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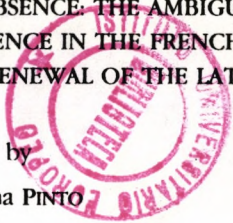
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**THE PRESENCE OF AN ABSENCE: THE AMBIGUITY OF
THE AMERICAN REFERENCE IN THE FRENCH AND
ITALIAN INTELLECTUAL RENEWAL OF THE LATE 1950'S**

by

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The second half of the 1950's with the passing of time has come to be seen in France and in Italy in a near idealized fashion as a great epoch of intellectual renewal, openness, hope and possibility --an oasis of quiet reflection between the harsh anti-American Cold War climate of the early 1950's and the violent counter cultural radicalized anti-American intellectual upheavals of the late 1960's. The years between the 1956 crisis of Marxism and the inception of the Center Left government in Italy and the consolidation of the Presidential Gaullist regime in France in 1962 were indeed unique in the postwar period in that they constituted the high point of an encounter between left wing intellectual analyses and a more pragmatic modernizing current (1). A near symbiosis of concerns in the wake of the crisis of Marxism made it possible to be on the "Left" while advocating social democratic Welfare State moderate orientations, and a less virulent inquiring attitude toward America and its modernist developments. By the mid 1960's instead, modernizing thought came to be equated with the "Right" as a renewed revolutionary Left warred precisely against the moderation and pragmatism of the late 1950's renewal.

It is therefore highly significant that as France and Italy emerged out of the radical revolutionary years of the late 1960's and early 1970's when the intellectual Left had indulged in an increasingly unrealistic escapism into Third World revolutionary dreams (whether Cuba or China) while sustaining a near

psychological hatred of social democracy, and of the Western tradition of formal liberties and pluralism, that a new generation of intellectuals would look back on the renewal of the late 1950's with a certain nostalgia (2). In France especially, but also to some extent in Italy, the repercussions of the "Gulag" phenomenon in the mid 1970's which made its intellectual confront head on the philosophical and political implications of Soviet totalitarianism rendered the intellectual questionings and renewal of the 1950's all the more pertinent. A feeling emerged that the questions asked in the wake of the 1956 crisis of Marxism had been the right ones, that the atmosphere of open inquiry and doubt the crisis had engendered was particularly creative, and that its "silencing" was one of the great intellectual setbacks of our time. The cultural opening of the late 1950's which had been prematurely cut off by the rash of "popular Stalinism" of the 1960's, and by the "reductionist, regressive Third Worldist carnival" (in the a posteriori assessment of some of the protagonists of the renewal) symbolized a fertile ambience whose vitality had to be refound (3).

This need to go back once again to the roots of reason and moderate change was best incarnated in recent years by the reprinting both in France and in Italy of the two seminal reviews that had been largely responsible for the left-wing cultural renewal of the late 1950's: Ragionamenti in Italy and Arguments in France. Confidential in audience, almost artisanal in conception,

the two reviews came to acquire with time and after their demise a far larger intellectual reputation and following. They formed the core of a major theoretical reconsideration on the part of postwar intellectuals who had been close to the Communist Party until 1956 but who had moved away from it to confront head on the implications of a newly discovered social and economic modernity, while exploring new subjects in the sciences, in the arts or in literature. The themes addressed in the two reviews, the topics analyzed, the references made to other countries in their search for a suitable model of modernity are therefore highly symbolic of the values of the age, and of a more general stance vis a vis America.

The French and Italian cultural renewal of the late 1950's had its references, its preferences and its silences: the Soviet Union, the former near compulsory land of the future for a Left close to the Communist Party slowly disappeared from the intellectual horizon of those bent on thinking and implementing change. New more pragmatic references emerged which seemed to combine left-wing allegiances with the needs of modernity: the Labor government in Great Britain with its nationalizations, working class participation and social projects; the German SPD after its Bad Godesberg congress in 1959 when it abandoned revolutionary sights for a social democratic orientation in the name of concrete social reform, as well as the German practice of Mitbestimmung (working class participation); Yugoslavia with its

working class councils; even "little" Israel with its kibbutznik tradition and social democratic structures (4). All of these experiences were seen as innovative chapters in a socialist based renewal which eschewed "capitalism" in the name of social progress while not falling into a "Stalinist" deviation of a dominating all possessive Communist Party.

