

SO IN 1967 DAVIS DECIDED TO COMPLETE HER GRAD
WITH A FOREWORD BY ANGELA Y. DAVIS
CONFERENCE IN LONDON.

BUT—

WHAT
ABOUT
A
BETTER
WORLD
?

HERBERT MARCUSE

PHILOSOPHER OF UTOPIA

A GRAPHIC BIOGRAPHY

TODAY WE
HAVE THE CAPACITY
TO TURN THE WORLD
INTO HELL, & WE ARE
WELL ON OUR WAY
TO DOING
SO.

WE
ALSO HAVE
THE CAPACITY
TO TURN IT INTO
THE OPPOSITE
OF HELL.

ILLU-
BUT EV-
NO
DEFEATISM!

NICK THORKELSON

EDITED BY PAUL BUHLE AND ANDREW T. LAMAS

WHILE MARCUSE'S IDEAS WERE CHALLENGING TO HIS PEERS, HIS STUBBORN UTOPIANISM EXCITED A YOUNGER GENERATION OF REBEL WOMEN.



MARCUSE RETURNED THE COMPLIMENT WHEN HE ADDED A "POLITICAL PREFACE" TO THE BOOK'S SECOND EDITION IN 1966.



IN 1958, MARCUSE'S REFLECTIONS ON HIS RUSSIA RESEARCH APPEARED IN BOOK FORM. SOVIET MARXISM MANAGED TO PISS OFF COLD WAR PARTISANS EAST & WEST.

IN PROFESSOR MARCUSE'S MYTHOLOGY, THE SOVIET UNION IS A STAGE IN MANKIND'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM & SOCIALISM.

IDIOT!

ACCORDING TO MARCUSE'S LUNATIC UTOPIANISM, SOVIET SOCIETY & CAPITALISM AMOUNT TO THE SAME THING.

JERK!



THE BOOK FAULTS THE SOVIET SYSTEM FOR ALLOWING **DEVELOPMENT** TO PUSH ASIDE SOCIALISM'S LIBERATORY PROMISE.

PROGRESS IN INDUSTRIALIZATION IS TANTAMOUNT TO PROGRESS IN DOMINATION.

AUTONOMY & SPONTANEITY ARE CONFINED TO THE LEVEL OF EFFICIENCY AND PERFORMANCE.

HARMONY BETWEEN THE HUMAN & THE SOCIAL NEED REMAINS A MERE PROMISE!



HE TRACES THIS REPRESSIVE DEVELOPMENTALISM TO 1923, THE YEAR IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THE REVOLUTION IN CENTRAL & WESTERN EUROPE WAS FINISHED. THE SOVIETS WERE ON THEIR OWN.

WORKER CONTROL, SCHMORKER CONTROL.

WE NEED TRACTORS!

AND WE NEED SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS IN THE WEST THAT WILL STOP TRYING TO BEAT US UP WHILE WE DEVELOP.



SOVIET MARXISM ANTICIPATES, WITH GUARDED OPTIMISM, THE LIBERALIZING CAMPAIGNS OF DUBČEK & GORBACHEV—

RISE IN STANDARDS OF LIVING & A PRACTICALLY FREE DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS WILL OVERCOME THE REPRESSION IMPOSED AT EARLIER STAGES—

—BUT AS LONG AS THE EAST-WEST CONFLICT REMAINS, IT SERVES TO JUSTIFY MOBILIZATION ON A TOTALITARIAN SCALE.

THE HISTORY OF SOVIET SOCIETY SEEMS TO BE FATEFULLY LINKED TO THAT OF ITS ANTAGONIST.

