



An Ideal Society from the Perspective of the Frankfurt School

Hamed Mehrali¹, Garineh Keshishyan Siraki^{2*}

^{1,2}Department of Political Science and International Relations, South Tehran Branch,
Islamic Azad University, Tehran, Iran

Received: 22 Nov 2019 ; Accepted: 21 Sep 2020

Abstract:

The Frankfurt School distorts human nature and all aspects of society in general under the destructive aspects of modernity. Therefore, it seeks to explain the shortcomings of the current situation. The Frankfurters regard modern society as utterly devoid of rationality and an obstacle to human liberation, thus making it clear that this construction, cut off from truth, has led to alienation. In this regard, critical theorists have expressed the components of alternative society and proposed prescriptive theories. In the following article, the main question is "What are the characteristics of the ideal society considered by the thinkers of the Frankfurt School?" The research hypothesis is that "the Frankfurt School seeks the utopia within the existing society and, despite the deprivation of some of the philosophical foundations of modernity, redefines and serves some of its elements, such as modern technology and economics."

Keywords: Utopia, Modernity, Alienation, Technology, Capitalism, Socialism, Individuality, Art

1.Introduction

Throughout history, philosophers, politicians, mystics and even poets of many societies have spoken with transcendental and inaccessible characteristics, and this has caused the word utopia to be exposed to the concept of fantasy. For Frankfurt thinkers, however, the utopia is world-class. Such a society, in the presence of the realities of the time, never claims to reduce human suffering to zero, but seeks to establish a rational relationship between man and the environment. It seems that the Frankfurt School does not guarantee

the absolute happiness of man tomorrow. It is destined that those mental and objective manifestations of modernity that disrupt the human system will be excluded from the equations and the real needs of human beings will be replaced. Critical theorists show a modified form of technology, modern economics, political structure, and bureaucracy that does not value man as a commodity and does not make him an object.

The enigmatic nature of the concepts of the Frankfurt School, along with the superficial and simplistic view of observers, has

*Corresponding Author's Email: G_keshishyan@azad.ac.ir

created the illusion that the Frankfurters have nothing to say in the practical and objective arenas. Perhaps the complex and mysterious writing of the Frankfurters has led such interpretations to simplify their theories and obscure the prescriptive dimensions of critical theory. We read successive arguments and interpretations that insist that the mission of the Frankfurt School is nothing more than an alternative to society. Some even believe that the Frankfurters, at the very beginning, seeing the helplessness of the proletariat, became disillusioned with achieving the promised society, and sought the utopia outside the Nasuti world. That is, they saw God, religion, theology, and mysticism - though not in the full sense of the word - as the manifestation of the ideal.

Others, such as Antonio Negri and Michael Hart, have taken an intermediate approach, despite the fact that they believe that the Frankfurt School is disappointed with the reform of society; The Frankfurters believe in the possibility of a utopian future. These researchers cite Horkheimer's views. Horkheimer notes; Despite the fact that the modern system has killed the hope of the utopia, but at the same time the human conscience is inclined to think, so thinkers always continue the possibility of the realization of an ideal society.

A small group also insists on the existence of theories of this school about the organization of society. To the extent that they argue that if the Frankfurters have one thing in common, it is the hope of building a better world. Basically, the hostility of critical theory to positivism is also on the ideal society. That is, positivism affirms the status quo and, in contrast, proposes a critical theory of a desirable society.

Therefore, the purpose of critical theory is to provide a way to achieve the utopia. It

must be said that the evolution of the thoughts of the Frankfurt thinkers has a twist and poetic twists, so that sometimes, although they speak desperately of an ideal society, this apparent despair is more a sign of heartache to the audience than a sign of their failure to present the desired society. Perhaps sometimes there is no other way to show the people of the community to show the depth of the blackness of the current situation, and no one can do anything about it. Critical theory has negatively regulated the utopia model. In other words, this school represents a society minus the destructive features of modern society. The Frankfurters therefore build the utopia not necessarily on the remnants of pre-modern society, but within the existing society. In this regard, although they attack technology, mechanism, modern economy, democracy and bureaucracy as components of an alienated society, but in constructing the utopia, they have significantly used these components as criteria and redefined them. Also, a critical approach as the soul of such a society will ensure the proper functioning of the system.

