

# Reviews Herbert Marcuse's Thoughts On Critical Theory

Nur Khasanah<sup>1</sup>, Fatah Syukur<sup>2</sup>, Abdul Wahib<sup>3</sup>, Achmad Irwan Hamzani<sup>4</sup>, Havis Aravik<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*IAIN Pekalongan, Indonesia,*

<sup>2-3</sup>*Universitas Islam Negeri Walisongo, Indonesia,*

<sup>4</sup>*Universitas Pancasakti Tegal, Indonesia,*

<sup>5</sup>*STEBIS IGM, Palembang, Indonesia,*

*Email:*<sup>1</sup>*nur.khasanah@iainpekalongan.ac.id;*<sup>2</sup>*fsyukur@walisongo.ac.id;*

<sup>3</sup>*abdulwahib@walisongo.ac.id;*<sup>4</sup>*al\_hamzani@upstegal.ac.id*

<sup>5</sup>*havis@stebisigm.ac.id*

## Abstract

*Critical theory was one of the most phenomenal philosophical discussions of the late 19th century. The critical theory was initiated by the Frankfurt School with one of its characters being Herbert Marcuse. Marcuse analyzed various social inequalities due to the industrialization of technology capitalism. This research will review Herbert Marcuse's thoughts on critical theories. This research uses a philosophical short article, which is to study Herbert Marcuse's thinking in an ideal state. Data used in secondary data and analyzed descriptively qualitatively. The results showed that Herbert Marcuse was an inspiration for the 'new left' movement and the first generation of the Frankfurt School. Marcuse's doctrine of the political system and social system was very radical from orthodox communists. Capitalism society was the source of Herbert Marcuse's study, which was regarded as a modern society. Herbert Marcuse criticized the capitalist society that gave rise to a One Dimensional Society that was largely drugged by various false and pseudo interests. Social democracy was also criticized by Marcuse. Ideally, social democracy contains humanitarian values that uphold equality, justice, and freedom.*

**Keywords:** politics, human, one-sided, democracy

## 1. INTRODUCTION

One of the most phenomenal philosophical discussions of the late 19th century was a critical theory initiated by the Frankfurt School with one of its characters, Herbert Marcuse. Critical theories bridge the mentality of modern society lulled by the various technological advances of capitalism. Capitalism has given birth to such an abundant society in the United States. But in this society, people become alienated. In material abundance, people feel empty and poor, life dies, despair, restlessness, and the uncertainty of life peaks (Nazsir, 2001).

The Frankfurt sect was originally founded to revitalize Marx's thinking that was immersed in the scourge of Capitalism. The Frankfurt sect, despite placing itself as a revision or re-search for Marx's thinking, in the fields of religion and theology did not fully follow Marx. Marx did not specifically criticize religion for thinking religion was part of a 'superstructure', so religion could not be unconditioned by the state of the base (Tukan, 2013).

Herbert Marcuse as one of those involved in the Frankfurt School tried to analyze various social inequalities due to the industrialization of technology capitalism. Herbert Marcuse's critical theory found that the process of enlightenment beginning with the dawn of the fitters

of myth and theology instead became a new model of oppression. The development of rationality no longer serves the interests of moral praxis (how to run a good life) but rather becomes a dominance of instrumental ratios, thus eventually giving rise to a One-Dimensional Society.

Starting from the above problems, the study of Herbert Marcuse, from the aspects of concepts, theories, and thoughts are very interesting, especially in looking at the actualization of critical theories in answering various social problems that arise as the impact of technological industrialization and capitalism. The ideas of socialist democracy contain human values that uphold equality, justice, and freedom according to Herbert Marcuse need to be re-centered amid the increasingly chaotic and complicated implementation of democracy to the present. Democracy is no longer a powerful solution, but rather a new part of the problem in modern life.

