

Marcuse and Habermas's Political Ideas

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Abstract:

The Frankfurt School is characterized by its critical nature and it is the result of the Marxist socialist thought as it contributed to the development of the German thought in particular and the Western thought in general through important ideas put forward by a number of pioneers in the various generations of the school and most notably through the leading pioneer in the first generation, Marcuse, and the leading pioneer of the second generation, Habermas, whose political ideas had an important impact on global thinking and later became the basis of the attic of many critical ideas. In spite of the belief of the school members in the idea of the criticism of power and community, each had his own ideas that distinguish him from the others.

Introduction :

The Frankfurt School is the intellectual, philosophical and political movement which appeared in Frankfurt - Germany when this school was established through a decision by the Ministry of Education on February 3, 1923 in agreement with the Institute of Social Research. This Institute was established at the initiative and funding by the son of a businessman named (Felix Vial). Its establishment was the crowning stage of the weekly Marxist rings which were attended by a group of Marxists who wanted present the true Marxist concept and took it upon themselves in writing and the cultural act at that time, including (Lukacs, krosh and Gutenberg) and others.

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The critical theory of the Frankfurt School was represented by different intellectual trends:

1. The trend of Max Horkheimer and Theodore Adorno which represents a dialectical critical approach, which aims to unify theory by practice and provide a critical theory of society which can face the idea of domination and violence.
2. The trend of Herbert Marcuse which represents the rejection of the oppressive society and launching a revolution against it by emphasizing the critical and revolutionary role of the mind in human life and not to look at society from a one-dimensional vision.
3. The trend of Erich Fromm, the psychological-analytical direction based on Marxist introductions in the Psychological analysis. Freud tends to this trend likewise.
4. The trend of Jürgen Habermas, a trend that emphasizes the study of late capitalism, a rational industrial society with a technocratic ideology as formulated in his theory of communicative behavior.

Importance of the research:

The importance of this research stems from the importance of the ideas presented by the Frankfurt School which influenced Europe in general and Germany in particular as well as from the critical ideas of two pioneers of the first and second generations of the Frankfurt School who are regarded among the most important pillars of the school.

Problem of the research:

The problem of the research stems from the answer to several questions: What are the most important political ideas put forward by Marcuse and Habermas? And what is the effect of their ideas in the Frankfurt School in particular and Western political thought in general?

Search Hypothesis:

The hypothesis sets off from the idea that (both Marcuse and Habermas's ideas were critical by character were the basis for many of the critical ideas in Frankfurt School.)

Research Methodology:

The academic necessity require following a specific method of social science methodology that would help us to keep track of the

specific aspects of the study. We have found it fitting to follow three of the basic approaches to procure the validity of the hypothesis:

- 1- The analytical approach: tries to deduct political ideas in order to reach objective results.
- 2- Comparative approach: it is used to learn the similarities and differences in the theses of the German political thinkers.

Structure of the research:

The search is divided into two demands preceded by an introduction and followed by a conclusion and a list of sources, the first demand deals with the political ideas of the first generation pioneer of the Frankfurt School (Herbert Marcuse); the second demand studies the second generation pioneer of the school (Jürgen Habermas).

The First Demand

(The first generation) Herbert Marcuse [*] (1898-1979)

He is a German philosopher, and a social theorist. He described the industrial society as a comprehensive repressive regime, repressing the debate and discussion and comprehends all forms of dissent. And in the face of this one dimensional society, Marcuse supported the utopian possibility of personal and sexual liberation, as he did not look at the traditional working class as revolutionary force but to the groups such as students, ethnic minorities, women and the workers in the developing world. Marcuse had a great influence on the new left in the sixties of the twentieth century. [1]

The Marcuse's political thought and his contributions to the critical theory are not in isolation from prominent political events in his time, and the course of its currents, and trends philosophy affecting it. The failure of the Marxist and socialist forces and parties of Germany and Europe to get access to power after the 1917 Russian October Revolution and the end of the First World War by the defeat of Germany and the subsequent bad political, economic and social effects and then the reactionary right - wing regimes in the rest of European countries, have had a significant impact on the crystallization of Marcuse's political thought. [2]

Marcuse gained world fame as a philosopher, social theorist and political activist, having name widespread in the media "as (the spiritual father of the new left) and its defender in the United States and Europe. He introduced his theory (one - dimensional) societies in which he criticized both the contemporary capitalism and the communist state society. His idea the (great rejection) has brought him wider fame as a theorist of the revolutionary change, and an advocate of liberation from the welfare of false society. He was one of the intellectuals of the highest esteem in Europe and the United States during the sixties of the twentieth century till now. [3].

Marcuse began " to revive the original Marxism, and to maintain the controversial critical energy based on Marx 's early philosophical thinking, to believe in the message of philosophy in the salvation and liberation from repression and oppression systems, proselytizing a new utopia or an opposing and alternative system. [4]

The stages of development in Marcuse 's thinking can be divided into in three: the first stage runs from 1928 to 1932, the second from 1933 to 1941, while the third covers the period that followed the end of World War II. We will talk about these stages in order: [5]

1- The first stage (1928 – 1932).

It can be said that Marcuse's thinking has been affected by the new Hegelian tendency at this stage. Its critical and controversial self-idealism had a noticeable effect later on most of his colleagues from the Frankfurt School. [6]

The arguments of Marcuse in the criticism of the material and historical controversy is part of the project which preoccupied his mind in this period of his intellectual life for the purpose of establishing the theory of historical change based on the daily practical activity of an individual not on the basis of an abstract historical act of an doer. Marcuse believed that the basic Heidegger ideas in which he described the main existential ingredients of human existence in the world and in the face of death beginning with his dealing with the things in his daily life and believed that they can be directed Marxism towards forms of work that make up the individual presence in everyday life and capitalism cannot eliminate it fully. He also believed that this existentialistic

Heidegger establishment of Marxism can be a starting point for the radical social action and the revolutionary practice to change reality. [7]

2- The second stage (1933 – 1941).