The place of technology

The articulation of the technological aspect of Utopia is tied to the past. Man does not move away from time to make proper use of technical forces, and pre-modern relative prosperity is the semantic basis of technology. "With the help of reflection and rethinking, we will find that our mental image of happiness owes its Concept entirely to that period of time which we have acquired through the evolution of our own existence ... Our image of happiness is inseparably different from our image of salvation. "It depends on ... the past carries a kind of index through which it refers to salvation." (Benjamin, 1996, pp. 317-318)

Based on the past and experiences of the evolution of the universe, it gives us a deep insight based on which to organize technology in a desirable way in society. In this regard, Fromm notes: "We must keep the industrial method, but we must decentralize work and the country and give it a human proportion ..." (Fromm, 2015, p. 403) Accordingly, Marcuse believes that technological and machine products such as Televisions, appliances, and cars are not fundamentally repressive, and the requirements of lucrative exchange have made such derivatives alienating. Therefore, redefining these devices based on the nature of their goods, creates an advanced society in which the human self is not harmed. (Marcuse, 2001, p. 24) Above all, Marcuse considers technology something like the vertical of the utopia tent. (Benjamin, 1996, p. 16)

Frankfurters like Marcuse point out the scope of the attacks on the technological system, but at the same time do not offer an alternative outside the technological system. They even agree with the development of technology by observing human points. (Najafi, 2003, p. 8) Therefore, "Marcuse's alternative society The utopia society does not mean a society far from reality, but a society whose possibilities are rooted in the material foundations of the existing society." (Nozari, 2015, p. 260) He considers the role of art in cleaning technology very effective. The bond between the two is the guarantor of a free and happy society. (Kellner, 2008, p. 116)

Marcuse describes the characteristics of the technological pillar of an ideal society as follows: "The technology of the future must be able to meet the needs and combat the exhausting work of human beings. Achieving this goal could be the basis of human freedom in various ways. ... Science and technology must continue to evolve historically, but

technological and material values must be defined and recognized in other words. That is, they consider the interests of human beings as they are the agents of today's technological processes. New goals and objectives will be achieved in the development of technology and the use of the machine will be done exclusively for its material benefit. ... Paying attention to the ultimate causes of scientific and technical activities will take the two out of a state of disbelief in human destiny and will create a new historical stage that is in harmony with the negative and rejective thoughts of human beings. With the emergence of such a situation, instead of denying science and scientific methods and instead of opposing the mental superiority of the concepts of science and technology and making them seem irrational, man will believe in a kind of freedom that was once considered a metaphysical issue. And the recognition of freedom will be considered as belonging to the new science. Naturally, the development of science and technology will no longer take place in an undesirable way of capturing human beings and achieving political goals. ... Man will come out of a state that is part of the tools of technology and his end is not clear; And will evaluate and judge its purpose and end. "He will pass the stage of ignorance and will consciously take his destiny into his own hands." (Marcuse, 2015, pp. 233-235) For Habermas's, the technological dimension of utopia is based on human freedom and autonomy. He uses communication theory and the concept of public control to explain ideal technology. (Connerton, 2006, p. 31)

Economics and labor relations

As the Frankfurters search for the utopia in this modern society, they also choose the economic model from among modern paradigms, in a way that removes the pests of

modern economic forms, including capitalist, socialist, etc., and adds human elements to them. In his latest writings, for example, Benjamin enumerates the contradictions of capitalism and alludes to the ideal society. He speaks of a socialist society that uses technology in the right direction. (Jeffries, 2018, pp. 154-155) Marcuse also prescribes reformed socialism (different from Stalinist socialism) from a political-economic point of view. This type of socialism, by borrowing the libertarian aspects of liberalism, creates peace, freedom, and unity in society. (Manouchehri and Shabani, 2017, p. 65-66)

The economic rules and commodity relations of the Hellenic society degrade its individuals to the lowest, and this is the greatest claim of the Frankfurt School. "Man must be returned to his high position in society, he must never be a means, he must not become an object to be exploited by himself or others. Human exploitation of human beings must be stopped and the economy must be at the service of human growth. "Servant capital must work and goods must serve life." (Fromm, 2015, p. 404) Also, according to Habermas, it is necessary to identify the spaces that have survived the bite of the capitalist economy and then, based on these spaces, to regulate commodity relations in such a way that human dignity is given priority. (Mahdavi and Mubaraki, 2006, p. 11)

In the preface to the French edition of the book *One Man*, Marcuse enumerates the characteristics of productive relations in the utopia: Conditions should be created to base production on the real and natural needs of human beings. ... Happiness is another principle that will govern a free society tomorrow. Another principle based on this freedom is the biological basis of aesthetic values.

