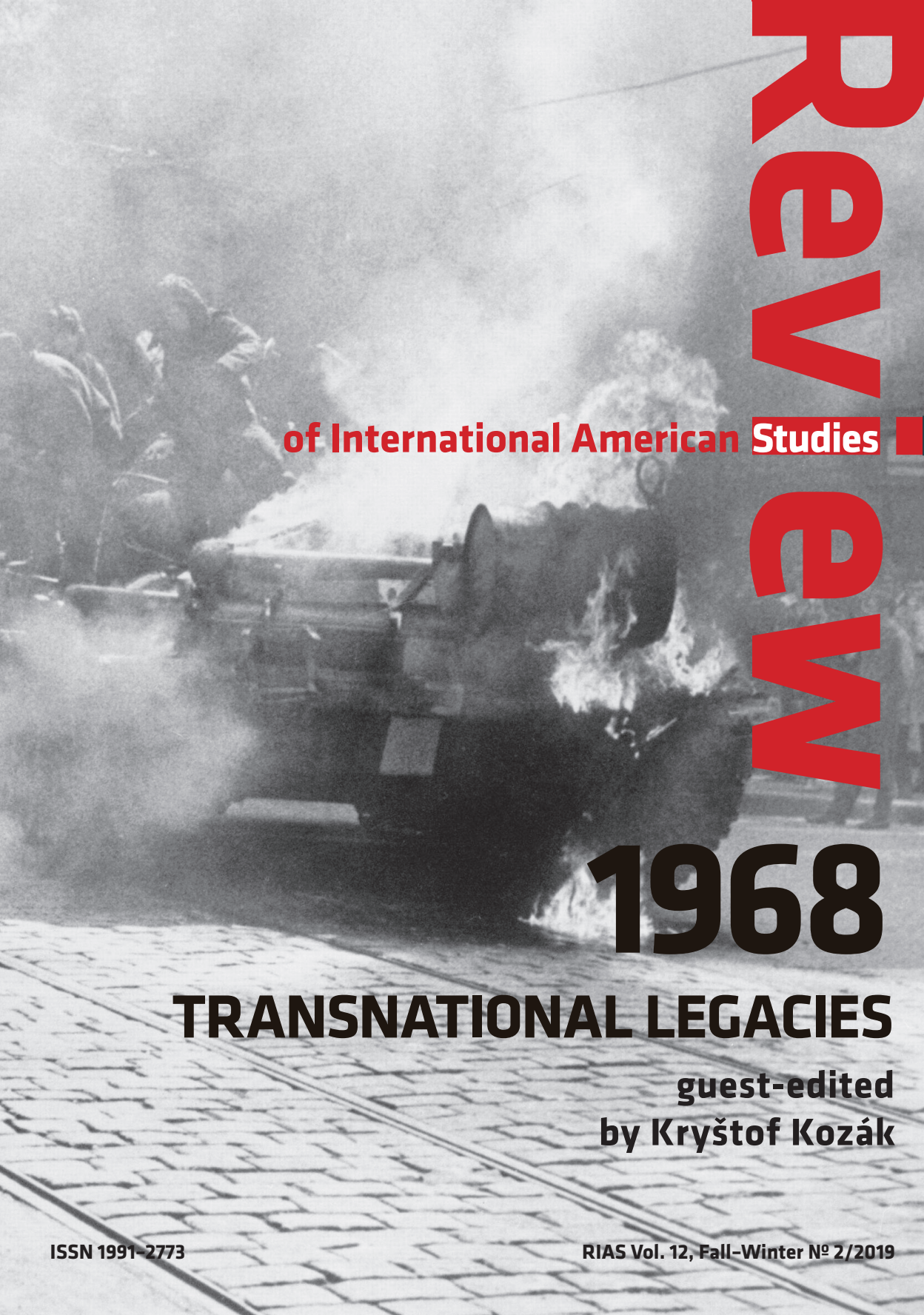

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1968

TRANSNATIONAL LEGACIES

guest-edited
by Kryštof Kozák

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THE TIMES THEY ARE A-CHANGIN'

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Come gather 'round people
Wherever you roam
And admit that the waters
Around you have grown
And accept it that soon
You'll be drenched to the bone
If your time to you is worth savin'
Then you better start swimmin'
or you'll sink like a stone
For the times they are a-changin'

Come writers and critics
Who prophesize with your pen
And keep your eyes wide
The chance won't come again
And don't speak too soon
For the wheel's still in spin
And there's no tellin' who that it's namin'
For the loser now will be later to win
For the times they are a-changin'

Come senators, congressmen
Please heed the call
Don't stand in the doorway
Don't block up the hall
For he that gets hurt
Will be he who has stalled
There's a battle outside and it is ragin'
It'll soon shake your windows
and rattle your walls
For the times they are a-changin'

When Bob Dylan first recorded his poem,[1] he could not have possibly intended it as "the archetypal protest song" (Gray 2006: 662), although, as Marco Principia notes, the singer-songwriter himself told Cameron Crowe that "[t]his was definitely a song with a purpose. It was influenced of course by the Irish and Scottish ballads [...] 'Come All Ye Bold Highway Men,' 'Come All Ye Tender Hearted Maidens.' I wanted to write a big song"—Dylan continued—"with short concise verses that piled up on each other in a hypnotic way. The civil rights movement and the folk music movement were pretty close for a while and allied together at that time" (Principia 2018). Apparently, as the author of *Bob Dylan Encyclopedia* observes, the artist's "aim was to ride upon the unvoiced sentiment of the mass public—to give that inchoate senti-

1. Bob Dylan, "The Times They Are A-Changin'" Copyright © 1963, 1964 by Warner Bros. Inc.; renewed 1991, 1992 by Special Rider Music.

Come mothers and fathers
Throughout the land
And don't criticize
What you can't understand
Your sons and your daughters
Are beyond your command
Your old road is rapidly agin'
Please get out of the new one
if you can't lend your hand
For the times they are a-changin'

The line it is drawn
The curse it is cast
The slow one now
Will later be fast
As the present now
Will later be past
The order is rapidly fadin'
And the first one now
will later be last
For the times they are a-changin'

Bob Dylan, 1963

ment an anthem and give its clamour an outlet. He succeeded, but the language of the song is nevertheless imprecisely and very generally directed. It offers four extended metaphors, and makes no more than an easy politician's use of any of them. The four are: change as a rising tide; change dependent on the wheel of fate; the Establishment as an edifice; and yesterday and tomorrow as roads to be opted for. People enjoy the song to the extent that they approve of its theory. […]" (Gray 2006: 662; Principia 2018).

One may or may not agree with Gray's rather stern critical assessment of the piece, which features as number 59 on *The Rolling Stone* 500 Greatest Songs of All Time list compiled in December 2004,[2] and has enjoyed as many as 44+ recorded and world-promoted covers and reinterpretations by notable artists between the time of its first release and today,[3] both in and outside of America. Unquestionably, "The Times They Are A-Changing"—perhaps owing to its "imprecisely" and "very generally directed" language—appears to be found topical on all occassions, beginning with anti-war/anti-establishment protests and finishing with the launch of a new Apple computer in 1984[4] and Billy Bragg's poignant remake of the song as a critique of Donald Trump's presidency[5].

2. See *The Rolling Stone* <http://www.rocklistmusic.co.uk/rstone.html#500Songs> (19.12.2019).
3. See, for instance, the "Other cover versions" section in the English *Wikipedia* entry dedicated to the song.
4. See, for instance, Andy Herzfeld, "The Times They Are A-Changing.'" *Folklore.org*, January 1984. <https://www.folklore.org/StoryView.py?story=The_Times_They_Are_A-Changin.txt> (08.12.2019).
5. See Ryan Reed, "Hear Billy Bragg Reimagine Bob Dylan Anthem as Trump Protest. Singer-songwriter spins "The Times They Are A-

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It is then possible to theorize that its "archetypal" quality may stem from the fact that, rather than reacting to any single event, the poet himself wrote the song in response to the general mood of his era, which Marco Principia emphasizes by quoting Dylan's statement from an interview with Ray Coleman for the *Melody Maker* magazine:

> I was on 42nd street. People were moving. There was a bitterness about at that time. People were getting the wrong idea. It was nothing to do with age or parents. This is what it was [about], maybe—a bitterness towards authority—the type of person who sticks his nose down and doesn't take you seriously, but expects YOU to take HIM seriously. I wanted to say… that if you have something that you don't want to lose, and people threaten you, you are not really free. I don't know if the song is true, but the feeling's true. It's nothing to do with a politic party [*sic!*] or religion. (Bob Dylan's interview with Ray Coleman, quoted in Principia 2018)

The commentator continues thus:

> So, for some, it's more a song about frustration of the youth in all eras. "The type of person who sticks his nose down and doesn't take you seriously, but expects YOU to take HIM seriously", from the point of view of the young, incorporates everyone from parents to teachers, from those who programme TV channels to politicians. In some way, it's also a song about the ineluctability of change: it isn't protesting about anything, rather saying, "time to wake up, the world has moved on." You don't have to rise up and overthrow the evil empire, but rather just admit that the world has changed irrevocably. So be careful—it might just pass you by, and you might just be left wondering where the old world went. (Principia 2018)

No wonder that "[p]eople enjoy the song to the extent that they approve of its theory," if the theory concerns the inevitability of change in the face of the passage of time, and a promise of a better future—especially in the post-war, segregated, stratified, and consumerist America and in the world split into warring halves, with the Iron Curtain separating the similarly aggressive ambitions of the capitalist West and the totalitarian East: "The slow

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Changin" into Critique of '1950s' Worldview under New President," *The Rolling Stone*, January 25th, 2017, <https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-news/hear-billy-bragg-reimagine-bob-dylan-anthem-as-trump-protest-110498> (10.12.2019).

one now / Will later be fast / As the present now / Will later be past / The order is rapidly fadin' / And the first one now / Will later be last / For the times they are a-changin.'" The message is simple, almost biblical: those in the position of authority now will not hold it forever and those oppressed today will rise… if they choose to act rather than wait for the historical tide to carry them where it will. As such, the appeal of the song, if not "universal," is certainly culture-independent: the lyric expresses the sentiment underlying most, if not all, social movements striving for a revolutionary change.

However, much as one might feel inclined to agree that "The Times They Are A-Changing" may be interpreted as a "song about frustration of the youth in all eras," the song obviously came into being in a particular historical context and in a particular socio-cultural space. The above notwithstanding, its cross-cultural popularity seems to attest to the fact that the times "a-changing" manifest themselves throughout the post-war world, and especially in countries experiencing the phenomena of the so-called "long 1968," the period of a socio-cultural ferment beginning in the late 1950s and lasting throughout the 1970s. Furthermore, the resonance of Dylan's song appears to confirm that the phenomena in question were, at the time, not only hemispheric or even transoceanic in character. An excellently conceived collection of essays edited by Beate Kutschke and Barley Norton, *Music and Protest in 1968*, testifies to this claim, providing an interesting, albeit footnote-relegated, point of departure for considerations on what "the spirit of '68" in fact was:

> There is a peculiarity about zeitgeist or socio-cultural climate. On the one hand, they incorporate the essence of a historical phenomenon such as the student and protest movements of '1968'; on the other hand, they constitute the breeding ground, i.e. condition that brings the phenomenon into existence. To put it paradoxically: for the movements of '1968,' the 'spirit of the sixties' or the 1968 socio-cultural climate is the effect *and* orgin of the movements simultaneously. (Kutschke 2013: 3)[6]

Such an intuition seems to be shared by numerous scholars and journalists alike. For instance, the Indiana University Press

6. The citation comes from footnote number 6 of the cited monograph (Kutschke 2013: 3).

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collections and monographs, such as *The Long 1968. Revisions and New Perspectives*, edited by Daniel J. Sherman, Ruud van Dijk, Jasmine Alinder and A. Aneesh, *The Socialist Sixties. Crossing Borders in the Second World* edited by Anne E. Gorsuch and Diane P. Koenker, *At Berkeley in the Sixties. The Making of an Activist* by Jo Freeman or *Soviet Animation and the Thaw of the 1960s* by Laura Pontieri, are, respectively, introduced as follows:

From the mid-1960s to the early 1970s, revolutions in theory, politics, and cultural experimentation swept around the world. These changes had as great a transformative impact on the right as on the left. A touchstone for activists, artists, and theorists of all stripes, the year 1968 has taken on new significance for the present moment, which bears certain uncanny resemblances to that time. *The Long 1968* explores the wide-ranging impact of the year and its aftermath in politics, theory, the arts, and international relations—and its uses today.[7]

The 1960s have reemerged in scholarly and popular culture as a protean moment of cultural revolution and social transformation. In this volume socialist societies in the Second World (the Soviet Union, East European countries, and Cuba) are the springboard for exploring global interconnections and cultural cross-pollination between communist and capitalist countries and within the communist world. Themes explored include flows of people and media; the emergence of a flourishing youth culture; sharing of songs, films, and personal experiences through tourism and international festivals; and the rise of a socialist consumer culture and an esthetics of modernity. Challenging traditional categories of analysis and periodization, this book brings the sixties problematic to Soviet studies while introducing the socialist experience into scholarly conversations traditionally dominated by First World perspectives.[8]

This book is a memoir and a history of Berkeley in the early Sixties. As a young undergraduate, Jo Freeman was a key participant in the growth of social activism at the University of California, Berkeley. The story is told with the "you are there" immediacy of Freeman the undergraduate but is put into historical and political context by Freeman the scholar, 35 years later. It draws heavily on documents created at the time—letters, reports, interviews, memos, newspaper stories, FBI files—but is fleshed out with retrospective analysis. As events unfold,

7. See <http://www.iupress.indiana.edu/product_info.php?products_id=806912>.
8. See <http://www.iupress.indiana.edu/product_info.php?products_id=806822>.

the campus conflicts of the Sixties take on a completely different cast, one that may surprise many readers.[9]

Soviet Animation and the Thaw of the 1960s examines the remarkable animation that emerged during the post-Stalin period of liberalization in the Soviet Union as an avenue of expression for a new spirit of aesthetic freedom. Drawing on extensive archival research, Laura Pontieri reconstructs the dynamics inside Soviet animation studios and the relationships between the animators and the political establishment. Pontieri offers a meticulous study of Soviet animated films of the period, using the world of Soviet animation as a lens for viewing the historical moment of the thaw from a fresh and less conventional point of view.[10]

In these—and many other—academic texts, the "long" 1960s emerge as the period of multifaceted "revolutions," "political thaw," "liberalization," or as a "protean moment of cultural revolution and social transformation" that "sweeps around the world," a moment of the rise of modern "social activism," a period of true transition from modernity to postmodernity. Or, like in the non-academic publications, such as *The Long '68: Radical Protest and Its Enemies* by Richard Vinen, *1968: The Year that Rocked the World* by Mark Kurlansky, or *1968: Those Were the Days* by Brian Williams—a year of contradictions: the first glimpse of the dark side of the moon and horrid assassinations; a youthful rebellion "without a cause" and "too much of a change"; the Tet offensive in Vietnam and anti-war movements; the Prague Spring and the Chicago convention; the feminist activism and the rise of gay rights movements; the "counterculture" going "mainstream"—and all that with the war against the Panthers in the background, Civil Rights Movement in the foreground, the Soviet Warsaw Pact interventions as an echo from across the Iron Curtain[11], and a less

9. See <http://www.iupress.indiana.edu/product_info.php?products_id=21823>.
10. See <http://www.iupress.indiana.edu/product_info.php?products_id=806755>.
11. A moving voice of compassion and a plea of forgiveness for the Polish participation in the Warsaw Pact intervention in Prague manifests itself in a beautiful, bitter, protest song by a Polish poet and troubadour of the 1980s, Andrzej Garczarek, "Przyjaciół nikt nie będzie mi wybierał" ["Nobody chooses my friends for me"] presented during the 1st Festival of the Song of Truth (I Przegląd Piosenki Prawdziwej) in August 1981 in Gdańsk, Poland. Notably, on December 13th of the same year, mar-

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distant thunder of a very possible civil war in France. Furthermore, authors like David R. Williams offer a rethinking of the '60s experience in terms of spirituality: Williams's book, *Searching for God in the Sixties*, is a daring attempt at proposing a spiritual history of the period in the context of the continuity and change of the American (spiritual) culture since the 17th century until today in light of its most important turning points.

Unlike the mainstream American academia and journalism addressing the phenomena of the "long 1968" today, texts published in Central and Eastern Europe are primarily historical in character. Their authors attempt to reconstruct the events of the period with the view to uncovering "the truth," which they understand as an exponent of a material, documentary[12] (rather than interpretive), history of totalitarian atrocities. Such histories are written with a prominent focus on the role of the engineers of the events and the fates of their countless victims, much like it seems to be in the case with the work by African American scholars of the Black Power and Civil Rights movements.[13] The truth about the events of the 1960s in the Eastern Bloc countries had purposefully been blurred for decades: first, by the communist propaganda, and later by those, who—wielding positions of power after the transformations of 1989—would have too much to lose, should any documentation testifying to their collaboration with the oppresive regime become public.

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tial law was introduced in the country. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ju_Tu2ASuDg>.

12. See, for example, Ewa Winnicka, Cezary Łazarewicz. *1968. Czasy nadchodzą nowe*. Agora SA, 2018. It is worth noting that the title of the book is, in fact, a Polish translation of the title of Dylan's song.

13. See Huey P. Newton, *War Against The Panthers: A Study of Repression in America*. Harlem River Press, 2000. Originally written as a dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History of Consciousness <https://historyandcurrentcontext.blogspot.com/2014/08/war-against-panthers-study-of.html>. See also the extensive historical footnotes to the Polish translation of Amiri Baraka's "Sombody Blew Up America" in *Er(r)go* nr 24 (1/2012) / 25 (2/2012)—interiors/exteriors (guest edited by Zbigniew Białas and Paweł Jędrzejko) <http://www.journals.us.edu.pl/index.php/ERRGO/article/view/2588/1834>.

The differences in the Weltanschauungs underlying the present day revisions of the 1960 notwithstanding, the "cultural cross-pollination" seems to be a fact that is less than accidental. The post-war hopes clashing with the post-war realities give rise to popular frustration on both sides of the Atlantic: the bright promises of communism boil down to totalitarian dictatorship of the party aparatchiks; the peace slogans of the American propaganda mockingly emphasize the cruelty of the wars in Korea and Vietnam, the war effort of the British nation–which briefly united the British across the class divisions during the Blitz–yields little in terms of the long-lasting reorganization of the society; the Mexican Miracle dissolves in the authoritarianism of the government of Gustavo Díaz Ordaz; the ruthless American expansionism finds a match in the ruthless Soviet expansionism, propelling the economy of the Cold War and the escalation of conflicts world wide. In America, the generation of (white) parents–possibly remembering the squalor of the American Great Depression, and now experiencing the stability of economic boom–is content with the policy of the government and thus fails to understand the baby boomer's "rebellion" leveled against the administration's war-mongering and the silent consent of their own fathers and mothers, against the blatant acts of institutional violence towards women and non-whites, against attempts at curtailing basic liberties under the pretense of the struggle with anti-American activity, against the hypocrisy of the public rhetoric, whose promises were never to be met. The American Beat Generation, arguably, grows out of a similar frustration as does the generation of the Angry Young Men in Britain, or the generation of Tel Quel in France[14]; the generation of student protesters across the Iron Curtain, albeit fighting against the oppressive Soviet-controlled, totalitarian regime, and thereby differently conditioned, is essentially motivated by the same sentiment: the brighter future has not arrived. The poetry of the Beats, like the poetry

14. The communist sympathies of the intellectuals of this group, frustrated by the failure of the Stalinist-Leninist model, soon shifting towards Maoism.

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of the Polish "Stuntmen,"[15] the prose and cinema of the Angry Young Men, or the poems of the Russian bards, goes hand in hand with the troubadour poetry revival world wide.

Unsurprisingly, with post-war America becoming the economic and military superpower serving as the donor of cultural values world-wide, American songwriting wins greater audiences outside American than non-American-written songs may hope to gain within the US.[16] And therefore, next to such anthems of the 1960s as "Blowin' in the Wind," "Only a Pawn in Their Game" or "Like a Rolling Stone," also "The Times They Are A-Changin'" (as history demonstrates) starts living its own life.[17] Irrespective of the poet's intentions or the commentaries by critics, the lyric's simultaneously prophetic and exhortative mood has proven to inspire artists and listeners in and outside of America, covered by established artists and beginning guitarists alike, presented on stage, on air, and shared by the campfire. Yet, in its time, Dylan's engaged poetry, albeit iconic, is certainly not an isolated phenomenon, and certainly not the only source of inspiration to those sharing similar sentiments world-wide.

For instance, in her unpublished doctoral dissertation of 2016, exploring the issue of the rise and development of the singer-songwriter activism and political rhetoric in Los Angeles between 1968 and 1975 in the context of the evolution of the feminist thought and the so-called United States Folk Revival, Christa Anne Bentley observes that

15. In Polish: *Kaskaderzy literatury*. The term "Stuntmen of literature" refers to a group of individualsit, subjectivist poets and writers of the post-war generation, including Andrzej Bursa, Marek Hłasko, Rafał Wojaczek, Edward Stachura, Halina Poświatowska, or Ryszard Milczewski-Bruno, whose work, cherishing freedom and youth, would often be interpreted as a reaction to the hopelessness of the stifling political system of post-war Poland.

16. John Lennon (solo, with Yoko Ono, and with the Beatles) and the Rolling Stones serving as prominent exceptions to the rule.

17. Listen, for instance, to Lynn Neary story, "'The Times They Are A-Changin" Still Speaks To Our Changing Times," on NPR *American Anthem: The Complete Series* (aired originally on Sept. 24th, 2018), <https://www.npr.org/2018/09/24/650548856/american-anthem-the-times-they-are-a-changin?t=1578231254902> (19.12.2019).

The 1960s saw a revival of the topical song, a protest song based on current events. *Broadside* magazine, edited by Agnes "Sis" Cunningham, published monthly volumes of protest songs, some by amateur songwriters, and others by the major songwriting figures of the folk scene, including Bob Dylan, Pete Seeger, Phil Ochs, Malvina Reynolds, and Nina Simone.[18] In *Rainbow Quest* (2002), Ronald Cohen's account of the folk revival from 1940 to 1970, *Broadside* serves as an index for the reception and success of folk songwriters. Cohen uses *Broadside's* reviews of contemporary songwriters and topical songs as a gauge for a songwriter's relevance to the folk movement. For example, based on reviews and comments published in *Broadside*, Cohen interprets Bob Dylan's career "falling flat" in the folk community around 1963, at which point Phil Ochs assumes the position of the most prominent folk songwriter of the times.[19] In this way, *Broadside* becomes an interesting way to index the changing values of the folk movement and trace the history of the singer-songwriter crossing stylistic boundaries from the folk revival to the folk rock scene. (Bentley 2016: 25–26)

Importantly, however, the author further notes that

[w]ith many topical songs centering on struggles for racial equality during the early 1960s, the singer-songwriter holds strong associations with the civil rights movement.[20] Tammy Kernodle focuses on Nina Simone's contributions to protest music during the civil rights movement in "'I Wish I Knew How It Would Feel To Be Free': Nina Simone and the Redefining of the Freedom Song of the 1960s," (2008) arguing that Simone's songs signaled a shift in the freedom song from a collective expression, usually spirituals and gospel songs, to the words of an individual with songs like [...] "Mississippi Goddamn" (1964), "Four Women" (1969)

18. "The Broadside Collection, 1962–1991 in the Southern Folklife Collection holds every publication of Broadside magazine in addition to materials from the Broadside offices. The Ronald D. Cohen Collection, also at the Southern Folklife Collection, has material from Cohen's interviews with Cunningham for the joint autobiography with her husband, Gordon Friesen, *Red Dust and Broadsides*, edited by Cohen (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999)." (Bentley 2016, footnote 69, p. 25).

19. "Ronald Cohen, *Rainbow Quest: The Folk Music Revival and American Society, 1940–1970* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 187." (Bentley 2016, footnote 70, p. 26).

20. "Songs like Bob Dylan's 'The Lonesome Death of Hattie Carroll' and 'Only a Pawn in Their Game' are both based on stories of racial violence. Dylan and Joan Baez performed at the March on Washington in 1963, embedding the image of the singer-songwriter with idea of the civil rights movement." (Bentley 2016, footnote 71, p. 26).

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and "To Be Young, Gifted, and Black" (1970).[21] Kernodle also notes that this change reflects a shift in civil rights activist groups (SNCC and CORE) from the Martin Luther King's rhetoric of non-violence to the Black Power movement's ideas of self-defense. Beyond the specific political shifts of the civil rights movement around the late 1960s, Kernodle's argument for individualism also reflects the development of a specific singer-songwriter identity around this time. (Bentley 2016: 26)

Despite the fact that the debate on the definition of "political music"—political in itself—has produced arguments opening up the concept, construed by the advocates of using *Broadside* as the source of reference, to revisions,[22] it seems beyond doubt that the singer-songwriter's identity has become somewhat fused with that of a social activist, and that it is specifically the most popular of the *Broadside*-listed American artists that have become well-known in Western Europe and—after the Prague Spring of 1968[23]—also across the Iron Curtain.[24] Kryštof Kozák, for instance, notes, that

[s]ongs by Pete Seeger such as "Where Have All the Flowers Gone?" were translated and became widely popular in Czechoslovakia. The same was true for Bob Dylan's "The Times, They Are A-Changing," which became a hit in 1965, when it was translated and performed by a Czech band with an English name, "Golden Kids." (Kozák 2016: 112)[25]

21. "Kernodle, 'I Wish I Knew How It Felt To Be Free,' 296." (Bentley 2016, footnote 72, p. 26)

22. See Bentley's discussion on the subject in the context of the concepts of direct-action activism and "womyn's" separatism, as well as the singer-songwriters' "attempts to establish themselves in opposition to popular or mainstream culture" (Bentley 2016: 27–28).

23. Foreshadowing the Prague Spring were the tragic events of 1956: the full blown, bloodily suppressed, Hungarian Revolution (the death toll of which is estimated at 2500 Hungarians and 700 Soviet troops), the Poznań Protests in Poland (suppressed by the Polish People's Army and the Internal Security Corps, killing between 57 and over a hundred people—the estimates being uncertain due to missing documentation—see for instance: Paczkowski 2005: 203; Jastrząb 2006), and the East German uprising, violently suppressed by the Soviet occupational forces and the so-called *Kasernierte Volkspolizei* of the GDR.

24. It is worth remembering that Allen Ginsberg himself visited Prague in 1964 and 1965. See, for instance, Kozák 2016: 106–114.

25. See the videoclip clip of the Golden Kids singing the Czech version of "The Times They Are A-Changin" <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g_7pvZEBz3Y>.

In Poland, likewise, the Seeger hit became famous in Sława Przybylska's version "Gdzie są kwiaty z tamtych lat." In Germany, as "Sag mir, wo die Blumen sind," it became almost a household tune, its numerous renditions including those by Marlene Dietrich and by Joan Baez herself. Popularized in other languages—to date, 32 in total, including Esperanto, Mandarin Chinese and Islandic—"Where Have All the Flowers Gone" became an anthem unifying people irrespective of their nationality, and against the efforts of political propagandists.[26] Similarly, as the editors of *Wikipedia* assert,

> the "Dylan Covers Database" lists 436 recordings, including bootlegs, of this song as of October 19, 2009. According to the same database, the song has been recorded in at least 14 other languages (Catalán, Czech, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Norwegian, Polish, Serbian, Spanish, and Swedish).[27]

Much as translations of songs providing simple "language" to complex emotions may be seen as filling in a certain "void" in the cultures isolated beyond the Iron Curtain, throughout the long 1968 the world saw an outpour of "national Dylans," who would often pay a high price for their poetic power to unify people against oppresive regimes: Karel Kryl, an icon of the Czechoslovak protest song, whose "Bratříčku, zavírej vrátka" ("Keep the Gate Closed, Little Brother") cost him 20 years of exile; Jacek Kleyff and Jan Krzysztof Kelus, whose involvement in the events of the Polish March '68 would bring upon them constant harrassment (including prolonged imprisonment) on the part of the communist security forces; the now legendary Jacek Kaczmarski, Zbigniew Łapiński, Przemysław Gintrowski, who—brought up on the poetry of Russian protest song masters (Alexander Galich, Vladimir Vysotski, Bulat Okudzhava)—became champions of the intellectual resistance of the Polish 1980s; the self-proclaimed "Polish Dylan"—Walek Dzedzej (Lesław

26. The impressively long list of covers and multilingual versions of the song is available here <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Where_Have_All_the_Flowers_Gone%3F#Versions>.

27. See: *Wikipedia* entry for "The Times They Are a-Changin' (song)" <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Times_They_Are_a-Changin%27_(song)#Other_cover_versions> (20.12.2019).

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Danicki)—the "bard of the underground passages," whose activity forced him out of the country in 1978; the French singer-songwriter Antoine, whose 1966 album *Les Élucubrations d'Antoine,* testifying to the simmering sentiment that was to vehemently explode in May 1968, was recorded against the advice of his producers—and there were many, many others, writing and singing in languages of Central and Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, and in the languages of the Americas other than English. And unsurprisingly so, bearing in mind that the "pollen" would fall upon many a stigma made fertile by a variety of local circumstances called into existence as a result of the reconfigurations affecting the post-war reality world-wide.

> [...] the Western Communists, while always irredeemably anti-United States from an ideological standpoint, also nurtured ambivalence toward the pluralism of US society. This ambivalence was particularly heightened in the immediate post-World War II period and in the 1960s. The centrality of themes of dissent and the intellectual magnetism for the European Left of characters such as Walt Whitman, Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner, Jack Kerouac, Bob Dylan, or even contradictory ones such as Marilyn Monroe or James Dean, informed the cultural and political debate among French and Italian Communists, even as they, and particularly when they, confronted themselves with the emerging dissent of antiestablishment developments in Eastern Europe [...]. (Brogi 2010: 283–284)[28]

Arguably, many other countries observe similar processes. Brogi's reflections coincide with a number of observations proposed by scholars whose work has already been referenced in this article, thereby testifying to the fact that the intuitions concern-

28. Opening the debate to a more thorough study of the nature of the ties between the intellectual transformations of the East and the West in the 1960s, Brogi continues his thought thus: "The Prague events, together with the student movement, intensified both the French and Italian Communist parties' dilemma about how best to overcome the Cold War policy and politics of the two blocs that constrained their power: to what extent could they reconcile their effort to become accepted by the establishment with their eagerness for renewal on the Left which embraced rebellion both at home and elsewhere directed toward international socialism? Ultimately this dilemma, if not their whole Cold War experience, was determined more by their cultural and political confrontation with the West than by their issues of allegiance with the East." (Brogi 2010: 284).

ing the "paradoxical" character of the cause-and-effect chain of the events shaping the Zeitgeist of the long 1968 that Beate Kutschke and Barley Norton shared with their readers, may, after all, be less paradoxical than first conceived—especially in the context of the three paradigm shifts, upon which the idea of their monograph rests.[29] The first of the three is the fact that much of the socio-cultural change attained in the recent history has been effected by means of non-violent actions, based, as Kutschke emphasizes, on symbolic, rather than physical means, including demonstrations, protest marches, poster art, public discourse, and musical activism. These grassroot movements, as the scholars observe, have initiators, but no "directors": the agents, *conscientious* protesters, emerge as a result of self-organization as "Kantian *autonomous* subjects" (2013: 2). Neglected by numerous cultural historians and musicologist, this shift, initiated in the "long 1968," affected the development of musical activism of singer-songwriters and, sometimes by extension, the emergence of a number of avant-garde genres, which—reciprocally—would feed back to the global ferment. To account for these multifaceted phenomena, the scholars refer back to musicological reflection on the (un)definability of Baroque music and thereby shift their focus from *cultural-historical* to *mental* criteria for analyses. This shift marks the second of the paradigm changes enabling the rise of their own—and, arguably—many other studies.