In this stage, he moved away from Heidegger and his philosophy and moved towards the critical theory of the Frankfurt School. His efforts and the efforts of his colleagues in the critical theory throughout the following three decades worked together to criticize Marxism and rebuild its theoretical foundations, draw negative energies which involved the material controversy and its capabilities to deny the prevailing conditions in the holistic societies (capitalism and socialism) and analyze its rationality, progress, freedom and alleged humanity and to take it back to the its contradictory roots of the mind, progress, humanity and true freedom. [8]

The most important book of this stage of the evolution of Marcuse's thinking is (Reason and Revolution) and (Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory). Marcuse learned from Marx and Hegel together that the sapient man is the one who tests the reasonableness of the reality of the human action in a scale or standard of truth beyond the status quo and that the free and reasonable man will not accept the real system given just because it is given and real. It is also an important step on the long road to criticism of the society of control or domination over the individual under advanced industrial and technical systems which he described as (one-dimensional) and to criticism of Soviet Marxism and attempt on his part to supplement the new Marxism and critical theory. [9]

The image provided by Marcuse of man is" not like what should be put in man before, what is in himself and which can be put in today only, but also realistic investigation of everything which man wants to be when he understood himself in the context of its potential "[10], which makes the human concept for Marcuse not theoretical and mental, but a realistic concept to be changed and determined by the constantly changing circumstances and the facts given in the specific stage of history, and thus producing its essence and identity continuously uninterrupted and does not stop. Hence comes his quest to produce a non-repressive civilization with a new

reality principle that contains the repression necessary for the establishment and realization of civilization, not only at the level of thought , but to transcend it to the level of reality as a trend represented in reality rather than in thought only. [11]

3-The third stage (after the Second World War/ his death in 1979)

In this stage, he develops his previous theory mentioned earlier about the technical control and industrial and instrumental rationality (influenced by Max Weber) in his books about (Soviet Marxism) and (One -Dimensional Man) which earned him great fame and developed his philosophy about civilization and his vision of a society free from oppression and repression In his writings (Eros and civilization) and (an Essay on Liberation).

The "One dimensional" term became widespread after the issuance of the book of the same title, and the wrath of this oppressed man is prevalent pattern in the one - dimensional society also. A society whose motto is the scientific and industrial progress, and devotes its activities and its organizations, institutions and values to contain the individual and collective consciousness in the rationality of its industrial production which supplies its control under all totalitarian regimes on the political economic and cultural sectors of the community, and puts them at the service of the (ideological) principle that it controls which is the principle of material productivity and achieving greater abundance, welfare and consumption. [12]

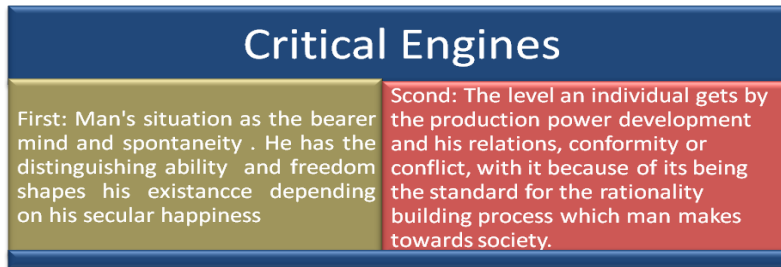
In this society also the productive relationships and controlling them, in the various organs , administrative and information institutions and means and approaches of scientific and philosophical like the man-made and the pragmatic, to gain access to life style and the unified and comfortable presence which is inescapable, and there is no way to resist, exile and challenge it only by naysayer individuals and protesters and marginal oppressed and outcast groups like the leftist students whose rebelling movement embraced against the power systems in Western Europe and the United States America. [13]

In a liberal society, the essential feature is solidarity. It works to create harmony in human relations in terms of work and its goals and in which man can express the true harmony between the needs

of the individual and the society and their respective objectives. This will lead to the creation of a new concept of freedom through one's feeling that he is free and that the independence in producing relationships is exactly what he wants because it is subject to the standard of solidarity and social service. [14] This utopian proposition of Marcuse is akin to the Marx and Plato's utopia.

Marcuse was able to establish his critical theory through his view of the social and rational theory as a critical theory in its content and essence. This way, Marcuse divides the engines of criticism into two parts as in Figure (1):

Figure (1) Critical Engines for Marcuse



This figure is prepared by the student based on the following sources:

(1)Daniel , From Ideological to Territorial , (New York: General Learning Press , 1977.

(2)Anthony de Christi and Kenneth Minogue , Contemporary political philosophy , translated by: Nasser Abdullah , ed. 1 , (Cairo: Egyptian for Book , 1999.

His attitude towards technique

It appears through his being influenced by his professor Heidegger in this regard. He says that technologies are political before anything else. It is first and foremost politics because its logic is control. This means that the technical progress has become a tool of control and power over society. This is because technologies in these societies promote and develop new and innovative forms of social monitoring that will fully achieve man and deprive him of his freedom. These forms will reveal the transformation of man primarily into a productive consuming animal.[15]

Technology for Marcuse is (logic or mode) and a philosophical or ideological position, not tools and means of action in the hands of man, but they are tools and means of gaining control logic and reveal the era of technical progress, and the ideology of the technological system. [16]

The separation of the state from society which liberalism tried to implement in the nineteenth century disappears:" The state takes upon itself the political integration of society and also the state in the process of dyeing the political sphere with the existential and totalitarian dye becomes the bearer of the original possibilities for the existence of itself. It is not responsible to the human, but man is responsible to the state. This form of state sovereignty which is no longer based on the majority of social features, parties, which is far from official legitimacy and legality is a form of the dictatorship leader and his followers." [17]

Marcuse identifies four key factors contributed to the reality of a radical transformation of the working class to one-sided body and these factors are: [18]

- 1- Automatic mechanization which reduces the physical work of the factories so as to reduce the sense of persecution and help him to identify himself with the technical community.
- 2- The evolution of the concept of the working class itself and the change of its content and its components due to the continuing decline in the number of producing worker with the blue - collars and the increasing number of non - producing workers of the white - collars which will change the nature of the organization and labor relations. As a result of this, the boundary between the classes become uncertain and unclear more and more to find the conflicting classes themselves are interrelated and interdependent confirmed by integrated ideological compromise which conceals its contradictions.
- 3- The loss of the working class of its class consciousness on an ongoing basis and increasing attention to participate in the management and organization of capitalist production issues to makes it not qualified to carry the banner of revolution.
- 4- The constant and growing class hegemony which is manifested in administrative and managerial forms that mask real exploitation.