Undoubtedly, beauty is based on harmony, and harmony can be nothing but satisfy-

ing one's inner and organic needs. "While the oppressed man of today, whose capitalist system has been shattered by the power of cognition, has considered the beautiful perception of accepting the common things in this system and has been unaware of its truth." (Marcuse, 2015, p. 20) Marcuse calls such a society a multidimensional world that is exactly the opposite of a monocultural society. He considers a multidisciplinary society to redefine human needs and thus create quality welfare: "The characteristic of the emergence of a free society is that the growth of welfare must create a new quality of life. This qualitative transformation must occur in the range of needs in the field of human infrastructure (which is itself a dimension of society). "The new trend of new institutions and relations of production must reflect the growth of needs and pleasures that are drastically different from the common needs and pleasures of exploiting societies, and even the opposite." (Marcuse, 2015, p. 16)

Under the banner of alternative economics, labor relations are also doomed to change. According to Horkheimer, society can be governed by a different structure from the modern order, but "bourgeois social science" conceals this fact in order to perpetuate capitalism. But in order to counter the cover of the bourgeoisie, one must resort to "rational social science" and inform the people of the society, who have all been harmed by foreign labor. This awareness is achieved through the foundation of theoretical thought in ordinary self-perception. (Anderson, 2004, p. 368) In this regard, Marcuse imagines the ideal society as a situation based on rational characteristics, a situation in which rationality is not in conflict with sensory satisfaction and work is integrated in leisure. (Negri and Hart, 2016, p.126) Simi-

larly, in the utopia that Benjamin paints, work is a fun and enjoyable game. (Jeffries, 2018, p.165)

According to Marcuse, one of the characteristics of the utopia was a society with a non-oppressive civilization. He essentially depicted non-oppressive civilization using Freud's skepticism of civilization. (Jeffries, 2018, p. 399) Freud introduces work as essentially the source of the suppression of human nature and coercion, but Marcuse considers another kind of work to be achievable: "Undoubtedly, there is a way of work that offers and presents a transcendent degree of libido satisfaction. It is enjoyable, and the work of art, where it is original, seems to be the result of an instinctively oppressive system and the embodiment of non-oppressive goals ... but the volume of work relations on which [modern] civilization is based offers a very different kind of work. He does ... The work that created and developed the material foundation of civilization was and still is mainly physical work, alienated work, painful and pitiful. "Doing so hardly satisfies one's needs and desires." (Marcuse, 2016, pp. 110-111) Marcuse explains that in a desirable society there is no contradiction between the instincts of "life" and "death" - which are Freudian concepts. These instincts will evoke a state of calm by passing through repression. (Negri and Hart, 2016, p. 131)

With these explanations, Marcuse seeks an order under which needs can be met without the domination of alienated labor and additional repression.

He who analyzes the world at the heart of the domination of an oppressive civilization; He sees such an order in two achievable states: "One at the primitive beginning of history, the other at its highest stage. The first refers to an oppressive distribution of scarcity (for example, as may have been the case in

the matriarchal periods of ancient society). The second belongs to the rational organization of a fully industrialized society following the overcoming of scarcity. Of course, the transformations and ups and downs of instincts are very different under these two conditions, but an important feature is necessarily common to both: instinctive growth and development become repressive, in the sense that at least when the interests of domination require an excess of repression, this excess of repression will not apply. This feature reflects the common satisfaction of basic human needs (which in the first stage are the most basic, in the second stage much broader and more refined), whether sexual or social needs: food, housing, clothing, leisure. This satisfaction and fulfillment of needs will be done without effort (and this is the most important point), in other words, without the domination of alienated work over human existence. "... Reducing daily working hours to such an extent that a small amount of working time no longer hinders human development is a necessary condition for liberation and freedom." (Marcuse, 2016, pp. 180-181) Marcuse in his book "On Authority" - inspired by Karl Marx - has considered the reduction of working hours as one of the characteristics of a desirable society. (Marcuse, 2010, p. 156)

According to Marcuse, instrumental reason first appeared in an alienating framework called the "principle of reality" and subsequently in another framework of the same kind, the "principle of action." In a sense, the ideal society he envisions is based on an alternative principle called the "aesthetic principle." Marcuse writes in relation to labor relations under the concept of the principle of aesthetics: "The necessary social work will be directed towards the creation of a more aesthetic and less repressive environment.

Instead of building highways and parking lots, the necessary social work will be spent on creating public recreation centers, gardens, parks, and recreation areas so that people can truly relax away from the hustle and bustle. Such a necessary division of labor of social work, which is incompatible with any of the societies governed by the principle of profit and efficiency, gradually transforms all dimensions of society. This is in the sense of the emergence and evolution of the "principle of aesthetics" as an alternative to the "principle of reality". "This is a prelude to a cultural emergence whose acceptance capacity is based on the achievements of industrial civilization and signals the end of spontaneous and aimless production capacity." (Marcuse, 2001, p. 103) It is clear that he considers the realization of the principle of aesthetics to depend on a review of the pattern of social work. Whereas Marcuse considers the emergence of aesthetic values as a result of the proper use of industrial civilization; It reaffirms the claim that the Frankfurters seek the utopia in the heart of this modern society.