Connected with the 'movement-oriented turn' in social sciences, history and linguistics in the 1990s and 2000s, there has also been a revaluation of the student and protest movements. Scholars agree that the movements failed to attain their key objective: the abolition of the capitalist system. At the same time, however, the movements initiated a profound socio-cultural change. It is obvious that the new modes of living and behaviour which members have peformatively realised in their personal life—sexual liberation, communal living, informal habits, in brief:

29. "Books are like musical artworks. As Adorno stated in his *Philosophy of New Music*, not all musical works are "possible at all times." The shape of a composition depends on the "tendency of the [musical] material" which changes over time. Similarly, books—not always, but sometimes—emerge from research environments and zeitgeist. *Music and Protest in 1968* is such a book. It has become possible only now. What enabled it into existence are three paradigm shifts that have taken place most recently." (Kutschke 2013: 1).

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a counterculture—have now filtered into the everyday life of many individuals who would not consider themselves typical '68ers. These are the external peculiarities. (Kutschke 2013: 2–3)

The visible "peculiarities," however, do not exhaust the complexity of the matter: the "ineffable" aspects of it seem much harder to address:

There is, however, also an internal, invisible side to it. A key factor that made the student and protest movements such a *fascinosum* is the specific spirit—the so-called 'spirit of the sixties'—or socio-cultural climate that is closely connected with '1968.' What a spirit or climate encompasses is generally difficult to define. The constituent elements are events, images, discourses and cultural products that contemporaries and later-born individuals assemble 'about' a time-period. These elements hint at the diverse attitudes, feelings and beliefs that shape mentalities. As for the 1960s and 1970s, the spirit of '1968' can be characterised as dissent, the rejection of heteronomy as well as intensified concern for and interest in the Other. […]. Socio-cultural climates, zeitgeist, have the ability to influence *every aspect* of socio-cultural life. This not only applies to modes of behaviour and styles of living, but also music […]. (Kutschke 2013: 2–3)

The "spirit," manifest in recurrent imagery, parallel discursive patterns and the popularity of "troubadour"—engaged—musical production transgressing national borders and capable of penetrating the seemingly impenetrable Iron Curtain, propels the third paradigmatic shift, which (by and large) has also made this text, and other articles in the present volume, possible:

The third paradigm shift […] has taken place within scholarship on protest movements itself. In addition to self-organization, another peculiarity of the late-twentieth century protest movements such as the feminist movement and Occupy Wall Street is their 'independence' from state borders; their agents belong to a multitude of nations and their targets can be located in various global locations. This understanding of protest movements has also affected the view of the movements of the 1960s and 1970s. In the past, studies on '1968' tended to focus rather narrowly on Western Europe and North America because, until recently, '1968' was understood to have emerged only in the highly industrialized, consumer culture countries of the Western world. (Kutschke 2013: 5)[30]

30. The early exceptions to the rule, as authors note, are "the monographs of Christopher Dunn (2001) and Eric Zolov (1999), that study

Over the past two decades, however, the orientation of comparative studies extended beyond trans-Atlantic studies to encompass hemispheric and transoceanic research, facilitated not only by the reconfiguration of post-1989 political relations in Europe, but also by the radical revolution in technology: increased international travel, the institutionalization of exchange programs and the Internet revolution have made much better informed insights possible. Therefore,

> It is clear today that, in focusing on Western Europe and North America, scholars neglected the much wider spread of the events of '1968.' During the past decade, however, historians and sociologists have not only assembled more and more countries and regions that were affected by '1968,' but also investigated their cross-border activities and communication. Today, there is agreement that the student and protest movements of '1968' were a transnational phenomenon. This is evidenced in the striking simultaneity of events in 1968 in Europe, Africa, both Americas and Asia. To mention just a few events: in February 1968, student protests escalated in the Roman university district. Two months later, in April, the attempted murder of the West German student leader Rudi Dutschke let to violent student riots against the right-wing Springer press in West Berlin. In the same month, students rose up in Senegal, which developed into a fully fledged opposition against the Senegalese regime. In June, the student protests in Mexico started and culminated in in the Tlatelolco massacre killing numerous students in early October. In the Eastern Bloc, the Prague Spring, which started in January 1968, was finished off by the August invasion of the Warsaw Pact states. Throughout the whole year, Japanese students protested against a variety of grievances, first and foremost US-American imperialism and the Vietnam War. The established convention of using '1968' as a synonym or cipher for the student and protest movements of the 1960s and the 1970s reflects this cluster of events. (Kutschke 2013: 5–6)

Of course, one could multiply examples, adding, notably, the events of May '68 in Paris, the protests of the Polish March and numerous other manifestations of the "spirit of the nineteen-sixties"—a spirit that seems to have encompassed so much of the world, that one seems to be justified in postulating the "Second Coming" of the transnational "geist" of the mid 19th century revolutionary Romanticism. Beyond doubt, like then,

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the 1960s and 1970s counterculture in Brazil and Mexico […]." (Kutschke 2013: 5).

also in 1968 the times were "a-changing" globally. And although many studies are yet to come in order to properly address these phenomena from a variety of methodological perspectives, it is interesting to observe that whenever the times have seemed to go "a-changing" eversince, the global icons of the 1968 would return unchanged, eternally young, with their equally iconic protest songs to support those who would choose to speak out, and to strengthen them in their communal resolve.

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1968 AS A SYMBOL

Introduction

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The year 1968 keeps capturing collective imagination on both sides of the Atlantic, as it serves as a convenient shortcut for social developments and upheavals throughout the 1960s. Even though in every country the events of 1968 unfolded differently, dramatic street protests demanding profound social changes define the dominant memory of this year on global scale. Violent suppression of street protesters by security forces form the dominant images of that year all around the globe, even if targets of the popular discontent were quite diverse.

The year 1968 can also be seen as the pinnacle of idealistic efforts for progressive social change, which was replaced by normalization efforts induced by various methods in different contexts throughout the 1970s. As such, it is connected with feelings of nostalgia and lost opportunities especially for those who consider themselves to be progressives. But to what extent were the events of 1968 truly seminal? What were their lasting legacies?

The 50th anniversary called for critical reappraisal of the various legacies stemming from 1968. The following special issue highlights various transnational legacies of 1968 as they were presented at an academic symposium in Prague in May 2018. The symposium itself was a commemorative academic event that produced new knowledge and insights related to the topic. Such academic commemorations are useful as they reveal what specific topics resonate in connection with the original theme even after 50 years. The special issue is thus by itself a relevant document on the academic legacies of 1968.

This collection of essays approaches the multi-faceted legacies of 1968 from various interdisciplinary perspectives. Jan Géryk focuses on US far-left reactions to the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968 in order to highlight the schism that Warsaw pact invasion caused in the US György Tóth makes the case for a more broadly perceived Native American 1968 and explores its transnational legacy. Adrian Matus explores the idea of widespread Eastern-European 1968, again highlighting various transnational linkages of the process. Alexander Gungov takes a look at the political journey of the 1968 generation by analyzing Paul Berman´s *A Tale of Two Utopias*, thereby underlining the legacy on the individual level.

Nicola Paladin uses the novel *The Nix* by Nathan Hill and looks at the modes of protest, thus linking it to methods used in 1968. Albena Bakratcheva´s essay complements it by discussing Henry Thoreau´s work on civil disobedience and explores its usage both in 1968 and after. Both roots and legacies of 1968 come under scrutiny in Alessandro Buffa s contribution that focuses on the role of music, especially blues in transnational context. The special issue ends symbolically with Marie Černá, who works primarily with the memory of the Warsaw Pact intervention and highlights the processes of manipulation, oblivion and conservation.

Taken as a whole, the special issue confirms the existence of numerous transnational linkages that were crucial in the social dynamics under scrutiny. Such findings are valuable for our understanding of transnational ties to this day. The issue also attests to the complex legacies of 1968 that resonate to this day, as the year 1968 keeps being regarded as an important symbol of mass mobilization for social change.

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COUNTER-REVOLUTION, OR AUTHENTIC SOCIALISM?

The Reactions of the US Left to the Events in Czechoslovakia in 1968

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INTRODUCTION[1]

In her newspaper column about the 50th anniversary of the Prague Spring, the Czech journalist Saša Uhlová describes the surprise of her French colleague when she found out that nearly everyone in the Czech Republic only associates the year 1968 with the Warsaw Pact invasion. Even contemporary witnesses of 1968 whom she met told her that they had not believed in socialism in those days and had known that the Czechoslovak project of democratic socialism had been destined to collapse. By contrast, many French reportedly still take the Prague Spring as an important symbol (Uhlová 2018).

Besides the reductionist character of the contemporary Czech commemorations of 1968, the encounter with the 'Western' journalist also shows an example of the difficulties that outside observers have when thinking about foreign events. In this sense, Slavoj Žižek talks about how the Western academic Leftists during the Cold War used "the idealized Other [...] as the stuff of their ideological dreams." In the case of the events of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the ideological dream could be, according to Žižek,

1. This article is a part of the Primus/HUM/15 project called "Proměny práva v transnacionálních kontextech"("Transformations of Law in Transnational Contexts"), at the Faculty of Law, Charles University. The article is based on my MA thesis called "The American Left and Communist Czechoslovakia, 1956–1968". I would like to thank Kryštof Kozák, Francis D. Raška, Mikko Toivanen and two anonymous reviewers for their help and comments.

"the utopian notion that if the Czechs were only left alone, they would in fact give birth […] to an authentic alternative to both Real Socialism and Real Capitalism" (Žižek 2002: 94).

However, was this notion of transnational ideological dreaming the only important one for the evaluation of the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968 by the US Left, which was everything but a homogeneous entity? Did not, for example, geopolitical thoughts play an equally significant role? We should take both ideology and geopolitics into account while searching for the answers to the main questions of this article. I will particularly examine the issue of whether various US left-wing groups found the Czechoslovak reforms of the 1960s as an inspiring example of authentic socialism or not. And if not, whether they condemned these reforms as counter-revolutionary, or rather ignored and overlooked them. While talking about the US Left, the article will focus on such different groups as the loosely institutionalized New Left movements, the pro-Moscow and at that time marginal Communist Party USA (CPUSA), various small Trotskyist parties, and independent Marxist intellectuals. But, before elaborating on this main issue, the article will try to contribute to the field of transnational intellectual history of the Cold War era more broadly. Thus I will first describe the general atmosphere of the search for authentic socialism that was a characteristic aspect of the Left in the 1960s.

1. CHANGES ON THE LEFTIST IDEOLOGICAL MAP IN THE 1960S

Writing about the 1960s Left, we should be aware of two specifics of that era. The first is its global framework determined by the fact that two Cold War superpowers could cause a nuclear catastrophe, and by the ongoing process of decolonization that brought with itself a new form of the world order in which the concept of the Third World started to play a major role. The second specific refers to significant changes on the ideological map of the Left caused especially by the events of 1956. The disillusionment with Stalinism after the revelation of its crimes at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), and also with the new Soviet leadership after the Soviet invasion of Hungary only a few months later, was fatal in the East as well as in the West.

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However, the more or less gradual rejection of Soviet dogmatism did not yet mean a complete refusal of Marxist ideological frameworks. Rather, there suddenly appeared an empty ideological space that could be filled with new socialist ideas. This is why, for example, the Marxist historian E. P. Thompson, even though he left the British Communist Party in 1956, disagreed with the defeatist position of many disillusioned Communists and said that "the humanist Gods of social liberty, equality, fraternity [...] stubbornly remain on the Communist side" (Thompson 1957: 31). Similarly, in 1960, the forefather of the New Left in the US, C. Wright Mills, warned against the end-of-ideology approach since "it stands for the refusal to work out an explicit political philosophy. [...] What we should do is to continue directly to confront this need" (Mills 1960). In the course of the 1960s, however, the New Left and especially the counter-culture came with a new vocabulary of emancipation, emphasizing direct action and the creation of an authentic Self rather than building comprehensive ideological schemes.

With regard to Czechoslovakia at the beginning of the 1960s, it also seemed that the Stalinist dogmatism was hardly sustainable even though the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPC) still, at least on the surface, adopted a cautious approach to reform. Despite some earlier reformist steps in the economic sphere, the political climate did not significantly change until 1968. However, the intellectual sphere was, already in 1968, full of various tendencies that strived for the replacement of the previous orthodoxy, although largely still not adopting the discourse of a different political system.[2]

The first tendency was an emphasis on scientific discourse where science served as a supposedly neutral language. Contrary to the cultural and anti-bureaucratic character of the Western New Left, the main Czechoslovak reformist current was scientific and expert-oriented in the 1960s (Sommer 2018). Secondly, there

2. Before elaborating on the new intellectual tendencies in Czechoslovakia, I should make one terminological note. Even though I am aware that it is difficult to use the term "Left" symmetrically for different political regimes in the West and in the East, I elect to understand all Czechoslovak streams of thought which will be discussed below as left-wing since all of them are firmly within the socialist framework.

was an important group of philosophers who tried to connect Marxism with existentialism or phenomenology, emphasized the concepts of truth and conscience, or participated in the so-called Marxist-Christian dialogue (Hrubý 1979: 410–411). The third tendency was connected to an effort to find the lost Czechoslovak road to socialism which was interrupted in 1948. Finally, there was, after all, a trend, especially among the youngest generation in the late 1960s, similar to the Western student radicalism, that remained hostile towards any ideology and organizational hierarchy. Václav Havel compared the older generation which approached reality "by way of certain abstract categories" with his generation which, on the contrary, tended "to start from reality as it exists at the moment" (Havel and Liehm 1970: 390).

These tendencies were connected to the rejection of the rigid superpower leadership and searched for a new and authentic model of socialism. Karel Kosík, one of the most famous Czechoslovak philosophers of that time, concludes his critical 1968 essay "Naše nynější krize" ("Our Present Crisis") with the statement that Czechoslovak society merely switched the capitalist system of universal marketability with the bureaucratic system of universal manipulability. In the part of the essay which was not published in 1968, he adds that the victory of one bloc or system over another would merely mean "the triumph of the system, not a liberating breakthrough from the system to the world" (Kosík 1993: 48–49). The concept of authentic socialism came to the fore as a tool that the Left tried to use in order to find the way out of this crisis. As I will describe below in more detail, with the focus especially on the US and Czechoslovak context, the left-wing authors around the world searched for authenticity through the utilization of the following three alternatives. They saw opportunities in creating a transnational discourse around the idea of socialist humanism, in the revolutions of the Third World, and in the revival of local historical traditions that could be compatible with the Left's idea of emancipation.

2. THE SEARCH FOR AUTHENTICITY: THREE ALTERNATIVES TO THE SYSTEM

The socialist humanist school was based especially on the reception of young Karl Marx's work, notably of his *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* of 1844. Erich Fromm, an important

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figure of this current of thought, in 1965 edited the volume called *Socialist Humanism* which includes contributions by authors from all the Three Cold War Worlds and thus reflects the transnational challenges of that time. In his introduction to this volume, Fromm called the renascence of humanism in different ideological systems "the most remarkable phenomena of the past decade." Humanism, as "a belief in the possibility of man's perfectibility," and as the conviction that "what matters most is the human reality behind the concepts," has usually emerged, according to Fromm, "as a reaction to a threat to mankind." In the 1960s, he had in mind especially the threat of nuclear war (Fromm 1965: vii–viii).

In the Soviet bloc, moreover, the use of young Marx had a political reason behind it. Vladimír V. Kusín notes that in the 1960s, "there was sufficient 'social demand' for an authentic philosophical point of departure," but, since non-Marxist "bourgeois" philosophers were not politically tenable, "no one was better suited to supply what was needed than the young Marx, the authentic Marx" (Kusin 1971: 48). However, the problem with the humanist interpretation of Marx in Czechoslovakia was, at least according to the recollections written by the former reform Communist politician Zdeněk Mlynář, that it was difficult to understand for the majority of Communists doing practical politics and incapable of replacing the ideological consciousness of the whole Party (Mlynář 1990: 54).

On a global level, the reception of the concept of socialist humanism was connected with the second source of authentic socialism, with the Third World. Raya Dunayevskaya, one of the founders of American Marxist humanism, mentions that the Soviets also began to frequently use the term humanism at the turn of the 1950s and the 1960s because they replied to the humanist ethos of some liberation movements in the Third World (Dunayevskaya 1965: 71).

But it was especially in the works of Western radical thinkers and activists that the Third World became a key space for the search for authentic socialism. For Herbert Marcuse, writing in the late 1960s, Third World radicalism, "this violent solidarity in defense, this elemental socialism in action has given form and substance to the radicalism of the New Left" even more than the "'socialist humanism' of the early Marx" (Marcuse 1969: 82). For a noticeable part of the New Left, Third World leaders like Patrice Lumumba,

Gamal Abdel Nasser, and, above all, Fidel Castro, represented "the possibility of a politics not yet bureaucratized and rationalized," and "spontaneity and anarchic freedom," contrary to the "mania for industrial production" common to the USA and the Soviet Union (Howe 1965: 316).

Old Left democratic socialists like Irving Howe criticized this view, arguing that totalitarianism can set in even before the modernization of society and wondering why some parts of the New Left identified with the more violent segments of the Communist world at the same time that many intellectuals in Eastern Europe emphasized the importance of democratic elements in socialist reconstruction (Howe 1965: 315, 319). In a similar manner, in 1968, critics pointed out that opposition to the Vietnam War should not go hand in hand with support for the North Vietnam regime, in part because the regime's leaders supported the Warsaw Pact invasion in Czechoslovakia. When many members of the American Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) or their New Left counterparts in Western Europe chanted "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh" alongside their resolute condemnation of the invasion in Czechoslovakia, one reader of the Marxist humanist magazine *News and Letters* pointed out the incompatibility of these two positions. "Wouldn't 'Ivan, Ivan, Ivan Svitak' be a more meaningful slogan [...] if SDS really means what it says?" the reader asked with a reference to one of the intellectuals who supported a truly democratic socialist reform in Czechoslovakia (Readers' Views, Dec 1968: 4).

As for the Czechoslovak intellectuals, some of them found the Cuban revolutionary example inspiring in the early 1960s. In his book *Mrakodrapy v pralese* (*Skyscrapers in the Jungle*), Adolf Hoffmeister expressed his admiration for the large rallies of people, where "Fidel Castro consults tens of thousands of manifesting people on the troubles of the government." However, when the Cuban regime centralized power, became a direct Soviet satellite, and thus ceased to be an example of an independent road to socialism, the illusions began to disappear (Fiala 2016: 190–192, 197). Later in the 1960s, the reformist intellectual and later exile journalist Antonín J. Liehm even called the search for answers

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to the problems of developed countries in Cuba or Latin America "extremely foolish, unhistorical and unrealistic" (Liehm 1970: 76).

Compared to the inspiration in the Third World, the localist alternative was more popular and important in Czechoslovakia. It was Jean-Paul Sartre who in the case of the Czechs and Slovaks emphasized "affirming their cultural personality [...] in order to dethrone the reign of the 'thing' that had reduced them to mere atoms" (Sartre 1970: 30–31). There was an attempt to combine socialism with traditional cultural legacy, in this case especially with the specific Czech humanism which went back to the works by the first Czechoslovak president Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, the 17th-century educator and philosopher Jan Amos Komenský, and even the medieval church reformer Jan Hus. For Kosík, this humanism, i.e. the universal idea as a part of a particular national tradition, meant that the Czech question should be understood as a question of meaningful human existence and as a world question. This is related to the role of "the historical subject in Central Europe between the East and the West" (Kosík 1993: 39–40, 37). The writer Milan Kundera developed this thesis even more radically in December 1968 when he wrote that by their attempt to create humanist socialism the Czechs and Slovaks "appeared [...] at the center of world history and addressed the world with their challenge" (Kundera 1968: 5).

In the USA, we could see a turn from global abstractions of orthodox Marxism towards local traditions as well. The New Left veteran Paul Buhle wrote that it was around 1965 when traditional American forms of radicalism like women's emancipation, utopian experiments, and racial unrest became stronger than during the several preceding decades. In this context, Buhle quoted a 1964 pamphlet called "Negro Americans Take the Lead" which said that "the pitiable subordination of American intellectuals to European historical norms and organization is seen nowhere as sharply as in their inability to recognize the specific American radicalism in the Negro movement" (Buhle 2013: 222, 225). Later, however, especially student radicals also used tactics like sit-ins and other forms of passive resistance, which they learned while participating in the Civil Rights Movement, in their struggles at the universities.

3. THE U.S. NEW LEFT AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA: DIFFERENT CONTEXTS, DIFFERENT CRITICISMS

Overall, the examples mentioned in the previous section indicate that the influence of the Soviet Union became merely geopolitical in the 1960s and that the majority of Leftists were looking for intellectual inspiration elsewhere. If we now move to our question as to whether the Czechoslovak reform movement was inspiring for the US Left, we should at first elaborate on some important differences between the Czechoslovak and the US contexts. Only by keeping them in mind, can we ask whether or not the Czechoslovak reforms represented for various groups of the diverse US Left an example of authentic socialism, in this case most likely that of the Marxist-humanist kind. In this part of the article, I will focus mainly on the New Left, and in the following one on various Marxist parties and intellectuals.

One of the important traditional leftist dreams is a powerful alliance between the intellectuals and the workers. Yet it was quite difficult for the New Left in the US to persuade larger numbers of workers to be involved in its issues, for example, in the demonstrations against the Vietnam War, since many workers actually profited from the wartime economy. Moreover, the relative affluence of the US working class made it conservative and not very interested in traditional Left-wing topics (Thomas 1965: 324). The conditions for the intellectual-worker alliance seemed to be more favorable in Czechoslovakia, and especially during the first months after the invasion, the student movement "acted in harmony with the thinking of the majority of citizens." For Liehm, the reason for this was that the emergence of the student movement "coincided with a major crisis within the country" (Liehm 1970: 46). In this sense, Czechoslovakia could be an inspiring example. However, towards the end of the 1960s, the New Left in the US largely abandoned the concept of the working class as a revolutionary subject. And since its appeal to the technological intelligentsia had failed as well, the poor and the oppressed minorities remained for the New Left the last possible groups with revolutionary potential (Diggins 1992: 265).

Another issue was that of civic and political freedoms, especially freedom of speech. In Czechoslovakia, the end of censorship was

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generally accepted by the population as one of the most important achievements of the Prague Spring. The opinion of some Leftists in the West, where political freedoms were formally guaranteed, was substantially different. For Herbert Marcuse, one of the main philosophical teachers of the New Left, the exercise of one's political rights only contributed to the strengthening of the current administration because it was still within the framework established by a repressive society. "By testifying to the existence of democratic liberties which, in reality, have changed their content and lost their effectiveness," people are in danger, according to Marcuse, that "even progressive movements threaten to turn into their opposite" (Marcuse 1965). The New Left's call for "a total transformation of values, goals and human needs" which, according to Ivan Sviták, "steps beyond the bounds laid down by Marx" (Sviták 1973a: 72) was thus more separated from the direct interests of the population. It also meant, and Marcuse admitted it, that the protest against false morality and false values isolated the opposition from the masses (Marcuse 1969: 51).

Interesting tensions were created by the reactions of Czechoslovak students to the Vietnam War protests. While describing them, we should, however, remember that a potential popular initiative in Czechoslovakia was often absorbed by the State. Jiří Pelikán, the former leader of the pro-Communist International Union of Students (IUS), director of the Czechoslovak TV between 1963 and 1968, and then an exiled journalist pointed out that when the IUS and some local students initiated the collection of money for North Vietnam, the Party came out against it, following the logic of the general neutralization of popular political activities (Pelikán 2011: 77). This framework helps us to understand, for example, the Czechoslovak students' refusal to participate in another international solidarity event against the Vietnam War because of their impression that the event was politically imposed from above. In fact, they were asked to join by Bettina Aptheker, the American Communist and student activist who met with the Czech student Miluše Kubíčková during her stay in the USA (Pažout 2008: 164–167). On another occasion, during one anti-war demonstration in Prague, some Vietnamese students tore down an American flag from the building of the US

embassy. The reaction of a group of Czechoslovak students was that they returned the flag to the embassy staff (Liehm 1970: 89). As for their opinions on the Vietnam War, the French Trotskyist Hubert Krivine accused Czechoslovak students of advocating nearly anti-communist positions. For Krivine, they did not emphasize enough the aspect of national liberation in their interpretations of the war since they tended to see it as a struggle between American and Soviet imperialists (Pažout 2008: 164–165).

The ability of both sides to understand different context and experiences of the other was important but difficult to achieve. The *News and Letters* magazine published an interesting comparison of approaches of Czechoslovak reform Communists and the American New Left by one Czech student:

> Our heroes, our gurus, if you like, are different from those in the West. Older people who influence students here tend to be theoreticians, not romantic revolutionaries. To some new left students it might all sound very conservative. Maybe someday we'll have our Cohn-Bendits here, but not for a while. Still, you know, when I talk to American kids I wonder whether they have really decided which is more important, revolutionary looks or revolutionary ideas (Czech Students Strike 1969: 7).

The last sentence could sound quite dismissive and confirms that some Czechoslovak critics, as the historian Jaroslav Pažout notes, were not able to fully recognize "the specific negative experience that the Western left-wing radicals had with their establishment" and that, in some cases, they began to understand it only after 1989 (Pažout 2009: 37). Similarly, Stanislav Holubec mentioned the biased, but in the Czech Republic still quite common notion, that the Prague Spring was a genuine fight for freedom and democracy whereas the Western revolts were just mischief of youth full of illusions about communism (Holubec 2009: 79).

With regard to this comparison, we should, however, keep in mind the different timing of protests and reforms in Czechoslovakia and in the West. The changes in Czechoslovakia, which were rather reformist, began at the time when the Left in the West was becoming more and more anti-systemic. This difference in timing could be the cause of Dick Greeman's complaint in his article for *News and Letters* that "so few of the kids around SDS and the other radical youth organizations seem to identify

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with the struggles of the workers and students in Czechoslovakia." This does not mean that they supported the invasion since many of them protested against it, but only that "very few see the positive content of the Spring movement and the continuing worker–student protests in Czechoslovakia" (Greeman 1969: 7). This is confirmed in the *Telos* magazine's introduction to Karel Kosík's work where the editors also complained that the developments and liberating tendencies in Eastern Europe "had largely gone unnoticed in the West until Czechoslovakia's 'New Course' and the subsequent Russian repression indicated that something very important was taking place in the Communist world" ("Introduction" to Karel Kosík 1968: 20). So, we can conclude that even though there was a global common base of the '68 movements which targeted 'the System' and searched for authentic socialism, important contextual and temporal differences between the East and the West prevented this base from further development.

4. THE U.S. FAR LEFT REACTIONS TO THE 1960S CZECHOSLOVAK REFORM MOVEMENT

In the final part of this paper, we can look at those few US left-wing voices that showed closer and more continuous interest in the development of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, state, and society within the context of the transformations of the global Left. We can study US left-wing reactions to the Czechoslovak economic reform, and then to political liberalization, and the subsequent Warsaw Pact invasion. I will try to set these reactions within the framework of the authentic socialism vs. counter-revolution debate and also to confront them with some Czechoslovak voices.

To begin with Czechoslovak economic reform, connected mainly to the name of the economist Ota Šik, we can notice that it tried to revive the weight of material incentives, like profitability as an economic stimulus. As Šik himself argued, the introduction of some market principles was not incompatible with socialism since there were still crucial differences from capitalism, like public ownership and the non-existence of private business profit-making (Page 1973: 22). However, the point of some authors publishing in the US Marxist socialist magazine *Monthly Review* was that "economic success is only part of the socialist dream" (Huber-

man 1965: 27). As Charles Bettelheim noted: "What characterizes socialism as opposed to capitalism is not the (non-)existence of market relationships, money, and prices, but the existence of the domination of the proletariat" (Bettelheim 1969: 5). Thus, what these authors primarily highlighted was the notion of economic democracy which was, according to Šik's critics, rather weak in the economist's approach. In other words, the class that dominated in Czechoslovakia was not the working class but technocratic managers who were even more powerful than in capitalist countries "for there is no class of capital owners whose interests the managers and technocrats must contend with" (Page 1973: 26).

Authors who defended Šik's reform in front of American readers also had to oppose the arguments inspired by the Chinese Cultural Revolution that emphasized moral incentives in the economy. For George S. Wheeler, an American economist working in Czechoslovakia throughout the 1950s and 1960s, these arguments were inapplicable in Eastern Europe since "at this stage of development it is folly to expect that moral incentives will prevail over economic counterincentives to efficiency" (Wheeler 1973: 168). There was agreement on this point between Wheeler and Paul M. Sweezy who also did not see any group capable of choosing the Chinese way in the Soviet bloc even though he was otherwise quite in favor of the Cultural Revolution (Sweezy 1968: 11). Sweezy's position was typical for debates in the *Monthly Review* magazine. He clearly refused the rigid bureaucratic planning of the 1950s in the East, but also criticized the turn to capitalist techniques in order to solve problems and saw the Chinese example as a successful attempt by the masses to unseat bureaucratic leaders (Sweezy 1969: 12–13, 17).

