

THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO
CRITICAL THEORY

Critical Theory constitutes one of the major intellectual traditions of the twentieth century and is centrally important for philosophy, political theory, aesthetics and the theory of art, the study of modern European literatures and music, the history of ideas, sociology, psychology, and cultural studies. In this volume an international team of distinguished contributors examines the major figures in Critical Theory, including Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcuse, Benjamin, and Habermas, as well as lesser known but important thinkers such as Pollock and Neumann. The volume surveys the shared philosophical concerns that have given impetus to Critical Theory throughout its history, while at the same time showing the diversity among its proponents that contributes so much to its richness as a philosophical school. The result is an illuminating overview of the entire history of Critical Theory in the twentieth century, an examination of its central conceptual concerns, and an in-depth discussion of its future prospects.

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The Cambridge Companion to
**CRITICAL
THEORY**

Edited by
Fred Rush
University of Notre Dame



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FRED RUSH is Assistant Professor of Philosophy at the University of Notre Dame. He has written several articles on Kant, Hegel, critical theory, and aesthetics. He is completing a book on the philosophical significance of early German Romanticism and its relation to Kant and Kierkegaard.

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JOEL WHITEBOOK is on the faculty of the Center for Psychoanalytic Training and Research, Columbia University and is a practicing psychoanalyst. He has written *Perversion and Utopia: A Study in Psychoanalysis and Critical Theory* (MIT Press, 1995) as well as numerous articles on critical theory and its relation to Freud and Marx.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank, first of all, the contributors to this volume for their willingness to take time away from their own research to write what are essentially expository pieces and for making editing the chapters a pleasure. Special thanks are due to Karl Ameriks and Gary Gutting for allowing me to impose upon their wisdom as editors of previous volumes in the Cambridge Companions to Philosophy series. I am also indebted to Hilary Gaskin, who went far beyond her role of press editor to provide incisive advice and much encouragement at crucial points. James Hebbeler translated two of the chapters and provided editorial support, and he would like to thank Susanne Zorn for her assistance. Angela Smith provided help with the index. Translation of chapters originally written in German was funded by grants from the Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts, University of Notre Dame.

CHRONOLOGY

- 1918 First World War ends. German Socialist Revolution.
 Ernst Bloch (1885–1977), *Spirit of Utopia*
- 1919 Treaty of Versailles. Founding of the Weimar Republic.
 Walter Benjamin (1892–1940), *The Concept of Art Criticism in German Romanticism*
- 1923 Institute of Social Research founded in Frankfurt, funded by a private donation of Hermann Weil, a multimillionaire importer and grain merchant. Carl Grünberg, the “Father of Austrian Socialism,” is installed as its first director, with Friedrich Pollock (1894–1970) as his assistant. The *Archive of the History of Socialism and the Labor Movement*, which Grünberg founded in 1910, relocates to Frankfurt and becomes the house organ of the Institute.
 Karl Korsch (1886–1961), *Marxism and Philosophy*
 György Lukács (1885–1971), *History and Class Consciousness*
- 1926 Leo Löwenthal (1900–93) joins the Institute.
- 1928 Theodor Adorno (1903–69) begins his association with the Institute.
 Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*
- 1930 Max Horkheimer (1895–1973) joins the Institute as its director. Grünberg’s *Archive* ceases publication. Erich Fromm (1900–80) joins the Institute.
- 1932 *Journal for Social Research* begins publication. Herbert Marcuse (1898–1979) joins the Institute.
- 1933 End of the Weimar Republic. Hitler becomes chancellor. Institute buildings are searched by the Gestapo and

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- converted to use for the Nazi Student League. Institute moves provisionally to Geneva.
- 1934 The Institute relocates to Morningside Heights in New York City, loosely affiliated with Columbia University. Horkheimer, Fromm, Löwenthal, Marcuse, and Pollock emigrate to the United States. Adorno registers as an “advanced student” at Oxford. Institute’s empirical research severely curtailed.
- 1936 Franz Neumann (1900–54) joins the Institute. Publication of the collaborative *Studies on Authority and the Family*
- 1937 Horkheimer “Traditional and Critical Theory”
- 1938 Adorno becomes a formal member of the Institute and moves to New York.
- 1939 Second World War begins in Europe. Fromm leaves the Institute. *Studies in Philosophy and Social Sciences* replaces the *Journal* as the periodical publication of the Institute.
- 1940 Fleeing the Nazis, Benjamin commits suicide in Port-Bou on the French–Spanish border. Hannah Arendt, who crosses the border at the same point a few months later, passes on to Adorno a manuscript copy of Benjamin’s *Theses on the Philosophy of History*. The Institute publishes them in 1942.
- 1941 Bombing of Pearl Harbor and expansion of the war to the Pacific. Horkheimer, Adorno, and Marcuse resettle in Santa Monica, outside Los Angeles, forming part of a southern California German émigré colony including *inter alia* the novelist Thomas Mann, the composer Arnold Schönberg, and the poet and playwright Bertolt Brecht. Pollock and Neumann remain on the east coast. Last issue of *Studies in Philosophy and Social Sciences* appears, ending the Institute’s ongoing serial publication of its work. Fromm, *Escape from Freedom*
 Marcuse, *Reason and Revolution*
- 1942 Marcuse and Neumann have joined the OSS (Office of Strategic Services), the war era precursor to the CIA, in Washington, DC. Pollock works for the US Department of Justice’s anti-trust division. Löwenthal consults for the

