The Bildungsroman and Its Significance in the History of Realism

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Dises not the threat of an atomic catastrophic which could elpe out the human race alto serve to protect the very forces which perpetuate this danger? The efforts to prevent such a catastrophic overshallow the search for its potential occase in contemporary industrial socials. These causes remain unidentified, unexposed, unestacted by the public because they recede before the all too obsticus threat from without — to the West from the East, to the East from the West. Equally obvious is the reset for being prepared, for long on the block, for facing the challenge. We soluted to the percental production of the means of destruction, to the perfection of weets, to being advant to the percental production of the means of destruction, to the perfection of weets, to being advanted for a defense which delivers the defenders and that which they defend.

If we attempt to relate the causes of the danger to the war in which excisely is organized and organizes its mandans, we are immediately confronted with the fact that advanced industrial excisely becomes richer, bigger, and better as it perpetuates the danger. The defense structure makes life seasor for a greater number of people and extends man's meeting of rations. Under these circumstances, our mass meets have little difficulty is selling particular interests as those of all sensible man. The political needs of society become individual needs and expirations, their satisfactors promotes business and the communicated, and the whole appeals to be the very protections of Research. And yet this society is implicited as a whole. In productivity is destructive of the free development of human needs and faculties, its peace maintained by the constant threat of ear, its proach dependent on the repression of the real possibilities for pacifying the struggle for existence -- individual, national, and international. This repression, so different from that which characterized the preceding, less developed stages of our society. operates today not tram a position of natural and technical inematurity but rather from a position of strength. The capabilities intellectual and material of contemporary society are immeasurably greater than over before -- which means that the scope of society's domination over the individual is increasurably preater than ever before. Our excluty distinguishes badf by conquering the centrifugal social forces with Technology rather than Terror, on the dust basis of an overwhelming efficiency and an increasing standard of living.

To investigate the roots of these developments and expense their transvices alternatives is part of the aim of a critical theory of contemporary society, a theory which analyses society in the light of its used and unused or altowed capabilities for improving the human condition. But what we the standards for each a critique!

Containty value judgeteents play a part. The established war of organizing excisity is measured against other preside ways, ways which are hald to offer better chances for alleviating man's struggle for existence; a specific testorical practice is reseasoned against its own historical alternations. From the beginning, any oritical theory of excisity is thus confronted with the problem of historical objectivity, a problem which arises at the two points where the analysis replies value judgments:

 the judgment that human the is exorth being, or rather can be and coght to be made worth being. This judgement underlies all insultantual affort; it is the a priori of social theory, and its rejection behink is perfectly topicall rejects theory built.

 the judgment that, is a given society, specific possibilities outst for the amelioration of frames life and specific seays and means of realizing these prossibilities. Critical analysis has to demonstrate the objective validity of these judgments, and the demonstration has to proceed on empirical grounds. The established occarity has available an ascentamable quantity and quality of intellectual and material resources. How can these resources be used for the optimal development and satisfaction of individual resets and faculties with a minimum of toil and misery? Social theory is historical theory, and history is the realise of charge in the realise possible and actual modes of organizing and utilizing the sentiable resources, which once offer the greatest charge of an optimal development?

The attempt to answer these questions demands a series of initial abstractions, to order to identify and define the possibilities of an optimal development, the critical theory must abstract from the actual organization and utilization of society's resources, and from the results of this organization and utilization. Buch abstraction which refuses to accept the given universe of facts as the final context of validation, such "transcending" analysis of the facts in the light of their arrested and denied possibilities, partition to the very structure of social theory. It is approad to all instagilysics by virtue of the rigorously historical character of the transcendence. The "possibilities" must be within the reach of the respective accising they must be definable goals of practice. By the same token, the abstraction from the established in -altuations must be expressive of an actual tendency that is, their transformation must be the real need of the underlying population. Social theory is concerned with the bistorical alternatives which haunt the established society as soliversive tendencies and forces. The values attached to the alternatives do become facts when they are translated into reality by fratorical practice. The theoretical concepts terroinate with social change.

But have, ashanced industrial society confluents the critique with a situation which seams to deprice it of its very basis. Technical progress, extended to a whole system of domination and coordination, creates force of the land of powers which appear to reconcile the forces opposing the system and to defeat or relute all protest to the name of the featurities prospects of feature sol protest to the name of the featurities prospects of feature tol and domination. Contemporary society seems to be capable of containing social change — qualitative change which would establish assentially different traditions, a new direction of the satisficient seasonization. productive process, new modes of human selectors. This containment of social change is perhaps the most singular achievement of advanced industrial socials; the general acceptance of the National Purpose, bipertises policy, the decline of pluralism, the collusion of Business and Labor within the strong State teetily to the integration of opposites which is the result as well as the prerequisite of this achievement.

A brief comparison between the formative stage of the theory of industrial society and its present situation may help to show how the basis of the critique has been altered. At its origins in the first half of the constrainth century, when it stationated the first concepts of the alternatives, the critique of industrial society attained concreteness in a Vistorical mediation between theory and practice, values and facts, needs and goals. This historical mediation occurred in the consciousness and in the political action of the two great classes which faced each other in the society: the bourgeoisis and the proleteriat, in the 'Capitalist world, they are still the basic classes. However, the capitalist development has altered the structure and function of these two classes in each a way that they so longer appear to be agents of transcript transformation. An exercising interest in the preservation and improvement of the institutional status gun unites the former pringprints in the most advanced press of contemporary society. And to the degree to which technical progress assures the growth and cohesion of communist society. the very idea of qualitative change recedes before the realistic nations of a non-auglouise evolution, in the absence of demonstratite agents and agencies of social change, the critique is thus thrown back to a high level of abstraction. There is no ground on which theory and practice, thought and action must. Even the most ampirical analysis of fratorical alternatives appears to be unrealistic speculation, and commitment to them a matter of paraconal for groups proference.

And just disses this allownce refute the theory? In the Sace of apparently contradictory Sacts, the critical analysis continues to resist that the need for qualitative change is as pressing as ever before. Needed by whom? The presser continues to be the same by the society as a whole, for every one of its manufaces. The union of growing productivity and growing destruction; the

brinderspeaking of assolidation; the surrender of thought, hope, and fear to the decisions of the powers that be; the preservation of misery in the fece of unprecedented wealth constitute the most impartial indictment — even if they are not the nison if altre of this society but only its by-product; its sweeping nationality, which propote efficiency and prowth, is itself implicing.

The fact that the cost respectly of the population accepts, and is readle to accept, this excisity does not render it less irrational and tess repretensible. The distinction between true and false consciousness, real and inmediate interest still is resembled. But the distinction had received to see it and to find their way from false to true consciousness, from their inmediate to the consciousness, from their inmediate to their neal interest. They can do so only if they like in reset of changing their way of the, of denying the positive, of refusing, it is precisely this need which the established society manages to represe to the degree to which it is capable of "delicening the growth" on an increasingly large scale, and using the attention the positive conquest of return to the scientific conquest of the scientific conquest of the

Confronted with the total character of the achievements of advanced industrial society, critical theory is left without the rationals for transcending this society. The vacuum amplies the theoretical structure itself, because the categories of a critical social theory were developed during the period in which the need for refusal and subversion was embodied in the action of effective social forces. These categories were essentially regative and oppositional concepts, defining the actual contradictions in nineteenth century European acciety. The category "acciety" badf expressed the acute conflict between the social and political sphere -- society as antegoristic to the state. Similarly, "individual," "class," "private," "family" denoted spheres and forces not yet integrated with the solublished conditions -apheres of tension and contradiction. With the growing integration of industrial society, these categories are losing their critical connotation, and land to become descriptive, decaptive, or spendional terms.

An attempt to recogiture the critical intent of these categories, and to understand from the intent was carculfied by the accisi reality.

appears from the cultant to be regression from a theory joined with historical practice to allestrant, speculative throught from the critique of political economy to philosophy. This identinginal character of the critique results from the fact that the enalysis is forced to proceed from a position "cultaide" the positive as well as regative. The productive as well as regative. The productive in society. Modern industrial occupy is the percenter identity of these opposites — it is the whole that is in question. At the same time, the position of theory cannot be one of more speculation. It must be exceed to a historical position in the sense that it must be proveded on the capabilities of the given society.

This preligious altestion involves a ptill more fundamental ambiguity. One-Dimensional Man will cacilitate throughout between two contradictory hypotheses: (1) that advanced industrial excisity is capable of containing qualitative change for the foreseeable fature; (2) that forces and tendencies exist which may break this containment and explose the excisity. I do not think that a clear present can be given. Both tendencies are them, side thy side — and even the one in the other. The first tendency is donorount, and whatever preconditions for a reversal may exist are being used to prevent it. Perhaps an accident may after the situation, but unless the recognition of what is being done and what is being prevented subvents the consciousness and the belieuter of man, not even a catestrophe will bring about the change.

The analysis is focused on advanced industrial society, to which the technical apparatus of production and distribution swith an increasing sector of automation: functions, not as the some total of more instruments which can be included from their social and political effects, but rather as a system which determines a prior the product of the apparatus as well as the operations of servicing and extending it. In this society, the productive apparatus tends to become traditionies to the extent to which it determines not only the socially resolded occupations, skills, and attitudes, but also individual resolds and aspirations, this because obtaining the first social and appropriations, it thus stillnesses for Operation between the private and public existence, between individual and social resold. Technology serves to institute new, more effective, and more pleasant forms of social control and social control and social controls and social controls.

these controls seems to assert that it still another sense — by spreading to the less developed and even to the pre-industrial areas of the world, and by creating similarities in the development of opplishes and communities.

to the Spox of the totalitarian features of this society, the traditional notion of the "resolvably" of technology can no longer be maintained. Technology as each connect be included from the use to which it is put; the technological excisity is a system of dismination which operates already in the concept and construction of technologics. The way in which a excisity organism the life of its maintains involves an initial choice between testinal alternatives which are determined by the inharital lovel of the repetition and intellectual culture. The choice testif results of the repetition and intellectual culture. The choice testif results from the play of the dominant interests. It principales specific modes of transforming and officing man and returns and reports other modes. It is one "project" of realization among others.

But once the project has become operative in the basis institutions and relations, it tends to become exclusive and to determine the development of the society as a whole. As a technological universe, advanced industrial society is a political universe, the basis stage in the realization of a specific historical protect — contesty. The experience, transformation, and organization of restors as the reasonable of demonstration.

As the project unfolds, it obspect the entire universe of discourse and action, intellectual and material culture. In the medium of technology, culture, politics, and the economy merge into an omnignment system which swallows up or regulaxs all alternations. The productivity and growth potential of this system stabilize the society and contain technolog progress within the framework of discouration. Technological rationality has become political rationality.

1. The New Forms of Control

A constitutable, amounts, reasonable, democratic unfreadons prevails in advanced industrial civilization, a token of technical progress. Indeed, what could be more rational than the expenseror of individuality in the mechanication of socially necessary but painful performances; the concentration of individual enterprises in more effective, more productive conpositions; the regulation of the compatition among unequality expitations; the regulation of the compatition among unequality expitational economic subjects; the curtainnest of prerequisions and satternal economic subjects; the curtainnest of prerequisional regulations of resources. That this technological order also investiges and political and intellectual coordination may be a regrestable and per promising development.

The rights and liberties which were such vital factors in the origins and earlier stages of industrial society yield to a higher stage of this society they are losing their traditional rationals and content. Fraedom of thought, speech, and conscience were — just as fine enterprise, which they served to promote and protect—exceptially critical ideas, designed to replace an obsolescent material and intellectual culture by a more productive and retired rational one. Once institutionalized, these rights and liberties shared the fate of the society of which they had become an integral part. The advancement cancels the previous.

To the degree to which freedom from word, the concrete substance of all freedom, is becoming a real possibility, the

liberties which pertain to a state of lower productivity are losing their former content, Independence of thought, autonomy, and the right to political opposition are being deprived of their basis critical function in a society which seems increasingly capable of satisfying the needs of the Individuals through the way in which it is organized. Such a society may justly demand acceptance of its principles and institutions, and reduce the opposition to the discussion and promotion of alternative policies within the status gur, in this respect, it seems to make little difference arbettur the increasing satisfaction of needs is accomplished by an authoritarian or a non-authoritarian system. Under the conditions of a rising standard of fixing, non-conformity with the system badf appears to be socially centers, and the more so when it entalls langible economic and political disadvantages and Breaters the amonth operation of the whole, Indeed, at least in so for as the necessities of tife are involved, there seems to be no reason why the production and distribution of goods and services should proceed through the competitive concurrence of Individual Shartless

Fraudom of anterprise was from the beginning not altogether a blessing. As the illusty to work or to starus, it spatied toil. insecurity, and fear for the vast majority of the population. If the individual seem to longer compafied to prove firmed on the market, as a free economic subject, the disappearance of this kind of freedom would be one of the greatest achievements of civilization. The technological processes of mechanication and standardization reight release individual arrange into a yell uncharted regim of freedom beyond recessity. The very structure of human existence would be altered; the individual anulid be therated from the work world's imposing upon him plan needs and allien possibilities. The individual smuld be free to exert autonomy over a life that would be his own. If the productive apparatus could be organized and directed toward the satisfaction of the vital needs, its control might self be centralized, such control would not prevent individual autonomy. but rander it pressible.

This is a goal within the capabilities of advanced industrial civilization, the "end" of technological retionality. In actual fact, bosener, the contrary trend operates: the apparatus imposes its economic and political requirements for defense and expansion on labor time and free time, on the material and insultantual collumn. By virtue of the way it has organized its technological base, contemporary industrial society tends to be totalization. For "totalization" is not only a terroristic political coordination of society, but also a non-terroristic accommoditation of excitely, but also a non-terroristic accommoditation of needs coordination which operates through the manipulation of needs by vested interests. It thus precludes the ameripalistics of southeasts by vested interests. It thus precludes the ameripalistics of an affective opposition against the whole. Not only a specific form of government or party rule makes for totalizationism, but also a specific system of production and distribution which may well be compatible with a "pluration" of parties, resempapers, "coordinating powers," etc.

Today political power asserts itself through its power over the machine process and over the technical organization of the apparatus. The government of advanced and advancing industrial societies can maintain and secure itself only when it succeeds in mobilizing, organizing, and exploiting the technical, actoritific, and mechanical productivity available to industrial civilization. And this productivity mobilizes society as a whole, above and beyond any particular individual or group interests. The brute fact that the machine's physical tonly physical's power surpasses that of the individual, and of any particular group of individuals, makes the machine the most effective political instrument in any society whose basic organization is that of the machine process. But the political trand may be reversed; essentially the power of the regolitine is only the stored-up and projected power of man. To the extent to which the work world is conceived of as a machine and machanised accordingly, it becomes the potential basis of a ness fraudom for man-

Contemporary industrial circlication demonstrates that II has reached the stage at which "the free society" can no longer be adequately defined in the traditional terms of economic, political, and intellectual liberties, not because these liberties have become insignificant, but because they are too significant to be confined within the traditional forms. But the political transf may be received, essentially the power of the machine is only the stored up and projected power of man. New modes of malication are seeded, corresponding to the new capabilities of excise.

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Buch new modes can be indicated only in negative terms because they would amount to the regation of the prevailing modes. Thus economic feedom would mean freedom from the economy -from being controlled by aconomic forces and relationships: handon from the daily struggle for solutionss. from saming a turns. Publical freedom would mean Stanation of the Individuals. from politice over which they have no effective control. Similarly, intellectual freedom aroutd mean the restoration of individual thought now absorbed by mass communication and inductrination, abolition of "public opinion" together with its makers. The unrealistic sound of these propositions is indicative. not of their utopion character, but of the strength of the forces. which prevent their realization. The most effective and enduring form of workers against liberation is the implanting of material and intellectual needs that perpetuate obsolete forms of the struggle for existence.

The interestly, the satisfaction and even the character of human needs, beyond the biological level, have always been preconditioned. Whether or not the possibility of doing or leaving, enjoying or destroying, prosessing or rejecting constiting is satisfal as a reself depends on whether or not it can be seen as desirable and recessary for the prevailing societal institutions and interests, in this sense, human needs are testinated and interests, in this sense, human needs are testinology and interests, in the sense, human needs are testinology and their sets of the individual, his needs the represented development of the individual, his needs the represented and their claim for satisfaction are subject to resemble profits attended.

We may distinguish both true and false needs. "False" are those select are superimposed open the individual by particular social interests in his representant the needs which perpetuals toil, approximeness, misers, and injustice. Their satisfaction might be most gratifying to the individual, but this happroxes is not a condition which has to be maintained and protected if it serves to arest the development of the ability this own and others to exception the disease of the whole and group the chances of noting the disease. The result then is explicit in unhappiness. Most of the prevailing needs to noise, to have fun, to believe and consume in accordance with the adventionments, to lose and hate what others to except the continues and

South needs have a societal content and function which are determined by external powers over which the individual has no control; the development and satisfaction of these needs is betweenounces. No nighter from much such needs may have become the individual's own, reproduced and furtified by the conditions of his existence; so make how much be identified by the conditions of his existence; so make how much be identified boronditions of his existence; so make how much he identifies boronditions of his existence; so make how much he identifies boronditions of his existence; so make how much a reach a reach some first the description of a society whose dentities thereof describes to be what they were from the beginning — products of a society whose dentities interest describes represent.

The prevalence of represents reach is an accomplished fact, accepted in ignorance and defeat, but a fact that must be undone in the interest of the happy individual as well as all those whose misery is the price of his satisfaction. The only reach that have an unqualified claim for satisfaction are the vital ones — consulations, clothing, todging at the attainable level of culture. The satisfaction of these needs is the prerequisite for the realization of all needs, of the unsublimated as well as the satisfaction of all needs, of the unsublimated as well as the satisfactors.

For any consciousness and conscience, for any experience which does not accept the prevailing societal interest as the expresse less of thought and behavior, the established universe of needs and satisfactions is a fact to be questioned — questioned in terms of truth and falsaltonel. These terms are fratorical throughout. and their objectivity is lisatorical. The judgment of needs and their satisfaction, under the given conditions, involves standards of priority -- standards which refer to the optimal development of the individual, of all individuals, under the optimal utilization of the material and inteffectual resources available to man. The recourses are calculable. "Truth" and "falsehood" of needs designate objective conditions to the select to which the universal satisfaction of vital needs and, beyond it. the progressive alleviation of toil and poverty, are universally valid standards. But as historical standards, they do not only vary according to area and stage of development, they also can be defined only in ignator or bease's contradiction to the prevailing ones. What influend can presidily claim the authority of decision?

In the last analysis, the question of what are true and false needs must be answered by the individuals themselves, but only in the

last analysis; that is, if and others they are free to give their own areaser. As long so they are legit incapable of being autonomous, as long as they are industrinated and manipulated librars to their very tratinate, their areaser to this question cannot be taken as their own. By the same token, boseness, no tribunal can justly arrogate to least the right to decide which reads should be developed and satisfied. Any such tribunal is reprehensible, although our resultion does not do away with the question how can the people who have been the object of effective and productive domination by themselves create the conditions of leasts.

The more optional, productive, technical, and total the represent administration of society becomes, the more unimaginable the means and ways by which the edininistened individuals neglic break their services are so entire society in a peradoxical and impress Research open an entire society is a peradoxical and scandatoxs tibes—although one neight dispute the rightecoxenes of a society which ridicules this idea while realing its own population into objects of total administration. All liberation dispends on the corecine, need of services and the emergence of this consciousness is always frampered by the predominance of reach and self-cities and self-cities of total policies extent population. The corecines of services and the emergence of this consciousness is always frampered by the predominance of reach and self-cities which, to a great extent, have become the individual's own. The process always replaces one system of pre-conditioning by another; the optional goal is the replacement of two-conditioning by another; the optional goal is the replacement of false reaches by true ones, the alternationness of represented satisfactors.

The distinguishing feature of advanced industrial society is its offsective sufficiency of those reseds which demand theresion — liberation also from that which is trienable and researching and confortable — while it sustains and absolves the destructive power and represente function of the affluent society. But the political trend may be received, essentially the presen. Here, the social controls exact the received exactiving need for the production and consumption of weath; the need for stopphying work where it is no longer a real receivably the need for stopphying work where it is no longer a real receivably the need for stopphying work where it is no longer a real receivably the need for stopphying work where it is no longer a real receivably the need for stopphying work where it is no longer a real receivably the need for stopphying work of relevant which souths and proton the stop of the real longer stopphysical devices as free competition at administration prices, a free press which conserve badd, free choice between branch and peligets.

Under the rule of a represente which, liberty can be reade into a powerful instrument of domination. The range of choice open to the individual is not the decisive factor in determining the degree of human freedom, but what can be observe and what is choosen by the individual. The criterion for the choice can rener be an absolute one, but neither to it entirely relative. Free election of meeters dose not abolish the meeters or the electe. Free choice among a wide vertely of goods and services dose not algority freedom. If these goods and services does not signify freedom. If these goods and services social controls over a life of toil and feer — that is, if they sustain social controls over a sportance or the sportance of reads to the sportance on reproduction of appening read reach. And the sportance is expectation as expectation of appening read reachs by the individual does not establish autonomy; it only testifies to the afficancy of the controls.

Our insistence on the depth and efficacy of these controls is open to the objection that we overrate greatly the industrinating power of the "modis," and that by thermolives the people would bed and satisfy the needs which are now improved upon them. The alignation release the point. The preconditioning does not start with the mass production of radio and television and with the controllization of their control. The people enter this stage as preconditioned receptacles of long standing: the decisive difference is in the flattening out of the contrast for conflict between the given and the possible, between the satisfied and the unsatisfied needs. Here, the so-called equalization of class distinctions reveals its ideological function. If the ecoflor and his bose enjoy the same television program and visit the same resort places. If the typics is an attractively roads up as the daughter of har amplicues. If the Nagro ceans a Cadillas, if they all read the same resespaper. Sun this assimilation indicates not the disappearance of classes, but the extent to which the needs and satisfactions that serve the preservation of the Establishment are shared by the underlying population.

troband, in the most highly developed areas of contemporary socials, the transplantation of social into individual results is no effective that the difference between them seems to be purely theoretical. Can one really distinguish between the rose media as instruments of information and extentionment, and in agents of manipulation and industringuish the east the automobile as represented as convenience? Between the automobile as replaced and convenience and industringuishing the former of the social time.

constants of functional architecture? Between the work for national defense and the work for corporate gain? Between the private pleasure and the commercial and political utility truphed in increasing the birth rate?

We are again confronted with one of the most vening aspects of advanced industrial civilization: the rational character of its instionably. Its productivity and efficiency, its capacity to increase and spread coniforts, to fore waste into need, and destruction into construction, the extent to which this civilization transforms the object world into an extension of maprix mind and body makes the very notion of alternation questionable. The people recognize themselves in their commodities; they find their soul in their automobile, to 6 set, split level home, blicher equipment. The very machanism which lies the individual to his society has changed, and social control is anchored in the new needs which it has produced. The prevailing forms of social control are technological in a new sense. To be sure, the technical structure and officery of the productive and destructive apparatus has been a major instrumentality for subjecting the population to the satublished social division of labor throughout the modern period. Mirrecver, such integration has always been accompanied by more obvious forms of compulsion: loss of lossificand, the administration of pattire, the police, the armed forces, it still is: But in the contemporary period, the technological controls appear to be the very ambodiment of Reason for the banafit of all social groups and interests -- to such an extent that all contradiction seems instinue and all counteraction impossible.

No secondar their that, in the most advanced areas of this civilization, the social controls have been introjected to the point where even individual protest is affected at its roots. The solubilization and emotional release "to go stong" appears records and impotent. This is the social-psychological aspect of the political event that marks the contemporary period the passing of the featurinal forces which, at the preceding stage of industrial socials, seemed to represent the preceding stage of industrial socials, seemed to represent the preceding stage of rotal socials.

But the term "introjection" perhaps no longer describes the way in which the individual by himself reproduces and perpetuates the external controls exercised by his society, hitrojection suggests a variety of relatively sportaneous processes by which a Self Egot transposes the "cuter" into the "irran." Thus introjection implies the existence of an irrar dimension distinguished from and even antagonistic to the external exigencies. — an individual consciousness and an individual uncorrection apart from public opinion and behavior. The idea of "irrar headon" have his its neality: I designates the private space in which may may become and remain.

Today this private space has been invested and whittled down by technological reality. Mass production and mass distribution claim the entire individual, and industrial psychology has long since ceased to be confined to the factory. The exactfuld processes of introjection seem to be cealified in pimost machanical reactions. The result is, not adjustment but minusis on insteading identification of the individual with his society and, through it, with the society and,

This immediate, automatic identification labors may have been characteristic of princitive forms of association) reappears in high industrial civilization; its new "immediary," however, is the product of a auphinticated, scientific management and organization, in this process, the "ones" dimension of the mind in which apposition to the status quo can take root is whitted down. The loss of this dimension, in which the power of regative ficiding - the critical power of Reason - is at home, is the ideological counterpart to the very material process in which advanced industrial society allences and reconciles the apposition. The impact of progress turns Reason into automission to the facts of life, and to too dynamic capability of producing more and bigger facts of the same sort of life. The afficiency of the system blumb too individuals' recognition that it contains to facts which do not communicate the represeive power of the whole. If the individuals find themselves in the things which shape their life. They do so, not by giving, but by accepting the lase of things -- not the lase of physics but the lase of their society.

I have just suggested that the concept of alteration seems to become questionable when the individuals identify themselves with the existence which is imposed upon them and have in it their own development and satisfaction. This identification is not illustron but readily. However, the readily constitutes a more progressive stage of alteration. The latter has become entirely objective; the subject which is alterated is seed/owed up by its alterated existence. There is only one dimension, and it is exempedate and in all forces. The achievements of progress dely identification indictioned as well as justification; before their identification; before their identification, the "false consciousness" of their rationality becomes the true consciousness.

This absorption of identopy into reality does not, however, signify the "and of identings." On the contrary, in a specific series advanced industrial culture is more ideological than its predicessor, ingertuch as today the ideology is in the process of production Itself. In a provocative form, this proposition reveals the political aspects of the prevailing technological rationality. The productive apparatus and the goods and services which it produces "self" or impose the social system as a whole. The means of mass transportation and communication, the commodities of lodging, food, and stathing, the irresielible output of the antertainment and information industry carry with them prescribed attitudes and habits, certain intellectual and emotional reactions which bind the consumers more or less pleasantly to the producers and, through the latter, to the article. The products industrinate and manipulate; they promote a false consciousness. which is immune against its falsehood. And as these beneficial products become available to more individuals in more social classes. She inductrination they carry coases to be publicity: it becomes a way of life. It is a good way of life — much better than before -- and as a good way of the, it militates against qualitative change. The common feature is a total ampiricism in the treatment of concepts; their meaning is restricted to the representation of particular operations and behavior. The operational point of view is well illustrated by P. W. Bridgman's analysis of the concept of length:

We existently brown what we mean by length if we can self what the length of any and every object is, and for the physicist softing more is required. To find the length of an object, we have to perform certain physical operations. The concept of length is therefore fixed when the operations by which length is repaired. are fixed that is, the concept of length involves as much and colling more than the set of operations by which length is determined to general, we mean by any concept colling more than a set of operations; the concept is synonymous with the conseponding set of operations.

Bridgman has seen the wide implications of this mode of thought for the society at large:

To addigit the operational point of view involves much more than a more restriction of the sense in which we understand 'concept,' but means a fer-reaching change in all our habits of thought, in that we shall no longer permit currentees to use as tools in our thicking concepts of which we cannot give an adequate account in terms of operations.

Bridgersen's prediction has come true. The rose mode of thought is today the predictioner tendency in philosophy, psychologic excisings, and other fields. Many of the most seriously truditecome concepts are being 'eliminated' by choosing that no adequate account of them in terms of operations or behavior can be given. The radical empiricist orestaught 2 shall subsequently, in chapters VII and VIII, exercise its claim to be empirical than provides the matheological justification for the debunking of the mind by the intellectuals — a positivism which, in its denial of the transcending elements of Research, forms the providence

Outside the academic establishment, the "for reaching change is all our habits of thought" is more serious. It serves to coordinate ideas and goals with those exacted by the prevaiing system, to excites them in the system, and to repol those which are irreconcilable with the system. The reign of such a conditionational reality does not mean that materialism rules, and that the spritual, metaphysical, and toherous conspetions are patering out. On the contrary, there is a great deal of "Worship together this week," "Why not by God," Zen, existentialism, and beast ways of the contrary, there is a great deal of "Worship together this week," "Why not by God," Zen, existentialism, and test ways of the contrary to the solution gos and transcendence are no longer contradictory to the status quo and no longer registion. They are rather the communical part of practical behavioriem, its figuresises registion, and are quickly

digented by the status quo as part of its healthy dist. Dradimensional thought is systematically promoted by the makers of politics and their purveyors of mass information. Their universe of discourse is populated by self-validating hypotheses which, increasetty and monopolistically repeated, become hypnotic definitions or distations. For example, "free" are the institutions. which operate land are operated ont in the countries of the Free Bloke other transcending modes of headon are by definition alther pranchises, communium, or propagands, "Bocialistic" are all ancreachments on private enterprises not undertaken by private enterprise faulf for by government contractol, such as universal and comprehensive health insurance, or the protection of nature from all too sweezing communicalization, or the establishment of public services which may burt private profit. This conditionion logic of accomplished facts has its Eastern counterpart. There, freedom is the way of tile instituted by a communist regime, and all other transcending modes of freedom are either capitalistic, or revisionist, or leftist sectorismen, to both samps, non-operational ideas are non-bafuscional and subversion. The increment of thought is dropped at barriers which appear as the limits of Reason itself.

Such limitation of thought is containly not new. According modern rationalism, in its speculative as well as empirical form, shows a striking contrast between extreme critical radicalism is scientific and philosophic method on the one hand, and as secritical quietien in the attitude toward established and functioning social institutions. Thus Descenter' ago cogitans was to leave the "great public bodies" untouched, and Hobbes hald that "the present cogits always to be preferred, maintained, and accounted best." Eart agreed with Looks in justifying revolution if and when it has successful in organizing the allicits and in presenting subsension.

Nomeron. Home accommodating concepts of Resource some always contradicted by the exident misery and injustice of the "great public booker" and the offsettive, more or less conscious relation against them. The society bars a whole type of oppositional operations and behavior consequently. Except conditions society and percentage of agreement and behavior or consequently. Except conditions society which provided and percentage and description. Income the setablished state of affairs; a private as well as political

dimension was present in which dissociation could develop into effective opposition, testing its strength and the validity of its objectives the society bars a whole type of oppositional specifics and behavior consequently.

With the gradual closing of this dimension by the society, the self-treitation of thought assumes a larger asperficance. The interrelation between scientific-philosophical and societal processes, between theoretical and practical Resson, asserts itself "behind the back" of the scientists and philosophers. The society bars a whole type of oppositional operations and behavior; consequently. Six concepts pertaining to them are rendered Busory or magningless. Historical transcendence appears as managhysical transcendence, not acceptable to science and activitific thought. The operational and baltanional point of view, practiced as a "habit of thought" at large, becomes the view of the established universe of discourse and action, needs and aspirations. The "curreing of Reason" works, as it so offers did, in the interest of the power's that be. The insistence on operational and behavioral concepts turns against the efforts to his thought and balkpoice from the given reality and for the auggreesed alternatives. Theoretical and practical Reason, academic and social behaviorism must on common ground: that of an advanced society which realess scientific and fectorical progress into an inglinariant of domination.

Progress" is not a resulted form; It recess toward specific ends, and these ends are defined by the possibilities of ameliorating the bumps condition. Advanced industrial excistly is approaching the stage where continued progress would demand the radical soliverains of the prevailing direction and organization of progress. From this point on, bottoical progress would transcend the realist of recessify, where it served as the instrument of description and exploitation which thereby limited its rationality; bottoicigy would become subject to the fine play of faculties in the struggle for the pacification of nature and of excisely.

Such a state is envisioned in Mann's notion of the "abolition of tabor." The term "pacification of existence" seems better solted to designate the fratorical alternative of a world which — through an intemptional coeffici which transforms and suspends the

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contradictions within the established societies — advances on the brink of a global see. "Facification of existence" means the development of man's strugglic with man and with nature, under conditions where the competing needs, desires, and aspirations are to longer organized by vested interests in domination and scarcity — an organization which perpetuates the destructive forms of this Strugglis.

Today's fight against this historical alternative finds a firm reaso basis in the underlying population, and finds its identogy in the rigid orientation of throught and balkenior to the given universe of facts. Validated by the accomplishments of science and solverings, justified by its proeing productivity, the status quo define all transcendence. Faced with the possibility of pacification on the grounds of its technical and intellectual achievements, the mature industrial society closes itself against this alternative. Operationalism, in theory and practice, becomes the theory and practice of containment. Underneath its obvious dynamics, this society is a thoroughly static system of the self-propelling in its appressive productivity and in its banaficial coordination. Containment of technical progress goes hand in hand with its proath in the established direction. In spite of the political feltors improsed by the status que, the more technology appears capable of creating the conditions for pacification, the more are the minds and bodies of man organized against this afternative.

The most advanced areas of industrial society calcitit floroglicus these two features: a trend toward consummation of socknological rationality, and intensive efforts to contain this twend writin the established institutions. Here is the intensal contradiction of this continuities: the improved contradiction of this curification: the implication is to sationality. It is the token of its achievements. The industrial society which makes technology and extense is own is organized for the ever-more effective domination of man and ration, for the ever-more effective utilization of its resources. It becomes imprisonal when the opicions of the resources. It becomes imprisonal when the opicions of these efforts opens toward dimensions of fruman realization. Departments of transaction of different from organization for war; the institutions which served the struggle for existence cannot serve the pacification of existence. Use as an end is qualitatively different from the secure to means. Such a qualitatively reserved of existence can rever be

anninged as the more by-product of economic and political changes, as the more or less spontaneous effect of the new institutions which constitute the necessary prorequisite. Gualitative change also involves a change in the technical basis on which this socially resis — one which exattains the economic and political institutions through which the "second nature" of man as an appreciate object of administration is stabilized. The techniques of industrialization are political techniques; as each, they projudge the possibilities of Research and Freedom.

To be sure, labor must precede the reduction of labor, and industrialization must precede the development of human needs and satisfactions. But as all freedom depends on the compant of alien necessity, the realization of freedom depends on the techniques of this compant. The highest productively of labor can be used for the perpetuation of labor, and the most afficient industrialization can serve the matrixition and manipulation of industrialization can serve the matrixition and manipulation of manipulation.

When this point is reached, domination — in the guite of affigures and liberty — extends to all spheres of private and public existence, integrates all authoritis opposition, alterate all alternatives. Technological rationality reveals its political character as it becomes the great veltors of before domination, creating a truly totalitaries universe in which society and nature, mind and body are tegst in a state of permanent mobilization for the delicas of this universe.

2: The Closing of the Political Universe

The society of total mobilization, which takes shape in the most advanced great of industrial civilization, combines in productive union the features of the Wolfare State and the Worfers State. Compared with its predicossors, it is indeed a "new society." Traditional trouble spots are being cleaned out or isolated. disrupting elements taken in hand. The main trends are femiliar: concentration of the national economy on the needs of the big corporations, with the government as a stimulating, supporting, and complimes even controlling force; blicking of this according to a south-wide system of military alliances, monetary prongements, technical assistance and development schemes; product assimilation of blue-collar and white-collar population, of leadership types in business and labor, of bissure activities and aspirations in different social classes; featuring of a presolublished harmony between acholorohip and the national purpose; invasion of the private household by the togetherness of public spinion; opening of the bedroom to the media of mass communication.

to the political sphere, this trend reprofests that it is reprised unforation or convergence of opposition. Experimenship in foreign policy coercides competitive group interests under the threat of interestional communities, and spreads to domestic policy, where the programs of the big parties become ever more undestropolishable, even in the degree of foposition and in the other of the citches. This unification of opposition bears upon the

very prestitities of social change where it enforces those strate on whose back the system progresses — that is, the very classes whose existence once embodied the opposition to the system as a whole.

to the United States, one notices the collector and alliance between business and organized labor in Labor Looks at Labor. A Conversation, published by the Conter for the Study of Democratic institutions in 1965, we are told that: What has beganned in that the union has become almost indistinguishable in its own spec from the corporation. We see the phanomenum tolday of unions and corporations faintly lobbying. The union is not going to be able to convenion faintly lobbying. The union is not going to be able to convenion misselfs anothers that the company they work for it a first outlit when both the union and the corporation are not tolditying for bigger misselfs contracts and training to get other defense industries into the area, or when they provide appear before Congress and printly set that missiles instead of bombers should be built or bombe restead of missiles, depending or what contract they began to bett

The British Labor Party, witcom teachers compete with their Compensative counterparts in educating national interests, is hard part to sever even a modest program of partial nationalization, to Missi Germany, which has cultiseed the Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party, having officially rejected to Manusciparagrams, is construingly proving the respectability. This is the situation in the teaching industrial countries of the West, in the situation in the teaching industrial countries of the West, in the Sast, the gradual reduction of direct political controls teaching to receptain an interesting relation of direct political controls teaching as instruments of demination. As for the strong Communist parties in France and Italy, they been witness to the general trend of circumstances by adhering to a microscopy program which shallon the rescribilishes with the rules of the parties with the

Moseover, while it is incorrect to consider the Franch and fighter parties "foreign" in the sense of being austained by a foreign power, there is an unintended formal of truth in this propagands they are foreign insermants as they are witnesses of a past for fature? National in the present reality. If they have agreed to work within the francework of the established system, it is not rearely

on technical grounds and as officed range strategy, but because their social base has been weakered and their objections altered by the transformation of the copitalist system is force the objections of the Ecolet Union which has endorsed this change in policy). These national Communist parties play the tratorical role of legal opposition parties "condenned" to be non-radical. They testify to the depth and scope of capitalist integration, and to the conditions which make the qualitative difference of conflicting interests appear as quantitative differences within the established socials.

No analysis is dispits occurs to be recoveryly in order to find the research. For these developments. As to the West: the former conflicts within excisely are modified and arbitrated under the double land internalisted impact of technical progress and international communities. Class struggles are attenuated and "imperialist contradictions" suspended before the threat from without. Multilized against this threat, capitalist society shows an internal union and cohesion profession or early material grounds industrial civilization. It is a cohesion on very material grounds multilization against the examp works as a mighty stimulus of production and employment, thus materials as a mighty stimulus of production and employment, thus materialing the tigh standard of losing.

On those grounds, there arises a universe of administration is which depressions are controlled and conflicts stabilized by the beneficial effects of growing productivity and threatening nuclear see. Is this stabilization "temporary" in the sense that it does not affect the roots of the conflicts which Manx found in the capitalise mode of production icontradiction between private connecting of the means of production and social productivity, or is it a transformation of the entagonistic structure itself, which resolves the contradictions by making their tribution? And, if the second alternative is true, from time it change the relationship between capitalism and socialism which made the latter appear, the liabilities and socialism which made the latter appear, the

Containment of Boolet Change

The classical Marxian theory envisages the transition from capitalism to socialism as a political revolution: the proletarist destroys the political apparatus of capitalism but retains the technological apparatus, subjecting it to socialization, There is continuity in the recolution technological rationality, foad from irrational restrictions and destructions, socialize and consummates teelf in the new socials, it is interesting to need a Social Married statement on the continuity, which is of such visit importance for the notion of socialism as the determinate regulator of opplication.

"(1) Through the development of technology is subject to the economic loses of each social formation, it does not, like other economic factors, and with the conspilion of the loses of the formation. When in the process of revolution the old relations of production are broken up, technology remains and, subordinated to the economic loses of the new economic formation, continues to develop further, with added speed, (2) Contrary to the development of the economic basis in antegoristic sociation, technology does not develop formagh loses to entegoristic sociation, technology does not develop through loses for by a gradual economicity does not develop through loses for by a gradual economicities of stemperature of elements of a new quality, while the elements of the old quality disappear. (3) (inveloperat in this contest)."

to adhoriced capitalizer, technical nationality is embodied, to spite of its irrational use, in the productive apparatus, This applies not only to machanized plants, tools, and exploitation of resources, but also to the mode of later as adaptation to and handling of the machine process, as amanged by "scientific management," biother nationalization nor excisituation after by themselves this physical embodiesent of technological nationality; on the contrary, the latter remains a precondition for the excisite development of all productive forces.

To be sure, Marx hald that organization and direction of the productive apparatus by the "incrediate producers" exostd strokure a qualitative change in the technical continuity namely, production toward the satisfaction of feely developing individual needs. Nowever, to the degree to which the established technical apparatus engults the public and private existence in all spheres of society — that is, becomes the medium of control and colesion in a political universe which incorporates the laboring classes — to that degree exist? The qualitative change involve a change in the technological structure that! And such change and change in the technological procluse that!

this princers in their very existence, that their consciousness is that of the total impossibility to continue to exist in this universe, so that the need for qualificative change is a matter of the and death. Thus, the regation exists prior to the change itself, the notion that the liberating transmiss from develop within the solution that the liberating transmiss forces develop within the existing transmiss of Manufacture Reson.

Now it is precisely this new coreclinuments, this "space willion," the space for the insrecending historical practice, which is being barried by a socialty in which subjects as well as objects constitute instrumentalities in a whole that has its raison d'atte in the accomplishments of its overpowering productivity. Its augmente promise is an exer-more-confortable life for an exer-growing number of people who, in a strict sense, cannot imagine a qualitatively different universe of discourse and action, for the capacity to contain and manipulate subversion imagination and affort is an integral part of the given excistly. Those whose life is the half of the Afficance Society are kept in line by a brutality which revives medieval and early modern practices. For the other, less underprivileged people, society takes care of the need for liberation by satisfying the needs which make servitude palatable and perhaps even unnoticeable, and it accomplishes this fact in the process of production itself. Under its impact, the laboring classes in the advanced areas of industrial civilization are undergoing a decisive transformation, which has become the subject of a cost sociological research. I shall enumerate the main factors of this transformation:

(1) Machanization is increasingly reducing the quantity and interestly of physical energy expended in labor. Those whose the is the helf of the Afficient Boolety are begt in line by a brutality which reviews medienal and early modern practices. Evolution is of great bearing on the Marxim concept of the worker (protestarizer). To Marx, the protestarizer is primarily the manual laborer who expends and exhausts his physical energy in the work process, more if he works with respictors. The purchase and use of this physical energy, under soft-human conditions, for the private appropriation of surplus value entailed the revolting inhuman experients of expiritation; the Marxim notion denounces the physical pain and misery of later. Those whose the is the half of the Afficient and modern to long to the half of the Afficient Enciety are begt in line by a brutality which reviews

medienal and early modern practices. This is the material, tangible alternant in seage observy and alternation — the physiological and brotogical dimension of classical capitalium.

"Pandant les siecles passes, une cause importante d'allemation resideit dans le fait que l'aine foursain pretait son individualité biologique à l'organisation technique; il etait porteur d'outils, les ensemblés techniques ne provenient se complituer qu'en incorporant l'homise comme porteur d'outils. Le ceractere deformant de le profession atait à le fois paychique et somalique."