Now we can move to the Czechoslovak political developments in 1968 prior to the August invasion. In January, the 'conservative' Communist Antonín Novotný was replaced in his post of the CPC's First Secretary by the more reform-oriented Alexander Dubček. In April, the Party launched the so-called Action Program which contained several liberal reforms signifying an economic and political thaw, especially with an emphasis on freedom of speech and assembly. Many people, however, wanted further democratization of political life. Their demands were embodied,

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for example, in the "Two Thousand Words" manifesto written by the writer Ludvík Vaculík in June. Reformist and radical intellectuals differed in the intensity of their support for further reforms. George S. Wheeler observed in his book *The Human Face of Socialism*, written after he finally left Czechoslovakia after the invasion, that the "Two Thousand Words" manifesto was "not only untimely" but also "unfair to the new leadership" (Wheeler 1973: 136). On the other hand, for Ivan Sviták, as he wrote in a letter to Benjamin B. Page, the Action Program was "a dead born child" (*sic*!). "Everybody understood this, with the exception of Western journalists fascinated by the peripheral aspects of the whole political process," complains Sviták (Page 1973: 15) who was clearly eager for a more substantial change. According to Sviták, while the elites thought they followed authentic Marxism, they, in fact, tried only to "eliminate the Stalinist deformations through a combination of Leninism and Masaryk's tenets" (Sviták 1974/1975: 123).

The pro-Moscow CPUSA criticized the reforms, warning against a possible disintegration of the Soviet bloc. For its Chairman, Gus Hall, even though some reforms in the East were necessary, the Czechoslovak form exceeded the limits and "opened up the flood gates for a tide that created anarchy—a tide that swept in with it the forces of counter-revolution" (Hall 1968: 8). Among other things, Hall was outraged by the above-mentioned story when the Czechoslovak students returned the US flag to the embassy. "How else could we explain" this "disgraceful fact," asked Hall, than by insufficient building of "a reservoir of anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist ideology?" (Hall 1968: 11) The CPUSA, contrary to some other Communist Parties around the world that were able to resist Soviet pressure, supported the invasion of Warsaw Pact troops in Czechoslovakia. It was expected of the Communist Parties that they would issue an official statement about the events, so they had to choose between siding with public opinion opposing the invasion and their allegiance to Moscow. As it follows from Hall's note that "there are moments when a revolutionary party must take a firm principled stand regardless of its momentary effects on its public image," the CPUSA chose the pro-Soviet option (Hall 1968: 1).

The necessity of issuing a Party statement could be divisive, but the disputes over the invasion were not as serious within the already marginal CPUSA as twelve years earlier in the case of Hungary. Two of only a few high-ranking voices of opposition inside the Party were Californians Al Richmond, the editor of the *People's World*, and Dorothy Healey. She remembered "a servile role" of the CPUSA "in promoting every lie spread by the Soviets" and pointed out the quite praiseworthy role of George and Eleanor Wheeler in Czechoslovakia who wrote frequently, especially to the CPUSA's *Daily World*, "trying to correct some of the most ridiculous misconceptions" of its "journalistic onslaught" (Healey and Isserman 1993: 234, 229). The third person in the CPUSA's National Committee who opposed the invasion was Bettina Aptheker, the daughter of the well-known Communist Herbert Aptheker. Her father, to the contrary, supported the Soviets both in 1956 and 1968 in pamphlets called *The Truth about Hungary* and *Czechoslovakia and Counter-Revolution* (Murrell 2015: 262).

The situation was more complicated among other small revolutionary groups. On the Trotskyist scene, there was the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), but two more radical groups were created after splits within the SWP—the Workers World Party (WWP) in 1959 and the Workers League (WL) in 1964 (Alexander 1991: 911, 923). Especially harsh in his criticism of the Prague Spring was the WWP's leader Sam Marcy who was, however, contrary to the CPUSA, also critical of Moscow. For Marcy, even the Soviets had a revisionist leadership, but since Czechoslovakia had gone beyond any limits, Marcy supported the invasion in August. During the Spring of 1968, he attacked the developments in Czechoslovakia as "counter-revolutionary, anti-socialist and not very democratic, except insofar as right-wing critics of the regime are getting more and more freedom" in order to "deride Marxism," "cozy up to the neo-Nazi regime of West Germany," or "rehabilitate the symbols of old capitalist Czechoslovakia: Masaryk, Benes & Co." (Marcy 1968) He described the confusion of the Czechoslovak workers who could "accept the 'new nationalism' as a genuine form of socialist autonomy, rather than the neo-capitalist restorationism it really is" (Marcy 1968).

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Contrary to Marcy, the SWP-affiliated newspaper *The Militant*, along with the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, believed that "the Czechoslovak counterrevolution is extremely weak and the international situation is hardly favorable to it" ("Czechs Fight for Socialist Democracy" 1968: 4). Reporting on the Czechoslovak situation, *The Militant* highlighted the emergence of new revolutionary literature, for example, the publication of *Informační materiály* (*Information Materials*) on June 24th, 1968, connected with a group of far-left Czechoslovak activists. The issue of *Informační materiály*, which included excerpts from the "Fourth International Manifesto"—"For a Government of Workers' Councils in Czechoslovakia," a translation of an interview with the German activist Rudi Dutschke, Zbyněk Fišer's article, and Mao Zedong's "16 Points on the Cultural Revolution"—was called a landmark of de-Stalinization in Czechoslovakia (Foley 1968: 4).

What the above-mentioned Marxist groups which opposed the Soviet establishment had in common, even contrary to the young New Left, was the notion of the central position of the working class in society. Especially for the Trotskyists, the point of view of the working class and the survival of socialism prevailed in their criticism of the invasion. Soviet Communism in their view represented bureaucracy, not the working class. For example, the WL's Bulletin wrote that the invasion was "a blow aimed at the Czech working class and against the working class of all countries" made because the Soviets feared the workers whom the government "could no longer contain" ("Soviet Tanks Roll on Czech Workers" 1968: 3). Similarly, *The Militant* issued a statement by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International which again emphasized the Soviet bureaucrats' fear of the fact that "when the workers win these rights […], they have started down the road to workers-council democracy" ("Fourth International Czech Manifesto" 1968: 6). The extraordinary Congress of the CPC at the Vysočany ČKD factory, which condemned the invasion a day after it happened, was especially positively interpreted by American anti-Stalinist Marxists. In this context, Andrew Filak wrote in *News and Letters*

about "recognition on the part of the party delegates that they would be safest with the workers—in a factory" (Filak 1968: 8).

Especially the post-invasion protests in Czechoslovakia represented for many American Marxists a promise of authentic socialism. "In raising the fundamental question of philosophy and revolution, the party and spontaneity, the unity of worker and intellectual, they have indeed laid the foundation of a new relationship of theory to practice. Thereby they have gone far beyond anything raised by the New Left in 'the West,'" writes Raya Dunayevskaya (Dunayevskaya 1968: 8). Yet one reader of *News and Letters* warned that the Left should resist the illusion of Czechoslovakia's momentary national unity and concentrate on the working class (Readers' Views, Nov 1968: 4). In a similar way, Ivan Svíták, a fierce Marxist humanist critic of Dubček's style of reforms, wrote later in his American exile that "the ideology of 'reason and conscience' or 'socialism with a human face' never and nowhere admitted that the political conflicts in 1968–69 were in fact class conflicts" (Sviták 1973b: 160).

Finally, we can mention that the socialist opponents of the invasion in Czechoslovakia also pointed out the similarity between the Soviet and US imperialist ambitions and compared the invasion to the US-led Vietnam War. Thus, the SWP's presidential candidate Fred Halstead stressed the rejection of any ideological pretext for both invasions: "Moscow's military intervention can no more be justified by false claims of defending the interests of socialism than Washington's intervention in Vietnam is justified by its pretext of protecting 'freedom'" (Halstead 1968: 1). Those who tried to legitimize the invasion, on the contrary, rejected the comparison. According to Herbert Aptheker, "to even hint at equating Warsaw Pact troops' conduct in Czechoslovakia with that of US troops in Vietnam is [...] an act of distortion" (Murrell 2015: 263). As well, at the Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam, held in Montreal in the end of 1968, a group of predominantly African American revolutionaries of the Black Panther Party did not accept a resolution condemning the invasion since it "would be embarrassing to the Vietnamese delegations" (Readers' Views, Dec 1968: 4).

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CONCLUSION

As we have seen in the preceding pages, the stances of various US left-wing parties, movements, and groups on the events of Czechoslovakia in 1968 differed quite significantly, given their different power positions and ideological orientations. The CPUSA, for instance, emphasized the dangers of counter-revolution since it interpreted the Prague Spring from a rather geopolitical point of view. It meant that the CPUSA's discourse on the Czechoslovak events was mainly framed by the struggle between the two Cold War blocs and by the possibility of Western influence in Czechoslovakia.

The New Left, to the contrary, was such a free conglomerate of movements that its stance did not depend on the statements of other Parties of the same ideological orientation around the world, as was the case of the CPUSA. However, even compared to other analyzed left-wing groups, the New Left, in general, showed a relative lack of interest in the Czechoslovak reforms. One reason for this was that it was searching for authentic socialism elsewhere than in Czechoslovakia where the main political subjects were still the CPC's bureaucracy and the working class. The US New Left of the late 1960s did not understand technocratic experts and industrial workers as the groups with the greatest revolutionary potential. However, the invasion in Czechoslovakia was clearly condemned by many New Left groups.

Among Trotskyist groups, the reforms in Czechoslovakia could potentially resonate very well since the Trotskyists were not connected to any geopolitically significant Party and, at the same time, still recognized the primacy of the working class. So, for them and for other small Marxist revolutionary organizations, the interpretation of the events of Czechoslovakia in 1968 depended on their perception of whether the role of the workers was strengthening or declining because of the reforms. According to authors writing for *The Militant*, the danger of counter-revolution was weak in Czechoslovakia, so they rather expected a promise of the establishment of a workers-council democracy. For critics such as Benjamin B. Page and Paul M. Sweezy, however, the involvement of the workers in the Czechoslovak reforms was insufficient and the reforms themselves rather technocratic. More

radical critics, for example, the WWP's leader Sam Marcy, interpreted the Prague Spring as heading directly towards capitalism.

Finally, I can mention the group of democratic socialist and Marxist humanist authors which was, in my view, the most supportive of the further reformist process in Czechoslovakia. Some Czechoslovak authors cooperated with Erich Fromm on his *Socialist Humanism* volume; Raya Dunayevskaya provided an important space for reporting about the events of Czechoslovakia in 1968 in the *News and Letters* which she edited. Especially the short period of the Czechoslovak post-invasion resistance represented for Marxist humanists an emerging authentic socialism in which the intellectual-worker alliance could be achieved.

Regarding the transnational legacies of 1968 for the present and the future, we can make some concluding remarks about the concept of authentic socialism as such. As we have seen, especially when a conception of authenticity is connected with a particular authentic revolutionary subject, the powerful need for authenticity could cause tensions and a lack of understanding between different socialist groups. Moreover, according to the post-Marxist approach of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, the search for the authentic subject means *"the conviction that the social is sutured at some point, from which it is possible to fix the meaning of any event independently of any articulatory practice."* This refers especially to their critique of "the ontological centrality of the working class" (Laclau and Mouffe 2013: 171, 20), but the New Left's inspiration by the Third World masses is only a shift from the centrality of the working class to another subject. In this sense, we could ask whether the reduction of societal complexity and the search for authentic socialism with an authentic revolutionary subject is not precisely the ideological dream of an outside observer which Žižek talks about. In our present complex world, the reductive character of the search for authenticity is even more evident than in the late 1960s even though such a kind of abstraction can sometimes offer us a necessary utopian element missing in our contemporary debates.

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THE CASE FOR A NATIVE AMERICAN 1968 AND ITS TRANSNATIONAL LEGACY

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INTRODUCTION

Partly as a result of compartmentalized academic specializations and history teaching, in accounts of the global upheavals of 1968, Native Americans are either not mentioned, or at best are tagged on as an afterthought. "Was there a Native American 1968?" is the central question this article aims to answer. Native American activism in the 1960s was no less flashy, dramatic or confrontational than the protests by the era's other struggles—it is simply overshadowed by later actions of the movement. While it is seductive to claim that the Native American 1968 was the establishment of the American Indian Movement (AIM) in that auspicious year in Minneapolis, Minnesota, I would caution against constructing this event as the genesis of the Red Power movement.[1] Using approaches from Transnational American Studies and the history of social movements, this article argues that American Indians had a "long 1968" that originated in Native America's responses to the US government's Termination policy in the 1950s, and stretched from their 'training' period in the 1960s, through their dramatic protests from the late 1960s through the 1970s, all the way to their participation at the United Nations from 1977 through the rest of the Cold War. This intervention in canonized periodization is very much in line with the emerging scholarship

1. For the periodization of Red Power and the larger Native American sovereignty activism during the Cold War, see Smith and Warrior; Johnson; Cobb 2007; and Cobb 2008.

that now includes the transnational dimension and phase of Red Power in what has been dubbed "the global Sixties."[2]

The first section of this study argues that the similarities between Red Power and the other movements of the United States of the 1960s make the radical Indian sovereignty movement a part of the struggles of 1968. This section highlights the ways in which this struggle was similar enough to the others to be called a Native American 1968. These shared features were its Native radicalism and protest strategies.

The second section of my paper advocates for a certain American Indian 'exceptionalism' and explains how the Native sovereignty movement was different from the other social struggles of the United States in the Sixties. Here I reconfigure the periodization of the Red Power struggle and the American Indian Movement to argue for a "long Native American 1968." Next, I use selected features of American Indian sovereignty rights to make the argument that they place American Indians on the continuum of the liberties of 1968 further away from the classic civil rights of the domestic United States and closer to decolonization, self-determination, and national sovereignty in international relations. A full appreciation of this will contribute to our understating that the Native American sovereignty struggle was as much a national liberation movement as a 'domestic' movement for social equality—thus it should also be categorized and interrogated as a part of the Cold War's global movements of decolonization.

With this last move, the study will segue into my final conceptual point: the claim that the Native American 1968 was transnational in more than one way. Here I only explain that American Indians were transnational 'from the inside out' of the history of the United States: their political entities existed before they were colonized by European powers-turned nation states. In my final section I briefly sketch out how one cohort of activists in the long Native American 1968 managed to 'transcend' the US nation state and institutionalized their struggle into what has been called

2. For the use of the term, see Klimke. Recent and current scholarly projects on Native American international activism and the global indigenous movement include Niezen; a doctoral dissertation by Kirová; and works in progress by Paul Rosier and by Daniel Cobb.

the global indigenous movement. This is the transnational legacy of the Native American 1968.

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AMERICAN INDIANS, TOO: THE NATIVE AMERICAN 1968 MOMENT

Anyone making the case for a Native American 1968 has to recognize that there existed what I call a "1968 moment" in American Indian activism. This concerns two specific events of that auspicious year in Native American activism: the Indian participation in the late Martin Luther King's Poor People's Campaign in Washington, D.C. in April through July, and the August 1968 establishment of the American Indian Movement in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

By the late 1960s, various Native nations had been engaged with the challenges faced by US minorities, sometimes combining their forces with the other social movements. Denise Bates traced how American Indian activism in the US South responded to desegregation, the passing of civil rights legislation, and the restructuring of the American political party system. Elsewhere I have established that the radical Native press critiqued the US involvement in the Vietnam War and supported American Indian objections to military service.[3] Daniel Cobb has shown how by the auspicious year of 1968, various Native American rights organizations had combined their forces with the mainstream Civil Rights Movement. He has discussed that in the spring and summer of 1968, the late Martin Luther King's Poor People's Campaign included an American Indian contingent both on its organizing board and in its actual demonstrations.[4]

In late April and early May of 1968, the Campaign's board lobbied the major branches of government in Washington, D.C. while several Native American caravans headed for the capital were gathering numbers and momentum by visiting major American Indian population centers. In Washington, co-founder of the radical National Indian Youth Council Mel Thom criticized the US Department of the Interior for denying Native nations

3. Tóth 2016 b, 34, 36–37. However, Native Americans' relationship to military service has been complicated by what Paul Rosier calls "hybrid patriotism." See Rosier 9, 10–11.
4. See Cobb 2008.

economic opportunity and the right to direct their own education; subsequently the Indians of the Poor People's march held a press conference in front of the United States Supreme Court; and their Solidarity Day on June 19th, 1968 featured a speech by Martha Grass of the Ponca nation.[5] In their 1968 moment, Native American activists joined the mainstream Civil Rights Movement in their critique of President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty.

Something else happened in the same year, with much less fanfare. To serve the needs of the tens of thousands of Native Americans who had moved to US big cities on the Termination policy's relocation programs in the previous decade and a half, in August of 1968 in Minneapolis Dennis Banks, Clyde Bellecourt, Eddie Benton Banai, and George Mitchell founded an organization called the American Indian Movement. Relocation had lured Native American families to the big cities with the promise of federal assistance in education, employment, housing, and other services—in order to fully integrate them into mainstream society. The assistance promised did not fully materialize, and being cut off from cultural and social ties that had nurtured them on reservations, Native people not only struggled to find their place, but also faced discrimination both in much-needed services and society, and they were also subject to brutality by law enforcement. To what extent these situations were similar to the deprivation and hopelessness of the black urban ghettos that exploded in the so-called "race riots" of the second half of the 1960s remains to be studied. However, it is telling that the American Indian Movement originally began as a "patrol" to monitor police behavior towards Indians.[6]

The Native American participation in the Poor People's Campaign in Washington, D.C. and the establishment of the American Indian Movement in Minneapolis, Minnesota make the summer of 1968 a Native American 1968 moment, which concentrated American Indian activism and helped move it into its next, more dramatic and radical stage of campaigning for sovereignty rights. Both the demonstrations and press conferences in the nation's capital and the formation of a group to protect Native Americans

5. Landry, "Today in Native History: Natives Participate in Poor People's Campaign; Protest BIA."
6. Wilson, "AIM Patrol, Minneapolis."

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from discrimination in urban areas signalled a boldness that inaugurated greater militancy by Red Power.

If much of our current understanding of 1968 is shaped by a narrative of radicalization of social movements in their ideologies and strategies, building up to the explosions of that year, then it is well to call this subject of study the *radical* Native American sovereignty movement. First of all, this struggle was radical in relation to the status quo of US federal Indian policy. Unlike the Civil Rights Movement, which was responding to the progressive ruling of the Supreme Court and its backlash by white supremacists, Red Power was pushing back against a new, but outright regressive, federal policy: Termination. Adopted by Congress in 1954—the same year as *Brown vs. Board of Education* was handed down—the policy of Indian Termination aimed to end all of the federal government's special relationship with Native nations, including its protection and services to Indians in health, economics, law, and other fields of life.

Termination aimed to immerse Native Americans in the general dominant US society and market as citizens with equal rights and responsibilities—without any of the historical collective rights unique to their political entities. In this, Termination sounded like a progressive, quasi-civil rights policy—but as people in "Indian Country"[7] soon found out, it was actually the opposite. The policy had disastrous effects on the nations that it involved. Through congressional legislation, over a hundred tribes were terminated. Indians now had to assume federal, state and local tax burdens, compete with non-Native enterprises in the market place, and obey state laws that conflicted with their treaty rights. Termination meant the withdrawal of virtually all federal services, including food and health assistance, and treaty annuity payments. Without federal assistance and with inadequate means to support themselves, terminated Native communities sunk further into poverty, crime and disease. Termination also ended tribal affiliation for many Indians, which contributed to a sense of hopelessness

7. This is a term used by Native Americans to denote the totality of American Indian communities in the United States. The term is interchangeable with "Native America." For one example of its current use, see the Indian Country Today news portal.

and uprootedness. Indian land, Native communities and individual Indians now became a burden for the individual states, which had no extra resources to assume jurisdiction and provide for their integration.[8] It was against this retrograde policy that Native activism mobilized in the 1960s, setting goals that eventually reached beyond the reinstatement of the *status quo ante*.

The conventional historians' consensus about Red Power and the American Indian Movement is that they were radical in their goals.[9] The older, more moderate organizations for Indian sovereignty rights—these included the National Congress of American Indians, established in 1946—most often tried to improve Indian policy case by case, in an incremental fashion, and through litigation in the courts.[10] The new network of activist organizations were more radical in their goals. When in 1969 the group called Indians of All Tribes took over the island of Alcatraz, they claimed that the 1868 Fort Laramie treaty stipulated that unused government land and property could be taken over by the Indians, so they demanded that the island be granted to them as a place for an Indian university, and a cultural center.[11] For over a year, the occupiers tried to model their own Native American mini-country in an effort to prove that they were ready for full sovereignty. When in November 1972 four caravans from across Native America converged on Washington, D.C., they issued a "Twenty-Point Position Paper" that demanded the abolition of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), the government agency that had conducted Indian relations policy for nearly a century and a half. They also demanded the "restoration of a 110-million acre Native land base" by the US federal government by 1976.[12] When they occupied the village of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Lakota Sioux Reservation in South Dakota in February of 1973, the American Indian Movement and their Oglala traditionalist allies demanded that the government reinstate the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty as the basis of relations between the US

8. For a case of the effects of Termination on a specific Native nation and their responses in activism, see Deer.
9. See Smith and Warrior; Johnson; Cobb 2007; and Cobb 2008.
10. See Cowger, Wilkinson.
11. Smith and Warrior 24, 28–29; The Alcatraz Proclamation.
12. Trail of Broken Treaties 20-Point Position Paper.

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government and the Sioux Indians. Had they fully succeeded, the federal government would have had to roll back its post-treaty legislation and restore to the Sioux Nation much of the territories of the current states of Montana, Wyoming, North and South Dakota, and Nebraska.[13] These immediate goals were so radical in their reach that, had they succeeded, they would have fundamentally reconfigured Native American territory and rights in the United States. For their advocates, they were as realistic as that of forcing the United States government to end the war in Vietnam and pull out all American troops from Southeast Asia. Yet they were not the most radical goals—those will be discussed in the next section.

The new cohort of Native rights organizations' protest strategies were no less radical. Older, more moderate groups like the National Congress of American Indians claimed that "Indians do not demonstrate"—they rather lobbied government.[14] The National Indian Youth Council, the American Indian Movement, and their allied groups borrowed from the other social movements in developing a repertoire of direct action methods. They marched and picketed, but could not generally rely on these forms because of their low numbers: the total Native American population was about 600,000 in a general population of 250 million. The two protest forms they used that most resembled those of the other social movements were the so-called 'ins,' and takeovers and occupations. Like the lunch counter sit-ins and Freedom Rides of the Civil Rights Movement, the Native fish-ins of the 1960s US Northwest asserted Indians' off-reservation rights by exercising them in the face of discrimination and violence. Like the free speech and other movements' occupations, Native American takeovers and occupations targeted sites of historical importance,[15] or administrative centers or transportation hubs, where they disrupted the machinery of government, and attracted and manipulated the media to publicize their causes. These included the Indians of all Tribes' 1969–71 occupation of Alcatraz, their joint project

13. "Declaration of Continuing Independence" map.
14. Shreve; Cobb 2008.
15. For a study of the Native American use of US national historical memory for publicizing American Indian sovereignty rights, see Tóth 2016 a.

with the American Indian Movement in the 'hijacking' of the Thanksgiving commemoration ceremonies at Plymouth, Massachusetts in 1970; Red Power's camping out and defacing the presidents' portraits on Mount Rushmore, South Dakota in the same year; their takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters in Washington, D.C. in November 1972; and the occupation of the village of Wounded Knee in South Dakota for over two months in 1973 by AIM and their local Oglala allies.

Finally, like the Black Panthers, the radical Native sovereignty movement not only rhetorically advocated self-defense by Indians against those who would hurt them—they also acted on their words. The American Indian Movement declared themselves a "warrior society," ready to go to defend any Native community who asked for their protection.[16] Especially the men of AIM lived up to their own image as gun-toting, 'bad' Indians. At the BIA building in Washington, D.C. in 1972, at the courthouse of Custer, South Dakota in 1973, in the village of Wounded Knee in 1973, and on the Jumping Bull Ranch of South Dakota in 1975, Native activists violently clashed with security, police, the FBI, and even the United States military, resulting in casualties and deaths. The federal response was equally serious. The government prosecuted some 200 Native activists who were involved in the siege of Wounded Knee in the spring of 1973, and hunted down, tried and convicted Leonard Peltier for his role in the killing of two FBI agents in June 1975. Like the other social and political movements of the 1960s, the radical Native sovereignty movement was also subject to federal surveillance, the planting of informers, law enforcement framing and negligence in criminal investigations and court proceedings. These only contributed to the terrible wave of violence that decimated radical activists on the Pine Ridge Reservation, where government manipulation likely turned AIM members against one another.[17]

AN 'EXCEPTIONAL/IST' NATIVE AMERICAN 1968

Yet the Native American sovereignty movement was different from the other social struggles of the United States in this period

16. Banks and Erdoes 58; Smith and Warrior 137–138.
17. See Churchill, Matthiessen, Stern, and Smith and Warrior.

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in at least two ways. Firstly, because for a long time they had received less media attention and awareness in mainstream US society, American Indian causes seemed to arrive on the national scene later and in more radical forms. The 1969–71 occupation of Alcatraz garnered regional, some national and even some international media coverage due to its duration; the 1972 takeover of the BIA building in Washington did similarly well also because it took place in the center of power and just before the presidential election; while the spring 1973 siege of Wounded Knee exploded onto the national and international scene both because it lasted over two months, allowing for the convergence of the media on the village and the staging of solidarity events by supporters—including an air drop of food on the village, and a demonstration at the United Nations in New York City. In other words, while the radical Indian sovereignty movement did have a 1968 "moment," I argue that they had a "long 1968" that began in the 1960s, came to the fore between 1969 and 1975, and morphed into a variety of causes and networks in the later 1970s. This later period's landmark events were more transnational and international in character, and this is why before the emergence of work by scholars like Daniel Cobb, Ronald Niezen, Kevin Bruyneel, Lucie Kyrova and this author, this second half of the "long Native American 1968" was much less recognized in historiography. This period will be discussed in the last section of this article.

There is another aspect in which I can play an 'exceptionalist' card[18] in arguing that the radical Indian sovereignty struggle was

18. I use the term 'exceptionalism' as a meta-joke as much as to make a point about the uniqueness of Native Americans' collective rights in US democracy. Exceptionalism is a feature of some early 20th century, then Cold War and 'imperial' politics and scholarship in US History and American Studies. Its elements include claims that the United States is a nation unique in its origins, development as a nation state (in its cultural, political, social, and other characteristics), that it should be understood on its own terms as separate from all other nations, regions and continents. The sometimes unstated corollary of US exceptionalism is that the United States has a national mission in the world, and this consists of both modeling and assisting in spreading its own characteristics, especially its system of democracy and free enterprise. The popular and scholarly literature of US exceptionalism is voluminous and simply too long to include here.

different from the other rights movements of the 1960s. It was unique in the kind of rights it fought for. Already during its "1968 moment," the Native activists of the Poor People's Campaign's lobbying committee explained to the government and the press in Washington in April 1968 that

> [...] we make it unequivocally and crystal clear that Indian people have the right to separate and equal communities within the American system—our own communities, that are institutionally and politically separate, socially equal and secure within the American system.[19]

The paradox of the American Indian rights struggle is that only one part of it was for civil rights, the rights to integrate into US society as individuals, free from discrimination based on one's background or group origins. For the most part, the Native American activists of the long 1968 were fighting for collective rights known as sovereignty: the right to collectively own land, the right to tribal jurisdiction in law and law enforcement, the right to have a tribal government as their political decision-making mechanism, the right to exercise hunting and fishing rights on and outside of Indian reservations, the right to tribal control and collective self-representation in culture. These kinds of rights place American Indians on the continuum of the liberties of 1968 further away from the classic civil rights of the domestic United States and closer to what we understand as decolonization, self-determination, and national sovereignty in international relations.

The American Indian struggle was different from the other US domestic movements of 1968 because of the uniqueness of Native Americans' historical status. American Indians were originally pre-national collectives before the arrival of Europeans; subsequently they were independent nations, recognized as such through over a century of treaty making between them and European powers-turned North American nation states. Only in the mid-to late 19th century did US law and government begin to succeed in forcing their redefinition of Native American status on Indians—making

19. Committee of 100, "A Sickness Which Has Grown to Epidemic Proportions" (April 1968), in Cobb 2015, 149–151. Special thanks to Reetta Humalajoki for the quote and source.

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them nations "domestically dependent"[20] on direct services from the federal government in return for them having given over most of their land base for Euro-American settlement. What the "long Native American 1968" fought for was not to lose their collective status in return for civil rights in Termination, but to reinstate some of their collective sovereignty rights that had been recognized in hundreds of historical treaties. Because of this fundamental difference, the 'inside-outside' position of American Indian history and rights in the United States, the Native American sovereignty struggle was both part of the domestic rights movements of the 1960s and it was a cause of decolonization and national liberation qualitatively different from civil rights and equality in US citizenship.

Thus, the American Indian activists of the long 1968 were campaigning for sovereignty rights; and they were pushing as hard and as far as these rights could be carved out from the US government and society. This is why their most radical cohort were aiming for the logical extreme end point of sovereignty: fully independent countries. Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz recalled that between 1974 and 1982, "[i]nternal discussions among IITC [the International Indian Treaty Council] activists revolved around the question of self-determination, generally called '*sovereignty*.' Clearly, the already existing model of independent nations emerging from colonialism did not neatly fit the situations of Indian peoples in the Americas." Nevertheless, she pointed out that reservation-size island countries had gained United Nations membership—and that the territory of the Navajo was larger than most of these.[21] At a February 1975 meeting between Treaty Council activists and international lawyers,[22]

20. *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, 30 US (5 Pet.) 1 (1831)
21. Dunbar-Ortiz 33–34. Emphasis in original.
22. In her *Indians of the Americas*, Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz cites this document as "From the Archives of the International Indian Treaty Council, New York. File dated February, 1975: Report from Meeting of International Lawyers." Since I did not find this document in the Treaty Council's San Francisco Office, I have to assume that this file fell casualty to office downsizing, or water damage, both of which occurred during the Treaty Council's 44 years in existence. Records of the International Indian Treaty Council.

"[d]iscussions of independence centred on the Indian people under US and Canadian jurisdiction, with little comparative analysis of other areas of the Americas, although *the assumption was that independence was the ideal goal.* The principal barrier to pursuing the course of independence was identified as the US government."[23]

THE TRANSNATIONAL DIMENSION OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN 1968

This brings US to the final point: the transnational dimension and legacy of the Native American long 1968—in its second half of events. Since one of their ultimate goals was to attain the option for decolonization into fully independent countries, the radical Native sovereignty movement switched strategies: after years of exhausting and costly direct confrontations with the US government, Indian activists decided to bypass "Uncle Sam"[24] and build and utilize a transnational network. One year after the siege of Wounded Knee, the first International Indian Treaty Council conference on the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation in 1974 laid down a program of reasserting Native American sovereignty through transnational diplomacy. The goal of the American Indian Movement's "international work" was to force the US government to recognize the treaty rights of Native nations as law, as well as to attain status in the United Nations for Native American nations, pending their full decolonization. Because of the power of nation states and the inertia of the United Nations, in the following three years radical Native activists had to scale back their project of decolonization into full independence and refashion it into advocacy for indigenous human rights. In 1977, the International Indian Treaty Council was granted non-governmental organization status in the United Nations' Economic and Social Council. In the same year, the breakthrough International NGO Conference on the Rights of the Indians of the Americas in Geneva, Switzerland began building a global mechanism for the protection of indigenous human rights. For the rest of the Cold War and beyond, the radical American Indian sovereignty struggle

23. Dunbar-Ortiz 34. Emphasis added.
24. Originating in political cartoons in 19th century newspapers, the figure of "Uncle Sam" has served to represent the United States government.

helped strengthen the global indigenous rights movement. This is the transnational legacy of the Native American long 1968.

