Contents

Preface v

PART ONE THEORY 1

1	The Proble	m of Definition	. 3
-	1 110 1 1 0 D 1 C	TT OT TOOTTITUOT	

Popular Characteristics of the Left 3

Advocacy of Change 3
Political Ideals 5
Advocacy of Economic Democracy 9
Tradition of Dissent 10
Rationalism and Ideology 12

Historical Roles 14

The Left as Opposition 15
The Left as Negation 16
The Left as a Generational Experience 17
The Left as an Ally of the Working Class 20
Notes 25

2 The New Intellectuals 27

The Left Intellectual 28

Conflict with Marxian Socialists 28
Walling, Lippmann, and Eastman 31

The Historical Consciousness of the Left	34
The Role of Dewey and James 34 The Task of Mind 36	
Notes 38	

3 Strangers in the Land: The Proletariat and Marxism 39

Farmers and Industrial Workers 40

The Utopian Tradition 49

The Marxist Background 54

Three Leaders in American Socialism 63

Debs 63
DeLeon 65
Haywood 67
Notes 69

PART TWO HISTORY 71

4 The Lyrical Left 73

Early Raptures 74

Politics and Art 75
Diversity of Appeal 78
The New Review and The New Masses 79

Challenges and Conflict 81

War and the State 81 Bolshevism: The Triumph

Bolshevism: The Disenchantment 94

The Odysseys of Reed and Eastman: Two Patterns of Disillusionment 96

Reed 96 Eastman 100 Notes 105

5 The Old Left 107

The Depression and Communism 108

The Popular Front 121

The Critique of Marxism: Legacy of the Old Left 136

Sociology: From Marx to Tocqueville 136
Economics: From Marx to Keynes 138
Political Science: From Marx to Madison 140
Theology: From Marx to Kierkegaard 142
Literature: From Marx to Melville 143
American History: From Marx to Locke 145
Philosophy: From Marx to James 148

Pessimism and Relevance: The Gulf Between 151

Notes 152

6 The New Left 155

From Alienation to Activism 157

Antecedent Lefts: Differences and Similarities 162

From Port Huron to Peking 168

The Civil Rights Movement 168
Students for a Democratic Society 169

Progressive Labor Party 171 Offshoots of the Old 172 Black Militants 173

Decline with Influence 176

The Agency of Change 176
The Vietnam War 177
Repression 180
Factionalism and Suicidal Extremism 182

The "New Consciousness" and Herbert Marcuse 186

Notes 195 Photo Credits 197 Index 199