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# Leftism in American Society and Politics From 1900 to 1960

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Literature and Civilization.

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## **Abstract**

The present dissertation is intended to investigate Leftism in American society and politics from 1900 to 1960. The method that is used in this study is historical analytical approach. It aims at providing the necessary information to understand the impact of Leftism on the American society and politics. Therefore, this work is meant to provide a clear analysis of the main events and facts that contributed to the transformation of American's thoughts and ideologies. For instance, the various problems of the Gilded Age and the negative consequences of industrialization that led diversified interest groups to call for progressive reforms at the city and state levels under the umbrella of Leftists and Socialists groups. Then, the movement had inspired prominent historical leaders, and changed the name in the late of 1940s which finally resulted in the emergence of new generation and culture that reflected in literary works. Despite all its successful achievements and the reforms that have brought, Leftism failed to cure all the problems and to reform the corruption.

**Key words:** Leftism in American society and politics, American's thoughts and ideologies, the Gilded Age, industrialization, progressive reforms, Socialists groups, new generation and culture

## **Declaration**

We hereby declare that this dissertation entitled, ‘‘Leftism in American Society and Politics from 1900 to 1960’’, is our own work and that all the sources we have quoted from have been acknowledged by means of references.

Sabrina KHIER

date:

Rahma KARA MOHAMMED

## **Dedication**

This dissertation is dedicated to Allah Almighty my Creator, my strong pillar, my source of inspiration, wisdom, knowledge and understanding. He has been the source of my strength throughout this dissertation and on his wings only have i soared.

To my lovely parents, who have always encourage me and whose good examples have taught me to work hard for things that i aspired to achieve.

To my dear brothers Idriss , Abde El Moumen and Mahfoudh , and my soul mates my sisters Asma , Mariam And Hanane , and to the apple of my eyes Ziyad.

To all my dearest friends: Sabrina, Wafa ,Chaima, Lamia, hana,Bouthaina, Salma and Kouather, to all my family especially my grand mother Rahma.

Thank you all of you, my love for you can never be quantified. Allah blesses you.

***Rahma***

## **Dedication**

This thesis is dedicated to:

The sake of Allah, my Creator and my Master,

My great teacher and messenger, Mohammed (May Allah bless

And grant him), who taught us the purpose of life

My great parents, who never stop giving of themselves in countless ways,

My beloved brothers Sofiane, Ahmed and Ali

To my sisters Cherifa, Nadia, Khadidja, Hanane, and khaoula

To Bouchra , Mohammed and Oumaima the joy of my life

To my grandmothers for their prayer

To my dearest husband for his encouragement and patient

To my freinds: Rahma, Chiama, Sara, Ghania, Ahlam, Ilham and Laila

All the people in my life who touch my heart.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.C.P:	The American Communist Party
A.E.M:	American Environmentalism Movement
A.S.P:	American Socialist Party
B.L.F:	Builders Laborers Federation
D.P:	Democratic Party
D.S.A:	The Democratic Socialists of America
E.R.A.P:	The Economic Research and Action Program
G.S.D.P:	The German Social Democratic Party
I.W.W:	Industrial Workers of the World
I.W.A:	The International Working Association
L.G.P.N.I:	Liberal Group of Predominately Northern Intellectuals
N.A.A.C.P:	The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
O.W.C:	Organized Working Class
P.R.E.P:	Peace Research and Education Project
U.N.A:	Union of North America
U.S.S.R:	Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics
S.D.S:	Students for Democratic Society.
S.D.W.P:	The Social Democratic Workingman's Party

S.N.C.C: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

T.U: Trade Union

W.W.I : World War One

## **Introduction**

The biggest story of the past fifty years in American politics has been ascendancy of the right. For a long time, the conservative movement was considered the most powerful till the beginning of the twenties century, the American social party Left wing emerged as broad rang of individuals, and groups that have sought a fundamental egalitarian changes and the economic, political and social, for instance, feminism, civil rights, civil liberties, minimum wages and environmentalism. Left –wing creed a specific principles: empowerment, social justice and decency, it focused on social-network, opposing hierarchy and supporting equality and it attracted to new experience and good feelings. Therefore, American Left wing emerged as a reaction to many social and political problems, which brought significant transformations in American society and politics from 1900 to 1960.

Leftism in American society and politics has a topic of hot debate. Thus, the study of Leftists' thoughts will lead to better understanding of this group in American history, because it performed a reason of radical changes in American society and politics. In addition, the study can be useful in providing learners and researchers with the main characteristics, ideologies and social reforms of the Left which impacted on the American history and American life.

In other words, the work has been chosen for helping students to understand the main reforms of American Left wing from 1900 to 1960. As well as, the origins of American Left in Western world have roots reaching way back into the dim past. Leftists' ideas and notions go back to the French revolution. In this context, the Right and the Left are the common vocabulary in western civilization. The Left reached its peak with the coming of progressivism which is the term that applied to a variety of responses to the economic and social problems. It begun as social movement and grew into political movement. It believed

that the problems society faced (poverty, violence, greed racism, class welfare) could best be addressed by providing good education.

Consequently, the New Left is not so very new and it shows its profile against the background of all the many gruesome failures of the Leftist movements. In this course, the Old Left was not overly radical and social issue, but instead on: work place, safety laws...etc. while the New Left focused on: social issues, feminism and environmentalism.

The 1960's were period when long held values and norms of behaviors seemed to break down. Other young people simply "dropped out" and separated themselves from mainstream culture through their appearance and life style, and they were against repressive generation of their parents. Attitudes toward sexuality appeared to loosen, and women began to openly protest the traditional roles of housewife and mother that society had assigned to them. So, all of these aspects affected literature.

The discussion of the topic can be summarized in the following questions: how American Left-wing participated in reshaping American social thoughts and politics? To what extent the Old Left is differs from the New Left? What were the impacts of Leftism in literature and cu

To answer questions above, the present dissertation follows the historical-analytical approach because of the nature of topic under study. Since this work is dealing with an issue in American civilization, the method of research will be followed in our study is the historical one. In addition, the chronological order of the events and facts that contributed to shape American Left. Since it emerged to oppose negative aspects of industrial revolution including: hard work conditions and child labor, it came to advocate welfare state and sought to equalize between private and public political participators.

This study will be presented in two chapters. We traced along the following outline: the first chapter defined and dramatized the roots and origins of American Left by identifying the massive change in politics and society from 1900 to 1960. Then representing the difference between Left and Right and focusing on the main social reforms that belong to the progressive era. Finally, we have to give a clear explanation to the main achievements of the progressive era.

The second chapter sheds light on the main difference between Old Left and New Left, which considered as a main cause in the variety of ideologies, than giving the purpose of American Left and the methods that were used by it to achieve its purposes. Also, the chapter showed the main outcomes such as: the counter culture and beat generation mentioning their origins which used as a reaction to the series of events and changes in American society. The Beat Generation was the central issue of the 1950, prominent figures contributed in developing the phenomenon among them: Allen Ginsberg. Moreover, the chapter pointed the Beat Generation life style including alcohol, drugs and homosexuality, which lead to its end. Finally, the chapter gave the characteristics of Hippies people, giving its origins and representing their life style. Then, the chapter draws an attention on the Beat literature which belongs to a group of poets like: George Spencer, George Coros and other writers and novelists. In the conclusion, we review the chapters to finally confirm that American Left was a real turning point in American history at all aspects of life.

## Chapter One: Old Left 1900-1940

The first chapter is mainly based on studying Old Left to portray the image of leftism in American society and politics from 1900 to 1960. The work started with defining leftism than giving its historical background and roots which refer to dim past of ancient Rome and Greek civilization, the Enlightenment Era and French Revolution. To show the difference between Left wing and Right wing and how they contributed in shaping a new ideology, that give birth to progressive movement which was the reason in the appearance of a series of social reforms, which considered as progressive achievement.

### 1- Definition of Leftism

The term Left can not be exactly defined, but most people know possibly what it means. John J.Ray in his article "The Roots Causes of Political Leftism" defined Leftism as "a person who is so dissatisfied with the way things naturally are that he/she is prepared to use force to make people behave in ways that they otherwise would not".<sup>1</sup>

John added a good academic definition "the essential feature of Leftism is the desire to stop other people from doing various thins they want to do and make them do various things they do not want to do (via taxation, regulation, mass murder... etc)".<sup>2</sup>

In the field of Politics, Left- wing advocates social equality<sup>3</sup>and egalitarianism<sup>4</sup>, and opposed social hierarchy<sup>5</sup>and social inequality.<sup>6</sup> As well as a belief that there are unjustified

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<sup>1</sup> John J. Ray (M. A; Ph.D), "The Roots Causes of Political Leftism," accessed February 20, 2018. Jonjayray tripod.com/leftism 2.html.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>3</sup> Social equality: meaning all the people in the society have equal rights under the law. Merriam Webster Dictionary. [https://www.meriam-webster.com/dictionary/social equality](https://www.meriam-webster.com/dictionary/social%20equality).

<sup>4</sup> Egalitarianism : believing that all people are equal and should have the same rights and opportunities in life. Free Dictionary. <https://dictionary.free.org/dictionary/egalitarianism>.

<sup>5</sup> Social hierarchy: is a system of organizing people into different ranks of levels of importance. Collins Dictionary. [https://dictionary.collinsdictionary.org/dictionary/social hierarchy](https://dictionary.collinsdictionary.org/dictionary/social%20hierarchy)

inequalities that must be reduced or abolished (by advocating for social justice). During the French Revolution (1789–1799) that was happened because of the social structure of the west, the political terms Left and Right are referring to the seating arrangement in the Estates General: those who sat on the left generally opposed the monarchy and advocated the revolution, including the creation of a republic and secularization. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century the word "wing" was appended to Left and Right, usually with disparaging intent, and "left-wing" was applied to those who were unorthodox in their religious or political views.<sup>7</sup>

The term was later applied to a number of movements, especially republicanism<sup>8</sup> during the French Revolution in the 18th century. By the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century the term was applied to a number of movements like: socialism<sup>9</sup>, communism<sup>10</sup>, anarchism<sup>11</sup>, and social democracy.<sup>12</sup> Later on, the term left-wing has been applied to a variety of movements including civil rights movements, feminist movements, anti-war movements, and environmental movements, as well as a wide range of parties (Leftism).<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Social inequality: the unfair situation in society when some people have more opportunities, money, etc. Than other people. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. <https://www.Britannica.com/topic/social-inequality> (accessed Mai 02,2018).

<sup>7</sup> Leftism, accessed february21, 2018. <https://what-is-this.net/en/define/leftism>.

<sup>8</sup> Republicanism movement: is an ideology centered on citizenship in a state organized as a republic under which the people hold popular sovereignty. George Fasel, “The Wrong Revolution : French Republicanism in 1848” (French historical studies, vol.8, Nov 4)( Autumn, 1974) , pp.654-677

<sup>9</sup> Socialism: is a closely intertwined set of liberating ideas and social movements that emerged in the aftermath of the French revolution. Dictionary of American History,copyright 2003 the Gale group inc.<https://www.Encyclopedia.Com/history/dictionaries-thesauruses-pictures-and-press-releases/socialist-movement>.

<sup>10</sup> Communism: is the political belief that all people are equal and that workers should control the means of production. Collins English dictionary. <https://www.Collinsdictionary.Com/dictionary/English-communism>.

<sup>11</sup> Anarchism: cluster of doctrines and attitudes centered on the belief that government is both harmful and unnecessary. Merriam Webster Dictionary. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/anarchism>.

<sup>12</sup> Social Democracy: a political movement advocating a gradual and peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism by democratic means. Merriam Webster Dictionary. [https://www.merriam-webster.Com/dictionary/social %2 democracy](https://www.merriam-webster.Com/dictionary/social%20democracy).

<sup>13</sup> Leftism .Op.cit.,

According to author Barry Clark, "Leftists [...] claim that human development flourishes when individuals engage in cooperative, mutually respectful relations that can thrive only when excessive differences in status, power, and wealth are eliminated".<sup>14</sup>

## **2- The Historical Background of Leftism**

Leftism, whether Socialist, communist, or anarchist, has along history in the United State and has dramatically influenced different periods of American history. By the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, "The Intentional Communities" related to a group of people coming together in a place they created to live in some particular way, emerged as a newly territories of American Midwest and West. For instance, Indiana, New Harmony, Nauvoo, Illions, and Brook Farm, Massachusetts are from the little non-capitalist societies that prospered in America .In the field of the social experiments that captured the imaginations of many figures like: Karl Marx <sup>15</sup>who established his "Scientific Socialism" on the lessons of the short comings.<sup>16</sup>

The historical of American left is not limited by the Intentional Communities. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup>cenury on wards, the Massive Railroad Strike 1877, that was an effect of street battles all over the nations between militant workers and state and private militias, under the leadership of radicalized workers who challenged the power of capitalism. Most of the strike's participants were European immigrants who were influenced by Communist ideas of Karl

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>15</sup> Karl Marx: (1818-1883) "the father of Marxism," he was a German philosopher, economist, historian, and political theorist. Wikipedia contributors, "Karl Marx," *wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/karl\\_marx](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/karl_marx) (accessed March 22, 2018).