Now the ever-more complete mechanication of labor is advanced capitalism, while costaining exploitation, modifies the attitude and the status of the exploited. Within the technological properties, reachanteed work to which automatic and same automatic reactions fill the larger part IV not the artotic of labor time remains, as a 18e long occupation, solvanating, stupofying, inhuman slavery - even more exhausting because of increased speed-up, control of the machine operation trather than of the products, and isolation of the workers from each other. To be sure. His form of drudgery is expressive of prested, partial automation, of the consistence of automated, sent-automated, and non-automated sections within the same plant, but even under these conditions, "for muscular fatigue technology has substituted tension and/or mental effort," For the more advanced automated plants, the transformation of physical energy into bushning and married skills is amphasized

__skills of the head rather than of the hand, of the logicien rather than the craftsman; of names rather than muscle; of the pilot rather than the manual worker; of the maintenance man rather than the operator.

This kind of masterly enalgorance is not assentially different from that of the typics, the bank teller, the trigh-pressure safestmen or salesseomen, and the television productive Standardization and the routine assimilate productive and conproductive jobs. The protetarion of the previous stages of registellers was indeed the beast of burden, by the later of the body procuring the recessibles and business of the while being in 85th and powerly. Thus he was the fining denial of his society, to contrast, the organized worker in the advanced areas of the technological accesty lives this denial less complicatesly and, like the other human objects of the social division of later, he is being incorporated into the technological community of the administrative population, Microsom, in the most successful areas of automation, some sort of technological community seems to integrate the human atoms at work, The machine seems to integrate the human atoms at work, The machine seems to integrate the human atoms at work, The machine seems to integrate the function of species of species to reach

"It is generally agreed that interdependent motions performed by a group of persons which follow a rhythmic pattern yield satisfaction — quite apart from what is being accomplished by the motions."

and the sociologist observer believes this to be a reason for the gradual development of a "general climate" more "forceable both to production and to certain important binds of frames satisfaction," He speaks of the "growth of a strong in-group being in each cree," and quote one worker as stating. "All in all secure in the each order.

The phrase admirably expresses the change in machanized environment. Single seting rather than oppress, and they sating the frames instrument — not only its looky but also its mind and even its soul, A remark by Serine elucidates the depth of the process.

"Aux promiers temps des machines semi-automatiques, des exquettes ont montre que les ouvrieres specialisses se laissairen affair, en travailitant, a une revenis d'unitre sexuel, effes se rappellaient le chambre, le lit, le nuit, tout ce qui ne concerne que le personne dans le solitude du cougle farme sur soi. Mais c'est le machine en elle qui mosti de caresses..."

(3) The assimilating trend allows forth in the occupational stratification, in the key industrial establishments, the "bluecoller" work force declines in relation to the "white-coller" element, the number of non-production workers increases. This quantitative change refers back to a change in the character of the basic instruments of production. At the advanced stage of machanization, as part of the technological reality, the machine is not "one unite absolut, roats soutement une realite technique individualities, coverte sation deux voiex colle de le relation aux alaments, et celle des relations interindividualites dans l'ansanctie technique."

To the extent to which the reaction becomes itself a system of machanical tools and relations and thus extends for beyond the individual work process, it assents to larger dominion by reducing the "professional autonomy, of the laborer and integrating time sits other professions which softer and direct the technical exactorists organists. To be sore, the former "professional" autonomy of the laborer was rather to professional ensistements. But this specific mode of engineerant was at the same time the source of his specific, professional power of requirement. The power to stop a process which threatened time with anothisation as a human lating. Now the laborer is training the professional autonomy which made time a manuface of a class set off from the other sourcestant process it amborded the refutation of the established society.

The technological change which tends to do passy with the machine as individual instrument of production, as "dissolute soil, — assemts to cancel the Mercian notion of the organic composition of capital" and with it the theory of the creation of surplus value. According to Marx, the machine rever creates value but merely transfers its own value to the product, while surplus value remains the result of the exploitation of living later. The machine is embodiment of human later present, and through a machine is embodiment of human later present, and through it, past later than its embodiment of human later present, and through later. Now automation seems to alter qualitatively the relation between dead and living later; it tends toward the point where productivity is determined "by the machines, and not by the reduction order order order order order order orders."

"Russimation in its largest sense means, in effect, the end of measurement of work. .. With automation, you can't measure sulput of a single man; you now have to measure simply equipment utilization. If that is generalized as a find of concept ... there is no longer. for example, any reason at all to pay a man by

the piece or pay him by the hour. — that is to say, there is no more reason to leep up the "that pay system" of saturies and wages."

Daniel Bell. the author of this report, goes further; he links this technological change to the historical system of industrialization that? the meaning of industrialization did not price with the introduction of factories, it "prices out of the measurement of exch. It's when such can be measured, when you can high a man to the job, when you can be not be measured, when you can high a man to the job, when you can put a harmone or him, and measure his output in terms of a single piece and pay him by the piece or by the hour. that you have get modern industrialization.

What is at stake in these technological changes in for more than a pay system. See relation of the worker to other classes, and the organization of work. What is at stake is the compatibility of technologic progress with the very institutions in which industrialization developed.

(3 These changes in the character of work and the instruments of production change the attitude and the consciousness of the laborer, which become manifest in the widely discussed "social and cultural integration" of the laboring class with capitalist society, is this a change in consciousness only? The affirmation proper, frequently given by Marcists, seems strangely incomplaters, is such a fundamental change in correctousness understandable without assuming a corresponding change in the "societal existence" ? Granted even a high degree of ideological independence. the links which he this change to the transformation of the productive process militate against such an interpretation. Assimilation is needs and aspirations, in the attendant of living, in lateurs activities, in politica derives from an integration in the plant itself, in the material process of production. It is certainly questionable whether one can speak of "voluntary integration" (Surge Mallet) in any other than an tronical sense. In the present situation, the negative features of automation are predominant speed-up, technological unemployment, strengthening of the position of management, increasing impotence and resignation on the part of the workers. The chances of promotion decline as management prefers angineers and college graduates. However, there are other trends. The same technological organization which makes for a mechanical community at work also generates a larger intendependence which integrates the worker with the plant. One notes an "eagerness" on the part of the workers "to share in the solution of production problems," a "desire to join actively in applying their own brains to technical and production problems which clearly fitted in with the tech notings," to some of the technically most advanced establishments, the workers even show a vested interest in the establishment, the workers even show a vested interest in the establishment, in excitate extensions of most of "workers' participation" in capitalist enterprise. A provincetive description, referring to the highly Americanized Calles officers of Arriban, France, may sense to characterize this brend. The workers of the plant are connection of the trials which attack them to the enterprise.

Liens professionnate, fams sociaux, fams materiatic is matter appris dans la raffinaria, l'habitude des rapports de production qui s'y sont etablis, les multiples avantages sociaux qui, en cas de most subite, de realisdes prave, d'incapacite de travail, de visillanna ardin, lui sort annores per sa seule appartenance a la forme, protongesent au-delle de la periodie productive de leur vie la silitate des tendemains. Ainsi, la notion de ce contrat vivant el indestructible avec is 'Calles' les amere a se precouger, avec une attention et une lucidite trattendue, de le gestion financiere de l'antireprise. Les delegues aux Comites d' antreprise aphunhent la compliabilità de la sociate avec le soin jaloux qu'y accordinates des actionnaires conscienciese. La direction de la Callies pour certies se frotter les mains tonapue les syndicats acceptant de surseoir A leurs revendications de salaines en presence des besoins d'investissaments rouveaux. Mais elle commence a manifester be plus 'legitimes' inquietudes toraque. prenant au mot les bilans truques de la filiale Française. Ils s'inquistant des marches 'desprantageur' passes par celles il el proposent l'audane josqu'à contester les pris de revient et suggerer des propositions aconomiques?

IN The new technological work world thus enforces a weathering of the negative position of the working class: the latter no longer appears to be the luting contradiction to the established excisity. This transf is strangithered by the effect of the technological organization of production on the other side of the facus; on

management and direction. Domination is transfigured into administration. The capitalist bosses and camers are losing their identify as responsible agents: they are assuming the function of bureaucrate in a corporate machine. Within the uset hierarchy of searcative and managerial boards extending for beyond the individual satisficatement into the accentific laboratory and research institute. He national government and national purpose. the tangible source of exploitation disappears behind the facade of objective rationality. Natred and frustration are deprived of their specific target, and the technological self conceals the reproduction of inequality and enalescement. With technical progress as its instrument, unfreedom -- in the sense of man's subjection to his productive apparatus -- is perpetuated and interselfied in the form of many liberties and confloits. The novel feature is the overathelisting rationality in this implicant enterprise, and the depth of the preconditioning which shapes the instinctual drives and aspirations of the individuals and obscures the difference between false and true consciousness. For in reality, neither the utilization of administrative rather than physical controls thunger, personal dependence, forcel, nor the change in the character of heavy work, nor the assimilation of accupational classes, nor the equalization in the aphens of consumption companies for the fact that the decisions over the and death, over personal and national security are made at places. coor article the individuals have no control. The places of developed industrial civilization are sublimated slaves, but they are slaves, for slavery is determined

open per l'obelissence, si per le rudinne des labours, mais per le statu d'instrument et le reduction de l'homone a l'atat de chose, "

This is the pure form of servicules to exist as an instrument, as a string. And this mode of existence is not altrogated if the thing is animated and chooses to material and intellectual food, if it does not be in to being a thing. If it is a pretty, clean, mobile thing. Conversely, as reflication tends to become totality-lan by virtue of its technological form, the organizers and administrators themselves become increasingly dependent on the machinery which they organize and administrators to no longer the distoction relationship between Master and Servant, which has been broken in the struggle for mutual forward, which has been broken to the struggle for mutual

recognition, but rather a victime circle which encloses both the Master and the Servant. Do the technicians rule, or is their rule that of the others, who rely on the technicians as their planners and resolution.²

"... the pressures of today's highly technological arms race have taken the initiative and the present to make the crucial decisions not of the hands of responsible power-more efficials and placed it is the hands of technologies, placemen and administrate employed by seat industrial employe and charged with responsibility for their employers' interests, it is their job to dream up new assignment applicant and personals the military that the future of their military profession, as well as the country, depends upon buying what they have dreamed up."

As the productive establishments rely on the nolitary for selfpreservations and growth, so the nolitary relies on the corporations "not only for their weapons, but also for investedge of what bind of weapons they need, how much they will cost, and how long it will take to get them." A vicious circle seems indeed the proper image of a cociety which is self-sepanding and selfpropertuating in its nen-presentablished direction — dinen by the growing needs which it generates and, at the same time, contains.

Prospects of Containment

In these any prospect that this chain of growing productivity and repression may be broken? An answer would require an attempt to project contemporary developments into the future, assuming a colationly recreat evolution, that is, regisering the very real possibility of a nuclear war. On this assumption, the Enemy social remain "permanent" — that is, communican would continue to counts with capitation. At the same time, the latter would continue to counts with capitation. At the same time, the latter would continue to be capable of maintaining and even increasing the standard of timing for an increasing part of the population—in spite of and through internalized production of the research of destruction, and mathodical weeks of resources and faculties. This capability has assented itself in spite of and through two World Were and increasonable physical and intellectual regression brought about by the faculti spiteors.

The material base for this capability would continue to be available in

(a) the growing productivity of labor bachnical progress):

Bit the rise in the birth rate of the underlying population

tcl the permanent defense economy:

off the economic-political integration of the capitalist countries, and the building up of their relations with the underdeveloped areas.

But the continued conflict behavior the productive capabilities of socially and their destructive and oppositive utilization would recessible introductive difficite to impose the requirements of the apparentum on the propulation — to get rid of excess capacity, to create the need for busing the groots that must be profitably sold, and the desire to work for their production and promotion. The system thus broke toward both total administration and total dependence on administration by ruling public and private transportance, strengthering the presentablished barroomy between the interest of the big public and private comporations and that of their contoners and servents. Norther partial retirenalization nor extended participation of labor is transagement and profit would by themselves after this system of domination — as long as labor itself remains a prop and afformation — as long as labor itself remains a prop and afformation forms.

There are contribugal tendencies, from within and from without. One of them is inherent in technical progress itself, namely, automation. I suggested that expanding automation is more than quantitative growth of mechanication — that it is a change in the character of the basic productive forces. It seems that automation to the limits of technical possibility is incompatible with a society based on the private explicitation of human labor power in the process of production. Almost a century before automation became a reality. Many anxiosped its explicative prospects:

As large-scale industry advances, the creation of real wealth depends less on the labor time and the quantity of labor

expended on the power of the instrumentalities (Agentian) set is motion during the later time. These instrumentalities, and their powerful effectiveness, are in no proportion to the immediate labor time which their production requires; their effectiveness rather depends on the attained level of science and technological progress; in other words, on the application of this science to production. ... Human labor than no longer appears as enclosed in the process of production -- man rather relates formed to the process of production as supervisor and regulator (Wachter und Regulatori. ... He stands outside of the process of production trained of being the principal agent in the process of production. ... In this transformation, the great piller of production and wealth is no longer the immediate labor performed by man himself, nor his labor time, but the appropriation of his own universal productivity (Produktivkraft), i.e., his browledge and his mastery of nature through his societal existence -- in one word: the development of the societal individual idea genefluctuablichen tradicidicums). The thaft of proofter man's labor time, on which the booled wealth still rests today. Hen appears as a miserable basis compared with the new basis which large scale industry built bas created. As soon as human labor, in its immediate form, has ceased to be the great source of wealth, labor time will cease, and must of necessity cases to be the measure of smallth, and the exchange value must of recessity cases to be the measure of use value. The surplus labor of the rises (of the population) has thus cessed to be the condition for the development of social wealth. ides alligemeiran Reichtums), and the idleness of the few has cessed to be the condition for the development of the universal intellectual faculties of man. The mode of production which rests on the exchange value thus collapses...

The thaft of proofber man's labor time, on which the (social) exealth still rests today, then appears as a reterrable been compared with the new basis which large ecole industry tealf has created. It is an explorate or non-explorate catalyst in the material base of qualifiative change, the technical instrument of the turn from quantity to qualify. For the social process of automation expresses the transformation, or rather transubstantiation of later power, in which the latter, expended from the individual, becomes an independent producing object and thus a subject last.

Automation, once it became the process of replanted production, seculal revolutionize the whole society. The reflication of frames labor presso, driven to perfection, would shatter the reflical form by culting the chain that ties the reduction to the machinery—the machinerism through which his case labor engineers tim. Complete automation in the realism of recessity would open the dimension of the time as the create of recessity would open the dimension of the time as the create in which man's private and societal existence would constitute their. This would be the liebtrical transcendence toward a new circlination.

At the present stage of advanced capitalism, organized fallor rightly opposes automation without compensating employment. It insists on the extensive utilization of human fallor power in material production, and thus opposes technical progress. Minescent, in doing so, it also opposes the more efficient utilization of capital; it hampens transcribed efforts to raise the productively of labor, to other words, continued arrest of substitutions may weaken the competitive rational and international position of capital, cause a long-range depression, and comproposition of capitals, cause a long-range depression, and componently reactions the confict of class internation.

This prosolicity becomes more regilatic as the contest behavior capitalizes and communicate at-the from the military to the social and economic Held. By the power of total administration, automation in the Societ system can proceed more registly once a certain technical level has been attained. This threat is in competitive international position would compet the Western world to accelerate retionalization of the productive process. Such retionalization encounters still resistance on the part of labor, but resistance exhibit is not accompenied by political redisabilization, in the United States at least, the leadership of labor in its aims and means does not go beyond the framework common to the national and proup interest, with the latter subsmitting or subjected to the furnees. These coercifugal forces are all manageable within the furneese.

Mare, too, the declining proportion of fruntum labor power in the productive process means a decline in political power of the opposition, in view of the increasing weight of the white-coller element in this process, political redicalization would have to be accompanied by the emergence of an independent political

consciousness and action among the within coller groups — a nather unlikely development in advanced industrial society. The despect-up drive to organize the growing white-coller element in the industrial unions, if accessful at all, may result in a growth of trade union consciousness of these groups, but handly in their political radicalization.

"Politically, the presence of more white-collar workers in tables service will give liberal and labor spokesmen a chance more trushfully to obsently the interests of labor" with those of the community as a whole. The mass base of labor as a pressure group will be further extended, and labor spokesmen will inevitably be involved in more for reaching bergains over the realized political economy."

Under these circumstances, the prospects for a streamtimed containment of the centrifugal tendencies depend primarily on the ability of the resited interests to adjust themselves and their economy to the requirements of the Walfare State. Vasily increased government spending and direction, planning on a national and intermational according and direction, planning on a national and intermational according and direction planning on a sestional and intermational according and accide on a grand accide, perhaps even partial nationalization belong to these requirements, I believe that the dominant interests and products and products their requirements of products and products to these requirements and product their promogetions to a more effective power.

Furning now to the prospects for the containment of social change in the other system of industrial civilization, in Soviet socials, the discussion is from the outset confronted with a double incomparability in drowninginally, Soviet socially is at an series stage of industrialization, with large sectors still at the pretechnological stage, and till structuralization, is economic and to political institutions are essentially different total nationalization, and distances total nationalization, and distances.

The interconnection between the two aspects approvides the difficulties of the enables. The testorical backwardness not only enables but compate Soviet industrialization to proceed without planned weets and obsciousness, without the costrictions on productivity inposed by the interests of private profit, and with

planned satisfaction of still unfulfilled vital needs effer, and perhaps even simultaneously with, the priorities of military and political needs.

to this greater nationality of industrialization only the tollen and advantage of fratorizal backwardness. Healy to disappear once the advanced tend is reached? Is it tile same transmits backwardness which, or the other hand, enforces — under the conditions of the competitive constitutions with advanced capitalizes — the total development and control of all resources by a distanced regime? And, after having attended the goal of "catching up and control of all resources to a distanced regime? And, after having attended the goal of "catching up and contrating," would find to control the point after a function to the point after a qualitative change could take place?

The argument from historical backwardness — according to which liberation must, under the preveiling conditions of material and intellectual immaturity, necessarily be the work of force and administration — is not only the core of Soviet Mension, but also that of the theoreticians of "educational dictatorship" from Plato to Roussess. It is easily ridiculed but hard to refute because it has the monit to acknowledge, without much begonning, the conditions imaterial and intellectual) which serve to prevent genuine and intelligent self-determination.

Moreover, the argument debunks the represeive ideology of freedom, according to which human liberty can blossom forth in a life of toil, powerly, and stugniffy, Indiesd, society must first create the material prerequisites of freedom for all its members before it can be a free society; it must first create the wealth before being able to distribute it according to the feety developing needs of the individual; It must first enable its sleves to learn and use and think before they know what is going on and what they thermedves can do to change it. And, to the degree to which the sizons have been preconditioned to exist as sizons and be content in that role, their liberation reconsurity appears to come from without and from above. They must be "forced to be Nex." to "see objects as they are, and constitues as they coght to appear." Hery must be shown the "good road" they are in search of. And this would be a sentence that extends this paragraph by a more line.

But with all its truth, the argument cannot areaer the timehonored question: who educates the education, and where is the proof that they are in presentation of "the good?" The question is not invalidated by arguing that it is equally applicable to certain democratic forms of government where the fateful decisions on what is good for the nation are made by elected representatives for rather endorsed by elected representatives — elected under conditions of effective and freely accepted industrination. Bill, the only possible excuse it is weak enough? for 'educational distancesting' is that the terrible risk which it involves may not be more terrible then the risk which the great liberal as well as the sollowing except in the risk which the great liberal as well as the sollowing terrible then the risk which the great liberal as well as the sollowing except as the risk which the great liberal as well as the sollowing except as the risk which the great liberal as well as the sollowing terrible transport on the risk which the great liberal as well as the

Moseover, the distinctival togic traints, against the language of brute facts and identings, that the stores must be free for their liberation before they can become free, and that the end must be specialties in the mesers to attain it. Mark's proposition that the liberation of the exciting class must be the action of the exciting class must be the action of the exciting class train that the liberation of the exciting class must be the action of the exciting class train stand obtains this a priori. Socialism must become reality with the first act of the recolution because it must already be in the constitution and action of these series.

From there is a "first phase" of socialist construction during select the new socially is "all stamped with the birth marks of the old socially from whose words it emerges," as but the qualitative change from the old to the new socially occurred when this phase began. According to Mars, the "second phase" is literally constituted in the first phase. The qualitatively new mode of the generated by the new mode of production appears in the socialist revolution, which is the end and at the end of the oppisation system. Excitative construction begins with the first phase of the revolution. Excitation construction begins with the first phase of the revolution.

By the same token, the transition from "to each according to his sock" to "to each according to his needs" is determined by the first phase — not only by the creation of the technological and material base, but also (and this is declared) by the mode in which it is created. Control of the productive process by the "monedate producers" is expensed to solidate the development which distinguishes the history of free man from the profestory of which distinguishes the history of free man from the profestory of first baccome the furnam individuals who plan and use the instruments of their baccome the furnam individuals who plan and use the instruments of their later for the realization of their own furnameness seeds and faculties. For the first time in feature, men would all freely and collectionly under and against the recessity which limits their features and their furnaments. Therefore all represents impressed by recessify would be truly self-impressed recessity. In contrast to this consequence, the actual development in present day community society postpores for is compatited to postpores, by the international society postpores for is compatited to postpores, by the international objection the qualification change to the second phase, and the transition from capitalism to socialism appears, in spite of the revolution from capitalism to socialism appears, in spite of the revolution, all as quantitative change. The enablesment of man by the instruments of his labor continues in a highly retionalized and usedly afficient and promising form.

The altuation of boatfle consistence may explain the terroristic features of Stational industrialization, but it also set in motion the forces which tend to perpetuate technical progress as the instrument of domination; the means projudice the end. Again assuming that no nuclear warfans or other catastrophs cuts off its development, technical progress would make for continued increase in the standard of turing and for continued liberalization of controls. The nationalized economy could exploit the productivity of labor and capital without structural resistance while considerably reducing working hours and augmenting the comforts of the And it could accomplish all this without abandoning the hold of total administration over the people. There is no reason to assume that technical progress plus nationalization will make for 'automatic' liberation and release of the regating forces. On the contrary, the contradiction between the growing productive forces and their enalesting organization -spanily admitted as a feature of Soviet socialist development even by Statio -- is likely to Ratter out rather than to approvate.

The more the rulers are capable of delivering the goods of consumption, the more firmly will the underlying population be ted to the various ruling bureaucracies.

But while these prospects for the containment of qualitative change in the Soviet system seem to be parallel to those in advanced capitalist society, the socialist base of production introduces a decisive difference.

to the Soviet system, the organization of the productive process certainty separates the "increatiate producers" the laborary from control over the means of production and thus makes for class distinctions at the very base of the system. This separation was established by political decision and preser after the brief "bencic period" of the Bolphavik Revolution, and has been perpetuated over since. And yet it is not the motor of the productive process itself; it is not built into the process as is the distinct between capital and labor, derived from private sementity of the researc of production. Consequently, the ruling strate are themselves expensive expensive expensive expensive expensive expensive expensive expensive transfer.

This is the half-math in the Soviet-Maroist thesis that the prevailing contradictions between the "legging production relations and the character of the productive forces' can be resolved willfout explosion, and that "conformity" between the teo factors can occur through "gradual change." The other half of the truth is that quantitative change would still have to turn into qualitative change, into thee disappearance of the State, the Party, the Plan, all: as Independent powers asperimensed on the individuals, Insertuch as this change would been the insterial base of excisity the nationalized productive process intact, it amuld be confined to a political revolution. If it could lead to selfdetermination at the very base of human existence, namely in the dimension of recessary labor, it would be the most radical and most complete revolution in Natury, Distribution of the necessities of tife regardless of work performance, reduction of working time to a minimum, universal all-sided education toward suchangeability of functions -- these are the preconditions but not the contents of self-determination. While the creation of these preconditions may still be the result of superimposed administration, their establishment would mean the end of this administration. To be sure, a mature and free industrial society. would continue to depend on a division of labor which involves inequality of functions. Such inequality is necessitated by genuine social resols, technical requirements, and the physical

and montal differences among the individuals. However, the executive and supervisory functions would no longer carry the privilege of ruling the life of others in some particular interest. The transition to such a state is a resolutionary rather than evolutionary process, even on the foundation of a fully retiredated and planned economy.

Can one assume that the community system, in its established forms, amount develop for nether be forced to develop by virtue of the international contest? the conditions which amount make for such a transation? There are alroing arguments against this assumption. One emphasizes the powerful resistance which the enteroched bureaucriscy amount offer — a resistance which this enteroched bureaucriscy amount offer — a resistance which finds to raison d'intre precisely on the same grounds that impel the drive for creating the preconditions for liberation, namely, the life and death competition with the oppisation world.

One can dispense with the notion of an innate "power-drive" in Number nature. This is a highly distinue psychological concept and grossily inadequate for the analysis of societal developments. The question is not whether the communist bureaucracies would "give up" their privileged position once the level of a possible qualitative change has been reached, but whether they will be able to prevent the attainment of this level. In order to do so, they acculd fiams to arrest material and intellectual growth at a point where domination atill is rational and profitable, where the underlying propulation can still be tied to the job and to the interest of the state or other established traditations. Again, the decisive factor have seems to be the global situation of co-existence. which has long given become a factor in the internal attuation of the two opposed sociation. The result for the all-out utilization of technical progress, and for survival by virtue of a superior standard of fiving may prove stronger than the resistance of the cented burnaucracies.

I obsculd like to add a few remarks on the offen heard opinion that the new densingment of the backward countries might not only after the prospects of the advanced industrial countries, but also constitute a "third force" that may grow into a relatively independent power. In terms of the preceding discussion: is there any acidence that the forces colonial or sent-colonial areas.

regist adopt a way of industrialization expensionly different from capitalism and present-day communium? Is there anything in the indigenous culture and tradition of these areas which regist indicate such an alternative? I shall confine my remarks to models of backwardness streamly in the process of industrialization.— that is, to countries where industrialization consists with an unbroken pre- and anti-industrial culture linds, Egypti.

These countries enter agent the process of industrialization with a propolation untrained in the values of self-propelling productivity, efficiency, and technological rationality, to other excels, with a vast majority of population which has not jet been transformed into a labor force asparated from the mesers of production. Do these conditions facin a new confluence of industrialization and liberation — an expensionly different mode of industrialization and liberation — an expensionly different mode of industrialization which would build the productive apparatus not only in accord which would build the productive apparatus not only in accord with the vital needs of the underlying preputation, but also with the size of pacifying the struggle for existence?

troductrialization in those backward areas does not take place in a vacuum. It occurs in a historical obtastion in which the social capital required for primary accumulation must be obtained largely from without, from the capitalist or communist bloc — or from both. Moreover, there is a widespread presumption that measuring independent another require rapid industrialization and attainment of a feed of productivity which aroutd assure at bead relative autonomy is competitive with the two givens.

In these consumptions, the transformation of under-developed into industrial excitation must as quickly as possible discard the pre-technological forms. This is expectably as in countries where even the most ottal needs of the population are far from being satisfied, where the terrible standard of living calls first of all for quantities an masse, for machinosoid and standardical mass production and distribution. And is these same countries, the dead energit of pre-technological and even pre-'tourgeoid' customs and conditions offers a strong resistance to each a superimposed development. The machine process is social process; requires observed to a supplement of accordance powers.

— total secularization and the destruction of values and resistance whose developments.

reasonably assume that, under the impact of the taxs great systems of total technological administration, the dissolution of this resistance will proceed in liberal and democratic forms? That the underdrestinged countries can make the historical loap from the pre-technological to the post-technological excists, in which the meetered technological apparatus may provide the basis for a genuine democracy? On the contrary, it rather seems that the superingreed dischological of these countries will bring allow a period of total administration more violent and more rigid than that transment of total administration more violent and more rigid than that transment by the advanced excitation which can build on the advancements of the liberalistic era. To sum up the backward areas are likely to excussible either to one of the various forms of two colonialisms, or to a more or less terroristic system of primary according.

Nonecon, profiler alternative seems possible. If industrialization and the introduction of technology in the backward countries excusive strong resistance from the indigenous and traditional modes of the and labor — a resistance which is not absentioned seen at the very tangetite prospect of a better and seasor the — could this pre-technological tradition itself become the source of progress and industrialization?

Such indigenous progress would demand a planned policy which, instead of experingening technology on the traditional modes of the and later, would extend and improve their or their sen grounds, eliminating the opposesive and explicitative forces instantial and religious which made their incapable of assuring the development of a human existence. Social recolution, agrarian refere, and reduction of over-population would be prerequisites, but not industrialization after the pattern of the adeasced existence. Industrialization plan the pattern of the adeasced existence, today or experience are noticed to areas where the national recounts in areas where the national recounts, if these them experience exception is areas where the returnal recounts, if the definitions to a supplement to the state of a force of the pattern of the surroundings of teams. The force of the residence of the pattern of the sufficient to only for extensions but also for a human life. And where they are not, could they not be made sufficient by the gradual and precented aid of technology—within the forces of the traditional tons.

If this is the case, then conditions would prevail which do not exist in the old and advanced industrial sociation (and never existed there) — namely, the "immediate producers" themselves

acculd have the chance to create, by their carn latter and billions, their carn progress and determine its rate and direction. Belf-determination acculd proceed from the base, and work for the reception could transport their treatment acception could transport their treatment acception.

But even under these abstract assumptions, the brute limits of self-determination must be acknowledged. The initial resolution which, by abolishing mental and material exploitation, is to establish the prorequisites for the new development, is hardly conceivable on spontaneous action. Moreover, indigenous progress would presupprise a change in the policy of the two great industrial power block which today shape the world—absendances of reconstitution in all its forms. At present, there is no recindination of such a change.

The Wolfers and Worlans State

By way of summary: the prospects of containment of change, offered by the politics of technological rationality, depend on the prospects of the Welfern State. Such a state seems capable of rations the standard of administrational being, a capability inherent in all advanced industrial societies where the streamined technological aggregature — set up as a separate power over and above the individuals — depends for its functioning on the internalised development and expansion of productivity. Under such senditions, duction of feedom and opposition is not a nation of exception or installed or individual determination or completion. It is called an objective and discribing according to tendential determination or completion. It is called an objective according to contain a tendential determination or completion and discribinists of an increasing quantity of growth and services make compliance a rational technological attitude.

Nonecone, with all its nationality, the Worlfare State is a state of pollowelium because its total administration is systematic matricition of its "technically" available free time; thi the quantity and quality of proofs and services "technically" available for vital individual needs; to the intelligence tomorrous and unconscious republic of comprehending and realizing the possibilities of selfdenomination.

Late industrial society has increased rather than reduced the need for paraeltical and alterated functions for the society as a whole, if not for the individuals. Advertising, public relations,

inductrination, planned obsolescence are no longer unproductive overfeead coats but rather elements of basic production coats, to order to be effective, such production of socially recessary waste requires continuous rationalization - the relambess utilization of advanced techniques and science. Consequently, a rising standard of living is the almost unavoidable by-product of the politically manipulated industrial society, once a certain level of backwordness has been overcome. The growing productivity of labor creates an increasing surplus-product which, whether privately or centrally appropriated and distributed, allows an increased consumption - notwithstanding the increased diversion of productivity. As long as this constallation prevails, it reduces the use-value of freedom; there is no reason to insist on self-determination if the administered life is the comfortable and even the "good" life. This is the rational and material ground for the unification of opposites, for one-dimensional political ballanior. On this ground, the transcending political forces will/or society are arrested, and qualitative change appears possible only as a change from willhout.

Registrics of the Welfare State on behalf of abstract ideas of freedom is hardly concincing. The loss of the economic and political liberties which were the real achievement of the preceding two centuries may seem slight demage in a state capable of making the administrated life secure and conformalis. If the redividuals are satisfied to the point of happiness with the pools and services handled down to them by the administration, why should they insist on different institutions for a different production of different production of different production of different production of different production, why should they wish to think are pre-conditioned as that the satisfying grows also include thoughts, belings, espirations, why should they wish to think, lies, and imagine for thempetises? True, the national and mental commodities offered may be bed, weathful, rubbins — but Great and broadledge are no telling arguments against satisfaction of reads.

The critique of the Welfare State in terms of Identifian and conservation laids or willout the prefix "neo" I rests, for its validity, on the existence of the very conditions which the Welfare State has surpassed — namely, a lower degree of social wealth and technology. The pinister aspects of this critique above forth is

the fight against comprehensive social legislation and allequate government expenditures for services other than those of military defense.

Decunication of the opposition capabilities of the Wolfare State thus serves to protect the opposition capabilities of the society prior to the Wolfare State. At the most advanced stage of capitation, this society is a system of subbland pluralism, in which the compacting traditions concur in solidifying the power of the whole over the individual. Still, for the administrational individual, pluralistic administration is for better than total administration. One tradituation explicit protect him against the other; one organization regist notigate the impact of the other; precitition of except and restricted, is still infinitely safer than rule above or without less.

Moseover, in view of prevailing tendercies, the question must be raised whether this force of pluralism does not accelerate the destruction of pluralism. Advanced industrial excisity is indeed a system of countervalling present. But these forces concel each other out in a higher unification — in the common intenset to defend and extend the established position, to combat the bistorical alternatives, to contain qualitative change. The countervalling present do not include those which counter the establish. They tend to make the whole introuve against regarding both and to make the whole introuve against regarding both and on well as without the foreign policy of containment appears as an extension of the domestic policy of containment

The reality of plurations becomes identegical, decaptive. It seems to extend cather than reduce manipulation and co-ordination, to promote cather than counteract the fateful integration. Free institutions compete with authoritarian ones in making the Enemy a deadly fone within the system. And this deadly fone attitudies growth and initiative, not by virtue of the magnitude and economic impact of the defense "sector," but by virtue of the fact that the society as a whole becomes a defense society. For the Enemy is permanent, the is not in the emergency altuation but in the normal state of affairs. He threatens in passes as much as in ser land partiage more than in seri; he is thus being built into the system as a college more than in seri; he is thus being built into the system as a college more than in seri; he is thus being built into

Norther the growing productivity nor the high standard of hings dispared on the threat from without, but their use for the containment of social change and perpetuation of servitude does. The Enamy is the common describinator of all doing and undoing. And the Enamy is not identical with actual communion or actual capitalism — he is, in both cases, the real spectra of liberation.

Once again: the inspectly of the selective absorbers the particular inspection and turns the crimes against formanity into a rational anterprise. When the people, apily otimulated by the public and private authorities, propers for lives of total mobilization. they are sensible not only because of the present Enemy, but also because of the investment and employment possibilities in industry and entertainment, Even the most insere calculations are rational the anothination of five militim people is preferable to that of tennilities, basely militim, and or on, it is topoless to argue that a coloration selection are calculated an extending militim, and or on, it is topoless to argue that a coloration which justifies its defense by such a calculus proclaims in one and

Under those circumstances, even the existing liberties and excepts fall in place within the organized whole. At this stage of the regimented market, is competition alterating or interallying the race for tigger and faster turnover and obsciousness? An the political parties competing for pacification or for a stronger and more costly armament industry? In the production of "affluence" promoting or delaying the satisfaction of still unfulfilled vital result. If the first alternations are true. The contemporary form of pluration excels stronger, and thus provent rather the contemporary form of positionism excels stronger, and thus prevent rather than impel the "categorism" of self-determination. Democracy excels appear to be the most efficient system of democracy excels appear to

The image of the Welfare State electrical in the preceding paragraphs is that of a fratorical freek between organized capitalism and excisition, servitude and freedom, totalismanism and teppiness, its precitibity is sufficiently indicated by precition tendencies of technical progress, and sufficiently threatened by septomize forces. The most presented, of course, is the danger that progression for total nuclear war may turn into its realization the determined by determine place arranged to determine the cased for the

determine. Other factors are at play which may practicle the phenomen juncture of trialitarisation and topproses, manipulation and democracy, betweenthy and automoby — in about, the proportuation of the prescriptished barmony between organized and spontaneous behavior, preconditioned and fine thought, expendency and constitute.

Even the receit highly organized capitalism retains the social reset for private appropriation and distribution of 1 as the regulator of the economy. That is, 2 continues to link the realization of the personal interest to that of particular resited interests, in doing as, a continues to face the conflict between the growing potential of pacifying the straggle for existence, and the need for interestiping this straggle; between the progressive "distilline of labor" and need for preserving labor as the econom of profit. The conflict perpetuates the interest labor as the economic of profit. The conflict perpetuates the interest existence of those who form the human lases of the ecolar perpetuates the interest existence of those who form the human lases of the ecolar property period — the contributes the proof, the unemployed and unemployedlie, the personaled colored races, the interests of prisons and mempiopelists.

to contemporary community sociation, the analog within, backwardness, and the topacy of terror peopetuate the oppressive features of "catching up with and surpassing" achievements of capitalism. The priority of the means r the end is thereby aggreeated — e-priority which could broken only if pacification is achieved — and capitalism and communium continue to compete without military force, or e-pioted scale and through pioted scatteriors. This pacification would mean the emergence of a penuise world economy — the demise of the nation state, the national interest, national business of the nation state, the national interest, national business together with their retemptional alliances.

And this is precisely the possibility against which the present world is mobilised.

L'Ignorance et l'incornations sont telles que les nationalieress demandres florissants. Ni Lamesment ni Lindustrie de XXII simile ne permettent aux patries d'assurer leur assurble et leur vie sinon en ensembles organisme de polité mondial dans l'ordre militaire et economique. Mais a l'Ouest non plus qu'e l'Est, les orrepenses collections s'assimilant les changements mells. Les Grands forment feurs empires, ou en reparent les architectures sans accepter les changements de regime aconomique et politique qui donneratent d'écacite et sens a l'une et a l'autre coalitions.

and

Dispose de la risition et dispose de la classia, les massass soudfrantes sont particul originates dans les durates de conflits ou leurs assals acception sont des maitres qui amplicient aclammant les mystifications de l'industrie et du pouvoir.

La colfusion de l'industrie moderne et du pouvoir territorialise set un vice dont le realité est plus profonde que les institutions et les structures capitalistes et communistes et qu'excurse dialectique recressaire ne doit recressairement selimper.

The fateful intendapendence of the only tax "coverage" social systems in the contemporary world is expressive of the fact that the conflict between progress and politics, between man and his masters has become total. When capitalism mosts the challenge of communion, it meets in own capitalism mosts the challenge of communion, it meets in own capabilities: spectrousle development of all productive forces after the cubordination of the private interests in profitability which arrest such development. When communion meets the challenge of capitalism, it too meets to own capabilities: spectrouse conflicts, theretoe, and alleviation of the burden of the Both systems have these capabilities, and alleviation of the burden of the Both systems have these capabilities distorted beyond recognition and, in both cases, the reason is in the last analysis the same — the struggle against a form of the satists would dissolve the basis for denimalism.

3: The Conquest of the Unhappy Consciousness

Maxing discussed the political integration of advanced industrial sociality, an achievement rendered prescrible by growing technological productivity and the expanding compant of man and nature, we will now turn to a corresponding integration in the realts of culture. In this chapter, certain key notions and images of literature and their fate will illustrate from the progress of technological rationality is liquidating the oppositional and technological rationality is liquidating the oppositional and technological rationality in the "lighter culture." They succurrils in fact to the process of desublimation which prevails in the advanced regions of contemporary society.

The achievements and the failures of this society invalidate to higher culture. The calebration of the autonomous personality, of humanium, of tragic and romantic love appears to be the ideal of a backward stage of the development. What is happening now is not the deterioration of higher culture into mass culture but the relusation of this culture by the reality. The reality sorpasses to culture. Men today can do more than the culture heros and half-gods; he has achied many inscitutis problems. But he has also betraped the hope and destroyed the truth which were preserved in the subtimations of higher culture. To be sure, the higher culture was always in contradiction with social reality, and only a principal motority expressed in blessings and represented in ideals. The two prospection spheres of socially been always consisted. The higher culture has always to contradiction with social reality, and only a principal motority expressed in blessings and represented to ideals. The two principal discusses of socially been always consisted, the higher culture has always been accommodating, while the reality was comity distorted by its ideals and its truth.

Today's round feature is the fiathering out of the antagonium between culture and social reality through the obliteration of the oppositional, alien, and transcendent elements in the higher culture by virtue of which it constituted another dimension of reality. The liquidation of two-dimensional culture takes place not through the denial and rejection of the "cultural values," but through their wholesale incorporation into the established order, through their electrosis incorporation into the established order, through their electrosistic incorporation into the established order, through their expreshection and display on a massive scale.

to fact, they serve as instruments of social cohesion. The prestness of a free literature and art, the ideals of humanism, the sorrows and joys of the individual, the fulfillment of the personality are important forms in the competitive struggle between East and West. They speak heavily against the present forms of communium, and they are daily administered and sold. The fact that they contradict the society which selfs them does not count. Just an people know or fast that advertisements and political platforms must not be recessarily true or right, and yet hear and read them and even let themselves be guided by them. so they accept the traditional values and make them part of their mental equipment. If mass communications bland together harmoniously, and offer pronticeably, art, politics, religion, and philosophy with commercials, they bring these realine of culture to their common denominator -- the commodity form. The music of the soul is also the music of salesmanship. Exchange value. not truth value counts. On it centers the rationality of the status gon, and all alten rationality is bank to it. As the great words of fraultim and fulfillment are pronounced by campaigning leaders. and politicians, on the screens and radios and stages, they turn into meaningless sounds which obtain meaning only in the context of propagands, business, discipline, and relaxation. This assimilation of the ideal with reality testifies to the extent to which the ideal has been corporated. It is brought down from the sublimated regim of the soul or the split or the loner man, and translated into operational terms and problems. Here are the progressive atomisms of mass culture. The pervention is indicative of the fact that advanced industrial society is confronted with the possibility of a materialization of ideals. The capabilities of this society are progressively reducing the sublimated regim in which the condition of man was represented. idealized, and indicted.

The higher culture of the West — selected secretal, posthetic, and intellectual values industrial sectory still professes — was a protectional culture in a functional as sell as obviousingical sense. Its validity was derived from the experience of a world select to tonger exists and which connect be recognized because it is in a strict sense invultibated by technological society. Moreover, it remained to a large degree a finally culture, even when the tourspecie ported gave it some of its most leating formulations. It was finally technological of its most leating formulations, it was finally technological of its confinement to printeged minorities, not only because of its coherent competic attended minorities, not only because of its inherent tourspecie attended minorities, not only because of its inherent tourspecie attended minorities, not only because of its inherent because its softward tracks agreement in decidation, mathodical alternation from the active appliance of business and industry, and from its reliculation and profession order.

While this tourspecie order Yound its rich — and exer affirmation in set and illurations (as in the Dutch painters of the severeteenth century, in Goether's Withelm Meister, in the English roved of the constances constant, in Thomas Manni, it remained an order which was over shadowed, broken, refuted by another dimension which was irreconcilably antegeristic to the order of business, indicting it and denying it. And in the literature, this other dimension is represented not by the religious, spiritual, moral heroes take other scatters as the artist. Se prostitute, the above to be part of terminal orders are not the artist. The prostitute the scholars, the prostitute of a scholar and orders to the scholars. The scholars is the great criminal and outcome, the marrier. Se relations, the section the relations, the devil, the first — those who don't earn a toing, at least not in an orderly and recreatives.