According to Marcuse, the art of the scene is to break the sovereignty of the capitalist system and foreign labor, and ultimately to be a true proponent of a free society. (Negri and Hart, 2016, p.126) He sees the image of the utopia in the context of art: They cast a shadow over future successes. The original utopia always springs from memory [as Adorno and Horkheimer write in the *Dialectic of the Enlightenment*:] Any objectification is a kind of oblivion. "The art of the fossilized world leads to speech, poetry and dance, and thus fights with objectification." (Marcuse, 2009, p. 115)

The Frankfurt School uses the illusion of aesthetics to represent salvation. The use of art for the Frankfurters is not realism, but they want art to make decisions directly and

to present images of the utopia with its imaginative nature. They have already surrendered realism to objective reason. Thus, the idealism of art and the realism of reason complement each other in building a free society. (Bruner, 2014, pp. 95-96) In this regard, Marcuse explains the cooperation of aesthetic illusions with science and technology: "Imagination becomes the driving force for the reconstruction of reality: reconstruction with the help of happy knowledge, technology and science that serves along the way. Abandon destruction and exploitation, and thus free the imagination to fulfill the demands of freedom. Under such circumstances, the intellectual transformation of the world can lead to a reality created by human aesthetic sensibility. "Such a world can literally embody and unify human talents and desires to such an extent that these talents and desires appear as part of the objective causality of nature, that is, the adaptation of natural causality and imaginary causation." (Marcuse, 2001, p. 43) For Marcuse, the aesthetic dimension is the criterion of a free society, that is, a society in which the market is not a mediator of human relations. (Marcuse, 2001, p. 39) According to him, the human psyche is re-formed with the utopia, it does not look at others and itself as a commodity. Due to the new sensitivity of revived humanity, human beings take precedence over market profits. (Bruner, 2014, p. 105)

With these explanations, art plays an effective role in achieving a desirable society. Although the impossible art, which has been neutralized by the qualities of modernity, angers the Frankfurters, they also have the holiest view of the category of art and speak of its truth as original art. From Adorno's point of view, original art is always the content of an ideal society, so its spirit is at odds with the existing society. (Waldman, 2000, p.

163) Adorno considers original art as an autonomous art whose epistemological function is to show the reality of the existing society and to remind a better society. (Shahandeh and Nozari, 2013, p. 37) However, it only reminds the utopia and does not guarantee that in practice it is better than the existing society. Because from Adorno's point of view, art has a negative, not a positive, quality, it must be the antithesis of society. Only (Shahandeh and Nozari, 2013, pp. 42-43) Adorno indicates that critical philosophy, relying on the power of art and aesthetics, leads man to liberation, because this force is full of antagonism. Positivism, on the other hand, as the dominant philosophy of modernity, is caught in the constraint of cognition and focuses only on the cut-off form of the mind, not the exudates of art, which possess the inner man of man. Thus, positivism, with its continuity, stabilizes modern society, and art, with its futurism, denies this society. (Bashiriyeh, 2012, p. 187) According to Adorno, original art basically refers to the society that can be experienced, not the society that we have experienced. (Heidari, 2008, p. 78) As stated, there is a relationship between original art and the ideal society in Marcuse's thought, of course, with more confidence in the realization of such a society. According to Marcuse, art, even when it lacks a political theme; It has political potential and is therefore able to build an ideal society. (Marcuse, 2007, pp. 171-173) He writes about the three variables of alienation, original art, and utopia: It is not other than that. What exists in reality in actions and thoughts, in the emotions and dreams of people, in nature and in potential human forces; There is also art in the world. However, the world that is in the work of art is "unreal" in the general sense of the word, that is, it is a mythical reality; "And when we say it is unrealistic, it is not because

it lacks something of the established reality, but on the contrary it is more than that, and qualitatively it is something else." (Marcuse, 2009, p. 102) With this description, Marcuse acknowledges the utopian capacity of art. (Bruner, 2014, p. 28) Although some consider Marcuse's views to be probable that art is at least a proposal to change the status quo (Aram, 2014, p. 7), but he himself explicitly writes: "Slow down." (Marcuse, 2009, p. 74)

Individuality

The individual rescue project, which was keyed in the crisis monitoring phase, is now coming to an end in the utopia. The interests of the individual and the community will be pursued independently and dependently at the same time, individual growth will no longer be prohibited under the pretext of the public interest, and reciprocally, individual well-being will be restricted only to the limits of morality.

