THE IDEOLOGY OF MINORITY: A TRANSNATIONAL STUDY OF THE AMERICAN NEW LEFT IN 1960S

Kidhot Kasjuaji
Jogja Film Academy (JFA), Yogyakarta
kidhotk@yahoo.com

ABSTRACT

Student organizations have been acknowledged as vanguards and agents of social and political change in some parts of the world. In America, the dynamic student organizations cannot be set apart from American history. The upheaval of the 1960s signaled the advent of the New Left movement, comprising the Free Speech Movement (FSM) and Students for A Democratic Society (SDS). While, in the Indonesian experience, there was somewhat of a similarity of thought and spirit related with the role of student movements historically. Therefore, the study is intended to discover the emergence of the New Left in Europe and America, and expose the cultural hybridity-similarities and reasons of occurrence-of the American New Left and Indonesian student movement in the 1970s. This research is written under the American Studies discipline, specifically related to Transnational American Studies by employing cultural hybridity and border discourse. The finding shows that the ideology of the American New Left in the 1960s comprises of a means of globalizing the New Left in Europe and America, involving the universal ideas of inequality, communication, people migration, and social phenomena in the 1960s and the cultural hybridity of the ideology of the American New Left in the 1960s and the Indonesian student movement of the 1970s evidently showing that the New Left is a 'third ideology' by resisting two globalized ideologies during the 1960s, capitalism and communism. In addition, the locality or sustained values, which are democracy and social justice and the universal values shared of the American New Left, FSM and SDS, and the Indonesian student movement in the 1970s are anti-establishment and anti-capitalistic society.

Keywords: New Left, ideology, cultural hybridity, border discourse, minority.

INTRODUCTION

In some parts of the world, the role of youth, specifically of college students, has been acknowledged as the vanguard of social and political change. Historically, in times of crisis, student activism has performed a crucial action in the realm of social change. As Jerkins and Klandermans (1995) have confirmed that, "the student movement was characterized by confrontational behavior and disruptive actions with some episodes of mass violence mixed in. Conflicts were framed in a revolutionary perspective, with an optimistic image of the future and hopes for fundamental political changes" (p. 125). Likewise, Omatsu (2002) argued that, "student activism has often served as the conscience for nations, reminding people in times of turmoil of the founding ideals of their countries and the aspirations of all people for justice, dignity, and equality" (p. 1). Rootes (2014) has argued as well that, "student movements, hence, have emerged in all manner of modern and modernizing societies, often as agents of change, sometimes in reaction against change, but usually as challengers of regimes perceived to lack legitimacy or moral authority (p. 4864).

In America, the dynamic student organizations cannot be set apart from American history.

Initially, the history of student protest occurred long before the upheaval in the 1960s. It dealt with several social issues during the 19th century. During the 1960s, the student organizations' protests were depicted as the age of revolt committed by American students because they voiced a need for more attention to social justice and sought reform of the American government. The main concerns of the student organizations were racial injustice, suffered by the Black people, and the end of the Vietnam War. The revolt by American college students or youth had also contributed to changing and shaping American culture and influenced the course of America's political policies globally (Spielvogel, 2009). Consequently, the student organizations, viewed from their political and social action, are affiliated with and classified into the New Left, which was one of the significant phenomena in the 1960s.

Etymology, the term of the New Left can be traced back to the journals of the British New Left in the first issue of Universities & Left Review in 1957. French contributor, Claude Bourdet's article, "The French Left: Long-run Trends", contained the first use of the term as a reference to third-way socialist movements that sought to occupy the space between Communism and social democracy. The term was then adopted by the intellectuals of the First New Left in Britain and other "New Lefts" in Europe and America (Thurman, 2011). Rossinow (2010) explained that "the New Left in America is as the result of the French Revolution and the 'left' protest on social inequality and labor exploitation during World War II…the New Left emerged as a political force to change American social and political life" (p. 539). From a previous notion, it clearly highlights that the development of the New Left in America in the 1960s is related with some college student movements by its massive and rapid development, and, eventually, it merged and

united with other racial or ethnic movements. This can be said to have correlation with previous years, post World War II, baby boom, and popular culture (invention of the movie, radio and television) and the emergence of the middle class in America.

What occurred in America in the 1960s had much to do with the role of minorities in redirecting and putting the initial values that Americans believed back to the course. The student organizations merged into one ideology called the New Left. Such ideology carrying certain values was believed to be a solution to issues by people faced at the time. However, ideology is not merely arisen from self-faith resulting from wistful thinking of social phenomenon, but also comes from other powerful forces penetrating society, and then society feels and comprehends the truth of such ideology. The debate on ideology itself is started as a critique over capitalism in terms of mode of production. As Karl Marx and Frederich Engels argued in *The German Ideology*,

> The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class, which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those lack means of mental production are subject to it. (as cited in Eatwell and Wright 1993, p. 9)

In its process, Althusser has defined that ideology works under our consciousness,

> In ideology, 'people represent (in imaginary form) their real conditions of existence'…what is reflected in the imaginary representation of the world found in an ideology is people's conditions of existence, hence their real world… 'people' do not

'represent' their real conditions of existence in ideology (religious ideology or some other kind), but, above all, their relation to those real conditions of existence. (as cited in Storey, 2009, pp. 233-236)

Similarly, Gramsci (1971) stated that, "ideologies are historically necessary they have a validity, which is 'psychological'; they 'organize' human masses, and create the terrain on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle, etc." (p. 707).