America, the former archvillain of a Cold War Left, and the future archvillain of a Third Worldist oriented revolutionary Left in the 1960's and early 1970's, was on the whole an absent reality in the intellectual renewal of the late 1950's, in reviews such as Ragionamenti and Arguments. During this phase of cultural opening, America remained a highly ambiguous and therefore delicate reference for intellectuals still bent on stressing their left-wing identity.

What were the reasons for this ambiguity vis a vis America? Was it that the French and Italian intellectual renewal was so confident of its socialist "third way" that it could find no interest in American happenings and developments, perceived as "capitalist" and therefore reactionary even in their innovations? In reality, America presented a theoretical and even conceptual "problem" for left wing innovators trying to rethink the world without a revolutionary reference but with a still keen sense of belonging to the "Left." The desire to maintain a marxist heritage even if in a progressive, open, and modern guise was still predominant. One can argue that the relative absence of direct

American references stemmed from an intellectual discomfort in examining a national experience whose very "essence" was supposed to be the negation of the deepest held anti-capitalist beliefs of marxist theory, but whose technological and economic lead made her an inescapable reference point of "modernity."

To fully understand the ambiguity vis a vis America to be found in the cultural renewal of the late 1950's, one has to examine at greater length the nature of the major themes the modernist Left addressed as well as the inherent limits of its openness. The intellectual renewal which followed the 1956 crisis of Marxism in France and in Italy had broad ranging repercussions in the economic, social, political, and above all cultural realms. In economic terms it marked the end of the postwar concerns with reconstruction, and swept away underlying doubts over Europe's capacity to recover its prewar economic strength. The unprecedented Western European economic growth symbolized by the Italian "miracle" of the mid-1950's displaced the mental and political categories of a European intellectual Left convinced of the static if not clearly regressive nature of the capitalist order, and forced it to find new categories with which to come to grips with relative affluence and above all with neo-capitalist planning and economic dynamism. The Hungarian "events" combined with the revelations of the XX Congress of the Soviet Communist Party destroyed for many intellectuals the belief in the Soviet Union and in Communism as the essence of progressive truly

revolutionary socialist order. Doubts over the Stalinist deviations of the Communist ideal sent left-wing intellectuals in a major soul-searching re-evaluation of their cultural and philosophical presuppositions (5). The manichean categories of Soviet revolutionary "good" versus American capitalist "evil" which had thrived during the Cold War gave way to serious intellectual rethinking emphasizing the need for an open questioning of social reality (6). Empirical social science research was seen as the necessary antidote with which to create a new intellectual order, where culture would no longer be exclusively dependent on political directives as in the Soviet Union, and where it would have its own field of autonomy, while remaining wedded to social and economic concerns.

Political avenues that had seemed irremediably closed during the Cold War years once again loomed on the horizon plane as a new modernist camp slowly consolidated both inside the Left and the progressive centrist parties in France and in Italy. It was in the second half of the 1950's that the first prefigurations of the Welfare State / advanced industrial society model which would attain cultural centrality in the early 1960's (with the Center Left in Italy and de Gaulle's Plan in France) appeared as intellectuals on both sides of the ideological divide focused on the same social and economic needs and changes. Reflections on the changed nature of the working class in a more affluent society, on the social and technological implications of automation, and on

the danger of bureaucracy and of mass conformism in society ceased being uniquely ideological preoccupations of either the Left or the Right to become common non-ideological, "neutral" concerns which defined in themselves the new themes of the age (7).

In brief, the cultural renewal of the late 1950's was social democratic in essence, modernist in orientation, and culturally pluralist in vocation. The intellectual anti-Americanism of the Cold War period, when the United States were generally excoriated in sweeping ideological generalizations which left little room for nuanced analyses, gave way in this changed cultural context of the late 1950's to what one could call "A-Americanism." Half way point between a traditional European anti-Americanism and (a far rarer, at least until recently) intellectual pro-Americanism, the "a-American" stance present in reviews such as Ragionamenti and Arguments reflected in reality what was the critical fragility of the left wing/modernist juncture of the late 1950's cultural renewal: its political and philosophical doubts, its fear of abandoning old ideological certitudes while pursuing at the same time new intellectual horizons, its profound longing for and ambiguity vis a vis the very idea of modernity.