At the height of modernity, the Frankfurt School dictates that one become acquainted with what one should be. This is another example of the "must" contrast between critical theory and the "core" of traditional theory. (Ahmadi, 2008, p. 115) The Frankfurters believe that only a free society can guarantee morality. (Ranjbar and Gholami, 2015, p. 51) "There is complete freedom and independence when a person thinks, feels or decides for himself. He can act so confidently and spontaneously only when he reaches the stage of a dynamic and creative connection with the world around him ... A conscious and creative man is a man of freedom, because he lives with originality and free will. "His existence is the source of his own life." (Forum, 1998-1999, pp. 550-551)

The reconstructed society of the forum is a "wise society" free from mental illness, in which the individual is at the center of all

economic and cultural affairs. (Spragen's, 2013, p. 33) He writes in this regard: "Man can only be safe from the consequences of his madness by creating a healthy society, a society that meets human needs, needs that are rooted in living conditions, a society that in it, the bond between man and man is based on love, brotherhood and shared responsibility, not on blood and land. A society that allows human beings to transcend nature with creativity, not destruction. A society that creates a sense of "self" through the use of its own forces and not by the same color ... "(Fromm, 2015 pp. 404-405)

According to Neumann, the three pillars of freedom are as follows:

- 1- The legal pillar (which defends individuality and individualism against society),
- 2- The cognitive pillar (based on science: natural sciences in order to properly understand man's relationship with nature, psychology to Overcoming the anxiety that deprives man of freedom, and ultimately the historical understanding of the philosophy of the universe with the aim of adapting the externalities, which is the subject of the natural sciences, and the internalities, which is the same as psychology)
- 3- The voluntary pillar (without which the other two pillars are completely barren and oversee the human effort to achieve freedom.) (Mirahmadi, 2000, pp. 73-75) By emphasizing the ideas of Friedrich Schiller, Marcuse also describes a free society as a society based on human individuality: It is realized through the nature of the individual. "Order is freedom only if it is

based on the satisfaction and free success of individuals and is sustained by it." (Marcuse, 2016, p. 219)

Democracy

Orienting the decisions of the device is a guarantee of recreating individuality. Although democracy is the gift of modernity, it is an evolution of the deceptive views that ostensibly believe. Marcuse considers democracy to be a manipulated and limited category of capitalist society. He explains that in such a society there are no real opponents and that decision-making elements such as the media are never given to a class other than the agents of modernity. (Stark, 1982, p. 22) Democracy in the existing society, no matter how much it favors the people, is still under the influence of modern culture and as a result, plays on human consciousness. Conscious decision-making, on the other hand, is a prerequisite for a democratic society. (Naqibi, 1995, p. 93)

Members of the Frankfurt School link true democracy to critical theory. "Criticism is the dough of democracy," Adorno said. Democracy not only demands freedom of criticism, but also critical impulses. "Democracy is defined directly through criticism." (Adornor, 2001, p.24) The mechanism of critical democracy operates on the basis of complete criticism. In Utopia, not only opposing views have legitimacy, but also government policies are determined by the dialectical process of these conflicts. In such a society, there is even room for opposition to democracy. (Connerton, 2006, p. 31)

Habermas developed an advanced model of democracy based on communication. "According to the theory of communicative action, only one form of democracy is possible in complex societies," he admits in inter-

views. In this case, the inversion of the relationship between the center and the periphery can be expected. "In my model, the weight of normative expectations first rests on the forms of communication under the control of civil society, which itself appears outside of an intact private sphere and is embodied by the flow of communication processes in the active public sphere with liberal political culture." (Carlden and Gabriel, 2000, p. 92)

A society does not know a completely free frontier, and even if a limit is set for it, it is subject to human decision and not to an external being that pursues the intentions of modernity. Here, the face of democracy is not adorned with the brush of propaganda and the culture industry, and one will not enjoy watching the symphony of slogans. Static democracy has once and for all declared unchangeable standards of freedom, all of which are in the interests of the system. While dynamic democracy, by its critical nature, will improve the do's and don'ts of freedom in accordance with individual and collective interests. This understanding of democracy satisfies man's real needs and denies his false needs.

