

Artículo de investigación

Ideological and theoretical evolution of the «new left» in the journal «new left review» (1960-2015)

Evolución ideológica y teórica de la «nueva izquierda» en la revista «nueva revisión a la izquierda» (1960-2015)

Evolução ideológica e teórica da «nova esquerda» na revista «new left review» (1960-2015)

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Abstract

The movement "new left" arose in Western Europe and the USA in the 1960-ies under the influence of the split in the world Communist movement following the events of 1956, the twentieth Congress of the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) when it is the prevailing leftist anarchist and Trotskyist ideas. The new left protested against the Stalinist variant of socialism and the Stalinization of Eastern Europe, the hard political structuring and centralization of socialism, lack of spirituality of the "consumer society", the anonymity of mass culture, the unification of human personality. Advocated "direct democracy", freedom of expression, non-conformism and club-a discussion of the political culture.

The intellectual center of the "new left" was the magazine "New Left Review". The Central themes of the journal were the issues of updates of the Marxist theory, labor and trade Union movement, the analysis of numerous forms of anti-capitalist protest, the national liberation and anti-imperialist movements, ethno-religious, gender, psychological and linguistic-cultural research, philosophical analysis of the various aspects of the Central problem of modernity, namely the ratio of government and people.

Key words: intellectual history, "New Left Review", the new left, neo-Marxism, anti-capitalism, international relations.

Resumen

El movimiento "nueva izquierda" surgió en Europa occidental y Estados Unidos en la década de 1960 bajo la influencia de la división en el movimiento comunista mundial después de los acontecimientos de 1956, el vigésimo Congreso del PCUS (Partido Comunista de la Unión Soviética) cuando es el anarquista izquierdista prevaleciente y las ideas trotskistas. La nueva izquierda protestó contra la variante estalinista del socialismo y la estalinización de Europa del Este, la estructuración política dura y la centralización del socialismo, la falta de espiritualidad de la "sociedad de consumo", el anonimato de la cultura de masas, la unificación de la personalidad humana. Abogaba por la "democracia directa", la libertad de expresión, el inconformismo y el club: una discusión sobre la cultura política.

El centro intelectual de la "nueva izquierda" fue la revista "New Left Review". Los temas centrales de la revista fueron los temas de las actualizaciones de la teoría marxista, el movimiento sindical y sindical, el análisis de numerosas formas de protesta anticapitalista, la liberación nacional y los movimientos antiimperialistas, etno-religiosos, de género, psicológicos y la investigación lingüístico-cultural, el análisis filosófico de los diversos aspectos del problema central de la modernidad, a saber, la relación entre el gobierno y las personas.

Palabras clave: historia intelectual, "New Left Review", la nueva izquierda, neomarxismo, anticapitalismo, relaciones internacionales.

Resumo

O movimento "nova esquerda" emergiu na Europa Ocidental e nos Estados Unidos na década de 1960, sob a influência da divisão no movimento comunista mundial após os acontecimentos de 1956, o XX Congresso do PCUS (Partido Comunista da União Soviética) quando ele é o anarquista esquerdista predominante e as idéias trotskistas. New Left protestaram contra a versão stalinista do socialismo e da desestalinização da Europa de Leste, a estruturação política dura e centralização do socialismo, a falta de espiritualidade da "sociedade de consumo", o anonimato da cultura de massa, a unificação da personalidade humana. Ele defendeu a "democracia direta", a liberdade de expressão, a não-conformidade e o clube: uma discussão sobre a cultura política.

O centro intelectual da "nova esquerda" foi a revista "New Left Review". As questões centrais da revista foram os temas das atualizações da teoria marxista, e etno religiosa, sexo, associação psicológica e movimento sindical, a análise de numerosas formas de protesto anti-capitalista, libertação nacional e dos movimentos anti-imperialistas, e Pesquisa linguístico-cultural, a análise filosófica dos vários aspectos do problema central da modernidade, ou seja, a relação entre o governo e as pessoas.

