, as well as tolerance of public attacks against Nazi criminals: "To treat these equally with the anti-Nazi groupings (for example to grant them equal protection from interference by hostile parties) would be tantamount to perpetuating the greatest threat to the security of the occupying forces and to the restoration of a peaceful order."[33] Marcuse and his colleagues also recommended that some 220,000 Nazi officials be arrested immediately, that 1,800 business leaders who were considered "active Nazis" be incarcerated, and that once prisons were filled, Nazi concentration camps should be used to detain suspected Nazi war criminals.[34]

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seemed not to have examined the correspondence in the Marcuse or Horkheimer archives, or Wiggershaus' account (op. cit.) which drew on this material. Katz also attributes a text to Marcuse's authorship ("Private Morale in Germany"), whereas in footnote 1 of "New German Mentality," Marcuse ascribes authorship of "Private Morale" to the Institute for Social Research and this manuscript was not found in Marcuse's *Nachlass*. And, as I point out below, Katz exaggerates Marcuse's role in drafting the de-Nazification report. Yet there are useful quotes from Marcuse's reports which I shall draw upon in the following pages.

31 Memorandum from Richard Hartshorne to William Langer, July 23, 1945, cited in Katz: 43. The OSS demanded from their Research and Analysis Branch that the reports should be: "Strictly impartial, designed to inform rather than to persuade; they should avoid all recommendations, whether explicit or veiled." "Draft of Proposed Guide to Preparation of Political Reports," cited in Katz: 43. It appears, however, that Marcuse and his colleagues on occasion attempted to persuade and that their persuasions clashed with those of more conservative colleagues.

32 Herz, in Söllner, *Zur Archäologie*, Volume 2: 37.

33 Marcuse, Projects Committee Correspondence, December 10, 1943, cited in Katz: 211.

34 R&A 1655.5a, *Civil Affairs Guide*, November 27, 1944 and Herbert Marcuse,

After the war, Neumann played a central role in the prosecution of Nazi war criminals and he and Marcuse worked on de-Nazification policy, including the abolition of the Nazi party, the prosecution of war criminals and efforts to democratize Germany.[35] Marcuse continued to make policy recommendations concerning which groups and individuals could help democratize Germany and which individuals and groups were war criminals, though he later doubted whether his recommendations had much influence. In an interview with Habermas, Marcuse indicated that his recommendations were ignored:

> MARCUSE: My main task was to identify groups in Germany with which one could work towards reconstruction after the war; and to identify groups which were to be taken to task as Nazis. There was a major de-Nazification program at the time. Based on exact research, reports, newspaper reading and whatever, lists were made up of those Nazis who were supposed to assume responsibility for their activity. . . .
>
> HABERMAS: . . . . Are you of the impression that what you did then was of any consequence?
>
> MARCUSE: On the contrary. Those whom we had listed first as 'economic war criminals' were very quickly back in the decisive positions of responsibility in the German economy. It would be very easy to name names here.[36]

Perhaps Marcuse's eulogy to Franz Neumann after his friend's untimely death in an auto accident in 1954 provides the best account of the goals

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assisted by Francis Williamson and Louis Wiesner (RG 226, Entry 60, Box 1: Projects Committee Correspondence, Central Europe File, September 10, 1943); in Katz: 47.

35 Katz claims that Marcuse "drafted the order that formally abolished the Nazi Party" (Katz: 35), but this seems to be an exaggeration. Their government colleague and friend H. Stuart Hughes recalls that Neumann and Marcuse worked together "in the last months of the war drafting de-Nazificiation orders" and a list of Nazis and anti-Nazis; in Rainer Erd, editor, *Reform und Resignation: Gespräche über Franz L. Neumann*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1985: 161. From what we know about O.S.S. reports, orders and documents, authorship was largely collective and therefore it is a mistake to attribute specific authorship to such documents; see the discussion in Erd, pp. 161 ff. and in Söllner, *Zur Archäologie*, Volume 2, pp. 34–5, passim. Indeed, no one who knew Marcuse well whom I have interviewed ever heard Herbert mention that he had himself drafted the order abolishing the Nazi party as Katz claims, though he did work on it.