Final positions

Although society has its own meanings for different generations of the Frankfurt School, the Frankfurt thinkers agree on the utopia as a whole. For them, the utopia is no longer "nowhere." According to Marcuse, the only problem is that the existing society has prevented the occurrence of utopia (Manouchehri, 2013, p. 67) and in this direction uses three factors: "First, the irrationality of the power structure governing the production and technological methods. Second, the mass media and mass culture, which not only consolidate, strengthen and justify the status quo, but also divert the public mind from repres-

sion and domination. "The third factor is the psychological composition of most people, which is formed from the system of scarcity economics and social class through the principle of increased implementation and repression." (Nozari, 2015, p. 294) Therefore, in his opinion, the utopia can be realized only by rejecting the induced needs of modern society. (Manouchehri, 2013, p. 67) Also Marcuse's goal is to explain the conditions for the realization of such a society. A society that has the potential for happiness. (Manouchehri and Shabani, 2017, pp. 61-62) As if from his perspective in utopia, existence will be experienced as satisfaction. (Negri and Hart, 2016, p. 132)

In an interview, Marcuse enumerates the objective features of an ideal society and believes that in this utopia the truth of man will probably be realized: "... what young people want today is a society without war, without exploitation, without repression, without poverty and without extravagance. An advanced industrial society today has all the technical, scientific, and natural resources necessary to build such a society. What hinders this salvation is very simple; The system is there ... I do not find it difficult to present another example to the current society, but how that society should be tangible is another matter. "But I believe that a way of life in which human beings can truly determine their own existence can be achieved by eradicating poverty, eradicating massive extravagance and preventing the destruction of resources." (Stark, 1982, pp. 23-24) Basically, the utopia of the evangelist is the more rational use of resources, reduction of destructive conflicts and expansion of the realm of freedom. (Marcuse, 2001, p. 15)

Peace and equality for Habermas are also the achievement of the utopia. (Shiva, 2006, p. 52) He makes a society without war and

repression conditional on observance of relationship and communication. (Mahdavi and Mubarak, 2006, pp. 2-3) This is the same communication without distortion that has been emphasized in the form of communication action. (Alwani and Danaeifard, 2000 pp. 22-32)

Nevertheless, the Frankfurt School considers it impossible to achieve complete happiness because it is not possible to know the whole truth. (Bashiriyeh, 2012 p. 171) Theorists of the Frankfurt School want an alternative order minus its unrealistic nature. In other words, they even ridicule utopia in its unattainable sense and instead seek an alternative order with attainable characteristics. In this regard, Marcuse writes: "One of the tenets of the ideas of critical theory of society (especially Marxist theory) to this day has been to avoid what is rightly called idealistic thought." (Marcuse, 2001, p. 15) Although Horkheimer denounces utopia in its unrealistic sense and even mocks it, but at the same time offers a realistic definition of the structure of the utopia: "Utopia actually has two faces: criticism of what is and image of what it should be." (Horkheimer, 1997, p. 100)

The mission of critical theory is based on its goal of achieving liberation and how to act after the realization of freedom. (Bashiriyeh, 2012, p. 177) In this regard, the Frankfurters agree on the possibility of the utopia. Predecessors like Horkheimer, with all their intellectual ups and downs, never declared that society would not evolve. (Shirt, 2008, p. 275) Although they do not guarantee that this evolution is necessarily free from suffering and admit that naturally the utopia will also lead to failures. (Negri and Hart, 2016, p. 96)

Even in his period of despair, Horkheimer saw the goal as achieving a rational society. (Ahmadi, 1994, p. 122) Such a society is also emphasized by Marcuse. His prescription in

opposition to the instrumental intellect is that the inner mind must take the form of the outer mind and the intellect must take the form of reality. This requires the realization of a utopia that is in harmony with the objective and rational needs of individuals.

When Adorno looks at the world through a negative dialectic, he looks even more disappointed than Horkheimer, but he also sees the utopia as possible. "Cognitively and practically, Adorno's utopia is something beyond homogeneity and beyond contradiction; "It's a kind of coexistence of plurality." (Negri and Hart, 2016, p. 109) This ruling can somehow be the theoretical basis of dynamic democracy.

In an argument with Habermas, Marcuse shows that, in their theories, the Frankfurters essentially seek to present a model of an ideal society, and that their despair of achieving better order is a misconception. "One who does not yet know what a better life is a creature of misery," he says. (Madadi, 2000, p. 41) Also, Franz Neumann, one of the prominent thinkers of the Frankfurt School, writes: "The intellectual is, or at least should be, the conscience of the critique of society in each of its historical periods." "His job is to be critical of society and to show how far society has achieved or not achieved freedom." (Neumann, 1993, p. 23) These statements transform the critical paradigm from a descriptive theory to a prescriptive theory.