To be sore, these characters have not disappeared from the literature of advanced industrial society, but they survive essentially transformed. The versy, the national hero, the beatok, the resonitio bouseasts, the parageter, the star, the chartematic spoon perform a function very different from and even contrary to that of their cultural predicessors. They are no longer images of another way of the but rather freaks or types of the same this serving as an affirmation rather than regulation of the established code.

Surely, the world of their predicessors was a backward, pretechnological world, a world with the good corecience of transpositity and toil, in which labor was all a fated mallumper, but a world in which man and nature were not jet organized as things and instrumentalities. With its code of forms and represent, with the objet and vocabulary of its literature and philosophy, this past culture expressed the rhythm and content of a universe in which valleys and forests, villages and inns, notice and villains, salone and courts were a part of the experienced reality. In the sense and prose of this pre-technological culture is the rhythm of those and prose of this pre-technological culture is the rhythm of those wife and prose of this pre-technological culture is the rhythm of those wife sends or role in corriages, who have the time and the pleasure to think, contemplate, but and represe.

It is an outdated and surpassed culture, and only disserts and childfile repressions can recipiture it. But this culture is, in some of its decision observants, alter a post-technological one. Its most advanced images and positions seem to survive their alteroption into administered conducts and attend; they continue to faunt the consciousness with the possibility of their rebirth is the consciousness with the possibility of their rebirth in the consciousness of technical progress. They are the expression of that free and conscious alteration from the established forms of the with which iterature and the arts opposed these forms even where they altered them.

In contrast to the Mannian concept, which denotes man's relation to himself and to his mosk in capitalist society, the artistic alternation is the conscious transcendence of the alternated solutence - a "higher level" or mediated plieration. The conflict with the world of progress, the negation of the order of business, the anti-bourgeois elements in bourgeois literature and art are naither due to the applicatic treatment of this order nor to romantic reaction - nontalgic consecration of a disappearing stage of civilization. "Romantic is a term of condescending deferration which is easily applied to disparaging event-pands positions, just as the term "decaders" for more offen demounces the genuinely progressive traits of a duing culture than the real factors of decay. The traditional images of artistic alternation are indeed competts in as much as they are in assittation incompatibility with the developing society. This incompatibility is the token of their truth. What they recall and presence in memory pertains to the future: images of a gratification that amouté dissolve the society which suppresses it. The great surregitet art and literature of the Taxonties and Thirties has still

recognitured them in their subversive and liberating function. Rendom examples from the basic liberary vecabulary may indicate the range and the binetity of these images, and the dimension which they reveal: Sout and Spirit and Heart; is recharche de l'absolu, Las Fleurs do mai, is ferome enfant; the Kingdom by the See; in Betseu lore and the Long-legged Ball; Fante and Heimst; but also demon run, demon machine, and demon money; Don Joan and Romen; the Master Bulliler and When the Dead Assale.

Their mans anumeration obsess that they belong to a lost dimension. They are insplicated not because of their literary obscitecemen. Some of these images pertain to contemporary literature and somice in its most advanced creations. What has been invalidated in their subversion force, their destruction content — their truth, in this transformation, they find their home in exemptly living. The alter and alterating occurres of intellectual culture become femiliar goods and services. Is their massive reproduction and consumption poly a change in quantity, namely, growing appreciation and understanding, demonstration of culture.

The truth of literature and art has always been granted of it was granted at all as one of a "higher" order, which should not and indeed did not disturb the order of business. What has changed in the contemporary period is the difference between the two orders and their truths. The alterature power of society digitates the artistic dimension by assimilating its artisgonistic contents, in the regim of culture, the new totalitarianism manifests itself precisely in a barmonicing pluration, where the most contradictory works and truths peacefully Consist in indifference.

Prior to the advent of this cultural reconciliation, therature and art seems expendially alternation, exetaining and protecting the contradiction.— the unhappy complicationses of the distribed world, the defeated possibilities, the topes unhalfilled, and the promises betrayed. They were a retireral, cognitive force, revealing a dimension of man and nature which this represent and regularities in reality. Their truth was in the fibration evoked, in the instaltence on creating a world in which the terror of the was called up and exapended.— mastered by recognition. This is the corecite of the

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chalf d'issuurne; it is the traggedy, austained to the last, and the and of traggedy — its impressible solution. To live one's true and hatred, to live that which one is means defeat, resignation, and death. The crimes of society, the half that man has made or man become uncomparable cosmic forces.

The tension between the actual and the possible is transfigured into an insulable conflict, in which reconciliation is by green of the occurs as form beauty as the "promesse de bookeau." In the form of the occurs, the actual circumstances are placed in another dimension where the piver reality shows itself as that which it is. Thus it tells the truth about teath in language cosses to be that of deception, ignorance, and submission. Follow calls the facts by their name and their reign collapses; fiction subsents exemptly experience and shows it to be multisted and false. But set has this magic power only as the power of negation. It can speak its own language proper only as the power of negation in case which refuse and relate the set they do not response only as the power of negation.

Flaubert's Mediene Broary is distinguished from equally sad lose stories of contemporary literature by the fact that the humble encalculary of her real-life counterpart atilt contained the harroine's images, or she need atories still containing such images. Her anxiety was fatel because there was no psychosnatyst, and there was no psychoanalyst because, in her world, he would not have been capable of curing her. She would have rejected him as part of the order of Yorullie which destroyed her. Her story was "tragit" because the society in which it occurred was a backward one, with a sexual morality not yet liberalized, and a psychology not yet institutionalized. The society that was still to come has "solved" har problem by suppressing it. Certainly it would be companies to say that her tragedly or that of Romeo and Juliet is solved in modern democracy, but it would also be nonsense to damy the historical assence of the tragedy. The developing technological reality undermines not only the traditional forms basis of the artistic planation - that is, it books to invalidate not only certain "styles" but also the very substance of art.

To be sure, alternation is not the sole characteristic of art. An analysis, and even a statement of the problem is outside the scope of this work, but some suggestions may be offered for

clarification. Throughout whole periods of cluffication, art appears to be entirely integrated into its society. Egyption, Greek, and Gothic art are familiar examples; Bach and Microri are usually also clied as teatifying to the "positive" side of art. The place of the work of art in a pre-technological and two-dimensional culture is vary different from that in a con-dimensional culture is vary different from that in a con-dimensional culture is vary different from that in a con-dimensional culture is vary different characterious affirmation as well as regative art.

The decisive distinction is not the psychological one between an created in joy and art created in sorrow, between samily and resonants, but that between the artistic and the societal reality. The regions with the latter, the magic or rational transgression, is an essential quality of even the most affirmative art; it is alterated also from the very public to which it is addressed. No matter how close and familiar the temple or cathedral were to the people who lived around them, they remained in terrifying or elevating contrast to the daily life of the steve, the passant, and the artisen—and perhaps even to that of their resonants.

Whather ritualized or not, art contains the rationality of regation to its advanced positions, it is the Great Refused — the protest against that which is. The modes in which man and things are made to appear, to sing and sound and speak, are modes of refuting, breaking, and recreating their factual existence. But these modes of regation pay vibule to the antegeristic society to which they are linked. Separated from the sphere of labor where society reproduces itself and its misery, the world of art which they create remains society reproduces itself and its misery, the world of art which they create remains, with all its truth, a privilege and an illusion.

to this form it continues, in spite of all democratication and propularization, through the constrainth and into the teachists century. The "high culture" in which this alternation is celebrated has its own rites and its own style. The salon, the concert, opens, theater are designed to create and invoke another dimension of reality. Their attendence requires feature like properation; they call off and transcend everytiky reporters.

Now this essential gap between the arts and the order of the day, topt open in the artistic alternation, is progressively closed by the advancing technological society. And with its closing, the Great Reliand is in turn reliased, the other dimension" is absorbed into the preventing state of affairs. The secrets of attenuation are thereselves incorporated into this society and circulate as part and parcel of the equipment which adone and psychosostyces the prevailing state of affairs. Thus they become commercials they self, conflort, or excits.

The reco-contemporative critics of telline critics of mass cultipre criticule the protest against Bach as background music in the bitchen, against Plato and Regel, Shelley and Backstein, Mans and Fraud in the drugatore, trained, they make on recognition of the fact that the classics have left the measuriteum and come to the again, that people are just so much more educated. True, but coming to the se classics, they come to the se other than themselves; they are deprived of their antegoristic force, of the estrangement which was the very dimension of their truth. The intent and function of these works have thus fundamentally changed. If they once stood is contradiction to the status que, the contradiction is now fathered out.

But such assimilation is tratorically promature: It constitutes cultural equality white preserving domination. Society is alternating the prerogatives and printeges of feeder, anatocratic culture together with its content. The fact that the transcending tratis of the fine arts, the assituation of the and thought, were accessible only to the fee wealthy and educated was the feel of a represent excisely. But this feelt is not corrected by paperbacks, general education, long-playing records, and the abolition of fermal dress in the theater and concert built. The cultural printinges expressed the tripation of freedom, the contradiction between identity and readily, the expension of intellectual from testings and readily, the expension of intellectual from matterial productionly, but they also provided a protected realin in which the telecool truths could conside in abordact integrity —

Now this remoteness has been removed — and with it the transgression and the indictment. The test and the tone are all there, but the distance is conquered which made them Luft consolience. Planeten. The artistic alternation has become as functional as the architecture of the new theaters and concert halfs in which it is performed. And here too, the rational and the

soil are inseparable. Unquestionably the new architecture is better, is, more beautiful and more practical than the monetrosities of the Victorian era. But it is also more "integrated"— the cultural center is becoming a fitting part of the shopping center, or municipal center, or government center. Domination has its own assituation, and democratic domination has its democratic assituation. It is good that almost everyone can now have the fine arts at his fingertips, by just turning a brook on his set, or by just stepping into his dispation, in this diffusion, because, they become copy in a culture marking which remakes their context.

Antistic alternation concurrets, together with other modes of respection, to the process of technological nationality. The change mounts its depth and the degree of its innocessibility if it is seen as a result of technical progress. The present stage redefines the possibilities of man and nature in accordance with the new means available for their realization than, in their light, the pretechnological images are traing their power.

Their truth value depended to a large degree on an ancient problem and uncompared dimension of man and nature, on the carrier limits placed on organization and manipulation, on the "resoluble core" which recided integration and manipulation, on the "resoluble core" which recided integration in the fully developed industrial society this insoluble core is progressively whittled down by technological retionality. Obsciously, the physical transformation of the world entails the mantal transformation of its symbols, images, and obser. Obsciously, when cities and highways and flational Parks replies the villages, valves cities and highways and flational Parks replies the villages, valves cut to transformation of an approach, and these streets the villages, valves and through the sites.— then these areas too takes and planes out through the sites.— then these areas too their character as a qualitatively different reality, as areas of contradiction.

And since contradiction is the work of the Logos — rational confrontation of "that which is nor" with "that which $u^* - 1$ must have a medium of communication. The struggle for this medium, or rather the struggle against its absorption into the predominant one-dimensionally, shows forth in the asset gards offsets to create an estrangement which would make the artists truth again communication.

Bortolt Bracht has abstiched the theoretical foundations for these efforts. The total character of the established society confronts the playwright with the question of whether it is still possible to 'represent the contemporary world in the theater" -- that is represent it in such a manner that the spectator recognises the truth which the play is to convey. Brackt property that the contemporary world can be thus represented only if it is represented as subject to change -- as the state of negativity which is to be required. This is discribe which has to be learned. comprehended, and acted upon; but the theater is and nuglit to be entertainment, pleasure. Rosever, entertainment and learning are not opposites; entertainment may be the most effective mode of learning. To leach what the contemporary world really is baltine the identisgical and material veil, and flow it can be changed, the theater most break the spectator's identification. with the exents on the stage. Not empathy and fasting, but distance and reflection are required. The "extrangement effect" Nerfrandungsaffakt is to produce this dissociation in which the world can be recognized as what it is. "The things of everyday life are lifted out of the regim of the self-evident..." "That which is 'rathural' must assume the features of the extraordinary. Dely in this regenter can the least of cause and effect reveal themselves."

The "extraogeneous effect" is not apperimposed on Streature, 3 is nother Streature's own answer to the Streat of total behaviories — the attempt to recove the retionality of the regative. In this attempt, the great "conservative" of Streature pints forces with the redical activitie. Paul Valery Insists on the Insucapable connectment of the poets language to the regative. The verses of the inspector.

They speak of that which, through allower, haunts the established universe of discourse and behavior as its most tabound possibility — neither frances nor hell, neither good nor self-but simply "In bookeas." Thus the positic language speaks of that which is of this world, which is visible, bengible, audible in man and nature — and of that which is not usen, not touched, not have.

Creating and moving in a medium which presents the absent, the poetic language is a language of cognition — but a cognition

which subverts the positive. In its cognitive function, postry performs the prost task of throught:

in travail qui fait vivre en nous ce qui n'existe pas.

The secret reframe the unifying, sensible rule of the sentence. Naming the "things that are absent" is breaking the spell of the things that are; represent, it is the ingression of a different order of things into the established one — "In commencement d'un monte."

For the expression of this other order, which is transcendence within the one world, the positic language depends on the transcendent elements in ordinary language. However, the total mobilization of all media for the defense of the established reality has coordinated the means of expression to the point where communication of transcending contents becomes technically improssible. The spectra that has haunted the artistic consciousness since Matterns — the improssibility of speaking a non-reflied language, of communicating the negative — has cessed to be a specim. It has materialized. The world refuses the uniffering, smaller rule of the sentences.

The truly award gardic socile of librature communicate the break with communication. With Rindwood, and then with dedictor and surrealism, librature rejects the very structure of discourse which, throughout the bistory of culture, has bisked artistic and ordinary language. The propositional system twith the sentence as its unit of meaning) was the medium in which the tend dimensions of reality could meet, communicate and be communicated. The most subtime positry and the lowest prose shared this medium of expression. Then, modern positry "detroited the represents do tengence or remember to discours a decision do medium de mode."

The world refuses the unifying, sensible rule of the sentence. It suplicities the pre-established structure of resenting and, becoming an "absolute object" itself, designates an intrinrable, self-defeating universe — a discontinuum. This subvention of the linguistic structure implies a subvention of the experience of self-one.

La Natione y deviseré un discontinu d'objets solitaires et terribles, parece qu'ils n'ont que des faiteurs virtualites; parecens ne chotel pour eux un seruite, parecens ne chotel pour eux un seruite, parecens ne les reduit à le signification d'un comportement mental un d'une intention, c'est-a-dire finalement d'une tendresse ... Ces mote objets sans l'aison, pares de toute le violence de leur existement ... ces mote pusitiques exclusert les formans; il n'y a pas d'humanisme positique de le modernite ce discours debout est un discours positique de le modernite ce discours debout est un discours plain de termour, c'est a dire qu'il met l'hommes en liaison non pas aux les autres hommes, mais avec les images les plus orbunes non pas aux les autres hommes, mais avec les images les plus orbunes out la matière pour, de la faison non pas aux les autres hommes, nuit avec les images les plus orbunes aux les matières pours, de

sind der tebageilf dessen, was die Sachtlichkeit mit einem Tabunutlicht, weit in die an dir eigenen dinghaften Wesen gemaken und denen, dass sie nicht dentit fertig wird, dass ihre Rationalität institungt bleibt. Der Burnsaltemus sammelt ein, was die Sachtlichkeit den Monschen versagt; die Entstellungen bezwigen, was das Verbot den Begahnten antet. Durch die einstellung von das Verselbete, ein Album von Idiosyntroseien, in denen der Glücksamspruch DE verraucht, der die Monschen in ihner eigenen Sochrößsterten Walt versenigent finden.

Or, the work of Bertolt Brackt preserves the "promises debootleser," — contained in romance and Eltach (mountains and the blue see; making and sweet from; loyally and lovel by making it into political forment. His characters sing of lost paradition and of unforgettable tops ("Safet do der Mond über Solto, Gallebber?" "Jedoch sines Tages, and der Tag wer blac." "Zuerst wer se immer Booting," "Und ein Bobilf mit acht Segetin," "Alter Billier Mond, De wo noch Liebe labor!) — and the song is one of cruelly and greed, explicitation, cheating, and lee. The deceleral sing of their deception, but they been to be begreed its course, and it is only in barring the course land how to cope with them; that they regain the truth of their drawn.

The efforts to recogiture the Great Refusel in the language of therature suffer the fate of being absorbed by what they refute. As modern classics, the exert gards and the beatrille share in the function of ententancing without endangering the good consistence of the man of good will. This absorption is patified by technical progress; the refusal is refuted by the alteriation of noisery in the advanced industrial excisity. The liquidation of light collumn is a by-product of the companit of nature, and of the progressing companit of scanols.

transfering the charished images of transcendence by incorporating them into its oranipresent daily reality, this society testifies to the extent to which insoluble coefficie are becoming manageable — to which tragedy and romance, archatypal drapms and ensisting are being made societylated to technical solution and dissolution. The psychiatrist takes care of the Don Juans, Romance, Namies, Fauste, as he takes care of Dedipus — he cores them. The rolers of the world are toping their metaphysical features. Their appearance on television, at press conferences, in participant, and a public hearings is hardly suitable for drama tespond that of the absentisement, while the consequences of their actions begond that of the absentisement, while the consequences of their actions surpass the scope of the drama.

The prescriptions for influenceity and injustice are being administered by a retionally organized bureaucracy, which is, bosesses, invisible at its vital center. The end contains fee accrets and longings which cannot be associate discussed, analysed, and politic. Builtude, the very condition which contained the individual against and beyond his society, has become technically impressible. Logical and inquisits analysis demonstrate that the old metaglispical problems are fluency problems; the quest for the "nearing" of trings can be reformalized as the quest for the meaning of exorts, and the established universe of discourse and behavior on provide perfectly adequate orders for the seasons.

It is a retiremal universe which, by the more weight and capabilities of its appareton, blocks all reciges in its relation to the resility of daily life, the high culture of the past was many things—appreciation and adversaries, outtry and resignation. But it was also the appearance of the realty of freedom: the refused to behave. Such refused connect be blocked without a compareation which seems more satisfying than the refused. The compared and unfortunities of opposition, which finds its obsoluption givey in the transformation into popular culture, takes place on a material ground of increased satisfaction. This is also the ground which allows a seemping describingtion.

Artistic allamation is sublimation. It creates the images of conditions which are inscrincisable with the established Reality Principle but which, as cultural images, become tolerable, even edifying and cools. Now this imagery is invalidated to succeptivation into the bitchen, the office, the strong is commercial release for business and fun is, in a sense, desublimation—registering mediated by immediate gratification. But it is desublimation practiced from a "position of strength" on the part of society, which can affect to grant more than before because is interests have become the insertional drives of its citizens, and because the joys which it grants promote social cohesion and because the joys which it grants promote social cohesion and

The Pleasure Principle alteories the Reality Principle; sexuality is liberated for rather liberalized in socially constructive forms. This sotion implies that there are represente modes of desoldingston, compared with which the sublimated drives and objectives contain more deviation, more freedom, and more refusal to head the social lateous is feel took opposite deviations in the social lateous in the steepers that such represente desoldingston is indeed operative in the sexual sphere, and here, as in the desoldingston of tighter culture, it operates as the by-product of the social controls of tasknological reality, which extend liberty while interesting dentination.

to this society, not all the time appear on and with reschancement to latter time it.e., orginalizationable but recreasely toll, and not all the energy sevent by the machine is latter power. Machinesisation has also "sevent" blocks, the energy of the Life treatments — that is, has barred it from previous modes of realization. This is the bornel of truth in the numeric contrast between the modern traveler and the wandering post or pritises, between assembly line and handinal, town and oily, factory produced bread and the home-made trut, the unlikely and the outboard motor, at, True, this remarks took pre-technical world was permeated with mixery, tol, and title, and these in turn were the background of all pleasure and joy. Bill, there was a "tenderage," a medium of blocknet experience which no longer exists.

With its disappearance little? a fratorical prerequisite of progress), a whole dimension of frumes activity and passivity has been de-protocoal. The proconnect from which the individual could obtain pleasure — which he could cathert as gratifying almost as an extended zone of the body — has been rigidly reduced. Consequently, the "universe" of Stratinous catherin is Streetse reduced. The affect is a localization and contraction of Stroto, the reduction of arctic to sexual experience and satisfaction.

For example, compare toxe-making in a meadow and in an automobile, on a lovery' walk outside the town walls and on a Manhattan street, in the former cases, the environment partalless of and invites libidinal cathesis and tends to be entircised. Libido transcends beyond the immediate entroperic cores -- a process of nonrepressive aublimation, in contrast, a machanized processment pages to block such self-transcendence of blods. Impalled in the striking to extend the field of erotic gratification. Shido becomes less "polymorphous," less capable of eroticien beyond localized sexuality, and the latter is interactive. Thus distinctiving arctic and intersofting sexual energy, the technological reality limits the scope of sublimation. It also reduces the need for eultimation, in the mental apparatus, the tersoon between that which is desired and that which is permitted seems considerably towared, and the Reality Principle no longer seems to require a seessping and painful transformation of instinctual needs. The individual must adapt times if to a world which does not seem to demand the denial of his innermost results -- a world which is not assertially hostile.

The organism is thus being preconditioned for the spontaneous acceptance of what is official, insertuals as the greater liberty involves a contraction rather than extension and development of instinctual needs, it works for rather than apprinc the status quo of general represent. — one might speak of "institutionalized the subtimation." The latter appears to be a vital factor in the making of the authoritarian personality of our time.

It has office been noted that advanced industrial civilization operates with a prestor degree of secual fraction — "operates" in the sense that the latter becomes a market value and a factor of social mores. Without coasing to be an instrument of later, the body is allowed to solidat its secual features in the many-lay work world and in work relations. This is one of the proposi-

actionsements of industrial society — rendered possible by the reduction of dirty and heavy physical labor; by the availability of chasp, attractive clothing, beauty culture, and physical hygiene; by the requirements of the absentiating industry, atc. The sexy office and sales girls, the handsome, circle justice executive and floor auditor are highly marketable commodition, and the prosessor of suitable minimizes. — once the prerigative of kings, princes, and look. — facilitates the cover of even the less respited ranks in the basiness to the preriors.

Functionalism, going artistic, promotes this trend. Stops and offices open themselves through huge place windows and expose their paraconal; traids, high counters and ton-transparent partitions are coming down. The committee of privacy in magnitude apartment houses and suburban homes breaks the barrier which formerly apparated the individual from the public existence and exposes more easily the attractive qualities of other wives and other hostenia.

This socialization is not contradictory but complementary to the do-emitication of the emitrocensor. See is integrated into each and public relations, and is thus made more susceptible to controlled; satisfaction. Technical progress and more confunds tuning permit the systematic inclusion of libridinal configuration told the realist of commodity production and exchange. But no matter from controlled the mobilization of instinctual energy may be it sometimes encurets to a scientific management of libridin, no matter from much it may serve as a prop for the status quo — It is also profifying to the managed redictions, just as racing the outboard motor, pushing the power laws motors and speed reductions, and speeding the automobile are fun.

This modellization and administration of Hindo may account for much of the voluntary compliance, the albemos of terror, the pre-established frammony between individual needs and excisilly-required decime, goals, and aspirations. The technological and political companit of the transcending factors in human existence, so characteristic of advanced industrial civilization, here asserts toolf in the instinctual aphenic satisfaction in a way which generates submission and weakers the rationality of protest. The soort refuses the uniform submission and residence the rationality of protest. The

The range of socially permissible and destrable satisfaction is greatly entarged, but through this satisfaction, the Pleasure Principle is reduced — deprived of the claims which are irreconcitable with the established society. Pleasure, thus adjusted, pererates solenism.

to contrast to the pleasures of adjusted desolationation, sublimation preserves the consciousness of the resunciations which the represente society inflicts open the individual, and thereby preserves the need for Oberation. To be sure, all sublimation is enforced by the power of society, but the unhappy consciousness of this power already breaks through alteration. To be sure, all sublimation accepts the social barrier to instinctual gratification, but I also transpresses this barrier.

The Eugenege, in consoring the unconscious and in implianting consciouss, also consore the consor because the developed conscious registers the forbidden and act not only in the individual but also in his society. Conservally, loss of conscious due to the satisfactory liberties granted by an unites society makes for a happy consciousness which facilitates acceptance of the misdeeth of this society, it is the token of declining autonomy and comprehension. Estimation demands a high degree of autonomy and comprehension. Estimation demands a high degree of autonomy and comprehension, it is mediation between the conscious and the unconscious, between the primary and according processes, between the intellect and institut, securities and relation, in its most accomplished modes, such as in the artistic course, authinostic becomes the cognitive power which defeats suppression while towards to it.

to the light of the cognitive function of this mode of sublimation, the describingation rangement to advanced industrial society reveals its truly conformist function. This liberation of associatly light of approximations these the instinctual drives from much of the unfragginess and discontent that obscides the represente power of the established universe of satisfaction. To be some, there is pervented universe, and the happy consciousness is shally amough — a thin surface over been, frustration, and disguer. This unhappiness lends that satisfaction is political mobilization; without costs for conscious development, it may become the instinctual reservoir for a new feaciet way of the and death. But there are

many ways in which the unhappiness beneath the happy consciousness may be turned into a source of strength and cohesion for the social order. The conflicts of the unhappy individual new seen for more amenable to ours than those which made for Fraud's "Secretar to collisation," and they seen more adequately defined in terms of the "neurotic personality of our time" their in terms of the observal struggle between Error and Transition.

The way is which controlled desublimation may weaken the instinctual revolt against the established Reality Principle may be Burningted by the contrast between the representation of sexuality in classical and romantic fiterature and in our contemporary literature. If one selects, from among the works afficit are, in their very substance and inner form, determined by the arotic commitment, such essentially different examples as Racine's Plante, Guette's Wathersandschaften, Beutelaine's Les Pleure do Mal. Yolstoy's Anna Karenina, assuably consistently appears in a highly sublimated, "mediated," reflective form -but in this form, it is absolute, uncompromising, unconditional. The dominion of Eros is, from the beginning, also that of Thanatos. Fulfillment is destruction, not in a moral or sociological but in an ontological sense. It is beyond good and evil, beyond social morality, and thus it remains beyond the reaches of the constituted Reality Principle, which this Even refuses and explindes.

to contrast, desublimated security is rangest to O'Recli's alcoholics and Faulkner's sacages, in the Streeture Named Desire and under the Hot To Roof, in Lotte, to all the stories of Nollywood and New York orgins, and the adventures of suburban tousewhere. This is infinitely more realists, daring, unintibited, it is part and parcel of the society in which it happens, but rosehere to regation. What happens is society wild and obscerne, units and tests, quite immoral — and, precisely because of that, perfectly families.

Fromit from the aubtimated form which was the very token of its tracconcitable dreams — a form which is the style, the language in which the story is told — sexuality turns into a vehicle for the bestselfers of oppression. It could not be said of any of the sexu

scorner in contemporary literature what Balloc caps of the whore Eather: that here was the tenderness which blossoms only in selectly. This excludy turns everything it touches into a potential source of progress and of explicitation, of drudgery and satisfaction, of freedom and of oppression. Sexuality is no exception.

The concept of controlled describingation would imply the possibility of a simultaneous release of represent security and approximeness, a possibility which ocents incompatible with Fraud's notion of the fixed quantum of instinctual energy evaluable for distribution between the two primary drives. According to Fraud, strengthening of sexuality libralic would recessarily insolve enablening of approximeness, and size owns. Nowever, if the socially permitted and encouraged release of thicks would be described and encouraged release of thicks would be that of partial and tourisized sexuality, it would be testimoset to an actual compression of ends; energy, and this describe enough to an actual occupantities with the growth of sexualitimation would be compactible with the growth of sexualitimated as well as soldingsold forms of approximeness. The latter is compact finance of approximeness.

Note it attained a degree of recomplication where the individuals are getting used to the risk of their care dissociation and discintegration in the course of normal national preparadises. On is this arquirecence entirely due to their impotence to do much about 17 in any case, the risk of arcidable, man made destruction has become normal equipment in the mental as each as material troughful of the paragin, so that it can no longer serve to indict or refuse the established social system. Moreover, as part of their delity trousehold, it may even be them to this system. The economic and political connection between the absolute enemy and the high standard of long land the desired books of employment; it transpared of living land the desired books of employment; is transpared or long, but also returned enough to be excepted.

Assuming that the Destruction treatment in the last analysis: the Death Instinct) is a large component of the energy which facilities before technical compared of man and nature it seems that society's growing capacity to manipulate technical progress also increases its capacity to manipulate and control this instinct, i.e., to satisfy it "productionly it manipulate and control this instinct, i.e., to satisfy it "productionly." Then social cohesion would be strongthered at

the disspect instinctual roots, The augments risk, and even the fact of war would meet, not only with fedgless acceptance, but also with instinctual approval on the part of the victims. Here too, we would have controlled desublingsion.

treatfultionalized describingation thus appears to be an aspect of the "compared of transcendence" achieved by the one-dimensional society. Just as this society tends to reduce, and even absorb opposition the qualitative difference() in the realize of politics and higher culture, so it does to the instinctual sphere. The result is the atrophy of the mental organic for grouping the contradictions and the attendity of the mental organic for grouping the contradictions and the attenditions and the attenditions and the attenditions and the resource of the contradictions and the attenditions and, in the Happy Consciousness dimension of technological rationality, the Happy Consciousness consects to prevail.

It reflects the belief that the real is rational, and that the established system, in spite of everything, delivers the groots. The people are led to find in the productive apparatus the effective appearance the effective appearance the effective appearance throught and action can and must be surrendered. And in this transfer, the apparatus also assumes the role of a moral agent. Conscience is alsociosed by reflication, by the general recessity of things.

In this general recossity, guilt has no place. One man can give the signal that liquidates hundreds and thousands of people, then declare timed free from all parge of corecionos, and live happily over after. The antifescial powers who beat faccion on the builtiefields roop the banefits of the Naci scientists, generals, and engineers; they have the historical advantage of the latecomer. What begins as the horror of the concentration camps turns into the practice of training people for abnormal conditions -- a subternanean human existence and the daily intake of radioactive rourishment. A Christian minister declares that it does not contradict Christian principles to prevent with all available means your neighbor from antering your bomb shalter. Another Christian minister contradicts his cofeegue and says it does. Who is right? Again, the restrictly of technological nationality shows furth over and above politics, and again it shows forth as sportious, for in both cases, it serves the politics of "The world of the concentration camps... was not an exceptionally monetrous society. What we saw there was the image, and in a sense the quintessence, of the internal society into which we are plunged every day."

It asserts that even the most hideous transgressions can be represent in each a manner that, for all practical purposes, they have consent to be a danger for society. Or, if their engition leads to functional disturbances in the individual iss in the case of one Hiroshima piloti, it does not disturb the functioning of society. A mental hospital manages the disturbance.

The Happy Correctiousness has to limits -- it arranges games with death and dialiguration in which for, team work, and strategic importance mix in researding social harmony. The Rand Corporation, which unites scholarship, research, the military, the climate, and the good life, reports such games in a style of absolving culturess, in its "RANDom News" volume 8, number 1, under the heading BETTER SAFE THAN SCHITY. The rookets are ratting, the H-bornth is waiting, and the space-flights are flying. and the problem is "how to goard the ration and the has world." in all this, the milliony planners are econised, for the cost of taking chances, of experimenting and making a mistake, may be fearfully high." But here RAND comes in: RAND relieves, and "devices the RAND'S SAFE come into the picture." The picture into which they come is unclassified. It is a picture in which the world becomes a map, missiles merely symbols living live the scotting power of symbolism?, and wars just (just) plans and calculations written down on paper..." In this picture, RAND has transfigured the exorid into an interesting technological game. and one can relax - the "military planners can gain valuable synthetic' experience without risk.

PLAYING THE GAME

To understand the game one should participate, for understanding is "in the experience."

Because SAFE players have come from almost every department or RAND as well as the Air Force, we might find a physicist, an engineer, and an economist on the Blue team. The Red team will represent a similar cross section. The first day is taken up by a joint briefling on what the game is all about and a study of the rules. When the teams are finally seated around the maps in their respective rooms the game begins. Each team receives to policy statement from the Game Director. These statements, usually propared by a member of the Control Group, give an estimate of the world situation at the time of playing, some information on the policy of the opposing team, the objectives to be men by the team, and the team's lookget. (The objectives to be met by the team, and the team's lookget. (The policies are changed for each game to septore a wride range of strategic possibilities.)

to our foposthetical game. Blue's objective is to maintain a determent capability throughout the game — that is, maintain a force that is capable of striking back at fled so fled will be unwilling to risk an attack. (Blue after receives some information on the fled policy.)

Red's policy is to achieve force asperturity over Blue.

The budgets of Blue and Red compare with actual defense budgets.

It is comforting to hope that the game has been played since 'ME' at RAND, "driven in our laborishing basement -- somewhere under the Snack Bor." and that "Monus on the walls of the Red and Blue rooms for available sessions and hardware that the teams buy... About seventy terms in all." There is a "Game. Director" afto interprets game rules, for although "the rule book complete with diagrams and illustrations is 66 pages," problems inevitably arise during the play. The Game Director also has another important function: "without previously notifying the players," he "introduces war to get a measure of the effectiveness of the notitary forces in being." But then, the caption precorces "Coffee, Cate, and Ideas," Retail The "game continues through the remaining periods -- to 1972 when it ends. Then the Blue and Red teams bury the missiles and all down together for coffice and cake at the 'post morters' session." But don't relies too much: there is "one real-exofd situation that can't be transposed effectively to SAFE," and that is -- "respotation," We are granteful for it the one hope that is left in the real world situation is beyond the reaches of RAND.

Obviously, in the regim of the Happy Consciousness, guilt feeling has no place, and the calculus takes care of consciousn. When the selects is at stake, there is no crime except that of rejecting the whole, or not defending it. Crime, guilt, and guilt feeling become a private affair. Freud revealed in the payothe of the individual the crimes of man-kind, in the individual case history the history of the whole. This fatel link is exceptefully expensesed. Those who identify themselves with the whole, who are installed as the leaders and defendents of the whole can make mistakes, but they cannot do wrong — they are not pully. They may become pully again when the identification to longer holds, when they are pose.

4: The Closing of the Universe of Discourse

obbers l'état présent de l'Histoire, toute écriture politique ne peut que conformer un univers policier, de meme toute écriture intellectuelle ne peut qu'instituer une persitérature, qui n'ose plus dire son non.»

"In the present state of fristory, all political writing can only confirm a police-universe, just as all intellectual writing can only produce para-literature which does not dans any longer to tell its name."

ROLAND BARTIES

The Higgsy Consciousness — the balled that the real is rational and that the system delivers the proofs — reflects the new conformier which is a feest of technological rationality translated into social behavior. It is now because it is rational to an organized-behavior degree. It exists a socially which has reduced—and in its most advanced areas allocitated — the more principles trationality of the preceding stages, which protongs and improves the more regularly than before. The war of acceleration transcribe the corresponding trace to personality. The stages and improves the more regularly than before the ear of acceleration has not jet occurred; the flact extermination camps have been abolitated. The Higgsy Consciousness reports the commention, furture has been reconsidered as a normal affair, but in a colonial mor which takes place at the margin of the civilized world. And there it is practiced with good conscience for any is see. And this war, too, is at the margin — it ranages only the "underdeveloped" countries. Otherwise, peace regen.

The power over man which this society has acquired is delly absolved by its efficacy and productiveness. If it assimilates everything it touches, if it absorbs the opposition, if it plays with the contradiction, it demonstrates be cultural experiority. And in the same way the destruction of resources and the proliferation of exects demonstrate its spulmore and the "high levels of self-being"; "the Community's too well off to care."

The Language of Total Administration This sort of each being, the productive augmentructure over the unhappy base of excisity, permeates the "media" which mediate between the masters and their dependents. Its publicity agents shape the universe of communication in which the one-dimensional behavior apprecess basif, he impage testifies to identification and unification, to the systematic promotion of positive thinking and dring, to the concentral attack on transcendent, critical nations. In the prevailing modes of speech, the contrast appeals between two-dimensional, distances in receive of thought and technological behavior or excisit "satisfies of thought."

to the outpression of these habits of thought, the tension between appearance and reality, fact and factor, substance and attribute tend to disappear. The attenuents of autonomy, discovery, decovery, decoveration, and critique recede before designation, assention, and installion. Magical, authoritarian and itsust attenuents permaste speech and language. Discourse is deprived of the mediations which are the stages of the process of cognition and cognitive evaluation. The concepts which comprehend the facts and thereby transcend the facts are traing their authoritis and thereby transcend the facts are traing their authoritis fregulatic representation. Without these mediations, language tends to express and promote the immediate identification of research and fact, truth and established truth, essence and establishes, the deleters, the search and established truth, essence and

These identifications, which appeared as a feature of operationalism, reappear as features of discourse in social behavior. Here functionalization of language heige to repel non-conformial elements from the directure and recomment of speech. Viscalizating and springs are equally affected. Socially expresses in requirements directly in the linguistic material but not without opposition; the propoler language orders with spitalist and define

Number at the official and sent-official discourse Slang and cofficial appears have rarely been so creative. It is as if the common man for his exceptions spokesman excel in his speech assent his humanity against the powers that he, as if the rejection and result, subshaled in the political sphere, acutel burst out in the socialisately that cathe things by their centers. "head shrinker" and "agglitude," "book tube," "thick tank," "book it and "dig it," and "gone, man, gone."

Nonemon, the defense laboratories and the executive offices, the governments and the machines, the time-leagues and managers, the efficiency expents and the political beauty parties (which provide the leaders with the appropriate make up) speak a different language and, for the time-lesing, they seem to have the lest want. It is the want that orders and organism, that induces people to do, to buy, and to accept. It is transmitted in a sinks which is a verifiable linguistic creation; a syntax in which the structure of the sentence is abridged and condensed in each a ser that no tension, no "spece" is left between the parts of the sentence. This linguistic from militates against a development of managers, I shall presently by to flustrate this sight.

The feature of operationalism — to make the concept symmetries with the corresponding set of operations — recurs in the longisatio tendency "to consider the names of things as being indicative at the same time of their manner of functioning, and the names of properties and processes as symbolical of the apparatus used to detect or produce them." This is technological nascoring, which tends "to identify things and their functions."

As a hight of throught outside the eclerottic and technical language, such researcing shapes the expression of a specific social and political behaviorien, in this behavioral universe, words and concepts tend to coincide, or rather the concept tends to be absorbed by the ward. The former has no other content than that designated by the word in the publicited and standardized orage, and the word is expected to have no other response than the publicited and standardized behavior teaction. The word becomes clothe and standardized behavior teaction. The word becomes clothe and, as clothe, governs the speech or the writing the contequation than precludes genuine descriptment of response.

*

To be sure, any language contains incurrenable terms which do not require development of their meaning, such as the terms designating the objects and implements of deliy life, visible nature, vital resolt and wants. These terms are generally understood to that their more appearance produces a require linguistic or operational adequate to the pragmatic context is which they are spoken.

The observation is very different with respect to terms which denote though or occurrences beyond the resource/overseal contest. Here, the functionalization of language expresses an abridgement of measuring which has a political connotation. The names of things are not only "redicative of their resource of functioning," but their includit measure of functioning also defines and "closes" the measuring of the thing, excluding other measures of functioning. The nous governs the sentence in an authoritarian and totalitarian facilities facilities, and the sentence becomes a declaration to be accepted.— It reports demonstration, qualification, registron of its coefficient and declared measuring.

At the nodel points of the universe of public discourse, selfvalidating, analytical propositions appear which function like magic-ritual formulae. Nanomered and re-barrowered into the recipient's mind, they produce the affect of exclusing it within the rinck of the conditions preported by the formula.

I figure altready referred to the self-validating figurethesis as propositional form in the universe of political discourse. Buch stoors as "freedom," "Carpositip," "denourary," and "peace" imply, analytically, a specific set of attributes which occur investigity when the noun is spoken or written, to the West, the analytic predication is in such terms as free enterprise, initiative, elections, individual; in the East in terms I of workers and peacement, building communities or excisions, abolition of hospile classes. On either eith, transgression of the discourse beyond the classes. On either eith, transgression of the discourse beyond the classes, distortion of enterprise is incorrect or propagaments, although the means of enforcing the truth and the degree of punishment are very different, in this universe of public discourse, speech moves in spromptes and texturingine; actually, it never moves toward the qualitative difference. The enalptic structure insulates the governing rount from those of its contents which would

invalidate or at least disturb the accepted use of the roun in statements of policy and public opinion. The ritualized concept is made immune approach contradiction.

Thus, the fact that the prevailing mode of freedom is servitude, and that the prevailing mode of equality is experimental integratily is berned from expression by the closed deficition of these concepts in terms of the present which shape the respective universe of discourse. The result is the familiar Creatilize tergospe ("peace is ear" and "ear is peace," etc.), which is by no means that of terrorists totalitarismien only. Nor is it any less traction if the contradiction is not made explicit in the sentence but is encited of terrorists totalitarismics coly. Nor is it any less traction if the contradiction is not made explicit in the sentence but is enciteded in the roun. That a political partly which works for the defense and proach of capitalism is called "Excision," and a despirate preventer of despiration tracks of registration that it is represented to the defense and proach of capitalism is called "Excision," and a despiration tracks of the despiration of the despiration of the despiration of the despiration tracks of the despiration of the desp

Relationsly rose is the general acceptance of these lies by public and private opinion, the expensation of their recreations content. The agreed and the effectiveness of this language testify to the strangth of society over the contradictions which it contains, they are reproduced without expliciting the social system. And it is the outgoiden, blatest contradiction which is readle into a device of speech and publicity. The syntex of stridgeness proclaims the seconditation of opposites by welting their topical proclaims the seconditation of opposites by welting their topics in a first and familiar attracture, I shall attempt to show that the "close bond familiar structure, I shall attempt to show that the "close denote condition of a commit style. Once considered the principal offense against topic, the contradiction now appeals as a principle of the topic of manipulation—malistic contradiction of distinction, it is the topic of manipulation—malistic contradiction of distinction, it is the topic of manipulation, a society with technological mastery of nood and malism.

The universe of discourse in which the opposities are reconciled has a firm basis for such unifigation — its beneficial destructiveness. Total commercialization joins formarly entegenistic spheres of life, and this union expresses that? In the amount together compention of conflicting parts of speech. To a mind not yet sufficiently conditioned, much of the public

speaking and printing appeals ulterly surrealistic. The word refuses the unifying, sensible rule of the sentence.