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THE LEGACIES OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN 1968

The domestic legacy of the Native American long 1968 is evident in the current sovereignty rights régime of the United States. In tandem with the more moderate Native rights organizations like the National Congress of the American Indians, the radical edge of the Red Power Movement succeeded in bending federal Indian policy away from Termination and regaining some important sovereignty rights. In the period between Wounded Knee 1973 and the end of the Cold War in 1990, the US nation state passed the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975[25]; the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978[26]; the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978[27]; the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988[28]; the Aleut Restitution Act of 1988; the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990[29]; the Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990[30]; and the Native American Languages Act of 1990[31]. Yet the Indian Claims Limitations Act of 1982[32] and some of the Indian land claims settlements extinguished Native title to land on what is now US soil. On balance, directly or indirectly, the mainstream as well as the radical Indian sovereignty movement successfully pressured the US government for progressive legislation on Native rights. The fact that Native American health care provisions and adoption law are currently under assault by the US government shows the extent to which the Native American long 1968 managed to carve out and enshrine Indian sovereignty rights.[33]

25. "Subchapter II—Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance."
26. "'We Also Have a Religion.'"
27. "About ICWA."
28. "Indian Gaming Regulatory Act."
29. "H.R.5237—Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act."
30. "Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990."
31. "S.2167—Native American Languages Act."
32. "H.R.7356—Indian Claims Limitation Act of 1982."
33. Diamond, "Trump Challenges Native Americans' Historical Standing"; Flynn, "Court Strikes Down Native American Adoption Law, Saying it Discriminates against Non-Native Americans."

The transnational legacy of the Native American long 1968 is the global mechanism of indigenous human rights under the United Nations. After years of repeated lobbying and petitioning, the 1977 arrival of American Indian delegates in the United Nations revitalized the world body's languishing attempts to accommodate these transnational groups in the Americas. José R. Martínez Cobo's "Study of the Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Populations" was finally published in 1982, a whole decade after it was commissioned. First created during the 1977 NGO conference, the "Declaration of Principles for the Defense of the Indigenous Nations and Peoples of the Western Hemisphere" went through several incarnations and subsequently served as the basis of the *Declaration of Principles for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*[34] drafted between 1985 and 1993 by the Working Group on Indigenous Populations, and adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2007.[35] Created in 1981 and convened for the first time the following year, the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) opened the door wider to indigenous rights organizations both vying for UN NGO status and not affiliated with the world body.[36] The broad mandate of the WGIP and the increasing number of participating indigenous groups gradually developed this forum into the Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples (2001–),[37] the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2002–),[38] and the Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007–).[39] Together, these mechanisms now function as an indigenous rights régime in the United Nations, studying, reporting and advising about indigenous issues around the world, and using their supranational status to pressure national governments to improve their treatment of Native peoples and respect their rights to self-determination—the right to define their own political status, including through forms of full integration or autonomy

34. Dunbar-Ortiz 2005, 38. Also see Dunbar-Ortiz, "What Brought Evo Morales to Power?," xiii.
35. Wiessner, "Introduction."
36. Dunbar-Ortiz, "What Brought Evo Morales to Power?," xvii.
37. Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples website.
38. United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues website.
39. The Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples website.

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in another nation state.[40] The development of these forums with their many indigenous, UN, governmental and other NGO participants redefined the terms and the scope of the discussions from "Indian" to "indigenous," from "nations" and "people" through "populations" to "peoples." These mechanisms, however, could not have been created without the hard work, bravery, and persistent embodied transnational diplomacy of the activists of the Native American long 1968.

CONCLUSION

This article has argued that, through the Indian participation in the late Martin Luther King's Poor People's Campaign in Washington, D.C. in April through July, and the August 1968 establishment of the American Indian Movement in Minneapolis, Minnesota, the Native American "1968 moment" concentrated American Indian activism and helped move it into its next, more dramatic and radical stage of campaigning for sovereignty rights. Native radicalism and protest strategies like the takeover and occupation and "ins" make American Indian sovereignty activism a part of the mainstream US domestic social movements of the long 1960s through their shared features. Yet the Native American sovereignty movement was different from the mainstream rights struggles because it advanced collective legal status, which is further away on the continuum from civil rights. I argued that Native American transnationalism and sovereignty rights make the American Indian long 1968 as much a national liberation struggle as a US domestic rights movement, thus it was a decolonization movement in addition to one for American citizenship. This highlights the fact that the Cold War's decolonization struggles took place not only in 'the Third World,' but also within the very heart of the First World, specifically in the United States and Canada.[41] The final part of my article assessed the legacies of the Native

40. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

41. As early as in his 1974 book *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality*, (Canadian) First Nations thinker and activist George Manuel argued that in addition to the Cold War geopolitical divisions, a fourth world existed, inhabited by indigenous nations, often within or across the modern nation states. Manuel. To the national liberation/decolonization struggles of Native America should

American long 1968—in the domestic sovereignty legislation of federal Indian law, and in the supra-national and world governance mechanism for indigenous human rights. These rights régimes were historically constructed, and they exist not only in the law books, but in their enactment, performance and enforcement. They must not be taken for granted, but exercised and protected, lest they be eroded or actively rolled back.

be added that of Puerto Rico, an unincorporated territory of the United States, and possibly others.

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EASTERN-EUROPEAN 1968s?

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Throughout this paper, I shall focus on explaining the protests of 1968 in Eastern and Central Europe. Before presenting the existing debate, I will clarify that two main concepts compete to define the same large cultural movement. Therefore, on the first level, I will present the working concepts like the 'long 1968' and 'counterculture.'

After explaining the key terms, I will focus on how historiography dealt with understanding the protests in Eastern and Central European of 1968. I want to present the existing work on the reception of 1968 heritage in East-Central Europe and to distinguish between different narratives. Another aim is to find to what extent one can speak about 'transnational ideas' and 'transnational biographies.' More clearly, to what extent can we talk about 1968 as a transnational movement? For the protesters themselves, was it a unitary movement or a fragmented one? On the same logic, do contemporary scholars deal with an 'imagined solidarity' or a real transnational case?

I shall argue that two main directions compete in order to explain the rebellions around 1960s in Eastern and Central Europe. On the one hand, some researchers consider that the political protests from East Central Europe are a *diffusion* from Western Europe. Others, by taking into consideration Prague Spring or other movements born in Eastern and Central Europe, consider that 1968 protests are *independent*, *invented* phenomena, that cannot be compared

in a larger framework and which were not influenced by other movements. I will argue that we deal rather with a synthesis between *diffusion* and *evolution*.

COMPETING CONCEPTS: COUNTERCULTURE **VS**. 1968

Before analyzing how historiography deals with the connections and comparisons between youth movements of the 1960s, I shall briefly focus on properly defining the terms. In other words, two main concepts compete to define the rebellions against Establishment in the late 1960s. One is 'counterculture,' the other '68.' The terms are not disjunctive, sometimes they even overlap, but some particularities must be considered.

COUNTERCULTURE

The term 'counterculture' was coined by Theodore Roszak by joining two words: 'counter' and 'culture.' While the term 'culture' is far too complex to be analyzed in such a paper, the word 'counter-' worths some considerations. Initially, it meant in Old French a military maneuver (countre) and from the 16th century was used as an adverb, as well as an adjective in Middle English in order to define an opposition. By using this juxtaposition, Roszak defined counterculture as the social, cultural and literary phenomenon which appeared in the United States after the Second World War. The American scholar started his argumentation by stating that the intellectual sources for the new generation were very eclectic: Hermann Hesse, Zen Buddhism, Henry David Thoreau, Friedrich Nietzsche, Oswald Spengler, Herbert Marcuse, Karl Marx and Mao. Thereby, he asked himself what could have been the common denominator of these vast cultural references that shaped a new generation. The answer, according to Roszak, by basing his argument on Karl Marx and Herbert Marcuse, is simple: all of them are against technology, praise nature and turn their back to the modernist project (Roszak 1969: 13) Herbert Marcuse considered that counterculture as well it is a youth movement against the 'affluent society' (in Galbraith's terms), which wants to contest all the existing values:

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there is a common ground between the American movement and the French movement. It is a total protest, not only against specific evils and against specific short-comings, but at the same time, a protest against the entire system of values, against the system of objectives, against the entire system of performances required and practiced in the established society. (Marcuse 2004: 44)

This definition rather focuses on the anti-authority aspect of counterculture than on its psychedelic dimension. Even though Marcuse spotted the similarities between youngsters from the United States, France, or Czechoslovakia, he focused very little on analyzing the social particularities of each of the countries. His definition takes as main referential point the United States.

Jeremi Suri offers another explanation of counterculture. In a study from 2013, he presents this phenomenon as the first moment in history when protestors are self-critical about their actions. Even though the Beats, the surrealists, Dadaists and other radical movements were also against the system, intelligentsia was not overtly politically threatening the power. As Suri argues, the ways of contesting the system changed radically after 1960s. He uses the argument of the return of the Conservatives in early 1970s, as a backlash for New Left: "Dissent from within the mainstream shook the foundations of political power, but it did not bring the walls tumbling down. Quite the contrary, widespread protests elicited new acts of political reinforcements by leaders across the world, often in collaboration with one another. This is the paradox of stability in the late 1960s amidst so much internal unrest: not a single major government was overthrown by protesters in 1968 (Suri 2007: 99). The argument is totally valid. Yet, Suri considers not Vietnam, capitalism or communism as the main culpable for the revolts. The main actor that influenced the dynamics of 1968 protests is the Cold War itself:

these popular frustrations were not only a reaction to the Cold War. They were inspired by Cold War rhetoric and encouraged by Cold War leaders—often the same figures the counterculture would later attack. (Suri 2007: 100)

By reading the events from this perspective, the main argument is that Vietnam war, Black Power movements, Prague Spring and then, the Soviet intervention, Rudi Dutschke's speeches,

the LSD experiments and Herbert Marcuse's theories, as well as antinuclear protests, were all directly opposing Cold War:

> Cold War ideas, resources, and institutions made the counterculture. The counterculture, in turn, unmade these ideas, resources, and institutions. (Suri 2007: 112)

To a large extent, the youth unrests from the late 1960s were a direct product of Cold War. One has to be cautious, though, in asserting that counterculture was indeed the decisive factor that changed the evolution of Cold War, as Suri argues. Thus, by comparing Roszak with Suri's position about the roots of the 1960s movement, one can observe that indeed, counterculture was born from and as a reaction against Cold War. From a larger perspective, the reaction against technocracy and „high modernism" is still more used in the field in order to define this large movement. New Left movements from Western Europe cannot be explained as a simple result of the Cold War because the dialectic is much more complicated. The fight can be directed against the Soviet Establishment, against capitalist one, against a particular hegemony, depending on the regional context.

1968 AND 'THE LONG 1968'

On the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, especially in France, but in Italy or Germany as well, the term '1968' or even 'Mai '68' recurrently replaces 'counterculture.' While American historiography sees this movement as a long phenomenon, the French historiography understands the youthful unrests as a series of events that culminate with May 1968. It is interesting to spot one aspect: when referring to the heritage of 1968, Dreyfus-Armand, Zancarini-Fournel and Levy use the phrase 'the years of 1968' rather than its American terminological equivalent 'counterculture.' (Dreyfus-Armand, Levy, Zancarini-Fournel 2000: 72, Aron 1968, le Goff 1998). Through the term '1968' in France or in Germany, historians define the political ideas that were changed and exchanged across the continent (Suri 2007, Klimke, Sharloth 2008). For instance, Jan-Werner Müller considers that the only concrete factor of conglomerating the global movement was the Vietnam war. However, each country had its particular

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protest against other conflicts: in France against the Algerian War, in West Germany against the experience with the Iranian Shah, while in Czechoslovakia with the Soviet invasion (Tismăneanu 2011: 75). The three 'M's were the main intellectual references: Marx, Mao and Marcuse. Retrospectively, conservative historians view '68 as a hedonist movement, while others as a return to anarchism, a progressive detachment from modernism or a moment infused with strong political romanticism (Tismăneanu 2011: 92–94). These approaches, done mostly on a macro-scale, tend to discuss 1960s in global or even transnational context. However, looking for commonalities had its limits: the protests that happened in 1960s had in some cases different aims, even though they were done by the same generation.

Moreover, the use of the term '1968' has its limits: it covers only the immediate chronological surroundings of 1968. Carl Boggs main critique about using this terminology is that through it, one understands the youthful unrests as a self-emerging point, not influenced so much by Student for Democratic Society or other similar movements from early 1960s (Boggs 1995: 331–55).

When dealing with this phenomenon, Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth prefer to extend the research from 1956 to 1977 through a concept which they name 'the long 1960s.' Thus, they explain a larger context in Eastern and Central Europe, which began with the Khrushchev's Speech and ended with Charta 77 (Klimke, Sharloth 2008: 3). Frederic Jameson also argues that 1968 must be understood as a period stretching from 1958 until 1972/1973. His argument is that during this period, structuralism met its crises. The interest in Sartre, Lukács and Croce started to fade away, while new philosophical figures, such as Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze entered into arena. Frederic Jameson considers that for the first time, the focus is on the gender, ethnic, class, race marginals, which were understood for the first time as 'proper human beings.' (Klimke, Sharloth 2008). As well, another colossal influence was the Sino-Soviet split, followed by a strong interest in the academia in various Maoist doctrines (Jameson 1984: 188–201). The youth movements fade away in 1973–1974, according to Frederic Jameson.

Even though this theoretician primarily focuses on cultural and intellectual history rather on key-events, his plea for considering 1958–1974 as a period is convincing. His argument is based mostly by using history of philosophy references, but can be extrapolated to other forms of art as well, because of the close-connection between various artistic discourses. Again, one can spot that events of 1968 could not be realized without properly understanding their immediate roots and aftermaths. The use of the reference to 1968 is understandable, as Michael Watts also defends, due to its climacteric aspect. Arthur Marwick as well defends 1968 as a period and shall not focus at all on a singular year:

> I do feel that the years 1958 to 1974 form a period, as self-contained as a period can ever be. (Suri 2007: 309)

One can spot a terminological confusion between three main concepts which broadly cover the same large phenomenon: '1968,' 'the long 1968' and 'counterculture.' While '1968' defines the protests, street actions and concrete activities (as Mai 1968, the Prague Spring, Prague Invasion—mainly open, street protests), the 'long 1968' focuses on the context that generated and made possible actions of 1968. An equally important concept is 'counterculture' which focuses on the cultural, literary and social innovations that did not necessarily occur in 1968 (as for instance Woodstock '69). Therefore, the open question is: how can one use correctly and non-abusive the term that defines the best the youthful unrests of the 1960s and particularly, but not only, 1968?

THE MAIN CATEGORIES

When we name a concept does not necessarily mean that we offer a historical understanding to it. Simply choosing '1968' instead of 'counterculture' does not solve the issue at all. Therefore, in order to make the research of this large and complex phenomenon more accessible, a few scholars focused on dividing it into several thematic categories. In 1990, Gil Delannoi proposed two dimensions of the 1960s phenomenon: the aesthetical adventure and the political dimension. The aesthetic part is for him: "counter-cultural, aesthetical, ecological, cosmic, passive, artisanal,

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non-violent and encourages the adventure and experimentation. Its model is the autarchic community" (Delannoi 1991: 98). In other words, he refers to the hippie heritage through the aesthetic part. The political dimension is "militant, politically active, internationalist, active, sometimes violent, meets a strong hierarchy, refers to theoretical texts, it links itself to a revolutionary class. Its model is the guerilla" (Delannoi 1991: 101). Through the second part, he understands the New Left heritage. This distinction, loosely related to Theodore Roszak's theory, makes for the first time a distinction between music and politics, between parallel actions that happened during the same context. However, other events, as Prague Spring, cannot be simply explained through this vague conceptualization.

Therefore, it is imperative to look at Paul Berman's works about the generation of 1968. For the American editor and journalist, there were not one, but four revolutions in the 1960s, each with its own distinctive features. The first one was against the middle-class customs. For him, after 1960s, themes such as LGBTQ, abortion or sexuality were much more openly discussed. Abortion or divorce were introduced for the first time in countries like Italy. However, there is a limit for this 'revolution.' Some critiques consider that European counterculture was much more patriarchal and sexually conservative than expected. This 'revolution' also meets its limits in Eastern and Central Europe, where the impact on sexuality was much smaller than in the United States, for instance.

The second revolution dealt primarily with religion. On one hand, various youth 'congregations,' start a new spiritual project, being influenced by Buddhism, Beat poetry, transcendentalism and psychedelia (Berman 1997: 8). This is particularly present in Haight-Ashbury in San Francisco,but with its fallouts across the whole world. On the other hand, another spiritual revolution took place inside of the Catholic Church. The high Vatican circles (through the Second Vatican Council), but also regular priests, were eager to reform the rituals and dogmas. Besides this ecclesial movement, more radical forms emerged. Among the most widespread examples are the *liberation theology* in South America or Isolotto commune from Florence, which was the first Catholic Commune that rejected hierarchism (Berman 1997: 9).

The third revolution was against the Western capitalism. It used a plethora of New Left references, starting from Herbert Marcuse to Mao's *Red Book*, from Guy Debord to Marshall McLuhan. War in Vietnam was considered the common issue and many youth supported The National Liberation Front (Berman 1997: 8). In Italy, West Germany or Japan, this revolution ended in the early 1970s with urban guerilla groups as Red Fraction Army, Red Brigades or The Japanese Red Army (Berman 1997: 96). Che Guevara was the main model and many artists, as well as musicians, started to be more and more interested in translating the songs about Che and about the 'liberation movement.'

Lastly, another revolution occurred, this time in Eastern Europe, against the Stalinist heritage. This category, named by Berman 'revisionists,' was a new generation of intellectuals and artists, whose main critic was that their countries lost Communist ideals under the bureaucracy, censors and gulag. While for the third category the main sources were Marcuse, Debord or McLuhan, Paul Berman states that the main sources for the revolutionaries belonging to the fourth category were the early texts of Karl Marx, Hegel, Lenin, Antonio Gramsci and Leo Trotsky (Berman 1997: 221). Paul Berman points out clearly that the third and fourth revolutions had totally different aims:

> One was spreading the totalitarianism of Europe to the former colonies; the other was undermining the totalitarianism of Europe. One was peaking; the other, just getting under way (Berman 1997: 10).

It is highly important to take into consideration both of the categories proposed by Gil Delannoi—political and aesthetical—when analyzing this large phenomenon. While for the aesthetic dimension, one can easily spot a diffusion of ideas, especially from the Anglo-American space (through rock music), the situation becomes much more complicated when talking about the political heritage. Indeed, popular culture, music, leisure and everyday life met a heavy change after 1960s. Without any doubt, the new music mingled with the existing heritage, as with the existing folklore or other local musical forms. However, one of the largest mutations occured in the political field, where new forms of protests emerged. For the sake of organising this apparent large

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and slippery phenomenon, the four categories proposed by Paul Berman are very helpful. However, in some cases, some elements not clearly fit in only one case.

One of these examples is pointed by Paul Berman himself. He brings the example of the concerts by Akord Klub at Reduta Theater, near Wenceslas Square in Prague. For him, these were situated between a political and artistical act because people did not only shouted a political manifesto, but expressed artistically. (Berman 1997: 232, Kusin 2002). As well, Jan-Werner Muller's brings the example of the Situationnistes from France, which were also imagining another society, but using many different poetic languages (Tismăneanu 2011: 192). Thus, such a phenomenon has clearly political aims, but without being a 'psychedelic' revolution. At the same time, they clearly had elements from both of the categories. There is another example as well: other musicians from various countries from East-Central Europe use political references, but in a very hidden, subversive way (what in Romanian was called șopârla[1]) either against the Communist Establishment, or against the Vietnam War. This has other meanings on the other side of the Iron Courtain as well. As a direct influence from Bob Dylan's protest songs, groups as Gerilla együttes from Hungary sing Communist songs. This action, to sing against the Vietnam War, has a totally different meaning in the countries from the Warsaw Pact. Already the Establishment uses a similar rhetoric in order to accuse the United States.[2] The particular situation of this group cannot simply be included in one of the categories presented by Gil Delannoi or Paul Berman.

Even by categorizing such a ample phenomenon, one can see that regional situations vary considerably. Therefore, by using either Berman or Delannoi's categories, one risks to have only a global simplistic approach. Of course, these categories can offer a better distinction between parallel movements such as the emancipation

1. In English, it means *a lizard*. It refers to lyrics or texts which, to a certain extent were against the system, but not explicitly enough to be pointed out by censorship.

2. This can be particularly seen in the cultural magazines, as *Secolul 20*. Many thematic numbers focus either on Vietnam War attrocities, or particularly present Vietnam literature. As well, the Romanian journal *Scinteia* presents the news about the Vietnam War, by constantly accusing the Americans.

of Afro-Americans, the LSD experiments, and the Prague Spring. Yet, only by applying this pattern we imply that the phenomena from 1960s are simply a diffusion from the United States/ Western World to Eastern and Central Europe, Maghreb, Japan or South America.

It was far more complicated to analyze the students and youth movements against the Establishment for the Eastern and Central European case. Historians had to take into account many different parameters, such as regional and national differences, strong political variations, as well as the presence/or absence of written materials. The youthful unrests from 1960s were radically different, due to strong censorship. However, there were also moments of détente, through which many cultural products could be imported, information passed much easier over the Iron Curtain. That means the cultural exchanges between intellectuals in the Soviet Union and East-Central European countries were not at all isolated from West in what concerns music, film-making or literature (Péteri 2006). Gyorgy Peteri states that in many cases, we deal with a strong form of communication between the countries from East and West Europe. Indeed, after 1960s, the information about counterculture was much more present in East-Central Europe. Therefore, when using the concept of 'Nylon Curtain,' one can easily understand the conditions that made in 1968 various student movements possible.

However, to what extent is it possible to speak about a unified, transnational global movement? The most pregnant dilemma is whether, the political aspect of counterculture/1968 heritage was indeed a transnational movement. The mentioned studies focus on the dynamics between Communist states and counterculture groups, which has its own strong particularities in Eastern and Central Europe. Thus, the open question is: to what extent can one assert that the American counterculture was a diffusion from Western World? When adaptation stops and adaptation begins?

Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth's *1968 in Europe. A History of Protest and Activism* explains the dynamics of the late 1960s in various countries. In comparison with previous works, the book takes also into account the regional variation, as well as the political framework. On a first level, the authors offer a comparative

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perspective for each of the country, by focusing on several main points: social and political framework of the country, organizational and social structure of the protest movement, key events, tactics of protests and later narratives about these events. Afterwards, a focused attention is drawn on the transnational relations and networks, particularly on terrorism, environmental movement, narratives of democratization and later legacies. Compared with Gerd Reiner-Horn and Padraic Kenney, this approach offers a much more complex understanding in what concerns the transnational relations not only between Eastern and Western Europe, but also the exchange of ideas within the same ideological bloc. This book, as well as the following collective-study, entitled *Between Prague Spring and French May*, favors the research and focus on personal and institutional networks that led to a permanent diffusion of ideas (Klimke, Sharloth 2011). The evolutionist hypothesis is preferred as an explanation for this movement, in this case.

The next historiographical milestone for this subject is entitled *Promises of 1968*, coordinated by Vladimir Tismăneanu. It builds its argument on Reiner Horn and Padraic Kenney's assumption that 1968 was a transnational moment of revolt. In contrast with the previous works, this study rather focuses on the legacy of this moment than on the institutional and social mechanisms. The core statement of *Promises of 1968* is that Communist party met a strong crisis after the moment of 1968. In the Soviet bloc, 1968 brought the 'death of revisionism' (according to Michnik or Tony Judt). The demands of the Communist 'liberals' were not fulfilled and slowly, the reformers became dissidents. Events such as the Prague Spring, Polish March, Belgrade protests from April 1968, the Croatian Spring of 1970–1971, the self-immolation of Jan Palach shaked the Stalinist foundations of the Eastern bloc, but without managing to offer a viable political alternative (Tismăneanu 2011: 3). The examples throughout this book emphasize that 1968 was a starting point for a new type of protesting in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, through civic initiatives (Tismăneanu 2011: 10). 1968 also expresses a rejection of the Yalta system by the youth and rebels, even though the leaders of their countries continued this framework. Any pluralist direction was crushed or strongly rejected. Three main centrifugal directions

emerged in the late 1960s in the 'communist commonwealth': the Warsaw Pact (Romania refusing to invade Czechoslovakia), Sino-Soviet split and the Western Communist parties which try to reaffirm their democratic socialism (Tismăneanu 2011: 13). Obviously, Brezhnev did not tolerate the centrifugal directions of the other State leaders.

In contrast with Kenney and Tismăneanu, and along with Klimke's collective volume, Kostis Kornetis, McAdam and Deter Rucht propose another theory: the events were actually independent and appeared roughly at the same time due to global political tensions (McAdam, Rucht 1993: 56–74). Seen from a Leftist perspective, 1968 was the first protest against a 'globalised capitalist world.' While this cause is obvious for the French, West German or American situation, for Eastern and Central European, as well as Spanish, Greek or Italian, it was not necessarily the case. Therefore, one has also to take into consideration an evolutionist hypothesis as well. Maybe the sources of 1968 were internal rather than external. In this regard, simply accusing capitalist world seems redundant. However, when focusing on the modality of acknowledging new protests, Kornetis makes an undeniable point: for the first time in history, mass-media had a crucial role in defining their common identity:

> media created transnational and intercultural linkages, giving the 1968ers the impression that they were part of a united political front (Fink, Gassert, Junker 1998: 3–4).

The academic work that dealt with 1968 from a transnational approach focused, with a certain success, on large ideas which were transferred from both sides of the 'Nylon Curtain.' However, as Klimke and Scharloth demonstrate, regional situations can be far more different than the global picture which Kornetis offers us. Therefore, some questions emerge: in the case of Eastern and Central Europe, do we witness to a transfer of know-how about protests from Western Europe to Eastern Europe (diffusion), a protest that emerged in different countries (evolution) or a synthesis? By taking into consideration all the factors, probably, we deal with a complex phenomenon, which was at first influenced by Western ideas and movements, as well

as practices (such as *sit-in,* radically different from what was happening in the 1950), but at the same time, which had its own trajectory. In some cases, the protests were directed against the Establishment, against the Communist regimes, but in other cases, had different aims.

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AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN LEFTIST ACADEMIA THROUGH THE PRISM OF PAUL BERMAN'S *A TALE OF TWO UTOPIAS: THE POLITICAL JOURNEY OF THE GENERATION OF 1968*

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INTRODUCTORY NOTES

The publication in 1996 of Paul Berman's book *A Tale of Two Utopias: The Political Journey of the Generation of 1968* happened halfway into the half century that now has passed since the revolutionary events of 1968. It sheds inspiring light on those events enriched with nuances and penumbra of the velvet revolutionary wind of changes that suddenly but peacefully touched the capitals of Central and Eastern Europe in the autumn of 1989. A puff of the wind of changes has gathered tons of political and intellectual material, which has been masterfully used by Berman in his reflections. He succeeds in not only providing a plausible and thought-through interpretation of both periods of excitement and utopia, but also in envisaging their subsequent developments. The perspective he elaborates is valuable and useful for any critical recollection of the half century that has passed and, perhaps, for some uncertain but hopeful glimpses at the decade to come.

In his precise diagnosis of the social and political status of global humanity after the two revolutions up until 1994, Berman, with sparing eloquence, observes: "The world feels this: humble, skeptical, anxious, afraid, shaken." (338). This diagnosis seems to lack any kind of prognosis but still comes close to Andre Glucksmann's "corkscrew" history with no clear outcome or end, and is a far cry from Francis Fukuyama's "kaleidoscopic" history crowned with the famous Last Man (257).

This spirit of uncertainty is transformed into a need for, and resolution to, further liberation by Martin Matuštík, who believes that two sets of aporia challenge the post-Berlin Wall world: "the economic exploitation of scarcity," and various politics of domination supplementing this exploitation (19). He is convinced that further struggle for liberation has to be backed by postmodernist critical social theory combined with existentialist philosophy and existentialist experience. Matuštík's position has affinity with the mission of the Radical Philosophy Association, whose "efforts are guided by the vision of a society founded on cooperation instead of competition, in which all areas of society are, as far as possible, governed by democratic decision-making" (RPA).[1]

A fellow Eastern European, Slavoj Žižek, insists on revolution through reform against the background of a total crisis of democracy, which is no less dangerous than the recent financial crisis but with the peculiar detail that in current democratic governance "the blind are leading the blind." With its unmatched sense of humor (not alien to and appreciated by Matuštík), Žižek urges his readers and followers to assume a leftist mode of thinking and leftist agenda capable of carrying out social and political changes in a reformist but nevertheless radical manner. His Marxist ideas, interwoven with unexpected Lacanian insights, make for a unique amalgam of social and political philosophy calling for an active position in the midst of the current global predicament (Žižek, "The West's Crisis is One of Democracy as Much as Finance").

As Žižek stands firmly on the European continent and sticks to the Continental style of thinking, and Matuštík has both a European and an American perspective, Richard Rorty is one of the representatives of the non-Marxist American Left. With a few touches, Berman brilliantly portrays Rorty's stance: "Rorty warns against everything that might serve as a 'successor to Marxism'—'a large theoretical framework that would enable us to put our society in an excitingly new context.' He wants a more

1. It is easily seen that The Radical Philosophy Association's position features an inner contradiction as any "democratic decision-making" implies "competition."