<sup>16</sup>Ryan Briles, "A Very Brief History of the American Left," Young Democratic Socialist of America. August 07, 2013. web, accessed February 05, 2018. [www.dsusa.org/a-very-brief-history-of-the-american-left](http://www.dsusa.org/a-very-brief-history-of-the-american-left).

Marx and Friedrich Angel.<sup>17</sup> These ideas and acts of brave workers who acted on them would highly influence US leftists.<sup>18</sup>

Later on, the struggle between the forces of capital and the organized working class made Chicago a battlefield and a hotbed of unionists( the advocators of trade union) , socialists( who support socialism) , and anarchists( those who rebels against any authority establish order or ruling power) who consolidated in the struggle for the eight-hour working day. The Chicago working class and other communities were challenging some problems e.g. long work days, miserable living conditions, and dangerous living conditions. The anarchist Albert and Lucy Parsons were the leaders of Chicago working class, they ended the capitalist exploitation and they gained the support of their international comrades and the local working class. Finally the Chicago struggle gave result to the execution of Albert Parsons and others, but their legacy is considered as an aspiration for American radicals.<sup>19</sup>

The end of 19<sup>th</sup> century and the early of the 20<sup>th</sup> gave birth to American Socialist party leading by the great American socialist figure, Eugene Debs. Debs at the beginning was a labor leader from Indiana and led the famous Pullman Strike in 1894. Debs was imprisoned for his acts and during that period he was influenced by Karl Marx and other European communists' writings. Later on, Debs became the leader of socialist party and he ran for president several times. Debs' party is the basic of many American socialist organizations.<sup>20</sup>

Among the achievements of Debs is the establishment of the Industrial Workers of the World. The IWW fought to unify all the working class to struggle for the abolition of capitalism and collective ownership of the means of production. Big Bill Haywood led IWW

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<sup>17</sup> Friedrich Angels: (1820-1895) he was a German philosopher and social scientist. Engels founded Marxist theory together with Karl Marx and he coauthored the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848. Wikipedia contributors, "Friedrich Angels," *wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich\\_Angels](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich_Angels) (accessed March 22, 2018).

<sup>18</sup> Rayan Briles. Op.cit.,

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.,

to organized factory workers which include migrant frame workers, lumberjacks who were cutting down trees which will be used for building or transported them, and other marginalized people to fight together, careless of national origins or ethnicity. The IWW fought the police, private militias, and even the federal government for gaining reforms for the working class, but they did not pay attention to the replacement of capitalism<sup>21</sup>, with a workers' democracy.<sup>22</sup>

The American communist party of the 1920 and 30s had an enormous impact on political history of United State, not just on the Left in US. The party fights disenfranchisement<sup>23</sup>, capitalist exploitation<sup>24</sup>, racism<sup>25</sup>, and the Jim Crow laws<sup>26</sup> in the South. The communist creates many regional workers' assembly to help societies, labor organizers and civil right advocates. The influence on Roosevelt's New Deal<sup>27</sup> considered as the last aspect of American communist party. This later worked hard to enhance the working and living conditions of working class. Many historians like: Howard Zinn argued that the New Deal was nothing without the significant rule of American Communists. Some of the first Leftist were communists who were against capitalism and racism and their legacy of civil rights activism, which included many leftists of color, and civil rights groups.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Capitalism: is an economic and political system in which a country's trade and industry are considered by private owners for profit, rather than by the state. Merriam Webster Dictionary. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/capitalism>.

<sup>22</sup> Rayan Briles, op. Cit.,

<sup>23</sup> disenfranchised: not having the right to vote, or a similar right, or having had that right taken away. Merriam Webster Dictionary. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/disenfranchised>.

<sup>24</sup> Jary Lapon, " what do we mean by capitalist exploitation ?," Social Worker.org. September 28, 2011, accessed Mai 10, 2018.

<sup>25</sup> Racism: is the believe that one's race, skin color, religion and national ethnic identity is superior to others in humanity. "A Brief History of Racism in the United State". Tuesday, January 8. 2018, accessed April 6, 2018. <https://www.soundvision.com>.

<sup>26</sup> Jim Crow Laws: maintained social segregation in the South beginning in the late 1800s. Nadra Karreem Mittle, "Understanding Jim Crow Laws". Accessed April 06, 2018. <https://www.thoughtco.com/what-is-the-definition-of-jim-crow-laws.2834618>

<sup>27</sup> Roosevelt's New Deal : was a series of programs and projects instituted during the Great Depression by president Franklin D. Roosevelt that aimed to restore prosperity to Americans. The editor of Encyclopedia Britannica, "New Deal United State History," accessed April 11, 2018. <https://www.britannica.com/topics/new-deal>.

<sup>28</sup> Rayan Briles, op. Cit.,

### 3- The Earliest Roots of American Left

American left has its roots from the past of the ancient Greek (1100 BC-146 BC) and Roman (146 BC-324 AD) to the Enlightenment Era and then to French Revolution. The prominent figures and activists plaid a great role in the emergence of American Left by applying their new ideas and ideologies.

#### 3-1- The Ancient Rome and the Greek Roots (1100 BC-324 AD)

The roots of American Leftist's refers to the dim past, their ideas and notions originated from the medieval and modern history, but for its concrete aspects it is necessary to look to the French Revolution.<sup>29</sup>

According to the terminology, Leftism existed in the Ancient Greece. Hellenic democracy did not emphasis on the rule of the many it also had a strong egalitarian slant. Surely the term of equality did not include women, slaves, and foreigners it included only the full citizens that is why the constituency in Greek democracies always includes a minority. However Greek democracies have a certain liberal aspects e.g. it did not put an attention to men in a high positions and the absence of strong concertized rolling class. Plato <sup>30</sup>and Aristotle<sup>31</sup> described democracy as an element of equality and social, although not necessarily political liberty. While social liberties <sup>32</sup>were many, political liberties <sup>33</sup>were few, although

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<sup>29</sup>Erik Von Kuehnelt-Leddhin, *Leftism : from de Sade and Marx to Hitler and Marcuse* ( Publisher New Rochelle : New York, 1974),p .47

<sup>30</sup> Plato: (428-427 bc) was a philosopher in classical Greece and the founder of the academy in Athens. Wikipedia contributors, "Plato," *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plato> (accessed April 11, 2018).

<sup>31</sup> Aristotle: (384 -322) was an ancient Greek philosopher and scientist. Along with Plato, Aristotle is considered the "Father of Western Philosophy". Wikipedia contributors, "Aristotle," *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aristotle> (accessed March 22, 2018).

<sup>32</sup> Social liberties : is the synthesis of individual independence and communal autonomy from overarching government or state control. Urban Dictionary. <https://www.urban dictionary.com/define.php? term=social % 20 liberty>.

<sup>33</sup> Political liberties: the right to express oneself freely and effectually regarding the conduct, makeup, and principles of the government under which one lives. Dictionary.com. [www.dictionary.com/browse/political-liberty](http://www.dictionary.com/browse/political-liberty).

during that time the concept of the person did not exist. Later on, it appeared in the western world with the advance of Christianity.<sup>34</sup>

Plato and Aristotle have the same runner toward democracy, they escape from the democratic rule of Athens and went to Chalcis on Euboea, so as to avoid the destiny of Socrates. The antidemocratic tendency was not only the reaction of the intellectual against the government's form that put no bonus reason or knowledge; it was also an effect of the mightily felt of his master's death. Most of educated European or Americans were aware that Socrates was executed because of his creation of strange gods which corrupt the youth's minds.<sup>35</sup>

Democracy was never existed in Rome. Roman Left was represented mostly by Marius and his wife's nephew, Caesar who became a Leftist dictator that led to the evolution of monarchy into aristocracy, aristocracy into democracy, democracy into tyranny, and tyranny again into monarchy. At that point even the simplest Romans presumably realized that the Republic had gone the way of all flesh and that Rome now had a fundamentally different constitution, a fact that Tactics already had strongly suspected.<sup>36</sup>

Intellectual's view toward democracy during the middle Ages had a bad connotation. It founded, however, in small private societies such as in the high villages of the Alps. While, the larger and more developed societies were ruled by a monarch who owed his status either to birth or to election by small elite. The mixed governments are balanced ones. The king was not powerful; he had no right to impose taxes, and medieval and post-medieval society characterized by the penury of monarchs. The church, the powerful vessels, the diet in which

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<sup>34</sup>Erik Von Kuehnelt-Leddin. op.cit., p. 48.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p.49.

the Estates were represented, and free municipalities who had great privileged resented the king's power.<sup>37</sup>

The concern of the word "democracy" during that time confined only in learned treaties. Leftists' social and political programs with the trick of religious sects were so effective in Europe. Peter Waldo (1140-1217) was the founder of Waldensian<sup>38</sup> that gave birth to the first Leftist character. Their object scorn not only rich, sinful church but also all the high and mighty, luxury and power. The dualistic sects made their roots from the southeast to the northwest. They did not have a uniform vision about the wickedness of wealth, the punishment of the arrogant, the destruction of the tow great organization, church and state. The Reformation's source related to the sects. What made them differ from the reformers was the cult of poverty. The Waldensian from Lombardy emphasis on the manual labor, rejected oaths, and hated sumptuous churches, and preferred military service.<sup>39</sup>

### **3-2- The Enlightenment Roots**

The socialist party appeared as a reaction to the instability of society and it brought moral laxity and financial herd behavior. The New York Times states that the roots of leftism in the Enlightenment era<sup>40</sup>of the long 18th century and leftists were influenced by Enlightenment philosophy and they see it as their inspiration and their goal. The Encyclopedia Britannica reveals that the Enlightenment is similar to Leftism in specific assumptions like reason which defined here as way that makes some areas of life being understandable such as experiences and contacts. People have different biological capacities of understanding,

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>38</sup>Waldensian: a movement that took its name from Peter Waldo, it started toward the 12th century and spread throughout Europe in the Middle Age. "A history of waldensians," accessed Mai 10, 2018. <https://museeprotestant.org/en/notice/a-history-of-the-waldensians>.

<sup>39</sup> Erik Von Kuehnelt-Leddin. op.cit., p .50.

<sup>40</sup>Enlightenment Era: "bringing light to the dark Ages". It is safe to say that it occurred during the eighteenth century in the United State and it was inspired by the ideas of the British and French Enlightenment. Shane J. Ralston, "American Enlightenment thought," Internet Encyclopedia of philosophy, accessed Mai 10, 2018. <https://www.iep.utm.edu /amer-enl>.

perceiving, and remembering details. Whereas, the term equality in this paper means that states that all humans are equal. While, knowledge is a sort of creating principles and civilizations and it is considered as a reason that makes people smart. Also for the New York Time freedom as: instead of having no goals, people should have an anti-goal of having no goals whatsoever. That way, these equal people can use their reason and knowledge to do.... Well. Finally, happiness that it is differs from one person to another because finally no person can know what makes him happy? Those assumptions have originated from the ancient Athens and Rome and they are the basic of the modern society.<sup>41</sup>

### **3-3- The French Revolution 1789-1799**

Politically speaking, the term Left derives from the French Revolution. In 1789 a habit appeared when the anti-monarchist Montagnard and Jacobin from the Third Estate generally sat to the left of the presiding member's chair in parliament. The cause that divided Left and Right in France during 19<sup>th</sup> century was between French Republic supporters and those of Monarchy. The Left attempted to improve itself through the June Days Uprising during the Second Republic after the 1848 Revolution, which was supported by small group of population.<sup>42</sup>

The French Left's features emerged in the mid-19th century as a various movements, nationalism, socialism, democracy, and anti-clericalism. Inwards the Left Wing Marxism start to compete with radical republicanism and Utopian socialism. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, published in 1848 the influential *Communist Manifesto* “from each according to their ability, to each according to their needs”, which asserted that all human history is all about the history of class struggle. They expected that a proletarian revolution would be the cause in

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<sup>41</sup>Stevens Brett, “Roots of Leftism : the Enlightenment-and before that ?”.January, 23. 2017. web, accessed February 22.2018.[https:// www.amerika.org/politics/roots-of-leftism-the-enlightenment-and-befor-that](https://www.amerika.org/politics/roots-of-leftism-the-enlightenment-and-befor-that).