36 Herbert Marcuse, Conversation with Habermas and others, *Telos* 38 (Winter 1978–79: 130–131. Marcuse's opinion concurs with his colleague John Herz in "The Fiasco of Denazification," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 63, No. 4 (December 1948): 569–594; see also Söllner, *Zur Archäologie*, Vol. 2, pp. 39ff, passim.

of the Institute members during their government work. Describing Neumann's activity, Marcuse writes:

> He devoted most of his efforts to plans for a democratization of Germany which would avoid the failures of the Weimar Republic; he tried to demonstrate that de-Nazification, in order to be effective, must be more than a purge of personnel and an abolition of Nazi legislation – that it must strike at the roots of German fascism by eliminating the economic foundation of the anti-democratic policy of German big industry. Neumann saw that the efforts to attain this objective failed, but he continued to work for strengthening the genuinely democratic forces in Germany in the narrow field still open for such efforts.[37]

Although Marcuse's 1940s work with the government has generally been considered an interruption of his theoretical work, this view needs revision. To some extent, the working conditions during his government service were not all that different from Institute activity. Marcuse worked in an office and read enormous amounts of historical and empirical material. He wrote up reports and discussed them in detail with his staff and superiors. He revised the texts accordingly and circulated them for further discussion. Moreover, his co-workers were to a large extent distinguished academics and they frequently socialized and discussed theoretical as well as political issues. H. Stuart Hughes, who worked with Marcuse and his colleagues, tells how he and other, younger would-be academics received, in effect, a free "second graduate education" from Marcuse, Neumann, Hajo Holborn, Walter Langer and other distinguished scholars who worked with the OSS.[38]

Marcuse's government work thus provided important knowledge and experiences that he would draw upon in his later work and which gave his theory empirical and historical grounding and substance. His government service, supplementing his work with the Institute for Social Research, provided him with yet another experience of interdisciplinary work that dramatized the need to integrate historical, economic, political, sociological and cultural perspectives. Consequently, his government work supported the Institute view of the value of interdisciplinary perspectives, collaborative work and critical social theory to provide a context for analysis and interpretation.

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37 "Preface," Franz Neumann, *The Democratic and the Authoritarian State*, editor, Herbert Marcuse. New York: The Free Press, 1957: viii.

38 H. Stuart Hughes, "Social Theory in a New Context," in Jarrell C. Jackmann and Carla M. Borden, editors, *The Muses Flee Hitler*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983: 118.

Decades later, when Marcuse achieved world renown as a radical guru in the 1960s, he was accused by Marxist and far-left critics of being an American intelligence agent, since the OSS was a forerunner of the CIA.[39] Marcuse responded in a conversation with Habermas that such critics "seem to have forgotten that the war then was a war against fascism and that, consequently, I haven't the slightest reason for being ashamed of having assisted in it."[40] In addition, the OSS had a much broader range of individuals working for it, including many who shared Marcuse's leftist perspectives, whereas the CIA from the beginning served narrow U.S. Cold War interests and was dominated by conservatives and anti-communist liberals.

In September 1945, after the dissolution of the OSS, Marcuse moved over to the State Department, becoming head of the Central European bureau. He remained at State until 1951 when he left government service. Marcuse's third project in his description of "Three Major Projects" involved a May 27, 1946 State Department report on the "status and prospects of German Trade Unions and Works Councils." In the summary he indicates that he wrote most of the report and "was responsible for drawing conclusions and incorporating suggestions made by members of the section's staff." Marcuse and his colleagues consistently argued that German Trade Unions were an important part of democratization and should be supported by the allied forces.

Marcuse's continued work with the State Department was incongruous in view of the purges taking place in the Cold War era that emerged soon after the end of the war. Studies of the OSS describe how various agencies within it were dispersed among other government agencies after the war. Marcuse's Research and Analysis Branch was transferred to the State Department. Under the leadership of Alfred McCormack, "a New York corporation lawyer credited with revitalizing Army intelligence during the war,"[41] there was an attempt to develop a major intelligence agency within the State Department. But Congressional critics and State Department bureaucrats teamed up against the concept and the Branch's budget was decimated. In an April 6, 1946 letter to Horkheimer (see page 250) Marcuse writes:

> You will have heard that the State Department's Research and Intelligence Division has come under fierce attack for alleged communist tendencies.

39 See, for example, the anonymous article, "Marcuse: Cop-out or Cop?" *Progressive Labor*, vol. 6, no. 6 (February 1969): 61–6.

40 Marcuse, in *Revolution or Reform?*, ed. A.T. Ferguson. Chicago: New University Press: 59.

41 Smith, *OSS*: 364 and Smith, *Shadow Warriors*: 386f.

> With this justification the Appropriations Committee has, for the time being, rejected new funding. Now the general horse-trading over the usual compromise begins, but quite possibly the Division will be dissolved on June 30. Actually I wouldn't exactly be sad were that to happen.