Conclusion

Utopia not only does not deviate from the advances of modernity, but also emphasizes the development of industry and technology. Accordingly, technological products serve man, not rule him; The computer, the car, and all the manifestations of machine life in the form of a dead object facilitate living life. In the same way, the ideal economy is known,

albeit in a coherent way, but with a structure free from the harms of capitalism and communal property. The aggregation of the rational aspects of capitalism and socialism, and at the same time the subtraction of the intrinsic aspects of the two, will define the relations of production and labor relations on the basis of the natural needs of man. Such an approach considers both private and public interests. But it ultimately liberates the utopia in the political arena of a society that seeks true democracy at its highest. Dynamic societies that confront conflicting ideas through a dialectical process and constantly update the outcome in the form of practical plans. The only absolute rule of an alternative society is freedom. A highly free society restores individuality and replaces manipulated democracy with critical democracy.

Therefore, the Frankfurt School has introduced alternatives to all the pillars of existing society: instead of a system of mechanics and modern technology, a kind of technology is offered with human intentions in mind. Instrumental reason will not be recognized as the whole truth of reason, and objective reason will take its place in the equations of society. The modern cultural network also gives way to a cultural order that implies a superior form of cognition. In addition to the field of culture, original art challenges the field of foreign work. Critical theory, in contrast to traditional theory, offers a set of epistemological and methodological alternatives that, in addition to empirical and objective propositions, also recognizes mental, emotional, and moral concepts (metaphysics in general). Hence positivism will be removed from the decision-making position for human destiny. Due to the complexity of a complex society, the organization of affairs is inevitable, so critical theory maintains bureaucratic order while dismissing bureaucracy. The court will

remain stable but will lose its sovereignty. In utopia, man is the servant of the court, not the other way around. The political structure of the utopia is not necessarily defined in terms of current ideologies.

References

- Adorno, Theodore, (2001). *Criticism, Quarterly Book of the Month of Literature and Philosophy*, translated by Gholamreza Goodarzi, (43), 27-24
- Ahmadi, Babak, (1994). *Modernity and Critical Thought*, First Edition, Tehran, Markaz Publishing.
- Ahmadi, Babak, (2008). *Memoirs of Darkness: About the Three Thinkers of the Frankfurt School; Walter Benjamin, Max Horkheimer, Theodore Adorno*, Fourth Edition, Tehran: Markaz Publishing.
- Alwani, Seyed Mehdi and Hassan Danaeifard, (2000). *Public Management from a Critical Theory Perspective*, *Quarterly Journal of Improvement and Transformation Management Studies*, (26, 25), pp. 13-32
- Anderson, Joel, (2004). *How the Third Generation of the Frankfurt School Thinks*, *Strategy Magazine*, translated by Mojtaba Karbaschi and Qasem Zairi, (33), pp. 391-367
- Aram, Alireza, (2014). *Aesthetic dimension and golden rule, Interaction of Art and Ethics in the Thought of Herbert Marcuse*, *Journal of Art Chemistry*, (12), pp. 7-24
- Bashiriyeh, Hussein, (2012). *History of Twentieth Century Political Thoughts: Marxist Thoughts*, Volume 1, Eleventh Edition, Tehran: Ney Publishing
- Benjamin, Walter, (1996). *Theses on the Philosophy of History*, *Organon Quarterly*