<sup>42</sup> Leftism.op.cit.,

deconstructing bourgeois capitalism and create a classless, stateless, post-monetary communist society. In that era the word "wing" was appended to both Left and Right.<sup>43</sup>

Thomas Paine's<sup>44</sup> works have influenced many leftists, social liberals, progressives and trade unionists in United State. Thomas Paine represents the concept of asset-based egalitarianism, which means that redistribution of resources led to social equality.<sup>45</sup>

For reaching a classless and stateless society the International Workingman's Association (1864–76), sometimes called the First International, brought different views and different representatives from different countries. Following a separation between supporters of Marx and Mikhail Bakhtin<sup>46</sup>, anarchists formed the International Workers' Association. The First World War led to the division of The Second International (1888–1916). Vladimir Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg opposed the war and considered themselves as further to the left.<sup>47</sup>

In the United States after Reconstruction, the phrase "the Left" come to describe those who supported trade unions, the civil rights movement and the anti - war movement. More recently Left wing and Right wing have often been used as synonyms for Democratic and Republican, or as synonyms for liberalism and conservatism respectively in the United State. Since the Right was populist, both in the Western and the Eastern Bloc, anything viewed as avant-garde art was called leftist in all Europe.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>44</sup> Thomas Paine:( 1737-1809) was an English American writer and pamphleteer whose “Common Sense” and other writings influenced the American revolution and paved the way for Declaration of Independence. wikipedia contributors, “Thomas Paine,” *wikipedia,the Free Encyclopedia*,[https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas\\_Paine](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Paine) (accessed March22, 2018).

<sup>45</sup> Leftism.op.cit.,

<sup>46</sup> Mikhail Bakhtin : (1895-1975) was a Russian philosopher and literary critics, his writing inspired different traditions like: Marxism. Wikipedia contributors,“Mikhail Bakhtin,” *wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mikhail\\_Bakhtin\\_problems\\_of\\_Dostoevsky's\\_poetic\\_polyphony-and-unifinalizability](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mikhail_Bakhtin_problems_of_Dostoevsky's_poetic_polyphony-and-unifinalizability) (accessed March 23, 2018).

<sup>47</sup>Leftism.op.cit.,

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.,

### **3-3-1- Positions**

In the field of politics, Left-wing associated with different positions starting with: economics, environmentalism, nationalism and anti-nationalism, religion and social progressivism. Leftists' thoughts impacted many spheres, because they wanted to apply their ideologies for creating a new society and eradicate the corrupted systems. Left-wing's purpose was to treat several problems of society for the benefit of humanity.<sup>49</sup>

#### **3-3-1-1- Economics**

Leftist adopted their economic from Keynesian economics<sup>50</sup> and the welfare state through industrial democracy and the social market to nationalization of the economy and central planning, to the anarcho-syndicalist advocacy<sup>51</sup> of a council and assembly based self managed anarchist communism. Leftists supported trade unions, during the industrial revolution. At the first decade of the 20th century, many leftists advocated strong government intervention in the economy. Leftists continue to criticize what they perceive as the exploitative nature of globalization, the "race to the bottom", and unjust lay-offs.<sup>52</sup>

Many leftists believe in Marxian economics that are based on the economic theories of Karl Marx. Some differentiate Marx's economic theories from his political philosophy, seeing that Marx's approach to understanding the economy is independent of his defense of revolutionary socialism or his belief in the inevitability of proletarian revolution. Marxian economics rely upon Marxist and non-Marxist sources. Marxists mainly Leninists who

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>50</sup> Keynesian economics: is an economic theory of total spending in the economy and its effects on output and inflation. It was developed by the British economist John Maynard Keynes during 1930s. Kimberly Amadeo, "Keynesian Economics Theory," the Balance, accessed April 02, 2018. <https://www.thebalance.com/keynesian-economics-theory-definition-4159776>

<sup>51</sup> Anarcho-syndicalist advocacy: is a theory of anarchism which advocates abolition of the state, capitalism, wage labor and private property (while retain respect for personal property). Steven, "Anarcho-syndicalism-an introduction," Libcom. October 12, 2016. Libcom, accessed May 02, 2018. [Org/thought/anarcho-syndicalism-an-introduction](http://libcom.org/thought/anarcho-syndicalism-an-introduction).

<sup>52</sup> Leftism.op.cit.,

advocated Leninism and Marxist–Leninists<sup>53</sup>, used the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" or "workers state" to define what they see as a temporary state between the capitalist state of affairs and a communist society. Marx defined the proletariat as salaried workers, in contrast to the lumpen proletariat, who he defined as outcasts of society, such as beggars, tricksters, entertainers, buskers, criminals, and prostitutes. The political relevance of farmers has divided the left.<sup>54</sup>

The state and private control of the economy was rejected by Left-libertarians, libertarian socialists, and anarchists who believe in a decentralized economy<sup>55</sup> run by trade unions, workers' councils, municipalities, and preferring social ownership and local control, in which a nation of decentralized regions are united in a confederation. Consequently, the negative aspects of the poor, workers, the environment, and small businesses which led to the anti-globalization movement<sup>56</sup> that protests against corporate economic globalization.<sup>57</sup>

### **3-3-1-2- Environmentalism**

Environmental matters, according to Marx "Even an entire society, a nation, or all simultaneously existing societies taken together ... are not owners of the earth. They are simply its possessors, its beneficiaries, and have to bequeath it in an improved state to succeeding generations." By the Russian Revolution, environmental scientists such as

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<sup>53</sup> Marxist-Leninism : the political economic theories of Lenin which provided the guiding doctrine of the Soviet Union ; the modification of Marxism by Lenin stressed that imperialism is the highest form of capitalism. Vocabulary.com dictionary.<https://vocabulary.com/dictionary/Marxism-leninism>.

<sup>54</sup> Leftism.op.cit.,

<sup>55</sup> Decentralized economy: is one where production units produce according to their own aims. Joe Strumer, "the meaning of decentralized economy". July 11, 2008, accessed Mai 05,2018. <https://revleft.space/vb/threads/157825>

<sup>56</sup> Anti-globlization movement: is a social movement that emerged at the turn of the 21st century against neoliberal globalization, a model of globalization based on the promotion of unfettered markets and free trade.Christian Fuchs, "Anti globalization Social Movement", accessed Mai 01, 2018. <https://britanica.com/event/antigloblization>.

<sup>57</sup> Leftism.op.cit.,

revolutionary Alexander Bogdanov and the Proletkult's organization attempted to incorporate environmentalism into Bolshevism, and "integrate production with natural laws and limits."<sup>58</sup>

Environmentalism became a concerned issue for the Left with social movements and some unions campaigning in the 70s decade. The purpose of Green Bans<sup>59</sup> was to destruct development projects, which later replaced by the left-wing Builders Laborers Federation in Australia, led by the communist Jack Mundy<sup>60</sup>, united with environmentalists. Socialist and Marxist left members unified environmentalism and anti-capitalism into an Eco-socialist ideology. Another figure Barry Commoner pointed out a left-wing response to The Limits to Growth model that expected catastrophic resource depletion and spurred environmentalism, assuming that capitalist technologies were chiefly responsible for environmental degradation, as opposed to population pressures. Environmental degradation can be seen as a class or equity issue, as environmental destruction disproportionately affects poorer communities and countries.<sup>61</sup>

### **3-3-1-3- Nationalism and anti-nationalism**

The political debate of the Left centered on the question of nationality and nationalism. During the French Revolution, nationalism was a policy of the Republican Left. The Republican Left advocated civic nationalism which in the simplest terms defines the sense of belonging through citizenship and political equality. The Marxist social class theory of proletarian internationalism stated that members of the working class should act in corporation with working people in other countries, rather than focusing on their own

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>59</sup> Green Bans: is a form of strike action, usually taken by trade union or other organized labor group which is conducted for environmentalist or conservationist purposes. Free Dicionary.[https://free-dictionary.org/green-bans\\_movement](https://free-dictionary.org/green-bans_movement).

<sup>60</sup> Jack Mundy : (1929) was an Australian union and environmental activist. In 1970 he bacame a leader of the New South Wales Builder's Laborers Federation (BLF) in the famous Green Bans. Wikipedia Encyclopedia contributors, "Jack Mundy," *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jack\\_Mundy\\_later\\_life](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jack_Mundy_later_life) (accessed April 09, 2018).

<sup>61</sup> Leftism.op.cit.,

countries. The slogan of Proletarian internationalism is "Workers of all countries, unite!", the last line of *The Communist Manifesto*.<sup>62</sup>

Proletarian internationalism saw itself as a deterrent against war, because people with a common interest are fighting each other, instead focusing on fighting the ruling class. According to Marxist theory, the antonym of proletarian internationalism is bourgeois nationalism. Some Marxists, with others on the left saw that the ruling class used some conquer tactics like religion, racism, and nationalism to deter the working class from uniting against them. Left-wing movements therefore have often taken up anti-imperialist positions. The critique that devoted by Anarchism against the use of nationalism as an argument to justify the state power and domination.<sup>63</sup>

The defeat of Germany and Hungary revolutions ended Bolshevik hopes for an immediate world revolution and led to promotion of "Socialism in One Country" by Joseph Stalin (1878-1953) who was a dictatorship of the Union of the Soviet socialist republics (USSR). Stalin viewed that revolution in one country is insufficient in accordance to the first edition of the book *Osnovy Leninizma (Foundations of Leninism, 1924)*. While in the second edition of the book, he strongly revealed that the "proletariat can and must build the socialist society in one country".<sup>64</sup>

### **3-3-1-4- Religion**

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.,

The original French left-wing was anti-clerical, rejecting the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and advocating the separation of church and state. Those on the Left usually support secularization and the separation of church and state.<sup>65</sup>

Some Left-wing movements, for instance civil rights movement and anti-capital punishment movement have been associated with Religious beliefs. Christian principles were the basic of some social theories like of Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, and the Comte de Saint-Simon. The Bible is the source of leftist principles such as pacifism, social justice, racial equality, human rights, and the rejection of excessive wealth. In the late 19th century, the Social Gospel movement (1870-1920) emerged as a religious social- reform in the United State, which sought to affiliate progressive and socialist thought with Christianity in faith-based social activism, promoted by movements such as: Christian Socialism. Gustavo Gutierrez and Matthew Fox championed the theology of liberation and Creation Spirituality in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>66</sup>

### **3-2-1-5- Social progressivism**

Social progressivism is another common feature of modern leftism, particularly in the United States. Social progressives contributed an important role in the abolition of slavery, woman's suffrage, civil rights, and multiculturalism.<sup>67</sup> The main aim of progressives summarized in the prohibition legislation. Social progressivism gave birth to different position including the death penalty and the War on Drugs, and support for legal recognition of same-sex marriage, cognitive liberty, distribution of contraceptives, and the right of women to choose abortion.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>67</sup> Multiculturalism: is the presence of, or support for the presence of several distinct cultural or ethnic groups within a society. Merriam Waebster Dictionary.<https://merriam-webster.com/dictionary/culture>.

<sup>68</sup> Leftism.op.cit.,

#### **4- The Difference between Left wing and Right wing**

The terms “left” and “right” are already widely used to denote the basic political alternative, the rights of individuals vs. the power of the government is the essential ideological differences between Left wing and Right wing. Leftists’ beliefs are liberal in which they believe society is best served with an expanded role for the government. Rightists believe that the best outcome for society is emphasis on reaching the individual rights and civil liberties and limiting the power of the government. Examples of an expanded role for the government include entitlement programs such as social security and, universal health care, food stamps, free public education, unemployment benefits, strong environmental laws, and other regulations on industries. Right wing ideology would choose market-based solutions to the issues that these government programs aim to tackle. For example, consolidating a freer marketplace for health care, brought by consumer choice to drive down costs.<sup>69</sup>

The Left applied its policies in a range spheres. To start with, political and economic policy, Left wing advocate income equality, higher tax rates on the wealthy, government spending in social programs and infrastructure, stronger regulation on business. Moving to health-care policy Leftists believe that access to health-care is one of the fundamental rights of all citizens, supporting universal health-care. Left wing favor expanded free, public education. Left associated political parties among them Democratic Party, Socialist Party. Social Democracy; Federalism; Socialism; Communism; Collectivism; and Marxism ideologies introduced by famous proponents Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.<sup>70</sup>

Whereas the Right's view toward economic policy summarized in: lower taxes and less regulation on businesses, reduced government spending, balanced budget. Talking about health-care policy, Right oppose government provided universal health-care. Favor

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<sup>69</sup>The Difference between Left and Right, accessed February 19, 2018. <https://www.com/difference>.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.,

competition to Medicare from private insurance companies, oppose Medicaid expansion. The Right did not oppose to public education. Right associated political parties as Republican Party, Libertarians and Constitutional party.<sup>71</sup>

## **5- American Progressivism 1900-1920**

A variety of men and women were actively seeking reform. In fact, all of the basic ideas associated with what is known as the Progressive Era were product of 1890. These reformers denounced trusts, tycoons, and corporate robe attacked laissez faire<sup>72</sup> and Social Darwinism<sup>73</sup>, exposed the miseries of urban living, criticized factory conditions and child labor, sought better treatment of women and minorities, and took steps to rid government of inefficiency and corruption. The intellectual and political atmospheres crackled with new ideas and proposal. “Progress” was a popular word, and progressivism was beginning to capture the nation's thought.<sup>74</sup>

As the nineteenth century came to a close, a new period emerged as a response to the previous era the Gilded Age. According to Collins English Dictionary the term progressivism means: doctrines, principles, and practices of progressives. And it defined by Cambridge dictionary as a social or political movement that aims to represent the interests of ordinary people through political change and the support of government actions. In general progressivism is a collection of ideas, theories, and actions that seek reforms and changes in society, politics, and economic. Many scholars have been debating the roots and the history of progressivism such as:

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>72</sup> Laissez-faire: is the policy which is based on the idea that governments and the law should not interfere with business, finance, or the conditions of people’s working lives. Collins English Dictionary. <http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/laissez-faire>.

