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وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي

الجامعة المستنصرية / كلية الآداب

قسم الفلسفة

## قراءة مدرسة فرانكفورت لفلسفة ماركس

أطروحة تقدم بها الطالب

**خضر دهو قاسم**

إلى مجلس كلية الآداب / الجامعة المستنصرية وهي جزء من

متطلبات نيل درجة دكتوراه فلسفة في الفلسفة

بإشراف

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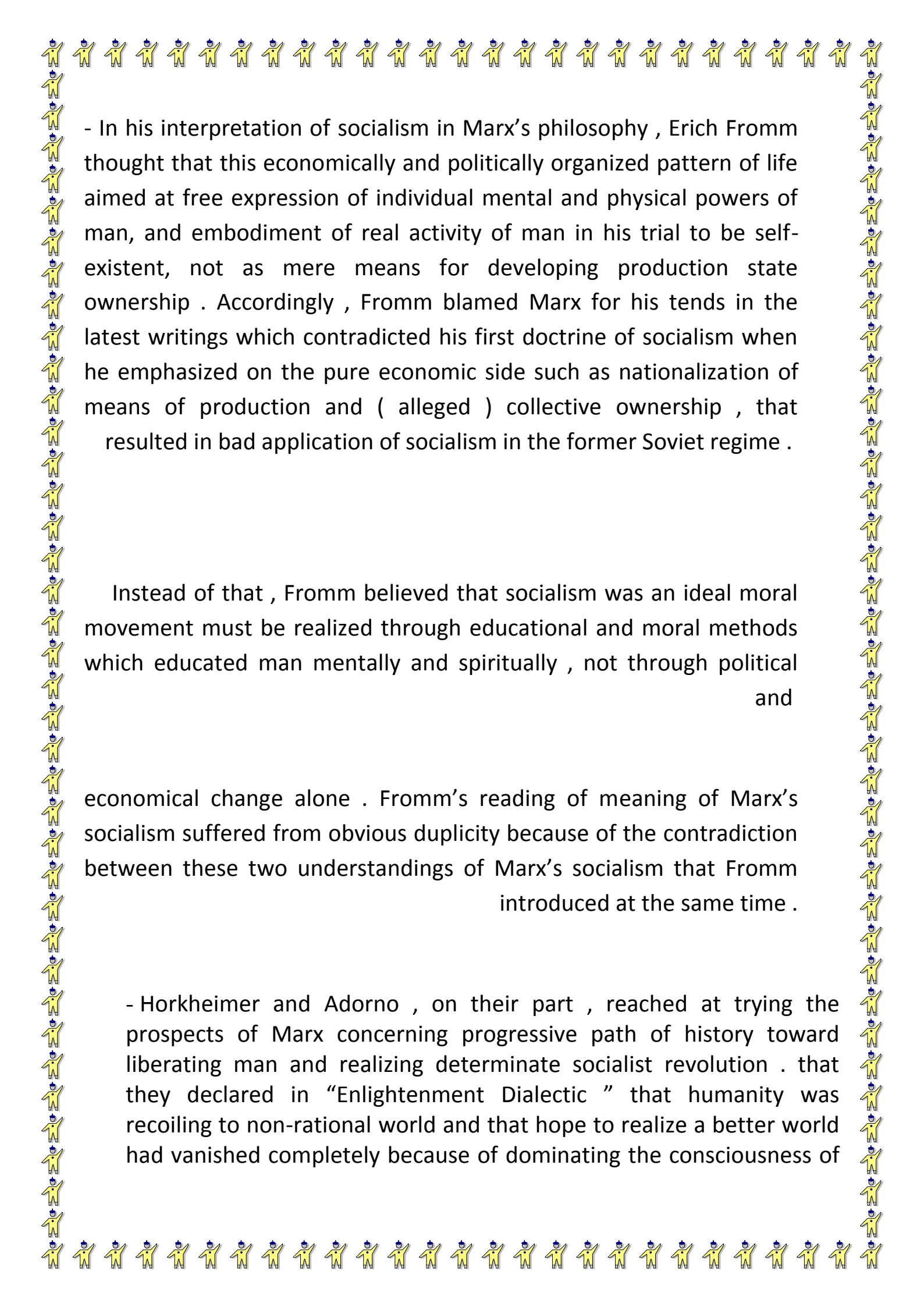