The very itinerary and ultimate fate of Ragionamenti and Arguments would prove the extreme instability of the cultural renewal of the late 1950's and its ambiguity vis a vis America. Founded in 1955, in what was to be a prefiguration of the 1956 crisis of Marxism, Ragionamenti was the review of a group of

marxist Italian intellectuals (Roberto Guiducci, Giuseppe Amodio, Franco Fortini, Franco Momigliano, Alessandro Pizzorno) who were not members of the Communist Party but who adhered to the notion of building a new socialist world, and who felt that a fossilized Communist doctrine was no longer able to apprehend the major social and economic transformations of Italian society.

The review gave priority to the following topics: finding a new grass roots basis for a socialist project, which would provide a viable alternative to the excessively centralized and anti-libertarian aspects of Communism (especially its Stalinism), fostering a cultural renewal by opening marxist thought to the empirical social sciences and to new literary, philosophical, scientific currents in the name of the "autonomy" of culture and with a new role for the intellectuals as engagé specialists, understanding the social and political implications of the new technological breakthroughs, and of new social aspirations in the collective behavior and bargaining power of the working class, assessing the consequences of economic growth in an age of capitalist planning, and consumer-oriented societies where traditional ideological and conflictual divides no longer seemed relevant, in an attempt to forge a new more efficient and politically responsive Left.

Arguments, founded in 1957, by French marxist intellectuals, (Edgar Morin, Kostas Axelos, Jean Duvignaud, Colette Audry) some of whom had been in the Communist Party and had just left it in

the wake of the Hungarian events, shared Ragionamenti's intellectual and political concerns. The French review gave however, more centrality to a purely literary and scientific renewal than its Italian counterpart, devoting many articles to new anthropological and literary perspectives, and to purely philosophical and scientific analyses. The two reviews had quite different life spans: Ragionamenti survived only until 1957, whereas Arguments continued until 1962. Both reviews however, ended for the same essential intellectual reasons. Their ambitious project of intellectual renewal led to an ideological impasse within a Left that was unwilling to make the total jump into a moderate and pragmatic modernity. Ragionamenti disbanded when in a fast paced Italian setting, political consequences developed out of the original intellectual project of left-wing renewal. Former Communists who had left the Party after 1956 such as Antonio Giolitti, sought to remodel the Socialist Party into the necessary modern tool with which to change Italian political life. Policymaking intellectual discussions which would eventually pave the way for the Center Left alliance replaced the "purer" themes of intellectual renewal. An inevitable rift ensued between those who advocated renewal but within a marxist revolutionary tradition while remaining unwilling to blur the ideological divide which separated them from the "Right", and those who gave priority to the forces of modernization (regardless of political origin) over ideological considerations, believing at most that Marxism was a

valid methodological tool but no longer a valid political project. The reformist planners banded in the review Passato e presente, whereas the marxist "purists" founded Quaderni Rossi and later Quaderni Piacentini (8). The ideological divisions between Left and Right, pro - and anti-Americanism in Italian political life throughout the 1960's and 1970's were thus already in place by the early 1960's. Arguments ceased publication in 1962 because its editors felt that French intellectuals had not taken up the call for intellectual change, preferring to return to left wing ideological certitudes in a "regel" which had only changed attire, adopting Althusser's structuralist Marxism rather than the earlier Stalinism...but the effect on French intellectual life was the same. The modernist message went unheeded, as the reformist intellectuals took refuge in their own personal social scientific work (9).

In the late 1970's and early 1980's, French and Italian intellectuals would regret the conceptual split which had ended the Ragionamenti and Arguments experiments. They longed in a Platonic manner for the reunification of the philosophical "egg" with its "yolk" of left wing conscience and its "white" of modernity. Yet the differences between the two camps of renewal in the late 1950's were inexorable and found their most concrete incarnation in the ambiguous and at times antithetical manner with which American developments and innovations were depicted in Ragionamenti and Arguments.