## 2. RESEARCH METHODS

The approach used in this research is philosophical. The philosophical approach is to examine thinking from the ideal side. This research uses a philosophical approach because it examines ideas at the idealized level, in the form of ideas about politics, society, and democracy. The data source used by this research is secondary data. Secondary data is data obtained indirectly or has been provided by other parties. Secondary data used in the form of legal documents that serve as the main reference for reviewing Marcuse's thinking. Data collection techniques used in this study through offline and online investigation. Offline library smoothing is the activity of finding the source of the library to the data store. While online graduation is the activity of finding library sources in cyberspace through the internet network. Conventional library graduation is done by looking for library materials in libraries, collections of books and personal journals, purchasing books, and visiting scientific activities (seminars). While the online smoothing is done by searching the internet. The data analysis method used is qualitative. Qualitative data analysis is the process of organizing and sorting data into patterns, categories, and units of the basic description so that themes can be found presented in the form of narratives. This research uses qualitative data analysis because the data will be presented narratively-descriptively, not in the form of numbers or numerical.

## 3. DISCUSSION

### A. *Biography of Herbert Marcuse*

Herbert Marcuse was one of the greatest political philosophers of the 20th century and a great inspiration for many social theories (Seybold, 2017). His scientific work provided much understanding of the teachings of Hegel and Marx and opened the gates to research Freud as a social thinker (Zilbersheid, 2008). Herbert Marcuse was born to a middle-class merchant family in Berlin, Germany, on July 19, 1898. His father, Carl Marcuse, was a textile entrepreneur and real estate magnate, and Gertrud Kreslawsky's mother came from a family of book producers (Celarent, 2010). As Marcuse acknowledged in an interview with Douglas Kellner, he claimed that his education was typical for German middle-class families and that his Jewish heritage had never caused a sense of alienation from German society (O'Brien, 2013).

Like most young men, after completing his high school education, Marcuse served in the military from 1916 to 1917, right amid World War I which claimed the lives of more than 40 million military and civilian members. During his military service, Marcuse joined the German Armed Forces. Although during his conscription Marcuse only had the task of guarding horses and tending stables in Berlin, Marcuse recorded many poignant stories of the

aftermath of the war. The proximity to these community concerns fostered Marcuse's interest in humanitarian issues.

After the war and conscription, Marcuse joined the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and was abandoned in 1917. At the time, it was the most important socialist party in the world, recognizing the large working class in Germany. Moreover, the party is dominated by Lenin-style Marxism but has a very visible minority advocating a more Libertarian Marxism (O'Brien, 2013). Subsequently, Marcuse chose to continue his studies at the University of Berlin and later at the University of Freiburg. Marcuse earned a doctorate in philosophy in 1923 at the university. Marcuse wrote a dissertation on Hegel with the title *Hegels Ontologie und die Grundlegung einer Theorie der Geschichtlichkeit* (*Hegel's Ontology and the Foundation of a Theory of Historicity*).

After earning a doctorate in philosophy, Marcuse returned to Berlin and worked in publishing. Through this publication, Marcuse found a means to convey critical thoughts and responses to the growing socio-political issues in the community.

In 1924, Marcuse married a woman named Sophie (who he met in Freiburg) and was able to buy a partnership in a book company through the financial help of his father, who survived the 1923 economic crisis (O'Brien, 2013). After working in publishing for about six years, in 1928 Marcuse returned to Freiburg to research with Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger. In the mid-1920s Marcuse moved from a romantic critique of bourgeois society to Revolutioner Hegelianism (Abromeit, 2019). Like Jean-Paul Sartre, Marcuse was also one of Heidegger's assistants. The results were published in 1932 as *Hegel's Ontology and Theory of Historicity*. Hegel's thinking on the historical foundation was given new meaning with the help of Husserl and Heidegger's phenomenological approach. Marcuse found that phenomenological approaches help philosophical reflections to be more caring and close to real issues (Darmaji, 2013).