## Abstract

This thesis , which entitled “ Reading Marx's Philosophy By Frankfurt School ” consists of two main aspects : The first is the philosophy of Karl Marx ( The German philosopher who was famous also in economics, sociology and politics , and was the inspirer of most of communist movement and parties in twentieth century) . The second is Frankfurt School ( which established by American-German philosophers like Max Horkheimer , Theodor Adorno , Herbert Marcuse and Erich Fromm , whose radical thought and criticism were directed to the industrial civilization of capitalism which formed later “ Critical Theory ” .

The research concludes the following conclusions :

- The concept of “ reading ” according to the members of this school included all its meanings such as explanation , interpretation , trial and reproduction . They were not mere repeaters or explainers of Marx’s philosophy .
- The reading of Marcuse was on the contrary of the idea that there was an epistemological rupture between the young Marx and the old Marx . Marcuse thought that the substance of Marx’s philosophy seemed in his human tendency , that he was interested in liberating man and prompting his individuality . That idea differed the common understanding of Marx which claimed absence of man from his doctrine and giving the sole grade to the social class and the laws of political economics . Marcuse read the communism as a social system in which man could get his individuality , not as a social pattern in which man was crushed for the sake of society .

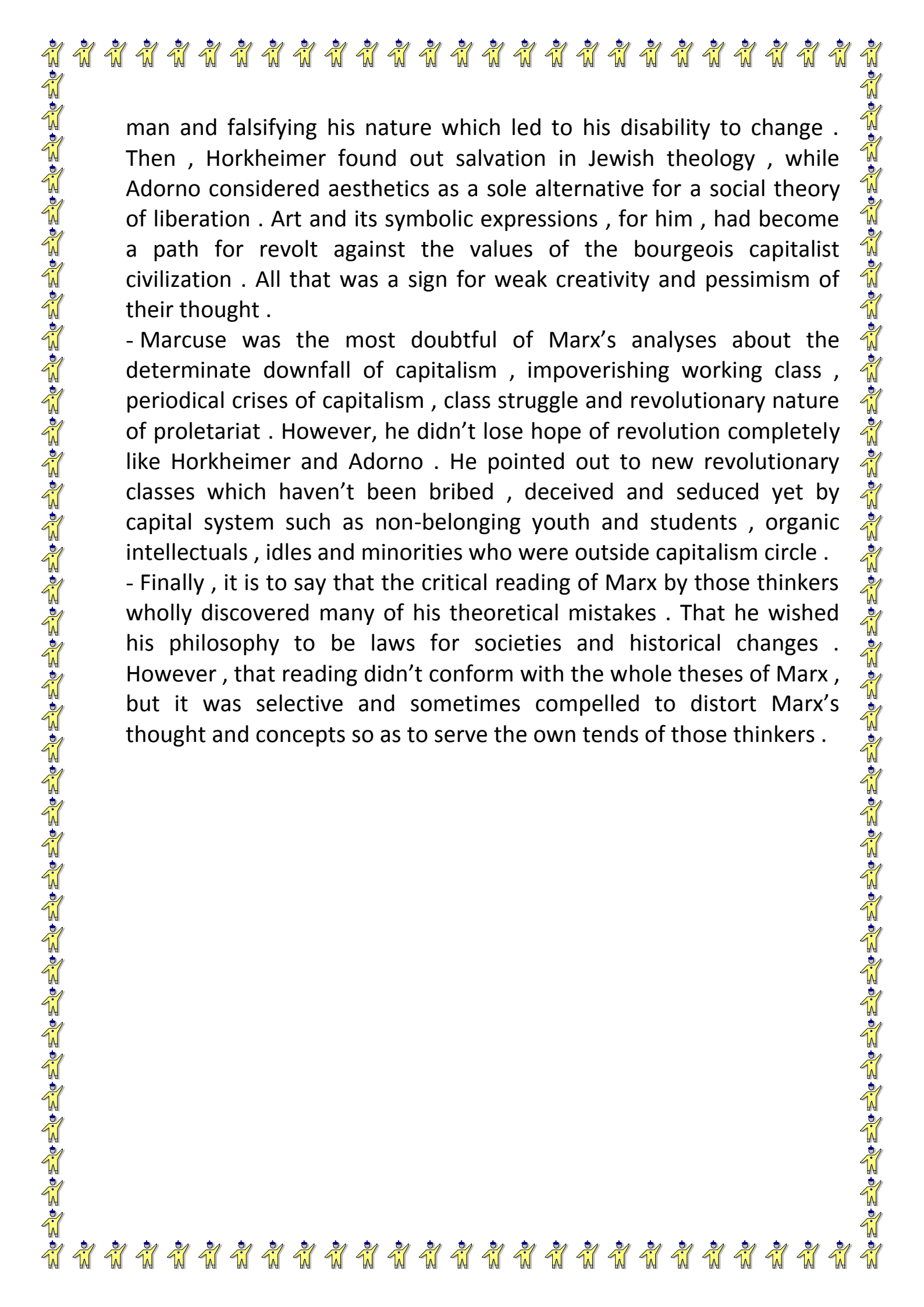


- In his interpretation of socialism in Marx's philosophy , Erich Fromm thought that this economically and politically organized pattern of life aimed at free expression of individual mental and physical powers of man, and embodiment of real activity of man in his trial to be self-existent, not as mere means for developing production state ownership . Accordingly , Fromm blamed Marx for his tends in the latest writings which contradicted his first doctrine of socialism when he emphasized on the pure economic side such as nationalization of means of production and ( alleged ) collective ownership , that resulted in bad application of socialism in the former Soviet regime .