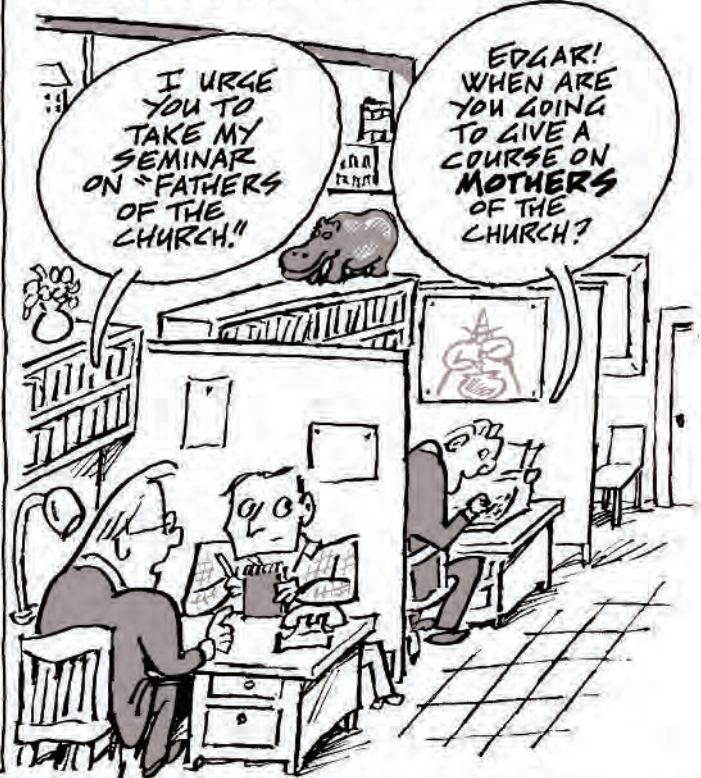


—WHILE ALSO FORESEEING REAGAN'S USE OF AGGRESSIVE ARMS SPENDING TO BANKRUPT THE USSR.

THREE OF
MARCUSE'S STAR
STUDENTS AT
BRANDEIS:



BILL LEISS FIRST ENCOUNTERED MARCUSE
WHILE MEETING WITH EDGAR JOHNSON, A
FACULTY ADVISOR AT BRANDEIS.



RICKY SHEROVER, AS AN AMERICAN
CHILD GROWING UP IN MEXICO, WAS
PRIMED FOR THE "REFUGEE
DIALECTIC" BY HER GERMAN
COMMUNIST TUTOR.