<sup>73</sup> Social Darwinism: a 19th century theory, inspired by Darwinism, by which the social order is accounted as the product of natural selection of those persons best suited to existing living conditions and in accord with which a position of laissez-faire is advocated. Dictionary.com.[www.dictionary.com/browse/social-darwinism](http://www.dictionary.com/browse/social-darwinism).

<sup>74</sup> Thomas C Reeves, *Twentieth century America: A Brief History*( New York : Oxford University Press, 2000), p.20.

Elisabeth Israel Perry and Karen Smith state that the Progressive Era was the period that came at the end of the nineteenth century when reformers sought to deal with the various social, political and economic problems and this through involving government as an essential part to solve these problems. The aims of the reformers were to establish the welfare state<sup>75</sup> which motivated varied actions. The reformers were mainly from the urban classes and from groups connected with populist<sup>76</sup>. In fact, their political success appeared mainly and reached its peak during the period from 1890 to approximately the First World War.<sup>77</sup>

While Howard Cincotta suggested that Progressivism arose as a response to the expansion of Capitalism and the political corruption of the nineteenth century. Their objectives were social justice, more democracy, more efficiency, and honest government. Generally, they viewed that distend of the government range would develop and advance the US society and the welfare of its people. Nevertheless, the majority figures of the period either in philosophy, scholarship, politics or literature were associated with this reform movement.<sup>78</sup>

In addition, in the US History book explained that the Progressive movement was potential to cure American problems, which emerged due to the rise of big businesses at the expense of the worker. Factory laborers faced long hours, low wages, and unsanitary conditions. These problems include the idea of slavery, reconstruction from the American Civil War, and women's rights. Progressivism rejects the church for the main source of change throughout the country. The main goals of progressivism were to remove corrupt political machines from office and get more common people in the political process.

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<sup>75</sup> Welfare state: a social system based on the assumption by a political state of primary responsibility for the individual and social welfare of the citizens. Merriam Webster. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/welfare%20state>.

<sup>76</sup> Populist: a member of a US political party formed in 1891 primarily to represent agrarian interests and to advocate the free coinage of silver and government control of monopolies. Ibid.,

<sup>77</sup> Elisabeth Israel Perry, Karen Mnners Smith, *The Gilded Age and Progressive Era* (New York : Oxford University Press, 2006), p.271.

<sup>78</sup> Cincotta Howard, *An Outline of American History* ( United States : information Agency, 1994), p.107.

Progressivism was not only an organized activity to protect the rights of the workers but more than that its basic goal was to cover the bad results of industrialization and the Gilded Age: Local public safety, less corruption, efficiency, regulation, reform, specialization, social justice and social control of knowledge. By activating this, brings equality for men and women no matter, gender or race; or social background.<sup>79</sup>

### **5-1- The Roots of the Progressive Movement**

Progressivism was the organized reaction to the problems that industrialization brought. Moreover, it is worth noting that progressivism is a collection of ideas theories and principles that seek reforms and changes in different domains. So, the early roots of this movement dated back to small businessmen, farmers and educated people under the name of the Populist Party to confront the rising problems in the country. In fact, the progressive movement also is a reaction to the problems associated with industrialization and urbanization of the late of nineteenth century. In addition, many writers and journalists advocated reform and transformation; it considered a spirit reform marked the Progressive Era from around 1900 to 1917. These journalists were influential, their target to combat the social ills and evils by using their pen, they worked to reveal injustices and uncover the truth corruption of leaders and rich people to bring change in the society for better. Another movement originally led by a religious group called the " Social Gospel" in response to the social problems raised by the rapid industrialization, urbanization ,and increasing immigration of the Gilded Age.<sup>80</sup>

### **5-2- Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Thoughts for Reform 1901-1909**

Before Theodore Roosevelt became the most representative of progressivism, he had first emerged as popular hero of the Spanish American war in August 1898. Roosevelt

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<sup>79</sup> US History ( wikibooks: Org, March 13, 2013),p.205.

<sup>80</sup>US History.op.cit.,

became President after the assassination of the President William McKinley in September 1901. One of his main beliefs was that the duty of the President to use the power of the federal government to improve conditions of life for the people. This attitude is reflected on his famous action "Square Deal" which its primary concerns to solve the different problems that existed in the American society. In other words, Roosevelt believed that it should increase the power of the federal government to save the individual and nation's natural resources from the exploitation by the big corporations.<sup>81</sup>

Although Roosevelt was known as a trust buster, his ultimate goal was not the destruction of big business but its regulation. For Roosevelt the concentration of industry in ever fewer hands represented not just a threat to fair markets but also to democracy as wealthy industrialists consolidated power in their own hands. Roosevelt was best example of trust and loyalty to his country which is described in this few words:

"The trusts are hideous monsters built up by the enlightened enterprise of the men that have done so much to advance progress in our beloved country. On the one hand I would stamp them under foot, on the other hand, not so fast".<sup>82</sup>

## **6- American socialism**

Socialist party of America was founded in 1901, American Socialism grow as a reaction to the worst effects of industrialization. Socialists believed that wealth and power were available in the hands of too few individuals, that monopolies and trusts controlled too much of the economy, that owners and investors exploited workers who produced their wealth, that is why they become rich, even though workers worked hard to gain and rise

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<sup>81</sup> Dennis Brynley O'Callaghan, *An Illustrated History of the USA* ( British Library : Seventeenth impression, 2004), P.82.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid.,

national wealth, they still suffered from low pay, long hours, and unsafe working conditions. Therefore, Socialism attempted to transform American political and social life.<sup>83</sup>

### **6-1- The Roots of socialism in America**

Historically speaking, the roots of socialism in America can be traced to the arrival of German immigrants in the 1850, when some figures started to be influenced by the Marxist theory. In the result they formed many unions among that Union of North America in 1859. Theodore H. White, author of *Fire in the Ashes: Europe in Mid-Century* (1953) wrote, "Socialism is the belief and the hope that by proper use of government power, men can be rescued from their helplessness in the wild cycling cruelty of depression and boom."<sup>84</sup>

### **6-2- The Progress of Socialism**

The Social Party is the first nationally organized party of Marxian Socialism in the United States in the view of Jack Ross, according to him it is similar to that in 1864 founded by Karl Marx. So, a meeting of ten Americans and one German in Philadelphia on July 15, 1876, their aims were to establish a unified party of Socialism in America. This effort was largely instigated by the Social Democratic Workingman's Party, which descended from the founder of the German Social Democratic Party and critic of Marx. In addition to other many unions that contributed in developing Socialism in America. Democratic Socialism means that the must of reform in political system and social class.<sup>85</sup>

In fact, the American History pointed out that the Socialist Party was born and progress between 1900 and 1912. Under the charismatic leadership of William Eugene V.

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<sup>83</sup> Alvin ISD, accessed February 25, 2018 <http://www.alvinisd.net/.../Accomplishments%20of%20the%20ear>.

<sup>84</sup> Evan Britton, "United State History," Jan. 23, 2012, accessed February 28, 2018. <https://www.us-history.com/pages/h1966.html>

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

Debs in 1912, he published his work in the *Appeal to Reason*<sup>86</sup> after he had converted to socialism; he talked more about poverty and injustice. The main objective to improve working conditions and raise wages.<sup>87</sup>

Through the twenties century the Progressive movement came to the application specifically with the President Theodore Roosevelt. The Socialist Party was included within the Progressive Movement. The party dealt with American problems and challenges. Thus, the Socialist Party is different to the Communist Party, the Socialist side corporate the local level and work as Progressivism in order to make better conditions for workers and all people. Hence, the Democratic Socialists of America is the largest socialist organization in the US, it believe that both the economy and society should be run democratically to meet human needs, not to make profits for a few.<sup>88</sup>

Socialist were among the founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The socialist movement's ideas influenced college campuses, church groups, settlement house and woman's movements. The unity of the socialist party in 1910 led to its success, the socialist's members disagreed on some issues but for a while they changed their mind to emphasis on the democratic socialism which is more important than tactical or ideological differences. The year 1912, marked the hard times toward socialist party because of the coming of the WWI. Many debates rose about the party's reactions toward American involvement in the war and whether to support the Russian revolution or not.<sup>89</sup>

## **7- Progressive Achievements in American Society**

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<sup>86</sup> The *Appeal to Reason*: was a weekly left-wing political newspaper published in the American Midwest from 1895 until 1922. Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Appeal\\_to\\_Reason\\_\(newspaper\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Appeal_to_Reason_(newspaper)).

<sup>87</sup> Evan Britton, op.cit.,

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>89</sup> Maurice Isserman, *The Death of the Old Left and the Birth of the New Left: If I had a Hammer* ( Amazon France: Purue University Press), p. 282.

The American progressivism came to correct the problems that resulted from the Gilded Age. Therefore, the main goals of progressivism were to replace corrupt political machines from office by common people in the political process, progressivism was general spirit of reform embraced by Americans with diverse goals and backgrounds during the early twentieth century.

### **7-1- The Reform Spirit 1870-1920**

The first calls for reform in the 1870s and 1880s, such as Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*<sup>90</sup>, which called for a tax on the unearned increase in the value of land. At the same time, writers began to resign the romantic style that had dominated pre-Civil War literature in favor of examining life as it really was. The creation of believable and real characters from all social classes and the vivid description of the nation's mysterious social problems bolted millions of readers and cranked reform activity well into the 1900s.<sup>91</sup>

In response to the raises of 19th-century capitalism and political corruption, a reform movement arose called "progressivism," which gave American politics and thought its special character from approximately 1890 until the American entry into World War I in 1917. The Progressives worked in a democratic root to eliminate the corruption of political bosses and the spread of robber barons. Their goals were greater democracy and social justice, honest government, more effective regulation of business and a revived commitment to public service. In general, they believed that expanding the scope of government would ensure the progress of U.S. society and the welfare of its citizens. Almost all the notable figures of the

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<sup>90</sup> Progress and Poverty : An inquiry into the cause of industrial Depression and of increase of wealth: the Remedy is an 1879 book by social theorist and economist Henry George. *Wikipedia*. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki:progress\\_and\\_poverty](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki:progress_and_poverty). poverty.

<sup>91</sup> Thomas C Reeves, op.cit. p. 22.

period, whether in politics, philosophy, scholarship or literature, were connected, at least in part, with the reform movement.<sup>92</sup>

The years 1902 to 1908 marked the era of greatest reform activity, as writers and journalists. Mark Twain had exposed American society to critical scrutiny in *The Gilded Age*. Many other writers wrote articles in newspapers and in such popular magazines as *McClure's* and *Collier's*. Their authors, such as the journalist Ida Mae Tarbell.<sup>93</sup>

## **7-2- The Political Reforms**

The prominent goal of the Progressive movement is the local reform, simply, because of the widespread of political corruption and social issues and problems. Then, the reformers stated many laws and acts in order to limit the power of politicians and business men. Many scholars have debated and discussed the accomplishments of various politics, social and economic reforms.

To mention some of them, Reeves illustrate that Progressivism started in the cities during the 1890s and spread to the state and federal levels. Local reformers made efforts to stop political domination, personal interests and their principle to develop the urban life, such as mayors Tom Johnson of Cleveland and Samuel M. “Golden Rule” Jones of Toledo. By 1915 almost two-thirds of the nation’s waterworks were owned and operated by municipalities. More limited experiments were undertaken in the fields of gas, electricity, and public transportation. Cities also passed or inspired passage of the first laws regulating labor, housing, and public health. Historian George Mowry has reminded us that the American city was “the inspirer of social democracy” and “the originator of social regulation.”<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>93</sup> Cincotta Howard, op. cit. p. 107.