Instead of that , Fromm believed that socialism was an ideal moral movement must be realized through educational and moral methods which educated man mentally and spiritually , not through political and

economical change alone . Fromm's reading of meaning of Marx's socialism suffered from obvious duplicity because of the contradiction between these two understandings of Marx's socialism that Fromm introduced at the same time .

- Horkheimer and Adorno , on their part , reached at trying the prospects of Marx concerning progressive path of history toward liberating man and realizing determinate socialist revolution . that they declared in "Enlightenment Dialectic " that humanity was recoiling to non-rational world and that hope to realize a better world had vanished completely because of dominating the consciousness of



man and falsifying his nature which led to his disability to change . Then , Horkheimer found out salvation in Jewish theology , while Adorno considered aesthetics as a sole alternative for a social theory of liberation . Art and its symbolic expressions , for him , had become a path for revolt against the values of the bourgeois capitalist civilization . All that was a sign for weak creativity and pessimism of their thought .

- Marcuse was the most doubtful of Marx's analyses about the determinate downfall of capitalism , impoverishing working class , periodical crises of capitalism , class struggle and revolutionary nature of proletariat . However, he didn't lose hope of revolution completely like Horkheimer and Adorno . He pointed out to new revolutionary classes which haven't been bribed , deceived and seduced yet by capital system such as non-belonging youth and students , organic intellectuals , idles and minorities who were outside capitalism circle .

- Finally , it is to say that the critical reading of Marx by those thinkers wholly discovered many of his theoretical mistakes . That he wished his philosophy to be laws for societies and historical changes . However , that reading didn't conform with the whole theses of Marx , but it was selective and sometimes compelled to distort Marx's thought and concepts so as to serve the own tends of those thinkers .