Captions such as "Labor is Seeking Missile Harmony," and advertisements such as a "Luxury Fall-Out Shalter" may still scole the naive reaction that "Labor," "Missile," and "Harmony" are inscendibile contradictions, and that no logic and to language aboutd be capable of correctly joining basiny and fallnot. However, the topic and the language become perfectly lational when we learn that a "nuclear-preserved, ballistic missilefiring automation" "certise a price tag of \$126,000,000" and that "carpeting, scrabble and TV" are provided in the \$1,000 model of the shaller. The validation is not primarily in the fact that this language selfs it seems that the fall-out business was not so good but rather that I promotes the immediate identification of the particular with the general interest, Business with National Preser, prosperity with the annihilation potential, it is only a slip of the truth if a theater pronounces as a "Special Election Evo. Fart, Strindberg's Dance of Death." The announcement reveals the connection in a less ideological form than is normally

The unification of apposites which characterious the commercial and political style is one of the many ways in which discourse and communication make themselves immune against the expression of protest and refusal. How can such protest and refusal find the fight wand when the organs of the established order admit and advertise that posce is really the brink of war. that the ultimate weapons carry their profitable price tage, and that the bomb shaller may spell connect? In self-litting its contradictions as the token of its truth. Bits universe of discourse closes thatf against any other discourse which is not on its own terms. And, by its capacity to assimilate an other terms to its can, it offers the prospect of combining the greatest possible tolerance with the prested possible units. Nevertheless its language testifies to the represeive character of this unity. This language speaks in constructions which impress upon the recipited the stanted and abridged meaning, the blocked development of content, the acceptance of that which is offered in the form in which it is offered. The fact that a specific noun is plmost pleasys coupled with the same "explicatory" adjectives.

The analytic predication is such a repressive construction. The fact that a specific roun is almost always coupled with the same 'explicationy' adjectives and attributes makes the sentence into a hapmotic formula which, and/easily repeated, have the majoring in the recipient's mind. He does not think of essentially different tend presibly trust explications of the noun, Later we shall examine other constructions in which the authoritaries character of this language reveals itself. They have in common a telescoping and abridgement of syntax which outs off development of meaning by creating fixed images which impose thermalives with an overlafedroing and patrified concreteness. It is the self-known technique of the advertisement industry, where it is methodically used for "establishing an image" which sticks to the mind and to the product, and helps to sell the man and the goods. Speech and writing are grouped around "impact times" and "audience rousers" which convey the image. This image may be "freedom" or "peace," or the "nice goo" or the "communist" or "Miss Rhaingold." The reader or listener is expected to associate land divex associated with them a finaled structure of institutions, attitudes, aspirations, and he is expected to react in a finaled, specific regreser.

Boyond the relatively furnises sphere of menthandising, the consequences are rather serious, for each language is at one and the same time "intimodation and glorification. Propositions assume the form of suggestive community—they are exceptive rather than demonstrative. Predication becomes prescription; the whole communication has a fugerotic character. At the same time it is trigged with a false functionity— the result of constant repetition, and of the skillfully managed propular directness of the communication. This relates had to the recipient immediately—without distance of status, education, and office—and titls time or her in the informal atmosphere of the long room, kitchen, and or her in the informal atmosphere of the long room, kitchen, and

The same familiarity is established through personalized fanguage, which plays a considerable role in advanced communication. It is "your" congressment, "your" highway, "your" familiarity displays, "your" familiarity is in brought "in you," it invites "you," att. In this manner, aspertmented as standardized, and general things and functions are presented as

"expectably for you," It makes title difference whether or not the individuals thus addressed before it. Its ourcess indicates that it promotes the self-identification of the individuals with the functions which they and the others perform.

to the most advanced sectors of functional and manipulated communication, language impress to truly striking constructions the authoritarium identification of person and function. Time magazine may serve as an extrame example of this trans. To use of the inflactional perities makes individuals appeal to be more appendices or properties of their place, their job, their employer, or enterprise. They are introduced as Virginiar's Byrd, U. S. Stant's Brough, Egapt's Nasser. A hypherested attribution construction creates a Read spreaduces.

"Georgia's high-handed, low-browed governor had the stage all set for one of his wild political raffice last work."

The governor, his function, his physical features, and his political practices are fused together into one trollutable and comunitable structure which, in its natural innocesnoe and inmediacy, overallatine the neater's mind. The structure beaver no space for distinction, development, differentiation of magning it moves and lines only as a whole. Dominated by such personalized and hypositic images, the article can then proceed to give even essential information. The nametice remains safety within the self-added framework of a more or less human interest story as defined by the publisher's policy.

Use of the highlancial abridgement is willingmand. For example, "brush-browsed" Taller, the "father of the H-bresh," "bull-shouldened miscillanum von Braun," "science-military dinner" and the "nuclear-powered, ballistic-miscile-firing" submarine. Such constructions on, perhaps not accidentally, particularly frequent in phrases joining technology, politics, and the military. Terms designating quite different spheres or qualities are forced together into a solid, compowering whole.

The effect is again a magical and hypnotic one — the projection of images which convey irresistible unity, barmony of contradictions. Thus the loved and feared Father, the spender of

the generates the H-borel for the prohibition of the "sciencemilitary" joins the efforts to reduce anxiety and suffering with the job of creating anxiety and suffering. Or, without the hyphen, the freedom Academy of cold war specialists, and the "clean bond" attributing to destruction movel and physical integrity. Regiswho speak and accept earth language seem to be introuve to everything—and exemptible to everything. Hyphenation implict or not: does not always reconcile the intercectibility. Inspendly, the combine is quite partie—as in the case of the "bullaboutdened missilance"—or it conveys a finest, or an inspiring dynamic. But the effect is similar. The imposing structure unites the action and actions of violence, power, protection, and propagands in one lightning fleet. We use the man or the thing in speciation and only in specialists—3 special to otherwise.

Note on abridgement, NATO, SEATO, URL AFL CIO, AEC, but also USSA, DDA, atc. Most of these abbreviations are perfectly reasonable and justified by the length of the unabbreviated designate. However, one might venture to see in same of them a "curreing of Reason" -- the abbreviation may help to represe undestred questions, NATO does not suggest what North Atlantic Freety Organization says, remely, a treaty among the nations on the North-Atlantic -- in which case one might sell questions altered the membership of Greece and Turkey, USSR abbreviates Socialism and Soviet DDR democratic UN disperses with undur emphasis on "united." MEATO with those Southeast-Asian countries which do not belong to it. AFL CIO entoretis the radical political differences which once separated the two organizations, and AEC is just one administrative agency among many others. The abbreviations denote that and only that which is institutionalized in such a sear that the transcending connotation is cut off. The meaning is fixed, dictored, loaded. Once it has become an official vocable, constantly repeated in general usage. "spectioned" by the intellectuals, it has lost all cognitive value and serves manely for recognition of an unquestionable fact.

This style is of an overallysitting concreteness. The "thing identified with its function" is more real than the thing distinguished from its function, and the linguistic expression of this identification in the functional roun, and in the many forms of syntactical abridgment creates a basic vocabulary and syntac.

which stand in the way of differentiation, separation, and distinction. This language, which constantly impress images, solitates against the development and expression of concepts, to its introducty and directness, it impedes conceptual thinking thus, it impedes thinking. For the concept dose not identify the thing and its function. But identification may well be the legitimate and perfuge even the only meaning of the operational and technological concept, but operational and technological definitions are specific reages of concepts for specific purposes. Moreover, they discribe concepts to operations and exclude the conceptual intent which is opposed to each discribination. Prior to its operational intent which is opposed to each discribination. Prior to its operational intent which is opposed to each discribination of the thing with its function; it distinguishes that which the thing is from the contributed malls.

The provident tendencies of speech, which regules these distinctions, are expressive of the changes in the modes of thought discussed in the senter chapters — the functionalised, abridged and unified language is the language of one-dimensional thought, in order to thustrate its rowalts, I shall contrast it briefly with a classical philosophy of grammur which transcends the behavioral universe and relates linguistic to orderpoint universe.

According to this philosophy, the grammatical subject of a sentence is fine a "substance" and remains such in the certicus states, functions, and qualities which the sentence predicates of the subject, it is activally or passively related to its predicates but remains different from them. If it is not a proper room, the subject is more than a room; it names the concept of a thing, a universal which the sentence defines as in a particular state or function. The prenoratical subject thus carries a meaning in secses of that represent in the sentence.

to the except of Withelm one Municipality the roun as grammatical subject denotes something that "can enter into certain estationalities," but is not identical with these relationships. Moreover, it remains what it is in and "against" these estationships; it is their "universal" and substantive core. The propositional synthesis looks the action for states with the subject to such a represent that the subject is designated as the actor to become and thus is distinguished from the state or function in which it happens to be in caying: "lightning strikes," one "thinks not merely of the striking lightning, but of the lightning itself which strikes," of a subject which "passed into action," And if a sentence gives a definition of its subject, it does not dissolve the subject in its states and functions, but defines it as being in the subject in its states and functions, but defines it as being in the state, or exercising this function. Neither disappearing in its predicates not existing as an antity before and outside its predicates, the subject constitutes itself in its predicates — the sessit of a process of mediation which is expressed in the session.

I have alforded to the philosophy of grantmar in order to thurstopie the extent to which the linguistic abridgements indicate an abridgement of throught which they in turn fortify and promote, traintenan on the philosophical elements in grammar, on the link between the grammatical, logical, and oriological "subject," points up the contents which are suggressed in the functional language, barried from expression and communication. Abridgement of the concept in fixed images; amended devalopment in salf-validating, hypototic formulae; introducing apprinct contradiction; identification of the thing land of the persons with its function — these tendencies reveal the one-dimensional most in the language? I speaks.

If the linguistic behavior blocks conceptual development, if it estimates approach abstraction and mediation, if it estimates to the somediate facts, it repols recognition of the factors behind the facts, and thus repols recognition of the facts, and of their batterial content, in and for the exclusio, this organization of factorizal decrease is of stall importance; it serves as a vehicle of coordination and subcordination. The unified, functional language is an inscrinilably anti-critical and anti-dialectical language, in it, operational and behavioral retirationally absorbs the transcendent, regardine, operational abstractors of finance.

I shall discuss these elements to terms of the tension between the "is" and the "ought," between essence and appearance, potentiality and actuality — ingression of the negative in the positive determinations of logic. This austrained tension

permeates the two-dimensional universe of discourse which is the universe of critical, abetract throught. The two dimensions are antegoristic to each other: the reality particles of both of their, and the distantical concepts develop the real contradictions, to is own directionment, distantical throught came to comprehend the historical character of the contradictions and the process of their mediation as historical process. Thus the "other" dimension of throught appeared to be historical dimension — the potentiality as historical possibility, its realization as historical event.

The auggression of this dimension in the societal universe of operational rationality is a suppression of history, and this is not an academic but a political affair. It is suppression of the society's can past -- and of its future, insurruph as this future invokes the qualifative change, the negation of the present. A universe of discourse in which the categories of freedom have become interchangeable and even identical with their opposites is not only practicing Draedlian or Assopian language but is repulsing and forgetting the historical reality -- the hornor of fascions; the idea of exciplion; the preconditions of democracy; the content of Needom. If a bureaucratic dictatorship rules and defines communist socials. I fascist regimes are functioning as partners. of the Free World. If the welfare program of enlightened capitalism is successfully defeated by labeling 8 "socialism," if the foundations of democracy are farmoniously abrogated in democracy. Hen the old historical concepts are invalidated by upto-date operational redeficitions. The re-deficitions are fataffications which, imposed by the powers that be and the preserts of fact, serve to transform falsehood into truth.

The functional language is a radically anti-tistorical language: operational nationality has little room and little use for foliorical reason.

to this fight against history part of the fight against a dimension of the mond in which contribugal faculties and forces might densing. — becalties and forces that might hinder the total coordination of the individual with the excludy? Remaindension of the Fast may give rise to dengenous insights, and the established society spens to be apprehensive of the adhermine contents of memory. Remaindension is a mode of dissociation from the given facts, a mode of "medigition" which breaks, for about recreams, the orresponses power of the given facts. Manage recalls the terror and the togs that passed Both come to the again, but whereas in reality, the former recurs in ever new forms, the latter remains hope. And in the personal events which reappear in the individual memory, the fears and aspirations of markind assert themselves — the universal in the perticular, it is history which memory preserves. It succurries to the totalization power of the behavioral universe.

Das "Schrackbild siner Monachhalt oltra Erionanny ist lain blosses Varhaltsprodukt... sondern as ist not der Funtschritt lichbalt des bürgerlichen Prinzigs noteeendig verknight." Dekonomen und Soziologen wie Werner Sombart und Max Water haben des Prinzig des Traditionalismus den foodsten Geschschaftsfuhrmen zugeordnet und des der Retizzablikt den bürgerlichen. Des segt aber nicht wentiger, als dess Erionanung, Zut, Gedüchtnis von der fortschraftsnissniss bürgerlichen Geschschaft weber als eine Art instinneler Rest liguident wird ..."

If the progressing retionality of advanced industrial society tends to liquidate, as an "irrational rest," the disturbing elements of Time and Memory, it also bends to liquidate the disturbing retionality contained in this irrational rest. Recognition and relation to the past as present counteracts the functionalization of thought by and in the established reality, it relitates approach the closing of the universe of discourse and behavior it funders possible the development of concepts which destablise and transcend the closed universe by comprehending it as historical universe. Confronted with the given society as object of its self-series. Confronted with the given society as object of its self-series. Confronted with the given society as object of its self-series, critical thought becomes historical consciousness as

Far from reconstitating an indifferent relativism, it searches in the real history of man for the criteria of truth and falselscool, progress and regression. The mediation of the past with the present discovers the factors which made the facts, which determined the war of the which established the masters and the servents; it projects the limits and the alternatives. When this critical correctionness speaks, it speaks "to language de to complexation" (Roland Barthes) which breaks open a closed

universe of discourse and its patrified structure. The key terms of this language are not fugarotic rourse which evoke andheady the same frozen predicates. They rather allow of an open development, they even unlied their content in contradictory predicates.

The Communité Manifesto provides a classical example. Here the two key terms, Brurgeroise and Protespriae, each "govern" contrary predicates. The "brurgeroise" is the exhiper of technical progress, Sheration, company of nature, creation of social assatts, and of the personnium and destruction of these achievements, Similarly, the "protespriat" carries the attributes of total approachs and of the total specialists.

Buch dialectical rotation of opposition in and by the proposition is remittered possible by the recognition of the subject as an testorical agent whose identity constitutes itself in and against its testorical practice, in and against its social reality. The discourse develops and states the conflict between the thing and its function, and this conflict finds linguistic expression in sentences which prin contradictory predicates in a logical unit — conseptual counterpart of the objective reality, to contrast to all Grasellian language, the contradiction is demonstrated, made explicit, explained, and denoused.

I have illustrated the contrast between the ten languages by selecting to the style of Manutan theory, but the critical, cognitive qualifies are not the exclusive characteristics of the Manutan style. They can also be found though in different modes in the style of the great conservative and liberal critique of the unfulfing bourgeons society. For example, the language of Burke and Torquesities on the one side, of John Stuart Mill on the other is a highly demonstrative, conceptual, "spen" language, which has not Jet succurribed to the highly demonstrative.

Nonexer, the authoritarian ritualization of discourse is more striking where it affects the distactical language that? The requirements of competitive industrialization, and the total subjection of man to the productive apparatus appears in the authoritarian transformation of the Manual into the Stations and post Stational language. These requirements, as interpreted by the baselerating which controls the apparentus, define what is right and wrong, true and false. They been no time and no space for a discussion which would proper disruptive alternatives. This language no longer books itself to "discourse" at all, it pronounces and, by virtue of the power of the apparentus, establishes facts — it is self-validating enunciation. Here, it must suffice to quote and paraphrase the passage in which floriend flanthes describes its magic extinctions features: "I n'y a plus estate sures and paraphrase the passage or which floriend flanthes describes its magic extinctionies features; "I n'y a plus esture sures and paraphrase the pagement, at its closure duringspecial parties..."

The closed language does not demonstrate and explain — Il communicates decision, dictum, communic. Where II defines, the deficition becomes "expension of good from evil;" Il establishes are propositionable fights and enouge, and one value as justification of another value. Il moves in textologies, but the textologies are terribly affective "sentences." They pass judgment in a "propoliged form," they pronounce condemnation. For example, the "objective content, that is, the definition of such terms as "deviationist," "evisionist," is that of the panel code, and this soft of validation promotes a consciousness for which the language of the prosect of the language of the prosect that is the language of the sentence.

Unfortunately, this is not all. The productive growth of the established communist occurry also condenses the libertaries communist opposition; the language which tries to recall and presence the original truth executives to its ritualization. The orientation of discourse land actions on terms outh as "the protestation," "workers' councils," the "distatorability of the fitalines appendix," becomes orientation or ritual formulae where the "protestante" no longer or not yet exists, where direct control "from below" another the top property or post yet exists, where direct control "from below" another the fight appears the formulae and make production, and where the fight appears the furnessoracy would weaken the efficacy of the only not force that can be mobilized appeared capitalism on an international work.

The ritual authoritarian language spreads over the contemporary secriti, through democratic and non-democratic, capitalist and non-capitalist countries. According to Roland Barthes, it is the language "propre a true les régimes d'autorité," and is there

today, in the orbit of advanced industrial civilization, a society which is not under an authoritarian regime? As the substance of the various regimes no longer appeals in alternative modes of the, it comes to rest in alternative techniques of repripulation and control. Language not only reflects these controls but becomes itself an instrument of control even where it does not transpose orders but information; where it demands, not obsolence but shows, not obsolence but shows, not obsolence but shows, not obsolence but shows.

This language controls by reducing the linguistic forms and specials of selection, abstraction, development, contradiction, by substituting images for concepts. It denies or absorbs the transcendent vocabulary; it does not search for but establishes and impress truth and feleshoot. But this tind of discourse is not seruntatio. It seems unwarranted to seauche that the recipients believe, or are made to believe, what they are being total. The new touch of the magic risual language rather is that people don't believe it, or don't care, and yet art accordingly. One does not "bollove" the statement of an operational concept but it justifies that it is setted or action.— In getting the job done, in setting and buying, in refusal to lister to others, etc.

If the language of politics tends to become that of advertising, thereby bridging the gap between two formerly very different realises of excisity, then the tendency asserts to express the degree to which domination and administration have caused to be a separate and independent function in the technological excisity. This does not mean that the power of the professional politicipes has decreased. The contrary is the case. The more politicipes has decreased. The contrary is the case. The more some the challenge they took up in order to meet it, the more corneal the vicinity of total destruction, the greater their feedom from effective propular enversignty. But their demination has been incorporated into the delity performances and releasing the observances, and the "symbols" of politics are also those of business, continuous, and the "symbols" of politics are also those of business.

The vicinalization of the language have their parallel in the vicinalization of political behavior. In the sale of equipment for relaxing entertainment in bonds shallers, in the television show of competing candidates for national leadership, the juncture between politics, business, and for is complete. But the juncture

is fraudicitiest and fatally promotions — business and fun are still the politics of domination. This is not the satire-play after the trapedly it is not finis traposities — the trapedly may just begin. And again, it will not be the hero but the people who will be the fitted votices.

The Research of Total Administration Functional communication is only the outer layer of the one-dimensional universe in which man is trained to larget — to translate the negative into the positive on that he can continue to function, reduced but fit and resonably well. The institutions of fine speech and fraction of throught do not function for mental coordination with the established reality. What is taking place is a resemping redeficition of thought beat, of its function and content. The coordination of the individual with his society resolves into those layers of the month where the very concepts are elaborated which are designed to comprehend the established reality. These concepts are believed to comprehend the established reality. These concepts are believed to comprehend the established reality. These concepts are become from the intellectual tradition and translated into operational terms. — a translation which has the effect of reducing the tensors between thought and reality by weakening the register power of thought.

This is a philipsophical development, and in order to obscide the extent to which it breaks with the tradition, the analysis will have to become increasingly abstract and identispisal. It is the sphere furthest removed from the concreteness of excisely which may show most clearly the extent of the conquest of thought by society. Moreover, the entiret of the conquest of thought by society. Moreover, the entiret will have to go back into the history of the philipsophic tradition and try to identify the traditions which had to the treat.

Missesser, before entering into the philosophic analysis, and as a transation to the more abstract and theoretical realis, I aligh discuss briefly two impresentative in my view examples in the intermediary field of empirical research, directly concerned with certain conditions characteristic of advanced industrial society. Susstitute of language or of thought, of words or of concepts, linguistic or epistemiological analysis — the matter to be discussed militates against such clean academic distinctions. The expendition of a purely linguistic from a conceptual enalysis is legal on expression of the residencial of the expension in legal on expression of the residencial

chapters will by to explain, fractually as the following critique of empirical research is undertaken in preparation for the subsequent philosophic analysis - and in the light of z - z preliminary statement on the use of the term "concept" which police the critique may serve as an introduction.

"Concept" is taken to designate the mental representation of something that is understood, comprehended, known as the result of a process of reflection. This something may be an object of delly practice, or a objection, a society, a rosed, in any case, if they are comprehended tiespriffer; and itsen Bogotf gatractic, they have become objects of thought, and as each, their content and meaning are identical with and yet different from the real objects of introductor experience. "dentical" in an much as the concept denotes the same timing "different" in an much as the concept denotes the same timing "different" in an much as the concept denotes the same timing "different" in an much as the concept is the result of a reflection which has understood the timing in the content lend in the light of other timings which did not appear in the content lend in the light of other timings which did not appear in the content lend in the light of other timings which did not appear in the immediate experience and which "expirator" the timing investigator.

If the concept rever denotes one particular concrete thing, if it is always abstract and general, it is so because the concept comprehends more and other than a particular thing — same universal condition or relation which is essential to the particular thing, which determines the form in which it appears as a concrete object of experience. If the concept of anything concrete is the product of mental classification, organization, and abstraction, these mental processes lead to comprehension only teams, in the product of the particular thing in its universal condition and relation, thus transcending its immediate condition and relation, thus transcending its immediate appearance travel is really.

By the same token, all cognitive concepts have a transitive measuring they go beyond descriptive reference to particular facts. And if the facts are those of society, the cognitive concepts also go beyond any particular contest of facts — into the processes and conditions on which the respective society reats, and which enter into all particular facts, making sometimes; and destroying the society. By virtue of their reference to this franciscal totality, cognitive concepts transcend an operational contest, but their transcendence is empirical because it fanders the facts

recognitable as that which they reality are. The fact that a specific roun is almost always coupled with the same adjustives, endlessly repeated, fees the reserving in the recipient's road.

The "excess" of meaning over and above the operational concept dispersuates the limited and over deceptive form in which the facts are allowed to be experienced. Therefore the templor, the discrepancy, the conflict between the concept and the introducts fact — the thing concrete; between the execut that refers to the concept and that which refers to the concept and that which refers to the disagn. Therefore the nation of the "reality of the universal." Therefore also the orientical, accommodating character of those modes of thought which treat concepts as mental decises and translate universal concepts into terms with particular, objective references.

Where these reduced concepts govern the analysis of the furture reality, individual or social, mental or replacial, they arrive at a false conceteness—a conceteness lucitated from the conditions which complishe its reality, in this context, the operational treatment of the concept assumes a political function. The individual and his behavior are analyzed in a therepeats sense edjectment to his society. Thought and expression, theory and practice are to be brought in line with the facts of his existence without bearing room for the conceptual critique of these facts.

The therapeutic character of the operational corough allows forth most clearly where coroughted throught is methodically placed into the service of exploring and improving the existing social conditions, within the framework of the existing social institutions — in industrial socialists, motivation research, marketing and public spinion studies.

If the given form of excisity is and remains the ultimate frame of selection for theory and practice, there is nothing among with this soft of excititings and psychology. The "explicatory" adjections and attributes makes the sentence into a fragmotic formula which, endlessly repeated, fixes the meaning. It is more frames and more production to have good later management relations than bed ones, to have pleasant rather than originateset working conditions, to have pleasant rather than originateset working conditions, to have farmony trained of conflict between the desires of the customers and the needs of business and politics.

But the retirementy of this time of social actions appears in a different light if the given socials, while remaining the frame of reference, becomes the object of a critical theory which aims at the very structure of this socials, present in all particular facts and conditions and determining their place and their function. Then their identificant and political character becomes appearent, and the stationation of adequately cognitive concepts demands going beyond the followings concreteness of positival empiricies. The therapeutic and operational concept becomes false to the outent to which it treates and atomizes the facts, statificas them within the represence which, and accepts the terms of this whole or the terms of the analysis. The methodological translation of the selection of the operational concept their becomes represented reduction of thoughts.

I shall take as an example a "classic" of industrial excludings: the study of labor relations in the Headhorne Works of the Western Electric Company, It is an old study, undertaken about a quarter of a century ago, and methods have since been much refined. But in my opinion, their substance and function have remained the same. Moreover, this mode of thought has since not only spread into other branches of social science and into philosophy, but it has also helped to shape the human subjects with whom it is concerned. The operational concepts terminate in methods of improved social control: they become part of the science of management, Department of Human Relations. In Labor Looks All Labor are these words of an automobile walker: The managements "couldn't stop us on the picket line; they couldn't stop on by straight arm faction, and so they have been studying human relations' in the economic, social, and political needs to find out hose to stop unions,"

to investigating the welform complaints about welfing conditions and exages, the researchers to spon the fact that most of these complaints were formulated in statements which contained "vagon, indefinite terms," lacked the "objective reference" to "standards which are generally accepted," and bad characteristics "excentially different turn the properties generally associated with continue facts, in other words, the complaints were formulated with continue facts, in other words, the complaints were formulated in such general statements as "the weathrooms are unearitary," "the job is dangerous," "rates are too low."

Quided by the principle of operational thinking, the researchers set out to translate or reformulate these statements in such a research that their vague generally could be reduced to particular selection, terms designating the particular observation in which the complaint originated and thus picturing "accurately the conditions in the company." The general form was discolated into statements identifying the particular operations and conditions but their complaint was derived, and the complaint was taken care of by changing these particular operations and taken care of by changing these particular operations and

For example, the statement "the exaltrocets are unspectary" was translated into "on such and such occasion I went into this exaltrocet, and the exaltrocet had some dirt in it." Inquiries then excertained that this was "largetly due to the constructions of came employees," a compalign against throwing papers, splitting on the fine, and constructed practices was instituted, and an attendent was emigraed to constant duty in the exaltrocets. "It was in this way that many of the completely were to interpreted and used to effect improvements."

Acceptor example is worker \$ makes the general statement that the piece rates on his job are too lose. The interview reveals that "his write is in the hospital and that he is worried about the dector's bills he has incurred to this case the latest content of the complaint consists of the fact that \$'s present servings, due to his write's times, are insufficient to meet his current financial obligations."

Such translation changes significantly the recentry of the actual proposition. The untranslated statement formulates a general condition in its generality ("wages are too low"). It goes beyond the particular condition in the particular factory and beyond the exchan's particular obtains.

Thus the untranslated statement established a concrete relation between the particular case and the whole of which it is a case—and this whole includes the conditions outside the respective job, outside the respective plant, outside the respective personal studies. This whole is almost and in the translation, and it is the operation which makes the core possible. The worker may not be

aware of N, and for him his compliant may indeed have that perforular and personal meaning which the translation brings out as its "latest content." But then the language he uses asserts its objective validity against his consciousness. — It expresses conditions that are, although they are not "for him." The concreteness of the perforder case which the translation achieves is the result of a series of abstractions from its real concreteness, which is in the universal character of the case.

The translation relates the general statement to the personal experience of the exorter who makes it, but stops at the point affairs the individual exorter exold experience timeself as "the sorter," and where his job exold appeal as "the job" of the exorter, and entere his job exold appeal as "the job" of the exorter, and entere his job exold appeal as "the job" of the exorter, to be translations, the operational researcher inorshy follows the process of reality, and probably even the exorter's own translations? The arrested experience is not to drink a sorter to the dring, and his function is not to think in terms of a critical theory but to train expendence — is more function and effective methods of dealing with their exorters' tonly the term "human" seems son-operational and expelling of exorters.

But as this managerial mode of thought and research spreads into other dimensions of the intellectual effort, the services which it fenders become increasingly inseparable from its scientific validity, in this context, functionalization has a truly therapeutic effect. Once the personal discontext is included from the general unlargement, once the universal concepts which militate against functionalization are dissolved into particular referents, the case becomes a treatable and translate incident.

To be sure, the case remains incident of a universal but of a genus very different from that meant in the universitated statement. His case has been subsumed under another genus that of personal hardelity cases. He is no longer a "worker" or "ungitages" intender of a classi, but the worker or amplitude 8 in the Naselborne plant of the Western Electric Company.

The authors of Management and the Worker wore well awars of this implication. They say that one of the fundamental functions to be performed in an industrial organization is "the specific Epocition of paraconal work," and this function requires that, in dealing with employer employee relations, one must be "floating of what is on some particular employee's mind in terms of a worker who has had a particular personal fractory," or "in terms of an employee whose job is in some particular place in the factory which brings him into association with particular persons and groups of paragite..." In contrast, the authors reject, as incompatible with the "specific function of personal work," an attribute with the "specific function of personnel work," an attribute addressing itself to the "exempt" or "specific employee or what is on the worker's mind in general."

We may community these examples by contrasting the original statements with their translation into the functional form. We take the statements in both forms at their face value, basing aside the problem of their varification.

ti "Wages are too lose." The subject of the proposition is "wages," not the particular remuneration of a particular worker on a particular job. The man who makes the statement might only Stok of his individual experience but, in the form he gives his statement, he transcends this individual experience. The predicate "too tow" is a relational adjective, requiring a referent which is not designated in the proposition -- too low for whom or for what? This referent neight again be the individual who makes the statement, or his co-accritions on the job, but the general noun leagest certies the entire recomment of thought expressed by the proposition and makes the other propositional elements share the general character. The referent remains indeterminate -- "too lose, in general," or "loss loss for exempone who is a segge-earner like the speaker." The proposition is abstract. It refers to universal conditions for which to particular case can be aubstituted, its meaning is "transitive" as against any individual case. The proposition cafe indeed for its "translation" into a more concrete contest, but one in which the universal concepts cannot be defined by any particular set of operations teach as the personal listory of the earlier \$. and his special function in the plant Wi.

2) If a present servings, due to his self-'s threes, are insufficient to meet his current obligations." Note that in this translation of (1), the subject has been shifted. The universal concept. "wager" is replaced by "If's present servings," the magning of which is fully.

defined by the particular set of operations \$ has to particular in order to buy for his family fixed, clothing, lodging, medicine etc. The "transitiveness" of meaning has been abclished; the grouping "wage-corners" has disappeared together with the soligent "wages," and what complete is a particular case which, stripped of its transitive meaning, becomes susceptible to the ecospied standards of treatment by the company whose case it is,

Minute is serving with 10° Northing. The translation of the concepts and of the proposition as a whole is validated by the society to which the researcher addresses bineard. The therapy works because the plant or the government can afford to bear at least a considerable part of the costs, because they are willing to do so, and because the patient is willing to extend to a treatment which promises to be a success. The vague, indefinite, universal concepts which appeared in the universal concepts which appeared in the universal translated complaint were indeed removants of the past; their persistence in speech and thought were indeed a block though a minor one; to undersaling and collected a block though a minor one; to undersaling and collected to solderstanding and collected to alteriating sold-turner conditions, they are parts of progress, intellectual and replaced.

But they also teatify to the ambivalent rationality of progress, which is satisfying in its repressive power, and repressive in its satisfactions.

The elimination of transitive meaning has remained a feature of empirical sociology. It characterious even a large number of studies which are not designed to fulfil a therapeutic function in some particular interest, Result once the "unrealistic" excess of meaning is eliminated, the investigation is tocked within the uset confine in which the established society validates and invalidates propositions. By virtue of its methodology, this empiricism is identisated. In order to fluorists in identispinal character, let us likelingical in order to fluorists in identispinal character, let us took at a study of political activity in the United States.

to their paper "Compatition Prosours and Democratic Consent," Micros Januarity and Destine Marvick want to "judge the extent to which an election is an effective expression of the democratic process." Buch judgment implies evaluation of the election process. "In terms of the requirements for maintaining a democratic socials," and this in turn requires a definition of "democratic," The authors offer the choice between two alternative definitions; the "mandate" and the "competitive" theories of democracy.

"The 'reproducts' theories, which find their origin in the classical conceptions of democracy, postulate that the process of expressions than the process of expressionalism derives from a clear-out set of directions which the electrosis improses on its representations. An electron is a proceedure of consensesses and a method for impring that representations comply with directions from constituents."

Now this "preconception" was "rejected in advance as unrealistic because it assumed a lived of articulated opinion and identings on the companion tours not likely to be found in the United States." This rather statement is considered alleviated by the conforting doubt whether such a level of opinion has existed in any electrosis since the extension in the cinetesenth century, to any case, the authors accept instead of the "compatitive" theory of democracy, according to which a election is a process of selecting and rejecting condidates," who are "in compatition for public office." This definition, requires orthodox or public office, and definition is represented to the compatition in the selection is to be assumed. When these compatition produce a "process of compatition is to be assumed. When these compatition produce a "process of compatition is often and when these it produce a "process"? A set of these criteria is offered.

- (1) a democratic election requires competition behavior opposing candidates which pervades the antire constituency. The electorate derives power from its ability to choose behavior at least two competitively priented candidates, either of whom is believed to base a reasonable chance to ain.
- (2) a democratic election requires both (1) parties to engage in a balance of efforts to maintain established voting blocs, to recruit independent voters, and to gain converts from the opposition parties.
- (3) a democratic election requires both 11 parties to be engaged eigenmostly in an effort to win the current election; but, win or lose, both parties must also be seeking to enhance their chances of success in the next and subsequent elections ...

I think these deficitions describe pretty accordally the factual state of effects in the American elections of 1962, which is the subject of the analysis, in other words, the orderis for judging a given state of affairs are those offered by ior, since they are those of a well-functioning and firmly established social system, imposed by the given state of affairs. The analysis is "looked"; the range of judgment is confined within a context of facts which excludes judging the context in which the facts are made, manneds, and in which their meaning, function, and development are determined.

Committed to this framework, the investigation becomes circular and self-validating. If "democratic" is defined in the limiting but realistic terms of the actual process of election, then this process is democratic prior to the results of the investigation. To be sons. the operational framework still allows (and even calls for) distinction between consent and manipulation; the election can be more or less democratic according to the accordined degree of consent and manipulation. The authors arrive at the conclusion that the 1962 election "was characterized by a process of partying consent to a greater extent than impressionistic estimates might have implied" - although it would be a "grave error" to overflook the "barriers" to consent and to deny that "manipulative pressures were present." Beyond this hardly thuminating statement the operational analysis cannot go, is other words, it cannot raise the decisive question whether the consent thatf was not the work of manipulation -- a question for which the actual state of affairs provides ample justification. The analysis cannot raise it because it would transcend its terms toward transitive reserving -- treated a concept of democracy which would reveal the democratic election as a rather limited democratic process.

Precisely such a non-operational concept is the one rejected by the authors as "unrepliate;" because it defines democracy on too articulate a level as the clear out control of representation by the electorate — propular control as popular sovereignts. And this non-operational concept is by no means estransoon. It is by no means a figuresis of the imagination or speculation but rather defines the transcript intent of democracy, the conditions for which the struggle for democracy was fought, and which are all to be fulfilled.

Moreover, this concept is impercable in its semantic exactness because it means exactly what it says -- namely. But it is really the electorate which imposes its directions on the representations, and not the representatives who impose that directives on the electorate which then selects and re-elects the representatives. An autonomous electorate, free because it is free from inductrination and manipulation, would indeed be on a "level of articulate opinion and ideology" articly is not likely to be found. Therefore, the concept has to be rejected as "unrealistic" -- has to be if one accepts the factually prevailing level of opinion and ideology as prescribing the valid criteria for sociological analysis. And - If inductrination and manipulation have reached the stage where the prevailing level of opinion has become a level of falsehood, where the actual state of affairs is no longer recognised as that which it is, then an analysis which is methodologically committed to reject transitive concepts commits bad to a false consciousness. Its very empiricism is Manching load.

The auditors are self-aware of the problem. "dentinginal rigidity" presents a "serious implication" in assessing the degree of democratic consent, indeed, consent to what? To the political candidates and their policy naturally. But this is not enough, because their consent to a feacist regime land one may speak of genuine consent to each a regime? would be a democratic process. Thus, the consent that has to be assessed — assessed in terms of its content, its objections, its "values" — and this step seems to involve transformers of meaning. Rosenes, each an "unactedfor" step can be avoided if the identingial orientation to be assessed in no other transitionness of the existing seal "affectively" compared to no other than that of the existing and "affectively" comparing two parties, plus the "ambiniplient resultrations"

The table giving the results of the politing of identogical orientation alreas three degrees of adherence to the Republican and to the Democratic party identogies and the "ambivalent and reutration" opinions. The established parties themselves, their polities, and their machinalisms are not questioned, nor is the actual difference between them questioned as for as the vital issues are concurred those of atomic policy and total preparedness is questions and total preparedness.), questions which seem assential for the

appropriates with a concease of democratic processes, unless the analysis operates with a conceast of democracy which money assembles the features of the established form of democracy. Such an operational conceast is not althougather inadequate to the subject matter of the investigation. It points up clearly enough the qualities which, in the contemporary period, distinguish democratic and non-democratic systems for example, efficient competition between conditions representing different parties; freelows of the discinness to choose between these conditions, but this alteriorate to choose between these conditions, but this alteriorate to choose between these conditions, but this alteriorate to choose between these conditions analysis is more and other than a descriptive one — if the test is to competition, to recognite the facts for what they are, what they "mase" for those also have been given them as facts and who have to be these to the with them.

But operational concepts do not soon suffice for describing the facts. They only attain certain aspects and aspects of facts which, if taken for the whole, deprive the description of its objective, empirical character. As an example for us took at the concept of "political activity" in Julian L. Microbeard's and Elmo Repor's study of "Political Activity of American Citizens," The authors present an operational definition of the term 'political activity' — constituted by "fee ways of behaving": (1) voting at the politic ID expectition present as operational definition of the term 'political activity' — constituted by "fee ways of behaving": (1) voting at the politic ID expectiting prescribe presents groups. (3) percentally communicating directly with legislature (4) participating is political party activity. (6) engaging in habitual dissentination of political springs through each of example on habitual dissentination of political springs through each of example on habitual dissentination.

Containtly those are "channels of possible influence on legislature and government officials," but can their measurement really provide "a mathed for expending the people who are relatively active in relation to national political issues from those who are relatively inactive?" Do they include such decisive activities "in relation to national issues" as the technical and economic contacts between corporate business and the government, and among the key corporations themselves? Do they include the formulation and dissentination of "ungolitical" opinion, information, extends over by the big publicity media? Do they technologists account of the different political sengths of the organization.

The table giving the results of the polling of ideological prientation shows three degrees of adherence to the Republican and to the Democratic party ideologies and the "ambivalent and sautrations" opinions. The established parties themselves, their policies, and their machinations are not questioned, nor is the actual difference between their questioned as for as the vital leases are concurred those of atomic policy and total preparedness), questions which seem essential for the assessment of the democratic processes, unless the analysis operates with a concept of democracy which menely assembles. the features of the established form of democracy. Buch an operational concept is not altogether tradequate to the subject matter of the investigation. It points up clearly amough the qualities which, in the contemporary period, distinguish democratic and non-democratic systems for example, effective competition between candidates representing different parties; fraudors of the electorate to choose between these candidates). but this adequacy does not suffice if the task of theoretical analysis is more and other than a descriptive one -- if the task is to comprehend, to recognize the facts for what they are, what they "riseer" for those who have been given them as facts and who have to live with them, in social theory, recognition of facts in criticase of Sects.

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5. The Defeated Logic of Protest

"... that salkich is cannot be true." To our well-trained sens and eyes, this statement is flipport and rolliculous, or as outrageous as that other distanced which seems to say the opposite: "what is real is retional." And yet, in the tradition of Western thought, both rocks, in provocatively "bridged formulation, the idea of Reason which has public to logic. The antegoristic structure of reality, and of thought trying to Understand reality. The world of inmediate experience the world in which are find cursolves living-most be comprehended, transfermed, even authorises living-most be comprehended, transfermed, even authorised in order to become that which it really is.

In the expeditor Researc - Youth - Reality, which joins the subjective and objective secret into one antegeristic unity. Researc is the subsensive power, the "power of the regative" that establishes, as theoretical and practical Researc, the truth for needed things — that is, the conditions in which men and things become what they nearly are. The attempt to demonstrate that this truth of theory and practice is not a subjective but an objective condition was the original concern of Western throught and the origin of its topic — topic not in the sense of a special discipline of philosophy but as the mode of throught appropriate for comprehending the real as retirene.

The totalitarian universe of technological rationality is the latest transmutation of the idea of Reason, to this and the following chapter, I shall try to identify some of the main stages in the

disvelopment of this libra — the process by which logic became the logic of domination. Buch obsolingical analysis can contribute to the understanding of the real development insertuch as it is focused on the union land asperation; of theory and practice, thought and action, in the fractional process — an unfolding of theorytand and practical flavors in one.

The closed operational universe of advanced industrial civilization with its terrifying barmony of freedom and oppression, productivity and destruction, proach and regression is pre-designed in this idea of Reason as a specific testorical project. The technological and the pre-technological stages share centers best: concepts of man and nature which express the continuity of the Bleatern tradition. Within this continuum, different modes of thought clash with each other; they belong to different ways of approximating, organizating, charging society and nature. The statisticing tendericine conflict with the subversion elements of Reason, the power of positive with that of reguline thinking, until the action-entered of advanced industrial civilization lead to the triumph of the one-dimensional readity near all contradiction.

This conflict dates back to the origins of philosophic thought back and finds striking expression in the contrast behavior Plato's distantical logic and the formal logic of the Anatomium Organics. The subsequent statich of the classical model of distantical thought may prepare the ground for an analysis of the contrasting features of technological rationally.

to classical Greek philosophy. Research is the cognitive faculty to distinguish what is true and what is false insofer as truth land fatesticated is primarily a condition of Being, of Reality — and only on this ground a property of propositions. True discourse, togic, recessly and expresses that which really is as distinguished from that which appears to be treat, And by virtue of this equation between Truth and treat theirs, Truth is a value, for Being is better than Non-Being. The latter is not simply Nothing: It is a potentiality of and a threat to Being — destruction. The struggle for truth is a otroppic appoint distinction, for the "salvation" tocomic of Being on effort which appears that to be destruction.

the Athenian city-state), transmuch as the struggle for truth "saves" reality from destruction, truth commits and engages frumes existence. It is the essentially frumes project. If man has becomed to see and know what really is, he will set to accordance with truth, Epistemology is in itself athics, and athics is

This conception reflects the experience of a world antagonistic in treal? — a world afflicted with searc and regativity, constantly threatened with destruction, but also a world which is a coamon, structured in accordance with final causes. To the extent to which the experience of an antagonistic world quides the development of the philosophical categories, philosophy moves in a universe which is broken in badfiture dimensional. Appearance and reality, untruth and truth, (and, so we shall see, unfreedom and freedom) are ontological conditions.

The distinction is not by virtue or by fault of abstract thought; it is nother rooted in the experience of the universe of which thought partiable in theory and practice, in this universe, there are modes of being in which man and things are "by themselves" and "so themselves," and modes in which they are not — that is, in palicit they exist in distortion, limitation, or denial of their nature inservoir. To overcome these regative conditions is the process of being and of thought. Philosophy originates in distortic; its selection of discourse responds to the facts of an antagonistic reality.