However, the New Left flourished in some countries and there are distinct aspects between one and the other. In Western hemisphere, Farred (2000) conveyed that, "the emerging of British New Left is a response of Britain's imperialism in the Middle East and Asian and the invasion of Soviet Union's Red Army, whereas the American New Left during 1960s is much to do with students disobedience fueled by racial issues" (p. 628). Similar with the Western New Left rejecting the traditional Marxism and proposing a new approach to the current global issue, Steinhoff (2013) mentioned, "The [Japanese] New Left emerged from the 1960 Ampo protests. By the mid - 1960s the major national New Left organizations began rebuilding their campus base in preparation for protests against the 1970 renewal of the US – Japan Joint Security Treaty (pp. 130-131). In China, the New Left had a result of opposing economic views and, even, the New Left is categorized within the China's left-wing. Yet, the China New left was more 'keeping up with current issue' by adopting postmodernism as their approach and most of them are intellectuals and Western graduated scholars (Freeman III & Yuan, 2012).

Meanwhile, the Indonesia and American experience were somewhat similar in relation to the role of student organizations historically. Initially, it was described that the student organizations, in both America and other countries, had a crucial stance in reforming and changing the social and political course of society and government. Similarly, in Indonesia, the student organizations had an important role as well in providing and opening the wind of change. Historically, from 1908 up to 1998, Indonesian students were involved in political actions intensively concerning social unrest within Indonesian society. Post-1908, the role of youth and college student was shown by the emergence of the movement generation in 1966. This student movement of 1966 had succeeded in overthrowing Old Order and replacing it with the New Order. As time passed, the student movement of '78 emerged as a resisting force of student depolitization.

From above issues, this research is significantly important in attempting to highlight and reveal the correlation between the American New Left, the European New Left, and the Indonesian student movement in the 1970s under Transnational American Studies. As historical fact, the presence of Transnational American Studies itself has admittedly emerged as the consequence of the upheaval decade in America during the 1960s. The anti-War movement, especially against the Vietnam War, as well as civil rights movements have boosted the emergence of new American Studies dealing with the involvement of America in the global situation (Fishkin, 2005). In the Transnational American Studies, the exporting of America myth-values imposed and endorsed globally, such as self-reliance, individualism, masculine potency, technical ingenuity, and perseverance, has been challenged and criticized since post World War II era and the rapid development of globalization in the early twentieth century. The role of literature has provided a powerful tool in 'internal colonization' (Rowe, 2000). In same vein, the

article entitled Transnationalism in American Studies has elucidated that,

> The 'transnational turn' is a reaffirmation of the reality of American life and identity in a global age, and a rediscovery of the heritage of such connections. A transnational model provides tools to tie together these different strands-historical, ideological, and operational—and shed new light on the relevance of the larger field of American studies. (Robinson, 2014)

The emergence of transnationalism in American Studies is the result of significant roles of America in the global context, analyzed through varied premises of disciplines in line with the wide spread and endless interchanged information as well as mobilization of people. Vertovec (1999) argued that, "Transnational American Studies is to study the role of the United States of America globally or view America from different angles by several discipline theories…Transnationalism describes a condition in which, despite great distances and notwithstanding the presence of international borders" (p. 1).

Specifically, Transnational American Studies employs cultural hybridity and border discourse. Nederveen (2006) argued, "hybridization is defined as 'the ways in which forms become separated from existing practices and recombine with the new forms in new practices'" (p. 662). He, then, elaborated the concept of globalization and the nature of hybridity as,

> …hybridization is the making of global culture as a global mélange. As a category, hybridity serves a purpose based on assumption of difference between the categories, forms, beliefs that go into the mixture. Yet the very process of hybridization shows the difference to be relative and, with a

slight shift of perspective, the relationship can also be described in terms of an affirmation of similarity (Nederveen, 2006, p. 672).

In the bottom line, cultural hybridity is a joint combination of two different cultures with their own characteristic in terms of forming a new culture in certain location or area. Furthermore, the existence and role of America across the globe has resulted in the close relation of the public sphere. Regarding the public sphere, Berger (2006) has argued that, "the public sphere, then, is the infrastructure that enables various publics to debate, dialogue, and demand things of the state, should they so choose" (p. 46). As in his concluding remark, similarly, Fishkin (2005) summed up that by searching and building its identity as nation and culture, America has evidently become the crossing point of varied cultures,

> The United States is and has always been a transnational crossroads of cultures…Reading Thoreau helped inspire Gandhi to develop his own brand of civil disobedience, which crossed the Pacific to inspire the civil rights movement; the idea of dissent through civil disobedience as particularly American resurfaced in Asia when Tiananmen Square protesters used the Statue of Liberty as a symbol. (p. 43)