Figure (2) shows how the state controls the individual and how the revolution is achieved.

Figure (2) one-dimensional human for Marcuse

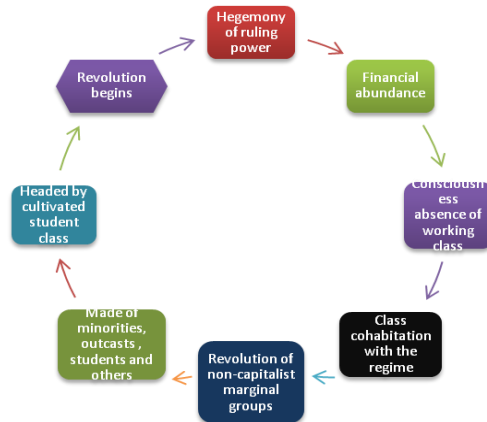


Figure prepared by the student based on the following sources:

1 Herbert Marcuse, *Negations Essays in Critical Theory*, Trans: Mujahid Abdel Moneim Mujahid, edi. 1 (Cairo: Dar al - Hikma Library for Publishing and Distribution, 2011)

2 Iman Hmaidan , *The philosophy of Civilization for Herbert Marcuse*, (Damascus: Publications of the Ministry of Culture, 2005)

3 Kamal Bou Mounir , *Readings in Critical Thinking of the Frankfurt School* , edi. 1. (Algeria: Knouz Al Hikma Foundation for Publishing and Distribution , 2012).

The strategy of achieving the revolution for Marcuse is based on several axes:

1- Liberation of awareness: he considered the current function of the opposition is to develop awareness as it can be turned into a force for provoking a revolutionary movement one day and integrates with this movement as he made the stature of awareness a central condition for the achievement of the revolution.[19]

2-The complete breakaway from the existing regimes or the principle of the great rejection: the sense of rejection and freedom from exploitation, alienation and reification and getting rid of subservience and achieve an independence rather than unilateral dimension and other injustice factors upon which the industrial society has come to be based.[20]

1-Enlightenment role (educated class): He looks at the student opposition on the grounds that they change factor of the industrial communities. [21] To illustrate this strategy, Figure 3 shows Marcuse's revolutionary strategy.

Figure 3 : Revolutionary strategy for Marcuse

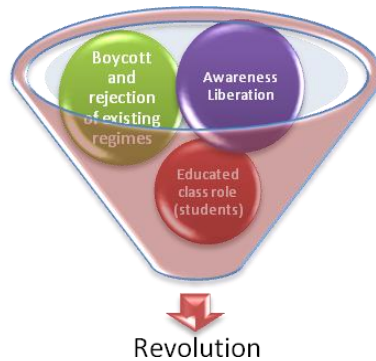


Figure prepared by the student based on the following sources:

(1)Herbert Marcuse, Towards a New Revolution, trans. Abdullatif Sharara, (Beirut , Dar Al-Awda for Publishing , 1971)

(2)Hussein Mohammed Hussein , Critical Theory of Herbert Marcuse , edi. 1. , (Beirut: Dar al-Tanweer for Printing and Publishing, 1993)

This is the revolutionary map of the contemporary world in Marcuse's perspective, a black map where there is no light, except the chaotic disruptive call to the great rejection, to dreamy utopia of an aesthetic new world which does not change the bourgeois class and the capitalist system at all.

Marcuse tried to portray the image of a free society after the revolution. The new man in this new society is a person free of the surplus of repression that still pervades contemporary capitalist and industrial society of one dimension. He is capable of making the revolution and building a society in which men and women can enjoy happiness, a society in which production flows without the need of deprivation and alienation, and the common ownership of the means of production (machines) allows the instinctual energy to go back to its original nature and reduces the working time of the expatriate to a minimum, or dispense with him as much as possible so that life became like a free time. [22]

Why cannot Marcuse's theory of revolution a promotion of bourgeois ideology and a warm defense of it, albeit indirectly? One can say that the capitalist systems and their logical consequences can be identified as follows: [23]

- 1- Ending the class struggle at the local and global levels.
- 2- the settlement between the socialist and capitalist systems and through this covering the essence of the conflict in our time, and questioning the unity of the socialist and liberal forces in the world
- 3- Questioning the revolutionary energy of the working class and its historical role in the advanced capitalist countries.
- 4- The revolutions of national liberation questioning of their historic and natural ally which is represented by the global socialist system in general and the Soviet Union in particular.
- 5- The destruction of ideology as a basis for social progress and considering technology solely as the way to this progress besides portraying it in an absolute repressive manner.
- 6- Limit the possibility of revolution to marginal or non-essential forces in the social process.
- 7- Termination of the revolutionary value of organization, and the limitation of the revolutionary work on the disruptive external rebellious operations with a chaotic nature.
- 8- Calling for the realization of utopias in which the mind is weak and ruled by the imagination.
- 9- Blanketing the laws set for the revolution both at the local or global levels and the superiority of subjective factors only without exclusion and control over these set laws.