- Office of War Information. This leaves only Horkheimer and Adorno to pursue purely theoretical work.
 Neumann, *Behemoth*
- 1945 World War Two ends.
- 1947 Adorno and Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*
- 1949 Horkheimer and Adorno return to Frankfurt to reestablish the Institute there. Löwenthal leaves the Institute and remains in America, as do Marcuse and Neumann.
- 1951 Adorno, *Minima Moralia*
- 1955 Adorno appointed codirector of the Institute with Horkheimer. Horkheimer retires in 1958. Jürgen Habermas (1929–) becomes Adorno's assistant and a member of the Institute in 1956.
 Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization*
- 1964 Marcuse publishes the best-selling *One-Dimensional Man* and becomes a philosophical mentor to the American New Left and Student movements.
- 1966 Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*
- 1968 Habermas, *Knowledge and Human Interests* and *Technology and Science as "Ideology"*
- 1969 SDS protests in Frankfurt. Adorno summons the police to arrest students who have "occupied" his offices. Rupture between the German student movement and the Institute. Adorno dies on holiday in Switzerland.
- 1970 Posthumous publication of Adorno's unfinished *Aesthetic Theory*. Habermas turns down offer to direct the Institute and instead takes a position at the Max Plank Institute in Starnberg, outside of Munich. Beginning of a two decade-long period during which the Institute ceases to be the focus for Critical Theory. Various themes in post-Adornian critical theory taken up in the writings of Karl-Otto Apel (1922–), Claus Offe (1940–), and Albrecht Wellmer (1939–), among others.
- 1981 Habermas, *Theory of Communicative Action*
- 1992 Axel Honneth (1949–), *Struggle for Recognition*
- 1997 Honneth joins the Institute.

ABBREVIATIONS

COLLECTIONS

- CTS* *Critical Theory and Society* (ed.) S. Bronner and D. Kellner. London and New York: Routledge, 1989.
- EFS* *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader* (ed.) A. Arato and E. Gebhardt. New York: Continuum, 1978.

FRANKFURT SCHOOL JOURNALS

- SPSS* *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*
- ZfS* *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*

ADORNO

- AA* *Can One Live After Auschwitz?* (ed.) R. Tiedemann, (trans.) R. Livingstone *et al.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003.
- AE* *Against Epistemology: A Metacritique* (trans.) W. Domingo. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1983.
- AGS* *Gesammelte Schriften* (ed.) R. Tiedemann. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1970–97.
- AT* *Aesthetic Theory* (trans.) R. Hullot-Kentor. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998.
- CM* *Critical Models* (trans.) H. Pickford. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- H* *Hegel: Three Studies* (trans.) S. W. Nicholson. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994.

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- JA* *The Jargon of Authenticity* (trans.) K. Tarnowski and F. Will. Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1973.
- K* *Kierkegaard: Construction of the Aesthetic* (trans.) R. Hullot-Kentor. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989.
- MM* *Minima Moralia* (trans.) E. F. N. Jephcott. New York and London: Verso, 1978.
- ND* *Negative Dialectics* (trans.) E. B. Ashton. London: Routledge, 1973.
- NL I* *Notes to Literature*, vol. I (trans.) S. W. Nicholson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.
- NL II* *Notes to Literature*, vol. II (trans.) S. W. Nicholson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.
- NS* *Nachgelassene Schriften*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1993–.
- P* *Prisms* (trans.) S. Weber and S. Weber. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1983.
- PDGS* *The Positivist Dispute in German Sociology* (ed.) T. Adorno. New York: Harper & Row, 1976.
- PMM* *The Philosophy of Modern Music* (trans.) A. Mitchell and W. Blomster. New York: Seabury, 1973.
- Q* *Quasi una Fantasia* (trans.) R. Livingstone. New York: Continuum, 1992.
- SF* *Sound Figures* (trans.) R. Livingstone. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.