Meanwhile, McCormack and Secretary of State Dean Acheson struggled to get more funds for the Research unit. As historian R. Harris Smith describes it:

> The chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee charged that persons with 'strong Soviet leanings' had joined the State Department intelligence group. McCormack denied the charge and demanded a retraction. Instead, Congress cut the entire appropriation for his unit. Conservative State Department administrators had convinced influential legislators that the ex-OSS analysts were ideologically 'far to the left of the views held by the President and his Secretary of State,' and committed to 'a socialized America in a world commonwealth of Communist and Socialist states dedicated to peace through collective security, political, economic, and social reform; and the redistribution of national wealth on a global basis.'[42]

Marcuse's Research and Analysis group was disbanded soon after the April 23 resignation of Colonel McCormack, and, on Smith's account, those who remained "floated in limbo, distrusted by the State Department professionals and seldom listened to."[43] According to H. Stuart Hughes, the R&A group "took sharp issue with the Cold War mentality of their diplomatic superiors," but "felt most of the time as though we were firing our memoranda off into a void. The atmosphere was that of Kafka's *Castle*, in which one never knew who would answer the telephone or even whether it would be answered at all" (ibid.). In Smith's summary: "A few dauntless academicians languished at State for a year or two, but they knew that the Department had already abdicated its potential role in the production of foreign intelligence" (ibid.).

Marcuse was one of the academics who languished at State for several more years. He and his remaining colleagues attempted to counter the trend toward Cold War anti-communism which had begun. In Henry Pachter's words: "Franz Neumann and Herbert Marcuse bombarded Secretary of War Stimson with plans for a post-war Germany that would give democratic socialism a chance; they probably prevented the worst stupidities an occupation regime is capable of."[44] Given the Cold War

42 Smith, *OSS*: 365.
43 The quotes in this paragraph are all from Smith, *OSS*: 365.
44 Henry Pachter, "On Being an Exile," *The Legacy of the German Refugee Intellectuals*, *Salmagundi* 10/11 (Fall 1969/Winter 1970): 36.

atmosphere, however, Marcuse and his friends had less and less influence as the years went by.

With the spread of anti-communist witch-hunts, Marcuse's position became increasingly perilous. As H. Stuart Hughes notes: "It has seemed deliciously incongruous that at the end of the 1940s, with an official purge of real or suspected leftists in full swing, the State Department's leading authority on Central Europe should have been a revolutionary socialist who hated the Cold War and all its works."[45] When I asked Marcuse in 1978 whether he himself suffered any government persecution because of his political convictions, he shook his head and simply stated, "No."[46] But he was increasingly frustrated that his efforts and those of his colleagues were coming to naught. Moreover, he was feeling more and more isolated as one after another of his colleagues left the government for university teaching positions.

Marcuse evidently stayed on at State because, unlike Neumann, he was not offered a university professorship and because his wife Sophie was dying of cancer, so he remained in Washington to take care of her. This could not have been a happy period for Marcuse as his former colleagues got university positions, while he worked in an increasingly conservative State Department environment in which he and his few remaining friends were increasingly isolated and without influence. Marcuse's situation is poignantly described by Hughes:

> Let me distinguish three dimensions that explain the lack of influence [i.e. of Marcuse, Hughes and their remaining progressive colleagues in the State Department]; an organizational, a personal and an ideological dimension.
>
> I will begin with *organization*: the long-time officials of the State Department could absolutely not reconcile themselves to the fact that such a large number of people had come over from the OSS; we did not come from the diplomatic corps, but from an academic background, and we just happened to land in the State Department. At that time, the official units of the State Department for the then current areas were fairly small – there were maybe three or four people working on Middle Europe. We, however, arrived

45 Hughes, *The Sea Change*: 175.

46 Interview in La Jolla, California, December 28, 1978. Lawrence C. Soley indicated that several of Marcuse's leftist colleagues at OSS who went to State "attracted the attention of HUAC [House Committee on Un-American Activities]. The investigation that the House committee launched was ruthless. As a result of the investigation, Maurice Halperin went into exile, and Carl Marzani was sentenced to prison for lying under oath about his Communist affiliations. The committee's investigation suggested that OSS was the most 'thoroughly infiltrated' of any wartime government agency" *Radio Warfare*. New York: Praeger, 1989: 218. Kirchheimer's widow told Barry Katz (*Foreign Intelligence*: 242) that her husband was investigated by the FBI after the war.

with 15 or 20 people and represented an organizational threat, at least for the traditional diplomatic service. . . .