In 1933, Marcuse joined the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research. The institute has been established since 1923 and is a center for the development of critical studies on various actual issues. The thinking of Emmanuel Kant, Hegel, and Karl Marx became a critical learning facility for critical analysis developed at the Frankfurt Institute or often known as the Frankfurt School. In addition to Herbert Marcuse, notable figures who were once part of the institute were Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Walter Benjamin, Erich Fromm, Leo Lowenthal, and Jürgen Habermas.

Marcuse's social analysis acumen is honed here. Not even a year into his time with the Institute, he published a critical review of Karl Marx's thinking titled *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*. This review is further evidence for Marcuse that the philosophical resources necessary to overcome the positives shrinkage of Marx's theory can be found in Marx's own early work. By the end of 1932, Marcuse's need to equip Marxism with Heideggerian phenomenology was no longer urgent (Abromeit, 2019). Thanks to this publication, Marcuse became widely known as a columnist and thinker who was very keen on analyzing social issues.

Encounters with many of the people who joined the Frankfurt School helped Marcuse to assert his identity as a social critic and champion of democracy. According to Marcuse, discussions about democracy and the practice of democratic life are increasingly relevant amid the practice of domination and repression of small people (laborers) carried out by the owners of capital (capitalists). Democracy is inseparable from the struggle to uphold justice. The struggle for democracy is increasingly urgent in the midst of a civilization crisis caused by the exploitative nature of the political system of capitalism. Radical change is needed to build a more just civilization and respect individual freedoms. Justice and freedom are the two main pillars of democracy.

In 1933 Marcuse went to Switzerland and then in 1934 immigrated to the United States with other members of the Frankfurt Sect. Marcuse had the opportunity to teach at Columbia University, USA. The Frankfurt School or Frankfurt Institute of Social Research was given a new office at Columbia University. For seven years Marcuse was actively involved in research activities and scientific discussions on actual social issues.

In 1940, Marcuse became an American citizen. After receiving his citizenship, Marcuse had the opportunity to take part in various organizations to fight for his thoughts. During World War II, Marcuse worked at the U.S. Office of War Information (OWI), an agency that advocated the anti-Nazism movement. In the same period, Marcuse also pioneered the Office of Strategic Service (OSS), an intelligence agency engaged in research on the German Nazi movement.

After the end of the World War, Marcuse was elected Head of The Central European Section of the United States Department of the Interior until 1951. Marcuse worked in these three institutions broadly for the community to fight for a democratic system of life or civilization. In terms of the resulting scientific work, the themes of Marcuse's post-World War II writings build on the Frankfurt School's analysis of the role of technology and the rationality of technology, administration and bureaucracy, capitalist state, mass media and consumerism, and the new mode of social contrary (Marcuse, 2002).

In 1953 at the invitation of Abram Sachar, Rector of Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, Marcuse was confirmed professor of politics and philosophy. Still a lecturer at Brandeis, Marcuse was appointed director of study affairs at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris, France, for some time. Twelve years at Brandeis, after a squabble with Sachar over a counter-version one-dimensional man book, Marcuse moved to San Diego to meet the invitation of the University of California (UCLA) (Celarent, 2010). Taught on the San Diego campus until he was forced to leave the professor's chair in 1970 by a group of political suppressers in the city. Until the end of his life on July 29, 1979, ten days after celebrating his 81st birthday, filusuf who was referred to as the 'prophet of the 20th century' died in the ground spilled his blood. In the German city of Sternberg, Marcuse breathed his last breath while fulfilling the invitation of Jurgen Habermas, a former member of the Frankfurt School, who was then director of the Max Planck Institute (Darmaji, 2013).

Marcuse published many works in the form of books such as *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud* (published in 1955), *Soviet Marxism: A Critical Analysis* (published in 1958), *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (published 1964), *Negation: Essays in Critical Theory* (published 1968), *An Essay on Liberation* (published 1969), *Five Lectures* (published 1970), *Counterrevolution and Revolt* (published 1972), *Studies in Critical Philosophies* (published in 1973) and *The Aesthetic Dimension: Toward a Critique of Marxist Aesthetic* (published 1978) (Mulyatno, 2013).