Dealing with the discourse, Lam (2004) observed that, "the term discourse refers to the ways in which spoken and written language is used by specific groups of people to construct realities for themselves, based on their shared values, beliefs and historical experiences-their shared culture" (p. 2). In exploring the cultural aspects of transnational connections, Edward Said has long argued that,

> The transmutation and hybridization of cultural identity, and the syncretic perspective that arises form it, can

constitute a new space for the study of culture. The colonial subjects, having their precolonial nature unsettled by imperialism, developed a "second nature" in the midst of cultural contact and living under domination. (as cited in Lam, 2004, pp. 4 - 5)

Therefore, based on background previously mentioned, the study of student organizations as social change in several parts of the countries is significant to conduct since in every stage of social change the student organizations have been a driving force to make such changes within a particular society. In detail, this research has dealt with the student organizations in America being part of the American New Left during the 1960s, comprising of the Free Speech Movement (FSM) in Berkeley and Students for A Democratic Society (SDS) in Michigan. Since this research is under Transnational American Studies, it tries to reveal the interconnectedness of the American New Left with European New Left as well as the Indonesian student movement in the 1970s.

METHODOLOGY

This study is under American Studies specifying on Transnational American Studies. It employs interdisciplinary research relying heavily on the constructivist paradigm in which the methodologically qualitative method is used in gathering and analyzing the data. Qualitative research, as Creswell (2009) has pointed out, "is a form of interpretive inquiry in which researchers make an interpretation of what they see, hear, and understand. Their interpretations cannot be separated from their own backgrounds, history, contexts, and prior understandings" (p. 212).

There are three parts of the research process. First, it organizes a proposal design to formulate the theme, theories, and method used in the research. Second, it is data collection, data processing, and data analyzing. Data is collected from articles, reports, memoirs, government documents, newspapers, and notes concerning the student organizations, the Free Student Movement (FSM) and Students for A Democratic Society (SDS), taking part in the American New Left in the 1960s. The secondary data is concerned with the European New Left and Indonesian student movement in the 1970s by using newspapers, articles, and books related with the initial issue. Most of the data, journals, articles, government reports, and books are downloaded from the internet and some of it is borrowed from the university library.

After the data is collected in the table database, the next step is data analyzing. In analyzing the data, the researcher uses descriptively qualitative approach, which stresses the subjective interpretation. As Creswell (2003) points out, "interpretative research, with the inquirer typically involved in a sustained and intensive experience with participants…inquirers explicitly identify reflexively their biases, values, and personal background, such as gender, history, culture, and socioeconomic status" (p. 214). Thus, the interpretation of data is closely related with the interpretative design, stressing on the writer's interpretation. In analyzing, the data analysis is endorsed by theory of ideology, minority, and cultural hybridity and border discourse in the Transnational American Studies. Thus, the researcher identifies the analysis result and makes the conclusion based on it. Particularly, the conclusion made is based on answering the objective of the problem, whether or not answers the objective of the problem.

DISCUSSION

In globalization, the firmed and strict border of nations is eroded gradually. Globalization

has brought a borderless relationship with information, migration, capital, and ideas including cultural contact. Specifically, the globalization poses two opposing poles, one is expanding capital markets globally and the other is the new form of cooperation and collaboration stretching across nations (Smith B., 2010). Other important phenomenon in globalization is how student movements also became globalizing phenomena in every stage of 'social and cultural revolution'. This is clearly seen in the case of the New Left.

The ideology of the New Left emerged in line with the uprising of the students' consciousness regarding the dissatisfaction over the values the older generation set up and maintained initially. The spreading ideology of the New Left in the 1960s is evidently a notion of 'border studies' in which there is a reconsideration of national cultural boundaries (Rowe, 2000). In this reconsideration, globalization has grounded a medium of global integration in terms of migration and communication (Kearney, 1995). Consequently, global integration concerns with sociocultural globalization and transnational migration of individuals and groups creating such ideologies, identities, and cultures crossing national boundaries (Smith, 2004).

A MEANS OF GLOBALIZING THE NEW LEFT

The emergence of the New Left has to do with the interconnectedness of what happened during post-World War II and Cold War in Europe and America. In this era, some leftist intellectuals needed to form a 'new ideology' to criticize two determining ideologies, capitalism and communism. They thought the reality built and set within capitalism and communism had brought catastrophe into the human's life lived under. Under the ideology of capitalism and communism, either America

or the Soviet Union expands, imposes, and exports competitively their power around the globe. The possession of tremendous materials, including mode of production, led America and the Soviet Union to exercise its crucial control and role over other nations. In criticizing communism, the advent of the New Left is admittedly a reaction of socialists toward Stalinism and it was marked by a 'thirst of power' of communism under Stalin by invading Hungary to be the Soviet Union's next satellite country.