The practice of repulsive political action is to enlighten through the ethics of the revolution and deepen the understanding of the current society and its possible primacy. Those who are taking political action should strive to create a new sensitivity that will bring about a radical change. In fact, the educational nature of political action transforms the task of those engaged in politics to something like the task of the philosophers of the enlightenment in the eighteenth century. [24]

Art for Marcuse takes upon itself the role of protest and criticism and it is a fundamental role but the impact of political art is not directly through formal processes. "Art cannot change the world but it can contribute to change the consciousness and instincts of men and women who can change the world." [25]

Thus, we conclude that Marcuse uses the concept of ideology in three meanings as in figure (4) [26]

Figure 4: Ideology of Marcuse

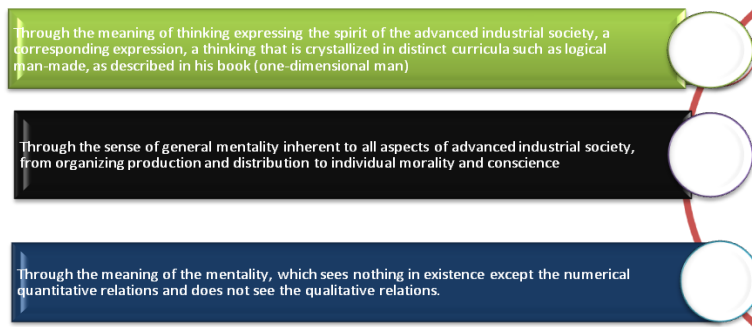


Figure prepared by the student based on the following sources:

(1)Abdullah Al-Arawi, The Concept of the State (Casablanca, Arab Cultural Center, 2011).

Marcuse and Soviet Marxism:

If Marxism has failed in the opinion of Marcuse to solve the problem of freedom and power, it is because it did not take notice of it to prepare the underlying readiness for subordination, oppression and repression or to offer to others. A readiness which extends its roots in the formation of our inner motives. So, our true liberation is not fulfilled except through revolution against this formation and changing man and liberating him from it before the social liberation is done. [27]

Marcuse has confirmed that the quotations taken by Lenin against Marx do not contradict the original Marxist perception about retaining the state in the first socialist phase, but the basis is that the socialist state is forced to exercise its functions; it is (the non-state of the state) that will dismantle and replace itself little by little. However, the Soviet state was practicing political functions against the proletariat itself under a central authoritarian

organization of the production process away from the participation of the direct producers in power, management and planning.[28]

Marcuse argued that "most Marxist thought has degenerated into rigid doctrine and therefore needs to be immersed in realist experience in order to revive theory. At the same time, he believed that Marxism had ignored the individual problem and had been interested throughout his life in the liberation and well-being of the individual in addition to the social transformation and the possibility to transform from capitalism to socialism." [29]

Marcuse refers to the interdependence between technical progress and control under the Marxist system of the Soviet Union as "the progress of manufacturing and the scientific organization of work takes a totalitarian character dominating both the rulers and ruled and keeping the technical improvement of the system production, and accordingly, the intellectual effort becomes of the competence of engineers, technicians and experts, and then become the opposition becomes not only a political crime, but sabotage that harms the economy and production and turns the mind from being enlightened into being instrumental and teleological." [30]

Marcuse saw that the Marxist regime in the Soviet Union" is far from being a negation of the capitalist system, but it contributes decisively to the function of capitalism. There is no actual monitoring by the class of the proletariat. Power is at the top of the pyramid, and it is a bureaucratic power controlling all aspects of life, imposing on society a repressive rationality, working to absorb the entire society and directing its production and identifying its consumption." [31]

As for his position on the capitalist system, Marcuse sees that, "The strangest skills of the advanced industrial society reside in the have obstacles it poses to social change." [32]

He sees that "this democracy has created rights and freedoms in line with capitalist interests. The majority is only the majority of control, so there is the ability of the authority to hold aside deviations and support the radical dissident movement to the extent that this movement complies with the established rules originally established by the authority." [33]

Marcuse position of freedom

How can Marcuse criticize a democratic system and defend freedom on the one hand? As regards the criticism of the industrial society with its two parts, the capitalist and the socialist, it becomes evident to us that the issue of freedom, in fact, overshadowed the political dimensions of his political thought or in terms of his political vision in determining the optimal political system which reflects to us that there are freedom and freedom which must exist. As for the first, according to Marcuse it is but a false factor introduced and violated and gave one at the same time. It exists and does not exist. A matter which is likely to said in the democratic system. [34]

Marcuse expressed his position on the critical theory in his book (Critical Theory) and (Reason and Revolution). He sees that "materialism is the doctrine adopted by Marxist criticism, but that materialism was not a philosophical doctrine facing other philosophical doctrines. Rather, it is a plan of action to study the economic side of the life of the contemporary society and this is what made the historical materialism fit a critical social theory and form the basis for it which is its interest in the practical interest of man." [35]

Marcuse's position on mind

Marcuse stressed that "the mind is the basic argument in philosophy, so it was the goal of philosophy to find a way to achieve compatibility between the contradictions, the self and the subject. The self cannot reach self - consciousness and absolute knowledge unless it is able to realize that the subject is not offset by the antagonism but it is what made it. The mind can only be achieved in this framework." [36]

Marcuse believes that "when philosophy comes to discover the relationship between the mind and the freedom, its mission ends. That is because the following task is the disclosure of how to achieve the mind in reality, and this is the task of the social critical theory." [37]

What Marcuse means by the social critical theory is "the form taken by this theory in the works of Marx, in particular, as it goes, because its primary task is to carry out the role of the theoretical leadership for that category which is supposed to administer change in society because of its historical position." [38]

In fact, the class that Marcuse refers to here is the proletariat. As for the change required in the society, it is the transformation of the economic construction in the direction of achieving rationality. What reveals this change and its objectives is the social theory in the image of Marxism, the historical materialism. Thus, Marcuse establishes the link between critical dimension in the German idealism on one hand and historical materialism as critical theory on the other. [39]

Regarding the contributions of Frankfurt positive school, Marcuse mentions its prediction and understanding of fascism. And in its relationship with capitalism, he mentions its integrated approach to the study of social and political issues of the day because it employs sociology, psychology and philosophy in understanding the evolution of those problems. There is disappointment felt by Marcuse because the social revolution that resulted from the Western civilization posed an obstacle against establishing a more respectable human society." [40]

The second demand

The second generation Jürgen Habermas (1929-) [*]

He is a German philosopher and is considered the main expositor for the (second generation) of the Frankfurt School. His works extend across several scientific branches but he concentrated his attention on the (trends of the crisis) in the capitalist society which comes as a result of tensions between the accumulation of capital and democracy. His analysis of rationality has developed the critical theory to what became the theory of the (communicative action) and includes his most important works (Toward a Rational Society), (Legitimation Crisis) and the (Explicit Eligibility theory).