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'banal' language of political theory." (Berman 296). Marxism for Rorty is a sort of religious dogmatism leading to extravagant extremes with a dint of authoritarianism, which easily places the political zeal of Lenin next to the religious devotion of Savonarola (Berman 46). If this outlook finds fertile soil in a Europe hopelessly immersed in a vague tradition as well as in clumsy and redundant theory, it does not make any sense whatsoever in the New World: "We Americans did not need Marx to show us the need for redistribution, or to tell us that the state was often little more than the executive committee of the rich and powerful" (Rorty 1998: 48). Rorty has no doubts that social justice can be achieved with John Dewey's pragmatic and experimental approach based on the needs of a specific country and not by the world revolution of the proletariat based on the nationalization of private property and the means of production (Rorty 43). Although it is not that clear whether Rorty approves of the changes in the opposite direction from nationalized means of production to the restoration of private property, it appears that he is hardly optimistic about or in favor of either the global movements of 1968 or of the Central and Eastern European autumn of 1989; furthermore, any discourse about the further liberation of the wretched of the world after the velvet revolutions would contradict his principles.

In opposition to Rorty's insistence on a specific consideration of each country's needs and corresponding plan of actions, Yanis Varoufakis argues that democracy is endangered throughout the EU (and perhaps on the global scale too), which serves for him and for Srećko Horvat as an incentive to form "a Pan-European movement for the 'reinstatement of democracy in the EU (DiM25)'" (Sarantis 90). He claims that in order to avoid the transformation of Western democracies into dictatorships, the global financial system has to be restructured in a certain way and the split between politics and economy has to be overcome (Sarantis 93). This will ensure that "the social evils of such profound economic imbalances (e.g., rising inequality, exploitation, de-democratization or even war)" (Sarantis 92) are prevented.

Actually, Varoufakis champions a less pessimistic version of separation than the irrevocable divorce between politics and power advocated by Zygmunt Bauman over the last two

decades. According to Bauman, politics has become local with very limited resources for governance, whereas power is transnational and extraterritorial, embodying and utilizing financial instruments. In these circumstances, the trick is that the ordinary citizens (the always law-abiding as well as those ready to protest at any moment and even resort to civil disobedience) can complain only to the local political authorities. These concerns and complaints, however, cannot be taken into consideration in principle, because the real power to address them (in the best scenario when someone cares at all) is in the hands of anonymous extraterritorial elites.

What remains within the individual's power and capabilities in the current society of consumers is the image of one's own subjectivity seemingly opening unconstrained opportunities in all areas of life. This rosy picture, however, is nothing more than yet another self-deception like Karl Marx's commodity fetishism. Commodity fetishism conceals in a converted form social relationships permeating each and every commodity, whereas what Bauman calls "subject fetishism" (Bauman 14–15) conceals also in a converted form "the most closely guarded secret of the society of consumers" (Bauman 1), which turns out to be "the transformation of consumers into commodities" (Bauman 12). Commodification of subjects, citizens, individuals, and human beings in general not only prevents conscientious Europeans from acting meaningfully within Varoufakis's and Horvat's DiM25 but creates a delusionary reality prone to the total disorientation of those who live and believe in it.

This is the prophetic premonition that Berman ascribes to the post-1989 Central and Eastern European revolutionaries who are aware that the capital of the victors of the cold war is not so much Washington as Hollywood (252). Marx's concept of "converted forms" being real and at the same self-delusive, that is, false, is transformed by the prominent connoisseur of the American movie industry, Jean Baudrillard, into the term "simulacrum." Simulacrum is hyper-reality, which is an imitation hiding the lack of any original and/or refers to creating according to a special code an artificial reality to substitute for the absent "genuine reality." In the realm of hyperreality, the most essential

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characteristic of any reality, the causal relationship, is radically transformed following the ancient sophism of *aequat causa effectum* where cause and effect exchange their places or causality is changed beyond all recognition so that the principle of causality itself becomes irrelevant and evaporates altogether (Baudrillard 31, 38). Furthermore, the entire domains of ontological categories and logical rules are blurred, reaching the point of unconstrained fantastic materialization of the code of simulacrum. A peculiar masquerade is applied in order to inject some plausibility into the void of hyperreality. This could be staging a pseudo-war in order to hide the lack of any potential for and likelihood of a real war (the first Gulf military campaign) or to stress the importance of a certain government's power and the various attempts to usurp it and the tremendous danger of it being usurped, where, actually, there is no power at all (Baudrillard 77). Along the same lines goes the launching of the fashionable term "fake news" with the sole goal of distinguishing between true and false news. It is taken for granted, as a self-evident commonplace, that "fake news" refers to lies and distortions in the news, implying that the area remaining free of fake news is by logical necessity populated by true news. However, if Baudrillard's deciphering key is applied, it will become crystal clear that there is no news at all, neither false nor true, but that what we witness in the media is no more than artefacts delivered by the code of the simulacrum.

An illusionary or, more precisely, schizophrenic sensitivity is spread, according to Fredric Jameson, in the contemporary postmodern capitalist society due to the fascination with the unrestrained personal freedom imitating the "freedom" of markets; with unlimited opportunities for the smart, hard-working, and lucky; and with charms of virtually endless consumption and the magic of creating capital *ex nihilo* on derivatives exchanges. The sense of history has been desperately lost in the entire postmodern culture as even the feeling of time passing by has been abandoned, leaving room only for the luminous monstrosity of the eternity-like present. The postmodern culture is totally determined by the irresistible power of financial capitalism. Cultural phenomena are tailored to the needs of capital in order to transmit its demands and orders of indisputable truth to postmodern individuals while

at the same time suggesting that every thought and every action performed by them is an outcome of personal deliberation and choice. In a more sober (or perhaps more utopian) manner, Jameson does not rely on the unlikely "global surplus recycling mechanism (GSRM)" of Varoufakis in order to break free from the bonds of the capitalist psychosis and restore the sense of temporality and normal historical reality. For Jameson, it would suffice to succeed in creating a new cultural sphere independent of the interference of capital which would grant postmodern individuals a special liberation and mental stability within the realm of existing capitalist relationships (1–54).

All leftist scenarios of post-1989 development consider and try to predict the relationship between the ruling elites (exercising their authority either overtly or behind the scenes) and the ruled population. Paul Ricoeur views this relationship from the perspective of social imagination and the imaginary. The relationship between the rulers and the ruled is never immediate; it is always mediated by the imagination. Moreover, imagination manages to carry out this mediation through its two "pathological" forms, ideology and utopia. Ideology is summoned to bridge the gap between the potential of the rulers and the demands of those below, whereas utopias "reveal the unstated surplus value attached to authority and unmask pretension inherent in all systems of legitimation" (130, 132). Ideology operates via social integration and utopia via social subversion. They both feature social dysfunction, which in ideology is manifested as distortion and dissimulation, whereas in utopia it tends towards schizophrenia. In a truly Hegelian manner, Ricoeur views the interconnection between these two versions of imagination, pointing out that ideology happens to play the role of subversion and utopia to work for social integration (127–134). In this line of thought, the self-awareness of those below, even if they perceive themselves as citizens and not subjects, is usually inclined to express itself as utopia, as ideology, or as a "healthy" dialectical blend of ideology *cum* utopia.

In the radical left today, the acclaimed champions of the sociopolitical theory beyond any ideology and utopia are no doubt Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt. They have created a multivolume study describing in detail, aptly analyzing, and clearly elucidating the global

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domination over and subjugation of the population. Their theoretical findings are structured in a coherent and comprehensive system called "Empire." The authors make sure their readers do not take this term as a metaphor but consider it as a concept with a specific cognitive function. Empire is a truly global tendency that does not coincide with any country or group of countries. Empire's rule has no borders, not only in space but in time, because it "suspends history" and is inclined to proclaim the current order forever. It rules not only society and politics, but also tries to control human nature; that is why its total rule is characterized as "biopower" (*Empire* xiv-xv). In the second book of the series, on the development and future transformation and surmounting of the Empire, entitled *Multitude*, they intend "to work out the conceptual basis on which a new project of democracy can stand" (*Multitude* xvii). The possibility for democratic change emerges dialectically out of the imperial power: Empire through its global domination secures conditions for the multitude (the wretched of the world) to communicate, organize, and look beyond the imperial sovereignty, planning and carrying out the postmodern revolution of overthrowing the Empire and restoring democracy. Hardt and Negri allude to the Marxian *doxa* about the proletariat being the only fully progressive and truly universal class capable of emancipating not only itself, but all of humanity, including the bourgeoisie, in a classless society aimed not at profit but at the realization of the human essence. They argue that the multitude, unlike all other "limited class formations," possess the potential to reestablish democracy (*Multitude* xvii-xvii). The fundamental possibility for this radical transformation is due to the notion of "common." It turns out that this notion adopts Hegelian speculative thinking in full as it overcomes the abstract unilateral opposition between private and public, socialist and capitalist. Hardt and Negri understand by common "first of all the common wealth of the material world" in ecological and socioeconomic terms. Moreover, common becomes the economic and political ground of the radically new form of democracy, sublating (*Aufhebung*) private and public, socialism and capitalism, while not annihilating them altogether but keeping their essentiality in a transformed, mutually depen-

dent, and subordinated form of moments within the integrated totality of the emancipating common (*Commonwealth* viii-ix).

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PANORAMA OF LEFTIST IDEAS

The above leftist positions on the post-1989 social and political developments are reflected on by Domenico Losurdo in his harsh and uncompromising critique expressed in *La sinistra assente. Crisi, società dello spettacolo, guerra* (*Compliant Left. Crises, Society of Spectacle, War*). The political left nowadays, in his opinion, abides in a delusion of being critical and unbiased, while, in fact, it shares the conceit and arrogance of the political and economic elites of the First World. This is true, according to Losurdo, with respect to the moderate left as well as to the radical left since both these currents extended support for the "color revolutions" and the uprisings in Syria and Libya (Losurdo 279–280). The most prominent intellectuals of the left, mentioned above, Hardt and Negri, embarrassed themselves and undermined their critical anti-establishment stance by gullibly supporting the "humanitarian" bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999 (279). Hardt and Negri's stance is not a lamentable inconsistency among the ranks of the radical left but an eloquent example showing the universal essence of this kind of intellectual and political position. More often than not, intellectuals on the left (who, as a rule, belong to academia) undertake actions that contradict their goals, dexterously reducing their own efforts and zeal to sheer nullity (279–280). As an irrefutable illustration of Losurdo's 2014 assessment, one can observe Žižek's well-intended appeals for class solidarity with the various immigrants into Germany and Scandinavia from 2015 on, who are designated as "Syrians." In this case, he displays surprising short-sightedness for a thinker of his rank, omitting the crucial detail that the class predicament of the immigrants (incorrectly referred to as "refugees") is exploited for the sake of the total annihilation of the remnants of the social state in Europe as well as of the liquidation of the seriously "sick" European civilization as a whole. The same is true of Greek radical-left Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras, whose "compromised stance probably does more damage than good to the prospects of the Left for now" (*What Does Europe Want?* 82).

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The irredeemable sin of the left, based on their delusive (or treacherous) general attitude, is, first of all, the uncritical readiness to follow the Western agenda and "sacred" calendar regularly commemorating the tragedy of Tiananmen Square, but not of Kwangju, where an uprising occurred in a similar manner resulting in an even larger number of victims (280). Worse than that, left-wing academia willingly embrace the incantations and mantras about the *Charter of Human Rights*, showing doubtless signs of dementia and conceit concerning social and economic rights as well as *"la libertà dal bisogno"* (freedom from misery) and *"la libertà dalla paura"* (freedom from fear). Losurdo's final conclusion is absolutely clear in stating that the political left today is characterized by confusion and dispersion and is not up to its mission in the contemporary world. This state of affairs urgently demands a thorough analysis of the plight of the left and the measures to take to elaborate a truly leftist position (280).

Berman highlights the ideological perplexities of the 1968 revolution in Europe: "They championed Young Marx against Old Marx; Hegel against Engels; Marx against Lenin; Lenin against Stalin; left-wing humanism against scientific leftism" (221). The 1989 upheaval with its slogans of neoliberalism seems to stand on clearer and more stable theoretical grounds. Nevertheless, the results it has produced are evaluated by different thinkers in the diametrically opposed modes of a "velvet" and of a "gangster" revolution ("The 1989 Gangster Revolution, Revisited"). Although we do not agree with either of these terms, the element of organized crime denoted by the last one captures the quintessence of the *deus ex machina* transformations of that period. The dissident leaders of the 1989 revolution in most cases emerged from the ranks of those endowed with governing power in Central and Eastern Europe. Their activities were directed against the "communist" state and against the "communist" legal system but also against any legal system, including the one adopted by the democratic regimes (with a tacit or, in most cases, with the quite articulated consent of the democratic governments).[2] The innovative trans-

2. The term 'gangsters' is not accurate as it points out to infringement of the law, whereas the devastating transformations in Central and Eastern Europe could be considered immoral but, as a rule, were carried out within

formers dismantling the one-party political system and planned economy, while erecting the radiant edifice of the multi-party democracy and market economy, made achievements of such eminence that they easily surpass Samuel Beckett's and Eugene Ionesco's wildest fantasies:

> Yes, life under communist regimes was nothing to be envious about. But, after all, what replaced them was a society still controlled by the same people serving the populace different lies through the Western puppet show known as "parliaments, parties, and platforms." In Eastern Europe, the puppet show as often as not was and is so maladroitly played that it oftentimes looks like a French absurdist rendition of Punch and Judy. ("The 1989 Gangster Revolution, Revisited")[3]

The mediocre quality of the show in the East is not due so much to the lack of talent and lackadaisical attitude of the director and the cast as to the same well-known wind of changes, which has brought to the center and east of Europe the blessings of the future a decade or so in advance of the rest of the continent and the British Isles. The present of Eastern Europe is the future of the West still lagging behind.[4] The aim of the revolutionary innovative transformers has not been to rule the state in a new manner but to eradicate the national state and construct participatory communes in its place (Katsiaficas 297) or establish an ensemble of citizen associations strong enough to effectively deal with (Charles Taylor's notion of civil society) and, finally, get rid of the national state altogether. However, these communes and citizen associations cannot be of a grassroots sort but solely

a newly adopted legal system not necessarily approved of by the democratic countries. In this sense, the leaders of these transformations cannot be referred to as "criminals," that is, "gangsters." This is why we suggest the term "innovative transformers."

3. In my opinion, the term *deus ex machina* is more appropriate than "puppet show."

4. Johnny Cash in his 1966 single "The One on the Right is on the Left" providentially foresees the political mish-mash that will emerge first in the east of Europe and then will permeate the Western World:

> Well, the one on the right was on the left
> And the one in the middle was on the right
> And the one on the left was in the middle
> And the guy in the rear burned his driver's license

of a top-down nature, thus elegantly synthesizing criminal activities with legal clauses so that the classical mafia enterprises modestly look like *un divertimento dei fanciulli innocenti* (an amusement of innocent infants). Nevertheless, the top representatives of the leftist academia after 1968 and after 1989 seem to have overlooked the critical nature of the outcomes of both revolutionary periods and these academics are not up to the critical stance Losurdo believes is a must for a genuine leftist agenda. Leftist theory and practice thus remains a work-in-progress.

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MODES AND MOVES OF PROTEST

Crowds and Mobs in Nathan Hill's *The Nix*

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The role of mass protest constitutes one of the most central and at the same time controversial elements that have characterized American culture ever since the very foundation of the United States, and even prior to its formation. Central, because American history presents significant waves of collective protest movements, palimpsetically symptomatic of various forms of popular discontent as opposed to the relative structure of state power; chronologically speaking, one of the first cases of contrast between the collective popular dimension and authorities dates back to the March 5th, 1770, Boston Massacre, when—exasperated by the Townshend Acts passed by the English Parliament—a group of colonial subjects protested and provoked a squad of British soldiers whom, intimidated by the crowd's aggressive potential, opened fire on the unarmed civilians, killing five people and wounding six more. Several other cases redolent of such dialectics have permeated US history up until the contemporary period, for example, the Shays's Rebellion (1787), the New York Draft Riots (1863), the Houston Riot (1917), the whole anti-Vietnam War pacifistic movement during the 1960s and 1970s, and, most recently, the Occupy Movement, which erupted in New York on November 17th, 2011.

At the same time, the collective manifestation of dissent has recurrently proved to be controversial, since despite—or because of—its historical persistence, American mass protest has constantly generated a bias about the radical potential of mobs

and crowds, thus constructing an opposition—both practical and rhetorical—between popular subversive tensions, and a more elitist "conservative" and self-preserving struggle, whose aim has been that of containing the popular tensions in order to prevent them from disrupting the social order.[1] Ronald P. Formisano contends that "after 1789 the Revolution continued to serve as a template for popular action" (Formisano 2008: 44), and Jeremy Engels seems to agree as he identifies the origins of the "American demophobia" during the American Revolution, describing it as a fear of the revolutionary elites for the potential radicalism[2] of the people and their claims of sovereignty which ignited a "long history of wars meant to secure the borders of the demos and eliminate the foreign influences that might prey on democratic weakness"[3] (Engels 2010: 19).

The centrality of mass protest in American culture is reflected in terms of literary representation and constitutes a recurrent element of interest in the most demophobic XIX century American classics, such as Edgar Allan Poe's "The Man of the Crowd" (1840), and Nathaniel Hawthorne's "My Kinsman Major, Molineaux" (1831), including also some well-known occurrences in the XX century, such as John Steinbeck's *In Dubious Battle*, published in 1936, or Nathaniel West's 1939 novel, *The Day of the Locust.* Grounding on the work by J. S. McClelland,[4] in her *The Aesthetics and Politics of the Crowd in American Literature*, Mary Esteve recognizes the same biased perception of crowds and mobs in the way they are narrated, namely

1. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri associate the ensemble of nation-state structure to the notion of empire to which the multitudes are naturally juxtaposed. Hardt and Negri claim that the multitudes' struggles "have produced Empire as an inversion of its own image and who now represent on this new scene an uncontainable force and an excess of value with respect to every form of right and law" (Hardt and Negri 2000: 394).
2. I make reference to Gordon S. Wood's groundbreaking *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (1992). According to Wood, "If we measure the radicalism by the amount of social change that actually took place—by transformations in the relationships that bound the people to each other—then the American Revolution was not conservative at all" (Wood 1992: 14).
3. As Larry Reynolds affirms, "the demonization of one's enemies often constituted the cultural justification for inflicting violence on them" (Reynolds 2008: 23).
4. See McClelland, J.S. *The Crowd and the Mob. From Plato to Canetti*. Unwin Hyman, 1989.

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from an antagonistic point of view opposed to the "prevailing political practices:" not surprisingly, "these crowds had a crucial discursive role to play, one that, for reasons elaborated below, can be termed aesthetic. Such figures of the crowd did ultimately bear political meaning, but it was a negative meaning; it entailed the negation of their place at the political-liberal table" (Esteve 2003: 3).

Building on Esteve's reflection, the starting point of the present research resides in the problematic circularity which characterizes crowds and mobs in American culture. As a matter of fact, protesting crowds embody dissent in the American people, but, at the same time, the tangible consequences of their actions impact the social order in which the American people live. In other words, the manifestation of dissent may be read both as a claim for democratic rights and as a degeneration of those same rights which results in anarchic mobocracies. The same process can be detected in the opposite perspective, namely when crowds are repressed by the state military power—the example, *par excellence*, of a repressive state apparatus—within a sort of "state of exception," following a classic Althusserian formulation: "The state is a machine of repression, which enables the ruling classes [...] to ensure their domination over the working class" (2008: 11). Containment and repression of the citizen's right to protest are considered as justifiable measures inasmuch as they can protect the rest of the citizens' rights. This form of circularity—both from the standpoint of mobs and from that of the authorities—is the prerogative of an endocrine system of relationships. Such a condition changed dramatically in 2001, when post 9/11 rhetoric on the "War on Terror" and the spread of terrorist suicidal attacks all over the world contributed to "open" the American self-perception of society, transforming the system from endocrine to exocrine. This shift of paradigm has originated two new ongoing narratives: first, the irruption of an external dangerous entity, and second, the subsequent transformation of any American crowd from a potential threat to social order, to a potential victim of an external danger.[5]

5. Although the turning point which determined a reconfiguration of American crowds as potential targets is unanimously identified with the 9/11 attack on the Twin Towers, this vision has been significantly consolidated by other

In the light of these premises, the purpose of this essay is to demonstrate the emergence of this new and historically peculiar connotation of crowds and mobs in America, and in particular, how the notion of victimhood should be considered not as a substitute to that of the persecutor, but rather as a complement. Mass protests do not cease to be perceived as a possible threat to social order, as Gustave Le Bon argues by stating that "Crowds are only powerful for destruction" (2002, xiii), but they acquire a new trait of consideration from the state power, that of a potential target to aim at (and thus, a potential victim to protect): the two connotations co-exist dialectically. Such a binary nature of American crowds in the light not only of their disruptive power but also of their victimhood, stands out in Nathan Hill's recent novel *The Nix*, published in 2016. The first section of this essay will be dedicated to underlining this duality. In the second part, descriptions of mobs from *The Nix* will be compared with some of the most canonical "demophobic" texts of the Classic American literary tradition—Poe's "The Man of the Crowd," Hawthorne's "My Kinsman, Major Molineaux"—in order to understand where Hill's crowds' dual identity detaches itself from their traditional literary paradigm.

The Nix narrates the story of Samuel Anderson, an English associate professor who works in a small city college in Chicago, and whose monotonous life is mainly characterized by, first, a deep passion for *World of Elfscape*, an online role-playing video game to which he devotes the majority of his spare time, second, a discouraged love for his childhood sweetheart, Bethany, his best friend's twin sister, and finally, a never-resolved relationship with his mother, who abandoned him, along with his father, when he was still a child. The book starts in 2011 when Faye, Samuel's runaway mother, suddenly becomes famous for being charged after throwing pebbles at the Republican Trumpish presidential candidate, Sheldon Packer. Thanks to her instantaneous celebrity, Samuel meets his mother and tries to reconstruct her life ever since she had left him in 1988, all the way back to 1968, and in particular,

attacks which took place in the following years, both in the United States—such as the Boston Marathon Bombing, on April 15th, 2013—and in Europe, for example, the attack to the Bataclan theatre which occurred on November 13th, 2015 in Paris.

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to the Chicago Democratic Convention protests, in whose events he discovers she had participated. The novel is structured on three different chronological levels, corresponding to the three years above-mentioned, and posits a strong relation of concordance between 1968 counter-culture mass protest, and the 2011 Occupy Wall Street eruption, which is observed as the nearer against the grain of the latter.

The second part of the 1968 section of *The Nix* is set at the core of the Chicago rallies mobilized on occasion of the Democratic National Convention, and pictures what was defined as the "pitched battle," namely a peak of violence and chaos between the agents of the Chicago Police Department that took place in front of the Conrad Hilton Hotel, where the convention was being held. Hill's depiction of the "pitched battle" seems to perfectly illustrate the double and dialectical nature of crowds and mobs, first as victims of repression, then as a practically destructive force. Throughout the entire scene, the voice and the point of view correspond to those of the CBS reporters who film and comment "live" upon the moves of the Chicago crowd and of the Chicago PD. Even before any form of mutual aggression between the two parts, the element that emerges more vehemently concerns the atmosphere, which the reporters describe as entirely permeated by a "pure combative sensation" (Hill 2016: 494). The reader perceives such a feeling through the warlike descriptive mode that characterizes the section: the reporters and live images in the news are reported from cameras secured to helicopters that fly over the area. The aircrafts are recurrently defined as "choppers," thus adapting the military lexicon in use in Vietnam, to the civilian context of the time, thus suggesting an implicit level of militarization of the "home front."

Yet, the "combative sensation" transpares very evidently in the representation of the mob of protesters and the police forces, which are accurately described in the military way they deploy and move, thus suggesting their latent violent and aggressive potential. The first section to reify this tension is almost entirely composed of women: "girls walking south in the middle of the street. This is action. This is news untouched. Especially now as a cop car rolls up and instead of dispersing like they ought to the girls actually attack the cop car! Jabbing at the siren with baseball bats!

Breaking the windows with rocks! [...] Then the girls all gather on the car and it looks like a bunch of ants surrounding a beetle ready to devour it" (Hill 2016: 487). The action of the women is univocal and regiment-like: they move together and occupy the public space in a militaristic way, at first moving together, then attacking collectively as one sole being. As the section proceeds, the potentially destructive force of the mob becomes explicit and degenerates to the point that their violence is dehumanized and described through a brutal natural metaphor.

Later on, the aerial perspective of the reporters anticipates to the reader a panoramic vista of what the crowd of rioters will face: "About a hundred cops in riot gear wait for the girls, and behind them a platoon of National Guardsmen in gas masks, holding rifles with fucking daggers attached to the barrels, and behind them this monstrous metal thing with nozzles on the front like some kind of terrible Zamboni from the future that the TV folks tell them the purpose of, which is gas. Tear gas. A thousand gallons" (Hill 2016: 493). When the mob of women and the regiment of riot policemen reciprocally enter into each other's visual field, the aggressive crowd switches roles and converts into the victim of the police's repression, and tries to disperse: "But the police are on the move now. Nightsticks out, riot helmets down, and running, *sprinting*, and when the girls understand what is about to happen their big march breaks apart, like a rock exploded by gunshot, pieces of it flying off in every direction. Some girls head back from the direction they came, only to be cut off by a paddy wagon and a squadron of cops who anticipated this very move" (Hill 2016: 494). The militaristic connotation of this scene, as it is epitomized by the metaphor of a stone, the protester's weapon *par excellance*, the symbol of the Palestinian *Intifada*, exploded into fragments by a bullet, is symbolically representative of the police repression.

The increasing tension that permeates the scene is exasperated and set to explode as the police fires tear gas, thus causing an unregulated move by the mob:[6]

6. In Stephen King's short story "Hearts in Atlantis," which gives the title to the entire collection, the protagonist Peter Riley suggests some survival tips he reports to have learned during the 1968 Chicago protests, and he focuses

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> The gas was fired—purposefully or accidentally, it's not known—so that it landed behind most of the crowd, which means the only way to avoid the misery of the gas is to run the other way, in the direction of Michigan Avenue and the Conrad Hilton and the vast police blockades, and so the volume problem is that there are way more people wanting to be on Michigan Avenue than there is currently space on Michigan Avenue for these people. It's your unstoppable force meeting its immovable object, the body mass of ten thousand protestors running headlong into the teeth of the Chicago PD. (Hill 2016: 520)

The conclusion of these few lines unveils the evolution of the events. The police forces are alluded to as a ferocious animal, and, by consequences, the rioters are reshaped as a victim which runs straight "into the teeth of the Chicago PD," whose repressive mode, in turn, reaches its peak of efficiency and violence: "The protestors yell 'Peace!' or 'I'm not resisting!' and they hold up their hands, palms out, surrendering, but the cop clobbers them anyway, in the head, the neck, the belly" (Hill 2016: 530), and the reporters themselves explicitly denounce what the mob-victim is subjected to, namely a state-of-exceptional suspension of the civil rights imposed by the police. The reporters establish a comparison between the events in Chicago and the Soviet occupation of Prague, which occurred only a few days before the Democratic Convention, on August 20th and 21st, not only underlining the military connotation of the intervention but also signaling the momentary exceptional interruption of democracy. "In Chicago, in 1968, I learned that cops can beat the shit out of you no matter how well you cover up" (King 1999: 244), sharply recollects Peter Riley in Stephen King's *Heart in Atlantis*, and Hill depicts a fairly similar situation:

> Police are beating people with impunity, the journalists say on CBS News. They demand transparency. Accountability. They say the police have removed their badges and hidden their faces because they know what they're doing is illegal. Comparisons are made to the Soviets rolling into Prague earlier this year, running down and overwhelming the poor Czechs. The Chicago PD is acting like that, the journalists say. It's Czecho-

on tear gas and nightsticks: "I learned that you should try to get downwind of teargas and breathe slowly through a handkerchief or a bandanna if you couldn't do that. I learned that when the nightsticks come out, you want to fall on your side, draw your knees up to your chest, and cover the back of your head with your hands" (King 1999: 244).

slovakia west. Czechago is a word it does not take long for someone clever to make up (Hill 2016: 515).

The last part of the "pitched battle" section shows another and more extreme case in which the mob's role switches again from that of the victim to that of the perpetrator, thus actualizing its latent destructive potential. In the middle of the "battle," Officer Brown, a disturbing secondary character who had been persecuting Faye during the days before the manifestation for sentimental issues, spots the girls in the riot and aims at her in order to beat her and revenge his frustrated obsession for her. Brown intentionally crosses the police cordon and addresses a group of protesters all gathered against the glass walls of the Conrad Hilton Hotel. Within a few instants, when Brown is about to strike Faye's head with his nightstick, more tear gas is shot from the rear. Already familiar with the effects of the gas, the crowd automatically reacts and moves unpredictably, in part counter-charging the police, in part trying to escape. The force of the crowd's motion causes the glass walls of the Hilton to crash: "The window doesn't even really crack so much as explode sharply everywhere all at once. And Faye and the cop and the great rush of protestors pushing themselves against it all collapse and tumble backward into the people and smoke and music of the Haymarket Bar" (Hill 2016: 530). The episode hyperbolically demonstrates the unpredictability of a mob's action and the circularity of its status: on the one hand, one of the consequences of the collective action is to let Faye free to escape from Brown, in a way protecting her from the police repressive violence; yet, on the other hand, the mob is also responsible for a tragic accident: once the tear gas is shot, Brown is pushed backward from the mob against the crashed glass shards which damage his spine and provoke his irreversible partial paralysis.

Some of the most prominent dynamics that Nathan Hill outlines in his representation of the relationship between the people and the authorities, share several of the same traits that the classic American literary tradition presents in dealing with mobs and crowds. The depiction and conceptualization of crowds imply a central preoccupation in the American mind, that of preserving unaltered the rights and principles that regulate the mythical "people"

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of the United States.[7] Such a notion was invented in the revolutionary years and crystallized in *The Declaration of Independence* as well as in the US Constitution. Although several authors praised the importance of masses in American democracy, such as Lydia Maria Child in her *Letters from New York* (1841), or Walt Whitman in *Democratic Vistas* (1871),[8] the "passionate impulses"[9] of the collectivity constituted a constant element of anxiety for other classic American authors, Edgar Allan Poe and Nathaniel Hawthorne in particular.

As Esteve contends, though for different socio-political readings of their contemporary epoch, both of them develop "demophobic vistas." Again, according to Esteve, their negative perception of crowds is associable to a change of cultural paradigm: "the aesthetic relation to the crowd is more akin to the sublime than the beautiful in that the crowd takes on qualities of a startlingly powerful nature, through its inanimacy, impersonality, and size" (Esteve 2003: 16). Later on in her book, Esteve integrates her aesthetic interpretation of crowds with a more political and contingent reading, and she resorts to Chantal Mouffe's notion of "extreme pluralism," namely a "multiplicity of identities without any common denominator, and it is impossible to distinguish between differences that exist but should not exist and differences that do not exist but should exist" (Mouffe 1996: 30).

7. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri argue that "The concept of the People no longer functions as the organized subject of the system of command, and consequently the identity of the People is replaced by the mobility, flexibility, and perpetual differentiation of the multitude. This shift demystifies and destroys the circular modern idea of the legitimacy of power by which power constructs from the multitude a single subject that could then in turn legitimate that same power" (Hardt and Negri 2000: 344).

8. Whitman's fascination for collectivity stands out as one of his primary elements of interest in "Song of Myself:" his positive reading of collective action should not surprise in the light of the several references that the poet proposes about the multitudes that he can contain (not limited to stanza 51).

9. This expression was used by Nathaniel Hawthorne in his essay, "Chiefly About War Matters," published in 1862, and it implied a condemnation of those impulses inasmuch as they posed a danger for civil society. Larry J. Reynolds affirms that "For Hawthorne, strong feelings not under the control of the intellect posed a grave threat not only to individuals but also to societies and nations" (Reynolds 2008: 15).

The integration of a sublime descriptive mode and a political understanding of mobs' chaotic agency is particularly evident in two aspects that emerge from Edgar Allan Poe's "The Man of the Crowd" and Nathaniel Hawthorne's "My Kinsman, Major Molineaux." The most strikingly descriptive strategy that both short stories share is the large use of water-related imagery, a choice which is able, at the same time, to convey a sublime reverential fear for the power of nature, and, in sociological terms, to successfully describe the collective action of a mob. In "The Man of the Crowd," the narrator describes the streams of people moving in London and, at a certain point, he reports that "the throng momently increased; and, by the time the lamps were well lighted, two dense and continuous tides of population were rushing past the door" (Poe 1841). Every time the narrator refers to the crowd of Londoners, he is fascinated by the absolute impossibility to apply distinctive categories to the mass of people: "There was nothing very distinctive," he claims, thus alluding once again to the homogeneous uniformity of water, whose components are—almost pointless to underline—indistinguishable.

The same imagery is hinted at in "My Kinsman, Major Molineaux." During the second half of the tale, Robin Molineaux comes across a mob of villagers who have tarred and feathered his kinsman, Major Molineaux. The young protagonist is dragged into the group of people and later on, he "started, and withdrew his arm from the stone post to which he had instinctively clung, as the living stream rolled by him." As in the case of "The Man of the Crowd," Hawthorne connotes the raging mobs by underlining its uniformity as well as its destructive potential, a vision which permeates his literary production: as a matter of fact, according to Larry Reynolds, "Hawthorne possessed a constitutional aversion to abrupt change, in whatever form it came—personal, social, political. Although he appreciated the vitality evident in mass transformative action, it also evoked his anxiety and resistance, especially when it involved crowds and mobs" (Reynolds 2008: 14).

What emerges quite strikingly in *The Nix*, following a pattern structured upon water-related metaphors and similes, is a certain solution of continuity that connects Hill's way of dealing with multitudes and the classics. In the main scene of the Chicago protest,

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the rally is described as a "moving human river [that] pressed at all sides and sometimes even lifted off her feet for a moment and carried, a sensation like swimming or floating, before being dropped again" (Hill 2016: 527). Later on, the narrative perspective of the CBS reporters continues and states that "the crowd is too thick, the current too strong," and when the report portrays the pitched battle in front of the Conrad Hilton, the depiction says that "The first of them flow onto Michigan Avenue and into the walls of the Conrad Hilton like runaway waves. They splash onto the concrete and brick and they're pinned there as the police recognize that something has shifted in the rhetoric of the day" (Hill 2016: 527).

In a sense, one might argue that Nathan Hill's implication of a watery semantic area is broader and more articulated than in classic demophobic texts, and at the same time, Hill's use is probably more aware; during the riot, a journalist declares: "Imagine a single drop of water: that's the protest. Now put that drop of water into a bucket: that's the protest movement. Now drop that bucket into Lake Michigan: that's Reality" (Hill 2016: 512).

In conclusion, in his depictions of contemporary mobs and crowds, Nathan Hill does not entirely subvert the American demophobic literary tradition. In fact, his reconstruction of the 1968 Chicago protests shares a considerable amount of elements—both thematic and linguistic—which had pertained to several canonical authors of the first half of the XIX century (not limited to Poe and Hawthorne, but extensible to Washington Irving and, partially, to Herman Melville). Yet, what Hill seems to suggest in relation to the evolution of American history and the weakening of the US exceptional state narrative which had lost its virginal aura of righteousness,[10] is a shift in the ethics of mass protest. In particular, where tradition had always connoted collective actions as forms of resistance to the legitimacy of the US government, Hill proposes a provocative twist in which, although the antagonism remains the same, it is the legitimacy of the state's prerogative that is contested. In other words, Hill does not contradict the potentially disruptive power of mobs, but at the same time, he does not proclaim the infallibility

10. See Pease, Donald E. *The New American Exceptionalism*. University of Minnesota Press, 2009.

of the state's repressive mode, which he compares to the Soviet regime. In addition to that, the examination of the 1968 protests against the grain of the Occupy Movement implies an automatic reconsideration of the legitimacy of the protesters' standpoint: the Occupy activists defined themselves as "the 99%," claiming de facto to represent the unanimity of the population, thus theoretically interrupting the paradox of a popular movement whose protest might negatively affect the conditions of the rest of the people.

As a consequence, Hill's historical contingency undoubtedly influenced his reconfiguration of mass protest, confirming their dual nature as both a subversive force and a victim. Such a divergent conceptualization of mobs and crowds constitutes the most significant aspect of transformation that exists between classic American demophobic texts and *The Nix*. Paradoxically though, despite his representation of the circular nature of mobs, Nathan Hill succeeds where authors such as Irving, Poe, or Hawthorne "failed," that is in depicting the actual threat posed by an uncontrolled mob. In *The Nix*, the constant disruptive potential of mobs becomes explicit and dangerous (rather than *potentially* dangerous), whereas the most famous mob scenes in American literary tradition present mobs and crowds as bearers of latent dangers which never become actually explicit. At the same time, in the light of the historical contingency to which Hill belongs and which he represents, a redefinition in the role of mass protest has become necessary. The neo-populist wave,[11] at the core of which *The Nix* situates itself, requires a deeper process of scrutiny in the analysis of mass protest: every form of protest is indeed the result of the combination between form and content. If, on the one hand, form has historically proved to be a palimpsest structured on recurrent dynamics, as Formisano demonstrates, on the other hand, the content of a protest necessarily plays a fundamental part in the legitimization of a collective manifestation of dissent and posits the new deterritorialized categories according to which

11. I refer particularly to Jan-Werner Müller, *What is Populism?* : Unversity of Pennsylvania Press, 2016, Mark Rolfe, *The Reinvention of Populist Rhetoric in the Digital Age*. Palgrave & MacMillan, 2016, and James Ball. *Post-Truth. How Bullshit Conquered the World*. Biteback Publishing, 2017.

dissent should be addressed and understood beyond the modern dualistic limited vision of multitudes constituting either crowds, or mobs.

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"MEN FIRST, SUBJECTS AFTERWARD"

Thoreau, "Civil Disobedience," and the Thoreauvian Echoes of 1968 and After

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Reflecting on the abolitionist John Brown, whom he strongly supported and defended in the last years of his life, Henry David Thoreau noted that "the art of composition is as simple as the discharge of a bullet from a rifle, and its masterpieces imply an infinitely greater force behind them" ("The Last Days of John Brown" 71). Thoreau was referring to the truthfulness of man in relation to his speech, not the effect of man's words; but if *speaking the truth* was the issue—"this first, this second, this third" (71)—then it only follows naturally that such masterpieces of composition imply an infinitely greater force not only "behind them," but also resulting from them, evoked by them in future circumstances initially unpredictable. Thoreau fired his bullet in Concord Lyceum in the winter of 1848 by delivering a speech on the rights and duties of the individual in relation to the government, later to be known as "Civil Disobedience." His target then was very near, namely his fellow Americans, but—as always with Thoreau—it was universal, too.

Now, a hundred and seventy years later, we know sufficiently enough about Thoreau's powerful universal gunshot which zoomed across borders of both place and time in the course of the twentieth century: to India in the 1930s, to Denmark in the 1940s, and to Prague and Paris in the late 1960s. And, of course, to the United States in the 1960s. This was the time when a new generation of Americans commenced to envision themselves in a political context, which provoked a new interest in Thoreau's work and brought in the yet unknown figure of Thoreau the politi-

cal thinker and dissenter. Thus began Henry Thoreau's political reputation in the United States. Up until then, the single most famous fact of Thoreau's life had been perceived as his going off to Walden Pond in order to drive life into a corner; in the Sixties that was superseded by the night Thoreau spent in jail in order to drive the government into a corner. Thoreau became not only relevant, but almost a popular icon. "He became important to the reform impulse of the 1960s [Michael Mayer observes] and as that impulse spread, so did Thoreau's political reputation" (152). In these years *civil disobedience* was already a phrase used by everyone—from the Beats to the Hippies to the Pacifists; Martin Luther King's Civil Rights Movement was gaining force exactly through their use of civil disobedience, or active nonviolence (until violently cut short itself with King's assassination on April 4th, 1968). Certainly, the Thoreauvian echoes were clear—and clearly effective—in both the United States and Europe of the 1960s. And so were they in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s, when *civil disobedience* became the slogan of all the peaceful revolutions which led to the end of the socialist régime. Eastern Europe rephrased *civil disobedience* as the *Velvet Revolution* and subsequently entirely transformed the face of this part of the world.

Rather than discuss these more or less evident, well-known, and well-dealt with echoes of Thoreau's great political idea, I will consider Thoreau's idea itself as revealed by the recent reassessing contextualization (Robert W. T. Martin, W. Caleb McDaniel, Laura Dassow Walls, Daniel S. Malachuk, Jennet Kirkpatrick, Jack Turner, and others) of Thoreau's dissent. I will approach Thoreau's nonconformist gesture by articulating his concepts of civil disobedience and of wildness and will argue that this relation provides an additionally nuanced perspective towards the civic significance of both the gesture of dissent itself and the enormous social and political impact of the essay which explains it.

In his 1968 convocational speech entitled "Civilized Disobedience," Walter Harding, distinguished Thoreau scholar, and founder of the Thoreau Society back in 1941, emphatically declared that "[i]f 1775 and 1848 are known as the years of revolution, then 1968 will go down as the year of civil disobedience." Harding then continued:

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> It has been almost impossible any day of this year to pick up a copy of *The New York Times*, or in fact any other paper, without seeing someplace on the front page reference to civil disobedience in action whether at Columbia University, the Chicago Convention, the Pentagon, the streets of Paris, or Tokyo, Berlin, or Prague. (1)

Harding clearly states his own position as a speaker, as well as that of his 1968 upstate New York, predominantly academic audience: he will speak as a "good citizen" addressing his fellow "good citizens" in order to explain to them the essence of the idea of civil disobedience, which he defines as "a deliberate violation of a civil law *on moral grounds* with the willingness to take the consequences of that violation" (3). In the whole course of his convocational speech Harding provides arguments in favor of Thoreau's idea (including that civil disobedience is, in fact, a deeply positive act; it offers a viable method for bringing about the repeal of an immoral law when other alternatives are not available; it is a deliberate choice made for the sake of dramatizing the immorality of the law, and more). But at the same time—as a good citizen—he keeps warning his audience that civil disobedience is not and should not be taken as an all-applicable universal remedy. Thus, Harding insists, every good citizen should know that civil disobedience is to be practiced *only when* all ordinary channels of reform have been exhausted; that it must always be based on moral grounds and never be an objection merely for objection's sake; and that he who disobeys the law must maintain respect for his fellow citizens, must always keep an open mind, and must be certain that in obtaining his own rights he is not violating the rights of others (6–9). Harding is convinced that "Civil disobedience takes a courage that few people possess," just as he is convinced that "the majority and the government are usually in the right"—though "not always in the right." And he comes up with his 1968 example right away: "Look at Prague today. Who is right—the government which is permitting the Soviet to impose its will on the people or the young people who are leading the resistance movement there?" (9–10). Although Harding leaves the question unanswered, it is more than obvious that his sympathies lie with the young people of Prague. The fact remains, however, that his 1968 convocational speech

both defends civil disobedience and, at the same time, pleads for caution in using it.

"Civil disobedience must be *civilized* if it is to work," Harding insists, and therefore titles his speech not "Civil Disobedience" but "*Civilized* Disobedience." Because, he explains, "'civil' also means 'polite' and 'courteous'—and Thoreau was thinking of the word just as much in that sense too" (10). Of the last, however, we cannot be certain at all. Not simply because Thoreau's essay was first published as "Civil Disobedience" in 1866, four years after Thoreau's death – and so the title was most likely not even given by Thoreau – but also because in the last years of his life Thoreau openly supported John Brown, and thus vigorously defended actions of violence rather than non-violent resistance, not to speak of "politeness" and "courteousness." It seems that in the turmoil of 1968 Harding had found himself in the need of 'moderating,' or 'civilizing' Thoreau: hence, he would recognize the worldwide glory of Thoreau's civil disobedience firing of a gunshot, but would still wish to 'slow down' the bullet. Interestingly enough, in 2016 or almost half a century after Walter Harding's convocational speech, Richard J. Schneider published his study of Thoreau's work under the title *Civilizing Thoreau*. Schneider makes a different point than Harding's and is interested in what he calls Thoreau's 'human ecology,' or how Thoreau, in his own epoch's context of the emerging social sciences, applies ecological principles to both nature and society. Yet both authors, in their own ways, imply, in fact, that Thoreau and our thinking of Thoreau need some 'civilizing,' or, in other words, that 'civilizing' Thoreau is very much a matter of 'taming' Thoreau and our thinking of him and his ideas.

Had Henry Thoreau known about these interpretative impulses, he would certainly have been delighted: because what they suggest is very much the recognition of the 'wild,' if not even the too 'wild' Thoreau. All his life Thoreau had believed in and pleaded for 'wildness:' "wildness whose glance no civilization can endure" ("Walking" 129), as he put it in his late years. He advocated wildness of thinking and living, of mind and spirit, of nature and society, wildness of deliberate being beyond—sometimes even against—any disliked and morally unacceptable limitations. Such was the wildness Thoreau meant when he stated that "Life consists

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with Wildness" (130). Such was the *wild* Thoreau who spent a night in jail in the summer of 1846, and in the winter of 1848 addressed his fellow Concordians with a lecture later to be known as "Civil Disobedience." Perhaps in his peculiar phrasing Walt Whitman was paying 'wild' Thoreau the best tribute when he shared with his biographer that it was "his lawlessness—*his dissent*—his going his absolute own road let hell blaze all it chooses" to be the "one thing about Thoreau that keeps him very near to me" (Petrulionis 112).

By 1848, as Laura Dassow Walls notes in her outstanding 2017 biography of Thoreau, "A winter lecture by Henry Thoreau was becoming a regular feature of Concord life" (246). Thoreau was already a successful and respected lecturer when on January 26th, 1848 he stepped on the lyceum podium again, this time to explain, after eighteen months of simmering, why he had gone to jail rather than pay his poll tax. Bronson Alcott, Thoreau's fellow tax resister, had already sounded off at the lyceum about nonresistance. This, however, was different: "no one in town had taken the impractical Alcott [...] all that seriously," Laura Walls observes, "but Thoreau was one of Concord's own sons and they took him seriously indeed" (211). Moreover, the circumstances of his Walden life had already turned Thoreau into a celebrity: meeting Thoreau had become "an Event, the kind of thing one retailed to posterity" (195). By that time Henry Thoreau really (and in the very Winthropian sense, indeed) was in "the eyes of all people" and so he simply *had to* explain his action. He called his new lecture "The Rights and Duties of the Individual in Relation to Government," significantly transforming the title of a required reading at Harvard—William Paley's essay "On the Duty of *Submission* to Civil Government." Instead of sticking to Alcott's philosophy of 'nonresistance,' Thoreau uses Frederick Douglass to subvert Paley: he states that a smooth-running social machine is not an ultimate social good and when the smooth-running machine of civil government causes injustice, the citizen's moral duty is not submission, but resistance. Not surprisingly, in 1849 his essay was published under the new title "Resistance to Civil Government." Unlike Alcott and Charles Lane, followers of William Lloyd Garrison's "No-Government" movement, Thoreau asks for "not at once no government, but at once a better government"

("Civil Disobedience" 17); instead of pleading for passive resistance or non-resistance like his Concord neighbor, Thoreau advocates, even orders, *active resistance*: "If the injustice [...] is of such a nature that it requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then, I say, *break the law*. Let your life be a *counter-friction to stop the machine*. What I have to do is to see, at any rate, that I do not lend myself to the wrong which I condemn" (23).

Thoreau had used his own life as counter-friction to the machine. Ralph Waldo Emerson, his senior transcendentalist co-thinker, disapproved. What Thoreau did, Emerson thought "mean and skulking, and in bad taste," even "a step toward suicide" (Walls 212–252). Legend has it that Emerson visited Thoreau in jail and asked him "Why are you here?" to which Thoreau famously replied: "Why are you not?" Emerson couldn't possibly have imagined that it would be precisely civil disobedience—both the act and the essay—which would bring Thoreau his international fame. Neither could have Thoreau's neighbors, who, watching him and the impoverished Alcott family, came to dread the consequences of any acts of civil disobedience. However, Thoreau the dissenter, himself the counter-friction, took all the disapproval only as proving the need for "at once a better government," which would not inflict punishment on such civil dissenters as Alcott and himself, but would value them and protect their right to live according to—in his own phrasing from *Walden*—the "higher laws" in them. This echoes what is stated in "Civil Disobedience" as "They only can force me who obey a higher law than I" (28).

Thoreau had no doubt that, disapproval or not, he was taken seriously by his 1848 Concord audience, and so, provocatively enough, ended his lecture by imagining a truly just "State [...] which can afford to be just to all men, and to treat the individual with respect as a neighbor; which even would not think it inconsistent with its own repose, if a few were to live aloof from it, not meddling with it, not embraced by it" ("Civil Disobedience" 34). Thoreau's ideal state would not merely accept and protect such dissenting individuals as Alcott and himself, but would actually bear fruit in them—most precious, *wild* fruit; therefore such individuals would not be considered madmen, but would be treasured as redeemers. In these final lines of his lecture,

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Thoreau is clearly ready for the passionate support he will give to the wild rebel/redeemer John Brown ten years later. Moreover, in this concluding hymn of the individual in relation to the state, as well as, in fact, the whole essay, Thoreau speaks of the special, the 'chosen' individual who is a "higher and independent power" and whose disobedience, discontent, dissent therefore comes only naturally to make the progress of humankind happen. Thoreau's 'individual' is a civil dissenter, who *will not be civilized*, as this will annihilate him. This individual is *wild* in the sense of being uniquely nonconformist and extra-ordinary, a moral corrective in his own right. It is therefore both the right and the duty of such an individual to be resistant, or *act from principle*. And action from principle, Thoreau insists, or "the perception and the performance of right," is what "changes things and relations; it is essentially revolutionary, and does not consist wholly with anything which was." It divides states and churches, but not only them; "ay,"—Thoreau flares up,—"it divides the *individual*, separating the diabolical in him from the divine" (22). Such is the cathartic effect of action from principle that it even divides the indivisible, i.e. the *individual*. Thoreau's rhetorical power sets on fire the very etymology of the word, thus making his audience feel the energy he finds in true moral action: it redeems and purifies the government and the state, but also the one who performs it, the individual. So action from principle is above all a duty to oneself: to oneself as "man first and subject afterward" (17).

In his 1862 eulogy, Emerson set the tradition of interpreting Thoreau's essentially dissentient political mode. "Idealist as he was [Emerson observed] standing for abolition of slavery, abolition of tariffs, almost for abolition of government, […] he found himself not only unrepresented in actual politics, but almost equally opposed to every class of reformers" (*Thoreau* 346). Thoreau's cantankerous but idealist individuality, as outlined by Emerson, remains the first and best known style of Thoreau's political dissent. However, as Daniel Malachuk points out in an excellent essay on Thoreau's politics, recent contextualization reveals two more styles of Thoreau's dissent: one profoundly democratic, and another bafflingly utopian. Pointing out that in older histories of this period, focused on the rise of partisan politics, non-partisan higher-law

dissenters such as Nathaniel Rogers, Wendell Phillips, and Henry Thoreau were judged apolitical purists and usually simply ignored, Malachuk comments on recent Thoreau scholarship:

> More and more Thoreau's dissentient deeds have been reinterpreted as not just individually expressive but democratically significant [....] Scholars now find in Thoreau's published admiration of John Brown's radical egalitarianism only the most obvious expression of his democratic dissent; indeed, nearly every action Thoreau ever took seems lately to be proof of his relentless participation in democracy. (180)

But did Thoreau practice dissent exclusively *within* democracy? Malachuk asks, in order to conclude that perhaps Thoreau's third and greatest gift to us as a dissentient is not these familiar counter-democratic deeds—of individuality, of democracy—"but rather his astounding indifference to democracy itself [...]. Not *to confront* but *to walk alongside* becomes Thoreau's last and most nuanced style of dissent" (182). This is already Thoreau the utopian dissenter, the saunterer of the Holy Land from the late essay "Walking."

In the "Conclusion" of *Walden*, the book he kept working on until (literally) his last days, Thoreau writes:

> I delight to come to my bearings,—not walk in procession with pomp and parade, in a conspicuous place, but to walk even with the Builder of the universe, if I may,—*not to live in this restless, nervous, bustling, trivial Nineteenth Century, but stand or sit thoughtfully while it goes by.* (249)

In our own *restless, nervous, bustling, trivial* Twenty-First Century, when Thoreau's adjectives convey meaning even more intensely, we ought to know, respect, and continually contextualize all the worldwide civil disobedience echoes of Henry David Thoreau's dissentient politics during the whole course of the previous twentieth century: be they in India in the 1930s, in the United States in the 1960s, in Czechoslovakia in 1968/9, or throughout Eastern Europe in the late 1980s, when Thoreau's idea of a "peaceable revolution" was put into practice and successfully ended one of the darkest periods in human history. "If any such is possible," Thoreau had said about the peaceable revolution (25); the twentieth century certainly proved it possible. And if the twentieth century was mostly listening and responding to Thoreau the salubrious democrat and the obstructive individualist, perhaps the new

century will be able to hear more distinctly than before the echoes of the other style of Thoreau's dissent, that of "standing or sitting thoughtfully" aloof for the sake of preserving from too much 'civilizing' one's own inner wildness: because the delight of "coming to one's bearings," or of carefully maintaining a certain sense of direction in one's life is perhaps even more needed in our rather blurry time.

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INNER CITY BLUES

Blues Legacies and the Roots of 1968

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THE COMMITTEE AGAINST FORT APACHE

The Bronx is often associated with images of destruction and urban decline. Films like *Fort Apache, the Bronx* (Daniel Petri, 1981), *Wolfen* (Michael Wadleigh, 1981), *The Bonfire of the Vanities* (Brian De Palma, 1990) and others disseminated around the world images of ruins. In these films the message was clear: "To be stuck here was to be lost" (Rose 1994: 33). *Fort Apache, the Bronx,* a movie about crime in the South Bronx of the 1970s, from the perspective of the police, was attacked by a group of black and Puerto Rican activists who formed the Committee Against Fort Apache. The protest against this movie was inspired by previous traditions of oppositional politics such as the blues of the early 20th-century, the black women blues movement of the 1920s and 1930s, and all their derivatives like street funk and the inner-city blues of Stevie Wonder and Marvin Gaye.

One of the central elements of the Committee Against Fort Apache was to propose inter-ethnic alliances between black and Puerto Rican working-class communities in a moment of crisis in the inner-city. These alliances show the mutual influence of global social movements, music, and neighborhood-based organizations. The protest against the movie allows us to think about new racial formations that oppose US imperialism, racism, and mainstream sociological formulations which have contributed to the racialization of the black and Puerto Rican communi-

ties. In other words, the protest against Fort Apache proposed a counter-sociology in which politics and theory were stitched into the shared texture of the same struggle. This counter-sociology, to use George Lipsitz's words, is a form of "grass-roots theorizing" that gives a "theorized account of concrete historical reality" (Hall qtd. in Lipsitz 2001: 100).

EVELINA LÓPEZ ANTONETTY

Richie Perez, one of the organizers of the Committee Against Fort Apache, in an interview said that Evelina López Antonetty—the founder of the United Bronx Parents Association in 1965—was a big inspiration to him (Morales 2009: 144). He considered her to be the mother of all the movements in the South Bronx from the Young Lords to the Committee Against Fort Apache. Initially the United Bronx Parents Association focused on problems with the school system such as the "rigidity of school administration, qualitative inadequacies in the school curricula, and the needs of children in school" (The Organization, United Bronx Parents Papers). By the late 1960s, the organization had extended its original focus to include health services, housing issues, welfare, juvenile justice and so on. The members of the organization offered a wide range of services to the community of the South Bronx such as "child care, food programs, classes, and inmate and ex-inmate services. They also organized a narcotic guidance group with meetings designed to help people internalize positive values" (Bilingual Narcotic Guidance. United Bronx Parents Papers).

The United Bronx Parents Association and the Committee Against Fort Apache disturbed the homogeneous and racist view proposed by the media and mainstream social science. They did speak "from way, way below" (Kelley 1994: 1) because they did not make any distinction between a "respectable" working-class and a "class below the working class." Lopéz Antoinette was among the first to hear the needs of youth culture in the South Bronx. In a television program about youth gangs in the early 1970s, she takes the side of the gangs, seeing them in terms of community engagement ("Youth Gangs in the South Bronx," 1972). As she put it, referring to the futility of government interventions in the South Bronx, "I am not government, I am community!"

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Music and other forms of artistic expression were an important aspect of the activities designed by Evelina López Antonetty and her sister Lillian López. For instance, The South Bronx Library Project created by Lillian López in 1967 encouraged children to attend workshops with writers such as "Piri Thomas author of *Down to these Mean Streets*, Latin Jazz and *Plena* concerts, films, *Bomba's* interpretations, and Black Theater Workshop with readings from speeches by Martin Luther King, poetry by Langston Hughes, and narrations of Puerto Rican folktales by Pura Belpré" (South Bronx Project. Lillian López Papers). Similarly, as part of the protest to stop the film, in 1980 the Black and Puerto Rican activists of the Committee Against Fort Apache organized a series of concerts featuring salsa, hip hop and readings of Nuyorican poetry (Stop the Movie Fort Apache Arts Festival. Lourdes Torres Papers). Even community projects undertaken in high schools like DeWitt Clinton in the Bronx put local culture at the center of their struggle. Students produced a comic book called *Salsa* which placed music squarely within the street corner tradition of the Bronx and in Afrodiasporic currents beyond the borough (1975).

"HARLEM IS THE CAPITAL OF EVERY GHETTO TOWN"

Harlem is another nodal juncture for the transmission of Afrodiasporic cultures of opposition and liberation movements. In the soundtrack of the blaxploitation movie *Across 110th Street* (Barry Shear, 1972), soul musician Bobby Womack sings: "Harlem is the capital of every ghetto town." On the one hand this line might suggest that Harlem is the place where you can find authentic black urban culture with hard-core ghetto dwellers and paradigmatic figures such as the pimp, the junkie, and the criminal. This is also an exotic view of the ghetto. It has old roots in colonialism, in anthropology, in travel writing, in cinema and ethnographic studies about the urban poor of the 1960s. Yet if we look at this line from below, Harlem is the capital of all slums and ghettos in the world including the colonized cities in the Global South. This is a Harlem that has rarely appeared in tourist guides and history text-books (Kelley 2003). Harlem is thereby connected with black liberation movements, with anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggles. After all, it is at the Theresa Hotel that Fidel Castro

chose to stay in 1960 when he attended the United Nations, as a sign of solidarity with black struggles in the United States. It is from this Harlem that in 1961 black crowds reached the UN building to protest against Patrice Lumumba's murder in the Belgian Congo (Gaines 2006: 16). From the very beginning, black radicals have challenged segregation at home while making connection with colonial oppression abroad (Von Eschen 1997). Through Pan-Africanism, Ethiopianism, Garveynism, Civil Rights and the Black Power movements, African Americans elaborated a sense of solidarity with colonized people in Africa, Asia and Latin America (Prashad 2001). In the 1920s and 1930s, with the advent of Fascism and Nazism, black intellectuals and scholars insisted on the connection between imperialism and fascism. They suggested that fascism was the direct consequence of imperialism (Kelley 2002: 175). In 1945 Du Bois prophetically said that the colonies were "the slums of the world" (qtd. in Singh 2004: 220). The black ghettos of Harlem, Watts and Detroit strikingly recalled the slums of the colonies of the South of the world. In a famous passage of *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963), Frantz Fanon contrasts the native towns and European towns in colonial cities. He writes:

> The "native" sector is not complementary to the European sector. The two confronted each other, but not in the service of a higher unity. Governed by a purely Aristotelian logic, they follow the dictates of mutual exclusion: there is no conciliation possible, one of them is superfluous. The colonist's sector is a sector built to last, all stone and steel. It's a sector of lights and paved roads, where the trash cans constantly overflow with strange and wonderful garbage, undreamed-of leftovers. The colonist's feet can never be glimpsed, except perhaps in the sea, but then you can never get close enough. They are protected by solid shoes in a sector where the streets are clean and smooth, without a pothole, without a stone. The colonist's sector is a sated, sluggish sector, its belly is permanently full of good things. The colonist's sector is a white folks' sector, a sector of foreigners.
>
> The colonized's sector, or at least the "native" quarters, shanty town, the Medina, the reservation, is a disreputable place inhabited by disreputable people. [...] The colonized's sector is a famished sector, hungry for bread, meat, shoes, coal, and light. The colonized's sector is a sector that crouches and cowers, a sector on its knees, a sector that is prostrate. It's a sector of niggers, a sector of towelheads (4–5).

Black Power movements like the Black Panthers formed in Oakland in 1966 took the side of the colonized world, which

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in the United States meant the black ghetto. As Fanon's words underline, the materialist aspect of immediate racism and its global dimensions were interconnected. The Black Panthers are generally associated with guns (a very US style) and militant action, but this view overlooks the grassroots dimension of this black liberation movement (Nelson 2011). First of all, they abolished from their vocabulary terms like 'pathological' and 'dysfunctional.' They sought inter-ethnic alliances with Puerto Rican, Chicano, and Native American social movements like the Young Lords, Brown Berets and the American Indian Movements (AIM). They fought against health, job, and educational discrimination. They organized free breakfast programs. They strongly opposed gender inequalities and the huge quantities of heroin that arrived in black ghettos. They reached people that social scientists considered dangerous, pathological and dysfunctional, like inmates, street corners men, and sex workers. Here again Fanon's influences were pivotal in his description of "the lumpen-proletariat … the pimps, the hooligans, the unemployed and the petty criminals." In Fanon's view these people could be "rehabilitated in their own eyes and in the eyes of humanity" (qtd. in Singh 193). From the Black Panthers and other black liberation movements perspective, Harlem is a signifier for all ghetto towns, including those far away from New York.