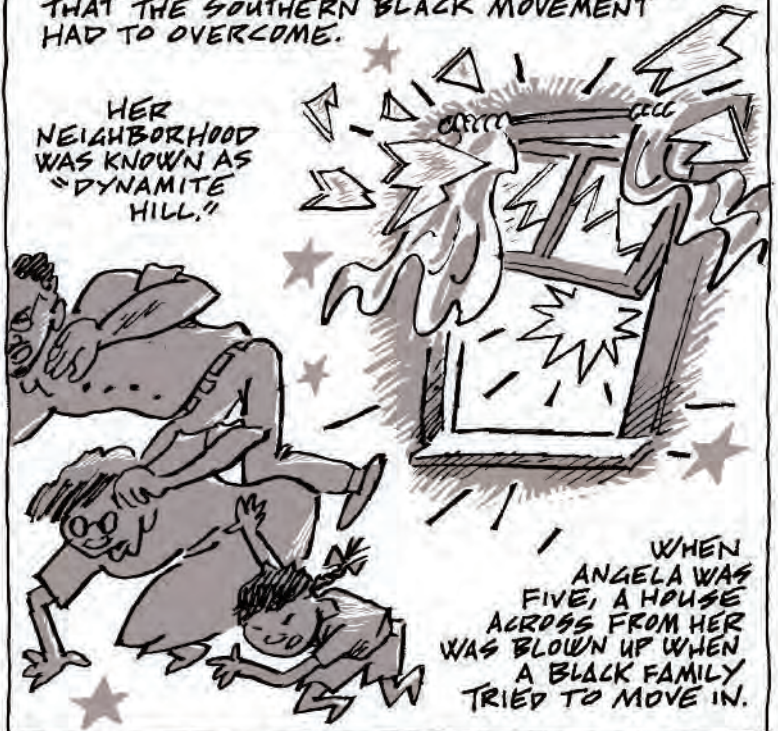


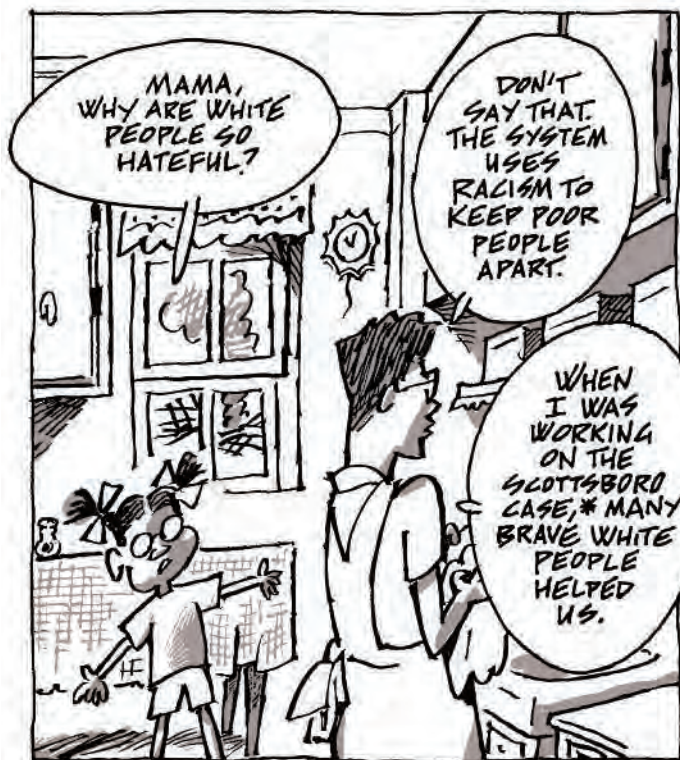
(WHEN THE FAMILY RETURNED TO
AMERICA, THE U.S. GOVERNMENT
WOULD NOT ALLOW THE TUTOR TO
COME WITH THEM.)

ANGELA DAVIS

GREW UP IN BIRMINGHAM,
ALABAMA, EPICENTER OF
THE RACIST TERROR
THAT THE SOUTHERN BLACK MOVEMENT
HAD TO OVERCOME.

HER
NEIGHBORHOOD
WAS KNOWN AS
"DYNAMITE
HILL."





* THE SCOTTSBORO DEFENDANTS WERE NINE BLACK TEENAGERS FRAMED & SENTENCED TO DIE IN 1931, WHOSE LIVES WERE SAVED BY A CAMPAIGN LED BY THE NAACP & THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