#### *B. Herbert Marcuse's Concepts, Theories, and Thoughts*

Herbert Marcuse lived in an era marked by terrible humanitarian and environmental tragedies. Marcuse had experienced the first and second world wars and atrocities of Nazism under Hitler's regime. Marcuse was encouraged to reflect on the meaning of democracy, freedom, and justice. In the broader context, Marcuse sees oppression, the domination of labor under the system of capitalism in the development of industrial society, and severe environmental damage. Marcuse calls this a regime of madness (Miles, 2016). To overcome it all, Marcuse developed a critical theory as a way to educate the public so that citizens transform their lives towards the realization of freedom and social justice (Mulyatno, 2013). According to Marcuse, critical attitudes need to be constantly buzzed against all forms of the establishment of thought, institutions, and practices of life. The critical theory he developed is

a method to maintain the dynamic of people's lives and appreciate the equality of all individuals in living life freely (Mulyatno, 2013).

Herbert Marcuse saw that seeing the process of enlightenment beginning with the dawn of the mind from the shackles of myth and theology instead became a new model of oppression. How not, because dialectics are only viewed positively, when able to meet technological advances and guarantee perfection. Ironically, these positive myths have curbed the dignity and dignity of humanity. The development of rationality no longer serves the interests of moral praxis (how to run a good life) but rather becomes the domination of instrumental ratios (Adian, 2006).

The instrumental rationality that has become the pattern of industrial society's life has created an atmosphere of life shackled by production targets, dependent on industrial machinery, and haunted by anxiety about failure. Rationality is the cause of all forms of human oppression and slavery of people, human exploitation of human beings, and overexploitation of nature (Santoso, 2003). A measure of people's rationality is technological rationality. People and society fall into the trap, mastery, and manipulation of technology. Technology can replace human power not only in the field of the industry but also in the entire chain of life (Darmaji, 2013).

Marcuse expressed the hope that technology, and technological rationality, could be radically transformed by embodying values that negate the forms of non-freedom and dominance inherent in modern technology projects (Cressman, 2014). Because the rationality of modern technology has succeeded in invading public and private life so that it can control all areas without freedom and criticism (Celarent, 2003). Marcuse was encouraged to convey scientific-critical reflections that enlighten people to realize their freedom (realizing all their potentials) in a fair and responsible life system. Scientific works published by Marcuse consistently affirm his position as a social critic. The position is explicitly and implicitly enshrined in the title of works published twenty-five years towards the end of his lifetime (Mulyatno, 2013).

Herbert Marcuse's thoughts and criticism of the environmental crisis in advanced capitalist society are powerful and sharp (Luke, 2000), ranging from slicing ideological celebrations of capitalism, criticizing dehumanization and alienation in luxury and prosperity, slavery in the work system, ideology and indoctrination in culture, fetishism in consumerism, and danger and agitation in industry and the military (Marcuse, 2002). Although less well known in Western Europe at the time, it inspired the New Left movement in America (Tukan, 2013).

Some important thoughts of Herbert Marcuse that greatly contributed to the development of science, among others:

### *1. Critical Theory*

In general, critical theory is one of the schools of social sciences based on the ideas of Karl Marx and F. Engels (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Critical Theory is a reflective theory. Because it is not directly about one of the problems, but rather always aware of itself or reflects the role of the theory. Critical Theory is built based on criticism of traditional views on theory and limits itself to contemplative. The contemplative theory has the sense that the theory only sees, but does not become praxis and changes what is seen. With that contemplative approach, traditional theories become affirmative. That is, by providing a more satisfying understanding of reality. That reality is affirmed or justified. Traditional theories support existing circumstances. He became conservative and even reactionary.