As for his understanding of Marxism, he sets off with thinking of it as a kind of thought that contains a huge critical capacity of all that is general and comprehensive. He put up at the same time the project of (re - Marxist orientation) , which means looking at it not as a closed doctrine but as criticism. Thus, Habermas set a new expression in critical philosophy which is (Marxism as criticism). [41] Marxism according to this perspective it is not only ideology but is a continuous energy to criticism. With Marxism, we can think materially and entirely integrate theory and practice. [42]

Habermas worked on a project to help the Marxist thought to become a new thinking towards liberation through the practical exercise after it has become doctrinal and religious practice within the political parties. This project is based on three large bases: the first is extensive reading of philosophy social, second, reading of Marxism as criticism and the third is a critique of Marxism by itself. After this theoretical base that a Habermas has had identified clearly in the (theory and practice) we can understand his experimental critical theory as it became clear in his three most important works: (Public Sphere) and (Rationality and Religion) and (technology and Science and Ideology). [43]

His book (Public Sphere) is a study of the propaganda and the mass media as effective and direct means of domination of the state and its bureaucratic institutions which contribute to the formation of a public opinion that parallels its goal at the time. It does not allow this opinion to contradict its public program and project to control. This created flexible incentives for its domination organs of the collective consciousness and activated them in a way that parallels history dynamics of the evolution of collective consciousness and influences that surround this consciousness and has the ability for achieving a partial or a total exit of its public takeover. [44]

Propaganda for Habermas

Habermas highlights the takeover problems resulting from the dominance of propaganda in the western society and the nature of the structure upon which this hegemony continues to exist permeated through a historic perspective chronologically arranged and has a systematic coordination in the way of a stirring essential dilemmas that participated in the consolidation of the final large problematic which is the overall absorption of consciousness by means of the mass media. [45]

The propaganda in the modern era has succeeded to create another way of communication. It has become itself a major source of new data. It included everything, even the political system that created it has fallen within its scope of containment due to its rapid and stunning development horizontally on the political reality ground and vertically within the hierarchy of institutions. The parliament, for example, a place that helps to create and develop

the political debate but it deceives the principles and laws of the constitutional institution. So, rather than being a real political debate, it has become a propaganda debate. [46]

This nested hierarchy of the institutions of power backed by propaganda and a network of methods for the usurpation of the collective consciousness generates units begotten from the small bureaucratic organs which will control the whole mobility of society. The other and most dangerous matter in this closed system is that the bureaucratic class exercises political power and subjects the institutions to its full control and its strict supervision. Therefore, bureaucracy is the integrated production to the dominance of the existing political power and its propaganda which is the production of the model that it seeks to formulate within the daily life of the public. [47]

This principle of propaganda came up visibly since the eighteenth century as it has succeeded to creating a general and new political field and started to exercise influence on the mediation and the relationship existing between the state and society through the formation of (public opinion). Its mission focused on making a full and effective change of the dominance of the state on society and on showing dominance in a new image while maintaining its strength and content with the help of a large network of state institutions such as the politically directed daily press or through the elections and parliamentary voting or through the special drafting of the constitution.[48]

Monopoly of the means of propaganda by a small social group representing certain interests is the prominent quality of the contemporary social state. The political sphere in the heart of this state has become devoid of the critical efficiency. The political power has removed the critical functions of this sphere through the process of continuous and individual vacuuming. Thus, the propaganda today has become a self - included of the ability to assemble and intensify the behaviors that represent an answer to approve to overtake current institution by the voluntary consent of society.[49]

The principle of criticism has always been a source of threat to propaganda and its hegemony over individuals. The public opinion had a carriage to be driven in the overall propaganda era by the will of the existing power and its trends, while this opinion should have

been the guide that directs the authority's policy and its decisions. [50]

Habermas believes in the possibility to get out of the scope dominating takeover of the propaganda through creating and activating patterns of new communication between individuals and the existing authority or between society and the state provided that this connection should be unconditional by any standards and forced decisions and to be independent of the constitutional drafting or the ideological scale committed by the regime. [51]

Habermas insists on the need for establishing a public social communicability through the establishment of a joint collective debate dominated by a rational discourse that would provide one's critical energy with renewable dynamics and free consciousness gradually from the existing dominating mentality. [52]

Critical Theory of Habermas

The critical philosophy represented by Habermas today does not believe in a critical theory without practical criticism and without alternative realistic solutions and this necessarily requires a action philosophy and practice in addition to the theory of practice. What Habermas is trying to do now is to build a practical philosophy capable of solving the current political and social dilemma.[53]

Habermas confirms in the critical theory that "the task of philosophy is a critical one in the first place which is able to criticize the current circumstances in society, to diagnose its conditions and to find solutions to many of its problems." Habermas hopes of "philosophy to be really contemporary and to criticize the objectivity illusion it imagines in the sciences about its nature." [54]

The critical theory for Habermas was the soul and driving force that moves and changes the current circumstances. Criticism has been a constant source of threat to the propaganda and its dominance of the consciousness of individuals. Habermas sees that the possibility to exit from the scope the overwhelming takeover of propaganda is to create and activate new patterns of communication between the individuals and the authority. [55]

Habermas's communicative action theory

Habermas founded what is known as the theory of communicative action which is based on the involvement of the parties to society in the act of communication and orientation towards understanding and deliberation, and then resort to some kind of mutual consideration among them for the health of the demands that they raise in their actions of words. Habermas indicates two types of speech which are the theoretical speech in which the standards of honesty are analyzed, and the practical speech in which the correctness of these standards are discussed as the normative legitimacy is the most important demand in critical theory in the sense that the theoretical speech takes its legitimacy from the practical one.[56]

Therefore, Habermas's vision of the future of human society is based on communication which liberates the individual from the forms of control and thus provides the individual's ability to regain his right in the political structure.