The inequality the New Left tried to protest and criticize is more deeply rooted in the dehumanized ideology of capitalism and communism in providing equal treatment of the freedom of being humans. The resistance and consciousness of this inequality were an indispensable part of redirecting concepts of the New Left. For example, in the Soviet Union, Khrushchev condemned the Stalin administration on the tank invasion of the Red Army in Hungary. In France, Jean-Paul Sartre walked out from the French Communist party, in England, the establishment of the journals Universities and Left Review and The New Reasoner merged as the New Left Review in its further development. In China, Mao Tsetung made a 'Marxism reformation' caused by the hegemonic Communism made by Soviet Union and European's elite comrades. In addition, in the American continent, Fidel Castro, strongly influenced by his interpretation of Marxism and applied in the Latin America's socio and geo-politic, launched a 'people revolution,' and the civil rights beliefs of Martin Luther King launched a bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama (Lynd, 1969). As a result, the term of New Left taken from *France Observateur* of which Claude Bourdet was the editor who tried to propose an alternative to directing the course of the Left, especially in Europe politics, means as a 'third way.' This 'third way' locates the New Left in two prominent Left

ideologies, Stalinism and social democracy (Hall, 2010).

The spread of the ideology of the New Left is through communication. The communication becomes a significant means of globalizing the New left ideology since it is the medium of interchange regarding ideas, beliefs, and values. The importance of communication in globalizing the New Left, for example, can be seen from the first establishment of the New Left regarding the turmoil of global events during the 1960s. The crucial date of the upheaval of the 1960s in European countries started on Tuesday, October 30th, 1956 occurred in Africa, Egypt, and Europe, specifically Budapest, Hungary (Horn, 2007). Moreover, the 'first' New Left was born in 1956, a conjuncture bounded on one side by the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution by Soviet tanks and on the other by the British and French invasion of the Suez Canal zone (Hall, 2010, p. 177).

Meanwhile, the exchange of communication in political activity, the prior establishment of the New Left in France was signaled by 'a party fusion.' It was conducted by "the *Union de la Gauche Socialiste and the Mouvement de Liberation du Peuple* and *Jeune Republique* with the Nouvelle Gauche and a few rebels of the Socialist Party/*Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière* (SFIO) in December 1957" (Micoud, 1958). However, the New Left opposed the significantly tripolar political orientations, liberalism, social democracy, and Marxism based Stalin, and the New Left deeply proposed the tenet of liberalism, social democracy and pseudo–communism in social practices and actions (Levitt, 1979).

Going beyond France's border, the similar vision of party fusion was borrowed by the British Labor Party. Likewise, its France counterpart, the British Labor Party used this 'third way' of political course to differentiate and criticize the commando line of the traditional Marxism in England. Contrastingly, the incoming of the New Left idea in England itself had abundant interpretations among Marxism revisionists. According to Horn (2007), the emergence of the New Left as an alternative for the British Labour Party has been reported by Miliband, arguing

> 'Labour's campaign came to an end as abruptly as the Government's military operations, and Labour pressure upon the government soon subsided altogether.' The lessons of the Suez Crisis and the opposition movement in Britain became one of two key factors explaining the subsequent emergence of a British new left. (as cited in Horn, 2007, p. 133)

The inequality that the Britain New Left spoke about was influenced by the developing of capitalistic society in the Britain that had entered into the modernity phase, resulting from its rapid and advanced industrial country. It links the connection between the influences of political nuance that Capitalism has built with the cultural values that the capitalistic society has to set forth. One of the values is modernity. According to Raymond Williams in his essay entitled Long Revolution (1961), it "requires new ways of thinking and feeling, new conceptions of relationships" (as cited in Rutherford, 2013, p. 11). Raymond Williams, a member of the New Left Review and the New Left activist, has made several criticism and revisions on the battle over high culture and proposed the new look of more democratic and humanism cultural tendency under the new condition. In his essay Culture and Society, Raymond Williams made two major criticisms of Marx and his British admirers. First, Williams detected confusion on the question of 'structure and superstructure'. Second,

Williams charged that Marxist writers tended to use terms like 'art' and 'culture' in the narrow and restrictive sense. The 'revolution' that the New Left attempted is not merely on its political sphere. Regarding the capitalism's impacts on society, the culture itself has been transformed into the new one, and for intellectuals in the New Left it is necessary to put a new outlook in order to scrutinize and analyze the cultural effect of post-industrial society (Sparks, 1996, pp. 73-74).

The language of inequality, communication, and social issues of which the British New Left has set forth, thus, expanded its boundary heading the Atlantic Ocean toward America. Within the border discourse concept, the phenomena of the New Left in Europe during the end of the Fifties evidently crossed its border since there was an migration of several European intellectuals under the flag of the Frankfurt School and some rebellious poets from Europe. It can be revealed that the incoming of Jack Kerouac and the Beat poets, and the existentialism brought by John Paul Sartre directly influenced the discontent during the Sixties in America by giving-birth the movement called New Left (Newfield, 1966). As a consequence, the birth of the New Left itself, globally, provided tremendous effect toward the social movement in other parts of the hemisphere. As Levitt (1979) argued,

> The New Left was a phenomenon, which belonged to the decade of the sixties... It was a movement of youth led by students from the universities and colleges. It was a global phenomenon, even though international attention was drawn to the movements in the powerful industrial countries of the West and Far East. (p. 642)