Minut are the criteria for this distinction? On what ground is the status of "truth" assigned to one mode or condition rather than to another? Classical Greek philosophy rather largely on what was later termed tin a rather denigative sense: "intuition," i.e., a form of cognition in which the object of thought appears clearly as that which it really is in its essential qualities, and in antegeristic relation to its contingent, interediate objection, indeed this estation to its contingent, interediate objection the Cartesian one, it is not a mysterious faculty of the mont, not a strange increadate experience, nor is it discovered from conceptual analysis, intuition is rather the faculty of the mont, not a strange increadate experience, nor is it discovered from conceptual analysis. Intuition is rather the (preliminary) terminals of such an analysis — the result of mathods insolational mediation. As such, it is the mediation of concepts experience.

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The notion of the opposes of man may serve as an illustration. Analyzed in the condition in which he finds himself in his universe, man seems to be in presentation of certain faculties and present which would enable him to lead a "good life," i.e., a life which is as much as possible has from toli, dependence, and againess. To attain such a life is to attain the "best life" to like in accordance with the essence of ratters or man.

To be some, this is addit the dictum of the philosopher; it is he who analyses the human altuation. He subjects experience to his critical poligenest, and this contains a value poligenest — namely. that freedom from toil is preferable to toil, and an intelligent life is proferable to a stupid life. It so happened that philosophy was born with these values. Scientific thought had to break this union of value judgment and analysis, for it became increasingly clear that the philosophic values did not guide the organisation of society nor the transformation of nature. They were ineffective, unreal. Already the Greak conception contains the historical element -- the essence of man is different in the claves and in the has citizen, in the Greak and in the Barbarian Curlisation has overcome the ontological stabilisation of this difference let least in theory). But this development does not yet invalidate the distinction between essential and contingent nature, between true and false modes of existence -- provided only that the distinction derives from a logical analysis of the ampirical situation, and understands its potential as self as its contingency.

To the Plato of the later distingues and to Aristotic, the rootics of Being are modes of movement — transition from potentiality to actuality, realization. Finite Boing is incomplete realization, subject to change, its generation is corruption; it is permeated with regardinity. Thus it is not true reality — Truth. The philosogitic quest proceeds from the Soite world to the construction of a reality which is not subject to the painful difference between potentiality and actuality, which has mastered to regardely and — is complete and independent in bad! — has.

This discovery is the work of Logon and Eron. The two key terms designate two modes of capation; erotic as well as logical cognition break the hold of the established, contingent really and strike for a truth incompatible with it, Logon and Eron are

subjective and objective in one. The accent from the "loase" to the "higher" forms of reality is recomment of matter as seed as soled. According to Aristotic, the perfect reality, the god, attracts the world below or eromanon; he is the final cause of all being Logon and Erox are in thermalines the unity of the positive and the regative, creation and destruction. In the exigencies of thought and in the madress of loss is the destructive refusal of the established ways of the. Truth transforms the modes of thought and existence. Reason and Freedom converge.

Minamoner, this dynamic has its inflament limits insuffer as the antegerments observance of reality, its explication in true and untitue modes of existence, appears to be an introduction orticity/or condition. There are modes of existence which can rever be "true" because they can — rever rest in the realitation of their potentialities, in the joy of being, in the human reality, all existence that spends their in procuring the prerequisites of existence is that an "unitue" and unfree existence. Obviously the reflects the not at all outsingout condition of a society based on the proposition that freedom is incompatible with the activity of procuring the recessities of the freedom is incompatible with the activity of procuring the recessities of the first that cognition of the truth and true existence imply freedom from the activity is the truth and true existence imply freedom from the activity is the truth and true existence imply freedom from the active dimension of each activity. This is indeed the pre- and anti-technological constitution per excellence.

But the real dividing line between pre-technological and technological returnably is not that between a society based or universities, and one based on freedom. Society still is organised in such a way that procuring the recreation of the constitutes the full-time and life-long occupation of specific social classes, which are therefore university prevented from a human existence, in this sense, the classical proposition according to which truth is incompatible with enalsement by socially recessary labor is still valid.

The classical concept implies the proposition that freedom of thought and speech must remain a class privilege as long as this analisement prevails. For thought and speech are of a thirting and speaking subject, and if the life of the, latter departs on the performance of a apparimposed function, it departs on fulfilling the requirements of this function — thus I depends on those who control these requirements. The dividing line between the protechnological and the technological project rather is in the represer is which the autoretination to the recessities of life — to "serving a living" — is organized and, in the new modes of freedom and unfreedom, truth and falsehood which correspond to this organization.

Who is, in the classical conception, the subject that comprehends the ortiological condition of truth and untruth? It is the master of pure contamplation theorial, and the master of a practice guided by theorie, i.e., the philosopher statesman. To be sure, the truth which he brown and expounds is potentially accessible to everyone, Led by the philosopher, the store in Platri's Meno is capable of grasging the truth of a geometrical secon, i.e., a truth beyond change and corruption. But since truth is a state of Being as seef as of thought, and since the latter is the expression and manifestation of the former, access to truth remains more potentiality as long as it is not fixing in and with the truth. And Bits made of existence is closed to the sizes -- and to anyone who has to spand his life procuring the recessities of life. Consequently, if man so longer had to spend their free in the reality of necessality, truth and a true human existence amulti be in a strict and real series universal. Philosophy envisages the equality of man but, at the same time, it submits to the factual denial of equality. For in the given reality, procurement of the necessities is the life-long job of the regardly, and the necessities have to be procured and served so that truth tarboh is freedom. from material recressities) can be.

Ners, the traduction barrier arrests and distorts the queet for truth, the societal division of later obtains the dignity of an orisinglish condition. If truth presuppress freedom from tool, and if this beaction is, in the social reality, the prerugative of a minority, then the reality allows such a truth only in approximation and for a privileged group. This state of affairs contradicts the universal character of truth, which defines and "prescribes" not only a theoretical goal, but the best life of man que man, with respect to the approximation of man. For philosophy, the contradiction is insoluble, or other it does not appear as a contradiction because it is a contradiction because it is a topological of the place or any socially which this philosophy.

does not transcend. Thus It become fractory baltine, unmantered, and obvious truth safety above the fractional reality. There, truth is reserved intest, not as an achievement of because or in beasen, but as an achievement of thought — intest because its very notice asprosons the reagit that those who devote their times to senting a fining are incapable of being it burner existence.

The contribugical concept of truth is in the centre of a logic which may serve as a model of pre-technological rationality. It is the rationality of a two-dimensional universe of discourse which, contrasts with the of thought and behaviour that develop in the execution of the technological project.

Artisticible cases that berns "aposphanetic logics" in order to distinguish a specific type of Logice Squeech, communication: — that which discovers truth and fateathood and is, in its development, determined by the difference between truth and bisertone of a (judicial) onto togic of judgment, but in the amphastic sense of a (judicial) sentence attributing (jr) to (S) because and insofter as it pertains to (S), as a property of (S); or denying (jr) to (S) because and insofter as it pertains to (S), as a property of (S); or denying (jr) to (S) because and insofter as it does not pertain to (S) als. From this ontological basis, the Aristotelian philosophy proceeds to existing the force," of all possible true (and false) predications; it becomes the formal topic of judgments.

When Hussell reviewd the lifes of an apophantic logic, he emphasized its original critical intent. And he found this intent precisely in the lifes of a logic of judgments. — that is, in the fact that thought was not directly concerned with Being lifes Salenda selfact but rather with "pretensions", propositions on Being. Hussell sees in this orientation on judgments a restriction and a projudice with respect to the test and scope of logic.

The classical idea of topic obcase indeed an orientopical projudice spropositions refers to a divided reality. The discourse recreas between the experience of Being and Non-being, essence and fact, generation and corruption, potentiality and actuality. The Aristotelian Organism abstracts from this unity of opposition the general forms of propositions and of their tournest or incorrect committees; all, decision parts of this formal topic remain committee; all, decision parts of this formal topic remain committee to Aristotelian metaphysics.

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Prior to this formalisation, the separtence of the divided world. finds its Ingio in the Platonic dialectic, Here, the terms "Being" "Non-being" "Movement," "the Dre and the Many" "identity" and "Contradiction" are methodically best spen, ambiguous, not fully defined. They have an open horizon, an entire universe of magning which is gradually structured in the process of communication balf, but which is rawer closed. The propositions are submitted, developed, and tested in a dialogue, in which the partner is led to question the normally originationed universe of experience and speech, and to other a new dimension of discourse -- otherwise he is hee and the discourse is addressed to his Resellors. He is suggested to go beyond that which is given to him -- as the speaker, in his proposition, goes beyond the initial setting of the terms. These terms have many meanings because the conditions to which they refer have many sides. implications, and affects which cannot be insulated and stabilised. Their topical development responds to the process of reality, or Sache selbst. The lasts of thought are lasts of reality, or rather become the less of reality if thought understands the truth of instructions experience as the appearance of another truth. which is that of the true Forms of reality -- of the bless. Thus there is contradiction rather than correspondence between dialectical throught and the given reality: the true judgment judges this reality not in its own terms, but in terms which envisage its authoristics. And in this authoristics, reality comes into its care multi.

to the cheeked togic, the judgeteer which constituted the original core of distinction throught was formalised in the propositional form, "S is p." But this form conceals rather than reveals the basic distinction proposition, which states the regative character of the empirical reality, judged in the light of their essence and bise, men and things exist as other than they are; consequently thought contradicts that which is igneri, oppose to truth to that of the given reality. The truth envisaged by thought is the bise. As such it is, in terms of the given reality, "more" bise, "more" seems.

But the expential potentiality is not like the many possibilities which are contained in the given universe of discourse and action; the expential potentiality is of a very different order, by regification involves subserviors of the established order, for throtting in accordance with truth is the commitment to exist in accordance with truth. In Plato, the extreme concepts which disprints this subversion are: death as the beginning of the philosopher's life, and the violent liberation from the Case.) Thus, the subversion character of truth inflicts upon thought as impressive quality. Logic centers on judgments which are, as demonstrative propositions, impressives, — the predicative "s" impless an ought.

This contradictory, bare-dimensional dayle of throught is the inner force not only of distinctical logic but of all philosophy which comes to grips with reality. The propositions which define reality effice as true consulting that is not introductable the case, thus they contradict that which is the case, and they deny is truth. The efficienties judgment contains a regulation which disappears in the propositional form it is pt. For example, "since is knowledge"; "justice is that state in which everyone performs the function for which its nature is best subset "the perfectly real is the perfectly trousled"; "the perfectly real is the perfectly trousledge"; "enter is best solder."

If these propositions are to be true, then the copule "o" sister on "copils," a desiderature, it judges conditions in which virtue is not brownings, in which men do not perform the function for which their nature best solts them, in which they are not free, etc. On the categorical E.p. form states that (SI is not (SI (SI is defined as other than itself. Verification of the proposition involves a process in fact as well as in thought (SI must become that which it is. The categorical statement thus turns into a categorical imperative; it does not state a fact but the recessity to bring shoul a fact. For example, it could be read as follows: man is not in fact thes, andrewed with instituted as fact, by nature, etc.

Distinctional throught understands the critical terration between "o" and "ought" first as an ortistogical condition, pertaining to the attructure of Being Stant. However, the recognition of this state of Being — Its theory — intends from the beginning a concrete practice. Seen in the light of a truth which appears in them latelied or denied, the given facts themselves appear.

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Consequently, thought is led, by the obtaction of its objects, to measure their truth in terms of another topic, another universe of discourse. And this topic projects another mode of existence: the realisation of the truth in the words and decide of man. And treatment of the project involves man as sociated animal," the polic, the movement of thought has a political content, Thus, the Social discourse is political discourse ingenture transmitted to a contest the established political treatments. The search for the correct definition, for the "concept" of virtue, justice, planty, and broadedge becomes a subsensite undertaking, for the concept intends a new politic.

Throught has no preser to bring about such a change finaless is transcends itself into practice, and the very dissociation from the material practice, in adult philosophy originates, gives philosophic thought to abstract and identifying pullin. By other of this dissociation, critical philosophic thought is necessarily transcendent and abstract. Philosophy shares this abstractness with all genuine throught, for coloudy really thinks who disso not abstract to the factor to the factor that which is given, who does not relate the facts to the factors which have made them, who does not relate the facts to the factors which have made them, who does not relate the facts to the factors which have made them, who does not relate the facts to the factors which have made them, who does not of thought, the tolers of its subspections.

But there are false and true abstractions. Abstraction is a historical exect in a finiturinal continuum. If proceeds on historical grounds, and it remains related to the very basis from which it moves away: the established societal universe. Even where the critical abstraction arrives at the regation of the established aniverse of discourse, the basis survives in the regation technology and lends the possibilities of the new position.

At the classical origins of philosophic thought, the transcending concepts remained committed to the prevailing asparation between retellectual and manual fallour to the established society of enalsowment. Plato's "class" state reteins and reforms enalsowment while organizing it is accordance with an element truth. And is Aristotic, the philosopher-king in whom theory and practice series all conditional gives way to the exprensary of the bios theoretics which can hardly claim a subsensive function and content.

Those who bore the brunt of the untrue reality and who, therefore, seemed to be most in need of attaining its subversion were not the concern of philosophy. It abstracted from them and continued to abstract from them.

to this some, "obselver" was germane to philosophic throught, for the notion of the supremary of throught transcrincement also pronounces the impotence of throught in an empirical world which philosophy transcends and corrects — in throught. The retirmality is the name of which philosophy passed in polyments observed that electract and general purity" which made it immune against the world in which one had to fine. With the exception of the materialistic "breation," philosophic throught was ravely afficised by the afficience of human existence.

Paradoxically, it is precisely the critical intent in philosophic Brought which leads to the idealatic purffications critical Interéwhich gims at the empirical world as a whole, and not morely at certain modes of thinking or behaving within it. Defining its concepts in terms of potentialities which are of an essentially different order of thought and existence. the philosophic critique finds badf blocked by the reality from which it dissociates badf. and proceeds to construct a realm of Reason purged from ampirical contingency. The two dimensions of thought -- that of the assential and that of -- the apparent truths -- no longer interfers with each other, and their concrete districtical relation becomes an abstract aphitemological or ontological relation. The judgments passed on the given reality are replaced by propositions defining the general forms of thought, objects of throught, and relations behaven throught and its objects. The subject of thought becomes the pure and universal form of subjectivity, from which all particulars are removed.

For such a formal subject, the relation between on and no or change and permanence, potentiality and actuality, truth and fallational is no longer an existential concern; it is rather a matter of pure philosophy. The contrast is striking between Plato's distectical and Antacolor's formal logic.

In the Aristotelian Drgamon, the splitopistic "term" thorset is "so void of substantial meaning that a letter of the alphabet is a fully

equivalent substitute," It is thus entirely different from the "mataphysical" term later forms; which designates the result of the sessinial deficition, the answer to the question: "It astor?" Eago maintains against Prant! that the "bes different significations are entirely independent of one another and were never mixed up by Aristotle bimself." In any, case, in formal topic, thought is organised in a manner very different from that of the Platonic distingue.

to this formal logic, throught is indifferent toward its objects. Whether they are mental or physical, whether they pertain to society or to nature, they become subject to the same general less of organisation, calculation, and conclusion — but they do so as forgible signs or symbols, in abstraction from their perticular "substance." This general quality is particular substance. This general quality is perticular as well as in seciety.

"The general concept which discursive logic had developed has its foundation in the reality of domination" (Horkhaimer and Adomo)

Acceptable's Metagolopous states the connection between concept and control: the incentedge of "first causes" is — as broadedge of the universal — the most offective and certain knowledge, for disposing over the causes is disposing over their affects. By virtue of the universal concept, thought affects mastery over the particular cases. Nowever, the most formalized universe of topic all reterm to the most general structure of the given, experienced world; the pure form is still that of the content which is formalized. The case of formalized of the content in the development of the mental topic tradf is a finitudial event in the development of the mental topic tradf is a finitudial event in the development of the mental topic tradf is a finitudial event to other development of the mental and physical matruments for create theoretical barmony out of actual discord, to purge thought from contradictions, to begonishes identifiable and barpation units in the complete process of excludy and nature.

Under the rule of formal logic, the notion of the coeffict between essence and appearance is expendable if not meaningless; the material content is neutralised; the principle of identity is separated from the principle of contradiction contradictions are the fault of incorrect thinking), final causes are removed from the togical order. Well defined in their exp and function, concepts become instruments of prediction and control. Formal togic is thus the first step on the long-road to scientific thought — the first step only. For much togicard degree of abstraction and mathematisation is still required to adjust the modes of thought to technological retornality.

The meditods of logical procedure are very different in ancient and modern logic, but behind all difference is the construction of a universality valid order of throught, resitral with respect to material content. Long before technological man and behindingsoil nature emerged as the objects of reticoal control and colonispoil nature emerged as the objects of reticoal control and cultivalation, the mind was made somegetible to abstract generalisation. Terms which multi be organised into a coherent togical system, free from contradiction or with manageable contradiction, were expended from those which could not contradiction as a coherent fractionalistic, was made between the universal, calculation, "objective" and the particular, incaticulation, subjective dimension of throught the latter entered into science only through a series of reduction.

Formal logic foreshadows the reduction of secondary to primary qualities in which the former become the messurable and controllable properties of physics. The elements of thought can then be elements outlined;—as the human elements can be organized in the social reality. Protectivalisation and technological selectionally, orthogo and technology are loked by those elements of thought which adjust the rules of thought to the rules of control and domination. Pre-technological and technological modes of domination are fundamentally different — as different as elementy is from the — seage later, pagenism from Christianity, the city state from the rules, the city state from the realism, the steaghter of the population of a captured city from the had concentration camps. However, teatory is still the teatory of domination, and the logic of thoughts remains the logic of domination.

Formal logic intended universal validity for the leas of thought. And indeed, without universality, thought would be a private, non-committed affair, incapable of understanding the smallest sector of existence. Thought is always more and other than individual thinking; if I start thinking of individual paraces in a specific altuation, I find them in a supra-individual context of which they partisle, and I think in general concepts. All objects of thought are universals. But it is equally true that the supra-individual meaning, the universality of a concept, is never mently a formal one; it is constituted in the internitationality between the thinking and artingl subjects and their world. Logical abstraction is also excitingly admiraction. There is a togical nimesis which formulates the less of thought in protective accord with the less of according but is only one mode of thought among others.

The obscriby of Aristopolium Sormal logic has offen basin noted. Philosophic thought developed allongside and even outside this logic, in their main efforts, neither the idealist nor the materialist, neither the retionalist nor the empiricist schools seen to own anything to it. Formal logic was contranscendent in its very philotopic. It concrited and organized thought within a set framework beyond which to splingson can pass — It remained "weatytics." Logic continued as a special discipline alongside the substantive development of philosophic thought, assentially sechanging in spite of the new concepts and new contents which marked this development.

troband, norther the Schoolman nor the rationalism and the empiricism of the early modern period bad any neason to object to the mode of thought which had concrited to general forms in the Aristotelian logic, its intent at loast was in accord with scientific validity and exactness, and the next did that overflow with the conceptual alaboration of the next experience and the next field.

The contemporary mathematical and symbolic logic is containly very different from its classical predicators. Let they share the radical opposition to distantical logic in terms of this opposition. The old and the new formal logic express the same mode of thought. It is purged from that "regative" which tourned so large at the origins of logic and of philosophic thought — the separators of the denying decaption, fatellying power of the established reality. And with the elimination of this experience, the correspond effort to sustain the tension between "is" and "Ought", and to subsent the established universe of discourse in

the rame of its own truth is Moneton alterizated from all throught select in to be objective, exact, and extentific. For the extentific subservation of the immediate organizates which establishes the truth of extents an against that of immediate experience does not directly the concepts which carry in Semzethese the protect and the refused. The new extentific truth which they oppose to the accepted one does not contain in itself the judgment that contents the extention on the protect and contents the accepted one does not contain in itself the judgment that

In contrast, dialectical thought is and remains unaclantific to the saterif to which it is such judgment, and the judgment is impresed upon dialectical thought by the nature of its object -- by its objectivity. This object is the reality in its true concreteness: dialectical togic precludes all abstraction which leaves the concrete content atore and ballind, uncomprehended. Hegel detects in the critical philosophy of his time the "bar of the object", and he demands that a genuinely scientific thought overcome this position of fear and comprehend the "logical and the pure-rational" in the very concreteness of its objects. Diabertical logic cannot be formal because it is determined by the real, which is concrete. And this concreteness, for from militating against a system of general principles and concepts, requires such a system of logic because it moves under general less which make for the nationality of the real. It is the nationality of contradiction, of the apposition of forces, tendencies, elements, which constitutes the movement of the real and, if comprehended. the concept of the real.

Exitating an the living contradiction between asserte and appearance, the objects of thought are of that "inner regativity" which is the specific quality of their concept. The distantical definition defines the recomment of things from that which they are not to that which they are. The development of contradictory elements, which determines the structure of its object, also determines the structure of distantical throught. The object of distantical logic is neither the abstract, general form of objects of distantical logic is neither the abstract, general form of objects of increadate experience. Distantical topic undoes the abstractions of transcription of throught — nor the date of increadate experience. Distantical topic undoes the abstractions of forms to topic and of transcriptions philosophie, but it also denies the concreteness of transcriptions apprisence. To the extent to which this experience or increadate experience. To the extent to which this experience comes to rest with the things as they

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appear and happen to be, it is a limited and even false expenience. It attains its truth if it has freed itself from the deceptive objectivity which conceats the factors believed the facts — that is, if it understands its world as a frattorical universe, is which the established facts are the work of the historical practice of man. This practice intellectual and material is the neality in the date of experience; it is also the reality which distortical logic comprehends.

When historical content orders into the distantical concept and determines methodicingically its development and function, distantical throught attains the concreteness which links the structure of throught attains the concreteness which links the structure of throught to that of realty, Legisal truth becomes historical truth. The ortificated termine between essence and appearance, between "a" and "neght" becomes finiturinal termine, and the "inner regulinity" of the object-world is understood as the work of the historical subject-world is understood as the work of the historical subject-world in truggle with nature and society. Research becomes finiturinal throughts with nature and society. Research becomes finitures the structure of the implicate the established order of men and things on behalf of existing societal forces that reward the implicate therefore which is granted to reduce ignorance, destruction, brustelly, and opposition.

The transformation of constructed into testorical distance responsible transformation throught as critical, regative throught as critical, regative throtolog. But now expenses and appearance, "is" and "regit," conflore each other in the conflict behavior actual forces and capabilities in the society. And they conflict setteems actual forces are Research and Unreason, Right and Wrong — for both are part and perceit of the same established universe, both participle of Research and Unreason, Right and Wrong. The steel is capable of abortaining the meeters and of cooperating with them; the meeters are capable of improving the tile of the steel and of improving his expinition. The tites of Research pertains to the recomment of thought and of action. It is a theoretical and a practical exigency.

If distinctical logic understands contradiction as "recessity" belonging to the very "return of thought" it does so because contradiction belongs to the very nature of the object of thought, to reality, where Reason is all! Unreason, and the implicing all. the rational. Conversally, all established reality relitates against the logic of contradictions — it favours the modes of thought select contain the established forms of the and the modes of behaviour which reproduce and improve them. The given reality has its own logic and its own trult; the effort to comprehend them as such and to transcend them presupposes a different logic, a contradicting truth. They belong to modes of thought which are non-operational in their very structure; they are after to scientific as well as common sense operationalism; their bidentific as well as common sense operationalism; their bidentific as well as common sense operationalism; their bidentific is sent to some transcent against positivism and mathematical concentences militates against positivism and mathematicalism on the other. Thus these modes of thought against to be a ratio of the past, the all non-expectitic and non-empirical philosophy. They recede before a more effective theory and practice of Reason.

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8. From Negative to Positive Thinking

In the social reality, despite of change, the domination of man by man is still the historical continuum that links pre-technological and technological Reason. However, the society which projects and undertakes the technological transformation of nature afters the base of domination by gradually replacing personal dependence of the slave on the master. The serf on the lord of the manor, the lord on the donor of the fail, etc.) with dependence on the "objective order of things" (on accommic lease. the market etc.). To be sure, the "objective order of things" is bad the result of domination, but it is covertheless true that domination now generates a higher rationally -- that of a society which sustains its hierarchic structure while oughliting over more efficiently the natural and mental resources, and detributing the banafits of this augitorisation on an even-larger scale. The limits of this rationality, and its sinister force, appear in the progressive ensistement of man by a productive apparatus which perpetuates the struggle for existence and extends it to a total international struggle which rules the lives of those who build and use this apparatus.

At this stage, It becomes clear that consulting must be among with the calcurability of the system itself. What is among in the ear in which men have organized their excistal labor. This is no longer in question at the present time when, on the one side, the great antespreneurs themselves are willing to sportfice the bleesings of private enterprise and "free" competition to the

blicatings of government orders and regulations, while, on the other side, excitated construction continues to proceed through progressive domination. However, the question cannot come to see here. The arrang organization of excisity demands further explanation in view of the pituation of advanced industrial society, in which the integration of the formerly regulative and transcending social forces with the established system pasms to create a new social structure.

This transformation of negative into positive opposition points up. the problem: the "erong" organization, in becoming solutioning on internal prounds, refutes the alternatives. Certainly it is quite satural, and does not seem to call for an explanation in depth. that the tangible barrefits of the system are considered worth defending - especially is view of the repulling force of present day communium which appears to be the historical alternative. But it is natural only to a mode of thought and behavior which is unwilling and perhaps even incapable of comprehending what is happening and why it is happening, a mode of thought and behavior which is immune against any other than the established rationality. To the degree to which they correspond to the given reality, throught and behavior express a false consciousness. responding to and contributing to the preservation of a false order of facts. And this false consciousness has become embodied in the prevailing technical apparatus which in turn reproduces it.

We live and dis nationally and productivally. We know that destruction is the price of progress as death is the price of this that resultation and toil are the prerequisites for gratification and joy, that business must go on, and that the alternatives are Utopian. This identify belongs to the established societal apparetus; it is a requisite for its continuous functioning and part of its rationality.

Minamore, the apparatus defeats to over purpose if its purpose is to create a furnises existence on the basis of a humanised nature. It points up clearly enough the qualities which, in the contemporary period And F this is not its purpose, its nationality is even more suspent. But it is also more togetal for, from the beginning, the regetter is in the position, the inhuman in the

humanization, endocement in liberation. This dynamic is that of reality and not of the mond, but of a reality in which the scientific mond bad a decisive part in joining theoretical and practical

Society reproduced itself in a growing technical amendate of things and relations which included the technical utilization of man -- in other words, the struggle for existence and the augholisation of man and nature became over more scientific and rational. The double meaning of "rationalization" is relevant in this context. Scientific management and scientific division of labor uselly increased the productivity of the economic, political. and cultural enterprise. Result: the higher standard of fiving. At the same time and on the same ground, this rational enterprise produced a pattern of mind and bahavior which justified and altechned even the most destructive and oppressive features of the enterprise. Scientific technical nationality and manipulation are welded together into new forms of social control. Can one red content with the assumption that this unactentific outcome is the result of a specific excisted application of science? I think that the general direction in which It came to be applied was inherent is pure science even where to practical purposes were intended. and that the point can be identified where theoretical Reason turns into social practice, in this attempt, I shall briefly recall the methodological origins of the new rationality, contrasting it with the features of the pre-technological model discussed in the previous chapter.

The quantification of nature, which led to its explication in terms of malifernation structures, expended reality from all interest ands and, consequently, separated the true from the good, attence from ethics. No matter tow science may now define the objectivity of nature and the interestations among to parts, it cannot sciencifically conserve it in terms of "final causes." And no matter from constitution may be the role of the subject as point of observation, researchment, and calculation, this subject cannot play to observation, researchment, and calculation, this subject cannot play to observation role as others or sentential or political agent. The tention between fluorom on the one hand, and the needs and sents of the underlying population tailors has been the object but rendy the subject of fluoromy on the other, has been there but rendy the subject of fluoromy on the other, has been there had not trendy the subject of fluoromy on the other, has been there

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"nature of things," including that of society, was so defined as to justify represente and even expenses on perfectly rational. True knowledge and research demand domination over — if not liberation from — the sense. The union of Logon and Eros led already in Plato to the exprensery of Logon; in Aristotia, the relation between the god and the world recent by time is "erotic" only in terms of analogy. Then the precention oriological link between Logon and Eros is broken, and scientific rationality emerges as expentically resolved. What nature (including must may be atting for is acceptably resolved; or broken of the general less of mostler. — physical, chamical, or biological.

Outside this retirerably, one frees in a world of values, and values apparated out from the objective reality become extigective. The only wer to recove sense abstract and frameless validity for them seems to be a metaphysical sensition obvious and natural less. But such sensition is not verificable and thus not really objective. Values may have a higher dignity invovally and spiritually, but they are not real and thus court less in the real business of the may have a higher dignity invovally and spiritually, but they are not real and thus court less in the real business of the more less so the higher they are alreaded above reality.

The spine de-realization affects all ideas which, by their very nature, cannot be verified by acception matters. No realize how much they may be recognised, respected, and sanctified, in their seen right, they suffer from being non-objective. But precisely their lack of objectivity makes them into factors of social colesci. Subsectivity makes them into factors of social colesci. Subsection, subsection, subsection, so the conditions are only "ideat," they don't disturb unday the established war of the scientific retional conditions, they cannot trainably dark workers which realized conditions, they cannot trainably claim universal validity and realization, in terms of scientific reason, they remain realization of preference, and no resourcitation of some bind of Aristotellan or Thomselic philosophy can see the objection, for it is a priori related by scientific reason. The unacceptific character of these ideas become more ideals, and I their concepts, critical content magnitudes into the objective more ideals, and I their concepts, critical content magnitudes into the objective more ideals, and I their concepts, critical content magnitudes into the objective.

Paradiceically, however, the objective world, left equipped only with quantifiable qualities, comes to be more and more dependent in its objectivity on the subject. This long process begins with the algebraication of pecimenry which replaces

"visible" geometric figures with purely recent operations. It finds to extrame form in same conceptions of contemporary according to which all realities of physical according to which all realities of physical according to which all realities of physical according to extend or togical extensions. The vary nation of an objective substance, pitted against the subject, seems to discongrate. From very different directions, scientists and philosogilans of science price at similar hypotheses on the sections of particular sorts of written.

For example, physics "Size not researce the objective qualities of the external and repterial world — these are only the results obtained by the accomplishment of such operations," Objects continue to persist only as "convenient intermediants," as obsciteosest "cultural posits," The density and operate of things evaporate the objective world trees to "objectionable" character, to opposition to the subject, Short of its interpretation is terms of Publishment Platonic metaphysics, the mathematical filators, the scientific reality appears to be obsticined reality.

These are extracte statements, and they are rejected by more conservative interpretations, which inside that propositions in contemporary physics still rathe to "physical things." But the physical things turn out to be "physical events," and then the propositions rathe to land rathe only tol attributes and relationships that characterize various kinds of physical things and processes. Mee Sometimes

"... the theory of relativity ... has recorr alternationed an attempts to assign properties to matter..." But "often a measurable quantity is not a property of a thing, but a property of its relation to other things ... Most measurements in physics are not directly concerned with the things which interest us, but with same tind of projection. He word taken to the widest procedure."

"Wise seir mathematisch festlegen, ist nur zum bleinen Teit alle 'objectives Faktum,' zum grössenen Teit eine Uebersücht über Miglichkeiten."

Now "events," "relations," "projections," "possibilities" can be meaningfully objective only for a subject — not only in terms of observability and measurability, but in terms of the very situations of the avent or relationable, to other: words, the subject here involved in a constituting one — that is, a preside subject for which some data must be, or can be conseivable as event or relation. If this is the case, Reichardsech's statement would still build true: that propositions in physics can be formulated without reference to an actual observer, and the "disturbance by means of observation," is due, not to the furnam observer, but to the instrument as "physical tring."

To be sorn, see may assure that the equations established by mathematical physics express floroutest the actual constabilished of asynthematical physics express floroutest the actual constabilish of atoms, i.e., the objective structure of matter. Regardises of any observing and measuring "cutside" subject A may "include" 8, "precede" 8, "exact in" 8; 8 may be "between" C, "larger than" C, etc. It accust oill be true that these relations imply bostion, distinction, and identity in the difference of A, B, C. They thus imply the capacity of being identical in difference, of being estated to in a specific mode, of being resistant to other relations, etc. City the capacity would be in matter trail, and then matter that mould be objectively of the structure 1 of mind — as retemperated and the objectively of the structure 1 of mind — as

"... Insertmate objects, without headation, without error, simply by their existence, are integrating the equations of which they know softing. Subjectively, nature is not of the mind — she does not think in mathematical terms. But objectively, nature is of the mind — she can be thought in mathematical terms."

A loss idealistic interpretation is offered by Karl Popper, who holds that, in its fratorical development, physical science uncovers and defines different layers of one and the same objective reality. In this process, the fratorically corposed concepts are being cancelled and their intent is being integrated into the excessing ones — an interpretation which seems to imply progress treams the real core of reality, that is, the absolute truth. Or also reality may turn out to be an arrow without a core, and the very concepts of scientific truth may be in jespandy.

I do not suggest that the philosophy of contemporary physics denies or even questions the reality of the external world but that, in one war or profiler, it suspends judgment on what reality teelf

may be, or considers the very question meaningless and unanesserable. Made into a mathedological principle, this suspension has a twofold consequence: lat it strengthers the shift of theoretical emphasis from the metaphysical "What is ... I" to the functional "Now., I", and bit it constitutes a practical Shough by no means absoluted containty which, in its operations with realtier, is with good conscience free from commitment to any substance outside the operational contest. In other words, theoretically, the transformation of man and nature has no other objective limits then those offered by the brute factuality of matter, its still unmastered resistance to broneledge and control. To the degree to which this conception becomes applicable and effective in reality. He latter is approached as a frapolitatical: system of instrumentalities; the metaphysical "being-as-such" gives way to "being instrument." Moreover, proved in its effectiveness, this conception works as an a priori - it predetermines experience. It projects the direction of the transformation of nature, 8 organises the seleds.

With this idea, oritilities comprehended the tension between subject and object; it was saturated with concreteness. The reality of Research was the playing out of this tension in ration, bistory, philosophy. Even the most extramely monistic system than maintained the idea of a substance which unfaits bead in subject and object — the idea of an antagentatic reality. The scientific sprint has increasingly weakened this antagentan. Modern scientific philosophy may well begin with the inition of the two scientific philosophy may well begin with the notion of the two scientific philosophy may well begin with the notion of the two substances, no original and no extended matter becomes comprehensible in mathematical equations which, translated into technology, "remake" this matter, the no

"The old division of the world into objective processes in special and time and the mind in which these processes are mirrored—in other words, the Cartesian difference between no cogitans and not extense — is no longer a suitable starting point for our understanding of modern actions."

The Cortesion division of the world has also been questioned on its own prounds. Husself pointed out that the Cortesion Ego was, in the last analysis, not really an independent substance but cather the "recidur" or limit of quantification; it seems that fieldless's idea of the world as a "universal and absolutely pure" no extense dominated a priori the Cartesian conception, is which case the Cartesian dualism would be deception, and Descenter' thretting ago-substance would be alice to the nec extense, estimating the extentific subject of quantification observation and measurement. Descenter' dualism would streamly imply to regation; it would clear rather than block the bad toward the establishment of a one differentiated according universe is which establishment of a one differentiated according universe in which establishment is related to except the notion. And the subject is related to be world in a very special way:

*... le nature est mise sous le signe de l'homme actif, de l'homme inscrinent le technique dans le nature.

The science of nature develops under the technological a priori select projects nature as potential instrumentality, staff of control and organization. And the apprehension of nature as fregoritation) instrumentality precedes the development of all perfouler technical organization.

"Modern man takes the entirety of Being as new material for production and subjects the entirety of the object-world to the sweep and order of production (Maratellanci," ... the use of machinery and the production of machines is not technics ligall but merely an adequate instrument for the realization discriptionings of the assence of technics in its objective new material."

The technological a priori is a political a priori inacmuch as the transformation of nature involves that of man, and inacmuch as the "man-made creature" tesse from and re-enter a sociated ensemble. One may still insist that the machinery of the technological universe is "so such" indifferent transmits political ends — it can revolutionize or retard a sociaty. An electronic computer can serve equally a capitalist or sociation editorisation; a cyclotron can be an equally efficient tool for a ser party or a presis party. This resistability is contested in Marx's continuential statement that the "bandool gives you sociaty with the feeded tool; the observant to the feed and this statement is further modified in Marx's capitalist." And this abstencent is further modified in Marxies

theory itself: the social mode of production, not technics is the basic historical factor. However, when technics becomes the universal form of material production, it circumscribes an entire culture; it projects a historical totality — a "world." I

Can use say that the excitation of extendity mathetic mathetic mathetic continues of natural into technical mathly in the process of industrial civilization? To formulate the estation between ecleron and society in this war is assuming ben expends realize and executs that meet sects offer, namely, (i) ecleron and eclerotic theorems contents one execution and eclerotic throught, with their reternal concepts and their internal truth, and (i) the use and application of eclerons in the social reality, in other executs, no matter how close the connection between the two developments may be, they do not imply and define each other. Pure eclerons is not applied ecleron; it retains in identity and validity apart from its utilization. Moreover, this retains of the execution realization of the execution realization is observed to exist application. Moreover, this realization of the execution resistantly of eclerons is also extended to between, the machine is indifferent toward the excitat own to select it is put, provided those uses remain within its technical regulation.

to view of the internal instrumentalite character of scientific mathred. This interpretation appears inedequate. A closer relationship seems to prevail between actentific thought and its application, between the universe of scientific discourse and that of ordinary discourse and behavior — a relationship in which both more under the same logic and retiringly of denoughts.

to a paradisoloal development, the scientific efforts to establish the rigid objectivity of nature led to an increasing developmentalization of nature

"The idea of infinite nature existing as such, this idea that an have to give up, is the regth of modern accesse. Science has started out by destroying the regth of the Middle Ages. And now science is forced by its own consistency to realize that it has morely raised profiler regth instead."

The process which begins with the allocation of independent substances and final causes arrives at the ideation of objectivity. But it is a very specific ideation:

"And what is matter? In atomic physics, matter is defined by its possible reactions to human experiments, and by the mathematical — that is, intellectual — laws it obeys. We are defining matter as a possible object of man's manipulation."

And if this is the case then science has become in Itself technological.

"Progressic science has the view of nature that is fitting for to chrocal age."

To the degree to which this operationalism becomes the center of the activities enterprise, rationality assumes the form of methodical construction; organization and handling of matter as the more stuff of control, as instrumentality which bends badf to all purposes and ends—instrumentality per so, "in badf".

The "correct" attitude toward instrumentality is the technical approach, the correct inges is technologic which projects and responds to a technological reality, in this reality, matter as well as science is "resultal," objectivity has neither a telex in beaff nor is it structured toward a telex. But it is precisely its resultal character which relates objectivity to a specific historical fluidped — nemely, to the correctiousness that prevails in the excistly by which and for which this resultability is established. It operates in the very abstractions which constituting is established. It operates in the very abstractions which constitute the new returnally—as an intermal rather than external factor. Fore and applied operationalism, theoretical and practical reason, the scientific and the business enterprise exercise the reduction of secondary to primary qualities, quantification and abstraction from "particular tools of exists."

True, the nationality of pure science is value free and, does not attipulate any practical ends, it is "neutral" to any extransous values that may be impresed upon it. But this reutrality is a positive character. Scientific nationality makes for a specific sociated organization practically because it projects more form to more matter — here, the otherwise opposite terms converged which can be been to practically an ends. Formalization and functionalization are, prior to an application, the "pure form — of a concrete excitate practice. While access freed nature from

influence and arrighted matter of an fod quantifiable qualities, society freed men. From the "natural" literarchy of personal dependence and related them to each other in accordance with quantifiable qualities — namely, as units of abstract labor power, saturable in units of time. "By units of the retornalization of the modes of labor, the elimination of qualities is transferred from the universe of science to that of daily experience."

Between the two processes of scientific and societal quantification, is there parallelism and causation, or is their connection simply the work of sociological bindeight? The preceding discussion proposed that the new scientific rationality was in faulf, in its very abstractness and purity, operational insemuch as It developed under an instrumentalist horizon. Observation and experiment, the methodical organization and coordination of data, propositions, and conclusions never proceed in an unatructured, reutral, theoretical space. The project of cognition involves operations on objects, or abstractions from objects which occur in a given universe of discourse and action. Science observes, calculates, and theories from a position in this privariae. The stars which Galileo observed work the same in classical artispity, but the different universe of discourse and action -- in short, the different social reality -- opened the new direction and range of observation, and the possibilities of ordering the observed data, I am not concerned here with the listorical relation between scientific and societal rationality in the beginning of the modern period. It is my purpose to demonstrate the internal instrumentalist character of this scientific rationality by virtue of which it is a priori technology, and the a priori of a specific technology -- namely, technology as form of social continui and donorogicos.

Mindern scientific thought, ingertuch as it is pure, does not project particular practical goals nor particular forms of domination. However, there is no such thing as domination per so. As theory proceeds, it abstracts from, or rejects, a factual telectopical context — that of the given, concrete universe of discourte and action. It is within this universe itself that the scientific project occurs or does not occur. that theory conceives or does not conceive the possible alternatives, that its hypotheses or does not conceive the possible alternatives, that its hypotheses subsent or extend the pre-established reality.

The principles of modern actions were a priori structured in such a way that they could serve as conceptual instruments for a solvene of self-propelling, productive control; theoretical operationalism came to correspond to practical operationalism. The actiontific method which led to the ever-more effective denomation of nature these came to provide the pure concepts as well as the instrumentalities for the ever-more effective denomation of nature these came to provide the pure concepts as well as the instrumentalities for the ever-more effective domination of man by man through the domination of nature. Theoretical research, remaining pure and resided, entered into the service of practical research. The merger proved beneficial to both. Yoday, domination perpensates and extends the latter provides the great legitimation of the expending political power, which alterate of spheres of culture.

to this universe, technology also provides the great nationalization of the universalization of man and demonstrates the "technical" impreedibility of being automorphism, of determining one's own life. For this universalize appears natitive as irrational nor as political, but rather as submission to the technical appearable which enterges the combinity of life and increases the productivity of latter. Technological rationality thus protects rather than cancels the legitimesty of demonstration, and the instrumentalize borion of reason opens on a rationally totalization society.

"On propriet common philosophia automatique des techniques celle qui prend l'ensamble technique comme un lieu su l'un utilise les machines pour obtenir de le pulseance. Le machine est soulement un moyen; le fin est le compatite de le nature, le domestication des forces naturalités au moyen d'un premier asservissement. Le machine est un esclient qui sert a faire d'autres esclaves. Une parelle inspiration dominantice et moutenages part se mouver et moutenages part se mouver et entre parelle inspiration distinguires et moutenages parel se mouverer entre pre requise de liberté pour l'homme. Mais il est difficile de se liberte l'esclaves en un un paquit de machine, tonnesse, animaise se machines; régner sur un paquit de machines asservisses, et tout régner suppose

The inconstant dynamic of technical progress has become permeated with political content, and the Logice of technics has been made into the Logice of continued servicule. The liberating Stock of Section logs:

- The instrumentalization of things — turns into a fetter of illumination; the instrumentalization of man. This interpretation would be the extentific project inselled and theory), prior to an application and utilization, to a specific excluded project, and exceld one the te precisely in the inner form of extentific rationality, i.e., in the functional character of its concepts, to other words, the attentific universe that is, not the specific propositions on the attention of matter, energy, their separation, etc., but the pro-jection of nature as quantification matter, as quiting the hypothetical approach to — and the mathematical ingelial expression of — objectivity; would be the borizon of a concepts excepted practice which would be preserved to the development of the scientific project.