BENJAMIN

- A* *The Arcades Project* (trans.) H. Eiland and K. McLaughlin. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Belknap Press, 1999.
- BGS* *Gesammelte Schriften* (ed.) R. Tiedemann and H. Schweppenhäuser. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1972–89.
- I* *Illuminations* (ed.) H. Arendt, (trans.) H. Zohn. New York: Schocken, 1968.
- OT* *The Origin of German Tragic Drama* (trans.) J. Osborne. New York and London: Verso, 1998.

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SW1 *Selected Writings 1913–1926* (trans. and ed.) M. W. Jennings, M. Jennings, and M. P. Bullock. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Belknap Press, 1996.

SW2 *Selected Writings 1927–1934* (trans. and ed.) M. W. Jennings, H. Eiland, M. P. Bullock, *et al.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Belknap Press, 1999.

FROMM

EF *Escape from Freedom*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941.

MCM *Marx's Concept of Man*. New York: Continuum, 1961.

HABERMAS

CES *Communication and the Evolution of Society* (trans.) T. McCarthy. Boston: Beacon Press, 1979.

FN *Between Facts and Norms* (trans.) W. Rehg. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998.

KHI *Knowledge and Human Interests* (trans.) J. Shapiro. Boston: Beacon Press, 1971.

IO *The Inclusion of the Other: Studies in Political Theory*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998.

LC *Legitimation Crisis* (trans.) T. McCarthy. Boston: Beacon Press, 1975.

LSS *On the Logic of the Social Sciences* (trans.) S. W. Nicholson. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988.

MC *Moral Consciousness and Communicative Action* (trans.) C. Lenhardt and S. W. Nicholson. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991.

MUP "Modernity: An Unfinished Project," in *Habermas and the Unfinished Project of Modernity: Critical Essays on the Philosophical Discourse of Modernity* (ed.) M. Passerin d'Entrèves and S. Benhabib. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1997.

PD *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity* (trans.) F. Lawrence. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1990.

PT *Postmetaphysical Thinking* (trans.) W. M. Hohengarten. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992.

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- STP* *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*
 (trans.) T. Burger and F. Lawrence. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT
 Press, 1991.
- TCA I* *Theory of Communicative Action*, vol. I (trans.)
 T. McCarthy. Boston: Beacon Press, 1984.
- TCA II* *Theory of Communicative Action*, vol. II (trans.)
 T. McCarthy. Boston: Beacon Press, 1987.
- TJ* *Truth and Justification* (trans.) B. Fultner. Cambridge,
 Mass.: MIT Press, 2003.
- TP* *Theory and Praxis* (trans.) J. Viertal. Boston: Beacon Press,
 1973.
- TRS* *Towards a Rational Society* (trans.) J. Shapiro. Boston:
 Beacon Press, 1971.
- TW* *Technik und Wissenschaft als "Ideologie."* Frankfurt am
 Main: Suhrkamp, 1968.

HORKHEIMER

- BPSS* *Between Philosophy and Social Science* (trans.) G. F.
 Hunter, M. Kramer, and J. Torpey. Cambridge, Mass.:
 MIT Press, 1995.
- CIR* *The Critique of Instrumental Reason: Lectures and*
Essays since the End of World War II (trans.)
 M. O'Connell. New York: Continuum, 1974.
- CT* *Critical Theory* (trans.) M. O'Connell. New York:
 Continuum, 1975.
- DE* *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (with Adorno) (trans.)
 E. Jephcott. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002.
- ER* *Eclipse of Reason*. New York: Continuum, 1974.
- HGS* *Gesammelte Schriften* (ed.) G. Schmid-Noerr and
 A. Schmidt. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1987–.
- KT* *Kritische Theorie*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1968.

MARCUSE

- AD* *The Aesthetic Dimension: Toward a Critique of Marxist*
Aesthetics. Boston: Beacon Press, 1978.
- CR* *Counterrevolution and Revolt*. Boston: Beacon Press,
 1972.

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- EC* *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1955.
- FL* *Five Lectures*. Trans. J. Schapiro. Boston: Beacon Press, 1970.
- L* *An Essay on Liberation*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969.
- MS* *Schriften*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1978–89.
- N* *Negations* (trans.) J. Schapiro. Boston: Beacon Press, 1968.
- O* *One-Dimensional Man*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1964.
- RR* *Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941.

NEUMANN

- B* *Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism, 1933–44*. New York: Harper & Row, 1963.