

THE EVOLUTION OF LEFT RADICALISM IN LATIN AMERICA: FROM REVOLUTIONARY TO MODERATION

The main aspects of the historical evolution of the radical left ideas are outlined. The implementation of these ideas in different states of Latin America is reviewed. The considerable attention is paid to the ideas and theoretical principles of Subkomendante Marcos who is a supporter and an active follower of Zapatism in Mexico.

Keywords: left radicalism, extremism, Subkomendante Marcos, Zapatism, Latin America.

Вільчинська Ірина Юрїївна, доктор політичних наук, професор, професор Київського національного університету культури і мистецтв

Еволюція лівого радикалізму на латиноамериканському континенті: від революційності до поміркованості

У статті окреслено основні аспекти історичної еволюції ліворадикальних поглядів та практики їх втілення у життя на латиноамериканському континенті. Значну увагу приділено ідеям, теоретичним і практичним напрацюванням Субкомеданте Маркоса – прихильника і активного подвижника ідей сапатизму в Мексиці.

Ключові слова: лівий радикалізм, екстремізм, Субкомеданте Маркос, сапатизм, Латинська Америка.

Вильчинская Ирина Юрьевна, доктор политических наук, профессор, профессор Киевского национального университета культуры и искусств

Еволюция левого радикализма на латиноамериканском континенте: от революционности к умеренности

В статье обозначены основные аспекты исторической эволюции леворадикальных взглядов и практики их воплощения в жизнь на латиноамериканском континенте. Значительное внимание уделено идеям, теоретическим и практическим наработкам Субкомеданте Маркоса – сторонника и активного подвижника идей сапатизма в Мексике.

Ключевые слова: левый радикализм, экстремизм, Субкомеданте Маркос, сапатизм, Латинская Америка.

The term radicalism (in Latin Radix – root) is used by scientists to characterize the extremist organizations, political parties, movements, groups and some leaders. Radicals demonstrate a tendency to the most cardinal (radical) reformation of the existing social and political institutions and relations. Their main goal is to solve a lot of problems with different orientations.

Nowadays, the issues related to the concepts of radicalism (left or right) and extremism are sufficiently researched in the domestic and foreign science (E. Bartoli, V. Bachinin, O.Vasylyev, E. Hobsbaum, A. Dershovyt's, B. Ignatov, V. Kovalev, P. Coleman, V. Lipkan, M. Obushnyy, D. Olshansky, V. Plastun, O.Polovko, A. Romanyuk, O. Tkach, V. Ustinov and others). However, we think that the attempt to trace the historical evolution of radical left views in Latin America is interesting. It determines the actuality and purpose of our study.

Left radicalism is a social and political phenomenon, based on the desire of politically active groups or individuals to destroy the existing system of state authority and put the ideas of a just society into practice. These ideas characterized primarily the communist concepts of the XIX–XX centuries. At that period the final systematization of the left political radicalism principles was finished.

The objects of the left criticism usually are capitalism, imperialism, plutocracy, a corporate state, social inequality, humiliation of a personality, alienation and exploitation, bureaucratization of society, the "forgetting the interests of" class struggle by the traditional left parties and their conformism with the dominated classes of a bourgeois society.

Left radicalism (as right one) is characterized by such features as utopianism, intolerance, a tendency to the destruction of the existing constitutional structure, a bipolar world, violence, sectarian nature of its organizations, revolutionary, anti-Americanism. The political systems, created on the basis of these principles, contradict the principles of democracy and support the unity of the private and public spheres of life, the concentration of power in the hands of one party and etc [5].

There is no consensus among social scientists as for the social base of left (or right) radicalism. The social and electoral bases of left radicalism and extremism are mostly the young people under 25 years, the bad-educated people who are receptive to any social economic changes. They support representatives of left radicalism during national and regional elections, give them financial assistance and participate in various activities.

Left radicalism, basing on the system of values and ideas, is developed by philosophers, historians, sociologists and public figures. In many cases it gets forms of terrorist activities or various social and political

movements which are based mostly on revolutionary ideas. In the XX century the recognition that the armed struggle is the only effective method of building a new society, has been modified in the works of the modern theorists.

Left radicalism is social political points of view and activities which are out of the normal standard norms of society. In this context radicalism has closely links with extremism, although they are characterized by slightly different methods of their manifestations. The most part of extremists call themselves radicals. We can't find any political party which has called itself an extreme-right or an extreme-left one. We agree with the opinion of V. Plastun, a Russian scientist, an orientalist, who says that in many aspects radicalism coincides with extremism, particularly in the methods of the activities and measures of expression. This similarity stays until they contravene a law [3]. Therefore, the boundary between the left radicalism and extremism is thin and uncertain. The downfall of a person to extremism can be rapid and imperceptible even for the participants of movements, groups etc.