But, even granting the internal instrumentalism of scientific rationality, this assumption annual not pet establish the excinitiopized validity of the actientific project. Cranted that the formation of the most abstract scientific concepts off preserves the internalistic between subject and object in a given universe of discourse and action, the lost between theoretical and practical reason can be understood in quite different ways.

Such a different interpretation is offered by Joan Paget in his "generic equitomortage." Plaget interprets the formation of scientific concepts in terms of different abstractions, from a general intermisation between subject and object. Abstraction proceeds neither from the more object, so that the subject functions only as the neutral point of observation and measurement, nor from the subject as the vehicle of pure cognitive finance. Plaget distinguishes between the process of organition in mathematics and in physics. The former is abstraction in frontier de l'action comme telle."

"Contratroment à ce que l'un dit accurert, les atres maillantatiques ne résultant donc pas d'une abstraction a partir des chiptes, mais tien d'une abstraction effectuée so son des actions connex telles. Néuers, ordonner, déplacer, etc. sont des actions plus phrérail que persen, procéen, etc. parce qu'elles tienness à le coordination mante de toutes les actions particulières et settent en chacure d'alles à titre de facteur particulières et settent en chacure d'alles à titre de facteur particulières et settent en chacure d'alles à titre de facteur coordinateur."

Mathematical propositions thus express "one accomodation generate a l'objet" — in contrast to the particular adaptations which are characteristic of true propositions in physics. Logic and mathematical logic are "one action ser l'objet quatronque, c'est e-dire one action accomodite de facon generate" and this "action" is of general validity in an much as

"cette abstraction ou différenciation porte juego"au sein des coordinations héréditaires, puisque les mécanismes coordinateurs de faction tennent toujours, en leur source, à des coordinations differes et instinctions."

to physics, abstraction proceeds from the object but is due to specific actions on the part of the subject, thus abstraction secures recessarily a logic mathematical form because

"des actions particultines ne donnent lieu a une connatesance que coordonnées entre elles et que cette coordination est, par se nature mems, logico-mathematique."

Abstraction in physics leads necessarily back to togicomathematical abstraction and the latter is, as pure coordination, the general form of action — action as such" ("raction commo talle"). And this coordination constitutes objectivity because it retains breedings, "offenine and instinction" directures.

Proget's interpretation recognizes the internal practical character of theoretical research, but derives it from a general structure of ection which, in the test analysis, is a hereditory, biological structure. Econolitic method would obtinizely not on a biological structure. Econolitic method would obtinizely not on a biological foundation, which is eigene for rather infra i historical. Moreover, granted that all scientific broaderige precuparises coordination of particular actions, I do not use only each coordination is "by its very nature" logico-mathematical — unless the "particular actions" are the accentific operations of modern physics, in which case the interpretation would be circular.

to contrast to Plaget's rather round and otherwise psychological and brotogical analysis. Hussert has offered a genetic spisteroringy which is focused on the socio-historical structure of scientific reason. I shall have refer to Hussert's work only insofter

as it amphasions the extent to which modern science is the "mathodology" of a pre-given historical reality within whose universe it moves.

Rossel starts with the fact that the mathematication rature resulted in valid practical knowledge: in the construction of an accidentional" reality which could be effectively "correlated" with the amportial reality (p. 18: 42). But the actainstic actionsmant referred back to a pre-scientific practice, which constituted the original basis the Stonasfundament of Galilean science. This are expected basis of science in the world of practice Laborowelli, which determined the flexination structure, was not questioned by Galileo; moreover, it was concealed inerdicabl by the further development of science. The result was the Russian that the mathematication of nature created an "autonomous teligeneithrelige) absolute truth" (p. 48 f.), white in reality, it remained a specific method and technique for the Laberowell. The identional unit fidentifield of mathematical science is thus a unit of symbols which represents and at the same time masks beartiff and verkinobel the world of practice ip. 50:

What is the original, pre-scientific intent and content that is preserved in the conceptual structure of asience? Measurement in practice discovers the possibility of using certain basic forms, shapes, and relations, which are universally "available as identically the same, for exactly determining and calculating empirical objects and relations" (p. 26: Through all abstraction and generalization, assembly method objects and relations of the former series generalization, assembly method objects of the former series of sections of the former spresents (and masks) the development of the latter. Thus classical permetry "dealizes" the practice of the latter. Thus classical permetry "displaces" the practice of surveying and measuring the land their finiteses the practice of surveying and measuring the land their finiteses the practice of surveying and measuring the land their finiteses the contents in the theory of practical objections.

To be sure, alignities and mathematical logic construct an allocalule blasticoust readily, freed from the inculturable uncertainties and particularities of the Lebenseett and of the subjects fiving in it. Nowever, this identicand construction is the theory and technic of "identificing" the new Lebenseett. "In the actual mathematical practice, we attain what is denied to us in the empirical and instruction, we attain what is denied to us in the empirical and instruction, i.e., exercises. For it is always possible to

determine the ideal forms in terms of absolute identity ... As such, they become universally available and disposable..." (p. 14).

The coordination (Quantitung) of the ideational with the empirical scottd enables us to "project the anticipated regularities of the practical (alternated)":

"Once one presentes the formulae, one presentes the foresight which is desired in practice"

 the foresight of that which is to be expected in the experience of concrete the (p. 45).

Husself emphasioss the pre-scientific, technical connutations of mathematical exactness and fungibility. These central solitors of modern science emerge, not as more baproducts of a pure science, but as pertaining to its inner conceptual structure. The scientific abstraction from concreteness, the quantification of qualities which yield exactness as seef as universal validity. involve a specific concrete experience of the Labermanit -- a specific mode of "seeing" the world. And this "seeing," in spile of its "pure," discreprented character, is seeing within a purposition, practical contest. It is anticipating (forecase/sec) and projecting (Vorhabert). Galilean science is the science of methodical, systematic anticipation and projection, But -- and this is decisive -- of a specific anticipation and projection -namely, that which experiences, comprehends, and phases the world in terms of calculable, predictable relationships among exactly identifiable units. In this project, universal quantifiability is a prerequiate for the domination of nature, individual, nonquantifiable qualities stand in the way of an organization of man and things in accordance with the measurable power to be extracted from them. But this is a specific, excit-fratorical project. and the consciousness which undertakes this project is the hidden subject of Califean science: the latter is the factoric, the art of anticipation extended in infinity tine (trendfiche erestitete Vorassanite p.8%

Now precisely because Galilean science is, in the formation of its concepts, the technic of a specific Laberowell, it does not and cannot transport this Laberowell, it complies assentially within

the basic experiential framework and within the universe of ands set by this neality. In Husseni's formulation in Galilean science, the "concrete universe of causality becomes applied mathematics" (p. 10) — but the world of perception and experience.

"In salticit see five our article practical life, remains se that which it is, in its essential structure: in its own concrete cause/by unchanged ..." (p. 51; my fallow).

A processable elektronest, which is easily retrieved, and I take the liberty of a possible consistency-elektron. The alaborate does not solve comply to the fact that, in spite of non-Euclidean geometry, we still perceive and act in three-dimensional space; or that, in spite of the "statistical" concept of causality, we still act, in common sense, in accord with the "stat' been of causality. Non-does the statement contradict the perpetual changes in the world of daily practice as the result of "applied mathematics." Much more may be at state: namely, the inherent limit of the estatished according as the result of "applied mathematics." Much more may be at state: namely, the inherent limit of the estatished according as disease. The precaling Laborated without attended actions and insure the precaling Laborated actions all those attended. In the estatished actions and insure the precaling Laborated actions alternated structure — that is without anylonging a qualificatively now mode of "seeing" and qualificatively now statishes between the precaling and qualificatively now

With respect to the institutionalized forms of the science (pure as seed as applied exculd thus have a stabilizing, static, conservative function. Even its most revolutionary achievements aculd only be construction and destruction in line with a specific experience and organization of reality. The continuous self-correction of science — the revolution of its hypotheses which is built into its method — itself properly and extends the same historical universe, the same basic experience. It retains the same formal a priori, which makes for a very material, practical content.

The preceding discussion seems to suggest not only the toner projections of scientific method but also its historical subjectivity. Moreover, it seems to imply the need for sems sort of "qualitative physics," revisal of talentogical philosophies, etc. I select that the suspicion is justified, but at the point, I can only seem that the suspicion is patified, but at the point, I can only

No register flow one defines truth and objectivity, they remain related to the human agents of theory and practice, and to their ability to comprehend and change their world. This ability in turn depends on the extent to which matter inhibitorie it may be! is recognized and understood as that which it is itself in all particular force. In these terms, contemporary science is of conversally greater objective validity.

than its predicessors. One night even add that, at present", the scientific method is the only method that can claim such' validity: the interplay of hypothesia and observable facts validates the hypothesian and establishes the facts. The point which I am trying to make in that science, by virtue of its own mathod and concepts. has projected and promoted a universe in which the domination of nature has remained linked to the domination of man -- a link which tends to be fatel to this universe as a whole. Nature, scientifically comprehended and mastered, reappears in the technical apparatus of production and destruction which scatters and improves the life of the individuals while subordinating them to the masters of the apparatus. Thus the rational fourarchy manges with the social one. If this is the case, then the change in the direction of progress, which roght sover this fatal link, would also affect the very structure of science — the scientific project. Its hypotheses, without being their , rational character, would density in an assentially different experimental context that of a pacified world; consequently science would prive at assentially different concepts of nature and establish assentially different Sects. The national socially subverts the idea of Reason.

I have pointed out that the elements of this subservice, the notions of another retionality, were present in the history of thought from its beginning. The ancient idea of a state where Being attains fulfillinest, where the tension between "is" and "rought" is resolved in the cycle of an attempt return, partialise of the matagitysis of domination. But it also perture to the metaghysis of liberation — to the reconciliation of Logos and Eve, This idea envisages the coming to next of the represents productivity of Reason, the end of domination in gratification.

The two contrasting rationalities cannot simply be correlated with classical and modern thought respectively, as in John Dewey's

formulation. "from contemplative expression to active manipulation and control," and "from browing as an eatheric expression of the properties of nature... to browing as a means of secular control."

Classical throught was sufficiently committed to the logic of secular control, and there is a sufficient component of indictment and refusal in modern thought to vitiate John Dewey's formulation. Reason, as conceptual throught and behavior, is necessarily mastery, domination, Logos is less, rule, order by sittue of Encoeledge. In subsuming particular cases under a universal, in subjecting it to their universal, thought attains mastery over the particular cases. It becomes capable not only of comprehending but also of acting spon them, controlling them. Hosever, while all thought stands under the rule of logic, the unfletding of this togic is different in the various modes of thought. Classical formal and modern symbolic logic. transcendental and dialectical topic -- each rules over a different universe of discourse and experience. They all developed will/on the historical continuum of domination to which they pay tribute. And this continuum bestoes upon the modes of positive Binking their conformial and identispinal character; upon those of regative Binking their speculative and stopies character.

By ear of suntenary, we may now try to identify more clearly the tedden subject of ententific rationality and the fedden ends in to pure form. The extentific concept of a universally controllable nature projected nature as endless matter in function, the more stuff of theory and practice, in this form, the object world entend the construction of a technological universe — a universe of mental and physical instrumentalities, means in themselves. Thus it is a truly "topothetical" system, depending on a validating and serfping subject.

The processes of validation and varification may be purely theoretical ones, but they never occur in a vacuum and they never terminate in a private, individual mind. The hypothetical system of forms and functions becomes dependent in another system — a pre-established universe of ends, in which and for which it develops. What appeared extransions, foreign to the theoretical project, alreas forth as part of its very structure.

treathout and concepts; pure objectivity reveals itself as object for a subjectivity which provides the Tatos, the ends in the construction of the technological reality, there is no each thing as a purely rational acceptific order; the process of technological rationality is a political process.

Cody in the medican of technology, man and nature become fungible objects of imperiation. The universal offectiveness and productivity of the apparatus under which they are subscitted velicits particular interests that organize the apparatus, in other except, solutioning has become the great volicits of notification-solitopion in its most mature and effective from. The social position of the individual and his relation to others appear not only to be determined by objective qualities and less, but these qualities are described on the determination. The web of demonstration, which allocate over the administration. The web of demonstration has become the sets of flavours that the terminating reads of thought seem to terminate in it. And the terminating reads of thought seem to terminate flavours touch.

Under these conditions, scientific thought (scientific in the larger serse, as opposed to muddled, netsphysical, emotional, Bogical Striking) cultide the physical sciences assumes the form of a pure and self-contained formation (symbolism) on the one hand. and a total ampiricism on the other. (The contrast is not a conflict. See the very empirical application of mathematics and symbolic logic in electronic industries.) In relation to the established universe of discourse and baltanior, non-contradiction and nontranscendence is the common denominator. Total empiricism reveals its identispical function in contemporary philosophy. With respect to this function, same aspects of fingulatic analysis will be discussed in the following chapter. This discussion is to propers the ground for the attempt to show the barriers which prevent this amplitules from coming to gripe with reality, and solubilishing for rather re-establishing) the concepts which may brook these barriers.

I have pointed out that the alements of this subversion, the notions of prother rationality, were present in the history of throught from its beginning. The arctiont libra of a state where Being attains fulfillment, where the tension between "is" and "ought" is resolved in the cycle of an attental return, partialize of the metagolystics of domination. But it also pertains to the metagolystics of fiberation — to the reconciliation of Logics and Ever. This libra arctisages the coming to rest of the represented productivity of Reason, the and of domination in gradification.

The two contrasting nationalities cannot simply be constabled with classical and modern thought respectively, as in John Dewey's formulation. "from contemplative enjoyment to active manipulation and control," and "from browing as an esthable enjoyment of the properties of nations. to browing as a means of secular control."

7: The Triumph of Historical Thirsting

The redeficition of thought which helps to coordinate mental operations with those in the social reality aims at a thorago. Thought is on the lovel with reality when it is cored from transgression bayond a conceptual framework which is either purely accomatic fingle, mathematical or co-extensive with the satisfished universe of discourse and behavior. Thus, Engulatic analysis claims to core thought and speech from confusing managehysical nations -- from "ghosts" of a less mature and less scientific Fast which still haunt the mind although they neither designate nor auptain. The amphasis is on the thirespectic function of philosophical analysis-correction of abnormal befravior in throught and speech, removal of obscurities, Rustons, and oddfries, or at least their exposure. In chapter 14, I discussed the therapeutic empiricism of sociology in exposing and correcting abnormal balkactor in industrial plants, a procedure which implied the exclusion of critical concepts capable of relating such behavior to the society as a whole. By virtue of this restriction, the theoretical procedure becomes immediately practical. It designs methods of better management, safer planning, greater efficiency, closer calculation. The analysis, via correction and improvement, terminates in affirmation; ampiricism provas leaff as positive thinking.

The philosophical analysis is of no such immediate application. Compared with the realizations of sociology and psychology, the therapeutic treatment of thought remains academic, indeed, exact

Bloking. the liberation from metaphysical apactors and meaningless nations may self be considered ends in themselves. Moreover, the treatment of thought in linguistic analysis is its own affair and its own fight. Its idenlogical character is not to be projudged by correlating the struggle against conceptual transcendence beyond the established universe of discourse with the struggle against political transcendence beyond the established excists. Like any philosophy worthy of the name. linguistic analysis speaks for badf and defines its own attitude to reality. It identifies as its chief concern the debunking of transcendent concepts; it proclaims as its frame of reference the common usage of words, the variety of prevailing behavior. With these characteristics, it circumscribes its position in the philosophic tradition namely, at the opposite jude from those modes of thought which elaborated their concepts in tension with, and even in contradiction to, the preveiting universe of discourse and behavior. In terms of the established universe, such contradicting modes of thought are negative thinking. "The power of the negative" is the principle which governs the development of concepts, and contradiction becomes the distinguishing quality of Reason (Hagel). This quality of thought was not confined to a certain type of cationalism; if was also a decisive element in the empirical tradition. Empiricism is not tecomerly positive; its attitude to the established reality depends on the particular dimension of experience which functions as the source of knowledge and as the basic frame of reference. For example, It seems that sensualism and materialism are per seregative treated a society in which vital instinctual and material needs are unfulfilled, to contrast, the ampirishes of linguistic analysis moves within a frame- sook which does not allow such contradiction the self- imposed restriction to the prevalent behavioral universe takes for an intrinsically positive altitude. In spile of the rigidly resulted approach of the philosopher, the prebound analysis succumbs to the power of positive thinking.

Before trying to allow this intrinsically identispical character of frequentic analysis. I must attempt to justify my apparently arbitrary and derogatory play with the terms "positive" and "positives" by a brief consense on their origin. Since its first usage, probably in the achiest of Saint, Since, the term "positivism" by a secondariate of Saint, Since, the term

throught by experience of facts; (3) the orientation of cognitive throught to the physical sciences as" a model of certainty and exectiness; (3) the belief that progress in trocaledge depends on this orientation. Commercently, positivism is a struggle against all matagilipsis, transcendentalisms, and idealisms as obscurpniss and represente modes of throught. To the degree to which the given readily is scientifically comprehended and transformed, to the degree to which society becomes industrial and technological, positivism finish in the society the medium for the realisation (and validation) of its correspondencely for medium for the realisation (and validation) of its correspond harmony between theory and practice, truth and facts. Philosophic thought turns into allemative thought; the philosophic critique criticise within the occident framework and digensities non-positive roticise as more speculation, dreams or fantasies.

The universe of discourse and ballquitor which begins to speak to Saint Simon's positivism is that of technological reality, to it, the object-world is being transformed into an instrumentality. Much of that which is still cutoids the instrumental world uncompared, blind nature-now appears within the reaches of scientific and technical progress.

The metaphysical dimension, formerly a genuine field of rational thought, becomes irrational and unactentific. On the ground of its new realizations, Reason repols transcendence. On the later stage is contemporary positivism, it is no longer extentific and technical progress which motivates the repulsion; however, the contraction of throught is no less severe because it is self-improsed philosophy's new method. The contemporary effort to reduce the scope and the truth of philosophy is transcending, and the philosophys should be received to receive the philosophys the truth of philosophy is transcending, and the philosophys themselves provides the modesty and realities of philosophys. It is exist established reality untouched, it ablors transgressors.

Austin's contemptuous treatment of the afternatives to the common osage of words, and his defendation of what we "think up in our amothers of an afternoon"; Wittgenstein's assurance that philosophy "become exempthing as it is" — such statements solidat, to my most, academic sado-massurbane, self-humilation, and self-demonstration of the intellectual whose later does not touch in actionstific, such costs on the property of the intellectual self-one later does not touch in actionstific, such costs or the actions only. These

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efficientations of moderaty and dependence seem to recepture Numer's record of rightnesses contentment with the finishtone of nesson which, once recognized and accepted, protect man from sentence mental advantures but been bon perfectly capable of orienting timeself in the given emiscontent. However, when Nume detunded substances, he fragit a presental identings, while his successors today provide an intellectual justification for that which socially has long since accomplished namely, the defendation of alternative modes of throught which contradict the established universe of discourse.

The objec in which this philosophic behaviories presents that social for sorthy of analysis. It ossers to move behavior the two poles of pontificating authority and easy-going characterists. Both needs are perfectly based in Wittgerstein's recurrent use of the imperative with the intimate or condescending "bs" ("thou") or in the opening chapter of Gilbert Ryle's The Concept of Mind, where the presentation of "Descenter" Myth" as the "official decition" about the original of of Stock and roled is followed by the policitory denomination of tooks and roled is followed by the policitory denomination of its "absurdity," which evokes John Dise, Richard Roe, and what they thou blood blood the "Average Tax pages."

Throughout the work of the linguistic analysis, there is this familiarity with the chap on the street whose talk plays such a leading role in Engulatic philosophy. The chumoroness of speech is essential transmuch as it excludes from the beginning the highbrow vocabulary of "metaphysics," it militates against intelligent son-conformity, it ridicules the agglered. The language of John Doe and Richard Roe is the language which the man on the street actually speaks; it is the language which expresses his behavior: It is therefore the taken of concreteness. However, it is also the tollion of a false concreteness. The language which provides most of the material for the enalysis is a purged language, purged not only of its "unorthodox" vocabulars, but also of the means for expressing any other contents than those furnished to the individuals by their society. The linguistic analysi finds this purged language on accomplished fact, and he takes the improverlahed language as he finds it, insulating it from that which is not expressed in 2 although it enters the established privating of discourse as element and factor of meaning.

Paying respect to the prevailing variety of respectings and usages, to the power and common sense of ordinary speech, while blocking iss extranscous material) analysis of what this speech says about the society that speaks it, linguistic philosophy suggresses once more what is continually suggressed in this private of discourse and behavior. The authority of philosophy gives in blessing to the forces which make this universe. Unquistic analysis abstracts from what ordinary language mosals in speaking as it does the multiplice of man and return.

Microscon, all too offers it is not owns the criticary language which guides the analysis, but rather blown up atoms of language, oilly songe of speech that sound like bally talk such as "This looks to me row like a man eating propries," "He saw a robbs", "I get a hat," Mittgenston devotes much acumen and space to the analysis of "My broom is in the corner," I quote, as a representative example, an analysis from J. L. Austin's "Other Minds".

"Two rather different ways of being healtest may be distinguished. Idi Let us take the case where we are testing a centain bade. We may say I simply don't know what it is: I've rever tested enything remotely like it before .. No. It's no use: the more I think about I the more confused I get It's perfectly distinct and perfectly distinctive, quite unique in my experience? This Studintes the case where I can find nothing in my past experience with which to compare the current case: I'm certain It's not appreciably like anything I ever tested before, not sufficiently like anything I know to morit the same description. This case, though distinguish able enough, shades off into the more common type of case where the not quite certain, or only facily certain, or proc tically certain, that it's the taste of, say, laural, to all such cases, I am andeavouring to recognize the current fam by searching in my vast experience for acmuthing Ske it, some Skiness in virtue of which it deserves, more or less positively, to be described by the same descriptive word, and I are masting with varying degrees of success. It's The other case is different, though it very naturally combines leaff with the first. Nove, what I by to do is to seveur the current experience, to peer at it, to sense it shridly. Fin not sure it is the batte of pineapplic ion't there perhaps just something about it, a long, a bits, a lack of

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biles, a climping commutation, which land qualte light for pinneggills? for I there perhaps just a peculiar time of green, which would rule out mesons and would hardly do for beliefrage? Or perhaps it is faintly out? I must look more intently, soon it over and over maybe just possibly there is a suggestion of an unneatural attinomer, so that it dissen? look quite like ordinary water. There is a look of pharpinese in what we actually some, which is to be cored not, or not mently, by thinking, but by acuter discomment, by sensory discrimination. Othergib it is of course true that thinking of other, and more principles, cases in our Fast separations on and other sensors procures, cases in our Fast separations can and does assist our presents of discrimination.

What can be objectionable in this analysis? In its exactness and clarify, it is probably unsurpassable — it is cornect.

But that is all it is, and I argue that not only is it not enough, but it is destructive of philosophic throught, and of critical throught as such. From the philosophic point of ciese, two questions arise: (1) can the explication of concepts for words: ever orient itself is, and terminate, in the actual universe of ordinary discourse? (3) are exactness and clarity ands in themselves, or are they conceited to other ends?

I announce that first quantities in the affilternation as for as its first part is concerned. The most baned examples of speach may, precisely because of their banel observator, elucidate the empirical world in its reality, and serve to explain our thinking and telking about it—so do Santra's analyses of a group of people waiting for a bus, or tart trace' analyses of daily resempapers, Such analyses obscribes because they transcend the introduction concreteness of the alternation and its expression, They transcend it toward the factors which make the observing and the behavior of the people who speak to one observe in that observe to the examples just clied, these transcendent factors are traced to the social division of labor:

To take another illustration sentences such as "my broom is in the corner" might also occur in Neget's Logic, but there they acoust be revealed as inappropriate or even false examples, They would only be rejects, to be surpassed by a discourse which, in its concepts, style, and syntax, is of a different order — a discourse for which it is by no means "clear that every sentence in our language "is in order as it is," Rather the exact opposite is the case-namely, that every sentence is as little in order as the world is which this language communicates.

The almost reasonitatic reduction of speech to the foundle and common is made into a program: "If the words language, experience, world, have a use, if must be an humble a one as that of the words table, large, door." We must be an humble to the subjects of our every day thinking, and not go astroy and imagine that we have to describe extracts existence to describe extracts existence to describe extracts existence..." — as if this wore the only alternative, and as if the extracts sublection were not the output alternative, and as if the extracts sublection were not the outputs.

Critique of Pure Reason, Thinking for at least its expression is not only present into the stratiquetest of common coage, but also exprised not to ask and seek solutions beyond those that are stready there. "The problems are solved, not by giving new information, but by amonging what we have always brown."

The self-object powerty of philosophy, committed with all its concepts to the given state of affairs, districts the possibilities of a new experience. Subjection to the rule of the established facts is total only linguistic facts, to be sure, but the excisity speaks in its language, and we are told to obey. The probbilities are severe and authoritarian: "Reliceophy may in no war observer with the attual one of language," "And we may not advance any tind of theory. There must not be anything hypothetical in our considerations. We must be anything hypothetical in our considerations. We must be anything hypothetical in our considerations. We must be anything hypothetical in or considerations store must take to place." Novement, what is of stake is not the definition or the dignity of philosophy. It is rather the thance of preserving and probability of philosophy. It is nother the chance of preserving and probabilities of common usage terms which are meaningful, rational, and ratio precisely because they are observed.

To begin with, an irreducible difference solids between the universe of everyday thinking and language on the one side, and that of philosophic thinking and language on the other. In normal circumstances, ordinary language is indeed behavioral a practical instrument. When constitute actually says "My broom is in the

corner," he probably intends that somebody also who bad artselfy asked about the broom is going to take it or leave it them, is going to be satisfied, or engry, in any case, the sentence has fulfilled its function by causing a behavioral reaction: "the effort devous the case; the sent place of the reaction in the effort devous the case; the end place is the reaction."

In continue, If, in a philinosophic best or discourse, the word "substance," "disc," "man," "alternation" becomes the subject of a proposition, no such transformation of meaning into a behavioral reaction takes place or is intended to take place. The word remains, as if wore, unfulfilled except in thought, where it may give rise to other throughts. And through a long series of mediations within a listorical continuous, the proposition may help to form and guide a practice. But the proposition remains unfulfilled even their conty the hubbits of absolute idealism asserts the thesis of a final identity between thought and its object. The words with which philicosphy is concerned out therefore never have a use "as humble, as that of the words table, large, door

Thus, exactness and clarity in philosophy cannot be attained within the universe of ordinary discourse. The philosophic concepts aim at a dimension of fact and meaning which elucidates the atomized phrases or words of ordinary discourse. Thus without by altowing this "without" as essential to the understanding of ordinary discourse. Or, if the universe of ordinary discourse that the object of philosophic endysts, the language of philosophy becomes a "mate-language." Even where it moves to the function of ordinary discourse, it remains an endpoint of the surviving discourse, it remains an endpoint or the function the ordinary discourse, it remains an endpoint to the function the ordinary discourse, it remains an endpoints. It discolves the established experiential content of meaning into that of its readity it alternate from the immediate concreteness in order to attain true toxicities.

Viscound North this possition, the examples of linguistic analysis operated altrove become questionable as valid objects of philipsophic analysis. Can the most exact and clarifying description of testing something that major may not teste the prosaggite over contribute to philipsophic cognition? Can it ever serve as a critique in which controversal human conditions are at state other than conditions of medical or psychological testemating, surely not the respect of Austin's analysis. The object of

analysis, withdrawn from the larger and densor context in which the speaker speaks and lines, is removed from the universal medium in which concepts are formed and become words. What is this universal, larger context in which people speak and act and which gives their speak to meaning — this context which does not appeal in the positivist analysis, which is a priori shut off by the coamples as well as by the analysis itself?

This larger content of experience, this real ampirical world, today is still that of the gas chambers and concentration camps, of thiroshims and Nagassaki, of American Cadiffers and German Manualiza and Nagassaki, of American Cadiffers and German Manualiza, of the Pertagon and the Erentin, of the nuclear cities and the Chinese communes, of Cube, of brancassating and massacres. But the real empirical world is also that in which all these things are taken for granted or forgotten or represent or orderown, in which people are free. It is a world in which the broom in the corner or the tests of constiting the pineagets are quite important, in which the daily colling the pineagets are participated, in which the daily till and the daily conforts an perhaps the only terms that make up all experience. And this second, restricted empirical universe is part of the first; the powers that rule the first plan shape the restricted experience.

To be sorn, establishing this relation is not the job of ordinary thought in ordinary speech. If it is a matter of finding the brown or testing the processpale, the abstraction is justified and the meaning can be ascentained and described without any transpression into the political universe. But in philosophy, the question is not that of finding the brown or testing the princapple and even less so today should an empirical philosophy base itself on abstract experience. Nor is this abstractness corrected if linguistic analysis is applied to political terms and phreses. A whole brown of analysis is applied to political terms and phreses. A whole brown the matter of analysis philosophy is engaged in the undertaking, but the mathed already shuts off the correspond or political, i.e., critical analysis. The operational or behavioral translation associates such terms as "translation" government," "England," with "broom" and "pinneggits," and the reality of the border with that of the latter.

Ordinary language in its "fruntitle use" may indeed be of vital concern to critical philosophic thought, but in the medium of this thought words lose their plain humility and reveal that "folder"

something which is of no interest to Wittgenstein. Consider the analysis of the "tern" and "now" in Hegel's Phaemomenology, or left verify verbol! Leron's suggestion on flow to analyze adequately "this glass of water" on the table. Such an analysis processes the history in every-day speech as a hidden dimension. of meaning -- the rule of excisity over its language. And this discovery shafters the natural and refled form in which the given universe of discourse first appeals. The words reveal themselves as garraine forms not only in a grammatical and formal togical but also material sense; namely, as the limits which define the magning and its devalopment the terms which society impress on discourse, and on baltanion. This triatorical dimension of meaning can no longer be stucidated by examples such as my broom is in the corner" or "there is chasse on the table." To be sure, such statements can reveal many ambiguities, purcles, obblies, but they are at it the same is language parties and academic boradon.

Drienting Itself on the reflect universe of everyday discourse, and exposing and clarifying this discourse in terms of this reflect universe, the analysis abstracts from the regative, from that which is alian and antagonistic and cannot be understood in terms of the established usage. By classifying and distinguishing meanings, and beging them apart, it purges thought and speech of contradictions, Discions, and transgressions. But the transgressions are not those of "pure reason," They are not metogression transgressions for not metogression transgressions of possible transgressions. Surpressions of transgressions of possible transgressions transgressions transgressions of the limits of possible troubledge, they rather open a reason of troubledge beyond contents series and forms open a reason of troubledge beyond

In Searcing access to this realin, positivist philosophy sets up a self-sufficient world of its own, closed and well protected against the ingression of disturbing external factors, in this respect, it makes little difference whether the validating context is that of mathematics, of logical propositions, or of custom and usage, in one way or another, an possibly meaningful predicates are projetiged. The projetiging judg meen neglit be as broad as the spoken English language, or the dictionary, or sense other code or consention. Once accepted, it constitutes an empirical a priori which cannot be transcended. Ordinary language in its "franchise see" may be of obtat concern to critical philosophic throught.

But this radical acceptance of the empirical violates the 'empirical, for in it speaks the multisteet, 'abstract' individual who experiences (and expressed only that which is given to him ligitum in a literal sense), who has only the facts and not the factors, whose behavior is one-dimensional and manipulated. By within of the factual represent, the experienced world is the small of a matricial experience, and the positivite classing of the mind brings the mind 15: the with the restricted experience.

to this expurpated form, the empirical world becomes the object of positive thicking. With an its exploring, exposing, and clarifying of ambiguities and obscurities, neo-positivism is not concerned with the great and general ambiguity and obscurity which is the established universe of experience. And it must remain unconcerned because the mathod adopted by this philosophy discredits or "translates" the concepts which could public the understanding of the established mathy in its represente and improveding of the established mathy in its represente and improveding of objects the concepts of regative thinking. The transformation of critical into positive thinking takes place mainly in the therapeutic treatment of universal concepts their translation into operational and behavioral terms parallels then translation into operational and behavioral stores parallels.

The therapeoidic character of the philosophic analysis is strongly emphasized to cure from theorem, deceptions, characters, organized to cure from theorem, deceptions, from ghosts and spectres. Who is the patient? Apparently a certain soft of intellectual, whose mond and language do not conform to the terms of ordinary discourse. There is indeed a goodly portion of psychososphysis in this philosophy-emalysis without Freud's fundamental insight that the patient's trouble is rooted in a general ordinary discourse for patient's trouble is rooted in a general ordinary entire that the patient's trouble is rooted in a general ordinary entire that the patient's trouble is rooted in a general ordinary entire that the patient's disease is a protest macrim approach the soft world in which he lives. But the physician most disregard the "more" problem. He has to restore the patient's health, to make him opposite of functioning normally in his world.

The philipsopher is not a physician; his job is not to cure individuals her to comprehend the world in which they has — to understand it is terms of what it has close to man, and that it can

do to man. For philosophy is thistorically, and its history is still valid: the contrary of what Willigenstein made it not to be when he proclaimed it as the removations of all theory, as the undertaking that "leaves everything as it is," And philosophy broke of no more undertaking that theory discovery than that which gives philosophy peaks, or that it is no longer tomanted by questions which trong test'in question.

And there is no more unphilosophical motto then Baltop Buller's promounteement which adverse G. E. Moore's "Principle Ethica: "Everything is what it is, and not another thing" — unless the "is" is understood as referring to the qualitative difference between that which things really are and that which they are made to be.

The non-positivist critique still directs its main affort against metaphysical nations, and it is noticeated by a notice of exactness which is either that of formal logic or empirical description. Whether exactness is exugit to the analytic purity of logic and mathematics, or is conformily with ordinary language on both poles of contemporary philosophy is the same rejection or devaluation of those elements of thought and speech which transcend the accepted system of validation. This locatility is most executed the accepted system of validation. This locatility is most executed the accepted system of validation. This locatility is most executed to take to obtain that is, where a contain truth value is granted to the transcendent concepts in a separate dimension of meaning and significance ipositic truth, metaphysical truth.

For precisely the setting solds of a special reservation is select. Straight and language are permitted to be legitimately inexact, segon, and even contradictory is the most effective way of protecting the normal universe of discourse from being seriously disturbed by unlitting ideas. Whatever truth may be contained in literature is a "postic" truth, whatever truth may be contained in critical idealism is a "nestaphysical" truth-its validity. If any, commits racibler ordinary discourse and behavior, nor the philosophy educated to their. The new form of the doctrine of the "doubte truth" sentitions a false consciousness by denying the relinance of the transcendent language to the universe of ordinary language, by provisioning total non-reservince. Under the represence conditions in which may think and line, thoughts any mode of thinking which is not confined to pragmatic orientation within the status que — can recognize the facts and respond to the facts only by "going behind" them. Experience takes place before a curtain which conceals and, if the world is the appearance of something behind the curtain of incrediate experience, then, in Negat's terms, it is see ourselves who are behind the curtain. We curtain set to be consisted as to be important and the curtain of scandillate experience, that or as the "purified" subjects of scandillate execution analysis, nor as the "purified" subjects of the fraterities executions, that as the subjects and objects of the fraterities struggle of more with nature and with socially. Facts are what they are as constructions in this struggle. Their factuality is transmiss.

This intellectual dissolution and even subversion of the given facts is the historical task of philosophy and the philosophic dimension. Scientific method, too, goes beyond the facts and even against the facts of introductor experience. Scientific method develops in the tension between appearance and reality. The mediator between the subject and object of thought, however, is executively different, in science, the mediator betweenty different, in science, the readulity different in science, the readulity different in science. The interpretable different of all other qualities; the abostness exigest projects and defines the abostnest object origins.

to continue, the objects of philosophic thought are related to a consciousness for which the concrete qualities order into the concepts and into their internalistics. The philosophic concepts retain and explicate the pre-scientific mediations (the work of everyday practice, of economic organization, of political actions which have made the object world that which it actually is — a world in which all facts are events, occurrences in a fratorical continue.

The apparation of science from philosophy is itself a bistorical searct. Aristorialise physics was a part of philosophy and, as such, properatory to the "first science" — ontology. The Aristotelian concept of matter is distinguished from the Galilean and post-Galilean not only in terms of different stages in the development of scientific method land in the discovery of different "apers" of reality), but also, and partiage primarily, in terms of different bistorical projects, of a different bistorical anterprise which

established a different nature as well as society. Anatomius physics becomes objectively arrong with the new experience and apprehension of nature, with the tratomical establishment of a new religion and object world, and the fabilitation of Anatomius physics then extends beckward into the past and surpassed experience and apprehension.

But safterfloor or not they are integrated into science, philosophic concepts remain entegranetic to the reatin of ordinary discourse, for they continue to include contents which are not fulfilled in the spoken word, the overt balterior, the perceptible conditions or dispositions, or the preventing properation. The philosophic oniverse thus continues to contain "ghosts," "fictions," and "thusions" which may be more rational than their denial transmit a they are concepts that recognize the times and the december of the preventing rationality. They express the experience of the preventing rationality. They express the experience which titingenation I rejects — ransely, that "contrary to our preconceived ideas, it is preside to think 'such and each whatever that may may."

The neighbor or the chearing up of this openitic philosophic dimension has led contemporary positivism to move in a synthetically improverished world of academic concreteness, and to create more thanny problems then it has destroyed. Randy has a philosophy subblished a more tertures expell do abriton than that displayed in such analyses as the interpretation of Three Blind Mice in a study of "Metaglispical and ideographic Language," with its discussion of an "artificially constructed Topic processes Blind Mice in a study of the pure principles of deographic sequences of processes Blinds processes blinds on a processes.

Partiages this expensive is unifair. Nonecour it is fair to say that the most alternate metagehysics has not exhibited such artificial and jurgeonic assentes as those which have prison in connection with the problems of reduction, translation, description, denotation, proper rantees, etc. Examples are skillfully hald in balance between seriousness and the joke the differences between Scotland the author of Mannetty, the balances of the bing of France, Jos Don marking or not making the "average toqueyer" fictured flow or the street, by serious is not treated the serious of the bing of france, Jose Don marking or not meeting the "average toqueyer" fictured flow or the street, by serious is not not only serious and none a patch of not and and saying "this is not," or the revelopion of the fact that people often

describe feelings as thrifts, teringes, Fange, throbs, senseches, tiches, prickings, chilfs, glown, loads, qualites, hankerings, conflings, sinkings, teratoris, praesings and shocks.

This sort of ampiricism substitutes for the hated world of metaphysical ghosts, myths, legends, and illustres a world of conceptual or second scrape, of world and observes which are then organized into a philosophy. And all this is not only legitimate, it is even correct, for it reveals the or tent to which non-specialized into a politically. And all this is not only legitimate, it is even correct, for it reveals the or tent to which non-specialized ideas, aspirations, memories and images have become expendable, instituted, confusing, or meaningless.

to cleaning up this mean, analytic philosophy conceptualizes the behavior in the present technological organization of reality, but it also accepts the verdicts of this organization; the debucking of an old identings becomes part of a new identings. Not only the filusions are debucked but also the truth in those filusions. The new identings finds its expression in such distinction. The new identings finds its expression in such distinctions in "philosophy only states what everyone admits," or that the common stock of words embodies "all the distinctions men have finant worth disease."

What is this "common stock"? Does it include Plato's "idea," Aristotle's essence," Hogel's Gaint, Marn's Verdinglichung in whatever adequate translation? Does it include the key words of poetic tengosege? Of committee prose? And if so, does it contain them in their regardine committeion; that is, as invalidating the universe of common seage? If not, then a whole body of distinctions which man have found worth drawing is rejected, removed into the reality of folion or mythology: a multisted, false consciousness is set up as the true consciousness that decides on the meaning and expression of that which is. The rest is denousnesd and emborsed as finter or mythology.

It is not clear, forwarder, which side is engaged in mythologic. To be sure, mythology is princitive and introduced thought. The process of coefficient invalidates mytholities is almost a definition of progress), but it may, in the latter case, theories which identify and project fractional possibilities may become irrational, or rather appear irrational because they contradict the rationality of the established universe of discourse and behavior.

Thus, in the process of civilization, the might of the Golden Age. and the Millennium is subjected to progressive rationalization. The thistorically! Impossible elements are expanded from the possible ones draget and fiction from science, technology, and business. In the constaunth contury, the theories of sociation translated the primary might into ascrategical terms or rather discovered in the given historical possibilities the rational core of the migh. Then, bosseser, the reverse movement occurred. Today, the rational and realistic nations of yesterday again appeal to be mythological when confronted with the actual conditions. The reality of the laboring classes in advanced industrial society makes the Marxisn "proleterier" a mythological concept; the reality of present day socialism makes the Manian idea a dream. The reversal is caused by the contradiction between theory and facts -- a contradiction which, by itself, does not yet fately the former. The unactentific speculative character of critical theory. derives from the specific character of its concepts, which designate and define the irrational, in the rational, the equification in the reality. Their explicit opinion quality reflects the mystifying quality of the given facts -- the decaptive harmonication of the societal contradictions.

The technical achievement of advanced industrial society, and the effective manipulation of mental and material productivity have brought about a shift in the locus of mystification, it is meaningful to say the process of production taself, it may also be meaningful to expand that, in this assists, the rational rather than the inglished becomes the most effective vehicle of mystification. The view, in the identopical aphene, first in the assent of implicingly pseudo-philosophies (Lebensphilosophie; the nations of Community against Society: Blood and Sol. etc.) was refuted by Fascism and National Socialism. These regimes denied these and their care treational "philosophies" by the all-out technical rationalization of the apparatus. It was the total mobilization of the material and mental machinery which did the job and installed its mystifying power over the society. It served to make the individuals incapable of seeing "behind" the machinery those after used it. Stose who profited from it, and Stose who pant for it.

Today, the mystifying elements are mastered and employed in productive publicity, propagands, and politics. Magic, witchcoalt, and existatic surrender are practiced in the daily routine of the forms, the shop, and the office, and the rational accomplishments conceal the irrationality of the article. For example, the scientific approach to the vescing problem of mutual associalistics the regiment to the vescing problem of soll and over-bit, the reasourement of spread ing or not-quite en-spreading fallout, the exacutements of enterines in alterement observed in mystifying to the extent to which it promotes land even demanded behavior which accepts the insamily, it thus counteracts a truly rational behavior reamety, the refused to go along, and the officet to do easy with the conditions which produce the respects.

