

Herbert Marcuse's Concept Of Repressive Tolerance

Abstract

According to Herbert Marcuse (1898-1979), under the dominant political and economic systems, pure tolerance will not lead to the civilizational function attributed to it by liberal liberals, namely, the protection of opposition. The progressive historical force of tolerance lies in its expansion into forms and forms of opposition that do not adhere to the present state of society, do not abide by the institutional framework of the existing society, and tolerance becomes meaningless if used to impede the development of the opposition. This is not only the case in the totalitarian society, under dictatorship, in the one-party states, but also in the shadow of democracy, where the majority is not the result of the development of independent thought and opinion, but of monopolistic management of public opinion. This closed, fossilized majority already resisted any change other than changes within the system, which meant that the majority no longer had a legitimate claim to democracy. This majority, unlike the "general will" of Rousseau, is not composed of individuals who are able to disengage from their own interests, but are composed of individuals who have effectively united their own political interests. The representatives of such a majority, in the realization and implementation of their will, fulfill and implement the will of special interests.

When the masses are integrated into a system that fosters tolerance as a means of perpetuating the struggle for existence and suppressing alternatives by pretending to have democratic freedoms, and unceasing congratulations on the dominant administration's commitment to the "market of ideas" which is the epitome of collective consciousness that transforms it away from the possibilities of change and reconciling it with the status quo. This community provides opportunities for expression of the alleged opposition, and "effective opposition" really becomes impossible. In these historical circumstances, pure and neutral tolerance must be repressive tolerance. To allow all opinions to express themselves does not express genuine tolerance. To become truly rational and independent beings, individuals first need to be freed from "the prevailing indoctrination".

The efforts to resist false pure tolerance must begin from the very beginning, where false consciousness is formed, or rather, where it is structured in a systematic manner, must begin to stop words and images that feed this awareness. In order for individuals to be free to obtain

information that tends in the opposite direction, it must extend to intolerance of ideas, groups and movements that promote reaction and discrimination.