The most important things which we can deduce from Habermas's theory of communicative action can be determined by the following points:

- 1- Communication for Habermas is a free and transparent dialogue between individuals whose goal is understanding. This goal includes the realization of the idea of peaceful coexistence.
- 2- Habermas makes the communicative rationality the solution for the problems of modernity and the crises and dangers that surround the minute details of the lives of individuals.

Capitalism for Habermas

The modern state is a product of the capitalist system but it contributed in its survival. It is believed that the legitimacy of the state has limits. If its ability to protect people from the economic crises of capitalism weakens, its legitimacy is reduced. [57] Habermas sees " that modern capitalism is characterized by the dominance of the state on the economy and other areas of social life and the public life affairs are no longer seen as a field of discussion and selection, but has become a technical problem solved by experts using instrumental rationality." [58]

Habermas identifies three types of crises in the capitalist system which are: the economic crisis, the crisis of legitimacy and the

crisis of motivation. Each stage has a crisis. The economic crisis leads to the conflict between labor and capital and an increase in state intervention is no more than a response to solve this crisis and leads to the second crisis, the legitimacy crisis which arises from the excessive state intervention which he calls the rationality crisis. This crisis appears on the level of social integration because of the regime's inability to reconcile the interests of its citizens and thus loses its legitimacy according to the point of view of society and if the crisis is solved, it will move in another form to the social and cultural sub-structure to form a crisis of motivation. A crisis of social integration resulting from the increase of the state's tyranny to control the crisis, which in turn results in poor people's motivation to participate actively in decision-making. [59] Figure 5 shows the types of crises for Habermas.

Figure (5) Types of crises at Habermas.

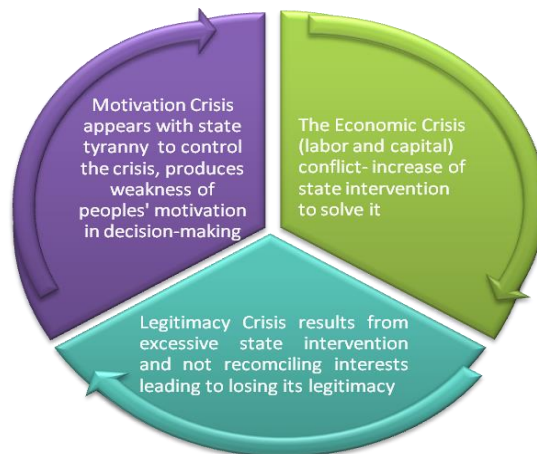


Figure is prepared by the student based on the following sources:

(1) Ian Giddens, *Social Theory: From Parsons to Habermas*, translated by Mohammed Hussein Ghuloom, (Kuwait: Knowledge World, a monthly cultural book series published by the National Council for Culture and Arts, 1994).

Habermas's Ideology:

Habermas's theory about ideology shifts the meaning of the ideology from the model of (awareness) to the (communicative) one. Habermas understood ideology not as something that affects consciousness and makes it false but as a deformation that affects communication between groups. Hence, Habermas talks about the distorted communication theory as "the one which does not succeed in achieving a free mental consensus in the process of communication as a result of this process being subject to control and domination whether the dominance was ideological or psychological." Therefore, the phenomenon of ideology for Habermas is a phenomenon affecting the communication process and the process of producing meaning in social discourse.[60] We can see then that the deformity affects communication from Habermas's point of view and consequently this deformity leads to the misunderstanding between the participants in the communication process. With this theory, he disagreed with Horkheimer and Marcuse and Arendt.

The basis upon which Habermas built his theory on ideology is the distinction between action and interaction. Habermas looks at the human behavior not as an instrumental conduct only but a communicative one also. Therefore, the human action has not only meaning one nor has it one goal but it is in a network and a set of social symbols and meanings because the action and interaction are the two main sources of human activity. [61]

Habermas diagnosed separation between theory and practice as a separation between the intellectual activity employed in research about man and society, and man's practical concerns and his cases such as the freedom and social justice causes. Habermas sees the critical theory is the one capable of linking theory with practice.

Habermas admired the historical materialism for it represented the model that cares about the practical reality. This does not mean that he adheres to it all the time but he gives an example of the association of theory with practice. Its importance is in that it offers an interpretation of the social evolutions of mutual relationship between the origins of the theory and applications. [62]

Power for Habermas

Habermas distinguishes between two types of power (administrative power and communicative power). For him, the administrative power refers to the power in the hands of the state. In other words, the power that stands out in the enactment of the law starting from the nineties of the last century especially in his book (Between facts and Norms) when he went to study the thorny relations between democracy and law and to monitor the links in particular between public opinion, which he categorizes in what he calls (communicative power) and the growth used by state institutions in law drafting, legislation and implementation. The administrative power expresses hegemony exercised by the state on the lives of its citizens and their deeds. The communicative power, the concept which Habermas adopted from Hannah Arendt analyses and in this regard he says that none except Arendt can have the communicative power. It emerges among people when they do together and fades away when they are separated. [63] (Figure 6) shows the types of power for Habermas. Figure (6) Types of power for Habermas