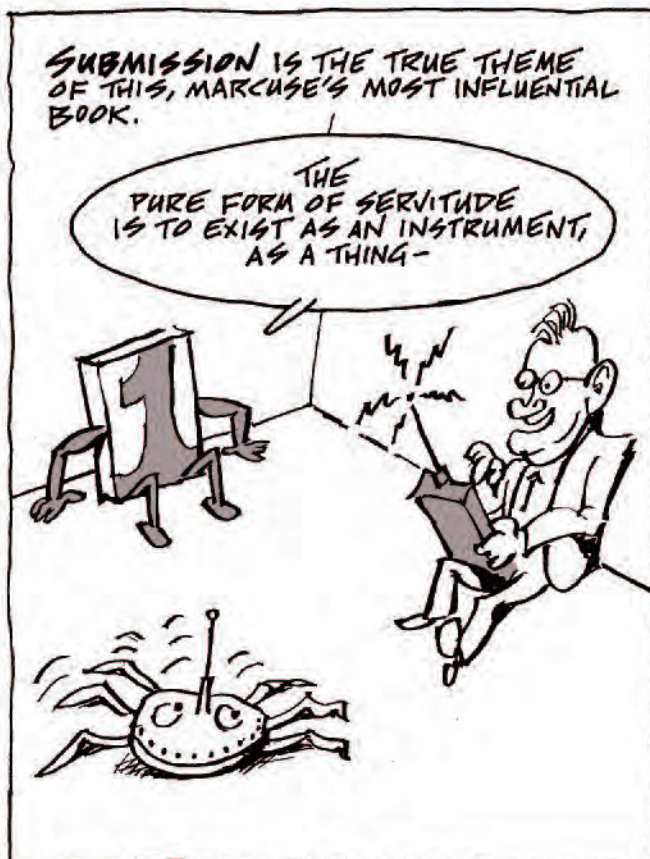
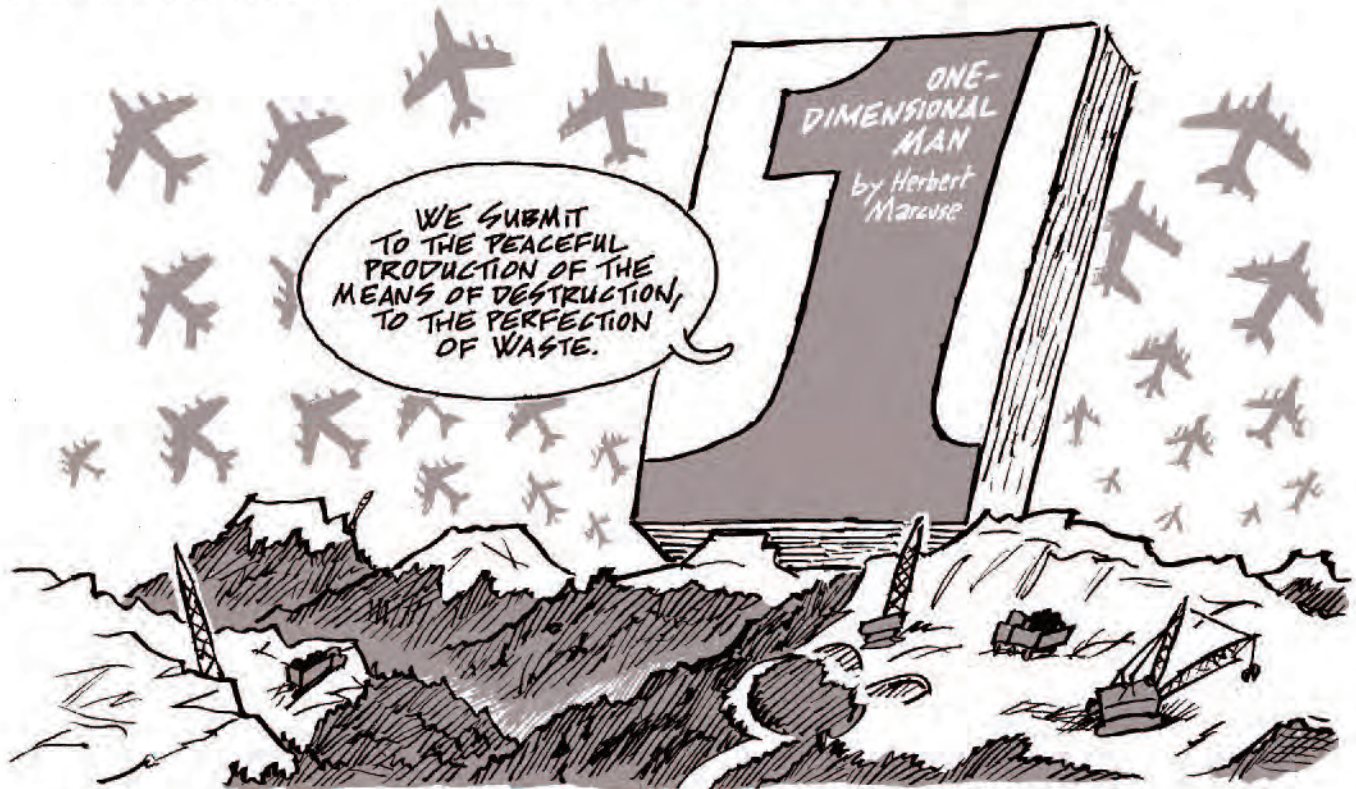