Palavras-chave: história intelectual, "New Left Review", nova esquerda, neo-marxismo, anticapitalismo, relações internacionais.

Introduction

The origins of the British new left lie, first of all, in the political crisis of the Communist Party of Great Britain in 1956, which was provoked by Khrushchev's speech at the Twentieth Congress and the Soviet invasion of Hungary. By that time almost 10000 people left the party, and unprecedented debate was generated over the history, the theory, and the practice of Communism (D. Widgery, 1976).

In 1956 several famous British Marxist historians (Edward Thompson, Eric Hobsbawm, and John Saville) distanced themselves from the Communist Party of Great Britain and established a journal called "The New Reasoner" (R. Miliband, J Saville, 1976). The core of the journal consisted of the British communists (Ken Alexander, Doris Lessing, Peter Worsley, Mervyn Johns, Ralph Miliband, Christopher Hill, Iris Murdoch, Eric Heffer), who adhered to their 'left' traditions, but called themselves "a journal of Democratic Communist opposition" (S. Hall, 2000).

The second younger group has emerged around the same time. It consisted of post-colonial intellectuals, British Marxists, Labour, and other left intellectuals, "many of whom were foreigners or internal emigrants". This young group, made up primarily of Oxford students, organized an independent political alliance 'a Socialist society'. In 1957 the members of the alliance – Stuart Hall, Charles Taylor, Rafael Samuel, and Gabriel Pearson – organized a journal named

"Universities and Left Review" (E.P. Thompson, 1963).

Both of these journals had remained the prime institutions of the first generation of the "New Left" in Great Britain until 1960, when they merged into one – "New Left Review", the first editor of which was Stuart Hall.

Methods

The first period of "New Left Review". The social-intellectual appearance of the first new leftists consisted of two categories. The first of these was composed of Marxists who came from the Communist Party of Great Britain, who in 1946 created a group of historians of the Communist Party of Great Britain and in 1952 established the magazine named "Past and Present" on social history, which is still produced. E.P. Thompson continued such undertakings after desertion of Communist Party of Great Britain in 1956, when he began to create the British academic left-wing journals "The New Reasoner", "Socialist Register", and "New Left Review" (which he refused in 1962 after polemics with Perry Anderson). E.P. Thompson criticized the Communist Party of Great Britain from the standpoint of "socialist humanism", speaking with the condemnation of its political-ideological postulates and practical steps. At the same time, he criticized the policies of the Labor Party of Great Britain and the neo-conservatives of the 1980s. His work "The making of the English

working class" (M. Davis, K. Morgan, 2014) is considered "a textbook on the history of the British labor movement". The main contribution of E.P. Thompson's historical science became "the concept of a moral economy" (S. Hall, 2000).

The second category of the British new left-wing can be defined as "inter-class", "interrace", "interconfessional", "intersexual" and "international" circle of young intellectual people. They are people from the lower classes and colonies of the British Empire. Stuart Hall described this category this way: "First of all, these persons are originally from the working class, who now received a scholarship and went to study to the college, art school, etc. They started working by their profession, they became teachers or were engaged in intellectual activity. It is a common knowledge that Hoggarth and Williams came from a working milieu. Moreover, due to the adult education they became intellectuals" (E.P. Thompson, 1963).

Political context of the intellectual atmosphere's formation of the new left-wing research was not an abstract set of issues and problems of their founders. Also it was not limited with specific sensitivity towards cultural differences among people from the lower strata, who had an access to the university-level education and then collided with the representatives of social and cultural level. According to R. Williams, "Inequality, which I felt, for me and for any other person, who is originally from the working class and went successfully through the institutions of higher education, first of all, was an inequality of culture, education and treatment with literature" (M. Davis, K. Morgan, 2014). A biography of the first editor of "New Left Review" by S. Hall is a good illustration for this occasion (E.P. Thompson, 1963).