From the onset the two reviews were confronted with an unsolvable dilemma: how to examine America's social and economic developments, its modernization and its many avant-garde aspects (with respect to industrial relations, consumer life styles, technological progress, etc.) without falling into the ideologically unpalatable belief that America might be the real "way of the future" as opposed to their earlier ideal, the Soviet Union. As the Soviet model fell into disuse with the disillusionment of 1956, the intellectuals on behalf of cultural renewal did not want to fall into the trap of looking in a near automatic manner to its antithesis, America, for inspiration. Hence the plethora of references to Labor England, the German SPD, Yugoslavia, Israel, and the promising developments in the Third World, when in reality America provided the ideal test case for those themes which concerned them most (automation, consumerism, and the social repercussion of economic growth on working class militancy). Refined distinctions on the differences between capitalist "technocratic" and socialist "democratic" planning, the ultimately incompatible "ends" of economic growth and social priorities in the two systems, were stressed to make sure that what was going on in America did not take on normative value (10). America could incarnate new developments but technological innovation and economic transformations were not guarantees per se that a better social order was in store; these changes could very

well contain theoretical "threats" to marxist categories of analysis (11).

The contradictory appreciations and ambiguous attitude toward American developments in the reviews Ragionamenti and Arguments were most visible in the following spheres: technological innovation, the social and economic transformations of society, the nature of democratic participation, and the realm of culture and ideas. Changes in the industrial work setting had provided one of the first signs in France and Italy that traditional communist analyses were no longer able to grasp reality. The surge in economic productivity, the introduction of automation in an industrial setting which now engage in planning and rationalized "human relations" were considerably transforming the givens of French and Italian working class life. The essential question for the left wing renewal was whether these changes could be integrated in a socialist modernist vision, as useful stepping stones to a new order or whether they were threats to any meaningful socially reformist hope.

In long articles analyzing the implications of automation, the advocates of left wing renewal were forced to look at the American industrial example as an avant-grade for these new developments (12). But they did so with a great feeling of ambiguity. On the one hand they stressed that technological innovation in America was not progressive in nature because it was prompted by exclusively capitalist economic imperatives which

never took into account the needs of the working class or the social implications of technological transformations. A Left in search of renewal had to find ways of countering the social effects of these changes by a new critical type of social action, one which required more responsive trade union organizations and more perceptive social analyses (13).

On the other hand the innovators were quite clearly fascinated by what they saw taking place in America. Not unlike Marx who based his economic analyses on the most advanced industrial society of his time, England, they knew that the transformations in American society, whether they were the product of "progressive" or "reactionary" intentions would nevertheless prove determinant for all future industrial configurations in France as well as in Italy. Those who were in favor of espousing the consequences of modernity whatever their ideological origins, stressed that the American technological transformations would generate by themselves (rather than in a planned left wing response) new trade union actions and organizations. They pointed to Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers as an eminent example of the most modern industrial settings (14). Seen in this light, America could also serve as a positive example of radical social action, not just inexorable and repressive technological change. The critics of American modernity were instead quick to point out that whatever the scope and vitality of American trade unions, they would never carry out a revolutionary transformation of

American society because they were too intertwined with the very workings of capitalist society, whose deepest values they did not really contest. The American trade union example could even be dangerous (15).

Beyond the technological sphere, the nature of American "society" as a whole disturbed French and Italian left wing reformers. Was its "affluent society" with its increasingly strong consumer oriented social organization that seemed to do away with class divisions a prefiguration of future French and Italian developments? This key question haunted left wing reformers who scrutinized the apparent lack of political motivation of Western European working classes in the late 1950's as a clear sign of their ideological and political "softening" and possible integration in a newly articulated industrial democratic setting (16). The best "proof" of this change could be found in the British Tory victory of 1959, where it was undeniable that a slice of working class voters had abandoned their Labour Party to vote Tory in a historical reversal of their traditional working class identity; in the lack of working class upheaval in France over the "coup d'état" of General de Gaulle in 1958; in the reformist identity of the SPD after Bad Godesberg; and in the seeming lack of interest for the Communist Party and its trade union representatives in Italy's advanced industrial working class as witnessed in the FIAT workers' council elections of the mid-1950's (17).