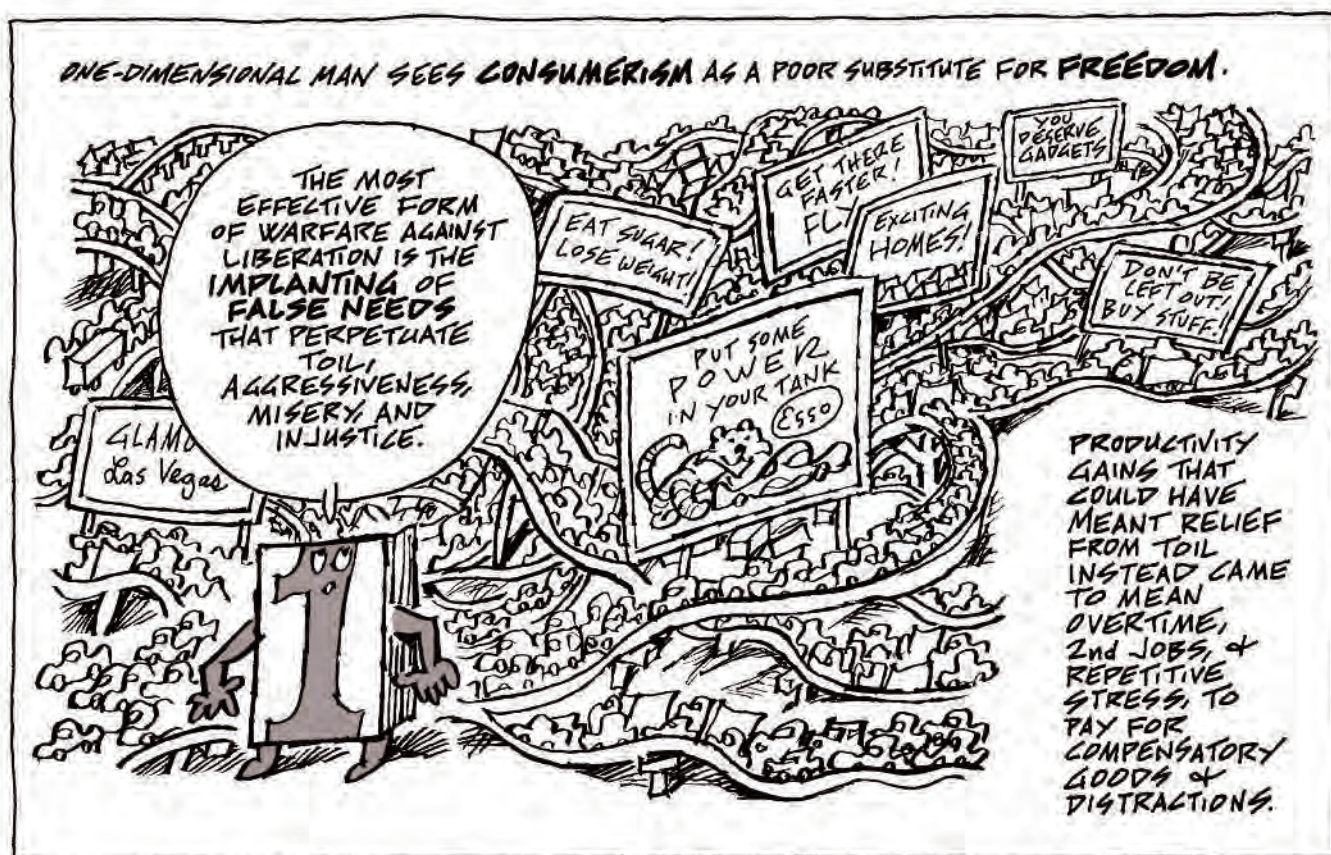
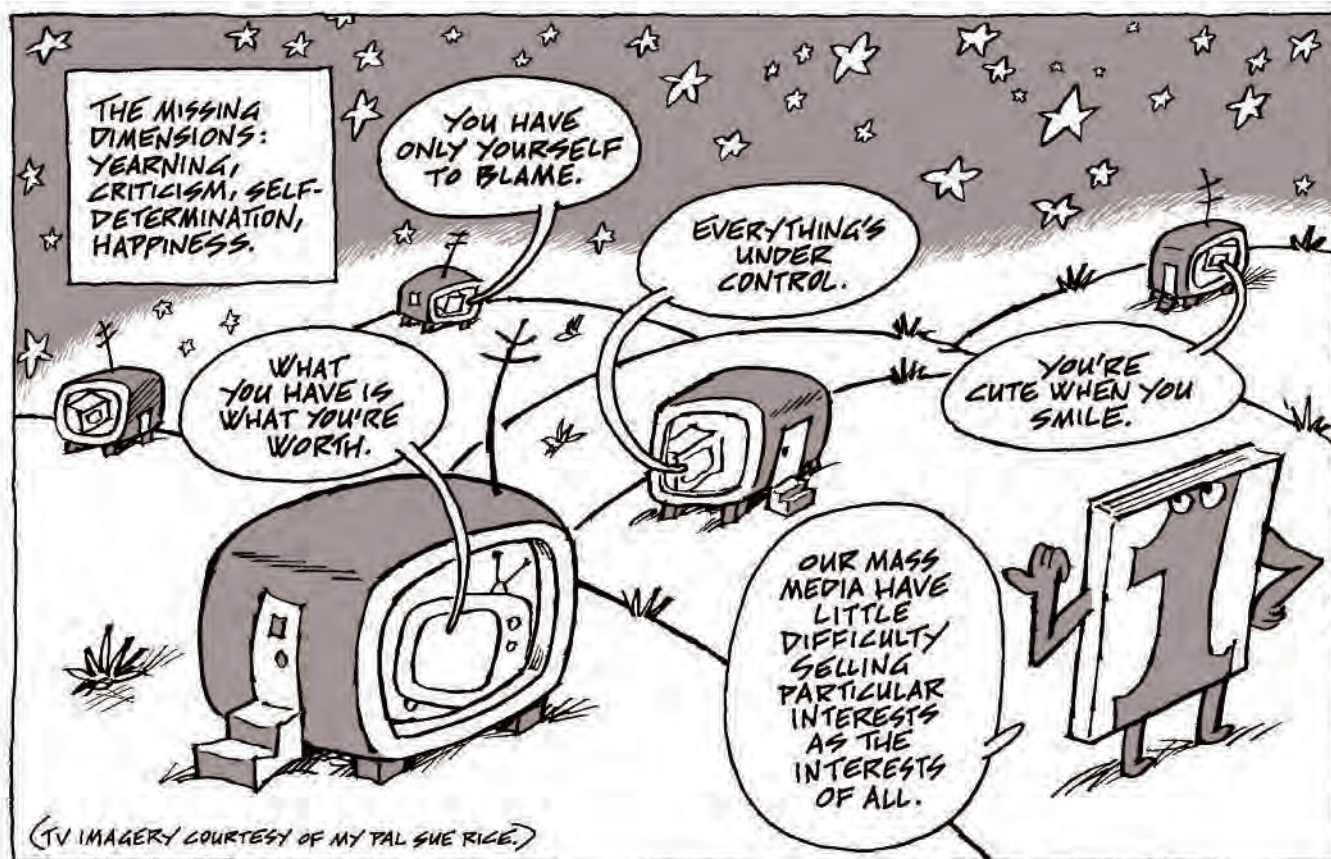