In general, traditionally a revolutionary, a protest and an armed struggle belong to the characteristics of left groups. The revolutionary means calls to restrict or even to destroy the existing social order by the revolution. The protest can be manifested by the one-off actions or terrorist acts etc. The armed struggle is using of violence as one of the main methods to influence the community. So, in the second half of the twentieth century there were many powerful left extremist terrorist groups in Europe (The Red Army Faction in Germany, the Red Brigades in Italy, GRAPO in Spain) [9].

An active supporter of radical left views in Latin America is Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos (the exact date of his birth is unknown, about June 19, 1957, Mexico). In Spanish "Subcomandante Insurgente" Marcos means a deputy commander of the rebels Marcos. He is a far-left philosopher, the ideologist of the Zapatist Army of National Liberation. It is supposed that his real name is Rafael Sebastian Guillen Vicente. The name Marcos he took in honor of a friend who had died in the confrontation. Marcos attended a Jesuit school. He graduated the the National Autonomous University of Mexico where got the professor of philosophy.

In January 2006 Marcos added to his nickname Delegate Zero. Remarkably, in public he always appears in pasamontani (balaclava), moves on a motorcycle. Recently, Marcos generally avoids publicity and calls himself a "hologram".

Subcomandante's ideological inspirer became Ernesto Che Guevara. In Latin America he is known as a revolutionary. His views (Guevarism) is considered to be one of the components of the New Left's theory. Guevarism is Ernesto Guevara de la Serna's (1928-1967) interpretation of the Marxism, Leninism, Maoism and existentialism ideas which were formulated in the principles of guerrilla warfare – "fokism" (in Spanish. Foco means focus, flash).

Subcomandante is an active follower of zapatism which combines the fundamental principles of Marxism and anarchism. The title of its ideological movement comes from the name of General Emiliano Zapata who was the leader of the Mexican Revolution 1910-1920. The main requirement of the Zapatists was a political and cultural autonomy of the Indians, the indigenous population of Mexico. The main slogan is "Democracy! Freedom! Justice!". For example, in "The greeting of SANO General Command" Subcomandante Marcos says: "Today, the thousands of people from five continents say their "enough!" to conformism, neglecting, cynicism, selfishness which have become a modern god, here in the mountains in the south-east of Mexico".

In practice, the ideas of Zapatists, led by Subcomandante got the manifestation in the organization of Indian rebellion in 1994 in Chiapas state (Mexico). The rebellion was provoked by the opening of the North American free-market zone between the US, Canada and Mexico (NAFTA, January 1994).

At first the zapatism was the peasant movement for the agrarian reforms and the ability of local government under the laws of the indigenous population, which based on Mayan cosmological philosophy and ideas of decolonization. Neo-zapatism became a symbol of anti-globalism, the struggle against the expansion of global capital and the fighting for saving the environment.

The Zapatists think that the main threat for the world is the Fourth World War, which has began after the Soviet collapse and leads to the establishment of an unipolar world with the dominance of the USA and the states, united by global neoliberal ideas. The main leaders of the Fourth World War are globalization and neoliberalism which defend the interests of many multinational corporations and the US corporations. So, the main tasks of the global market are to convert the other countries into the market trade centers which will function under the laws. It is implemented by the elimination of the diversity of world cultures, their history and common experience. The purpose of the globalization is to maximize profits for the benefit of international capital. "Today, for the authority which calls itself "neoliberalism", we have not existed. We neither produced nor bought nor sold", – Marcos said in the "The greeting of SANO General Command".

This strategy Marcos calls the destruction / deserted space and recovery / order (reorganization). The basic details of the neoliberalism "puzzle" are shown by Subcomandante in such a way: 1) the accumulation of wealth is at one of the poles, and the poverty at another one; 2) the exploitation of the whole world; 3) the fear of the world migration; 4) the relationship of crime and authority; 5) the state's violence, police and military powers. Their symbol is a pentagon (Pentagon); 6) the contradiction of megapolitics leads to the dismemberment of countries; 7) the flashes of resistance. Therefore, according to Subcomandante the Fourth World War will lead to a split of the world and creation of the world. There will be places many worlds in that one [8].

Marcos's sympathies to such zapatists ideas as the criticism of a neoliberal model of the civilization's development and the formulation of alternative views, show us Subcomandante's transition to the position of anti-globalism. This transition turned Marcos into the anti-globalization's symbol in Latin America. In addition Marcos has gradually moved away from radical ideas. Thus, in his work "The Second revolution" he proclaimed – "We have to make everyone, who is in power, feels uncomfortably"[7]. Later he stated the thesis: "The idea may also be weapon ". Thus, at the beginning of his activities Marcos called himself the Marxist-revolutionary with radical views. Today, Subcomandante has increasingly moved away from violence and believes that the revolution can be realized by the peaceful methods. So he pays great attention to writing books which are his biographical stories, essays and parables in the style of magical realism.