According to Marcuse, critical theory is different from traditional theory. Critical theories are oriented towards material changes in society that produce reason and happiness for all. Whereas traditional theory would be idealistic and individualistic because it would contain freedom and reason as a state of mind, not as a material condition of society (Fuchs & Sandoval, 2008). The way critical theory works are to explain reality in such a way that

falsehoods and lies are exposed, so directly critical theories are influenced by Hegel and Marx's teachings on negative dialectics. Marcuse thought that Hegel and Marx's dialectical philosophy could encourage the emergence of critical and dialectical theories. Critical and dialectical theories involve the ability to abstract one's thoughts and perceptions from existing forms to form more general concepts (Marcuse, 2002).

Critical theories examine reality in such a way that reality itself speaks and shows that it was shaped by oppression. Restoring critical thinking and opening up horizons where real social change can occur can only occur through the transformation of the technology base of industrial society (Cressman, 2014). Thus, critical theories always follow reality strictly and show where it destroys the truth and oppresses man. Therefore, in the critical paradigm view, the reality is not in harmony but more in situations of conflict and social struggle (Eriyanto, 2001).

In his critical theory, Herbert Marcuse criticized the growing Nazi Fascism of the time. Nazi fascism contrasted Marx's socialism in Germany with the industrialization that flourished in it. It turns out that the development of industrial society does not change anything. Poverty is still an unresolved problem. Thus the leadership of Nazi Fascism became rampant and made the German society poorer. His criticism of the development of the industry has resulted in Germany becoming a poor country in terms of welfare. The workers then turned to workers at an industrial factory in Germany. Industry and knowledge remained tools of the dominance of Nazi fascism in Germany.

Misinterpretation of Marx's theory made german fascism not know the basis and conception of Marx's theory at that time. Marcuse even revealed that nazi fascism made some people less prosperous about their economic needs. The cause of all forms of alienation, oppression, and uncritically is rationality. The best way to get out of rationality is to revolutionize science and technology. This revolution was intended to change the way of the view of science and technology that was original as mastery was changed to 'close friend' by maintaining and caring for objects (Santoso, 2003).

Current developments, information and information technology are the foundations on which most of capitalism is built now, and information as the basis of knowledge and critical thinking becomes both instrumentally oriented towards capital needs, and information reproduces itself in continuous growth. So it will produce little space and time for critical reflection necessary for the development and implementation of critical ideas (Hassan, 2015). If the perspective on nature is no longer dominative and exploitative, then the second step is to change the logic of mastery into non-oppressive logic. The logic of mastery in question is the embedding of logic that is solely formal. This formal logic had appeared in the time of Aristotle, who eventually modern times possessed the methodology of science. This formal logic diminishes reality, because he does not dispute the veracity of the content of statements, but rather he considers the outer forms of these statements. This logic offers itself as a tool for achieving certain goals in the most effective way. It is this logic that ultimately disappears one aspect of human thought that is negation. Real negation thinking is critical of the phenomenon. Human duty is to revive the thought of negation to be free from repressive systems, as well as able to open ideological veils (Santoso, 2003).

## 2. *The Concept of One-Dimensional Society*

Capitalism society is a term that refers to a society that is involved in market mechanisms at large. In this society, everyone must follow the prevailing system. Capitalism society is considered a modern society because it can leave traditional culture to the culture of capitalism. Herbert Marcuse criticized the capitalist society that has dominated society with technology, thus giving birth to a technocratic society, dominated by repressive desublimation, closed political discourse, and the loss of critical functions of society to crack

down on unkind systems, as well as the emergence of new forms of control in society, thus eventually giving rise to a One Dimensional Society.

The idea of Marcuse's One-Dimensional Society is contained in the book *One-Dimensional Man*. The book first appeared in 1964 at the height of the industry after World War II, when certain production modes were at the peak of the economy and culture and influenced radical generations in the United States and beyond (Hassan, 2015). So Marcuse sees the fact that the community has one-sided and the thought is also only one-sided (Santoso, 2003). Barry Katz (1982), described *One Dimension Man* as a study of 'public and private assimilation, inside and outside, through the expansion of the realm of necessity into a realm traditionally reserved by bourgeois-era ideologies for the development of self-freedom. Even while teaching at the University of California at San Diego, Marcuse took advantage of the fame amassed by *One Dimensional Man* to influence his students to 'divert their energy to a greater mobilization of anti-war resistance (Cunningham, 20013).