The *personal* question concerned problems of ethnic and class origin. The people in the foreign service normally came, to put it bluntly, from the WASP upper class. . . . Their knowledge of Europe and foreign languages came from Swiss boarding schools – I am talking about a kind of ideal type. They found the specialists from the R. and A. Branch exotic, peculiar, probably threatening, because they were foreign, had an accent and were in large part Jewish. In the diplomatic service, it was the other way around: very few were Jewish . . .

And with this, I come to the *third dimension*. . . . From the beginning, the problem was that my friends and I did not think in national interest categories – I still cannot today, I just do not know what it would be; to us, the important thing was the well-being of the people in the country we were researching . . . it was completely obvious to us that we had to see the country we were to understand through the eyes of its inhabitants. That was already enough to violate conventions. Added to that was the fact that we were on the left, in the sense of socialism.[47]

The main work that Marcuse undertook in his State Department years was detailed studies of "World Communism". In 1949, Marcuse and his associates submitted a 532-page intelligence report on "The Potentials of World Communism" describing its appeal, prospects and strategies, as well as its limitations and integration into the existing order. After leaving U.S. government service, in fact, Marcuse received positions with the Russian Institutes at Columbia and Harvard and he published a book on *Soviet Marxism* in 1958.[48] Yet in addition to his government work, manuscripts in the Marcuse archive indicate that he had not given up his fundamental theoretical interests and several manuscripts were found which anticipated his later key ideas.

TOTALITARIANISM, THE FATE OF SOCIALISM AND THE ERA OF ONE-DIMENSIONALITY

During his years of government service – from 1942 to 1951 – Marcuse continued to develop his own perspectives on contemporary society and

47 Hughes in Söllner, *Zur Archäologie*, Vol. 2: 48–49.

48 See the March 30, 1949 letter to Horkheimer (see page 259) where Marcuse describes his offer of a Senior Fellowship at the Columbia University Russian Institute. Marcuse remained in Washington, however, until his wife's death from cancer in 1951 and then went to the Columbia and Harvard University Russian Institutes, doing the work that resulted in his 1958 book *Soviet Marxism*, republished in 1985 by Columbia University Press with an introduction by Douglas Kellner.

culture. The themes that would become central to *One-Dimensional Man* and his later work are adumbrated in unpublished papers collected in this volume. One of the most intriguing manuscripts found in the Marcuse archives is a text dated "September 1945" and titled "Some Remarks on Aragon: Art and Politics in the Totalitarian Era"[49] (see page 199f.). This document discloses that Marcuse was continuing his interest in art and aesthetics that was present in his earlier writings and arguably central to his later work during his years of government service.

In a world dominated by totalitarianism, Marcuse suggests, aesthetic opposition and love are the most radical oppositional forces since they produce an alternative reality completely at odds with an oppressive social reality. Art transcends everyday life by virtue of its form, by its ability to produce another world which projects images of a better life and reveals the deficiencies and horrors of existing reality. Marcuse notes the attempts of the surrealists to create alternative worlds through art, but their revolt was easily absorbed as aesthetic fashion and the terror in surrealist art "was surpassed by the real terror." The question, then, is how to produce a genuinely oppositional art. Marcuse believes that French resistance writers represent "a new stage of the solution." The political in their work is not directly represented, but intrudes to destroy a world of potential love, beauty and harmony. It shatters the ideal world projected in great poetry and art, and thus appears as that which is to be negated and destroyed, as that which stands in the way of freedom and happiness.

Authentic art thus represents for Marcuse a "great refusal" of existing reality and the postulating of another world. Authentic art preserves visions of emancipation and is thus part of the radical project. In the work of French resistance writing which he discusses, love and beauty are negated by the forces of totalitarianism that themselves appear as negations of human freedom and happiness which must in turn be negated. In the latter half of his study, Marcuse provides a detailed reading of Aragon's novel *Aurélien* which presents the story of two star-crossed lovers who reunite after a long separation only for the beloved to be shot in the arms of the hero by fascists. As with the images in Picasso's *Guernica*, Aragon's novel brings "darkness, terror and utter destruction" to life "by grace of the artistic creation and in the artistic form; they are therefore incomparable to the fascist reality."

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49 This text is especially fascinating because it is the most detailed reading of concrete aesthetic artifacts since Marcuse's 1922 dissertation on *The German Artist-Novel*; for discussion of his dissertation and Marcuse's aesthetics, see Kellner, *Herbert Marcuse*: 18ff., passim.