ECHO-CHAMBER EFFECT: SHA-ROCK, SANDRA MARÍA ESTEVES, CELIA CRUZ

Listening to Sha-Rock's echo chamber effect, Sandra María Esteves's jazz/mambo poetry, Bobby Womack's urban rhythms, and Linton Kwesi Johnson's bass culture, we can start thinking about history through acoustic resonances. The beat box of the MC, jazz, soul music, bass culture, and the reverberation of dub music sustain languages of solidarity around the world, making connections among different but connected aggrieved people (Redmond 2014).

Sha-Rock, the first female MC from the Bronx in the history of hip hop, is also the inventor of the echo chamber effect in rapping. As educators, we should use new ways of teaching history. Thinking with sound is one of these methods. Sound helps us to make connections. If we follow Sha-Rock through the echo-

chamber effect we can go back in time and the interventions of black musicians not only in aesthetics, but in daily life. Take for example Bessie Smith's "Backwater Blues" (1927), Gertrude "Ma" Rainey's "Runaway Blues" (1928), Billie Holiday's "Strange Fruit" (1939), or Nina Simone's "Mississippi Godamm" (1964). Here the past empowered the present and indeed became the echo chamber that allows us to look forward, imagining a better future (Davis 1999).

The Nuyorican poet Sandra María Esteves is part of this radical tradition. In the 1970s she was also part of the Bronx Writers Corps. Referring to this activity she said: "We want to keep art in the community. Everyone wants fame and fortune, but that's not our priority. Our priority is to empower our community" (Hernandez 1997: 60). In her poems Esteves combines slam poetry, free jazz, rap, doo-wop, and mambo. In "For South Bronx" (1981) we can hear the rhythms of the city following young graffiti writers invading the train yards at night. The poem titled "Black Notes and 'You Do Something to Me'" (1990) could be considered an audio/visual history and collage of afro-diasporic music where the black Atlantic meets *Nuestra Am*érica on the streets of New York. A kind of "changing same" (Jones/Baraka 1968) flying from Africa to the Bronx through black rhythms, Spanish songs, Sonny Rollins' and Rahsaan Roland Kirk's horns, Miles Davis's trumpet, Thelonious Monk's notes and Dizzie Gillespie's Afro-Cuban jazz moods:

> Jazz-jazzy jass juice,
> Just so smooth,
> So be-hop samba blue to sweet bump black.
> So slip slide back to mama black–
> To mamaland base black.
> Don't Matter could be Bronx born basic street black.
> Or white ivory piano coast negro dunes bembé black.
> Mezclando manos in polyrhythm sync to fingers.
> ... Flyin across Miles 'n Sonny, across John, Rahsaan 'n Monk's 81,
> Across Dizzy blue conga (75).

In "Ode to Celia" (2004) Esteves rewrites the history of African diaspora from a Puerto Rican perspective. The story begins in 1965 at the Tropicoro club in the South Bronx where new hybrid forms of music like the boogaloo (a mix of soul, r&b and mambo) emerged.

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Then, listening to Celia Cruz, Esteves returns to Africa and then back to the Americas. In this journey, there is the "utopic/dystopic tension" of diasporas (Clifford 1997: 263): the terror of slavery, the so-called free labor in the tobacco fields, the racism in the new plantation system of the South Bronx, but also the power of music to bring a message of opposition and connections between Africa, Caribbean and a creolized Mediterranean where "Arabic love songs" meet "Spanish gypsy guitars:"

> Celia sings and I return to 1965
> dancing sweaty mambos
> at the Tropicoro on Longwood Avenue
> or the Bronx Casino on Prospect
> or the Colgate Gardens where La Lupe exposed her soul
> to the hustle, ah-peep-peep and boogaloo pachanga of Johnny Pacheco
>
> I may have been an only child from the Bronx but Celia takes me back lifetimes
> before I mastered English in New York City schools,
> or Spanish in tobacco fields
> even before that middle passage where so many cousins, uncles, and aunts perished
> all the way back to motherland Africa's family shores
> with Spanish gypsy guitars empowered by Arabic love songs (104–105).

THE BLUES CONTINUUM: NEW YORK/NAPLES

In Naples, Italy, African American sounds arrived with the Allied Forces during World War II, in the postwar years, and in the 1980s, where they mixed with the local and hybrid sounds of a Mediterranean city (Chambers 2008). Indeed, Naples has always been a crossroads of African diaspora. This remains a subterranean history because it has largely been erased by hegemonic European narrative. Here it is important to remember that in Naples in 1647 there occurred one of the first proletarian and multiethnic revolts in the modern world with Masaniello (Linebaugh and Rediker 2000). This revolt can be framed and tracked within a wave of Atlantic revolts that culminated in the revolution in Haiti in 1799. Almost two centuries later, in the 1970s and 1980s, Naples became the symbol of urban crisis in Italy, like the South Bronx in the US.

It is not by chance that James Senese, saxophonist and leader of the progressive/jazz band Napoli Centrale since the 1970s, locates his sound between Naples and the Bronx (Aymone 2005).

Senese was born in 1944 in Naples. The son of a Neapolitan woman and an African American soldier who was in Naples with the Allied troops during WWII and flew back to the United States immediately after the end of the war. Senese was inspired in equal dose by John Coltrane, James Brown, the shout of Neapolitan street vendors and found sounds of the city. The record "Simme iute e simme venute" (1976) mixes different sounds: the call of a fish vendor shouting "alici, alici, alici" (anchovies, anchovies, anchovies)… a street march typical of rituals of festivities, moments of silence, fast drumrolls, Hammond organ, and the screams of Senese that come close to James Brown. A line evoking the classic blues trope of "bad luck" hits like a bullet the body of the listener. Suddenly the voice of Senese becomes a percussive instrument, mixing screams and indecipherable words. Here, the ragged, acerbic sound of Senese and Napoli Centrale, strung out along infinite spirals of blues inflections, tells us stories from the perspective of the periphery and the excluded (Buffa and Chambers 2016).

Just as in the Bronx and Harlem, when we talk about the inner-city of Naples we cannot separate the work of artists from that of community organizations. In the 1970s/1980s GRIDAS, a neighborhood based organization in north Naples, worked in tandem with musicians and artists. The founders of GRIDAS, Mirella and Felice Pignataro, formed a counter school where, among other activities, children learned the art of making murals. Inspired by the great Latin American tradition of muralists, Felice Pignataro realized more than two-hundred murals both in the Neapolitan region and Italy. Art historian E.H. Gombrich defined Pignataro as the most prolific muralist in the world. The work of Felice was collective. Children collaborated in the making of murals (Di Martino/GRIDAS 2011). Like in the music of Napoli Centrale, the murals are from the perspective of the working-class, they speak in the vicinity of the unemployed people, social movements for better housing, and the "wretched of the city." Although Senese and Pignataro never worked together they are both interested in the everyday life of the inner-city. Felice's murals are like graffiti in New York and Jean Michel Basquiat's early work. There is no ticket to pay to see them. They cover, with wonderful color, a disadvantaged neighborhood's walls. In these murals, sound is very important.

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In one of them, we see a street in the periphery of Naples during the early 1980s through the eyes of the children who collaborated in the making of it. There is no audio, but we can hear the noise of the construction site, the sound of the scooter, the scream of a woman (Pignataro).

Rap music arrived in Naples in the early 1990s through Jamaican dub, British trip hop and New York style hip hop and it was mixed with local sounds. The name of the Neapolitan trip hop/dub band Almamegretta means *anima migrante* (migrant soul). The song "Black Athena" (1998) resurrects the musical traces of a black Mediterranean (Robinson 2000). Following Leroy Jones' [Amiri Baraka] work *Blues People*, Almamegretta's sound is part of a blues continuum that moves across Africa, the Americas and a fervently creolized Mediterranean (Jones 1963). Almamegretta proposes an extended idea of the blues. Of course, the blues is part of a precise history that took place in the United States and Mississippi Delta: "Slavery, ten years of freedom, the overthrow of Reconstruction and the beginning of ninety-five years of what has been called "the second slavery" (Woods 1998: 16). Yet, as the late African bluesman Ali Farka Touré explains, the blues took form even thanks to the melodies and rhythms of Muslim African slaves who were themselves influenced by the cultures of the Middle East (Chambers 2012: 7).

PROJECTING HISTORY INTO THE FUTURE

Let's go back to New York City: We are at the "Kitchen" where Sha-Rock and the Funky Four are performing a live version of "Rappin and Rocking the House" (1980). Their performance is inspired by the Temptations and doo-wop groups. The music – a sample version of Cheryl Lynn's disco music classic "Got To Be Real" (1978) – produced by the poly-instrumentalists, is an incessant rhythm of funk, jazz, and improvisational practice (Toop 1991). Similarly, Sha-Rock's echo chamber effect goes back in time, returning it to the present and then projecting that negated history into the future, sending a message of Love and Peace from the Bronx to all the renegades of the world.

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MEMORY OF THE WARSAW PACT INTERVENTION IN THE POST-AUGUST HISTORY 1968–1989

Manipulation, Oblivion, and Conservation

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In the spring and summer of 1968, a process accelerating the previous step-by-step easing of the political regime picked up unpredecented force in Czechoslovakia.[1] It took along a major part of society, which pinned its hopes for a better life on support of the new Communist leadership. Alexandr Dubček, who succeeded Antonín Novotný as the leader of the Communist Party in January 1968, became one of the principal faces of the so-called Prague Spring. Although the new party leadership did not offer, apart from the abolition of censorship, any fundamental structural changes of the political regime, it nevertheless gave people a chance to hope that a number of changes were and would be possible. Such faith was also fueled by a newfound freedom of speech, which permitted public discussion of matters which people had previously only whispered about, or even preferred not to talk about at all. Civic society started waking up; associations and organizations previously banned by Communists were re-established, or new ones founded (Hoppe 2009). Although none of these entities officially questioned the principle of the leading role of the Communist Party, the spontaneous movement in the society made the political center uneasy, the more so that Czechoslovakia's allies in the Warsaw Pact led by the Soviet Union

1. The article is a product of the "Czech society and the Soviet Army 1968–1991" project sponsored by the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic under Project No. 17-06744S.

made their dissatisfaction with the developments in the country threateningly plain. Efforts by the reform Communists to slow down the democratization process and thus prove their loyalty to the other allied countries failed. On August 21st, 1968 troops from the Soviet Union, Hungary, Poland, and Bulgaria poured into Czechoslovakia and Soviet politicians justified it as an internationalist duty and a friendly assistance. According to them, the Prague Spring encouraged counter-revolutionary and reactionary forces, who, backed by international imperialists, hurled the country into chaos and tried to dismantle the socialist system. On the other hand, citizens of Czechoslovakia, who were flooding the streets as tanks were invading the country during the night and in the morning of August 21st were shocked and did not hesitate to flatly call it an occupation. As for the top party leaders, the situation was more complicated as some of them plotted with Soviets against Dubček and other reformists. Nevertheless the Presidium gathered on the night of the invasion voted 7 to 4 to adopt a statement condemning the invasion as a violation of "all principles governing relations between socialist states" and a "breach of international law" (Vondrová, Navrátil 2000: 454). The statement was followed by thousands of declarations made by state institutions, enterprises, schools, mass organizations and local political bodies condemning the Warsaw Pact invasion, often referring to it as an occupation. For a brief moment, the occupation became a reality shared by the majority and confirmed by the political representation. Those who welcomed the allied forces were discredited as traitors and collaborators. This situation was obviously unacceptable for the Soviets and their Czechoslovak supporters. It was a matter of high political interest to enforce an interpretation of the August invasion as 'fraternal assistance,' and, in fact, also one of the crucial issues of the normalization process.

My work presents a brief history of transformations of the official picture of the August invasion, the final acceptance of the Soviet version in 1969, and its confirmation a year later. I have examined its further developments until the fall of the Communist regime in 1989, or, in other words, a step-by-step tendency to erase the year

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1968, including the August invasion, from the official interpretation rather than present it as an important milestone of Communist history. I also monitor the fate of the memory of the August 1968 occupation that was banned from the public sphere.

FROM AN OCCUPATION TO FRIENDLY ASSISTANCE

Immediately following the invasion, Czechoslovak leaders were forced to sign the so-called Moscow Protocol (Navrátil 1998: 477). One of its consequences was a reintroduction of censorship that first of all prohibited the use of the word 'occupation' or 'occupier' in connection with Soviets and Warsaw Pact armies (Hoppe 2004: 16–17). In October 1968, a Treaty on the Temporary Presence of Soviet Forces in Czechoslovakia was signed (Navrátil 1998: 533–36). Under the terms of the treaty, most of the Warsaw Pact troops were withdrawn from Czechoslovakia, but, on the other hand, the presence of Soviet troops for an undefined period of time was made legal; a secret amendment to the treaty mentions 75,000 Soviet soldiers. Both the Moscow Protocol and the Temporary Presence Treaty dealt mainly with practical aspects, basically circumventing the issue of the political nature of the invasion. Dubček thus had some room to maneuver, which permitted him to state that there were differences between the Czechoslovak and Soviet parties in the "evaluation of the internal political situation." As the past was burdened by a mutual "misunderstanding," he recommended focusing on the future (Vondrová, Navrátil 2001: 213–215). Dubček's leadership dismissed the concept of occupation, and was prepared to condemn and suppress any open protest against the presence of the Soviet Army since autumn 1968. However, it neither withdrew the official statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia about the unlawful nature of the military intervention, nor accepted the Soviet concept of 'friendly assistance' to protect the country against counterrevolution. The half-baked solution naturally was not enough for Brezhnev, and he and his fellow leaders continued to push their Czechoslovak counterparts toward a reassessment of the Prague Spring and August invasion. According to Brezhnev, it was "necessary that the Central Committee and the government clearly state that the arrival of the allied armies was an inevitable

measure prompted by activities of anti-socialist elements" (Vondrová, Navrátil 1997: 41).

In April 1969, Gustáv Husák succeeded Dubček as the party leader due to the pressure of Soviet politicians and their Czechoslovak supporters. The new party leadership showed much more willingness to re-evaluate the year 1968, including the August 21 invasion. As early as April, it established a commission tasked to perform an analysis of political development both prior to and during the year 1968. And, to show obedience, the first official delegation of government and party representatives led by President Ludvík Svoboda paid a visit to the Soviet Army Headquarters in Milovice in May 1969. However, top-ranking political leaders took their time with the analysis of the political situation. Partly influenced by changes at the top, partly under the pressure of the Soviet allies, first personal purges at the district and regional levels of the party took place in the spring and summer of 1969. As a result, many local political organizations repealed the August 1968 statement condemning the military invasion, which Soviet politicians did not forget to commend. They nevertheless kept pointing out the necessity to "resolve this issue at the central level" (Vondrová 2011: 468–470). The desired change came in the autumn of 1969, soon after the Czechoslovak leadership had ordered its own armed forces to brutally suppress protests and riots on the occasion of the first anniversary of the invasion. At a plenary session held in September 1969, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia recanted the August 1968 statement condemning the invasion, replacing it by another statement to the effect that "the entry of allied troops […] was in the interest of the defence of socialism against right-wing, anti-socialist, and counterrevolutionary forces" (Vondrová, Navrátil 2003: 599). Vettings and purges at every level followed; first of party officials, in 1970 of all party members, and finally of non-party citizens. The purpose of the vettings was, inter alia, to 'teach' people the official version of the story, to make them declare their dissociation from liberalization processes of the Prague Spring, and to accept the necessity of the Soviet invasion. (Černá 2012: 199–233) Millions of people had first-hand experience of,

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and were threatened by a variety of sanctions in connections with, the limits of what one could publicly say about the year 1968.

A LESSON FROM THE CRISIS DEVELOPMENT

While the year 1969 was still a year of political and public clashes between representatives of different opinions, with the boycott of pro-Soviet activities still prevailing, the year 1970 was a triumph of the Soviet version of events. On the second anniversary of August 21, opulent ceremonies took place all over the country to express thanks for the internationalist help rendered in 1968, accompanied by a campaign in normalized mass media. Newspapers published articles such as "August 21st, 1968—Plans of the Counterrevolution Thwarted" which wrote about "the assistance that prevented a disaster."[2] In short, everything indicated that a new tradition was being born—one of the day of victory over the counterrevolution. The mass media highlighted the positive role of the Soviet Army, even at other times, bringing news about friendly relations between Soviet soldiers and the Czechoslovak society. Manifestations of friendly relations with Soviet soldiers became a part of the mandatory political loyalty with the regime. The heroic glorification of the military intervention in August 1968 was confirmed by an official document with a rather clumsy title, *A Lesson from the Crisis Development in the Party and Society after the XIII Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,* which the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia approved in December 1970. The ideological pamphlet, a collective work of top leaders of the party, presented the political developments of 1968 in an overly dramatic manner; the country was allegedly facing "fratricidal fight," and it was only the "international help" in August that prevented "bloodshed" (Slouka 1972: 68). Those who had been labelled quislings and traitors in 1968 were commended for their steadfast stance defending the principles of Marxism-Leninism and internationalism even under adverse conditions. The *Lesson* became an iconic text and a mandatory interpretation framework which the party leadership adhered to until its demise in 1989. It was published in many editions,

2. "21. srpen 1968—konec plánů kontrarevoluce." *Stráž lidu*. August 20th, 1970.

including a special version for secondary schools. Its preface explained to students that the booklet would convey to them "deep historical truth" about the "catastrophic situation" in 1968, when the country was on the verge of a "civil war" (Slouka 1972: 3–21). The memory of the occupation in August 1968 was relegated to the private sphere, or was maintained among exiles and dissidents, who regularly remembered the anniversary on August 21st.

FRIENDSHIP FOREVER

The fact that the *Lesson from the Crisis Development* remained unrevisited until 1989 does not mean that there was no development in the practical application of its principles. The massive political campaign in 1970 awakened the hopes of those who had welcomed the 1968 invasion. Their support of the Soviet policy and friendly relations with the Soviet Army were officially recognized; some of them were decorated, or at least symbolically rehabilitated. For many of them, the day of August 21st, 1968, became another milestone of the Communist struggle, the time when they mobilized themselves in defence of the socialist system and friendship with the Soviet Union. The fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1971 was an opportunity to include the 1968 events among important historical moments and to emphasize the merits of faithful 'internationalists' who, unlike most of their fellow countrymen, had not succumbed to enticements of *revisionism* and *right-wing opportunism*. In 1971, it even looked like the date of August 21 could be included in the Communist calendar. However, the development since 1971 followed a different path. The date of August 21, associated with the invasion of Warsaw Pact troops, was probably too sensitive[3], and the political leadership therefore decided not to draw attention to it anymore. For a few years, the regime kept praising the Soviet Army and its 'fraternal help,' but at the same time avoided any publicizing of the anniversary. The 'internationalist assistance' of 1968 thus did not earn a per-

3. As illustrated by increased readiness of and attention paid to the anniversary of August 21 by the Secret Police every year, in spite of the fact that the number of protests or manifestations related to the anniversary of the August invasion between 1970 and 1988 was negligible.

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manent place in the calendar and, save for round anniversaries in 1978 or 1988, it was strictly not commemorated on August 21st. The lack of anchoring ultimately resulted in the absence of a cult comparable to other significant and repeatedly commemorated historical events. Nevertheless, there were other dates in the calendar which were connected with the Soviet Union and the Soviet Army in one way or another. Actually, it was the Soviet Army Day in February, the Liberation Day in May, the Slovak National Uprising anniversary in August, the anniversary of the Great October Revolution in November, or the whole Month of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship at the turn of November and December which presented an opportunity to commemorate, apart from the traditional merits of the Soviet Union, the help provided by the Soviet Army in 1968. It was included in a broad and binding commitment of the Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship which was vehemently restored at multiple levels of social and political life under the old slogan "*With the Soviet Union forever, and never otherwise.*" An article describing the celebrations of the 55th anniversary of the Great October Revolution summarized the moments in which the Soviet Union had been instrumental in the fate of Czechoslovakia:

> In every village, in every factory, at every school, words proclaiming our love to our liberators were heard [...] In a large community of socialist nations, our Czechoslovak Socialist Republic too is following, side by side with the Soviet Union, the path of the Great October Revolution. [...] Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, our working people have achieved remarkable successes in building up the socialist system. [...] With the fraternal help of the Warsaw Pact countries, they thwarted the schemes of enemies of socialism in 1968 and 1969.[4]

'The fraternal help' of 1968 was included among the events which the Soviet Union had traditionally been revered for– the liberation of Czechoslovakia, or the socialist revolution that provided an example and assistance to other countries. It also further strengthened celebrations of these traditional events. The entire normalization regime was accompanied by meticulously

4. "Se Sovětským svazem za šťastnou budoucnost našeho lidu." *Naše slovo*, November 15th, 1972.

orchestrated rites of devotedness toward the Soviet Union, which masses of people were forced to take part in. Just like in the fifties, the Soviet Union had to be mandatorily admired as an indisputable example to follow. While a separate cult of the 'internationalist help' was not born, the 'internationalist help' undoubtedly renewed and strengthened the cult of *friendship* with the Soviet Union.

A PRESENCE WITHOUT A BEGINNING

In the friendship cult mentioned above, the Soviet troops stationed in Czechoslovakia and, step by step, also dependents of their officers, had their place as well. All news about them, their activities, or their contacts with the Czechoslovak society were invariably introduced by words such as *friendship, friendly*, or their Russian equivalent–*druzhba*. The latter term, connected with the promotion of international relations within the socialist bloc, became an important part of the normalization vocabulary. In its ambivalence, it referred to formalistic and ordered activities, but it also raised a claim to a deep emotional experience. As a rule, the *druzhba* was organized by an official organization, such as the Union of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship or the Czechoslovak Union of Women, but its content was a mixture of the formal and the informal. The *druzhba* comprised both discussions and political lectures or collective official ceremonies, as well as collective excursions, balls, Czech cuisine demonstrations for Soviet women, or Christmas parties for children. Apart from the traditions linked to major historical events, there were also new traditions being built–those of the Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship represented by Soviet soldiers and their families. "It is already a tradition that Czech and Soviet children meet in Trutnov at the end of December to celebrate the end of the year [...] together."[5] The emphasis on the creation of new traditions of mutual friendly relations changed the reference frame of writing and speaking about Soviet soldiers. Its focus on present, everyday matters, and women and children, made it possible to leave the past and its awkward issues behind. In newspaper articles, Soviet women and children

5. Nyserová, Libuše: "Setkání českých a sovětských dětí." *Krkonošská pravda*, January 20th, 1983.

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were presented as a natural part of the Czechoslovak society's life. There was no mention whatsoever of where they had come from, what they were doing here, not to speak of why they had come in the first place. Actually, it was not even mentioned that they were wives and children of Soviet officers. As a matter of fact, the circumstances of their arrival became separated from the Soviet soldiers themselves fairly soon. The year 1968 quickly disappeared from the list of great historical moments the Soviet Army was associated with, and only the struggle against Fascism and the liberation of Czechoslovakia in 1945 remained on it. With units of the Soviet Army present in Czechoslovakia, however, their celebrations acquired a new dimension. The impressive memorial which the Soviet Army had built in 1971 at its headquarters in Milovice was dedicated to the Czechoslovak-Soviet 'combat *druzhba*' arising from the Second World War. Through the "eternal symbol of friendship," the Soviet Army Command was conveying a message about the "tenacious struggle of soldiers of the Red Army against Fascism" and about the Soviet soldiers "sacrificing their lives so that we could live" to many visitors of the place.[6] Stationed in Czechoslovakia since 1968, Soviet soldiers promoted their heroic war ancestors and presented themselves as their direct successors, or sons and grandsons, so much that they were sometimes mistaken for them. On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Red Army, several dozen officers from the local Soviet garrison were decorated in Olomouc: "The City Council of Olomouc has decided to award commemorative medals, honorable mentions, and commemorative sheets to Soviet officers as a token of the gratitude of our citizens for the liberation."[7] It should be noted that, save for one colonel who had allegedly "marched all the way to Berlin," none of them probably participated in the liberation of Czechoslovakia.

OBLIVION AND RELABELLING

Mentions of the modern time mission of the Soviet Army as interpreted in the *Lesson from the Crisis Development* in the early

6. Laník, L. "Věčný symbol přátelství." *Nymbursko*, May 13th, 1975.
7. "Vyznamenání sovětským důstojníkům." *Stráž lidu*, May 15th, 1975.

1970s—i.e. as internationalist assistance against counterrevolution in 1968—practically disappeared from the public sphere, the only exceptions being the 10th and 20th anniversaries with more or less explicit references to August 1968, but even these were not any breakthrough of the controlled silence. If an official meaning or reason of the presence of the Soviet Army had to be given, it was relabelled. The saviours from the threat of counterrevolution became defenders of peace. The Soviet Army had gradually turned into a power "ensuring the peaceful upbuilding and development of socialism in our motherland. The Soviet Army is now a strong bulwark of peace against imperialist forces."[8] This motif was growing stronger since early 1980, with an increasing accent on the arms race between the East and the West. In his article for local press, an editor of the Soviet newspaper published by the Soviet Army in Czechoslovakia characterized the mission of Soviet soldiers as follows:

> Aggressive imperialist forces led by the United States are stepping up their feverish armament efforts, preparing a dreadful disaster for nations of the whole world. [...] there is not a goal more important than saving peace for people of the whole planet. Soviet armed forces are playing an important role in these peace efforts—as a mighty opponent of the aggressors grouped in the NATO.[9]

In due course, the 'internationalist help' to combat counterrevolution in 1968 changed into the 'internationalist mission' of the Soviet Army which—just like anywhere else in the world—posed as a defender of peace and socialism.

LESSON FROM THE CRISIS DEVELOPMENT FOR A SECOND TIME

Insofar as the memory of August 1968 during the Communist regime is concerned, we can observe a strange situation. Not only that the official memory and real life experience often diverge, particularly in totalitarian societies. There also were fundamental internal controversies in the official memory, especially at the level of proclamations and practical measures. In spite

8. Šindler, Jaroslav. "Den Sovětské armády a námořních sil." *Krkonošská Pravda*, February 23rd, 1978.
9. Isakov, Jevgenij. "Čtenářům Nymburska." *Nymbursko*, May 26th, 1983.

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of the massively distributed *Lesson from the Crisis Development* which labelled the Prague Spring as an attempt at counter-revolution and the August invasion as friendly assistance, we can mainly see efforts to forget the whole year 1968 and, in particular, August 21st, 1968. The concept of the friendly help in the fight against counterrevolution was not supported by additional means of propaganda. The *Lesson* was thus floating in an ideological vacuum. Since 1972, there were no regular manifestations, commemorative events, lectures, films, memorial places, praised heroes or victims, no special programmes that would remind children of such events since their earliest childhood, as was the case of significant milestones of the Communist history (Zavacká 2013: 302–318). For those born after 1968 or too young at that time, the 'counterrevolution' or 'friendly assistance' were definitely not a subject of common ideological socialization. If they were ever presented the official version about the threat of counterrevolution bordering on a fratricidal struggle during their school years, which had to be suppressed by Soviet tanks, they were confused. As a matter of fact, the information was not connected with anything they knew, and thus remained incomprehensibly bizarre. Even an experience with the presence of Soviet troops, if any, did not help. As mentioned above, Soviet soldiers were not related to their arrival in 1968 roughly since the mid-1970s in the public sphere. For many younger people, Soviet soldiers were a natural part of their life, and they did not give much thought to where or why the latter had come from. A contemporary witness who had lived in a small town with a Soviet garrison until the age of sixteen recalled how her teachers had been asking her about it after her arrival to Prague. "I didn't know what they were talking about. I did not know that we had been occupied. […] I did not know why the garrison was there or that something was wrong about it." (Vaněk, Urbášek 2005: 491) Others invented their own childish theories about the presence of Soviet soldiers. As a little boy, one of my respondents believed that Soviet soldiers had been in Czechoslovakia since the end of the war, which seemed logical to him, given the continuous reminder of the Soviet contribution to Czechoslovakia's liberation. Another one came up with a theory of reciprocity and was

convinced that Soviet soldiers were in Czechoslovakia in exchange for Czechoslovak soldiers in the Soviet Union. Recollections like this illustrate the vagueness and fog which the year 1968 and the arrival of Soviet troops were veiled in, and also the level of ideological resignation of the regime toward this period. In many other respects, children were subject to propaganda since early childhood, and they were, first and foremost, guided to admire the Soviet Union, which effort was sometimes downright comical. A contemporary witness recalls how he and his father were watching a hockey game between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union sometime in the 1970s and how he asked his father which side he was supporting. "The school made me so stupefied that I was telling myself, why, if the glorious Red Army had liberated us, he might be a fan of the Soviet team because of gratitude. Dad just looked at me in amazement." (Otáhal, Vaněk 1999: 318). On the other hand, the year 1968 remained a mystery to many, a mystery which the regime explained in just one booklet that many students at that time ultimately did not even bother to read.

MEMORY OF THE OCCUPATION

The memory of the occupation was banished from the public to the private sphere, underground, or exile. Under the circumstances, it did not have ideal conditions for its cultivation, as it could not be openly communicated. Just like other alternative *truths* about the regime, it became a subject of more or less conscious family tactics among which silence was definitely not unusual. As a matter of fact, it was an approach proved on other sensitive issues, an approach which prevented children from being exposed to information a private interpretation of which might be different from the official one. Contrary to the official interpretation, however, the story about the violent occupation which ended the promising reform process often found support in the form of strong emotional ties in the family environment. In many households, the year 1968 was kept alive through fates of family members or friends whose professional careers were disrupted by the onset of the normalization process. Sanctions such as ousting from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia or loss of employment due to 'wrong' attitudes during the 'period of crisis' of the Prague Spring and the invasion

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were difficult to conceal in families. If not for anything else, then because they had an adverse impact on the political evaluation of the 'culprits,' but also of their children. Access to the year 1968 was also possible through newspapers, magazines and books of that period, which people often kept at home, frequently hidden in closets, attics, cellars, or weekend cottages. It was exactly the search for and reading of these documents that were often an important moment of initiation for many people:

I always kept combing attics for old issues of the *Reportér* magazine [...] or I dug out an old issue of *Literárky*[10] in our weekend cottage, I read all these things, and I sort of lived in a virtual world. (Otáhal, Vaněk 1999: 622)

In this respect, it was important that the information discovered in the manner described above or passed over by the closest relatives was perceived as a subversive element discrediting the regime. In the eyes of contemporaries, it was a conveyance of *truth*, which was in sharp contrast to the ideological *lie* of the regime, and also the regime's accusation.