FOR DAVIS, MARCUSE PROVED "IT WAS POSSIBLE TO BE AN ACADEMIC + AN ACTIVIST, A SCHOLAR + A REVOLUTIONARY."



AS IF MARCUSE'S POLITICAL ACTIVITIES WERE NOT PROVOCATIVE ENOUGH, IN 1964 HE CAME OUT WITH HIS MOST SCATHING REBUKE YET OF MODERN SOCIETY.





SOME HAVE RIGHTLY CRITICIZED ONE-DIMENSIONAL MAN FOR EXAGGERATING THE DEGREE OF SOCIAL HARMONIZATION IN POST-WW2 AMERICA.



AN OVERRIDING INTEREST IN THE PRESERVATION OF THE STATUS QUO UNITES THE FORMER ANTAGONISTS.



IF THE WORKER & HIS BOSS VISIT THE SAME RESORT & READ THE SAME NEWSPAPER, THIS INDICATES NOT THE DISAPPEARANCE OF CLASSES—



—BUT THAT THE NEEDS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT ARE SHARED BY THE UNDERLYING POPULATION.



CERTAINLY BY THE EARLY 1960s U.S. WORKERS HAD WON SIGNIFICANT GAINS, AND IF THEY WEREN'T EXACTLY READING THE SAME NEWSPAPERS AS THEIR EMPLOYERS—



—THEY WERE GETTING SIMILAR MESSAGES.

BUT SINCE THEN, 50+ YEARS OF CORPORATE REVENGE AGAINST LABOR SUGGEST THAT MARCUSE'S CHARACTERIZATION OF THE UNDERLYING PROBLEM WAS SPOT ON:



THE SURRENDER OF THOUGHT, HOPE, & FEAR TO THE DECISIONS OF THE POWERS THAT BE!



THE DYSTOPIA OF UNNECESSARY TOIL IS REPLACED
IN ONE-DIMENSIONAL MAN BY A DYSTOPIA OF
DISEMPOWERING LEISURE.



THE GARDEN OF EDEN



THE EXPULSION



HUMANITY WANDERS THE
EARTH, COMPELLED TO LIVE BY THE
LABOR OF ITS THUMBS.

THE
DECLINING
PROPORTION
OF HUMAN
LABOR IN THE
PRODUCTIVE
PROCESS MEANS
A DECLINE IN
THE POLITICAL
POWER
OF THE
OPPOSITION.