The American model of expanding middle class identity which would eventually even englobe the working class alarmed French and Italian left wing reformers who still very much wanted an active working class to be the motor of major social transformation. For Ragionamenti and Arguments, the only working class integration capitalism could offer was one based on alienating consumer pleasures that gave it no meaningful share of political, social or economic power. If the rule of bureaucracy was the foremost danger of the Soviet model, the rule of a conformist mass culture was the great danger of an American model (18). All examinations of the new working class in France and Italy were therefore determined by the underlying fear that a greater working class economic prosperity and social integration would undermine the very foundations of its historic mission as perceived by marxist analysis (19). And yet even within the cultural renewal of the late 1950's one could also find the strands of an acceptance and even an appreciation of the fact that the pessimistic previsions of orthodox marxist theory on capitalism's future were not being fulfilled and that the working class in the West was qualitatively better off than that in the Socialist world, not just in purely material terms, but also with respect to the possibility of making its own voice heard in determining its future. Greater well-being could still foster a long term desire for profound change (20).

If American social developments could point to possible slow changes in a vaguely progressive direction, American political

life on the other hand was perceived as hopelessly static and alienated. The American democratic model with its bipartisan or interest group aspects, was totally absent from French and Italian intellectual considerations on how to better integrate politically the working class inside modernizing societies. To make sure that the working class be represented by itself rather than by a bureaucratic and dictatorial surrogate (as in Stalinism), Ragionamenti and Arguments turned to the models of working class councils along Yugoslav lines and even more toward the theoretical elaborations of the young Lukacs in the early 1920's (21). These thoughts would lead to the formulation of autogestion models in the 1960's. In this context, American political life could offer no examples and its lack of ideological tensions constituted the best proof in the eyes of the left wing reformers that it was not the forum for true debates; only socialism could provide a "true" democratic setting. American democracy was perhaps "representative" but only of needs distorted by the all powerful hold of the capitalist model. What America lacked was an all-encompassing reading of its society, one that could grasp its latent tensions, and implicit weaknesses (22). Even during the openness of the late 1950's, to say something positive with respect to the American political democracy was to automatically exclude oneself from the ranks of the Left and to be declared a true member of the Right (as those social science advocates of democratic grass roots participation and pluralist political life

on a bipartisan Anglo-American model would rapidly learn in the 1960's). It would only be in the mid 1970's in a vastly changed political context (not just in Europe but also in post-Watergate America) that the very motor of American democracy would come to be seen as truly representative and democratic.

The ambiguity and essential reticence vis a vis America which was present in most of the left wing renewal of the late 1950's was particularly visible and meaningful in the reading given to American culture. The reformist left was clearly of two minds on the topic. On the one hand it looked to American style (and also British) empirical anti-ideological social and economic analyses as oxygen with which to salvage left wing thought from the ideological fossilization of orthodox Marxism. This was particularly true with respect to American analyses of industrial and technological innovations, which were widely quoted even when the phenomena they were describing were perceived negatively by the French and Italian reformist intellectuals (23). America thus provided both the "reality" and its interpretation, a stratum of undeniable "facts" which would have to be grasped in any French and Italian modernization.

On the other hand, the very qualities of American intellectual life, its empirical orientation, its total separation from power and from political pressures (the very opposite of the politically dominated culture of a Party run system like that of the Soviet Union) were perceived as major handicaps in the

creation of an important American "Culture" (with a capital "C", as opposed to middlebrow or popular culture). In this context Ragionamenti and Arguments espoused the critical analysis of American culture first presented by Adorno and later popularized by Marcuse. American culture was perceived as being too tied to capitalist ideas, lacking the kind of centrality needed for culture to exert its mission of transforming the world through meaningful social change. What offered a salutary cure for an over-ideological European context was instead perceived as being detrimental for an American intellectual setting which ignored dialectical reasoning and the weight of natural history (24). Americans in brief, needed a more critical and global cultural overview; they were victims of their own excessive intellectual fragmentation. French and Italian intellectuals therefore opted to use American cultural production in a very restrictive sense: for its "brute" social scientific facts and for its corroborative radical marxist derived analyses. All else was short circuited (except for literary production) and perceived as an inferior culture, the product of capitalist "alienation".