One-dimensional society means that people do not know the dimensions of opposition and negation. In "*One-Dimensional Society*", it generally has distinctive characteristics, namely the power of technological principles, total irrationality, and affirmative or elimination of negative dimensions, manipulation of needs. In that, modern society lives in an octopus "repressive tolerance". The majority in society are already popularized by the system in such a way that they will never criticize the system itself (Nazsir, 2001).

Economically it is experiencing a variety of abundance ranging from comfort to regularity. Rapid advances in technology make people seem free from sweat in their daily work. Marcuse wants to draw the public deeper into exposing the hallucinations of pseudo-comfort. The structure of the market is transformed into a tool of labor extortion (which is no longer physical) or by manipulating the needs and mastery of consumers because profit orientation is abundant. This false need is a need imposed on the individual by the existence of special social interests in his repression. Thus, capitalism has produced a system of 'voluntary slavery'. At this point, Marcuse agreed with the left-wing student movement of the 1960s and considered it a major concern for him in both theoretical and practical ways of transforming society on socialist lines (Zilbersheid, 2008).

According to Marcuse, capitalistic lusts reflect "excessive oppression", which is distributed to the lusts of a handful of people to master distribution, thereby also intending to rule the human ummah. The suppression is evident in the market mechanisms underpinned by the way many ads work. For the benefit of the owners of capital, the industry produces goods massively and eventually creates pseudo needs through advertising offers in various electronic and print media. Market mechanisms have created oppression of the community under the production, distribution, and marketing apparatus of goods (Mulyanto, 2013).

Such excessive oppression should be eliminated by eliminating scarcity and freeing people from the grip of the "principle of achievement" that has so far dominated human thought. It is capitalism that makes people have to work more than necessary. Capitalism fears the human consciousness it exploits. This consumerism, causing "mental pollution" in the form of inaction in life. Besides, the environment in which people live and live is damaged and dominated by transnational corporations with the mentality of capitalism, and no decent human and natural environment can be created as a source of life before the sources of pollution created by the company have been eliminated (Miles, 2016).

Mass Media is the most effective tool in disseminating one-dimensional behavior, through, blurring of language, crossing facts and opinions, to the language of persuasion that hypnotizes and herds the psychological crowd. The media became a vulnerable reality dominated by more dominant and powerful groups (Rogers, 1994). As Marcuse reveals, dimensional is systematically promoted by political makers and the mass media. The world is

inhabited by hypotheses that prove themselves, repetitive, and monopolistic (Marcuse, 2013). Thus, what is aired in the media is a lot of interesting and consumptive things that create a belief structure towards the truth that is wrong (false need). For example, one type of television advertisements then it clear that beautiful women are "white" women while offering skin whitening products. Both the workers and the bourgeois were affected as if they needed the product in various variants.

According to Marcuse, the goal is to silence all dimensions that can rebel, such as aesthetic dimensions that can maintain freedom of expression, so that art/literature in culture is converted into operational and pragmatic forms solely to soften the expression of admiration, beauty, and longing for unfulfilled human beings. Up to freedom is transformed into a happy accepting mechanism of domination (Luke, 2000). Marcuse argues that the consumptive lifestyle is a lifestyle that is loved by modern society so that individuals in modern society have lost the power to think critically and to hold resistance to such consumptive technologies and lifestyles.

Thus the one-dimensional direction of modern industrial society is revealed in repressive measures to maintain the existing system. Criticism and freedom of thought only in the framework of the status quo, to improve and improve the existing system, should never get out of it. Mastery of engineering and production became a tool of social control. Capitalism monopolizes, wages war on nature, human nature, and other external traits. The more productive capitalism, the more destructive it becomes (Miles, 2016). By exploiting nature, capitalism generates only a short-term surplus of material natural wealth (Luke, 2000). As a result, problems began from the death of critical reason, dominance in social inequality, totalitarianism through technology, consumerism, discourse deception, the death of criticism of scientific development, and various kinds of social inequality.