The Frankfurt School provided tremendous role in influencing and providing groundwork for the American New Left. The Frankfurt School aimed and targeted to criticize the new form of Capitalism in America. It was believed that Capitalism had a catastrophic effect on society's life. It was stated in the New Left May Day Manifesto, stating that, "modernization is, indeed, the 'theology' of the new capitalism. It opens up a perspective of change - but at the same time, it mystifies the process, and sets limits to it" (Hall, Williams, & Thompson, 1967, p. 6). As consequence, a political consensus conducted in political activity is just manipulative and democracy is merely a negotiable and maneuvered. Typically, the New Left is a moral political activity demanding radical democracy and socialism. Nonetheless, the New Left developed in different countries has distinguished features. According to Farred (2000),

> The emerging of British New Left is a response of Britain's imperialism in the Middle East and Asian and the invasion of Soviet Union's Red Army, whereas the American New Left during 1960s is much to do with students disobedience fueled by racial issues. (p. 628)

In their departure in a more advanced American society, the Frankfurt School scholars had seen the significant social phenomena during the 1950s. The birth of the New left in America, then, was crucial since the New Left in the Sixties was a rebellion action toward the authoritative politics and culture style in the Fifties (Goose, 2005). The social phenomena endorsing the advent of the American New Left was based on the condition of Americans during the 1950s who enjoyed their economic prosperity after World War II and experienced the baby boom after the withdrawing the US Army from Europe. The economic surplus and rapid industrial development since the end of World War II was reflected in their income and expense in purchasing goods and services which were

abundant in that period. The increasing income and economic surplus meant that the Americans could buy the things they wanted at that period. At the same time, the numerous goods production as well as services had spoiled and pleased the American desires. As consequence, this peace and well-being brought about the emergence of the new class in American society structure, called the affluent middle class. According to Gitlin (1987),

> The word 'Affluence' connotes of flow, flux, fullness. The word had already achieved currency by the time John Kenneth Galbraith published the bestselling The Affluent Society in 195; it was far more American than 'rich,' harnessed as that brutal syllable is to its natural counterpart, 'poor,' thus bringing inequality to mind. (p. 20)

Social issues the Frankfurt School tried to criticized concerned with the impact of the puritanical values that the 1950s generation had built. In the preface of The Sense of the Sixties, Quinn and Dolan (1968) stated, "the Fifties had been a period in which the key word had been security, personal and corporate, internal and external" (p. 1). The security most Americans experienced was well–portrayed in the domestic policies, such as the enactment of the GI Bill allowing the numerous number of war veterans to attend college, and census bureau issuing hundreds of marriage certificate for couples resulting in an increase in pregnancy. In short, in the 1950s, the baby population was more than eight million (Anderson, 2012). This explosion of population consequently had domino effects that, "the federal government helped establishing guaranteed housing loans for veterans and construction companies addressed the crisis by doubling housing starts between 1946-1950" (Anderson, 2012, p. 2). These developments were also followed by

the mass media industries growth as well as the inventions of several handy machines to serve and ease the American necessities. Starting with the invention of radio in the 1930s and '40s and followed by the invention of television in the 1950s, the American curiosity, "grew larger, rates increased, and agencies were pocketing 15 percent of much larger advertising budgets" (Cappo, 2003, p. 30).

In the American experience, the New Left had mentioned their dissatisfaction over inequality, same as their counterpart in Britain. It was regarded with the segregation laws, and reached its climax in 1954. Led by the NAACP's Legal Defense and Education Fund, Blacks fought against the segregated public schools and decision of the Warren Supreme Court. Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka was issued. However, it was only the beginning of beginning of the civil rights movement conducted in the Sixties. Blacks were still struggling to achieve equality in every life sector (Unger & Unger, 1998).

The American New Left, then, widened its criticism over another social issue. It was about women's issues during the Fifties. During the Fifties, there were a large number of women attending college, workplace, and at once the women also had to care for their husbands and children. The survey conducted by Redbook found out that "many young wives were desperately anxious and dissatisfied, mostly because of the crushing commitment to home and community" (Anderson, 2012, p. 9). The Fifties' good time was the tip of the social issues' iceberg. Beneath this iceberg, the 'clicking social distress' soon erupted in the early Sixties. Then, these social distresses initially were the social change of American women, enactment of strict laws in managing American personal life, and ignited by the uneven prosperity distribution that the Black minority

experienced during the peaceful Fifties. For instance, the impact of advertising in reinforcing traditional sex roles and stereotypes, Lucy Komisar argued,

> Advertising is an insidious propaganda machine for a male supremacist society…[It] legitimizes the idealized, stereotyped roles of woman as temptress, wife, mother, and sex object, and portrays women as less intelligent and more dependent than men…It creates false, unreal images of women that reflect males' fantasies rather than flesh and blood human beings. (as cited in Parillo, 1985, p. 433)

Mostly advertising and television programs during the Fifties tried to 'mold' an ideal woman. These mass media became hegemony tools in establishing dominant power and at the same time, the dominant power possessed a huge amount of modes of production. The women as a stereotyping object and the wage disparities experienced became an issue Betty Friedman voiced in The Feminine Mystique that focused exclusively on the problems of the suburban housewife. Later on, she wrote in Mademoiselle, McCall's and Ladies Home Journal aimed for the middle-class and this received public attention and widely spread as a national issue (Halliwell, 2007).