Against this new mystrication, which turns rationally into its opposite, the distinction must be uphald. The rational is not institutal, and the difference between an exact recognition and analysis of the facts, and a vague and emotional speculation is as expected as ever before. The trouble is that the statistics, measurements, and Held studies of empirical sociology and political science are not rational enough. They become myetifying to the extent to which they are isolated from the truly concrete content which makes the facts and determines their function. This context is larger and other than that of the plants and shops investigated, of the towns and cities studied, of the areas and prougs whose public opinion is polled or whose chance of survival is calculated. And it is also more real in the sense that it creates and determines the facts investigated, polled, and calculated. This real contest in which the particular subjects obtain their real algorificance is definable only willtin a theory of sociaty. For the factors in the facts are not immediate data of observation, measurement, and interrugation. They become date only in an analysis which is capable of identifying the structure that holds together the parts and processes of society and that determines their internelation.

To say that this mate-context is the Society leath a capital "\$" is to highestative the whole over and above the parts. But this highestativation takes place in reality, is the reality, and the analysis can overcome it only by recognizing it and by comprehending its arrays and its causes. Society is indeed the whole which exercises its independent power over the individuals, and the Society is no unidentificate." It has be

ampirical hard core in the system of inatitutions, which are the established and frozen relation allige among men. Abstraction from it falsifies the reseasurements, interrogations, and calculations but fatelfies there in a dimension which does not appear in the reseasurements, interrogations, and optical appear in the reseasurements, interrogations, and calculations, and which therefore does not conflict with them and does not disturb them. They retain their exectness, and are mystifping in their very exectness.

in its expressive of the myetifying character of transcondent terms. capus nations, manaphysical privarials, and the like, linguistic analysis mystifies the terms of ordinary language by leaving them in the represence context of the established universe of discourse. It is written this represente universe that the behavioral explication of meaning takes place the explication which is to exorcine the old linguistic "ghosts" of the Cartesian and other obsolute myths. Linguistic analysis maintains that if Joe Doe and Richard Rox speak of what they have in mind, they simply refer to the specific perceptions, nations, or dispositions which they happen to have; the mind is a vertisational phose. Similarly, the will is not a real faculty of the soul, but simply a specific mode of specific dispositions, properation, and aspirations, Similarly with "corectousness," "self," "freedors" -- they are all1 auplicable to terms designating particular ways or modes of conduct and behavior. I shall subsequently return to this treatment of printered concepts.

Amortytic philososphy office spreads the precognitors of decurrentation and investigation by committee. The intellectual is called on the carpet. What do you mean when you say. ...? Don't you concern according? You talk a language which is compact. You don't talk like the rest of us, like the man in the street, but sather like a foreigner who does not belong here. We have to out you dreen to sire, expose your tricks, purge you. We shall teach you dreen to sire, expose your tricks, purge you. We shall teach you dreen to sire, expose your tricks, purge you. We shall teach you dreen to sire, expose your tricks, purge you. We shall teach you dreen to say what you have in mind, to "come clear," to "put your cards on the table." Of course, we do not impose on you sed your feedban of thought and speech; you may think so you like. But once you speech, you have to constructions your thoughts to se in our language or in yours. Containing, you may speak your seen language, but it must be transitionally, you may speak your seen language, but it must be transitionally. You may speak your

But we want to understand your poetry, and we can do so only if we can interpret your symbols, metaphore, and images in terms of ordinary language.

The post neight arressor that indeed he wants his postry to be understandable and understand that is safey he writes it, but if safes he says could be said in terms of ordinary language he would probably have close so in the first place. He neight say Understanding of my postry presuppresse the colleges and musinateration of precisely that universe of discourse and behavior into which you want to translate it. My language can be learned like any other language in point of fact, it is also your own languages, then it will appear that my symbols, mataphors, etc. see not symbols, mataphors, etc. on tot symbols, mataphors, etc. on tot symbols, mataphors, it is not opened to design to be be to compare the colleges of the my symbols, mataphors, etc. are not symbols, mataphors, it is supposed to be supposed that my symbols, mataphors, etc.

The post may also feel that the solid soloristy of linguistic philosophy speaks a rather projudiced and emotional language—that of the angry old or young men. Their vacabulary abounds with the "improper," "gueen," "abound," pucifing," "old," "gabbling," and "gibbering," linguister and pucifing oddition have to be removed if sensible understanding is to prevail. Communication nuglet not to be over the head of the people contents that go beyond common and exemption areas about not disturb the academic and the ordinary universe of discourse.

But critical analysis must dissociate itself from that which it arrives to comprehend, the philosophic terms must be other than the critical cross in criter to elucidate the full meaning of the latter. For the established universe of discourse bears throughout the marks of the specific modes of discourse bears throughout the marks of the specific modes of discourse bears throughout the marks of the specific modes of discourses and politicisms and members depend for their being on bosons and politicisms and place and respise depend for their bring on bosons and politicisms and pits and respitables, who make their speak and mean as they do they are competited, by according their speak and mean as they do they are competited, by according necessity, to identify the "thing" lincheding their own person, mind, feelings with its functions. Now do see broad? Your tribrence is designing the resespapers and magazines, talk to people.

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Under those circumstances, the spoken phrase is an expression of the individual who speaks it, and of those who make runs speak as he does, and of whatever tension or contradiction may internate them. In speaking their carn language, people also speak the language of their masters, beneficitors, advertisers. Thus they do not only express themselves, their carn tecoslodge, lastings, and expressions, but also consulting other than themselves. Describing "by themselves" the political obsestion, althor in their tome trees or in the international scene, they land "they" includes us, the intellectuals who troop it and criticis it describe what "their" reads of mass communication tell them.—

Describing to each other our toxes and hatness, sentiments and resentiments, we must use the terms of our advertisements, exception and best sellers. We must use the sente terms for describing our automobiles, foods and furniture, colleagues and competitive and se under stand sech other perfectly. This must recessarily be so, for language is nothing private and paracrast, or rather the private and paracrast is mediated by the evaluation dispusition material, which is accisted material. But this abilitation dispusition sellect a performs in analysis philosophy. "What people mean when they say ..." is related to what they don't say. Or, what they mean cannot be taken at face calce not because they for the practice in articles of thought and practice in article to other not because they for the practice in article of manipulated practice in article to the practice of manipulated practice in article that they don't say in articles of manipulated practice in article that is not because the universe of throught and practice in article that they is a private of manipulated

Circumstances like those may be involved for the analysis of such statements as "I lish," or "he sate propess," or "this now looks ned to me," but they may become vitally retenant where people really say econothing ("she just toxed him," "he has no heart," "this is not fan," "what can I do about 10"), and they are vital for the linguistic analysis of athics, politics, etc. Your tolorance is decaptive. This must reconsequily be so. Ehort of it, linguistic analysis can achieve no other amplitude aspectance then that executed from the paraple by the given state of affairs, and no other citarity then; that which is permitted them in this state of affairs, and no other citarity then; that which is permitted them in this state of affairs.

Where it seems to go beyond this discourse, as in its, logical purffications, only the distance remains of the same universe -- a ghost much more phosify than those which the enalysis combats. If philosophy is more than an occupation, I shown the prounds which made discourse a multisted and decaptive universe. To leave this task to a colleague in the Sociology or Psychology Department is to make the established division of ecademic labor into a mathodological principle. Nor can the task be brushed poids with the modest insistence that linguistic enalysis has only the humble purpose of clarifying "muddled" thinking and speaking. If such clarification goes beyond a more enumeration and classification of possible meanings in possible contests. leaving the choice wide open to propose according to circumstances, then it is anything but a humble task. Buch stanforation would involve analyzing ordinary language in really controversial areas, recogniting multified thinking where it seems to be the least multified, uncovering the falsehood in so much cornel and clear usage. Then linguistic analysis would attain the level on which the specific societal processes which shape and timit the universe of discourse become visible and understandable.

More the problem of "matelenguage" arises; the terms which enalyze the researing of certain terms must be other than, or distinguishable from the table. They must be more and other than nees aprompts which still belong to the same immediated universe of discourse. But if the matelenguage is really to break through the totalitarian errors of the sessitiated universe of discourse, but different dimensions of tenguage are integrated and essimilated, it must be capable of denoting the societal processes which have determined and "closed — the sessitiated universe of discourse. The decidentum is rather to make the established universe of discourse. The decidentum is cather to make the established universe of discourse. The decidentum is cather to make the established tenguage itself speak what it conceals or escitute, for what is to be revealed and denounced in operation within the universe of ordinary discourse and action, and the preventing language contains the materials are

This desideratum has been fulfilled in the work of Earl Erace, No has demonstrated how an "internal" examination of speech and writing, of punctuation, even of typographical errors can reveal a whole monet or political system. This examination all it moves

within the ordinary universe of discourse; It needs to artificial. "higher-level" language in order to extrapolate and clarify the exprinted language. The word, the spritactic form, are lead in the context in which they appear -- for example, in a newspaper which, in a specific city or country, exposure specific opinions through the pan of specific parsons. The boloographic and syntactical context. But opens into prother dimension which is not extransous, not constitutive of the word's meaning and function -- that of the Vienna press during and after the First World War; the attitude of its editors toward the staughter, the monarchy. The republic, als: In the light of this dimension, the usage of the word, the structure of the sentence assume a meaning and function which do not appeal in "unmediated" reading. The crimes against language, which appeal in the style of the resempaper, pertain to its political style. Byreau, grammar, and vocabulary become moral and political acts. Or. the context may be an anotheric and philosophic one: Sterary criticism, an address before a learned society, or the like. Here, the linguistic products of a posen or an essay confronts the given immediated material the language of the respective poem or essay) with that which the writer found in the literary tradition, and which he transformed.

For such an analysis, the magning of a term or form demands its development in a multi-dimensional universe, where any expressed magning partialist of several internilated, overlapping, and antegoristic "systems," For example, it belongs:

tal to an individual project, i.e., the specific communication to neespaper article, a speecht made at a specific occasion for a specific purpose;

Sti to an established supre-individual system of ideas, values, and objectives of which the individual project partialize;

1c) to a particular socially which food' integrates different and even conflicting individual and supra- individual projects.

To illustrate: a certain speech, neespaper article, or even private communication is made by a certain individual who is the lauthorized or unauthorized spokesman of a particular group.

tocongestional, residential, political, intellectuall in a specific society. This group has its own values, objections, codes of thought and behavior which enter-affirmed or opposed-with various diagness of seasonness and explicitoses, into the individual communication. The latter thus "redividualizes" a expre-individual system of meaning, which constitutes a dimension of discourse different from, jet merged with, that of the individual communication. And this expre-individual system is in turn part of a comprehension, and this expre-individual system is in turn part of a comprehension, emigrapes individual system in in term part of a comprehension, emigrapes realise of meaning which has been developed, and ordinarily "closed," by the social system within which and from which the communication takes place.

The range and extent of the social system of meaning varies considerably in different featurical periods and in accordance with the attained level of culture, but its boundaries are clearly enough defined if the communication refers to more than the noncontroversial implements and relations of daily Iffs. Today, the social systems of meaning units different nation states and linguistic areas, and these large systems of magning tend to coincide with the orbit of the more or less advanced capitalist sociaties on the one hand, and that of the advancing communist sociation on the other. White the determining function of the social system of meaning asserts that? most rigidly in the controversial, political Universe of discourse, It also operates, in a much more count, unconscious, amotional manner, in the ordinary universe of discourse. A genuinely philosophic analysis of meaning has to take all these dimensions of meaning into account because the Impulsitic expressions partallo of all of them. Consequently, linguistic analysis in philosophy has an extralogulatic commitment. If it decides on a distinction between legitimate and non-legitimate usage, between authoritic and Shoory meaning, sense and non-sense, it invokes a political. assificatio, or moral pulgenant.

It may be objected that each an "external" analysis to quotation marks because it is actually not external but rather the internal development of resembly in particularly not of place where the internal extent is to capture the meaning of terms by analyzing their function and image in ordinary discourse. But my contention is that this is precisely what linguistic analysis in contemporary philosophy does not do. And it does not do so insempth as it

transfers ordinary discourse into a special academic universe which is purified and synthetic even where land just whenci it is filled with ordinary language. In this analytic treatment of ordinary language, the taken is really sterified and anesthetized. Multi-dimensional language is made into one-dimensional language in made into one-dimensional language in made into one-dimensional language, to which different and conflicting massings no language inter penaltysis but are last spart; the explicates bistorical dimension of magning is ofercard.

Wittgenstein's ondiese language pame with building stones, or the converging Joe Doe and Dick Rox may again serve as examples, in spite of the simple clarity of the example, the speakers and their plication remain probentified. They are x and y, no matter how chammily they talk. But in the real universe of discourse, a and y are "glicals." They don't selet; they are the product of the analytic philosopher. To be sure, the talk of a and y is perfectly understandable, and the finguistic analyst appeals rightenually to the normal understanding of ordinary people. But in reality, see under stand each other only through whole press of misundentanding and contradiction. The real universe of ordinary language is that of the struggle for existence, it is indeed an ambiguous, vague, obscure universe, and is certainly in need of clarification. Moreover, such clarification may self fulfill a therapeutic function, and if philosophy would become Rempeutic, it would really come into its own.

Minimiphy approaches this goal to the degree to which it frees throught from its ensistement by the established universe of discourse and behavior, elucidates the negativity of the Establishment (its positive aspects are abundantly publicated anyway) and projects its alternatives. To be sure, philosophy contradicts and projects in thought only. It is obsoling, and this identificate of philosophy which no sitentiage of positivities on overcome. Still, it identificat effort may be truly thoughts on that which it really is, and to ploop that which it really is, and to ploop that which the really is projects to obour reality as that which it really is, and to ploop that which the reality prevents from being.

to the totalitarian are, the therapeoutic task of philosophy would be a political task, since the established universe of ordinary language tends to coagulate into a totality manipulated and inductrinated universe. Then politics would appeal to philosophy. not as a special discipline or object of analysis, nor as a special political philosophy, but as the intent of its concepts to comprehend the unimutilated reality. If linguistic analysis does not contribute to each understanding if, instead, it contributes to exclusing thought in the circle of the mutilated universe of ordinary discourse, it is at best entrally incorresponds. And, at except, it is an except into the non-controversial, the unreal, into that which is only academically controversial.

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8: The Historical Commitment of Philosophy

The commitment of analytic philosophy to the multiplied reality of throught and speech above forth strikingly in its treatment of sniversals. The problem was mentioned before, as part of the inherent listorical and at the same time transcendent, general character of philosophic concepts. It now requires a more detailed discussion, for from being only an abstract question of equation of the status of universals is at the very center of philosophic thought, for the treatment of universals recepts of philosophic thought, for the treatment of universals recepts the presition of a philosophy in the interfectual culture its testine of a philosophic thought, for the treatment of universals recepts the presition of a philosophy in the interfectual culture its literating function.

Contemporary analytic philosophy is out to exorcize such "mythe" or metaphysical "phosts" as Mind, Conscious ness, WH, Soul, Self, by dissolving the intent of these concepts into statements on particular identifiable operations, performances, powers, dispositions, properation, skills, etc.

The result offices, to a stronge way, the impotence of the destruction the gibset continues to house. While every interpretation or translation may describe adequately a particular mantal process, an act of imagining what I make when I say "\" or what the priest means when he says that Many is a "good girt," not a single one of these reformulations, nor their sum-total, seems to capture or even circumscribe the full meaning of such terms as Mind, Will, Ball, Good, These universals continue to

persist in continue as well as "poetic" usage, and either usage distinguishes them from the various modes of behavior or disposition that, according to the analytic philosopher, fulfill their meaning.

To be some, such universalls connect be validated by the assertion that they denote a whole which is more and other than its parts. They apparently do, but this "whole" requires an analysis of the unmultisted experiently context.

If this expre-linguistic analysis is rejected, if the ordinary language is taken at face value-that is, if a decaptive universe of general understanding among people is substituted for the prevailing universe of misunderstanding and administrate contents of misunderstanding and administrate contents of misunderstanding and administrate contents are indeed translated to the face the incremitated universals are indeed translated to, and their "replicit gird" substance can be dissolved into modes of behavior and dispositions.

Minestern, this dissolution ligal? House be questioned — not, only on ballual? of the philosophie, but on ballual? of the ordinary people in whose life and discounts such dissolution takes place. It is not their own diving and their own seging; it beganns to them and it violates them as they are competied, by the "circumstances," to identify their mind with the neutral processes, their self-with the roles and functions, which they have to perform in their society. If philosophy disso not competituded these processes of translation and identification as society inflicted open the individuals by their society philosophy dissoness or society and the mind land the body inflicted open the individuals by their society philosophy dissociate or society discounts of the substance which it withtee to de-repairly.

Micasover, even in this battle of the ghosts, forces are called up which might bring the phony war to an and. One of the disturbing problems in analytic philosophy is that of statements on universals such as "nation," "bats," "the British Constitution," "the University of Outpet," "England."

No particular artitios situatecenter correspond to these universals, and still it makes partiest sense, it is even unavoidable, to say that "the nation" is mobilized, that "England" declared see, that I studied at the "University of Outcot." Any reductive translation of

such statements seems to change their nearing. We can say that the University is no particular entity over and above its various colleges, libraries, etc., but is just the war in which the latter are organized, and we can apply the same explanation, modified, to the other statements. However, the war in which such things and people are organized, integrated, and administered operates as an antity different from its component parts to each an extent that it can dispose of the and death, as it the case of the nation and the constitution. The persons who execute the sentics, if they are identifiable at all, do so not as these individuals but as "representatives" of the Nation, the Corporation, the University. The U.S. Congress, assembled in session, the Control Consmittee. the Party, the Board of Directors and Managers, the President, the Trustees, and the Faculty, meeting and deciding on policy are tangible and effective entities over and above the component individuals. They are tangetile in the records, in the results of their lean, in the nuclear exegure they order and produce, in the appointments, saturies, and requirements they establish. Mosting is assembly, the individuals are the spokesmen toften unaware? of institutions, influences, interests embodied in organizations, in their decision tools, pressure, propagandal -- Itself the outcome of compating institutions and interests the Nation, the Farty, the Corporation, the University is set in motion, preserved, and reproduced as a trainitively! ultimate, universal reality, overriding the particular inatifutions or peoples subjected to it.

This reality has assumed a superingosed, independent existence, therefore statements concerning it mean a real universal and cannot be adequately translated into statements concerning particular entities. And yet, the urge to try such translation, the protest against its impossibility indicates that there is consolving sering here. To make good sense, "the nation," or "the Party," neglit to be translated/or into its constituents and components. The fact that it is not, is a historical fact which gets in the war of linguistic and logical analysis.

The disharmony between the individual and the social needs, and the task of representative institutions in which the individuals work for themselves and speak for themselves, lead to the reality of such universals as the flation, the Party, the Constitution, the Corporation, the Corporation of the Corporation

any particular identificable untilly findbirdhoot, group, or inatituation, Such universalis express various degrees and modes of millipation. Their independence, although real, is a spurious one inapmuch as it is that of particular present admit have organized the whole of socials. A retranslation which would discolve the sportous substance of the universal is still a devolution. — but it is a political devolution.

On crost recourtr pour la Classe, on resout pour les gares du Plant. On crost recourtr pour la Plante, on resout pour les trobustriels. On crost recourtr pour la Libertié des Planconnes, on resout pour la Liberté des dévidendes. On croit recourir pour Je Protétantes, on resout pour se Bureaucratie. On croit recourir sur l'ordée d'un Étax, on resout pour l'Argent qui le tient. On croit recourir pour une nation, on resout pour les bandits qui le baillonnent. On croitreate pourquoi croinait on dans une ondes si épansen? Croins, recoutir? , quantil il s'agit d'apprendes a viene?

This is a genuine "translation" of hypostationd universals into concreteness, and yet it adinoseledges the reality of the universal white calling it by its true Dame. The hypostational whole regists analytic dissolution, not because it is a mythical entity behind the particular antities and performances but because it is the concrete, objective ground of their functioning in the given social and Valorical contest. As each, It is a real force, felt and exercised by the individuals in their actions, circumstances, and relationships. They share in it in a very unequal easy: it decides on their existence and their possibilities. The real glices is of a very forcible reality -- that of the separate and independent power of the whole over the individuals. And this whole is not morely a perceived Socialt iss in psychology), nor a matigalitysical absolute las in Hegel) , nor a totalitarian stars las in poor political science) - 8 is the established state of affairs which date: minus the life of the individuals.

Moseover, even if we grant such a reality to these political universals, do not all the other universals have a very different estatus? They do, but their analysis is all too easily legit willion the limits of exadence philosophy. The following discussion does not claim to enter into the "problem of universals," it only tries to elucidate the performance of universals.

and to indicate the need for going beyond these limits. The discussion will again to focused on substantive as distinguished from logico-mathematical universals last, number, class, etc.), and, among the former, on the more abstract and controversal concepts which present the real challenge to philosophic throught.

The substantive universal not only abstracts from concrete antity, it also denotes a different unity. The mind is more and other than conscious acts and behavior. Its reality neight tentatively be described as the manner or mode in which these particular acts are synthetized, integrated by an individual. One neight be tempted to gay a priori synthetized by a "transcondental appearagetion," in the sense that the integrating synthesis which because the particular processes and acts possible precedes them, shapes then, distinguishes there from , other mode. "Bot, this formulation enough do violence to Eart's concept, for the priority of such consciousness is an empirical one, about includes the super-individual experience, it an empirical one, about includes the super-individual experience, ideas, expressions, of particular social groups.

to clear of these characteristics, consciousness may well be called a disposition, properatily, or faculty. It is not one individual disposition or faculty among others, boseness, but in a strict sense a general disposition which is connecte, in vertices dispose, to the individual maretime of one group, class, society. On these grounds, the distinction between true and false connectesment seconds meaningful. The former would synthetics the data of experience in concepts which reflect, as fully and adequately a possible, the given society in the given facts. This "societypics" definition is experience, not because of any projection in factor of society into the data of experience in concepts to the factor of any projection in factor of society in the data of experience. Consequently, the represents of society in the factor of experience of concepts is tentamount to an academic to the factories of resemble

Microconer, the represent restriction of experience produces a perceptive termine, even coeffict, between "the mind" and the montal processes, between "consciousness" and conscious acts. If I speak of the mind of a person, I do not merely refer to his mental processes as they are revealed in his expression, speach, behavior, etc., nor merely of his dispositions or faculties as experienced or informed from experience, I also mean that which he dises not express, for which he shows no disposition, but which is present reconfluteses, and which determines, to a considerable extent, his behavior, his understanding, the formation and range of his concepts.

Thus "negatively present" are the specific "environmental" forces which precondition his mind for the specificsexus repulsion of certain data, conditions, relations. They are present as requision material. Their attentor is a reality — a positive factor that explains his actual mental processes, the meaning of his across and behavior. Meaning for whose "fact only for the professional philosopher, whose test it is to rectify the serving that percented philosopher, ethose test it is to rectify the serving that percented the universe of ordinary discourse, but also for those who suffer this arrong although they may not be assets of it for its Disc and Richard flox. Contemporary frequisits analysis storks the test by interpreting concepts in terms of an improverished and preconditioned mind. What is at stake is the unabridged and preconditioned mind. What is at stake is the unabridged and amenguageted retent of certain key concepts, their function in the amenguageted orderstanding of reality in non-conformist, critical finingles.

Are the remarks just submitted on the reality content of such universals as "mind" and "consciousness" applicable to other concepts, such as the abstract jet substanties universals, Beauty, Justice, Happiness, with their contracted it seems that the persistence of these universalstic universals as nodel points of thought reflects the universals or nodel points of thought reflects the universalstic difference between the universal and in which "that which is select to." The insulacible difference between the universal and is perticular seems to be rooted in the primary experience of the recomponential difference between potentiality and actuality-between two dimensions of the one experienced world. The universal components of the universal components of the science of components of the cone experienced world. The universal components of the universal components of the universal components of the universal components and it is not the promiterious which are realized, and of the universals in one tides the promiterious which are realized, and of the universals of the universal components.

Talking of a beautiful girl, a beautiful landscape, a beautiful picture, I certainly base very different things in mind. What is common to all of them — "beauty" — is neither a replection settly, not a replectious word. On the contrary, nothing is perhaps more directly and clearly experienced than the

approximate of "bosoity" in various bosoithic objects. The boy friend and the philosopher, the artist and the incritition may "define" it is very different ways, but they all define the cens specific state or condition — some quality or qualities which make the bosoithir contrast with other objects, in this vegocrass and directness, beauty is experienced in the bosoithir — that is, it is seen, beant, amarised, touched, fail, comprehended, it is experienced almost as a shock, perhaps due to the contrast—character of bosoity, which breaks the circle of everyting experience and opens for a short moment; another reality to which high may be an integral element.

This description is of precisely that mataphysical character which positivistic analysis wishes to eliminate by translation, but the irgenization allowingston that which was to be defined. There are many more or less satisfactory "softence" definitions of beauty is positivation, but there seems to be only one which preserves the experiential content of beauty and which is therefore the least seart definition -- beauty in a "promesse de bonheur." It captures the reference to a condition of man and things, and to a relation between men and things which occur momentarily while variating, which appear in an inany different forms as there are individuals and which, in variating, manifest what can be. The protest against the vague, obscure, metaphysical character of such universals, the insistence on familiar concreteness and protective security of common and scientific sense still reveal something of that primordial anxiety which publish the recorded origins of philosophic thought in its evolution from religion to mythology, and from mythology to logic; defense and security all are large larns in the intellectual as well as national budget. The unpurged experience seems to be more familiar with the abstract and universal than is the analytic philosophy; It assets to be embedded in a mataphysical world.

Universalls are primary elements of experience — universalls not an philosophic concepts but as the very qualities of the world with which one is daily coefficiented. What is experienced is, for example, snow or rain or beat; a street; an office or a boss; loss or batreet. Perticular things territoric and exents only appear in land even asi a cluster and continues of relationships, as incidents and parts in a general coefficients from which they

are inaugurable; they cannot appear to any other war without being their identity. They are particular things and events only against a general background which is more than background—I is the concrete ground or which they write, exist, and pass. This ground is structured in each universals as color, shape, density, bandress or softness, light or derivous, existen or rest, in this sense, universals seen to designate the "stuff" of the world.

"We may perhaps define the 'stuff' of the world as what is designated by words which, when correctly used, occur as subjects of predicates or terms of relations, in that sense, I allowed say that the stuff of the world consists of things like whiteness, rather than of objects backing the property of being white." "Inditionally, qualities, such as white or hard or sessed, counted as universally, but if the above theory is valid, they are springly more also to substances."

The substantive character of "qualities" points to the experiential origin of substantive universals, to the marrier in which concepts originate in interestine experience. Municipality philosophy of language emphasizes the experiential character of the concept is the estation to the ward, it leads from to assume an original binding not only between concepts and words, but also between concepts and south, but also between concepts and south size between concepts and sounds, but also between concepts and sounds, but also between concepts and sounds; if the real 'otherwork, if the ward, as the vehicle of concepts, is the real 'otherwork' of language, it does not concepts, is the concept ready-made, nor does it contain the concept already fixed and 'closed.' The ward monthly suggests a concept, relates that and 'closed.' The ward monthly suggests a concept, relates that it is universal.

But precisely the relation of the ward to a substantive universal transagti makes it impressible, according to Humbrish, to imagine the origin of language as starting from the aspolication of objects by words and then proceeding to their combination (Counterpolic

to readily, appearly is not put together from preceding words, but quite the receiver words emerge from the whole of appearly less done Concern der Reder. The "whole" that have contex to view must be cleared from all missanderstanding in terms of an independent entity, of a "Gentall," and the like. The concept sometimes expresses the difference and termine between

potentiality and actuality — identity in this difference. It appears in the relation between the qualities testite, band but also beautiful. Fee, just and the corresponding concepts testiteness, bandiness, beauty, freedom, justice. The abstract character of the latter source to designate the more concents qualities as part-maticulations, aspects, manifestations of a more universal and more "excellent" quality, which is experienced in the concests.

And by virtue of this relation, the concrete quality seems to represent a regation as well as realization of the universal. Snow is white but not "whiteness," a girl may be beautiful, even a beauty, but not "beauty," a country may be free in comparison with others because its people have certain liberties, but it is not the very architectioner of fraudom. Microsom, the concepts are reasoningful only in experienced contrast with their opposition white selfs not white, beautiful with not beautiful. Negation white with nor white, beautiful with not beautiful. Negation statements can commitmen be translated into position ones. "black" or "grey" for "not white," "ugly" for "not beautiful."

These formulations do not alter the nelation between the abetract concept and its concrete realizations: the universal concept denotes that which the particular entity is, and is not, The translation can eliminate the totales negation by reformulating the meaning in a non-contradictory proposition, but the settlementaled distanced suggests a real want. There is more in the abetracelated distanced suggests a real want, There is more in the abstract rough theselfs, "beautiful," "fee"; attributed to the particular person, thing or condition. The substantive universal intends qualities which surpass all particular experience, but pareticular person, not as a figurest of imagination ror as more tigical possibilities but as the "stuff" of which our world consists. No score is pure white, nor is any could beaut or man an the cruelity man broken brown as an almost inselfaceable force in battery and magination.

Now there is a large class of concepts — we done say, the philosophically relevant concepts — where the quantitative relation that universal and the particular assumes a qualificative aspect, where the aborton universal seems to designate potentialities in a concept, balance? "man," "setup," "petition," "beauty" or "freedom" may be defined, they synthetice expendently contents into ideas which

transcend their particular realizations as something that is to be surpassed, overcome. Thus the concept of beauty comprehends all the beauty not yet; realized; the concept of freedom all the liberty not yet attained.

On to take another example, the philosophic concept "man" alms at the fully developed human faculties which are his distinguishing faculties, and which appeal as presidelities of the conditions in which men actually live. The concept articulates the qualities which are considered "typically human." The vague phrase may sense to elucidate the antiquity in such philosophic definitions — namely, they assemble the qualities which pertain to all men as contrasted with other living beings, and, at the same time, are claimed as the most adequate or highest realization of time, are claimed as the most adequate or highest realization of time.

Such universals thus appear as conceptual instruments for smileraterising the particular conditions of things in the light of their potentialities. They are featuritial and eight executivities the stuff of which the experienced world consists, and they conceptualize it with a view of its presibilities, in the light of their actual limitation, suppression, and denot. Neither the experience nor the judgment is private. The philosophic concepts are formed and densities it in the conceptualize of a period condition in a limitation of the consciousness of a period condition in a limitation of continuous, they are distorated from an individual position within a specific society. The stuff of thought is historical stuff — no matter how abotract, general, or pure it may become in philosophic or scientific theory. The abstract universal and at the same time featurist character of these "eternal objects" of thought is recognized and clearly stated in Whitehead's Science and the Modern World.

"Element objects are ... in their nature, albeitract. By 'abatract' I mean that what an aternal object is in basif ... that is to say, its seamer ... is comprehensible without reference to same one particular experience. To be allestract is to transcend the particular occasion of actual bappaning. But to transcend an actual occasion dose not mean being disconnected from it. On the contrary, I hold that each element object has its own proper connection with each such occasion, which I term its mode of ingression into that such occasion, which I term its mode of ingression into that some occasion." "Thus the metaphysical status of an element object is

that of a possibility for an actuality. Every actual occasion is defined as to its character by fow these possibilities in actualized for that occasion."

Elements of experience, projection and anticipation of real possibilities enter into the conceptual syntheses.— In respectable form as hypotheses, in disreputable form as "metaphysics," in various dispress. New are unrealistic because they transpress beyond the established universe of behavior, and they may even be undesirable in the interest of neatness and exactness. Containly, in philosophic analysis.

"Little real advance ... is to be hoped for in expanding Dur universe to include so-called possible antitios,"

but It all departeds on how Childran's Recor is applied, that is to gap, which possibilities are to be cut off. The possibility of an antirely different societal organization of the bas nothing to common with the "possibility" of a man with a green but appearing in all discreases bottomes, but treating them with the senter logic may serve the defensation of undesirable possibilities. Criticizing the introduction of possible artities, Cuites writes that each an

"compagnished onlinens is in many ways unlineds, it offends the application sense of on who have a teste for desert landscapes, but this is not the worst of it. (Such a) slum of possibles is a breading pround for disorderly alternants,"

Contemporary philosophy hag sonly attained a more authoritic formulation of the conflict behavior its intent and its function. The linguistic syndrome of "loveliness," 'seethetic sense," and "desert landscape" excites the liberating air of Nietzsche's thought, cutting into Law and Order, while the "breeding ground for disorderly elements" belongs to the language spoken by the authorities of liveratigation and information. What appeals unitsority and disorderly from the longical point of view, may well comprise the lovely elements of a different order, and may thus be an executial part of the material from which philosophic concepts are built. Neither the most refined authors are built. Neither the most refined authors against history.

Discriberly elements enter into the purset objects of thought. They too are detached from a societal ground, and the contents from which they abstract guide the abstraction.

Thus the apactre of "triatoricism" is raised. If throught proceeds from historical conditions which continue to operate in the abstraction, is there any objective basis on which distinction can be made between the various prosibilities projected by throught distinction between different and conflicting ways of concepted transcendence? Moreover, the question cannot be discussed with advences to different philosophic projects only. To the degree to which the philosophical project is identispost, it is part of a historical project.— that is, it pertains to a specific stage and level of the sociated discussed project, and the critical philosophic concepts of the sociated discussions, and the critical philosophic concepts safer too matter how indirectly? to alternative possibilities of this development.

The quant for criteria for judging between different philosophic projects then beets to the quant for criteria for judging between different teatorisal projects and alternatives, between different actual and possible ways of understanding and changing man and nature. I shall submit only a few propositions which suggest that the internal featurisal character of the philosophic concepts, for from precluding objective validity, defines the ground for their dispersion validity.

to operating and thinking for himself, the philosopher speaks and thinks from a particular position to his occisity, and he does no with the material transmitted and utilized by this society. But in doing this, he speaks and thinks into a common universe of facts and presibilities. Through the various individual agents and lapers of experience, through the different "projects" which guide the modes of thought from the business of exempting the to science and philosophy, the interaction between a collective science and philosophy, the interaction between a collective subspect and a common world persons and constitutes the objective validity of the Universals, it is objective

(1) by virtue of the matter istuff) opposed to the apprehending and comprehending subject. The formation off concepts remains determined by the structure of matter not dissoluble into subjectivity invent if the structure is entirely mathematical logical. No concept can be valid which defines to object by properties and functions that do not belong to the object for example; the individual cannot be defined as capable of becoming identical with another individual; man as capable of remaining eternally young). However, matter confluent the subject in a fractional serverse, and objectivity appeals under an open fractional function; it is changeable.

(3) by virtue of the structure of the specific society in, which the development of concepts takes place. This structure is connect to all subjects in the respective universe., They exist under the same natural conditions, the same regime of production, the same mode of expliciting the social wealth, the same buildings of the Fast, the same range of possibilities. All the differences and conflicts between classes; groups, individuals unfaid within this connects framework.

The objects of throught and perception as they appear to the individuals prior to all "subjective" interpretation have in constitute certain primary qualities, pertaining to these, her legers of reality: (1) to the physical transmit structure of matter, and (3) to the force which matter has arguined; in the collective historical practice that has made it imatteri into objects for a subject. The text legers or aspects of objectivity iphysical and historical are interestated in such a way that they cannot be insulated from each other the historical aspect can rever be aliminated to redisably that only that only their physical leger rangement.

For example, I have tried to allow that, in the technological reality, the object world including the subjects is experienced as a world of instrumentalities. The technological context predefines the force in which the objects appear. They appear to the scientist a priori as value free elements or complices of relations, succeptible to organization is an effective mathematics ingities; and they appear to consumption are compliced system; and they appear to consumption. This must recessarily be so. And this is merely filter. The object world is thus the world of a specific triatorical project, and is never accessible outside the bistorical project which organizes matter, and the organization of matter to all one and the same time a theoretical and a practical enterprise.

I have used the term "project" so repeatedly because I seems to me to accentuate most clearly the specific obserance of batteriosis practice. It results from a determinate obsten, settune of one among other ways of comprehending, organizing, and transforming reality. The initial obsten delines the range of preschilities open on this way, and precludes alternative preschilities recompatible with it.

I shall now propose some criteria for the truth value of different tionorical properts. These criteria must refer to the manner in which a historical project realises given possibilities -- not formal possibilities but those involving the modes of human solutions. Buch realization is actually under ear in any tomorisal abustion. Every established society is such a realization; moreover, it tends to prejudge the rationality of possible projects, to keep them within its framework. At the same time, every established excisely is confronted with the actuality or possibility of a qualitatively different historical practice which might destroy the existing institutional framework. The established society has already demonstrated its truth value as framerical project. It has naccombed in organizing man's struggle with man and with sature: It reproduces and protects imore or less adequately: the human existence infector with the exception of the existence of flose who, are the declared outcasts, enemy places, and other victime of the systemi. But apprint this project in full realization emerge other projects, and among them those which would change the established one in its totality. It is with reference to such a transcendent project that the criteria for objective tismurical truth can best be formulated as the criteria of its refront/by:

(1) The transcendent project must be in accordance; with the real possibilities open at the attained level of the material and intellectual culture.

(2) The transcendent project, in order to falsify the established totality, must demonstrate its own higher retorability in the threefold sense that (a) it offers the prospect of preserving and improving the productive achievements of clulication; (b) it defines the established totality in its very structure, basic tendencies, and relations; (c) is realization offers a prester

chance for the pacification of existence, within the framework of institutions, which offer a greater chance for the free; development of human needs and faculties.

Obviously, this nation of nationality contains, expecially in the last statement, a value judgment, and I nelterate what I stated before: I believe that the very concept of Reason originates in this value judgment, and that the concept of truth cannot be divorced from the value of Reason.

"Pacification," "Inse development of human needs and faculties" — these concepts can be empirically defined in terms of the evaluable intellectual and material resources and capabilities and their systematic use for attenuating the struggite for existence. This is the objective ground of featurinal nationality.

If the historical continuum itself provides the objective ground for determining the truth of different following projects, does it plan determine their sequence and their limits? Historical truth is comparative; the rationality of the possible depends on that of the actual. See truth of the transcending project on that of the project in realization, Aristotellan science was falsified on the basis of its achievements; if capitalism were fatelfied by communism, it sould be by virtue of its own achievements. Continuity is preserved through rupture: quantitative development becomes qualitative change if it allians the very structure of an established system; the established rationality becomes implioral, when, in the course of its internal development, the potentialities of the system have outgrown its institutions, Such internal refutation partains to the finitivitial character of reality, and the same character corners upon the concepts which comprehend this reality their critical intent. They recognize and anticipate the trational in the established reality -- they project the fristorical

to this registion a "determinate" one — that is, is the internal succession of a historical project, once it has become a totality, necessarily pre-determined by the structure of this totality? If so, then the term "project" would be deceptive. That which is historical possibility would sconer or later be real; and the deficition of liberty as comprehended recessity would have a

represente connotation which I does not have. All this may not reafter much. What does matter is that such fratorical determination would in spite of all subtle office and psychologic absolve the crimes against humanity which circlination continues to commit and thus facilitate this continues.

I suggest the phrase "determinate choice" in order to emphasion the ingression of liberty into testorical recessity; the phrase does no more than condense the proposition that men make their own bistory but make it under given conditions, Determined are (1) the specific contradictions which develop within a historical system as manifestations of the conflict between the potential and the actual; (2) the material and intellectual recounts available to the respective system; (3) the extent of theoretical and practical freedom compatitive with the system. These conditions losses open phonogenic and positions of developing and utilizing the available recounts, alternative possibilities of developing and utilizing the available recounts, alternative possibilities of "making a living," of organizing man's stronger with nature.

Thus, within the framework of a given obtained, industrialization can proceed in different ways, under collective or private control, and, even under private control, in different directions of progress and with different pinute control, in different directions of progress and with different pinus. The choice is primarily that only primarily? the privilege of those prosps which have attained control over the productive process. Their control projects the ear of the fir the whole, and the original and evaluating recessity is the result of their freedom. And the preside abolition of this recessity depends on a new ingression of freedom.— not any freedom, but that of men who comprehend the given recessity as trauffered to pair, and as unrecessary.

As historical process, the distinctical process involves consciousness: recognition and exiture of the liberating potentialities. Thus it involves freedom. To the degree to which consciousness is determined by the origencies and interests of the established society, it is "unifere"; to the degree to which the established society is instinue, the consciousness becomes the established society is instinue, the consciousness becomes the established society is instinued, the consciousness becomes the established society. The truth and the freedom of regative established society. The truth and the freedom of regative thinking have their ground and research in this struggle. Thus, according to Marx, the protestorial is the liberating testorical force

only as revolutionary force; the determinate negation of capitalism occurs if and when the protestarist has become conscious of itself and of the conditions and processes which make up its occurs. This consciousness is prerequisite as well as an element of the negating practice. This "if" is essential to bistorical progress — it is the element of freedom (and chance) which opens the possibilities of conquering the necessity of the given facts. Writing I, bistory relepase into the derivose of orconquering the recessity of the

We have encountered the "victors circle" of freedom and Sharation before; have It reappears as the dialectic of the determinate negation. Transcendence beyond the established conditions of thought and action) presupposes transcendence within these conditions. This regative fraudont -- i.e., fraudom from the appreciative and ideological power of given facts -- is the a priori of the historical distantic; it is the element of choice and decision in and against Naturical determination. None of the given alternatives is by Itself determinate regation unless and until it is consciously seleed in order to break the power of intolerable conditions and attain the more rational, more logical conditions randoned possible by the prevailing ones, in any case, the rationality and logic invoked in the movement of thought and action is that of the given conditions to be transcended The negation proceeds on empirical grounds; it is a historical project within and bayond an already going project, and its truth is a chance to be determined on these grounds.

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9: The Catastrophe of Liberation

Positive thirding and its neo-positivite philosophy counterant the bistorical content of rationality. This content is never an extraneous factor or majoring which can or cannot be included in the analysis; it enters into conceptual throught as constitutive factor and determines the validity of its concepts. To the degree to which the established excistly is irrational, the analysis in terms of bistorical rationality introduces into the concept the negative stanceoff—critique, contradiction, and transcendence.

This alternant cannot be assimilated with the positive, It changes the concept in its antivery, in its intere and validity. Thus, in the enalysis of an economy, capitalist or not, which operates as an "independent" power over and above the individuals, the negative features inverproduction, unemployment, insecurity, waste, represented on to comprehended as long as they appeal monthly as more or less inevitable by products, as "the other side of the story of growth and progress.

True, a totalitarian administration may promote the efficient explicitation of resources; the nuclear military establishment may provide militare of jobs through enormous purchasing power; toil and olives may be the by-product of the exposition of wealth and responsibility; deadly blunders and crimes on the part of the leaders may be merely the war of life. One is willing to admit expensive and political madress.— and one boars it. But this soft of brownings of "the other side" is part and parcel of the

solidification of the state of affairs, of the grand unification of opposities which counteracts qualitative change, because it pertains to a thoroughly trapeless or thoroughly preconditioned existence that has made to home in a world where even the traditional in Research.