Franz Magnis Suseno considers that Marcuse saw society unknowingly driven to be useful in moving the wheels of capitalism and that it alienated them from his ideals, or even from themselves (Suseno, 2013). To that end, Marcuse suggests a social revolution through The Great Refusal movement or a massive rejection of an oppressive system. The courage to say 'no' must be revived. It was this suggestion that ultimately inspired the new student and left socio-political movements in America in the 1960s (Santoso, 2003). Marcuse sees that the leading role of new students and leftists as the basis for advancing and developing non-instrumental community-based ideas on non-instrumental productions (Zilbersheid, 2008).

In general, the one-person person identified by Marcuse in economics, for example, can be seen that people live in comfort because the needs of life are met. The comfort was deliberately created by the ruler to master the consciousness of each individual. By mastering consciousness, everyone's life will be in line with the will of the ruler. In the field of politics, modern industrial society is characterized by compromise. The purpose of the compromise is to get rid of the ability of the human mind to think critically so that human consciousness is ultimately intended to support the interests of the ruler, namely maintaining power.

Meanwhile, in the field of language, the use of language in the life of modern industrial society no longer shows any difference in meaning. Language has been reconstructed so that it becomes a language that knows no differences and emphasizes the characteristics of its functionality. The purpose of the construction of the language is to create an absolute and anti-opposition language so that no party will fight the authorities. Marcuse says that functionalized, abbreviated, and unified language is the language of one-dimensional thinking.

### 3. Social Democracy

Democracy was one of the central themes in Herbert Marcuse's thinking. Democracy is a process of representation derived from a series of clear directives and applied voters to its representatives. The democratic election is a process of "selecting and rejecting candidates"

who are "competing for public office" where the character of the political competition will be assessed. When political competition results in an "approval process", and when it produces a "manipulation process". Democracy in another sense is an instrument by which individuals are exempt from all propaganda, indoctrination, and manipulation, and can know and understand facts and evaluate alternatives (Marcuse, 2002).

Marcuse's attention and interest in the issue of democracy were influenced by his life experiences amid the war that engulfed the world and in particular the violence that befell people of Jewish descent in Germany. Marcuse is a witness to humanity's black history from World Wars I and II which took many lives. He also suffered bitterly from the atrocities of nazi soldiers under Hitler(Marcuse, 2002). As such, Marcuse's interest in democracy is based on concrete experience when he confronts a life situation tinged with war, violence, and injustice. These negative experiences are the driving force to engage in fighting for democratic shared life.

Marcuse's idea of a socialist democracy contains humanitarian values that uphold equality, justice, and freedom. Marcuse himself not only gave ideas about social democracy but also lived it both in the academic sphere (campus world) and in practical non-political social involvement that was scientifically accounted for through critical analysis (as a method of mass democracy) for the development of a democratic civilization based on the value of freedom and justice. Awareness of equality is the basis for explaining the meaning of freedom and justice (Mulyatno, 2013). So the critical attitude towards the practice of living in the name of democracy becomes very important for the development of life together. Democracy does not become a frozen ideology to legitimize efforts to maintain the status quo and side with the Capitalists. The essence of democracy is the values of equality, freedom, brotherhood, and justice that are the spirit or drivers of the dynamics of life together. Factually, democratic dynamics are characterized by intelligence (critical attitude), openness, dialogue, and responsibility to build a just and peaceful life.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion, it can be concluded that Harbert Marcuse was one of the leaders of the first-generation Frankfurt School. Marcuse's thoughts on critical theory inspired the new left movement. Marcuse's doctrine of the political system and social system was considered very radical by orthodox communists. Capitalism society was the source of Herbert Marcuse's study, which was regarded as a modern society. Herbert Marcuse criticized capitalism in a one-dimensional man, where many people were drugged by false and pseudo-interests. In the field of social democracy, Marcuse gave rise to the concept of socialist democracy that contains human values that uphold equality, justice, and freedom.