- terly, translated by Morad Farhadpour, (12 and 11), pp. 317-328
- Brunner, Eric [Steven], (2014). *Critical Theory*, translated by Parviz Alavi, first edition, Tehran: Ofogh Publishing. (Date of publication of the work in the original language, 2011)
- Carlden, Michael and René Gabriel, (2000). Interview with Jürgen Habermas: Radical Democracy as a Utopia, *Journal of Development Culture*, translated by Seyyed Abdul Hamed Hosseini, (46, 45, 44) pp. 92-98
- Connerton, Paul, (2006). *Critical Sociology*, translated by Hassan Chavoshian, first edition, Tehran: Akhtaran Publishing. (Date of publication of the work in the original language, 1976)
- Fromm, Erich, (1998-1999). *Revolutionary Personality*, Chista Monthly, translated by Mansour Goodarzi, (157 and 156) pp. 545-555
- Fromm, Erich, (2015). *Healthy Society*, translated by Akbar Tabrizi, seventh edition, Tehran: Behjat Publications. (Date of publication of the work in the original language, 1955)
- Horkheimer, Max, (1997). *Dawn of Philosophy of Bourgeois History*, translated by Mohammad Jafar Pooyandeh, first edition, Tehran: Ney Publishing, (Date of publication of the work in the original language, 1970)
- Jeffries, Stewart, (2018). *Grand Abyss Hotel; The Life of the Companions of the Frankfurt School*, translated by Mohammad Memarian, first edition, Tehran: Humanities Translator Publications. (Date of publication of the work in the original language, 2016)
- Kellner, Douglas, (2008). *A Critique of Marcuse Aesthetics*, *Journal of the Academy of Arts*, translated by Ali Ameri Mahabadi, (10), pp. 116-108
- Madadi, Majid, (2000). *Dialogue* (Dialogue by Herbert Marcuse, Jürgen Habermas, Heinz Lobage, Tilman Spengler), *Philosophy Quarterly*, translated by Majid Madadi, (10), pp. 33- 49
- Mahdavi, Mohammad Sadegh and Mohammad Mubarak, (2006). *Analysis of Habermas Theory of Communication Action*, *Social Science Research Quarterly* (Iranian Social Science Studies), (8), pp. 1-21
- Manouchehri, Abbas and Azadeh Shabani, (2017). *The Relationship between Alienation and Citizenship in Herbert Marcuse's Thought*, *Bi-Quarterly Journal of Theoretical Policy Research*, (22), pp. 53-80
- Manouchehri, Abbas, (2013). *Theories of Revolution*, sixth edition, Tehran: Samt Publications.
- Marcuse, Herbert, (2001). *Speech in Liberation*, translated by Mahmoud Ketabi, first edition, Abadan: Question Publishing. (Date of publication of the work in the original language, 1969)
- Marcuse, Herbert, (2007). *Art and Liberation*, *Collected Papers of Herbert Marcuse*, Volume 4, Edited by Douglas Kellner, New York, Routledge.
- Marcuse, Herbert, (2010). *On Authority*, translated by Mojtaba Golmohammadi and Ali Abbasbeigi, second edition, Tehran: Gam No Publications. (Date of publication of the work in the original language, 1972)
- Marcuse, Herbert, (2015). *Eros and civilization; Philosophical Questioning About Freud*, translated by Amir Hoshang Eftekhari Rad, fourth edition, Tehran: Cheshmeh Publishing. (Date

- of publication of the work in the original language, 1955)
- Marcuse, Herbert, (2015). One-dimensional man, translated by Mohsen Moayedi, eighth edition, Tehran: Amirkabir Publications. (Date of publication of the work in the original language, 1964)
- Mirahmadi, Mansour, (2000). Analysis of the Concept of Political Freedom, Quarterly Journal of Political Science, Baqer al-Uloom University, (12) pp. 71-93
- Najafi, Reza, (2003). Complete technology at the Frankfurt School Criticism Plant; Herbert Marcuse and the Critique of Industrial Totalitarianism, Kelk Monthly, (143), pp. 8-13
- Naqibi, Mehrnaz, (1995). Frankfurt School, Media Quarterly, (24) pp. 84-93
- Negri, Antonio and Michael Hart, (2015). Western Marxism and the Frankfurt School, translated by Reza Najafzadeh, second edition, Tehran: Ode Publishing.
- Neumann, Franz, (1993). Intellectuals in Exile, Kelk Pajuhesh Monthly, translated by Ezatollah Fooladvand, (37), pp. 22-39
- Nozari, Hossein Ali, (2015). Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School in Social Sciences and Humanities, Fourth Edition, Tehran: Markaz Publishing.
- Ranjbar, Iraj and Samira Gholami, (2015). Ethics and Politics in the Political Thought of the Frankfurt School, Bi-Quarterly Journal of Theoretical Policy Research, (18), pp. 49-77
- Shahandeh, Noushin and Hossein Ali Nozari, (2013). Art and Truth in Adorno Aesthetic Theory, Quarterly Journal of Wisdom and Philosophy, (3), pp. 35-60
- Shirt, Ion, (1387). Continental Philosophy of Social Sciences: Hermeneutics, Genealogy and Critical Theory, translated by Hadi Jalili, first edition, Tehran: Ney Publishing. (Date of publication of the work in the original language, 2005)
- Shiva, Amir Pouyan, (2006). Thought: Still Hope for Human Liberation (About Jürgen Habermas, the Last Remnant of the Frankfurt School), Rudaki Magazine, (2), pp. 51-52
- Spragen's, Thomas, (2011). Understanding political theories, translated by Farhang Rajaei, seventh edition, Tehran: Agha Publishing. (Date of publication of the work in the original language, 1976)
- Stark, Franz, (1982). Revolution or Reform; Interview with Herbert Marcuse [and] Karl Popper, translated by Houshang Vaziri, third edition, Tehran: Kharazmi Publications. (Date of publication of the work in the original language, 1971)
- Waldman, Diane, (2000). Critical Theory and Film: Adorno and the Review of "Culture Industry", Farabi Quarterly, translated by Ali Sheikh Mehdi (36), 177-160