The intellectual sphere described above became further, in fact, a prototype of the all following "new social movements" and "network ones" which we know today. A refusal from the organizational forms and party agencies was a principled aim of a first generation of new "lefts". Eventually, the movement had no organizational base being just a "system of clubs". S. Hall in his memories tells about twenty-and-six clubs, in special investigations of the history of "the first new lefts" the number reaches the mark of forty (S. Hall, 2000). In London the club culture of the new lefts had close interweavings with youth counterculture - young people gathered for discussions with authors of "Universities and Left

Review" as well as for cultural, social and political, enlightening and club events. The debates with the authors could be announced as: "Coffee, beer and spirits will be available".

However, by the end of 1961 heterogeneity of views of the first wave of the new left and their organizational friability led to obvious contradictions, which escalated later, within the team of "New Left Review". Nevertheless, the magazine "New Left Review" became a centre of transformation during conversion from the first to the second wave of the new left in the United Kingdom. Due to this disagreements Stuart Hall left the post of editor-in-chief. However, by the end of 1961 heterogeneity of views of the first wave of the new left and their organizational friability led to obvious contradictions, which escalated later, within the team of "New Left Review". Nevertheless, the magazine "New Left Review" became a centre of transformation during conversion from the first to the second wave of the new left in the United Kingdom. Due to this disagreements Stuart Hall left the post of editor-in-chief of the magazine in 1961. In 1962 Perry Anderson came to his post. After that, the magazine took a critical stance towards Thompson's humanism and populism and the first new leftists, starting with 15 issues. The topic about liberation movements in the third world came to the foreground, what replaced the problem of the British workers (R. Williams R, 1983).

Before finally dissolving into the new politician forms of the 60th the first new leftists (R. Williams, S. Hall and E.P. Thompson) released one of their significant political documents "May Day Manifesto" (M. Kenny, 1995) in 1967. The reason their for the writing of the manifesto was the rising to power of the Labour Party headed by Harold Wilson in 1964 and the modernization program that disappointed the new left intellectuals because of its technocratic character. On the one hand, the authors of the Manifesto criticized the new lefties for their lack of a common political position. On the other hand, they criticized the technocratic rhetoric of the modernization of the Wilson government (the "theology" of modern capitalism) which they qualified as a "people management policy" undemocratic in its nature.

Results

The second period of "New Left Review" can be conditionally divided into two twenty years. The

first of these was held under the leadership of Anglo-British Marxist Perry Anderson (1962-1982, 2000-2003), who, like his predecessors in the journal, is a prominent representative of the historical science of Great Britain. He owns a significant number of historical works, written from the standpoint of historical materialism. The second twenty years is connected with the name of Robin Blackburn.

P. Anderson took part in discussion about main innovations in the Marxist theory of the second half of twenty century performing with the list of polemical articles about Edward Palmer Thompson creation's "The Poverty of Theory" (M. Davis, K. Morgan, 2014). Besides, Paul Anderson have supported the humanistic Marxism criticizing scientist interpretation Karl Marx's heritage by Louis Althusser in the end of 1970 ages (R. Williams R, 1983).

E.P. Thompson in the year-book "Socialist Register" has criticized P. Anderson's concept about domination of the aristocracy throughout history of Great Britain and also has condemned his solidarity with the "continental" European Marxists acting as opposed to radical British traditions. In reply P. Anderson has published two articles in "New Left Review" (January-February, 1966), under titles of "Socialism and Pseudo-Empiricism", "Arguments within English Marxism" (M. Kenny. 1995).

P. Anderson develops a Marxist approach to history in such works as "In the Tracks of Historical Materialism" (1983) and "The Origins of Postmodernity" (1998). Two earlier works by Anderson, "Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism" (1974) and "Lineages of the Absolutist State" (1974), represent a dialogue about the universality of the paths of socio-economic and political development in Europe in a historical context.

In the trilogy about the history of Marxism in Europe, entitled "Considerations on Western Marxism" (E.P. Thompson, 1978; P. Anderson, 1976), "Arguments within English Marxism" (R. Williams, 1968, P. Anderson, 1980) and "In the Tracks of Historical Materialism" (P. Anderson, 1983) (1983) outlines the contours of Western Marxism as a common intellectual tradition.