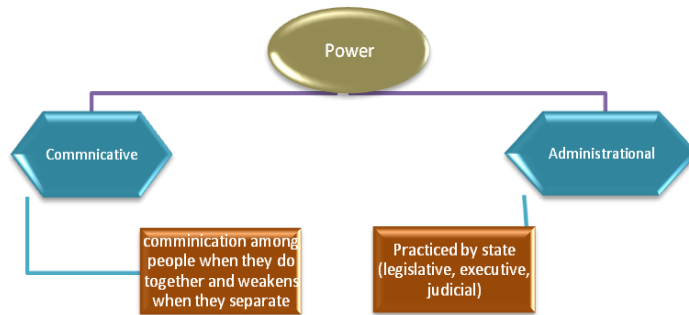


Figure prepared by the student based on the following sources:

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Habermas sees that the dealing of the state with law gains a clear instrumental dimension that is to say that the law within the framework of the administrative authority becomes the instrument that the state uses to achieve goals beyond the law. So, we are in this situation before the systemic power imploring the law to implement its policy in all fields. [64]

The goal which Habermas seeks is represented by finding ways and mechanisms to facilitate communication between the

authorities so as not to clash and the situation explodes and the system breaks down. His theory of communicative intending to direct the emitted pressure from citizens through channels (communities of civil society and its various organizations , including the various mass media) that formulate and crystallize it in a manner in which it becomes a clear communicative power that can influence then in legal and administrative formats which is owned by the state. The purpose of converting the pressure into a communicative power, influential in the administrative power because the administrative power does not gain its legitimacy within the framework of democracy unless the citizens realize that its decisions are their decisions as they are issued by them and are not imposed on them systemically. [65]

Democracy and sovereignty

The concept of democracy for Habermas is closely associated with the concept of sovereignty and has a direct relationship to the concept of the state and constitution. Habermas explains the democratic constitutional state which has a rhetoric communicative relationship with democratic policy relevance. The reality of the democratic as a common concept or as a political system has come far in its development and evolution. Habermas touched upon sovereignty in his book (Truth and Democracy between Facts and Norms) where he linked sovereignty with the ethics of debate and democracy. In his analyses which he allocated to the concept of democracy, he defines it as "a social and political system that assesses the relationship between the individuals of society and the state in accordance with the principles of equality between the citizens and their free participation in making legislations which regulate public life." [66]

The concept of sovereignty for Habermas had repercussions on the historical and social transformations on the basis of various backgrounds such as industry and the growing of the economic market. All what happened in the industrial revolution made the democratic awareness follows the homogeneity of interests and their meeting customarily, linguistically, religiously and historically resulting in the existence of what is called which is looking in turn for sovereignty and on individuals in society." The modern state has been created in the beginning as a tax collector

state and then became a sovereign territorial state before being transformed into the form of a strong state belonging to the model of a democratic constitutional state." [67]

The relationship between democracy and sovereignty is that the first is variable and has multiple forms and aspects like the direct democracy and semi-direct democracy. It can be said here that democracy is one of the forms of sovereignty to build the state and maintain the communicative relationship between civil society and the state policy as we find Habermas saying "in democratic politics, I will confine myself to two of them: justifying the institutions and the principles of the democratic constitutional state and the concept of the informal role of the public sphere." The democracy concept for Habermas is work and action to renounce the classic struggle between the power and the citizen. Therefore, he links it to the three concepts of "rationality which is the key to the formation of power, which is possessed by the administration which contributes to programming as dictated by the political system. As for the public opinion, thanks to the public procedures, it turns into a communicative power capable of directing and the use of public power, and this does not mean marginalizing it but it means participation in the guidance." [68]

Democracy Models

Habermas provides three models contribute in building the theory of society: [69]

- 1- The model within the liberal conception: the function of democracy here is to make the state in line with the social interests. The management will be the link for the formation of infrastructure to create a market economy and social welfare.
- 2- The model within the republican vision: a trend here is through the public opinion and not through the market economy but through public debate and dialogue.
- 3- The model within the perception of debating politics: it is shown through the multiplicity of forms of communication that consist the collective will which is based on the reverse equation of interest.

These three models of democracy criteria achieving the terms of the sovereignty of the republic and liberal regimes and adorned

with a third model that combines private interest and collective interest through a communicative democratic activity carrying the economic, social and political dimensions " and society the opinion of Habermas is not just a productive group based on the e fulfilling desires , it is a society based on the maintenance of the cultural and ethical values as much as keeping production." [70]

Habermas stresses that there is no democratic activity unless citizens could agree beyond their ideas and their own interests , " agree on issues acceptable to all , this concept is far from the liberal ideology that does not believe unanimously , but only believed in settlement, tolerance and respect for minorities." The idea of establishing a civil society without changing anything in the institutional system, according to Habermas, is not only a reasonable and successful political program but it is a great thought. [71]

The democratic theory for Habermas is based on basic concepts: first, rationalism, which is a simple legitimacy that works on the formation of power. Second, the power which is within the administration and expresses its nature as it relates to the democratic composition of the public opinion as well as its work does not stop with monitoring. And finally, the public opinion, thanks to the public procedures, it turns public opinion into a communicative power capable of directing the use of public power. It means participation in guidance, not dominance.

Citizenship and sovereignty

Habermas calls for the need for intellectual expansion that goes beyond political and cultural boundaries in the framework of communicative and participatory and dialogue relations. He calls for the idea of global citizenship stemming from self - criticism by the selves and is committed to approved cosmic ethics. [72]

Habermas's speech clearly addressed to the citizen through language and communication that goes beyond the limits to make him the word of global citizen in the framework of partnership, dialogue and listening to the opinion of the other for the absence of all this leads to sow discord and non - understanding extremism and terrorism. To get out of all this, there must be a wise individual political will based on the democratic foundations and carrying the banner of sovereignty. [73]

The relationship between the citizen and the state is reflected in the achievement of interests between them. The state must be credible to achieve legal citizenship. Habermas calls to achieve global and universal citizenship and says "legal citizenship must be developed which grants the right of self - legislation on the political level. The unity of these two conditions is what resulted after the Second World War, the political of the democratic socialist reformist project which called for a just society." [74]