The American New Left, concerning with political activity in a way to protest and question the American Government, was the social phenomena resulted from various aggregated social issues in several regions in America. It was related mostly with American youth and what they experienced due to the paradox of the Fifties. Newfield (1966) affirmed, "a phenomenon of students rejecting the dominant values of their parents and their country; becoming alienated, …political,… active, …radical; protesting against Elite, Mailer's Cancerous Totalitarianism;… irrational anti-Communism, nuclear

weaponry, the lies of statesmen, the hypocrisy of laws against narcotics and abortion" (p. 21). Hence, according to Teoderri (1969), the notion of the New Left was derived from the two combining words, the word 'new' and 'left,'

> The adjective 'new' is first, but not principally, used to designate the contrast between the political phenomenon that developed during the 1960s and the political movements of the 1930s…whose forms were communist, socialist of various kinds and, to a lesser extent, anarcho-syndicalist and whose organized expression took place essentially through the labor movement. (p. 34)

From above notions, it can be said that the New Left was a critique of the evolutionarily growing capitalism resulted from the rapid development of industry and was a response to the cultural implication of capitalism toward the Western society post – industrial, particularly in Britain. Hence, as it grew rapidly, the industrial capitalism formed a new class structure within the capitalistic society. Affected by political activity of the New Left, the emerging of the new affluent middle class under capitalism brought a new direction in shaping society's culture in the industrial realm and postwar. To sum up, the New Left was an opposing movement to criticize and 'purify' the traditional Marxism since it was, regarding the '1956' event, out-modeled with the current life and proved unworkable to counter evolved Capitalism in the post-industrial society of the Western hemispheric (Ruether, 1969) or an 'offshoot of Left' (Jha, 1978).

THE HYBRIDITY OF THE NEW LEFT

In America, the 1960s became pivotal and dynamic years in term of social, cultural and

political issues. In the social area, the 1960s was a breeding ground of social unrests. The university students and American youth began to question the world they lived in America. Many students saw the injustice anywhere, the massive and intense advertisement commercials which bombarded their daily lives, the tight competition among American people to gain the so-called American Dream was inherently transmitted from their parents, and the traditional values were dogmatized by the generation of the baby boomers.

Thus, the cultural hybridity concerning the New Left which occurred in the student organizations, Free Speech Movement (FSM) and Students for A Democratic Society (SDS), dealt with several forms. In organizational form, the member of student organizations involved in the New Left were derived mostly of them from the middle class. The rebellion of the middle class student organizations, Free Speech Movement (FSM) and Students for A Democratic Society (SDS), resulted from the social phenomena within the advanced industrial growth resulting in mass production requiring the form of mass consumption which had dramatically transformed the Western society into the post-industrial age. The danger of advertisement was clearly seen by some social movements and they believed the impact of consumerism would erase traditional values and cultures. Many of the social movements conducted in various countries were driven and organized by students. The agent of social change was labeled for years as the students. As Goose (2005) stated, "from the 1950s through the 1970s, a series of social movements surged across America, radically changing the relationship between white people and people of color, how the U.S. government conducts foreign policy and the popular consensus regarding gender and sexuality" (p. 2). In its organizational form, the FSM is "an 'organized-disorganized-unorganized'

structure which served the needs of a movement-in-action, representing the interests and desires of its constituents and governed internally by participatory democracy without predetermined leadership" (Teoderri, 1969, p. 26). Officially, the form of the Free Speech Movement based on the President's Commission on Campus Unrest (1970) was, "unlike traditional campus political organizations, but like the civil rights movement, the FSM emphasized reaching decisions by group consensus and mass meetings and avoided bureaucratic organization...key tactical decisions were made at critical moments by a small group of leaders (p. 27). Further, Draper (1965) mentioned that the Free Speech Movement consisted of,

> Representatives of United Front of clubs organized and constituted the Free Speech Movement...as temporary fighting formation, not a permanent organization. Organizationally, the body of club representatives became the Executive Committee, and a smaller Steering Committee was elected as the day-to-day leadership...a meeting was called for 'Independents,' attended by several hundreds, who elected representatives. (pp. 71-73)

In addition, the non-political ideology the Free Speech Movement (FSM) conducted was also implied in its organizational structure. Teoderri (1969) stated,

> Its steering committee, on which all the groups supporting the goal of 'free speech' were represented, had a shifting membership, and it operated through 'work centrals.' But the outstanding characteristic of the movement's internal structure was the dissolving of organized politico-ideological boundaries during the meetings, where, in the course of long discussions, political goals were

formulated and decisions made. (p. 26)

In order to connect what the students of FSM did with the real world they lived in (Fincher, 1965), the Free Speech Movement (FSM) took sit-in technique. The sit-in technique was adapted from the civil rights movement applied by Martin Luther King Jr. in Montgomery, Alabama and the famous Ms Rosa Parks' action in riding bus. Hence, this technique was performed by a student movement demanding their rights (Newfield, 1966). In addition, on February 1st, 1960, four famous Negro students of Greensboro, North Carolina, launched a sit-in protest in a white lunch counter in Woolworth to demand a lunch serving. However, these four Negro students were arrested by the South police. Later on, the news was spread heavily throughout the South, and nationwide (Freeman, 2004).