<sup>94</sup> Thomas Reeves, op. cit. p. 27-28.

The fact showed that, in the late nineteenth century many state legislatures had become tools of political bosses and unscrupulous corporations. A map of the United States published in France in 1905 showed twenty-five of the forty-five states as wholly corrupt and thirteen as partially corrupt. Municipal reformer understood that they should provide their efforts to clean up the state and to put end for Bureaucracy, bribery and other problems. Wisconsin led the way after the election of Robert M. La Follette as governor in 1900. La Follette, an ambitious, energetic, charismatic, articulate reformer, had worked within the regular Republican machine during three terms in Congress. As governor, however, he became the eager champion of the small farmer and factory work. From 1901 until he went to the Senate in 1906, La Follette led the often bitter fight for a sweeping series of reforms that prompted Theodore Roosevelt to call Wisconsin “the laboratory of democracy.”<sup>95</sup>

One needs to stress the fact that progressives' basic goals for political reform depended on three elements: making government efficient, ending corruption in the political institutions as well as increasing voter's participation in the political decisions. Thus, progressives made serious efforts to accomplish these goals. So, municipal reforms worked to change the structure of the city government by introducing tow forms. The commission form was used to reduce the influence of local politics and manager plan to supervise the city administration.

According to Catherine Cocks the term of commission government dealt with voters throughout the city to elect five to seven commissioners whereas the ancient system based on wards to select these commissioners. Each local department managed by commissioner, although all the members formed together the city council. The commissioners worked for

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid, p. 28.

public interest not for their own benefit as they were before in the 19th century. That's why the commission system gained a large public support throughout all cities of the nation.<sup>96</sup>

Moreover, the city manager plan came to replace the commission government when it removed its faults in its function. Commissioners lacked the experience to direct the difficult issues like public utilities, public health, public work as well as fire and police protections. In the sphere of business the manager plan was brought by commissioners, where the administrators of the stockholder' organization chosen a business manager to be responsible for company's affairs. In this regard, commission government selected a manager to conduct the details of the city administration. As a result, South Carolina was the first state to adopt manager plan in 1912 because of its popularity. Later on, the plan was adopted by many towns and cities like: Akron, Springfield...etc.<sup>97</sup>

Progressive also introduced important political reforms to many states, these reforms sought to raise level of public participation on the political process and to give citizens more of a direct voice by passing the secret ballot. This came to eradicate the bad ancient practices of the political parties. Voters were less subject to pressure when they could vote in secret.<sup>98</sup>

### **7-3- The Social Reforms**

After progressive political achievement, the Americans began to reveal social problems of their cities and states. They made the following reforms:

First, Settlement Houses originated as places where an urban population could receive aid, education, and learn to adapt to contemporary problems. Services provided included English language instruction, Kindergarten, art exhibits, and nurseries among other things.

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<sup>96</sup> Ctherine Cocks, et al, *The A to Z of the Progressive Era* (UK: The Scarecrow Press, Inc, 2009), p.86.

<sup>97</sup> Charles Beard A and Mary A Beard, *History of the United States* (The Macmillan company, 1921), p. 271-272.

<sup>98</sup> AlvinISD, accessed March 02, 2018. op.cit.

The prominent figure Jane Addams who introduced the Settlement house when began in slum neighborhoods.<sup>99</sup>

William Edward Burghardt whose nickname DuBois was born in Massachusetts in 1868. He was the first African American to earn a PhD He was one of the founders of the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People). Booker T. Washington, a prominent African American leader, had affirmed that African Americans should seek gradual equality, focus on job training, and not be too demanding. This view was criticized by DuBois who emphasis on achieving immediate racial equality. During the progressive era a Jewish organization Defamation League<sup>100</sup> which opposed religious prejudice. Progressives also organized charities, clubs, and other associations.<sup>101</sup>

Social reform continued to improve working conditions and ending child labor by passing Labor Reform Act, which includes: safety and health condition in factories, workers compensation laws, minimum wages laws, eight hours day, and unionization. Child labor laws enable education and advancement for working class condition.<sup>102</sup>

The conclusion that can be drawn from this chapter is that Ancient Greek and Rome and French revolution were the cause in the emergence of intellectual figures who made a radical change in America, that included different spheres not only society and politics but even education, health-care, and woman's rights. Consequently, this movement continued to change the mind of people thus people acquired a sense of nationalism and belonging. Additionally, progressivism witnessed various problems among them political corruption and social ills. So, this movement emerged to cure the mistakes of industrialization such as: low

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<sup>99</sup>Americanhistory, accessed March 05, 2018.  
americanhistory.pbworks.com/f/A21w+Progressive+Era+Web.pdf.

<sup>100</sup> Organization of Defamation League: Describing itself as "the nation's premier civil rights/human relations agency". *Wikipedia*. Op.cit.,

<sup>101</sup> American history, op.cit.,

<sup>102</sup>Ibid.,

wages, long hours, and unsafe working conditions. As a result, socialism movement made reconstruction and reforms which have the same goal of progressivism.

So, as it will shown in the next chapter that, the goals of the Old Left especially socialism influenced Americans throughout the nation and thus progressives made a significant actions to cure the nation's ills. Despite that, Old Left brought many changes in the hardest period in America; the New Left emerged in different ways and aspects that reflected in the Beat Generation.

## **Chapter Two: The New Lefts 1940-1960**

The political movement of The New Left appeared in 1960 and 1970s, which created by activists in the western world who have many reforms on different issues e. g. Civil and political rights, feminism, gay rights, abortion rights, and gender role. Many historians considered the New Left as a continuation to traditional leftists' goals. This chapter aims to define the New Left, showing its beginning and presenting its several origins that were a cause in the emergence of American New Left. The origins of the New Left are summarized in: the beat generation of the fifties, the civil rights movements, students for democratic society SDS, and French origins. Then, the study explains the difference between the Old Left and the New Left. In addition, the work showed the purpose, techniques, methods, and outcomes of the New Left.

### **1-Definition of New Left**

Carl Oglesby declared that:

the themes of last century's radicals remains vivid in this half of the twentieth century the Left has always wanted something called progress, aspired to something called human mastery over something called social destiny, seen itself as the winner in the long distance viewed its general program as being the same thing as humanity's proper historical agenda.<sup>103</sup>

The 1960s have known as the most violent decade in American History. The era resulted in a great attention, which focused on the activities of a group of students called New Left, who were responsible for the students' tumult at Berkeley, Columbia, and Chicago. Movements of the New Left are brought a fundamental social change and radical democracy that disrupted the United States from their emergence in the 1950s through their dispersion and institutionalization in the early 1970s. The term New Left is impossible to define to everyone's satisfaction. Van Gosse an associate professor of history gave a global definition

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<sup>103</sup> Carl oglesby. "The Definition of New Left," accessed March 01, 2018. [www.vedegglet.Hu/okopoliteka/hoglesby%20-%20New %20.Left.Pdf](http://www.vedegglet.Hu/okopoliteka/hoglesby%20-%20New%20.Left.Pdf)

of the New Left, which includes the development and commonalities of the civil rights and black power movements and other struggles of people of color, of the peace, antiwar, student movements, and of feminism and gay liberation.<sup>104</sup>

According to Cultural literary dictionary:

“New Left is a radical Leftist political movement active especially during the 1960s and 1970s, composed largely of college student and young intellectuals whose goals included racial equality, de-escalation of the arm race, nonintervention in the foreign affairs, and other major changes in the political, economic, social, and educational systems”.<sup>105</sup>

The paper of “ some aspects of the Origins of the New Left” defined the term New Left as: “a group of people dedicated to bringing about a violent change in the American society and government”. The difference between New Left and old left is that the New Left is more willing to use violence in order to bring changes, New Left’s membership are younger than those in the old Left.<sup>106</sup>

## **2- The Beginning of New Left 1940-1960**

After the death of Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, his successor Nikita Khrushchev<sup>107</sup> delivered his “Secret Speech” in February 1956. Khrushchev delivered his speech to a close session of the 20th congress of the communist party of the Soviet Union. The speech’s purpose was to destroy the image of the great dictator leader Joseph Stalin in order to change the official policy to the ideal Leninist model, and to denounce Stalin for the cult of personality he had cultivated.<sup>108</sup> Thus, many of the communist party disused for Stalinism and adapted a new Soviet Secretary. During that period America liked to distance itself from

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<sup>104</sup> Warren B. Morris, “ Some Aspects of the Origins of the New Left,” accessed March 10, 2018. [Fill://c:/users/rad- info/downloads/4751-9701-1-PB.Pdf](file:///c:/users/rad-info/downloads/4751-9701-1-PB.Pdf)

<sup>105</sup> *Oxford Dictionary*, “New Left,” accessed 02, 2018. [Com.www.dictionary.com/browse/new-Left](http://www.dictionary.com/browse/new-Left)

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>107</sup> Nikita Khrushchev : (1894-1971) was a Soviet statesman wh led the Soviet union during part of the Cold War as the first secretary of the Communist party of the Soviet Union from 1953- 1964. Wikipedia Contributors, “ Nikita Khrushchev,” *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nikita/Khrushchev> (accessed April 11, 2018).

<sup>108</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia, “Khrushchev Secret Speech”, *Soviet History*, February 18, 2018. [https://www.britannica.com/event/khrushchev\\_secret\\_speech](https://www.britannica.com/event/khrushchev_secret_speech).

Soviet Union's issues, to form what it is called New Left. This New Left would like to the heroes in the third world including: Mao Zedong<sup>109</sup>, Ho chi Minh<sup>110</sup>, Fidel Castro<sup>111</sup>, and Daniel Ortega<sup>112, 113</sup>.

### 3- The Origins of New Left

The phenomenon of the New Left was devoted by different sources of media including little magazines, journals of opinion, mass magazines, radio and television. It is a truly new force in American Life.<sup>114</sup>

New left has various origins like: The beat generation of the fifties, the civil right movement, and student for democratic society SDS, the Cuban revolution, and French origins. Left wing activists and intellectuals, who emerged in Western Europe and North America in the late 1950s and early '60s, it often has common characteristics with various movements like: student radicalism of the 1960s, which led to the mass protest of the 1968<sup>115, 116</sup>.

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<sup>109</sup>Mao Zedong : (1893-1976) “ the founding father of the People’s Republic of China”. Mao was a Chinese communist party of China from its establishment in 1949 until his death in 1976. Wikipedia contributors, “Mao Zedong,” *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mao\\_zedong](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mao_zedong) (accessed April 11, 2018).

<sup>110</sup> Ho Chi Minh : (1890-1969) was a Vietnamese communist revolutionary leader who was chairman and first secretary of the Worker’s party of Vietnam. Wikipedia contributors, “Ho Chi Minh,” *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*, [https://wikipedia.org/wiki/Ho\\_Chi\\_Minh](https://wikipedia.org/wiki/Ho_Chi_Minh) (accessed April 11, 2018).

<sup>111</sup> Fidel Castro : (1926-2016) was a Cuban communist revolutionary and politician who governed the republic of Cuba as prime minister from 1959-1976 and then as president from 1976-2008. Wikipedia contributors, “Fidel Castro,” *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/fidel\\_Castro](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/fidel_Castro) (accessed April 11, 2018).

<sup>112</sup> Daniel Ortega : (1945) is a Nicaraguan politician who has been president of Nicaragua since 2007, and he is a leader in the Sandinista National Liberation Front. Wikipedia contributors, “ Daniel Ortega,” *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*, [https://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/Daniel\\_Ortega](https://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/Daniel_Ortega) (accessed April 12, 2018).

<sup>113</sup>“The New Left,” accessed March 10, 2018. [www.discoverthenetworks.org/ViewSubcategory.asp?id=118](http://www.discoverthenetworks.org/ViewSubcategory.asp?id=118)

<sup>114</sup> Murray N. Rothbard, “ Liberty and New Left,” US.History, accessed March 04, 2018. <https://mises.org/library/liberty-and-new-Left>

<sup>115</sup> The mass protest of the 1968: was the largest mass movement in French history, the biggest strike in the history of the French workers’s movement, and the only general insurrection the overdeveloped world has known since the Second World War. Christopher J. Grundy, “ Why did Workers and Students Protest in 1968 ?,” HistoryHub. Info, accessed April 02, 2018. [Historyhub.info/students-workers-protest-1968/](http://Historyhub.info/students-workers-protest-1968/)

<sup>116</sup> Warren B. Morris, op. Cit.,

### **3-1- The Beat Generation of The 50's**

The beat generation of the fifties was a radical cause in the emergence of New Left. The term “Beatnik” came to describe the person who rebelled against the society of his parents. According to the Beatnik the amount of money that spent on the armaments, the poverty in the cities, the treatment of the blacks, and the repression of the society led to the duplicity of the society. In general the Beatnik was characterized by his beard, old cloths, coffee houses, and poetry.<sup>117</sup>

### **3-2- The Civil Rights Movements 1960**

The civil rights movement has a great influence on the New Left. The New Left and civil rights shared the same members and leaders. When the movement began to achieve its goals, the participant began to search for other causes. Despite that there had been laws passed to insure equal rights, real equality had not been achieved. A common example of the philosophy of civil disobedience, which turned into the politics of confrontation, is the Columbia riots of 1968<sup>118, 119</sup>

### **3-3- Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) 1960**

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), is an organization that appeared in the 1960s and became a voice of students and so notable at the University of Michigan campus in Ann Arbor, where it was first meeting and across the nation. Students have different ideas of political education, participation, and discourse.