The conditions that Habermas mentioned are the first is state credibility with citizens and the second is that citizenship must hold the legal status to achieve a communicative relationship between the state and the citizens. Habermas emphasizes that the " solution for this problem does not require a global government (federalism of states) , but it requires global citizenship. It seems sufficient to add an ethical global formula on this because an internal global policy can rely simply on an agreement on human rights if it is also at the global level." [75]

Sovereignty for Habermas is reflected in the state of rights and law in which Habermas defends the "right of citizens to own level of legal culture the state of rights, law and democracy to be able to amend the laws in time that requires their amendment." [76]

So, Habermas builds the state of the rights and law on the interests of the consulting democracy in which the citizen has the right of active political participation in society between the legislative laws and adjusting the integration of all its kinds political, social and cultural with modernist horizons to achieve communicative power delegated to the administrative power controlled by the citizen "as crystallized in the proposed laws that know their way to be fulfilled in the framework of modern state institutions which an institutional state; a matter which makes these laws of a mandatory nature for their upholders and for the society as a whole." [77]

With this, Habermas maintains a state entity which in turn is based on the principle making sovereignty belongs to the law. It is the principle that is not separated today, in our vision, from democracy and the state of right. It does not eliminate the paradox of sovereignty but corroborated and consolidates its logic of its presence more. The actors in society have to maintain the communicative, participatory and dialogue relationship between

the state and the citizen on democratic foundations sponsored by the law and observed and sanctioned by the civil society by means of the mass media and the consultative conferences. [78]

Conclusion

It is clear that the Frankfurt School was characterized by versatility with comprehensibility as each member is different from the other. Each one of them had his own interests and distinctive intellectual strengths and weaknesses. However, they all share their commitment to the same group of issues and concerns. None of the members of that school had ever associated freedom with any system, group or tradition. They were all skeptical of the models of institutional thinking and they have sought to address new problems by introducing new categories. The critical theory, in their hands, was characterized by intellectual boldness and experimental character. For them, that theory was an approach in the first place.

The research reached a number of conclusions, the most important of which are:

- 1- The Marcuse is considered one of the pioneers of the first generation of the Frankfurt School and had a deep impact on the development of the political ideas of this school , as his critical was based on the critique of the institutional society that turns the humans into a mere machine in the hands of the government, especially his criticism of the capitalist system, a criticism of the current conditions of society and throwing light on the negative aspects of this situation only. This talk became clear about power and domination of the state and the use of force and technological advances and their side effects that led to a kind of technological rationality (instrumental) which led in turn to human alienation and sense of insecurity. But his ideas were more theoretical than practical. As for Habermas, he was the pioneer of the second generation of the school, and his ideas had an important impact on German and Western thought. His critical theory communicative had a great resonance on the European critical thinking for he worked on the transferring the critical theory in the school from its theoretical nature as

was used by the first generation to the practical nature and practice in his generation. He focused on the communication among the members of society. It was also observed by examining the impact and vulnerability that Habermas despite belonging to the Frankfurt School, and although influenced by the school in his criticism. He took the school to another approach. For him, the critical theory is longer a critique of reality only but an attempt to achieve communication among human beings. He saw that this communication will lead to the liberation of the human consciousness from all forms of domination and hegemony.

- 2- From the aforementioned, we notice that all the members of the Frankfurt School were eager in this period to emphasize the Hegelian and Marxist origins of their critical theory. It is very often that Marcuse explained their theoretical position through the transition from Hegel to Marx or from the ideal dialectic to the material one. This is illustrated for Marcuse in his book (Reason and Revolution). The critical theory for Marcuse is a tool and a means to change society and the status quo and it represents a means of achieving compatibility between human and society. It is a social revolution to bring about a change in the conditions and situations prevailing in society. These ideas resonated widely in Germany and abroad. As for Habermas, his thought occupies an integral structure of critical theoretical philosophy as it draws on the heritage of Kant and Hegel and his partial dependence on Marx and Max Weber. It is no surprise that we find the gist of these philosophies appearing in his thought and its philosophical structures, the cognitive and the methodological ones. His philosophy was a new breakthrough for a critical direction that characterized through his defense of sovereignty and state in the political philosophy through his communicative theory which aims at completing the project of modernity by establishing a rational communication to be embodied in the horizon of dialogue and discussion in order to reach consensus and understanding among people through language, and adopts the concept of communicative rationalism in the construction of Habermas's philosophy

which raises the slogan of connecting the theory and application which aims to develop a critical theory of a society based on rationality. This will be only by activating the role of philosophy in society.

Notes

*Herbert Marcuse (1898_1979) was born in Berlin. He was a leading member in the Frankfurt School and the most influential thinker in the radical student movement in the late sixties. After he studied philosophy with Heidegger and Husserl, he joined the Institute of Social Studies in Frankfurt 1933. The Nazis exiled him and he settled in The United States of America publishing his influential works on Hegel and the relationship between Marx and Freud and his critical study of Soviet Marxism and his attack on modern capitalism as a form of hegemony. His book, *One-Dimensional Man*, made him the most important thinker of the new left and he remained committed to his radical political activity till his death. see: Terence Paul and Richard Bellamy, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of History: Political Thought in the Twentieth Century* , translated by Mai Mekled, vol, 2, edi. 1, (Cairo: National Center for Translation, 2010) pp. 471-472.

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[*]Jurgen Habermas (1929) was born in Dusseldorf, one of the most influential social thinkers in the late twentieth century. He studied philosophy, history and psychology in Gottingen. He obtained the doctoral degree in Bonn and became an assistant to Adorno in Frankfurt in 1956 where he published his book (*Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*) in 1962. He became a professor of philosophy and sociology in Frankfurt in 1964 and sympathized with student demonstrations in the late sixties. He left Frankfurt in 1971 to become director of the Max Planck Institute in Starnberg in Bavaria where he completed his

rich construction of the historical materialism and published the (Communicative Theory) in 1981. He returned to the philosophy and sociology courses in Frankfurt in 1984. see: Terence Paul and Richard Bellamy, Op. cit., p. 440.

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