#### 5. REFERENCE

- [1] Abromeit, J. (2019). "The Vicissitudes of the Politics of "Life": Max Horkheimer and Herbert Marcuse's Reception of Phenomenology and Vitalism in Weimar Germany", *Enrahonar: An International Journal of Theoretical and Practical Reason*, 62 (2).
- [2] Adian, D.G. (2006). *Percik Pemikiran Kontemporer*, Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.
- [3] Celarent, B. (2010). "Eros and Civilization by Herbert Marcuse", *American Journal of Sociology*, 115, (6).
- [4] Cressman, D. (2014). " On Fifty Years of One-Dimensional Man and A Critical Philosophy of Technology", *Krisis: Journal for Contemporary Philosophy*, 2, (3).

- [5] Cunningham, J. (2013). "Praxis Exiled: Herbert Marcuse and the One Dimensional University", *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 47, (4). DOI. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9752.12037>.
- [6] Darmaji, A. (2013). "Herbert Marcuse tentang Masyarakat Satu Dimensi", *Ilmu Ushuluddin*, 1, (6).
- [7] Eriyanto, (2001). *Analisis Wacana, Pengantar Analisis Teks Media*. Yogyakarta : LkiS.
- [8] Fuchs, C., & M. Sandoval, (2008). "Positivism, Postmodernism, or Critical Theory? A Case Study of Communications Students' Understandings of Criticism", *Journal For Critical Education Policy Studies*, 6, (2).
- [9] Hassan, R. (2015). "The Function of Time in Marcuse's One-Dimensional World, and its Relevance in the Networked Society", *New Proposals: Journal of Marxism and Interdisciplinary Inquiry*, 7, (2).
- [10] Luke, T.W. (2000). "One-Dimensional Man, A Systematic Critique of Human Domination and Nature – Society Relations", *Organization & Environment*, 13, (1). DOI: 10.1177/1086026600131006
- [11] Marcuse, H. (2002) *One-Dimensional Man; Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*, United Kingdom: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- [12] Miles, M. (2016). "Eco-Aesthetic Dimensions: Herbert Marcuse, Ecology and Art", *Cogent Arts & Humanities*, 3, (2). DOI. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2016.1160640>.
- [13] Mulyatno, (2013). "Demokrasi Sosial Menurut Herbert Marcuse", *Arete*, 02, (2).
- [14] Nazsir, N. (2001). "Komunisme Sebuah Utopia dalam Era Globalisasi: Tinjauan Historis terhadap Pemikiran Karl Marx", *Mediator*, 2, (2).
- [15] O'Brien, P.T. (2013) "Herbert Marcuse; Liberation, Domination, and the Great Refusal", *Theses and Dissertations*, Lehigh University, 2013.
- [16] Rogers, E.M., (1994). *A History of Communication Study: A Biographical Approach*. New York: The Free Press.
- [17] Santoso, H. (2003). "Kritik Herbert Marcuse Atas Selubung Ideologis di Balik Rasionalitas Manusia", Listiyono Susanto & Sunarto, *Epistemologi Kiri: Seri Pemikiran Tokoh*, Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ar-Ruzz.
- [18] Seybold, P. (2017). "The Great Refusal: Herbert Marcuse and Contemporary Social Movements", *Socialism and Democracy*, 31, (3). DOI. 10.1080/08854300.2017.1376400
- [19] Suseno, F.M. (2013). *Etika Politik Prinsip-Prinsip Dasar Kenegaraan Modern*, Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- [20] Tukan, B. (2013). "Teologi Sebagai Pelayan Kesosialan: Pemikiran Mazhab Frankfurt Tentang Teologi", *Melintas*, 29, (3).
- [21] Zilbersheid, U. (2008). "The Utopia of Herbert Marcuse Part 1", *Critique; Journal of Socialist Theory*, 36, (3). DOI: 10.1080/03017600802434508