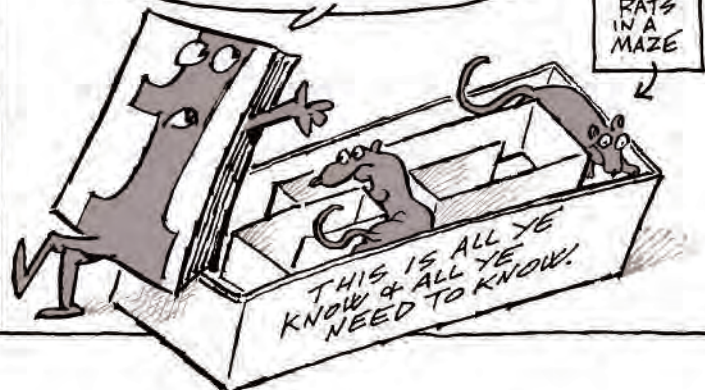
ONE-DIMENSIONAL MAN TURNED
MARCUSE INTO A CAMPUS
SUPERSTAR.



THE BOOK WAS MORE
POPULAR
WITH
STUDENTS
THAN
FACULTY.

ITS CLAIMS WERE
EXPLICITLY AT ODDS WITH
OPERATIONALISM &
BEHAVIORISM, THE RULING
IDEOLOGIES OF ACADEMIA
AT THE TIME.

TROUBLESOME
CONCEPTS LIKE REASON
ARE BEING ELIMINATED TO
JUSTIFY THE DEBUNKING OF
THE MIND BY THE
INTELLECTUALS.

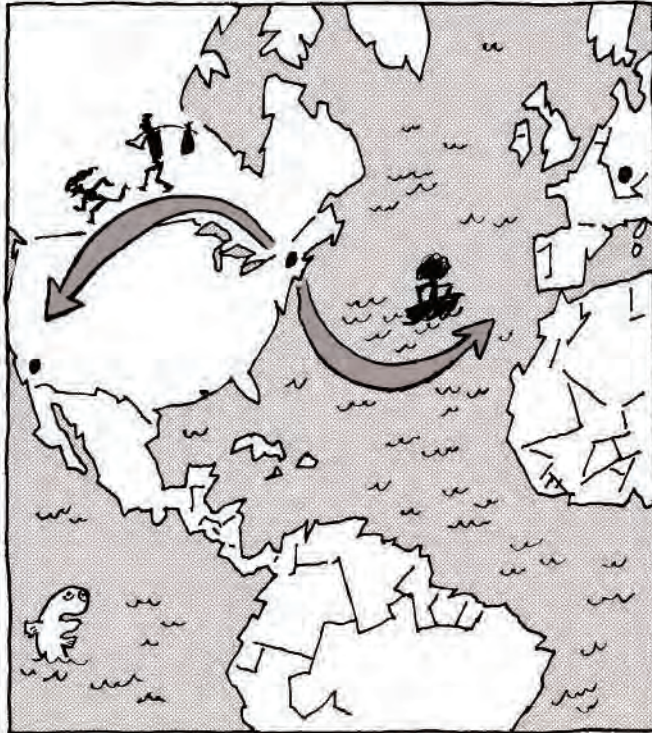




OOPS! THE CRITIQUE OF PURE TOLERANCE, & ESPECIALLY MARCUSE'S CONTRIBUTION, "REPRESSIVE TOLERANCE," BECAME INFAMOUS.



RICKY SHEROVER & BILL LEISS FOLLOWED MARCUSE TO UCSD. ANGELA DAVIS, ON MARCUSE'S ADVICE, WENT TO GERMANY TO PURSUE A PHD WITH ADORNO.



IN FRANKFURT, DAVIS WAS ABLE TO EXPLORE THE GERMAN PHILOSOPHERS ON THEIR OWN TURF.



BUT THE VIETNAM WAR HAD ESCALATED, & THE ALMOST DAILY ANTI-IMPERIALIST STREET ACTIONS IN FRANKFURT & BERLIN WERE A DISTRACTION.

EVEN MORE UNSETTLING WERE REPORTS FROM THE BLACK STRUGGLE AT HOME.



YOUR DESIRE TO WORK DIRECTLY WITH RADICAL MOVEMENTS IS AKIN TO A MEDIA STUDIES SCHOLAR DECIDING TO BECOME A RADIO TECHNICIAN!



IN GERMANY, "IT WAS INCREASINGLY HARD TO FEEL A PART OF THE COMING TO CONSCIOUSNESS OF MY PEOPLE."

—FROM DAVIS'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY



HERBERT MARCUSE

PHILOSOPHER OF UTOPIA

a graphic biography

BY NICK THORKELSON

EDITED BY PAUL BUHLE AND ANDREW T. LAMAS



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