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>118</sup> Columbia riots of 1968 : were one among the various student demonstration that occurred after students discovered links between the university and the institutional apparatus supporting the US's involvement in the Vietnam war. Wikipedia contributors, “ Columbia University protest of 1968,” *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*, [https://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/Columbia\\_university\\_protests\\_of\\_1968](https://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/Columbia_university_protests_of_1968) (accessed April 11,2018).

<sup>119</sup> Warren B. Morris, op. Cit.,

According to students the university is a source of meaningful political and social change. Students for a Democratic Society was influenced by the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950's and the 1960's, as well as by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), students emphasized on gaining their rights as full citizens and affect their country. SDS combined intellectual debate with direct action, analyzing these problems of the world, drawing up a course of action to address critical issues and then find a solution to these problems.

SDS became the core of the New Left, the organization advocated democracy, civil rights, and university reforms, and protested the Vietnam War in the Port Huron Statement, SDS clarified their programs, offering critiques of society as well as creating a rule for the Anti-Vietnam War Movement<sup>120</sup>. SDS treated many social problems like: poverty by applying some programs e.g. the Economic Research and Action Program ERAP and Peace Research and Education Project PREP.<sup>121</sup>

### **3-4- The Cuban Revolution**

The New Left drew inspiration from the people of the third world, mainly in Vietnam and Cuba. Tom Hayden<sup>122</sup> and Staughton Lynd<sup>123</sup> traveled to Vietnam in 1965 to capture the image of the Vietnamese as human beings that oppose the stereotypes of American media. The pair described North Vietnamese communists as the genteelness people. Fidel Castro's

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<sup>120</sup> The Anti-Vietnam war movement: began in the cold war era, the movement composed of Leftist college students, pacific religious groups and peace activists, who were united by their strong opposition to the war. "the Anti-War Movement," December 13, 2011, accessed Mai 11, 2018. Awmafus, blog-sport.com/2011/12/anti-war-movement-summary-ht ml.

<sup>121</sup> "Origins of the New Left," Resistance and Revolution : the Anti-Vietnam War Movement at the University of Michigan, 1965-1972, accessed March 20, 2018.

Michigan in the world. history.bu.umich.edu/antivietnamwar/exhibits/show/exhibit/origins-of-students-for-a-demo.

<sup>122</sup> Tom Hayden : (1939-2016) was an American political and socialist, who was director of the peace and justice resources center in Los Angeles country. Wikipedia contributors, "Tom Hayden," *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/tom\\_Hayden](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/tom_Hayden), (accessed Mai 22, 2018).

<sup>123</sup> Staughton Lynd : (1929) is an American conscientious objector, peace activist and civil rights activist. Wikipedia contributors, "Staughton Lynd," *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*, [https://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/staughton\\_lynd](https://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/staughton_lynd) (accessed Mai 01, 2018).

communist revolution in Cuba influenced the New Left. The New Left's leaders show that they fighting the same battle as Cuban revolutionaries. Thus, there were noticeable ideological similarities between the Cuban and campus revolutions. According to the sociologist C. Wright Mills<sup>124</sup>, the Cuban revolution showed that "guerrilla bands, led by determined men, with peasants alongside them ... can defeat organized battalions of ... tyrants equipped with everything up to the atom bomb."<sup>125</sup>

The famous leader "C. Wright Mills" wrote "Listen Yankee " in December, 1960, a letter published in Harper's Magazine. The work was written in Cuba and its main purpose was to praise the revolution of Castro. Cuba was considered as an economic colony of the United States till the coming of the revolution. Cuba represented as the center of the revolution which opposed oppression and a symbol of new hope for the future.<sup>126</sup>

Castro's thoughts and revolution influenced the youth's mind in the United States. The Cuba committee was formed in 1960 as the first real New Left organization. The committee associated to organize the trips for students to Cuba where participants were shown the wonder of revolution. The committee came to end in 1963.<sup>127</sup>

### **3-5- French Origins**

At the beginning New Left emerged in Europe as a reaction to the to the moral discredit of Soviet communism after the leader Nikita Khrushchev's, who revealed about the political repression under Stalin's leadership in his "Secret Speech " in February 1956. New Left was adapted by French and British groups to search for socialist as a third way, which is differ from official communism or Orthodox Marxism and from mainstream social

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<sup>124</sup> C. Wright Mills : (1916-1973) Charles Wright Mills was an American sociologist and professor of sociology at Columbia University from 1946 until his death in 1962. Wikipedia contributors, "C. Wright Mills," *Wikipedia the Free Encyclopedia*, [https://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/c\\_wright\\_mills](https://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/c_wright_mills) (accessed Mai 01,2018).

<sup>125</sup> Murray N. Ronald, op.cit.

<sup>126</sup> Warren B. Morris, Jr, op.cit.,

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.,

democracy. New Left opposed nuclear weapons and cold war bipolarity (the international system that characterized by superpowers).<sup>128</sup>

Protagonists of French New Left were young like: the French writer and philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre the exponent of Existentialism and Herbert Marcuse a German Jewish who established the Frankfurt Institute of Sociology. Marcuse refused the basic assumptions of industrial society and stressed on the idea of creating a really democratic and participatory society in order to serve human needs rather than social-industrial complex.<sup>129</sup>

#### **4- American New Left 1960**

New left can be defined as a movement of young people. The movement associated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Student for a Democratic Society (SDS). However this definition must portray the origins of New Left before the Southern students in 1960. The definition did not give the causes that impacted on the decline of SNCC during the black liberation movement. All in all it refers to New Left in United States.<sup>130</sup>

The American New Left in fact is part of international political movement. The 1960s marked the beginning of the student movements in the United States, West Europe, and Japan having the same attentions: rejection both capitalism and bureaucratic communism exemplified by the Soviet Union, anti-imperialism and an orientation to decentralized “direct action”, violent or nonviolent. The American New Left stress to be anti-scholasticism, utopianism, and activism, and this idea was illustrated from the works of C. Wright Mills and

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<sup>128</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia, op.cit.,

<sup>129</sup>“ Modern Jewish History : the New Left, ” accessed April 02, 2018. [www.Jewishvirtuallibrary.org/the-new-left](http://www.Jewishvirtuallibrary.org/the-new-left)

<sup>130</sup> Stanghton Lynd, “New left,” accessed March 13, 2018. <https://libcom.org/files/the%20New%20Left.pdf>

Howard Zinn<sup>131</sup>, whose ideas influenced American New Left. The members of the New Left turned American society from corporate liberalism to participatory democracy. The African socialism, libertarian in the East Europe and the heretical Communism of Tito, Mao Tse-Tung, and Fidel Castro are known as the movements which emerged in the so-called free world. <sup>132</sup>By the mid-sixties, the inequalities of capitalism and the values of middle-classes consumerism make the American poor would not be able to achieve the New Left's desires. The main interest of American poor was to join the middle classes and pursue the American dream rather than interesting in social change. Furthermore, they did not support the collective action that the New Left was advocating. As well as the New Left changed their interest from people with developed middle class aspirations to the genuine poor.<sup>133</sup>

## **5- The Difference between the Old Left and the New Left**

The emergence of the Old and the New Left considered as the first difference between them. The Old Left emerged from globalization that influenced elective politics and resulted in contentious politics, which have effective effects on the structural basis of movements. The Old Left focused on economic issues, and civil rights for all, social and economic justice and mainly human rights. The American Old Left known as a liberal group of predominately Northern intellectuals. The Old Left aimed to find a solution to labor problems and America's economic trouble by maintained an interest in communism<sup>134</sup>.

While, The New Left the successor to the Old Left, emerged in the 1960s and was inspired by the early accomplishments of the civil rights movement. The New Left contains many different groups, and was often dominated by middle-class college students

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<sup>131</sup> Howard Zinn : (1922-2010) was an American historian, play right and social activist, his best and influential book is *A People's History of the United State*. Wikipedia contributors, "Howard Zinn", *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*, [https://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/Howard\\_Zinn](https://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/Howard_Zinn) (accessed Mai 13,2018).

<sup>132</sup> Stanghton Lynd, op.cit.,

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>134</sup> "Comparison of Participants in May Day and climate change Demonstration, " accessed March 17, 2018. [www.protest-survey.eu/publications/134458405.pdf](http://www.protest-survey.eu/publications/134458405.pdf)

disappointed with life in America. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) emerged as a new group that focused on some claimants such as: reduction of nuclear arms, ending the war in Vietnam, pressed for a more democratic government, and better living conditions for the urban poor.<sup>135</sup>

The New Left, in its widespread critique of American society, also included environmental and pollution reform in its agenda. Many New Left activists focused on the dangers of increased industrial production and increased consumption, leading to waste and pollution.

## **6- Purposes of the New Left**

The New Left is a social activist group that includes activists and agitators. The group has many reforms to apply that belong to Marxism movement; they focused on the corporation and question of social structure. The New Left was highly represented by the Student of Democratic Society SDS.<sup>136</sup>

The goals of the New Left were categorized as small and large goals. To begin with a small goals which referred to the protesting at universities like: at university of California, where students protest against non political activities on campus, freedom of speech and academic freedom. Then, the larger goal referred to the protesting against the Vietnam War, because they protested non-violent civil disobedience. The New Left group is known as a highly respected protesting group.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> “Old Left vs. New Left,” accessed April 03,2018. [Tips://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences-and-law/political-science-and-government/political-parties-and-movements/new-left](https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences-and-law/political-science-and-government/political-parties-and-movements/new-left).

<sup>136</sup> John Andrew, “New Left,” accessed April 15, 2018. [https:// Sixties-social-movements-3. Wiki-spaces.com/New+Left](https://Sixties-social-movements-3.Wiki-spaces.com/New+Left)

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.,

## **7- Methods of the New Left**

New Left used peaceful protest techniques, which belonged to the practice of civil disobedience that was influenced and practiced by Herbert Marcuse. For instance they stuck flowers into the soldiers' guns rather than violence. The government did not use force against the New Left's methods because they were effective. The New Left achieved the majority of their goals peacefully including protest against Vietnam war and asking for their simple rights on campuses of schools, that it is why the government respect New Left's ideas and draw a great attention on their request. <sup>138</sup>

## **8- Outcomes**

The actual objectives of the New Left were to gain freedom at school's campus and to fight for peace at Vietnam War. New Left achieved its first objective, by which the freedoms upon campuses were granted; however the second objective was not successful. Rallies were very successful protesting against the Vietnam War, the New Left changed their methods under the purpose of changing all the world not only Vietnam war. However, these changes affected the collapse of the SDS. The movement was very successful in protesting against Vietnam War and protest on campus, but they failed to change the entire world because it was unrealistic. <sup>139</sup>

## **9-Political Theories**

New Left created no unified body of political theory. Many countries such as: United State, France, West Germany, and Britain gave much importance to the theoretical production. Thus New Left includes a variety of theories starting with: the philosophical existentialism of Jean-Paul Sartre, various forms of revisionist. Then, "the third world" of

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.,

Frantz Fanon, a form of socialism primarily committed to the national liberation of developing countries. And the Marxist structuralism, the theory emphasis on ethical and moral dimensions of Marx's thoughts. <sup>140</sup>

## 10-The Counter Culture

Before defining 'counterculture,' one must know what is meant by 'culture.' A general agreement exists among anthropologists that human culture includes the ideological realm of human behavior, including norms, values, patterns of behaviors, concepts of 'meaning,' and their incorporation in artifacts (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952). Culture includes language, religion, and thought forms. Therefore, the 1960s were a period of tension and turbulence for much of the U S. The counter culture attempted to promote an alternative lifestyle that encouraged peace, love and freedom. According to The saurus Dictionary the counter culture means the culture and lifestyle of those people, especially among the young, who reject or oppose the dominant values and behavior of society<sup>141</sup>. In addition, Yinger viewed that the counterculture is "a set of norms and values that sharply contradict the dominant norms and values of the society of which that group is part".<sup>142</sup>

During the sixties the counter culture was developed in which the movement involved the youths who opposed the traditional values and actions. The youths supported the non-violent protest; they were against the racial segregation<sup>143</sup>, widespread poverty, environmental pollution caused by rapid industrialization, and discrimination of minority groups. In addition, they fought for the freedom of speech and assembly.