Fascinated by American modernity, but exasperated by the flatness of its social configuration and by its anti-revolutionary implications, French and Italian left-wing intellectuals in the late 1950's oscillated between a surge toward non-ideological social and economic reasonings and a "holding back" to retain an

established marxist identity with its revolutionary promise. All references to America in this torn cultural context could only breed discomfort and nurture ambiguity. The "A-Americanism" which ensued was certainly more refined than the crude anti-Americanism of the Cold War period, but it lacked the necessary conceptual "thrust" with which to dissolve the pall that surrounded America as an image, as a concept, and as a reference.

For America to stand out as a complex reality open to critical but ideologically undetermined scrutiny, many more left-wing credos (vis a vis the notion of Revolution, the Soviet Union, and the Third World, as well as central economic planning, and the value of "formal" liberties) had to crumble. A first step in this direction would be taken with the growing left-wing interest for counter-cultural America, its radicals, and anti-Vietnam war sentiments in the late 1960's. Significantly, the book which would incarnate this change of orientation vis a vis American "culture" in France would be Edgar Morin's Journal de Californie, published in 1969, which gave a vibrant positive image of America as a fast changing open society, the home of the future. The conceptual break which the left-wing renewal of the late 1950's was unable to perform would slowly develop ten years later. But it would only consolidate starting in the early 1970's in a democratic libertarian revival which came about with the dispelling of the last revolutionary hopes and illusions over China, Cuba, Vietnam, and Cambodia, as well as Eurocommunism (25). Only when

intellectuals would no longer be stymied for their use of positive American references either by outward ostracism or, more importantly, by their own self-censorship, could one speak of the gradual decline of anti-Americanism.

The intellectual renewal of the late 1950's, so extolled by today's left-wing reformists, proved to be in reality an unstable chemical compound, destined to precipitate into separate elements, as was to be indeed the case in the 1960's. The ambiguous relationship it had vis a vis America in effect provided the best litmus test of this structural instability, which would eventually pit advocates of modernization, social mobility, consumerism, advanced "industrial societies" and pluralism (the pro-Americans) against the advocates of revolutionary change, counter-culture and a left-wing "purity" (the anti-Americans). These divisions, present in embryonic forms at the onset, would explode in the 1960's once the very bases of the cultural renewal had disappeared.

Partial milestone in the curbing of postwar anti-Americanism, the cultural renewal of the late 1950's proved ultimately unsuccessful in its time because it could not espouse the full implications of its own newly created modernist left-wing identity. Out of a near instinctual fear of losing the orthodox marxist revolutionary "motor" that would give History an eschatological "meaning", it failed to confront America as a symbol of modernity in all of its complex reality. Because of this

conceptual impasse, the cultural renewal of the late 1950's projected a near-sterile "A-Americanism" which was less the basis for an independent European renaissance than the temporary stillness of the eye of an anti-American storm which would still ravage the intellectual landscape of the 1960's and 1970's.

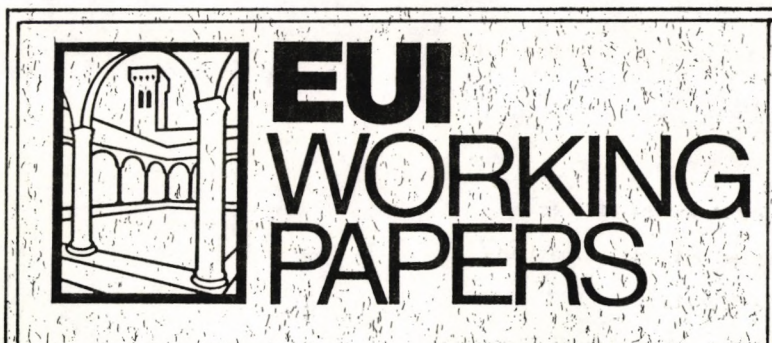
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