Marcos wrote 21 books and over 200 essays. The most famous works are "The Fourth World War began" (1997), "Second Revolution. The Zapatists against the world order "(2002), "Seven parts of the world puzzle (Neoliberalism as puzzles: the vain association of the world divides and destroys countries)"(1997).

There are such followers of Marcos as:

- Colombian rebels from the oldest radical left organization in Latin America, "Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – Army of the people" (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – Ejército del Pueblo, FARC) (Alfonso Cano is their leader);

- The political party "The Movement to Socialism" (Movimiento al Socialismo, MAS) (Evo Morales is its leader and the president of Bolivia);

- Peruvian Nationalist Party (Ollanta Humala is its head and the president of Peru) and etc.

The peoples' support of the social populism, strategies to fight with the poverty for social justice and anti-globalization (anti-American) radical left ideas gave the opportunity to the left radicals not only for a long time "to fight in a guerrilla way", but also to gain real power in a constitutional way in Latin America. For example, in the 1998-2009 in fourteen countries in Latin America (Venezuela – three times, Brazil, Chile, Argentina – two times, Uruguay, Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Peru, Costa Rica, Panama, Guatemala, Paraguay, El Salvador – one time) the left governments came to power. Even, the left extremism, the extreme manifestation of left radicalism is generally recognized and has an open character in Latin America.

Nowadays, the left regimes are represented by the most radical left (Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador) and democratic (Chile) regimes. The other countries occupy an intermediate position. The main indicator of the political orientation is the commitment to the ideas of anti-Americanism.

We should note that recently the left movements of Latin America increasingly have moved away from its main ideas, including ideas of The ALBA. The ALBA is Bolivar's Alliance for the peoples of our America (in Spanish, Alianza Bolivariana para los Pueblos de Nuestra). It unites 11 countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. The main goals of the alliance are the political integration of countries, based on the ideas of socialism and the creation of collective security and defense.

In general we can state that in Latin America the representatives of the left movement have gradually moved away from fundamentalist ideas. It is proved by the fact that the populists (Venezuela, Bolivia) and the moderate reformers who support and economic neoliberalism, and the idea of fair income distribution came to power. To this list we can add the presidency of T. Vazquez in Uruguay, F. Kirchner's government in Argentina, "The Party of Labourers" in Brazil, political block "Concertacion" in Chile.

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Єсипенко Роман Миколайович
 доктор історичних наук, професор,
 професор Національної академії
 керівних кадрів культури і мистецтв
e-mail: mryess@meta.ua

**ПРОБЛЕМИ СЦЕНІЧНОГО ВТІЛЕННЯ ТВОРІВ
 ІНОНАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ДРАМАТУРГІЇ В УКРАЇНСЬКОМУ ТЕАТРИ
 (60-80-і роки ХХ століття)**

У статті показано, як у 60-80-і роки ХХ століття, перебуваючи під посиленням тиском з боку владних структур, митці української сцени змушені були активно звертатися до постановки творів інонаціональної драматургії та вирішувати складні ідейно-мистецькі проблеми, що виникали у їхньому сценічному втіленні.

Ключові слова: український театр, інонаціональна драматургія, національне в мистецтві, сценічне втілення національного характеру.

Єсипенко Роман Николаевич, доктор исторических наук, профессор Национальной академии руководящих кадров культуры и искусств

Проблемы сценического воплощения произведений инонациональной драматургии в украинском театре (60-80-е годы ХХ столетия)

В статье показано, как в 60-80-е годы ХХ века, находясь под усиленным давлением со стороны властных структур, художники украинской сцены вынуждены были активно обращаться к постановке произведений инонациональной драматургии и решать сложные идейно-художественные проблемы, возникавшие при их сценическом воплощении.

Ключевые слова: украинский театр, инонациональная драматургия, национальное в искусстве, сценическое воплощение национального характера.

Yesypenko Roman, doctor of historical sciences, professor, National Academy of Managerial Staff of Culture and Arts

Problems of a different nationality stage embodiment works in the Ukrainian drama theater (60-80 years of the 20 century)

The article deals with the problem of a different nationality scenic embodiment of products in the Ukrainian drama theater. In 1960 the governing bodies of the country, leading the line for the merger of nations intensified holding various celebrations, festivals and parades, among which the emphasis was referred to as magnificently looking brotherly drama. Each theater of Ukraine had to show a play by playwright any union republic. But there is a silver lining.

The Ukrainian national drama was in extremely adverse conditions. But the possibility of recourse to the play created in other republics where censorship oppression were immeasurably weaker allowed Ukrainian theaters to cling to the power of the arts and to highlight the important issues of social life, have a great influence on the formation social consciousness of the Ukrainian people. When they stimulated the distinctive development of the Ukrainian national theater.

However, when referring to the works of masters of the stage drama of a different nationality there are significant ideological and artistic problems to be a practical solution. They are studied in the article.