One of the main provision of view P. Anderson was that in English intellectual and political culture of the post-war period is practically no tradition of the western Marxism. Significantly,

portion of efforts of the magazine under its control was forward to correction of this national shortcoming by the publication and discussion, frequently for the first time in Great Britain, works of the most outstanding theorists of Germany, France and Italy.

P. Anderson expressed the hope that the history and philosophy of Marxism will cease to exist so apart from each other and begin to bond in a common socialist culture. The first serious attempt of this approach was the subject of attention "Differences in the English Marxism" (1980), which deals with the works of E.P. Thompson and noted the importance they contained criticism of the views of L. Althusser.

The editorial staff of the magazine was impressed by the rise of the left-wing youth movement in Europe, which began in the mid-1960s, especially since opportunism and reformism prevailed in the working-class movement itself. For Western Marxism, isolated in practice from the working class, the student movement was a real find. That is why the radicalization of the journal occurred in order to concentrate revolutionary ideas during the revolution of 1968 against the backdrop of student, feminist, trade union and anti-war rallies. In particular, in a special issue № 52, the "May events" in Paris were festively described as a "festival of the oppressed" .

If we turn to problems of key questions of "the New Left Review" magazine in the period of the second wave since 1962, then unlike the central theme new left the first wave (a humanity problem as expression of original resistance to mechanical deformations of Stalin theories and their realization in practice) to the forefront there are cultural, gender, national and language, ethno-confessional, racial problems which expand a circle of traditional subjects (an imperialism, Stalinism, working class).

Authors of articles brought up the following questions: "In what the constitutive nature of bourgeois democracy consists? What functions of model of the nation state and its future? What real character of an imperialism as system? In what historical sense of the state of workers without working democracy? What has to be socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries? How the idea of internationalism may to pass from a pious ideal to real practice? As well as what mistakes in the fate of the previous revolutions in comparable conditions need to be avoided in the former colonial countries? In what

way it is possible to cancel the suppression established by officialdom system and oppressions? What has to be structure of genuine socialist democracy?" (P. Anderson, 1976).

Discussion

The third period of the "New Left Review". Since the beginning of the new millennium, the journal has been a scientific symbol of the resistance to capitalism for a left-wing intelligentsia all over the world. Although it has stopped its hidden appeals to revolution, it has continued to present different perspectives on the modern Marxism in the form of discussions about basic ideas of the ideology. In 2008 the "New Left Review" was in demand because of the worldwide tendency for anti-capitalism criticism caused by the Global economic crisis and its consequences.

In the January 2000 a new group, led by Perry Anderson who replaced Robin Blackburn, took over the editorial leadership and changed the journal's design and approach. New concept was stated in the foreword of the following release.

In his very first days in the office Perry Anderson declared the "renewed" purpose of the Review under the current circumstances.

At a time of the collapse of the USSR and decline in the popularity of communism, neo-liberals such as F. Fukuyama, Z. Brzezinski, M. Friedman attracted considerable attention and became the issue of the Anderson's publications.

Ideological "revolution" of the left-wing movement was followed by an increasing interest to the ideas of revolutionary political groups like anti-globalists, Zapatista Army of National Liberation, chavistas in Latin America, "Occupy Wall Street" movement supporters etc. The new political baseline for Review has mixed a necessity to resist capitalism and current right-wing political ideas.

Conclusions

One of the key issues traditionally was the theme of protest movements and their new forms that has appeared recently (life of landless farmers in Brazil, the fight against the privatization of campaigns in South Africa and India, the struggle of Chinese trade unions for improving labor and activists of immigrant communities in the US). An important place was given to the materials about the World Social Forum in São Paulo, where N.

Klein, M. Hardt, T. Mertes, E. Sader and the leader of ATTAC B. Kassen made speeches.

In January 2010 "New Left Review" celebrated its 50 anniversary by a special edition which pays tribute to the traditions and Journal's previous editors Stuart Hall, Perry Anderson, Robin Blackburn, Susan Watkins.

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