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<sup>140</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia, op.cit.,<https://www.Britannia.com/topic/New Left>.

<sup>141</sup> Dictionary. Com : Thesaurus. Com, accessed March 08, 2018. WWW. Dictionary. Com.

<sup>142</sup> Milton.J Yinger, *Presidential address: counterculture and social change* (American Sociological Review, 42), p.833.

<sup>143</sup> Racial Segregation : the separation or isolation of a race, class, or ethnic group by enforced or voluntary residence in a restricted area, by barriers to social intercourse, by separate educational facilities, or by other discriminatory means. MerriamWebster Dictionary. <https://www.merriam-webster.com>.

In the movement, Hippies<sup>144</sup> become the largest and most prominent counter culture group in the States. Most people have a very solid notion of what a hippie is and it probably involves long hair, goofy looking, over-sized glasses and multicolored bell-bottoms. This notion gained a lot of popularity especially in the beginning of the movement in the mid 1960s. In that way, the counter culture held convictions similar to that of the New Left movement in which they wanted to overhaul domestic policy within the United States.<sup>145</sup> The 1960s are associated with what Frank calls ‘the big change, the birthplace of our own culture, the homeland of hip’, a period of various shifts that have shaped our current society. This hints at an underlying compact that the 1960s were a time of high artistic attempt, the center of counter cultural resistance, and some of the cultural waves that are still being felt today.<sup>146</sup>

The counter culture modified many aspects of American life culture, beliefs and values of the previous decade. As a matter of fact, there is a wealth of evidence to suggest that its trans-formative effects are still being felt in American society today. The ideas nurtured by the counter culture have influenced the institution of the family, the education system, and the definition of gender roles. Indeed, before 1960s the American environmental movement was dominated by conservative organizations whose main emphasis on wilderness preservation.

By contrast, contemporary American environmentalism has now turned into a mass movement whose membership descended from old style nature lovers to radical anti-capitalist activists. The fifties were for a great part of the American people times of comfort, of improving life standards. Nevertheless, they were times of social turmoil even if it cannot be

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<sup>144</sup> Hippies : a usually young person who rejects the mores of established society and advocates a nonviolent ethic. Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Kenny Rogers, “Vietnam War: Counter Culture of 1960s,” May 22, 2014, accessed March 12, 2018.<https://TheVietnamwar.info/counterculture/>

<sup>146</sup> Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counter Culture and the Rise of Hip consumerism* (Chicago: the University of Chicago press, 1997), p.1.

seen at first sight. The counterculture opposed technological progress and its consequences but it respected the technological society and progress of the 1950s. Many works were published at that time In a book entitled *Growing Up Absurd: Problems of Youth in the Organized Society*, which went on to influence many New Left activists and counter culturists, in which they focused on the effect of technology and the importance of environment.<sup>147</sup>

Moreover, a counterculture developed in the United States in late 1960s. This movement lasted from approximately 1964 to 1972. A counterculture is the rejection of mainstream of social norms. The counterculture youth rejected the cultural standards of their parents, specifically racial segregation and initial widespread support for the Vietnam War<sup>148</sup>. As the event progressed in 1960s, various problems were spread in American society which affected by the previous events and the Cold War among them: race relations, sexual mores, woman's rights, traditional modes of authority, and a materialist interpretation of the American Dream. Thanks to this movement that led to the appearance of music, drugs, communitarian experiments, and sexual liberation were hallmarks of the sixties counterculture, most of whose members were white, middle-class young Americans. Hippies became the largest counter cultural group in the United States. The counterculture lifestyle integrated many of the ideals aspects: peace, love, harmony, music, and mysticism. The widespread of psychedelic drugs<sup>149</sup> and yoga were the cause of expanding one's consciousness. Rejection of mainstream culture was best atmosphere in the new genres of

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<sup>147</sup> Jean-Daniel Collomb, *New Beginning: The Counter Culture in American Environmental History* (Cercles, 22,2012),p.54-69.

<sup>148</sup> The Vietnam War : also known as the second Indochina War, and in Vietnam as the Resistance War Against America. It was conflict between North Vietnam and South Vietnam from 1955 to 1975. *Wikipedia*. <https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki-vietnam>.

<sup>149</sup> Psychedelic drug : also called Psychotomimetic drug or hallucinogen, any of the so-called mind-expanding drugs that are able to induce states of altered perception and thought, frequently with heightened awareness of sensory input but with diminished control over what is being experienced. *Britannica*. <https://www.Britannica.com.science>.

psychedelic rock music, pop-art, and new explorations in spirituality. Musicians who dominated this era include The Beatles, The Grateful Dead, Jefferson Airplane, Jimi Hendrix, The Doors, The Rolling Stones, Neil Young, Bob Dylan, Janis Joplin, and Pink Floyd.<sup>150</sup>

Foss in his book stated that the counterculture emerged in the mid-1960s as a self-appellation among young people within the middle-class youth movement as politics merged with cultural issues. The issues of racism, collusion of higher education institutions with the military and corporate worlds in support of the Vietnam War, and parenting problems and regulations in colleges and universities because of the struggles over hair length, communal living, musical tastes, drug use, gender roles, and sexuality. In the same sphere, the emergence of a new social type and self-reliance by middle-class youth who opposed the dominant institutions was as much cultural as it was political.<sup>151</sup>

## **11-The Beat Generation**

The Beat Generation was a group of authors whose literature explored and influenced American culture in the post-World War II era. In 1950s was the decade of publishing many literary works. Central elements of Beat culture are rejection of standard narrative values, the spiritual quest, exploration of American and Eastern religions, rejection of materialism, explicit portrayals of the human condition, experimentation with psychedelic drugs, and sexual liberation and exploration.<sup>152</sup>

American social and literary movement of the 50s is generally related to the Beat, which was centered in the bohemian artists' communities of San Francisco, California and parts of New York. Its practitioners called themselves "beats" and were also called

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<sup>150</sup> Source URL: <https://www.boundless.com/history/sixties.1960-1969/counterculture/>, accessed March 10, 2018.

<sup>151</sup> Foss DA, *Freak Culture: Lifestyle and Politics* (New York: EP Dulton and CO. Inc,1972).

<sup>152</sup> Charters Ann, *Beat Down to your Soul: What was the Beat Generation?*( Penguin Books: ISBN 01410015.18,2001).

“beatniks”. They wanted to exit from the mainstream society by adopting an unconventional dress code, ironic manners and vocabulary combined with slang. They were largely apolitical and advocated enlightenment that was convinced through drugs, free sex, jazz music and Oriental spiritualism.<sup>153</sup>

The social transformation formed the Beat Generation which was the central issue for the 1950s. Prominent figures contributed in developing this phenomenon among them: Allen Ginsberg<sup>154</sup> was one of these, for him, beat means emptied out, exhausted or else, finished. For Kerouac<sup>155</sup>, beat was connected to words like beatitude and beatific. Beat, moreover, musically means the depressive beats like in jazz, beatitude or being blessed, on the other, it refers to beat up echoing being exhausted or beaten up. The word beat is also said to have derived from the word beatitude. The people constitute this group called Beat Generation. It refers to a group of friends (as Ginsberg, Carr, Kerouac and Burroughs are friends) who had worked together on poetry, prose from the mid-forties to late fifties. Moreover, Ginsberg has great influence of literary and artistic activities of poets, filmmakers, painters, writers, and novelists who renewed the long-lived bohemian cultural tradition in America. For Ginsberg, there are essential standards of beat generation such as spiritual liberation, sexual revolution; liberation from inspection, decriminalization of drugs (this partly refers to aforementioned birth control pills), the spread of an ecological consciousness (respect for everybody regardless of his race, color), opposition to the military-industrial machine civilization. Beats inspired from jazz, eastern religions or from a bummer life.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> <http://wild-bohemian.com/beats.htm>, accessed March 11, 2018.

<sup>154</sup> Allen Ginsberg(1926-1997) : was an American poet, philosopher, and writer. He is considered to be one of the leading figures of both the Beat Generation during the 1950s and the counterculture that soon followed. *Wikipedia*.<https://en.m.wikipedia.org>.

<sup>155</sup> Jack Kerouac(1922-1969) : was an American novelist and poet of French-Canadian descent.Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Ginsberg Allen, *A Definition of the Beat Generation: Deliberate Prose* (selected Essays,1952-1995), p.50-52.

## Figure One

**Allan Ginsburg one of the main authors of the Beat Generation, with Bob Dylan in 1975.**



**Source :** <https://www.boundless.com/history/sixties-1960-1969/counterculture>.

The “Beat Generation” is viewed as an influential cultural revolution or a literary movement that emerged in the late 1940’s in the aftermath of World War II. The Beat movement was made up of a broad geographical range, from New York City to San Francisco. At first the majority of the “beats” lived in Greenwich Village, New York. They usually hung out together in coffeehouses, jazz bars, and in Washington Square Park, sharing ideas, creating works of art -especially poetry, listening to music and having wild parties. The poetry and novels they wrote were always about their own life experiences and hence biographical. The autobiographical fiction novels of Jack Kerouac and his fellow Beat writers show that without a specific philosophy, the Beat Generation sought to redefine the American

Dream and reject middle class values through the pursuit of kicks and escape from convention.<sup>157</sup>

## 11-1-Origin of the Beat

Jack Kerouac introduced the phrase Beat Generation in 1948 to characterize the new transformation, the opposed youth movement in New York. The adjective beat could colloquially mean tired or beaten down, but Kerouac expanded the meaning to include the connotations upbeat, beatific, and the musical association of being on the beat.<sup>158</sup>

The origins of the Beat Generation can be traced to Columbia University when Kerouac, Ginsberg, Lucien Carr, Hal Chase, and others first met. Classmates Carr and Ginsberg discussed the need for a new vision to counteract what they perceived as their teachers' conservative, formalistic literary ideals. Later, in the mid-1950s, the central figures of the Beat Generation (with the exception of Burroughs) ended up in San Francisco together.<sup>159</sup>

Furthermore, the Beat Generation is traced back to Jack Kerouac's conversation with John Clellon Holmes in 1948:

They were discussing the nature of generations, recollecting the glamour of the Lost Generation, and Kerouac said, "Ah, this is nothing but a beat generation." They talked about whether it was a "found generation" (as Kerouac sometimes called it), an "angelic generation", or some other epithet. But Kerouac waved away the question and said beat generation not meaning to name the generation, but to unname it.

Jack Clellon Holmes later published an article in *The New York Times Magazine* titled "This is the Beat Generation" In this article, Holmes reports of a young Californian girl who had been arrested for drug use but Holmes portrays an adorable picture of a girl who

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<sup>157</sup>Eric Monstram , *The Penguin Companion to Literature*, p.1.

<sup>158</sup>*Beat movement (American Literary and social movement)*-Encyclopedia Britannica. Britannica.com.Retrieved.2014.11.30, accessed March 13, 2018 .