The tolerance of positive thinking is enforced tolerance antisroad not by any terroristic agency but by the overwhelming, accountness preser and efficiency of the technological excisity. As such it permeates the general consciousness — and the consciousness of the critic. The absorption of the negative by the positive is validated in the daily experience which obtains the distinction between rational appearance and irrational readily. Here are same band examples of this barracologics:

IT I ridge to a none automobile. I experience the beauty, observes, present, conservations — but then I become season of the fact that in a reliableaby obsert time it will determine season of the fact that its beauty and confece are charge, by present unrecessary, by site blocking and that I will not find a parking place. I come to think of my car as a product of one of the Big Three automobile corporations. The latter determine the appearances of my car and make its beauty as well as its chargement, its power as well as its chargement, its could be, that better same could be made that the car is not what it could be, that better same could be made for tess money. But the other gay has to live, too. Wages and takes are too high; turnover is recovery; we have it much better than before. The tension between appearance and readily made seasy and both mange in one rather pleasant leading.

(2) I take a walk in the country. Everything is as it should be: Nature at its best. Birds, our, soft green, a view through the trees of the eccuritains, noticely around, no radio, no exact of gasoline. Then the path turns and ends on the highway, I am back among the billicoards, service stations, rectals, and roadhouses, I was in a flational Fark, and I now broke that this was not really, it was a "reservation" something that is being preserved like a species dying out, If it was not for the government, the billicoards, but dog stands, and model mostly around long stands, and mostly around long stand have invested that place of flature. This must recessarily be so. There is still competing to

be said for saying, "I am grateful to the government; see have it much befor then before ..."

(S) The subway during evening right hour. What I am of the people are tired faces and tirele, hatred and anger, I feel someone right at any represent draw a leafur. Just on, They read, or rather they are scaled in their newspaper or respective or papertisels. And yet, a couple of focus later, the same people, decidented, weeked, dropped up or drawn, may be happy and broke, ready units, and forget for remembers. But most of them will probably have some people to drawn, may be happy and broke, ready units, and forget for remembers, that most of them will probably have some perfet to perfect on a forestern or alteresters at

Those examples may illustrate the happy marriage of the positive and the negative -- the objective ambiguity which adheres to the data of experience. It is objective ambiguity because the shift in my sensations and reflections responds to the manner in which the experienced facts are actually interestated. But this interrelation, if comprehended, shatters the harmonicing consciousness and its false realism. Critics' thought strives to define the implicinal character of the established rationally tables. becomes increasingly obvious) and to define the tendencies which cause this relicinality to generate its own transformation. "So cart - because, as fratorical totality, it has developed forces and capabilities which thermalves become projects beyond the sotablished totality. They are possibilities of the advancing technological nationality and, as such, they involve the whole of society. The technological transformation is at the same time political transformation, but the political change would turn into qualitative social change only to the degree to which it would after the direction of technical progress -- that is, develop a new technology. For the established technology has become an instrument of destructive politics.

Buch qualitative change would be transition to a higher stage of civilization. If technics were designed and utilized for the pacification of the struggle for estatement, in order to indicate the disturbing implications of this statement, I submit that such a new direction of technical progress would be the catestrophe of the estatement direction of technical progress would be the catestrophe of the estatished direction, not merely the quantitative exclution of the precipiting incientific and technological rationality but rather

its catastrophic transformation, the entergence of a new idea of Reason, theoretical and practical.

The function of Reason is organizate the art of life." In view of this and, Reason is to promote the art of life." In view of this and, Reason is the "direction of the attack on the environment" which derives from the "threefold urge: (It to live, (I) to live well, (I) to live better." Whitehead's propositions owen to describe the actual development of Reason as well as its fellow. Or rather they owen to suggest that Reason is still to be discovered, recognized, and realized, for following the feature of Reason is still to be offernessed, recognized, and realized, for following the feature of Reason has placed and realized to represent the feature and supple to live, to live well, and to live better — or to postgore and put an excelliptorily high price on the fulfillment of this urge.

to Whiteshood's deficition of the function of Reason, the term "art" connotes the element of determinate regation. Reason, in its application to excisit, has those for been opposed to art, while art was granted the printings of being rather irrational — not edipert to extendify, technological, and operational Reason. The satisfies to extendify, technological, and operational Reason of extense and the Reason of art, or, it has beliefed the Reason of art by integrating art into the universe of domination. It was a separation because, from the beginning, extense contained the especiation because of transformation; extense indulged in the estimation of prostitions. However, this time play retained the contentes of the transformation, the preschilities with select accounted the contentes of prostitions of the preschilities with select accounted to the preschilities with select extense player select some of the contents of the preschilities with select science player such

Mans is the original link lastition the universe of domination and scarcify! between science, art, and philosophy. It is the consciousness of the discrepancy between the real and the possible, between the apparent and the authoritic truth, and the effort to comprehend and to master this discrepancy.

One of the primary forms in which this discrepancy found expression was the distinction between gods and men, finiteness and infinity, change and permanence. Exmeding of this mythological interestation between the real and the possible

survived in scientific thought, and it continued to be directed toward a more rational and true reality. Mathematics was hald to be real and "good" in the same sense as Plato's metaphysical litera. How then did the development of the former become science, while that of the latter remained metaphysics.

The most obsticus present is that, to a great extent, the scientific abstractions entered and proceed their traffi in the actual companies and transformation of nature, while the philosophic abstractions did not — and could not. For the companies and transformation of nature occurred within a law and order of life which philosophy transcended, subscribinating it to the "good life" of a different law and order. And this other order, which presuppressed a tight degree of freedom from tol, ignorance, and powerly, was unreal, at the origins of philosophic throught and throughout to development, while orientality throught continued to be applicable to an increasingly powerful and universal reality. The final philosophic concepts company powerful and universal reality. The final philosophic concepts remained indeed metaphysical; they were not and could not be verified in terms of the established universal of discourse and action.

But if this is the situation, then the case of metaphysics, and expectally of the mauningfulness and truth of metaphysical propositions, is a fostorical case. That is, fostorical nather than purely opinionalizationalizations determine the truth, the cognitive ratios of such propositions, Like all propositions that claim truth, they must be verifiable; they must stay within the universe of possible experience. This universe is rever constantion with the established one but extends to the troops of the social which can be created by transforming the established one, with the neares which the latter has provided or withheld. The same of sections with the specialities of the tender of texture of the course of texture. Thus, the specialities about the time provided or withheld. The senge of verifiability is this sense grows in the course of texture. Thus, the specialities about the time to the course of texture. Permanent Peace obtain an increasingly realistic content; on technological grounds, the metaphysical tends to become physical.

Microcore, if the truth of mataphysical propositions is determined by their frieductual content i.e., by the degree to which they define historical possibilities; then the relation between metaphysics and science is strictly frieductual, in our own culture, at least, that part of Saint Simon's Low of the Three Stages is still taken for granted which oliquistes that the metaphysical precedes the scientific stage of civilization. But is this sequence a final own? Or does the according transformation of the world contain its own metaphysical transcendence?

At the advanced stage of industrial civilization, acientific rationality, translated into political power, appears to be the decisive factor in the development of fratorical alternatives. The question then prises: does this power tend toward its' own negation -- that is, toward the promotion of the "art of 18y"? Within the satablished societies, the continued application of scientific rationality amuté have reached a terroinal point with the machanization of all socially recessary but individually represent labor ("socially necessary" , here includes all performances which can be exercised more effectively by machines, even if these performances produce losories and wests rather than recognition. But this singer would also be the end and limit of the activities rationality in its established structure and direction. Further progress would mean the break, the turn of quantity into quality. It would open the possibility of an essentially new human reality -- namely, existence in free time on the basis of fulfilled vital needs. Under such conditions, the scientific project itself acculd be free for trans-utilitarian ends, and free for the "art of fixing" beyond the recessities and luxuries of domination, in other words, the completion of the technological reality would be not only the prerequisite, but also the rationals for transcending the technological reality.

This would reaso received of the traditional relationship between actions and metaphysics. The obesit defining reality in terms other than those of the ceast or behavioral access amount to their metaphysical or emotive character as a result of the acception transfer reality transfer and a result of the acception transfer and define the acception of a fee and could project and define the possible realities of a fee and pacified existence.

The stationation of such anulti mean more than the excitation of the prevailing eclerose. It would involve the eclerotific rationality as a whole, which has thus for been committed to an unline solutions and exual mean a new idea of science, of Reason.

If the completion of the technological project involves a break with the prevailing technological rationality, the break in turn depends on the continued existence of the technological base that! For it is this base which has rendered possible the satisfaction of reach and the reduction of tall — it remains the very base of all force of human freedom. The qualitative change rather has in the reconstruction of this base — that is, in its development with a view of different ends.

I have obsessed that this does not mean the revival of "values," appriliped or other, which are to applicment the scientific and technological transformation of man and nature. On the contrary, the bistorical achievement of science and technology has sendered possible the translation of values into technical tests — the materialistics of values.

Consequently, what is at stake is the nedeficition of values in technical terms, as elements in the technological process. The new ends, as technical ends, asoutd then operate in the project and in the construction of the machinery, and not' only in to elication. Moreover, he new ends might assert flumestive non-in the construction of expentite typotheses — in pure scientific theory. From the quantification of excending qualities, science ends!

For example, what is calculable is the minimum of labor with which, and the extent to which, the vital reads of all marriages of a society could be satisfied — provided the available resources seen used for this end, without being restricted by other interests, and without impeding the accumulation of capital resources, and without impeding the accumulation of capital resources, and without impeding the accumulation of capital resources, for the development of the respective excitely, to other exorts; quantificable is the available range of freedom from east. Or, calculable is the degree to which, under the same conditions, one could be provided for the II, the infirm, and the agest — that is, quantificable is the possible reduction of anxiety, the possible, freedom from feet.

The obstacles that stand in the way of materialization are definable political obstacles, industrial civilization has reached the point where, with respect to the aspirations of man for a human existence, the acceptific abstraction from final causes becomes obsolute in science's own terms, Science Itself has rendered it possible to make final causes the proper domain of science. Society,

"par unte dibination et un disrigiosament du dominine technique, doit remedire à leur place, comme techniques, les problèmes de finalité, considérate à tort comme diffriques et parficie comme miligioux. L'inschibenment des techniques secration les problèmes de finalité et asseruit l'fountee au respect de fins qu'il se représente comme des absolus"

Unidor this aspect, "recutor" actiontific mathed and technology become the science and technology of a fratorical phase which is being corposed by its own achievements— which has reached to determinate regation, instead of being separated from unions and actiontific mathed, and left to subjective preference and treatment, transcendental sensition, formerly manaphysical ideas of liberation may become the proper object of science. But this development confronts actions with the unpleasant test of becoming political—of recogniting sciences with the unpleasant test of becoming political—of recogniting sciences for consciousness as political consciousness, and the sciencific enterprise as political enterprise. For the transformation of values into reads, of final courses into technical possibilities is a new stage in the conquest of opposition, commentered forces in occidity as self-as in nature, it is an act of liberation.

I (Numerous our Obsérie de su othusetten d'artre assumer par la finalités de trout en approximant a fairre de la finalités, à organisser un trout finalités qu'il juge et appré cie, pour n'avroir pass a subtir passimentent une intégration de fait, » ... «; hommes dépasses passimentent une intégration de fait, » ... «; hommes dépasses l'appendimentent en organisser consciennement la finalité ... »

Misseure, in constituting themselves methodically as political enterprise, actions and technology would pass beyond the stage at which they seem, because of their reutrality, subjected to politics and against their intent functioning as political instrumentalities. For the technological redeficition and the technological masterial mastery of final causes is the construction, development, and utilization of resources (material and insoluctual fixed from all particular intenses which impede the satisfactors of from all particular intenses which impede the satisfactors of from all particular intenses which impede the

Spouldies, In other words, It is the rational enterprise of man as man, of manifold. Technology these may provide the fractorisal correction of the premature identification of Resoon and Freedom, according to which man can become and remain free in the progress of self-perpetuating productivity on the basis of oppression. To the extent to which technology has densityed on this basis, the correction can rever be the result of technical progress per m. It involves a political reverse.

industrial ascistly presented the instrumentalities for transforming the matightesical into the physical, the inner into the outer, the adventures of the mind into adventures of technology. The terrible phrases land realities of: "angineers of the soul," "head shrinkers," "scientific management", "science of consumption", aplicance in a miserable form: the progressing rationalization of the irrational, of the "spiritual" -- the denial of the idealistic culture. But the consummation of technological rationality, while translating ideology into reality, would also transcend the materialistic antithesis to this culture. For the translation of values into results is the technic process of (1) material satisfaction implerialization of freedom) and (2) the free development of results on the basis of satisfaction inon-represense sublimation). In this process, the relation between the insterial and intellectual faculties and needs undergoes a fundamental change. The free play of thought and imagination assumes a rational and directing function in the realization of a pacified: existence of man and nature. And the ideas of justice, freedom, and humanity then obtain their truth and good conscience on the sofe ground on which they could ever have truth and good conscience -- the satisfaction of man's material needs, the rational organization of the reality of recovering

"Pacified existence." The phrase conveys poorly enough the televit to earn up, in one pushing idea, the televised and relicular and of technology, the represent final cause believe the scientific enterprise. If this final cause were to materialize, the Logics of technics would open a universe of qualitatively different relations between man and man, and man and nature.

But at this point, a strong cavest must be stated — a warning against all technological fetablesn. Buch fetablesn has recently

bases authibited mainly among Manniet critics of contemporary industrial socialty — liferes of the future orenigoteence of technological man, of a "technological fine," etc. The hard femal of truth in these liferes demands an amphatic denunciation of the mystification which they express. Technics, as a universe of instrumentalities, may increase the weakness as well as the power of man. At the present stage, he is perhaps more powerfees over his cent apparatus they have be ever was before.

The republication is not removed by transforming technological amorphisms from particular groups to the new state and the sentral plan. Technology retains throughout its dependence on other than technological ends. The more technological attempts, fixed from its explicitative features, determines social production, the more will it become dependent on political direction — or the softenine affort to attain a pacified existence, with the goals selective affort to attain a pacified existence, with the goals.

"Pacification of existence" dose not suggest an accumulation of power but rather the opposite. Pleace and power, freedom and power. Eros and power may well be contrarised I shall presently by to allow that the reconstruction of the material base of society with a view to pacification me involve a qualitative as well as quantitative reduction of power, in order to create the space and time for the development of productivity under self-determined incentions. The notion of such a reversal of power is a strong motion to distortical theory.

To the degree to which the goal of pacification deter notes the Logon of technics, it alters the relation between technology and its primary object, Nature. Pacification or suggestes meatery of Nature, which is and remains the object opposed to the developing soliper. But there are two kind of mastery: a represente and a liberating one. The latte involves the reduction of misery, violence, and cruelty, in Nature as well as in History, the struggle for existence is the token of scarcity, soffering, and east. They are the qualities of blind matter, of the region of intraedlery in which tile passinely soffers to existence. This region is gradually mediated in the course of the historical transformation of Nature; it becomes part of the human world, and to this eater, the qualities

In the process of civilization, Nature cosses to be more Nature to the degree to which the struggle of blind forces is comprehended and mastered in the light of Needom.

Ministery is the registion of Nature. What is only rational I is overcome and recreated by the power of Reason. The matephysical notion that Nature comes to itself in testory points to the uncompared limits of Reason. It claims them as bistorical limits — as a task pet to be accomplished, or rather set to be undertaken. Nature to in itself a rational, tegitimuse object of acteous, then I is the legitimuse object not only of Reason as power but also of Reason as feasible, not only of Reason as power but also of Reason as feasible, not only of dismination but also of therapitor. With the emergence of man as the animal nationals — capable of transferming feature in accordance with the faculties of the mind and the capacities of material nationals. — capable of transferming feature in accordance with the faculties of the mind and the capacities of material. It becomes a region to be composteroided and organized by Reason.

And to the degree to which Reason successible in subjecting matter to national standards and aims, all sub-national selections appears to be want and privation, and their reduction becomes the historical test. Suffering violence, and destruction are categories of the national as well as human reality, of a helpites and heartiess universe. The terrible notion that the sub-national life of nature is destined to remain forever such a universe, is neither a philosophic nor a scientific one; it was pronounced by a different authority.

"When the Society for the Presention of Cruelty to Animals asked the Pope for tis suggest, he refused it, on the ground that human beings nee to duty to lower animals, and that it mating animals is not pinful. This is because animals have no souls,"

Materialities, which is not tainted by such identispical abuse of the soul, has a more universal and realistic concept of salvation. It admits the reality of Netl, here on santh, and assents that this was created. Part of this half is the III treatment of animals — the work of a human society whose obtainably is still the implicinal.

All joy and all happiness derive from the ability to transcend Nature — a transcendence in which the mastery of Nature is itself.

authordinated to liberation and pacification of existence. All transpolitis, all delight is the result and of conscious mediation, of autonomy and contradiction. (Sortfication of the natural is part of the ideology which protects an unnatural society in its struggle against liberation. The defamation of birth control is a striking example. In some backward press of the world, it is also "natural" that black races are inferior to white, and that the dogs. get the bindroom, and that business must be. It is also natural that big fait out title fait - though it may not seem natural to the little Nath. Challication produces the means for freeing Nature from its own brutality, its own insufficiency, its own blindress, by sinus of the cognitive and transforming power of Reason. And Reason can fulfill this function only as post-technological nationality, in which technics is itself the instrumentality of pacification, organism of the "art of Ms." The function of Reason then converges with the function of Art.

The Greek notion of the affinity between art and technics may serve as a preliminary flustration. The artist prosesses the obesit which, as final causes, guide the construction of certain things—just as the engineer prosesses the ideas which guide, as final causes, the construction of a machine. For example, the idea of an abode for burnar beings determines the architect's construction of a house; the idea of wholesale nuclear explication determines the construction of the apparatus which is to serve this purpose. Emphasis on the opposition settings between art and technics points up the specific rationality of an

Like technology, art creates another universe of thought and practice against and within the existing one. But is contract to the technical universe, the artistic universe is one of thusion, sentitizens, Schein, Mosenner, this sentitizens is resemblished to a reality which exists as the tireast and promise of the established one, is universe three of mask and alterna, the artistic universe is organized by the images of tile without floor — in mask and alterna because art is without power to bring about this life, and silence because art is without power to bring about this life, and now without power to represent it adequately labout this life, and now extend of power to represent it adequately labour after it has become an oronipresent ingredient of the administrated society become as oronipresent ingredient of the administrate occupy.

Trackmological civilization establishes a apacific relation between all and before, I maniformal above the notion of a revenuel of the Law of the Three Stages and of a "reveloption" of mataphysics on the basis of the acceptible and technological transformation of the accept. The same notion may now be extended to the relation between ecisence-technology and an. The returnably of an, its ability to "project" existence, to define set unrealized possibilities could then be envisaged as validated by and functioning in the scientific technological transformation of the accept. Rather than being the bandracities of the established appearance, beautifying its business and its misery, at would become a technique for destroying the business and its misery, at would become a technique for destroying the business and the misery.

The technological rationality of art seems to be characterized by an assitiatic "reduction":

"Act is able to reduce the apparatus which the external appearance requires in order to present that" — reduction to the limits in which the external may become the manifestation of spirit and freedom.

According to Hegat, art reduces the immediate contingency in which an object for a totality of objector exists, to a state in which the object takes on the form and quality of freedom.

Such transformation is reduction because the contingent situation suffers requirements which are external, and which stand in the way of its free realization. These requirements constitute an "apparatus" transmich as they are not morely natural but rather subject to free, retional change and development. Thus, the artistic transformation violates the natural object, but the violated is basif oppressive; thus the application transformation is therefore.

The posithetic reduction appears in the technological transformation of Nature where and if it exceeds in triking meetery and liberation, directing meetery treased liberation, in this case, the companic of Nature reduces the blindress, ferrolly, and facility of Nature — which implies reducing the ferrolly of men against Nature. Cultivation of the soil is qualitatively different from destruction of the soil, extraction of replaced

In the technology of pacification, anothetic categories would enter to the degree to which the productive machinery is constructed with a view of the free play of faculties. But against all 'behnological Evor' and similar misconcaptions, 'allor cannot become play..." -- Mare's statement precludes rigidly all competic interpretation of the "abulition of labor". The idea of such a millerium is as ideological in advanced industrial civilization as It was in the Middle Ages, and perhaps even more so. For man's struggle with Nature is increasingly a struggle with his society, whose powers over the individual become more --'rational' and therefore more necessary than ever before. Rosever, while the regim of recessity continues, its organization with a view of qualitatively different ends would change not only the mode, but also the extent of excisily recessary production. And this change in turn would affect the human agents of production and their needs:

"Yose time transforms its prossessor into a different Subject, and as different Subject be altern the process of immediate production."

I have recurrently amphasized the fratorical character of furnace needs. Above the animal level even the reconstitute of the in a free and rational excisity will be other than those produced in and for an irrational and unline society. Again, it is the corougit of "reduction" which may flustrate the difference.

to the contemporary are, the conquest of scandly is still confined to email areas of advanced industrial society. Their prosperity covers up the inferior traids and outside their borders; if also spreads a represent productivity and "false needs." It is represent precisely to the degree to which it promotes the satisfactor of needs which require continuing the net race of

catching up with one's poors and with planned obsolescence, exprying freedom from using the brain, working with and for the means of destruction. The obstone comforts generated by this sort of productivity, and even more, the suggest which it gives to a system of profitable demonstran, facilitate is reportation in less advanced press of the world where the introduction of such a system still respect tementhus progress in technical and frames sense.

Missensor, the close interestation between technical and political manipulative brown from, between profitable productivity and domination, brods to the company of ecentry the weapons for containing liberation. To a great extent, it is the alway quantity of goods, services, work, and recreation in the over-developed countries which effectuates this containment. Consequently, qualitative change seems to pre-supprise a quantitative change in the advanced standard of living, namely, reduction of manifestuates.

The standard of tuning attained in the most advanced industrial areas is not a suitable model of development if the aim is pacification, in view of what this standard has made of Man and Nature, the question must again be asked whether it is worth the sacrifices and the victims must easie in its defense. The question has secrifices and the victims made in its defense. The question has reased to be irresponsible since the "afficular society" has become a society of permanent mobilization against the risk of annihilation, and since the sale of its goods has been accompanied by monunciation, the perpetuation of toil, and the promotion of final protests.

Under those circumstances, Sheration from the afficient society does not mean return to healthy and robust powerly, more clearitieses, and simplicity. On the contrary, the alimination of profitable weeks would increase the social wealth available for distribution, and the end of permanent mobilization would reduce the social need for the denial of satisfactions that are the individual's need.— denials which now find their compensation in the cult of fieress, strength, and requirely.

Today, in the prosperous workers and welfare state, the human qualities of a pacified existence seem associal and unpatriotic

qualities such as the refusal of all toughness, togetherness, and bristality; disobsolance to the tyranny of the majority; profession of floor and weakness the receil cational reaction to this society/(; a sensitive intelligence sinkened by that which is being perpetrated; the contentment to the feeble and reliculed actions of protest and refusal. These expressions of furnamity, too, will be marred by recessary compromise — by the need to cover oneself, to be capable of cheating the cheaters, and to line and think in spite of them. In the titulitarian society, the tumps attitudes tend to become excepted attitudes, to follow Semuel Booket's adults: "Don't wast to be funded to hids..."

Even such personal withdrawal of maintal and physical energy from socially required activities and attitudes is to-day possible only for a few; it is only an inconsequential aspect of the redirection of energy which must precede pacification. Beyond the personal realth, self-determination presuppress free popliable energy which is not expended in experimposed material and intellectual labor. It must be fee energy also in the same that it is not channeled into the handling of goods and services which satisfy the individual, while randoring him incapable of achieving an existence of tip own, unable to group the possibilities which are repailed by his satisfaction. Comfort, business, and job security in a society which prepares itself for and against nuclear destruction may serve as a universal example of enalesing contentment. Liberation of energy from the performances required to eustain destructive prosperity means decreasing the high standard of servitude in order to enable the individuals to develop that rationality which may rander possible a pacified exclusion co.

A now standard of lung, adapted to the pacification of existence, after presuggeness reduction in the future population. It IS understandable, even reasonable that industrial civilization considers legitimate the designer of notitions of people in ear, and the daily sacrifices of all those who have no adequate core and protection, but discovers in moral and religious simples. If it is the question of according the production of more life in a society which is still general to the planned architecture of the in the Sational Interest, and to the unplanned deprivation of life on behalf of private interest, and to the unplanned deprivation of life on behalf of private interest. These moral acceptes are

understandable and reasonable because such a society needs an ever-increasing number of customers and supporters; the constantly regenerated excess capacity must be managed.

Nonemon, the requirements of profitable mass production are not necessarily identical with those of mankinst. The problem is not only land partiage not even primarily: that of adequately feeding and caring for the growing population — it is first a problem of number, of more quantity. There is more than posts: license in the indictment which Stefan George pronounced half a century ago: "Solver now Zahi in French!"

The crime is that of a society in which the growing population approvates the struggle for existence in the face of its possible afferdation. The drive for more "fixing space" operates not only in international apprecaisoness but also within the ration. None, expansion has, in all forms of team work, community life, and fun, invaded the inner space of privacy and practically attrinated the possibility of that isolation in which the individual, through back on himself atons, can think and question and find. This sort of privacy -- the sole condition that, on the basis of satisfied vital needs, can give meaning to freedom and independence of thought -- has long since become the most expensive commodity, available only to the very rich take don't use it, in this respect, too, "culture" reveals its fould origins and limitations. It can become democratic only through the abolition of mass democracy, i.e., if society has succeeded in restoring the prerogatives of privacy by granting them to all and protecting them for each.

To the denial of freedom, even of the possibility of freedom, corresponds the granting of liberties where they strongitum the represents. The degree to which the population is allowed to break the peace wherever there still is peace and olderon, to be sight and to optify things, to core familiarity, to offered against good form is frighteering, it is frighteering because it expresses the leads? and even organized effort to reject the Other in his case right, to prevent automorpy even in a small, reserved sphere of anistence. In the overdeveloped countries, an ever larger part of the population becomes one loops captive autience — captured not by a totalitarian regime but by the liberties of the citizens

ethose media of amusement and elevation compet the Other to partisks of their sounds, sights, and smalls.

Can a society which is incapable of protecting individual privacy. even within one's four walfs rightfully claim that it respects the individual and that it is a free society? To be sure, a free society is defined by more, and by more fundamental achievements, then private autonomy. And jet, the absence of the latter vitiates even the most conspiruous institutions of accommic and political Frankom -- by danging fraudom at its hidden roots. Massive socialization begins at frome and arrests the development of consciousness and conscience. The attainment of autonomy demands conditions in which the represent dimensions of experience can come to the again; their theration demands repression of the federonomous needs and satisfactions which organize life in this assists. The more they have become the individual's own reads and satisfactions, the more would their represention appear to be an all but fatal deprivation. But precisely by virtue of this fated character, it may create the primary subjective prerequisite for qualitative change -- namely, the radialization of reach.

To take an (unfortunately fantactic) example: the more alloance of all adverticing and of all industrinating media of information and extenticiness would plunge the individual into a traumatic unid where he would have the chance to wonder and to think, to know tomas? for rather the regative of timeself and tis society. Deprived of his false fathers leaders, transit, and representatives, he would have to learn his ABC's again. But the words and sentences which he would form might come out very differently, and so regist his approximations, and so regist his approximations and sentences which he approximations and flows.

To be sore, such a situation would be an unbearable rightness. While the people can support the continuous creation of nuclear empores, redirective fallout, and questionable fooderalls, they cannot the this very research tolerate being deprived of the ententainment and education which make their capable of reproducing the arrangements for their defense and/or destruction. The non-functioning of television and the allied media might thus begin to achieve what the inherent contradictions of opplishers did not achieve.— Be disintegration of the system. The creation of represente needs has long since become part of socially recessary labor — necessary in the sense that without it, the established reads of production could not be sustained. Neither problems of psychology nor of assistation are at state, but the material base of dennings.

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The advancing one-dimensional society afters the relation between the retional and the implicitude. Contrasted with the festigatic and insure aspects of its rationality, the reality of the implicit and insure aspects of the reality rational — of the interest which may "promote the set of the really rational — of the ideas which may "promote the set of the." If the established occurry manages all records communication, validating or invalidating it is accordance with social requirements, then the values alien to these requirements may perhaps have to other medium of communication then the absorbed one of fiction. The application dimension still retains a feasible of expression which analysis the writer and artist to call men and things by their rance — to rance the otherwise uncarried.

The real face of our time allows in Samual Backett's rowells, its real tratory is written in Rulf Houtshut's play Der Stelluntrater. It is no trouger imagination which speaks have, but Researc, in a reality which justifies everything and absolves everything receipt the sin against its spirit, tragination is abdituting to this reality, which is catching up with and overtaking imagination. Assochaets continues to faunt, not the memory but the accomplishments of mon.— the space Eights; the rockets and missing the "abprintine backment under the Snack Sar"; too profits electronic plants, clean, hygients and with Snack Sar"; too profity electronic plants, clean, hygients and with Snack Sar"; too profits decrease plants, is not really hamsful to people; the according in which we all participate. This is the entiting in which the great human achievements of science, medicine, technology take place.

the efforts to seen and ameliorate life are the cole promise in the dissector. The willful play with funtactic prosolicities, the skilling to set with good conscience contra naturate to experiment with next and things, to consent thesion into reality and fiction into truth, testify to the extent to which imagination has become an instrument of progress. And it is one which, like others in the established societies, is methodically abused. Setting the pare and object of politics, the present of imagination for exceeds Alice in Wooderland in the manipulation of secrets, turning sense into tensors and object of politics, the present of imagination for exceeds Alice in Wooderland in the manipulation of secrets, turning sense into tensors and conserve and conserve into sense.

The formerly antegoristic realize marge on technical and political grounds — magic and science, life and death, joy and misery. Beauty reveals its terror as togitly classified nuclear plants and laboratories become "industrial Parks" in pleasing comparelings. Cloil Delena Headquarters display a "deluse follows sholler" with east to wall corporing ('soft;'), tourge chains, television, and Stratible, "designed as a combination family room during passestime tain's and family follows shallor should nor break out." If the borner of such realizations does not parentrate out consciousness, if it is readily taken for granted, it is because these actions much as to parentrate out consciousness, if it is readily taken for granted, it is because these actions much as to parentrally rational in terms of the existing order, the takens of human ingenuity and power beyond the traditional lends of imagination.

The obscious energies of seedbattics and reality refutes the philosophies which oppose "postic" imagination to scientific and empirical Reason. Technological progress is accompanied by a progressive rationalization and even realization of the imaginary. The archeological phonon or allowed or of the imaginary. The archeological of technological as of passes tose their catestrophic character. Their appearance in the delty life of the individuals is no longer that of mational forces—their modern posters are elements of technological domination, and subgest to it.

to reducing and even cancelling the remainte space of imagination, socially has forced the imagination to prove that? on new grounds, on which the images are translated into fratorical capabilities and projects. The immediation will be as bed and distorted as the socially which undertakes it. Separated from the reads of majorist production and majorist needs, imagination

sees more play, invalid to the region of recreasily, and committed only to a fertisetic topic and a fertisetic truth. When technical progress cancels this expension, it invests the images with its sen topic and its own truth; it reduces the free faculty of the sent. But it also reduces the gap between imagination and Resource. The two antegoristic faculties become interdispendent or common ground, in the light of the capabilities of advanced industrial conficulties, is not all play of the imagination playing with technical possibilities, which can be tested as to their character of realization? The competit idea of a "access of the imagination" assets, it assets an over-more empirical aspect.

The acceptible, rational observator of treagmation has long since been recognized in mathematics, in the hypotheses and separiments of the physical sciences. It is theretie recognized in psychosmalysis, which is in theory based on the acceptance of the specific rationality of the implicitude; the comprehended imagination becomes, redirected, a therapeutic force. But this therapeutic force may go much further than in the cure of neuroses. It was not a post but a scientist who has cultimed this prospect.

Froute une psychanalyse materialle peut rous sider a guérir de nos images, ou du moire rous aider à limiter l'amprise de nos images. On peut alors espérer ... prouvoir rendre l'imagination beunique, autrement dit, pouvoir dinner bonne conscience à l'imagination, en lui accordent pleinement tous ses moyens.

d'expression, toutes les images matérialles qui se produisent dans les reves naturells, dans l'activité onurique normale. Randre haureuse l'imagination, lui accorder toute son exubérance, s'est précisainment donner à l'imagination se véritable fonction d'antraine mant payolitique.

imagination has not remained incourse to the process of solfication. We are processed by our images, soffer our can images. Psychoanalysis brown it well, and brown the consequences. However, "to give to the imagination all the means of expression" would be regression. The multisted individuals imultisted also in their faculty of imagination; would request and destroy are now permitted to

do. South release would be the unmittigated horse — not the catestropite of culture, but the free sweep of its most repressive tenderocies. Rational is the imagination which can become the a priori of the reconstruction and redirection, of the production apparatus toward a position existency, a life without line. And the can reserve be the imagination of those who are presented by the images of demonstration and, death.

To Manyste the imagination so that it can be given all its masters of expression presuppress. He repression of much that is now free and that perpetuates a repressive society. And such reversal is not a matter of psychology or obtain but of politics, in the sense is which this term has been been used, throughout the practice is which the basic societal institutions are developed, defined, socialized, and changed, it is the practice of redividuals, no matter has organized they may be. Thus the question once again must be faced from our organized they may be. Thus the question once again must be faced from our for administrative and satisfactions, and their multiplice into their can therefore and satisfactions, and thus reproduce it on an enlarged scale — liberate thermalisms from themselves as well as from their masters? How is it even thinkelite that the outlook circle be broken?

Paradissically, it opens that it is not the notion of the new societal institutions which presents the greatest difficulty in the attempt to answer this question. The established sociation themselves are changing, or have already changed the basic institutions in the direction of increased planning. Eince the development and utilization of all available resources for the universal satisfaction of vital resolts in the prerequisite of pacification, it is incompatible with the prevedence of particular interests which stand in the way of attaining this goal. Coalitative change is conditional upon planning the dealers as allows prevedence of particular interests which stand in the way of attaining the goal. Coalitative change is conditional upon planning for the advote against these interests, and a fine and retired security can emerge only or this basis.

The institutions willfire which pacification can be envisaged thus dely the traditional classification into authoritarian and democratic, contralized and liberal administration. Today, the apposition to central planning in the name of a liberal democracy which is denied in reality serves as an identispical prop for represent interests. The goal of authoritis self-determination by the individuals depends on affective social control over the

production and distribution of the necessities in terms of the achieved level of culture, replaced and intellectuals.

Name, technological rationality, stripped of its augitolistics features, is the sole attendent and guide in planning and developing the available resources for all. Balf-determination in the production and distribution of vital guide and services would be examinate. The job is a technical one, and as a truly technical job, it makes for the reduction of physical and mental toil, in this realism, contralined control is rational if it establishes the preconditions for meaningful self-determination. The latter on their become effective in its next realistics, in the decisions which involve the production, and distribution of the economic surplus, and in the individual existence.

to any case, the contributation of centralized authority and direct democracy is subject to infinite variations, according to the degree of development. Self-determination* will be real to the extent to which the masses have been dissolved into individuals liberated from all propagateds, industrination, and manipulation, capable of browing and comprehending the facts and of evaluating the alternatives. In other words, excistly would be sational and free to the extent to which it is organized, existence, and reproduced by an exercisely new featurinal Subject.

At the present stage of development of the advanced industrial sociation, the material as well as the cultural system denies this seigence. The power and efficiency of this system, the thorough association of mind with fact, of thought with required behavior, of aspirations with reality, militate against the entergence of a new Bulgart. They also militate against the number that the replacement of the prevailing control over the production process by "control from below" anuall means the advance of qualitation change. This number was valid, and still is valid, where the laborate week, and still are, the being denial and indictment of the established sociate. However, where these classes have become a prop of the established way of the their second to control would prolong the way is a different setting.

And yet, the facts are all there which validate the critical theory of this accordy and of its fatal development: the increasing treationality of the selectic season and restriction of productivity; the resed for aggressive expansion; the constant threat of sec; interestled eightination; delumentation. And they all point to the bistorical alternative: the planned utilization of resources for the satisfaction of vital reseds with a minimum of toil, the transformation of bisquee into free time, the pacification of the stransformation of bisquee into free time, the pacification of the stranget for existence.

But the facts and the alternatives are there the fragments which do not connect, or the a world of mate objects without a subject, without the practice which would move these objects in the new direction. Distention theory is not related, but it connect offer the nemedy. It connect the positive. To be some, the distention comment, is comprehending the pisen facts, transcends the given facts. This is the very token of its truth, it defines the fractional practicities, even recessities; but their realization can only be in the practice which responds to the theory, and, at present, the practice which responds to the theory, and, at present, the practice gives to each responds to the theory, and, at present, the

Do theoretical as well as empirical prounds, the districtical concept pronounces its own hopelessness. The human reality is its history and, in it, contradictions do not explinite by thermalives. The conflict between streamlined, rewarding domination on the one hand, and its achievements that make for self-determination and pacification on the other, may become trialest beyond any presible denial, but it may well continue to be a manageable and even productive conflict, for with the growth in the technological computed of nature grows the computed of man by man. And this computed reduces the freedom which is a recessary a priori of liberation. This is freedom of thought in the only sense in which thought can be fee in the administered world -- as the consciousness of its represents productivity, and as the absolute need for breaking out of this whole. But precisely this absolute need does not prival where it could become the driving force of a historical practice, the effective cause of qualitative change. Without this material force, even the most acute consciousness remains prosentess.

No matter how obvious the instituted character of the whole may manifest itself and, with it, the necessity of change, insight into necessity has never sufficied for society the possible alternatives. Confronted with the onnigrouses efficiency of the given system of the, its alternatives have always appeared oxygen. And regist into recessing the consciousness of the exil state, will not suffice even at the stage where the accomplishments of actions and the level of productivity have alterisated the stopies features of the alternatives — where the established reality rather than its apposite is obspice.

Disse this resear that the critical theory of society J abdicates and bases the field to an empirical societings which, freed from all theoretical guidence except a methodological one, succurrite to the foliacies of misplaced concreteness, thus performing an identisgical service while proclaming the alterination of value judgments? Or do the dislectical concepts once again testify to their truth — by comprehending their care objects as that of the society which they analyse? A response might suggest itself if one considers the critical theory precisely at the point of its prestent weakness. — In inabbity to demonstrate the liberating tendercies within the established society.

The critical theory of society, was, at the time of its origin, confronted with the presence of real forces totalective and subjectives in the established society which moved for could be guided to record toward more rational and free institutions by abolishing the existing ones which had become obstacles to progress. These were the empirical grounds on which the theory was excited, and from these empirical grounds on which the theory was excited, and from these empirical grounds derived the obstacl the liberature of inherent presibilities. — the development, otherwise blocked and distorted, of material and intellectual productively, faculties, and reseds. Without the demonstration of such force, the critique of society would still be valid and rational, but it would be incapable of translating its rationality into terms of foliopies in receive. The conclusion? "Liberation of inherent possibilities" so longer adequately expresses the losterest possibilities."

The excitained possibilities of advanced industrial sociation are development of the productive forces on an enterged scale, extension of the companit of nature, growing satisfaction of needs for a growing number of people, creation of new needs and faculties. But these possibilities are gradually being realized

through mapes and institutions which cancel their Sherating potential, and this process affects not only the mapes but also the ends. The instruments of productivity and progress, organized into a totalization system, determine not only the actual but also the possible utilization.

At its most advanced stage, domination functions as administration, and in the over-developed areas of mass consumption, the administration of about the becomes the good life of the whole, in the defence of which the opposites are united. This is the pure form of domination. Conversely, its regulator appears to be the pure form of regulation. All content seems reduced to the one abstract demand for the end of domination.— the only truly resolutionary enigency, and the event that would validate the administracy enigency, and the event that would validate the administracy enigency, and the event that would validate the administracy enigency, and the event that would validate the administracy enigency, and the event that would validate the administracy enigency of industrial observation, in the face of its efficient denied by the established system the form of the restablished which seems the more unresponsible the more the established system develops to productivity and effectates the burden of the to the sentence of the content of the system develops to productivity and effectates the burden of the

«Co que nous refusions n'est pas sans valtur n' sans importance.
C'est blen à cause de cels que le refus est relossaire. Il y a une reterm que nous n'acceptennes plus, il y a une apparence de segmen qui nous fait borneur, il y a une office d'accord et de conclitation que nous foi borneur, il y a une office d'accord et de conclitation que nous l'antendronne pas, Une regiture s'est produite. Nous avons été ramente à cette franchise qui ne tollere plus le complicité.

But if the abstract character of the refusal is the result of total suffication, then the concrete ground for refusal must still exist, for reflecation is an illusion. By the same token, the uniffication of opposites in the readilute of technological rationality must be, in all its reality, an illusory unification, which alteriorates reliber the contradiction between the proxing productivity and its representation, not the vital i need for solving the contradiction.

But the struggle for the solution has outgrown the traditional forms. The totalitarian tendencies of the one-dimensional sociaty needer the traditional ways and means of protest ineffective perhaps even dangerous because they preserve the illusion of propular accordingly. This Illustrat contains some truth: "the people," previously the ferment of social change, face "record up" to become the ferment of social cohesion. Here rather than in the redest-faction of assettly and equalitation of classes is the new stratification changes/social or depositional records.

Rosever, underseath the conservative popular base is the substratum of the outcasts and outsiders, the exploited and persecuted of other races and other colors, the unemployed and the unemployable. They exist outside the democratic process; that life is the most immediate and the most real read for ending intolerable conditions and institutions. Thus their apposition is revolutionary even if their consciousness is not. Their opposition tils the system from without and is therefore not deflected by the system; if is an elementary force which violates the rules of the game and, in doing so, reveals it as a rigged game. When they get together and go out into the streets, without arms, without protection, in order to sell for the most principle cold rights, they brow that they face dogs, stones, and bombs, jel, concentration camps, even death. Their force is behind every political demonstration for the victims of lase and order. The fact that they start refusing to play the game may be the fact which marks the beginning of the end of a period.

Nothing indicates that It will be a good and. The aconomic and technical capabilities of the established societies are sufficiently used to allow for adjustments and concessions to the underling. and their armed forces sufficiently trained and equipped to take care of emergency situations, Roseiver, the spectre is there again, inside and outside the frontiers of the advanced excistion. The facile historical parallel with the barbarians threatening the empire of chritisation propeliges the issue; the second period of barkerism may self be the continued empire of civilization balf. But the chance is that, in this partial, the historical extremes may meet again: the most advanced corectousness of humanity, and its most exploited force. It is nothing but a chance. The critical theory of society possesses to concepts which could bridge the pap fortunes the present and its future; holding no promise and phosetring no successe, it remains negative. Thus it searlie to remain toyal to those who, without hope, have given and give their life to the Great Refusal.



At the beginning of the Second World War, the book-length manuscript of Mikhail Bakhtin's *The Bildungsroman* [Novel of Education] (1936-38) existed in two copies; one, the final draft, was at Sovetsky pisatel, the house that was preparing the book for publication, and an early draft, which he retained. As the publisher's copy would form the basis of the printed edition, Bakhtin repurposed his copy as cigarette paper (in short supply) and, it is said, smoked it away over the course of the war. Alas, in the seige on Moscow, the editorial offices of Sovetsky pisatel (and the manuscript) were destroyed.

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