Inspired by the Greensboro sit-in, later on, the sit-in technique was adopted by the Free Speech Movement. In September and October 1964, the Berkeley students launched the sit-in to protest, "the rules prohibiting the holding of meetings on campus, soliciting funds, making speeches, distributing leaflets or setting up tables with political material, the students created a united front of all political organizations, and demanded free speech" (Teoderri, 1969, p. 26). Additionally, Freeman (2004) announced,

> The rally tree became Picket Central, with a blackboard listing assignments, instructions for picketers, plus posterboard and marking pens for students to make their own signs. Every campus entrance and every building where undergraduates took most of their classes had a picket line. About 40 percent of all students actively supported the strike; 15 percent actively opposed it. (p. 216)

Another student organization involved in the New Left in America during the Sixties was Students for A Democratic Society (SDS). "The New Left was loosely organized, although it featured one important national organization, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), which existed from 1960 to 1969" (Kazin, et al, 2010, p. 540). The SDS saw that in the early 1960s there was a tremendous disparity of wealth which American experienced despite its growing mass production and consumption. For example, Michael Harrington's The Other America revealed the persistence of poverty amid plenty. Harrington revealed,

> 40 to 50 million Americans lived in poverty, often in isolated rural areas or urban slums "invisible" to the middle class…technological improvements like the mechanization of agriculture and the automation of industry, which produced a higher standard of living overall, eliminated the jobs of farm laborers and unskilled workers, locking them in poverty. (as cited in Foner, 2011, p. 1049)

In order to respond to several issues of social and political, hence, Students for A Democratic Society (SDS) was formed to answer social problems resulted from the wide gap of income and wealth suffered by American minority, including white poor people and their mission was to make social transformation (Teoderri, 1969). To promote the vision and mission in social transformation in American society, the SDS formulated the Port Huron Statement drafted by Tom Hayden. The Port Huron Statement became the most inspiring feature by claiming to speak for alienated youth in Cold War America. In its opening words, it declared, "We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit" (Goose, 2005, p. 69). The

values promoted by the New Left values were the term of participatory democracy, drafted by Tom Hayden as well in the 1962 Port Huron Statement which was "an easy concept for Americans to understand, because the vision of a society administered by direct town-meeting-style democracy is widespread on both Right and Left" (Lynd, 1969, p. 69). Particularly, in its most famous lines of the Port Huron Statement,

> We seek the establishment of a democracy of individual participation, governed by two central aims: that the individual share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life; that society be organized to encourage independence in men and provide the media for their common participation. (SDS, http://www.sds-1960s.org/port_huron_statement)

According to the above citation, Goose (2005) asserted that, "this was a new politics, somewhere between liberalism and radicalism, non-Marxist but open to socialist analysis, and focused on a total democratization of society-the economy, schools, and governmental institutions" (p. 69). Thus, in 1963, the SDS founded ERAP (The Economic Research and Action Project) to anticipate the worse effect of the American crisis during the Vietnam War domestically. The ERAP project in 1964-65 emphasized on establishing 'community unions' (O'Brien, 1968).

Both student organizations' struggles, the Free Speech Movement (FSM) and Students for A Democratic Society (SDS), demonstrated that their beliefs and ideas related to moral and ethical visions in social and political issues could attract attention of several students and minorities to adhere and join their struggle in criticizing social issues experienced by American minorities and redefining the American government politically. Therefore,

it is in line with ideology stated by Mannheim (1954) that the ideology both particular and total has an idea to function of people who hold particular ideology related with their position in reality. As result, ideologies, as psychological effect, are necessary to shape, unify and drive mass consciousness in order to voice and struggle for their rights (Gramsci, 1971). In short, according to Althusser, "in ideology men . . . express, not the relation between them and their conditions of existence, but the way they live in relation between them and their conditions of existence" (as cited in Storey, 2009, p. 71).

Transnationally, the student movement in Indonesia played an integral part in the history of Indonesian Independence as well as political changes. The role of Indonesian student movements, then, can be seen in the overthrowing of the Soekarno administration. The main reason was that President Soekarno was likely to maintain and defend his authority by proposing the Draft of a lifetime President within the Indonesian Basic Constitution of 1945. Another reason why the Indonesian student movement in 1960s strived against Soekarno's authority was a mutual relationship with the communism axis of Moscow-Peking. The Soviet and Peking connection with President Soekarno was viewed by some nationalists and America as a red alert of the growing influence of communism in Indonesian politics. Consequently, there was a bloody revolution, some historians called it a coup de etat, nationally known as September 30th, 1965 (Wood, 2005). It was marked the falling of President Soekarno from its 'lifetime presidency.' Later on, the Indonesian student of 1960 launched their protest supported by the Indonesian army (ABRI) to overthrow President Soekarno. However, under Soeharto's regime, Indonesia just entered into the new order with the same taste. According to Frederick and Worden (2011),

On the surface, and particularly through a Cold War lens, the New Order appeared to be the antithesis of the Old Order: anticommunist as opposed to communist-leaning, pro-Western as opposed to anti-Western, procapitalist rather than anticapitalist, and so on. As new head of state, Suharto seemed to reflect these differences by being, as historian Theodore Friend put it, 'cold and reclusive where Sukarno had been hot and expansive.' (p. 72)