<sup>159</sup> Lee Hudson, *Poetics in Performance: the Beat Generation*. Collected in studies in interpretation( volume 2, 1977. P.59)

could only be viewed as criminal through “an enormous effort of righteousness”. Referring to the girl’s face on the magazine cover, he says “Its only complaint seemed to be: ‘why don’t people leave us alone? Holmes deduces that this was the face of a Beat Generation and in this way; the Beat Generation is given face and the idea of personal freedom, to do as one desired without social constraints, is presented as the main goal of the Beats. Knowing that the “Beat Generation” is unknown to the readers, as it does not exist beyond an idea.<sup>160</sup>

## **11-2-Beatniks and the Beat Generation**

The term Beatnik was coined to represent the Beat Generation, and referred to the name of the recent Russian satellite, Sputnik, and the Beat Generation. This suggested that beatniks were far out of the mainstream of society and possibly pro-Communist. The beatnik term stuck and became the popular label associated with a new stereotype the man with a goatee and beret reciting nonsensical poetry and playing bongo drums, while free-spirited women wearing black leotards dance. While some of the original Beats embraced the beatnik identity, or at least found the parodies humorous (Ginsberg, for example, appreciated the parody) others criticized the beatniks as inauthentic posers. Kerouac feared that the spiritual aspect of his message had been lost and that many were using the Beat Generation as an excuse to be senselessly wild. Beatniks appeared in many cartoons, movies, and TV shows of the time, perhaps the most famous being the character Maynard G. Krebs in *The Many Loves of Dobie Gillis* (1959–1963).<sup>161</sup>

## **11-3-The Beat Generation Lifestyle**

The original members of the Beat Generation used a number of different drugs, which included the following: alcohol; marijuana; Benzedrine; morphine; psychedelic drugs that

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<sup>160</sup> Ann Waldman, ed, *Beat Book* (Shambhala Publications, Inc. Printed in USA, 2007)

<sup>161</sup> <https://www.boundless.com/history/sixties-1960-1969/counterculture/>.

included peyote, yagé, and LSD. Much of this usage was experimental, in that they were often initially unfamiliar with the effects of these drugs. They were inspired by intellectual interest, as well as simple hedonism. The Beats claimed that these drugs could enhance creativity, insight and productivity. Many of the key Beat Generation figures were openly homosexual or bisexual, including two of the most prominent writers (Ginsberg and Burroughs). Many of them met each other through homosexual social connections. Both Ginsberg's *Howl* and Burroughs' *Naked Lunch* contained explicit homosexuality, sexual content, and drug use.<sup>162</sup>

## **12-The End of the Beats and the Beginning of the Hippies**

The 1950s Beat movement beliefs and ideologies turned into the counterculture of the 1960s, accompanied by a shift in terminology from beatnik to hippie. Many of the original Beats remained active participants, notably Allen Ginsberg, who became a stabilization of the anti-war movement. Notably, however, Jack Kerouac broke with Ginsberg and criticized the 1960s politically radical protest movements as an excuse to be cattish. There were stylistic differences between beatniks and hippie gloomy colors, dark sunglasses, and goatees gave way to colorful psychedelic clothing and long hair. The beats were known for playing it cool (keeping a low profile), beyond style, there were changes in substance: the Beats tended to be essentially apolitical, but the hippies became actively engaged with the civil rights movement and the anti-war movement.<sup>163</sup>

### **12-1- Who were the Hippies**

Usually they were young people between fifteen and twenty five years old. Most of them came from the upper- middle class of American society. They usually came from New York, California or cities near the east and west coasts. They grew up in families with big

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<sup>162</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.,

houses or luxury flats and two cars. Parents were usually doctors or lawyers. Hippies were students of universities and high schools. They could be lawyers, businessmen or doctors.

However, we cannot say that all students were Hippies. Others may have worn jeans, old shoes and colorful T-shirts but they studied fully and protested only under the banner of New Left or SDS (Students for Democratic Society), but the Hippies totally criticized society and condemned everything including schools and studies. They wanted to escape from wealth to a more inherent life for them.<sup>164</sup>

### **12-2-Origin of the name “Hippies”**

The name Hippies came from the word “hip”. Hip was someone or something that was well- informed or cool. It was a man, who was able to think adeptly, promptly and was “kidding” about things which other people took seriously. It could be also used, for instance, when they said: “That music is hip”. This name appeared in the 60s in the new era of the Beat generation. At this time it was used in the positive sense of the word. It can also be derived from the opium smokers in San Francisco who used “on the hip” when they smoked. We can say that the word “Hippies” came to American English in the mid 60’s when it was used in articles in newspapers.<sup>165</sup>

### **12-3-Lifestyle of the Hippies**

Lifestyle is a very important part of the movement. Maybe it is possible to say that their lifestyle determined the Hippie movement for lots of people. If we ask someone about the Hippies, they usually say that they were people, who wore colorful clothes, had long hair,

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<sup>164</sup> John Bassett a Joan Jeffers McCleary, *The hippie dictionary : a cultural encyclopedia(and phraseicon) of the 1960s and 1970* , p.246.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

lived in communes or practiced free love. The politics and their history is only a secondary aspect.<sup>166</sup>

### **13-Beat Literature**

The Beat literary group consisted of a small groups of friends and as Ann Charters, in an Introduction to *On the Road*, notes that when the novel was first published, the reporters were interested in Kerouac explaining the meaning of beat, a word he had heard about a decade earlier but had popularized through his writing. She also observes that when Kerouac distance himself from the beat culture, the reporters put down their pencils when he told them he came from a French Canadian family; they turned a deaf ear when he said he loved America because it had opened its doors to his immigrant parents; they thought he was kidding when he tried to explain that he was not “beat” but a strange solitary crazy catholic mystic,...“ Instead Kerouac claimed that he would not have been able to write as much as he did if he had not lived “a kind of monastic life”<sup>167</sup> at home with his mother most of the time. This not only shows that at this time the idea of a beat culture was incomprehensible to most including the usually most informed, the media. Instead it shows that Jack Kerouac and his friends basically threw upon the public this life style that they had led as private individuals. Charters ultimately show that Kerouac himself had not lived the “true beat” life not until after he published the book:

Would seen he had spent the first part of his career trying to write the book and gat it Publisher, and the rest of his life trying to live it down. One problem was that this portrait of Dean Moriarty in the novel was so exhilarating that reporters expected him to live up to its image, despite his insistence that he was the character, Sal paradise”, who shambled after dean in their Gross country tribes.<sup>168</sup>

For Robert Faggen, the Beat novelists of the 1960s started somewhere in mid nineteenth century American fiction and poetry, particularly with Melville and Whitman. The

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<sup>166</sup>Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> The Monastic life : of or relating to monasteries or to monks or nuns, the rituals of monastic life. Merriam Webster Dictionary. <https://www.merriam-webster.com-monastries>.

<sup>168</sup> Ann Charters, “an introduction to *On the Road*.”

seemingly autobiographical invocations to the self and dilation, erotic landscape found a willing ear in both Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg. Kerouac's empathy with seekers, wanderers, and abandoned hearkens to Melville's turning to "mariners, renegades, and castaways," as he called his characters in *Moby Dick* (1851); all of Kerouac's writing has the force of being a new "Song of the Open Road"<sup>169</sup>.<sup>170</sup> Beat poets such as Allen Ginsberg, Gary Snyder, Gregory Corso, and Lawrence Ferlinghetti sought to liberate poetry from academic bands and bring it to the streets. Publication of *Howl* (1955)<sup>171</sup>, Allen Ginsberg's apocalyptic version of America was the key event of the Beat Generation. An extremely provocative text which juxtaposes the earthly "angels" of the Beat Generation against the forces of "Moloch"<sup>172</sup>, and where capitalism fights as an Old Testament<sup>173</sup> crushing the vulnerable outsiders of American life, the poem condemns the materialistic pleasures that come with capitalism.<sup>174</sup> One needs to stress the fact that New Left, a broad range of left-wing activist movements and intellectual waves that represented in different aspects and which arose in Western Europe and North America in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In this context, the period saw diverse sources and forms which have the same goals in this include the counterculture particularly the famous movement the Beat Generation that emphasizes on freedom of speech, sex, use of drugs and experiments.

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<sup>169</sup>Song of the Open Road: is a poem by Walt Whitman from his 1856 collection *Leaves of Grass*.  
*Wikipedia*. <https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Song>.

<sup>170</sup>Robert Faggen, *The Beats and the 1960s : In The Cambridge History of The American Novel*, Cassuto et al, ed (Cambridge : CUP, 2011).

<sup>171</sup>*Howl* (1955-1956) : is a poem written by Allen Ginsberg . It appears to be a sprawling, disorganized poem. It consists of three sections. *Shmoop*. <https://www.shmoop.com>.

<sup>172</sup> Moloch : a semitic god to whom children were sacrificed. Merriam Webster Dictionary.  
<https://www.merriam-webster.com>.

<sup>173</sup>Old Testament : is the first part of Christian Bibles, based primarily upon the Hebrew Bible, a collection of ancient religious writings by the Israelites believed by most Christians and religious Jews to be the sacred Word of God. *Wikipedia*. <https://en.m.wikipedia.org>.

<sup>174</sup> Robert Faggen, *Ibid*.

## **Conclusion**

The present dissertation has been an attempt to discuss Leftism in American society from 1900 to 1960. American Leftism marked a shift because Leftist's thoughts of the twentieth century had certainly changed the character of American society and politics. So, Left-wing considered as the richest source for the researchers to increase their knowledge about the significant changes in American history. In this regard, the present dissertation has provided a clear analysis to the most events and facts that contributed to shape the new ideology America. Thus, after the hot discussion about the origins, major social reforms, methods, characteristics, and its noticeable achievements; this study concludes the discussion of this interesting topic by answering the question of the research dissertation.

The major focus of the research has been the study of the origins and roots of Left-wing, that lead its emergence in the twentieth century. Firstly, Leftism as social party opposed social and political corruption of the time and supported social equality and justice. Secondly, progressivism came to cure social and political ills by applying social and political reforms that give birth to new ideas and ideologies in a form of different movements such as Populists, Social Gospellers, and Muckraking journalists and writers. As well as, those groups sharing common goals and purposes that encompassed Leftism social and political thought. Those progressives focused on a wide array of issues to cure the nation's social and political ills.

Additionally, the progressives, individuals or groups, were united in their desire to document these wrongs. They issued various social, political reforms and variety of plans at the local level and municipal level.

The second inquiry has been about the New Left which considered as a continuation to the Old Left. Moreover, this chapter has dealt with the origin of the New Left and its definition by different scholars, and which traced to different parties and movements among

them: the Beat Generation of the fifties, the civil rights movement, and student for Democratic society (SDS). Besides, the difference between the Old Left and New Left was an important range in this research, where the role and the accomplishment of each one is emerged. In addition, the purposes, methods, and outcomes of the New Left in which its focus was to gain the freedom of education, and opposed war in order to provide peace, while the Old Left searched for the reform on social and political level by putting end to the child labor, low wages, and unsafe working conditions. Whereas, New Leftists have been far view for feminism to spread equality between women and men, protect environment and freedom in all aspect of life. Furthermore, the New Left was a phenomenon devoted by various sources and movements, the most well-known movement was the counter culture that appeared in alternative life style and culture, where the young people mainly rejected the dominant values and the principles of society. This movement was developed by the youth who supported peace and freedom and they were against segregation. So, the Beat Generation or Hippies were the most function group and was featured by long-hair, drug use, and musical tastes. The Beat Generation is more related to culture and literature, in this sphere many authors, writers and poets influenced by this movement in which they also rejected standard narrative values, the spiritual quest, materialism and supported sexual liberation. In all, this new life style was adopted from bohemian life in which they wanted to exit from the mainstream society. This transformation formed big figures, the most prominent: Allen Ginsberg, and Jack Kerouac. After that, the focus of our chapter was in the origin of the Beats, the Beat Generation life style, and the Hippies and their relation to the Beats. It ends with the Beat literature and the contribution of this generation and their impact on American society.

Finally, one needs to note that the Left –wing is a broad range of activist movements and intellectuals groups that represented in different parties and aspects which arose in the late of 19 century in a form of Old Left which aimed to promote social and political

conditions that lead by progressives, socialist...etc. Thus, by the late of 1940 those groups changed some views by changing the name to New Left and looking for not only to develop working conditions. The present does not have enough space to examine in detail the American Leftism thoughts and contributions, but it offers a general comprehension to its origins, roots and significant changes that the notion had witnessed during the emergence of new ideology. Nevertheless, the study has shown interesting issues, reforms, and movements that could be topics to be tackled for future studies.

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## ملخص:

يهدف هذا العمل إلى معرفة اليسار الأمريكي على الصعيدين الاجتماعي والسياسي في الفترة الممتدة من 1900 إلى 1960. الطريقة المستخدمة في هذه الدراسة هي المنهج التحليلي التاريخي. ويهدف إلى توفير المعلومات اللازمة لفهم تأثير اليسار الأمريكي اجتماعيا وسياسيا. لذلك ، يهدف هذا العمل إلى تقديم تحليل واضح للأحداث والحقائق الرئيسية التي ساهمت في تحويل أفكار وأيديولوجيات الأمريكيين. على سبيل المثال ، المشاكل المختلفة للعصر الذهبي والنتائج السلبية للتصنيع التي دفعت مجموعات المصالح المتنوعة إلى المطالبة بإصلاحات تقدمية على مستوى المدينة والدولة تحت مظلة الجماعات اليسارية والاشتراكية. بعد ذلك ، ألهمت الحركة قادة تاريخيين بارزين ، وغيرت اسمها في أواخر أربعينيات القرن الماضي ، مما أدى في النهاية إلى ظهور جيل وثقافة جديدة إنعسكت في الأعمال الأدبية. على الرغم من كل الإنجازات الناجحة والإصلاحات التي جلبها اليسار إلا انه فشل في علاج جميع المشاكل وإصلاح الفساد.

**الكلمات المفتاحية:** اليسار الأمريكي اجتماعيا وسياسيا، أفكار الأمريكيين وأيديولوجياتهم ، العصر الذهبي ، التصنيع ، الإصلاحات التقدمية ، مجموعات الاشتراكيين ، الجيل الجديد والثقافة.