If in the Sixties the Indonesian military (ABRI) was offensive in banishing and cleaning all PKI members supported by Indonesian student movement of 1960s for fear that the communism ideology would advent and spread in Indonesia, the Indonesian student movement of 1970s protested the Soeharto administration driven by two opposing factions in the Indonesian Army. The interesting point is that the demonstration theme of the Indonesian student movements of 1970 was 'Establishment'. The spirit of *'pembangunanisme,'* or development in the Soeharto regime was massive due to the incoming of foreign investment, mainly from Japan. The massive foreign investment was assumed to be the cause of the first political riot during five years establishment of the New Order. The first political protest over the Soeharto administration was conducted by college students from Universitas Indonesia, or 'University of Indonesia,' involved in the student movement of Fifteen January, known as the Malari riots. The student protest blamed Soeharto for mismanagement and unequal distribution of *pembangunanisme*, or 'development.'

The student movement in the 1970s observed that the profit of development was just enjoyed by a few members of the Indonesian political elite, since the poverty number had increased tremendously. According to Tempo (2014), the principle of 'pembangunanisme' was, "*pertumbuhan ekonomi digenjot dan karenanya politik harus stabil. Yang terakhir ini dicapai melalui penyerdehanaan sistem kepartaian, penerapan prinsip asa tunggal, dan inflitrasi terhadap pelbagai organisasi kemasyarakatan…Di tangan Soeharto istilah stabilitas berarti aspirasi yang diseragamkan*" (p. 29). In social aspect, the Soeharto regime also conducted strict rules in managing Indonesian attitudes. There was a raid over a long-hair and fat bellies of youth and artists. Mainly, in Yogyakarta, majority of schools did not allow long-haired students to take exams. In Wonosobo, the long-haired spectators were not allowed to enter the theatre. In Medan, the Governor of North Sumatera, Marah Halim formed the Agency of Long-hair Eradication (Tempo, 2014, p. 67).

Aside from the economic issue, the Indonesian student movement in 1970s had an integral part in the Indonesian social issue concerned with the role of women. The proposal of Draft of Marriage by the government during the 1970s resulted in rejection and protest by Muslim scholars supported by the students' organization. They thought that the content of the Draft of Marriage was contradicted with majority religion, Islam. Tempo (2014) conveyed that, "*laki – laki dan perempuan bisa menikah tanpa kehadiran wali dari pihak perempuan. Artinya pernikahan sudah sah secara hukum meski hanya dihadiri petugas kantor catatan sipil. Menurut mahasiswa dan kalangan tokoh agama, RUU ini disinyalir akan meniadakan peran agama dalam konteks kehidupan*" (p. 61). Moreover, the ambitious project of Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (TMII) also got reactionary protests from the students, where this project had nothing to do with the improvement of the poor and providing equal wealth for Indonesia. Globally, the main reason of the Indonesian student movement of

1970s was reaction the Japanese investment in Indonesia.

Conclusion

The study of student organizations in America, which are the Free Speech Movement (FSM) and Students for A Democratic Society (SDS) during the Sixties, is closely linked with the advent of the New Left. The development of the New Left itself has been deeply laid in the student's mind, from Western Hemisphere, Europe and America, through to Asian countries. From that point on, the globalizing ideology of the New Left confirmed that it was related with the significance of globalization, concerning on the similar language of inequality, the exchange of communication, the influence of people migration, and social phenomena globally.

The globalizing of the New Left resulted from various implications of industrial growth affecting the social structure during the post-industrial age. The significant effect was the emergence of an affluent middle class. This class emerged as the continuation of the working class. In essence, the affluent middle class was formed to answer the mass production experienced in the 1950s. A large number of products were introduced into everyday life, which required a number of consumers to purchase goods and services. Therefore, the emergence of the new middle class in Britain and America had become the main issue that the New Left of both countries tried to condemn. In a broad sense, the New Left also demanded on the equality and social justice for marginalized minorities in America, specifically related to the role of women, the 'separate but equal' law for the Blacks, and the radicalism of youth. The American New Left also criticized the domestic repression under the McCarthyism and its HUAC, and the international upheaval

of America and the Soviet Union in the nuclear and space exploration-testing race.

The phenomena of student organization protests have occurred in America and Indonesia. A different experience from both countries also brought a similarity and difference. In addition, globalization, the inequality, interchange of communication, people mobilization, and social phenomena have played important roles in the emergence of the New Left. The American New Left in the 1960s has indirectly influenced the Indonesian student protest in 1974 (the 'Malari' riots). Yet, the spirit of anti-capitalism protest as conducted by the American and British New Left is clearly seen in the Indonesian student movement in the 1970s. The main action was protesting the Japanese investment and the Soeharto regime on authoritarian democracy and several policies, such as rapid economic development by proposing large amount of loan from foreign investment, the Draft of Marriage. From both events, in bottom line, the ideology of American New Left in the 1960s and the Indonesian student movement of the 1970s, it is evidently shown that the locality or sustained values of both are democracy and social justice and the universalities values shared are anti-establishment and anti-capitalistic society.

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