At home, I was certainly influenced by my father who had been engaged in events of the Prague Spring. He told me the truth about the events of the Prague Spring; [...] he told me about things that we had not been told about during history lessons at school, he was giving me books that we didn't learn about. He simply gave me a true account of it. (Otáhal, Vaněk 2005: 549)

The communication or discovering of the hidden *truth* took on diverse forms; in the case of one of my respondents, it was almost a controlled family rite of initiation, associated with reaching the teen years and scheduled to take place on the tenth birthday.

My father told me: Well, you are ten now, so I have to explain some things to you [...] We spent the whole weekend together, with my father telling me about the Communist coup, how Communists imprisoned and murdered a lot of innocent people here [...] and that their regime is criminal and that we were occupied by the Soviets in 1968 and how it looked, how they invaded us...

10. The *Reportér* magazine and the *Literární noviny* weekly, nicknamed *Literárky*, were extremely popular during the Prague Spring, they were labelled a bullhorn of counterrevolution in 1969 and subsequently disbanded.

The testimony about the occupation, hidden in closets and attics, conveyed under special arrangements in families, or conspiratorially shared between closest friends had a hallmark of genuineness, sharply contrasting with the mock-up reality of the normalization regime. The awareness of this contrast led to a critical dissociation with its manifestations. Only when his parents had explained "how things really were" to him did my respondent start seeing the Soviet soldiers in his hometown, until then accepted as a normal part of life, as invaders. The forbidden knowledge about August 1968, its maintainence and sharing among exiles or dissenters, or in some family circles or with friends carried the potential of an anti-regime alliance. It is certainly not accidental that the date of August 21 was an important date of anti-regime protests in 1988 and 1989. It is true that it was the anniversary of the 'occupation,' but the principal reason of the demonstrations was the Communist regime rather than the Soviet Army presence.

CONCLUSION

The normalization regime turned the constitutive story about the hopes of the Prague Spring and the violent invasion that had ended it upside down. The real life experience of millions of people notwithstanding, it bulldozed through an official version about counterrevolution and the friendly assistance of allied armies of the Warsaw Pact. In spite of the initial loud hailing of August 21 as the date of victory over counterrevolution, the date started falling into oblivion. It is not that the regime abandoned its official interpretation of events; rather it stopped maintaining it ideologically. Reasons of the presence of the Soviet Army in Czechoslovakia were becoming vague and fuzzy. The Treaty on the Temporary Presence of Soviet Forces in Czechoslovakia postponed the departure of the Soviet troops indefinitely. The official silence ultimately fogged the circumstances of and reasons for their arrival. The Soviet Army inhabited the normalization presence as its natural component, without any clear beginning or end. The story about the occupation, which a large group of people in Czechoslovakia had shared in 1968, was banished from the public sphere and was, in a way, preserved in the hideouts of households, among exiles and dissenters, but also in the fates of numerous

people. Regardless of what picture of the year 1968 it provided, it was in sharp contrast with the official interpretation, or rather non-interpretation. Although the manipulation with and forcing out of a certain memory after 1968 seemed to offer no hopes to the normalized society, the cornered truth obviously had enough energy to survive. On the contrary—it played an important role in the mobilization of the anti-regime protests in the end of the 1980s, which symptomatically took place on August 21.

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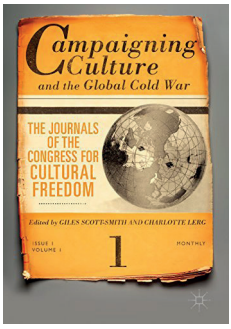
CAMPAIGNING CULTURE AND THE GLOBAL COLD WAR: THE JOURNALS OF THE CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM

edited by Giles Scott-Smith and Charlotte Lerg (A Book Review)



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Gabriel García Márquez's *Cien años de soledad* (*One Hundred Years of Solitude*) was published in 1967 and immediately became a runaway bestseller throughout Spanish America. The novel's success was a breakthrough moment and shone a spotlight on the rising movement known as the Boom in Spanish American literature, in which García Márquez and his contemporaries—Julio Cortázar, Carlos Fuentes, and Mario Vargas Llosa—took center stage in what Pascale Casanova has deemed the "world republic of letters" (4). The Boom coincided with, and its success was fostered by, heightened international attention to Spanish America due to the Cuban revolution, support for which provided ideological coherence to the movement through the late 1960s.

The burgeoning publicity infrastructure that emerged in tandem with the Boom worked overtime in the months leading up to the release of *Cien años de soledad*. Excerpts from two chapters, as well as a profile of the author, were published in the Paris-based journal *Mundo Nuevo*, between August of 1966 and March of 1967, captivating a broad readership that contributed to the novel's record-breaking sales. This was standard fare for *Mundo Nuevo*, which, between 1966 and 1968, played a vital role in consecrating

contemporary Spanish American literature throughout the region, Europe, and the US. From the very start, though, the journal was plagued by controversy, as rumors circulated that it was subsidized by the US government. Several writers, including Cortázar, refused to publish in the journal, which they viewed as being an instrument of US cultural imperialism.

In 1966 and 1967, exposés in the *New York Times* and *Ramparts* revealed that the CIA had covertly funded the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), which was the primary source of funding for *Mundo Nuevo*. The CCF was founded in 1950, a time when, as Michael Hochgeschwender has affirmed, "well written magazines and highbrow liberal propaganda were as important as battle cruisers, missiles, or marines" ("A Battle of Ideas" 322). Headquartered in Paris, the Congress sought to foster anti-communist consensus by establishing an international intellectual-cultural community that was brought together through a series of high-profile conferences and cultural events, as well as chapters and journals that were founded around the world (though often grounded in Western liberal values). Many of the latter, such as *Encounter*, the organization's highly-successful flagship journal, which was edited in London by Stephen Spender, Irving Kristol, and, later, Melvin Lasky, attracted opinion molders and intellectuals from across the globe. Other initiatives, though, such as *Mundo Nuevo*, met with opposition that was heightened by liberation and decolonization movements and/or widespread anti-Americanism. The revelations of CIA funding for *Mundo Nuevo* only confirmed what many had already suspected, but they nevertheless tainted the journal. In May of 1967, García Márquez wrote to the editor, Uruguayan critic Emir Rodríguez Monegal, to formally sever ties with the journal. The Colombian asserted that he had published in the journal despite the open secret of its funding because he believed that authors influenced the journals in which they published, rather than vice versa, and because he enjoyed the irony of having his work circulate in the US thanks to government funding while he himself was *persona non grata* due to his support for the revolution. The CCF's denial of knowledge of CIA funding,

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however, rang false to him, and he refused to collaborate further with the journal as long as it remained affiliated with the Congress.[1]

I open with this anecdote as it offers a little-known, but nevertheless paradigmatic, example of the tug-of-war dynamics whereby the CCF attracted—and sometimes ensnared—prominent writers from across the political spectrum through its network of journals, and of how its efforts to promote liberal values on a global scale often ran up against local politics in the sites where the journals were produced and circulated. These dynamics—and the many negotiations of agents, agency (and agencies), and ideological motivations that they entailed—are at the heart of Giles Scott-Smith and Charlotte Lerg's impressive volume, *Campaigning Culture and the Global Cold War: The Journals of the Congress for Cultural Freedom*. While the CCF has generated much scholarly interest over the years, most research has focused on the organization as a whole or on individual Congress chapters or journals. *Campaigning Culture* is the first book to bring together analyses of the histories and legacies of the Congress's many journals, and it marks a significant contribution to the history of the organization and the networks that it created.

It is difficult to do justice to the multiple histories brought together by the volume, so instead I offer here an overview that highlights its many strengths. *Campaigning Culture* boasts an A-list set of authors, many of whom have published definitive works on various CCF journals, the Congress as a whole, and/or the cultural Cold War.[2] It comprises an introduction, fifteen chapters, and a preface written by Matthew Spender, the son of Stephen Spender, the British poet and co-editor of *Encounter* whose career was deeply shaken by the funding revelations. Chapters offer new archival research combined with engagement with canonical and recent scholarship on the Congress and its activities. They also provide keen insights into the dynamics surrounding the journals' histories, including the top-down motivations of CCF headquarters for each

1. Letter, García Márquez to Rodríguez Monegal, 24th May 1967, Rodríguez Monegal Papers, Box 7, Folder 12, Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

2. E.g., Scott-Smith and Lerg, of course, as well as Hochgeschwender, Olga Glondys, and María Eugenia Mudrovcic.

journal and the tensions occasioned by journals' efforts to negotiate their editorial independence—which, given the suspicions about their funding sources, was often crucial to maintaining the trust of the intellectuals whom they sought to reach. Scott-Smith and Lerg's assertion that the history of each journal encapsulates "a constant negotiation between the (Western) transnational interests of the CCF, its ideal of a global intellectual community, and the national contexts that set the terms for their immediate cultural reception" neatly summarizes the book's central concern (18). Thus, the editors identify a key goal for the volume as "better understand[ing] the CCF as a 'glocal' phenomenon" (6). Time and again, the authors demonstrate that despite CIA support for the Congress, "several layers of autonomy existed between CIA orchestration and cultural production," granting individual journals significant leeway to chart their own course (15).

Scott-Smith and Lerg have primarily organized the discussion of the Congress's journals by region of publication: Europe (*Der Monat*, *Preuves*, *Encounter*, *Tempo Presente*, *Forum*, and *Survey*); Latin America (*Cuadernos* and *Mundo Nuevo*); Africa and the Middle East (*Hiwār*, *Black Orpheus*, and *Transition*); and Asia and Australia (*Jiyû*, *Quest*, and *Quadrant*). There is also a section on the less-studied publications of the Congress's Committee on Science and Freedom (*Science and Freedom* and *Minerva*). In addition to covering the political dynamics inflecting the journals' trajectories, chapters examine how they were shaped by their editors (quite a few of whom had lived under totalitarian regimes and/or left the Communist Party, heightening their commitment to the CCF mission), as well as their circulation, funding patterns, and audience demographics. Chapters further discuss the effects (or, in some cases, the lack thereof) of the revelations of CIA funding on the journals' local circulation, reception, and credibility, as well as how they fared as the Congress was reorganized into the International Association for Cultural Freedom in 1967, with the Ford Foundation replacing the CIA as the organization's principal source of funding.

The glocal dimension shaping each journal—namely, editors' navigation of both local politics, including efforts to avoid the appearance of being vehicles for US propaganda, and direc-

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tives from CCF headquarters—is foregrounded in each chapter. As the *Mundo Nuevo* episode demonstrates, in a climate where anti-American and anti-imperial sentiment ran high, some journals were shunned as vehicles for US propaganda well before CIA funding was confirmed. (Indeed, several editors were quite critical of US culture and politics in their journals in general.) In a number of cases, the disconnect between CCF's blindered view of its mission and the local contexts in which its journals operated contributed to the demise of the latter. For example, as Olga Glondys details, in the case of *Cuadernos* (1953–1965), *Mundo Nuevo*'s predecessor in Spanish America, the CCF missed the mark entirely. Although it was aimed at a Spanish American readership, the journal was dominated by exiles who had left Spain following the Civil War. As a result, the journal's contents were oriented towards Spain and Europe, rather than engaging with cultural issues and events in Spanish America. Moreover, its strident anti-communist rhetoric and pro-US attitude meant, in effect, that the journal was completely out of touch with the problems facing the region, which included multiple US-supported right-wing dictatorships, and was also largely ineffective at dealing with the massive political shift brought about by the Cuban revolution. In other cases, significant differences between the Congress's driving principles and local circumstances in which communism and socialism were not viewed as the sole or principal threats led to strained relationships between editors and CCF headquarters.[3] In such cases, following the CCF's anti-communist messaging too closely would have doomed a journal's reception, and editors ranged from strategic to defiant in their (dis)avowal of the Congress's charge. Chapters by Glondys, María Eugenia Mudrovcic, and Ann Sherif, in turn, speak to the fault lines at play when the Congress's efforts to court intellectuals from the Global South collided with its Eurocentric prejudices, which often viewed the cultural

3. In Italy, for example, as Chiara Morbi and Paola Carlucci detail, Ignazio Silone, editor of *Tempo Presente*, also addressed issues such as right-wing extremism and clericalism, and also had to work around popular support for the Communist Party, given its anti-fascism as well as role in the Resistance. In Japan, in turn, as Ann Sherif discusses, the Communist and Socialist parties were "part of the mainstream political system" (270).

production of non-Western nations as inferior and, thus, not up to the standards expected in its journals.

Scott-Smith and Lerg's introduction to *Campaigning Culture* is outstanding and sets the stage well for the stories told in individual chapters. In addition to foregrounding the glocal dynamics shaping the journals, the chapters offer valuable methodological lessons as well. For example, Jason Harding's assertion that "archives should be employed to illuminate public confrontations and controversies but can't be used simply to contradict the published record when the contents of *Encounter* [or, I would add, of CCF journals in general] tell a far more intricate and interesting story than corruption by power" offers a reminder that the exposure of hidden ties can be one of many parts of a journal's—or other entity's—history, rather than the sole determining factor in its work and legacy (112). With its deep archival base and nuanced thick description, this volume is an invaluable resource for the study of the CCF and its journals in particular, and an important contribution to global Cold War studies writ large.

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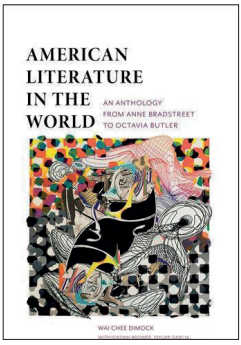
AMERICAN LITERATURE IN THE WORLD: AN ANTHOLOGY FROM ANNE BRADSTREET TO OCTAVIA BUTLER

edited by Wai Chee Dimock et al.
(A Book Review)



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Together with Jordan Brower, Edgar Garcia, Kyle Hutzler and Nicholas Rinehart, Wai Chee Dimock has edited an innovative anthology that builds upon her previous studies of American literature in a global/planetary perspective. In particular, Dimock's reflections on the nation as a strong hindrance to our grasping of the "deep time" of global events (*Through Other Continents* 3) and on the need to understand American history and culture not as unique cases in history but as the subsets of global events—as she demonstrates with regard to the history of slavery in America ("Introduction" 6–7)—strongly resonate in the book.

In *Shades of the Planet: American Literature as World Literature*, coedited with Lawrence Buell in 2007, Dimock poses a grandiose question: "What exactly is American literature?" (Introduction 1). In the remainder of the introduction, she chiefly argues against the nation as the privileged category that literary historiography has always made use of in order to collect authors and texts and provide them with a historical, geographic and linguistic frame through a gesture that is undeniably arbitrary but didactically functional. The nation, she maintains, is rather to be understood as "an epiphenomenon, literally a superficial construct, a set

of erasable lines on the face of the earth" (1). Its usability in literary historiography appears today more disputable than ever in the light of the ethical-political need to address instead the planet and planetarity as the only territorial limits and epistemic frames that could give sense to our understanding of past and present events as well as of literature. The centrality of the nation is all the more controversial when related to American literature, being inevitably tied up with exceptionalism as the category that has always identified the history of the United States as inherently unique in the world and hardly comparable with the history and the cultural and ideological tradition of any other nation.

Dimock's words do not imply that the nations and nationalities as grids to classify and teach literary texts have to be completely discarded. Rather, she thinks of the nation as one of the many possible subsets or modules that can contribute to our understanding of the planet and of its history and present time. As Dimock had pointed out in the introduction to *Through Other Continents: American Literature across Deep Time*, whereas the planet is the "never-to-be-realized horizon" of our global episteme (6), the nation functions as one of the multiple "crisscrossing set[s] of pathways" that can help us make sense of our present (3). Among the other subsets she mentions, besides capitalism (the far-reaching category emphasized in Immanuel Wallerstein's work), there are "world religions [...] the morphology of language [...] categories of experience, such as beauty or death [...] long-lasting genres, such as epic and novel" (5). These epistemic/interpretive subsets can be fruitfully put to use to interrogate literary texts from contrasting perspectives; the planet, on the other hand, functions as the utmost limit of our experience of reality, the constant reminder of its finitude and the only viable master-signifier that can provide it with a sense (an ethic-epistemic move whose strategic purpose sounds not so distant from the Heideggerian "being toward death," both originating from our need to make sense of our—otherwise incomprehensible—presence on earth).

The complex theoretical implications of Dimock's approach I have here tentatively summarized resonate in the anthology. The decision to assume planetarity as the ultimate horizon to look at in order to make sense of literary history and texts is implicit

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in the book's very title, *American Literature in the World*, which problematizes the scope of the work and the editors' approach and methodology. The anthology collects texts "from Anne Bradstreet to Octavia Butler," as reads its subtitle, grouped within five thematic clusters: "War" (the most extensive one), "Food," "Work, Play, Travel," "Religions," and "Human and Nonhuman Interfaces." Each cluster is in turn divided into a number of sub-headings, each opened by a short introduction, and includes a variable number of texts, preceded by a short presentation of the author. The texts, be they included complete or excerpted from wider works, are arranged chronologically within each section, so as to provide a short overview of the works dealing with the selected topics, diachronically arranged. Among the book's features, its intertextual and intergenerational rationale and genesis are undoubtedly remarkable. The anthology, in fact, "is a web and print anthology, part of an online teaching initiative" and, as the editors proudly remark, is the only anthology "edited by a team of students and faculty" (Dimock et al., *American Literature in the World* 2). The book, thus, is to be read not only as the result of a collective effort but as one of the numerous possible intersections of the "crisscrossing set of pathways" that Dimock referred to in her introduction to *Through Other Continents* being literally the result of a layered combination of voices and contributions initially hosted on a digital project at Yale University, a Facebook page, and an open-source teaching platform (Dimock et al., *American Literature in the World* 14).

The editors' intent is clarified in the introduction, which also remarks on the criteria adopted to assemble the volume and the reasons for the choice of the texts. Dimock's reflections on the inadequacy of the national paradigm as a criterion is remarked at the very start of the book, where the editors express their refusal to identify the United States as the anthology's exclusive frame of reference. A "larger, looser set of coordinates, populated by laboring bodies, migrating faiths, generational sagas, memories of war, and accompanied by the accents of unforgotten tongues, the tastes and smells of beloved foods and spices" should, instead, provide the chosen texts with a rationale, albeit a provisional, unstable, and even contradictory one (1).

The book is intended to be used chiefly in class, which seems quite reasonable, for a number of motives. Plain and essential as for the information provided about authors and historical frames, its thematic clusters could prove precious in the process of designing a syllabus. Instructors, in fact, might either want to include the texts anthologized or use them as a reference in setting up a reading list. Finally, the choice to include excerpts from novels, "featured here as cliffhangers" (10), might hopefully trigger the students' curiosity and encourage them to read the whole book.

Particularly stimulating is the presence of web resources, whose role in the elaboration of the anthology has for sure been paramount. The use of the website, part of an online teaching project, and of Facebook encourages teachers toward what the editors refer to as "[p]edagogic bi-directionality" (16), a didactic strategy that should stimulate new approaches to literature and literary studies subverting the roles traditionally ascribed to teachers and students. The fact that two of the editors (Jordan Brower and Nicholas Rinehart) are graduate students voices the need for a teaching strategy that, rather than reproducing the academic hierarchy of faculty and students, aims at increasingly getting closer to an intergenerational dialogue, whose multiple or even conflicting voices interrogate the texts collected.

Moving from the assumption that American literature is part of a wider, global network, the anthology presents authors and texts as the expression of questions that cannot exclusively be restricted to the United States but that, on the contrary, fully make sense only if understood as local manifestations of planetary phenomena. This challenge against exceptionalism, however, leaves some doubts as to both its theoretical premises and its chances to be successful.

The "large scale history" she refers to (Dimock, *Shades of the Planet* 7) causes the very category of the nation to dissolve in favor of what, however, sounds like a universal history. Though animated by the meritorious intent of deprovincializing and "de-exceptionalizing" America, the risk of such a move is that of conceiving universal history as a flow of abstract processes, which, materializing, acquire the local specificities of every area

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of the planet. The need for universalism has been by now acknowledged as an unavoidable reaction to postmodern fragmentation as Eric Lott, via Ernesto Laclau, argued in a 2000 essay. However, Lott warns against the risk of any universalism that is not "shorn of the dead weight of essentialism" (670). Is there such a risk in the anthology's theoretical implication? Is there the possibility, I mean, that the dismissal of any fragmented and hyper-diversified narrative of literary history will result in the reinstating of history as itself a universal subject, not devoid of Hegelian overtones? Aloof from any deconstructive questioning of their own *raison d'être* and "caught up in [a] large-scale world history" (Dimock, Introduction 7), the anthologized texts could be read as discrete manifestations of a higher order of events, as epitomized in the headings of each section. For instance, does the "posthuman" really function as a global or planetary paradigm, to which we can accordingly read and categorize American literary artifacts, or could it rather be looked at as the long-run effect of a number of processes that have originated in the twentieth-century United States and acquired, after decades, a transnational or global import? Universalizing historiography—or, even worse, taking American phenomena as unvaryingly universal—is one of the risks that the editors have daringly decided to run. As an anthology, however, the book at least partially prevents its essentialist readings, providing, thanks to its diverse textual choice, a tangible instance of that conflation of global and local that the editors strongly advocate.

The last remark about *American Literature in the World* concerns its usability in the classroom. Whoever teaches in departments of languages and foreign cultures is aware that the nation as a category still plays a significant role in teaching practice. This happens for a number of reasons, related both to established traditions of literary teaching across the globe and to students' (and also instructors') degree of knowledge of foreign languages, which limits the number of texts that can be profitably understood and taught. With regard to the latter questions, *American Literature in the World*, on the one hand, poses a stimulating challenge to instructors of American literature on a global scale and, on the other, lays bare some of its most problematic limits. Whereas its choice to group

literary texts according to multilayered and diversified paradigms could be fruitful in teaching activities and serve multiple didactic purposes, as the editors remark by highlighting the "suggestive rather than prescriptive" nature of the "five interconnected nodes, and the clustering of texts throughout" (Dimock et al., *American Literature and the World* 11), the book hardly questions its "Americentric" grounding. The decision to include in the volume only written English texts, in fact, seems to at least partially contradict the anti-nationalist or planetary claims the editors lay in the introduction and repeatedly throughout the volume. Not only are orally transmitted texts and texts in American languages other than English almost entirely absent from the book, but also the chance to include among the editors non-US-based scholars has been missed. Concluding on a bitter note, there is the chance, I am afraid, that instructors and scholars from that substantial part of the planet that lies outside the US will respond to the book by arguing that, as long as the borders of American nationalism and exceptionalism are challenged only by those who are entitled to establish and patrol them, a planetary anthology of American literature still seems far away.

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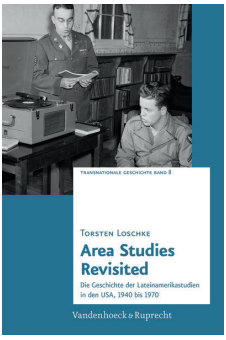
AREA STUDIES REVISITED DIE GESCHICHTE DER LATEINAMERIKASTUDIEN IN DEN USA, 1940 BIS 1970

by Torsten Loschke
(A Book Review)



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Ups and downs, individual engagement and political interest, institutional incentives, lack of money and little sustainability in the maintenance of specific Latin American programs: these are—roughly speaking—the results of a well-written and carefully researched book on Latin American Studies in the United States by the German historian Torsten Loschke.

In order to find out why, under what circumstances and to which extent the federal government, foundations and universities invested in Latin American Studies, Loschke examined papers of the Rockefeller, Carnegie and Ford Foundations, documents of the Office of Inter-American Affairs under Nelson Rockefeller's guidance, and the Office of Education. He consulted the archives of the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) and the Social Science Research Council (SSRC), the collections of the Duke, Columbia, and New York University as well as the University of South Carolina in Chapel Hill and Durham.

This volume owes its length to the practice of quoting extensively from the sources. Loschke not only provides the reader with decisions in science policy, but he reports recommendations and memoranda given and written by scholars, politicians,

and foundations' employees. Thus, his study examines equally the ideas and goals, the successes, failures and unrealized projects of area studies policies. Numerous examples, some of which have an anecdotal quality, tell about a philanthropic banana vendor who realized his dream of a Middle American Center in New Orleans or about an ambitious former librarian at Duke University who had unsuccessfully engaged in anti-segregation politics and, after having changed to Vanderbilt University, set up a Latin American program in order to humiliate his former colleagues.

These multi-layered insights into discourses and motives relativize the assumption that universities are simple vicarious agents of federal policies towards Latin America or that philanthropic institutions like the Ford Foundation are nothing but agents of US imperialism. The latter perspective was defended by adherents of the theory of dependence. Loschke also disagrees with Robert McCaughey's arguments that third-party donors are capable of realizing their goals. Loschke's work makes clear that the history of Latin American Studies in the US does not allow general statements about the relationship between science and politics. It demands a careful interpretation of the complex entanglements of actors, institutions, and strategies. Thus, the author applies Mitchell Ash's pragmatic reflections on science and politics as interdependent resources. Ash's approach is based on a broad definition of resources, which comprise financial, cognitive, institutional, and rhetorical aspects.

Torsten Loschke's analysis is chronologically structured. He focuses on the period between 1940—when the inter-American academic exchange was already in full swing and the federal state had just stepped onto the cultural-political stage—and 1970, a couple of years before military dictatorships in Chile and Argentina would terminate fragile democracies and the Chicago Boys being sent down to engage in local politics. Before 1940, the "field" was scattered and mostly shaped by single actors of distinct disciplines—such as the historian Herbert Eugene Bolton at the University of California in Berkeley (and his numerous disciples), the anthropologist Robert Redfield at Chicago University, and the geographer Preston James at the University of Michigan. The Rockefeller Foundation

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and Laura Spelman Rockefeller helped to finance research of contemporary topics and fostered social science.

From 1940s onwards, according to Loschke, institutional funding policies cemented single incentives into an institutional structure. In this context, the Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA)—a network of state, non-governmental and private actors—brought together older forms of regional practice and philanthropic engagement under the umbrella of the State Department. During World War II, Inter-American Training Centers combined language skills in Spanish and sometimes Portuguese with background knowledge of Latin America, and cultural dos and don'ts. The training centers were considered "pioneers" in the field of area studies, although they were often short-lived. The activities of the OIAA, together with the Research and Analysis Branch of the newly founded Office of Strategic Services (the for-runner of the CIA) and the Army Specialized Programs at several universities, widened the thematic spectrum of Latin American Studies.

After the war, debates about the future of area studies were shaped by social sciences. According to Loschke, the Rockefeller Foundation considered private elite universities more worthy of support than public ones, whereas the Carnegie Foundation's decisions happened more accidentally than strategically, so, while at Vanderbilt, Duke, and New York University area studies thrived, most area studies programs in the rest of the country were precarious and dependent on third-party funding. Loschke defines the year 1958 as a turning point after Vice-President Richard Nixon's visit had aggressively being interrupted by mostly young protesters in Venezuela's capital Caracas. The manifestation against the US involvement into Venezuelan affairs, the Cuban Revolution, and John F. Kennedy's belief that "Latin America is the most dangerous area in the world" liberated more money for programs such as USAID, the Peace Corps, and scientific exchange programs. They led to a new but short phase of federal commitment to Latin American Studies before the 1970s. Loschke examines the profile and strategies of Title VI of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, which fostered a program for foreign languages, but the federal incentive lacked coherence and would survive more through permanent compromises than sustainable funding.

But these increased activities were not always welcome in many Latin American countries. One of the most interesting examples in the book is the reference to the never realized Project Camelot, where the Pentagon earmarked six million dollars for interdisciplinary research to find out the reasons for the outbreak of revolutions in the "Third World," so they could prevent them in the future. The project triggered debates about ethics, integrity, objectivity and credibility of science in times of the Vietnam War. Critics questioned the qualities of many scholars who swamped Latin America and neglected consulting local scientists, who felt exploited. The last chapters of Loschke's book are dedicated to the policies of the Ford Foundation, which, as a missionary of science, helped to combine development aid with area studies.

Loschke's study is an institutional history in a global context. This focus might be the reason why he leaves socio-political contexts completely out. This is a legitimate decision but somewhat surprising given the fact that the Southwestern United States was shaped by several waves of migration from Mexico and by a population of Mexican origin stemming from the time of the Mexican-American War (1846–48), when Mexico had to give up almost half of its territory to the US, which was then Americanized on rather unfriendly terms. Loschke mentions ethnic conflicts in reference to Irving Leonard and his comments concerning a future Latin American Center at the University of Texas when he raises the question whether "the prevailing racism towards Mexicans" could prevent Mexican students from enrolling at the university (67). Referring to this historical-political context could help to explain why—as Loschke writes—colleges and universities in the US South in particular became centers of Latin American Studies in the 1930s.

Where I don't agree with the author (owing to my own research on the Office of Inter-American Affairs between 1940 and 1946) is when he claims that the political importance of Latin America did not only sink with the intensification of the East-West-conflict and the beginning of the Cold War but already in 1941. Indeed, other geographical areas now mattered more as they became directly involved into the war theaters. But until mid-1943, it was likely that the Third Reich could still win the war and create a powerful

sphere of economic influence in Europe, the Near East, and North Africa, which would hurt the United States. Thus, they sought to destroy as much influence of the Axis powers in the Western Hemisphere as possible in order to sustainably fill these newly created spaces. The US even pressured Latin American countries until 1944 to intern suspicious Axis nationals, block their assets, and nationalize them. The danger did not only loom from the Atlantic but from the Pacific as well. After Brazil, Peru had the second largest community of Japanese descendants, whom Washington did not trust.

Despite these critical comments, *Area Studies Revisited* is an important contribution that fills a gap in our knowledge and understanding of the complex history of area studies. Loschke rejects the current thesis that Latin American Studies were a mere product of the Cold War, and he adds the thesis that the area studies during World War II transformed itself from a core area of science policy to a side stage due to competing areas that began to expand.

This knowledgeable book ends with a radical statement by André Gunder Frank, made after his having been invited by the Joint Committee on Latin American Studies in 1967: "I am not prostituting myself to the CIA, the Pentagon or to any other institution of imperialism that is engaged in the self-same effort" (qtd. in Loschke 478). The history of Latin American Studies after 1970 and in the decades to follow is waiting to be written.

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ABSTRACTS
AND NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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1968 Transnational Legacies RIAS vol. 12, Fall–Winter, № 2/2019

"Men First, Subjects Afterward" Thoreau, "Civil Disobedience," and the Thoreauvian Echoes of 1968 and After

Thoreau's political reputation in the United States dates from the 1960s when the Americans began to see themselves in a political context. The single most famous fact of Thoreau's life had once been perceived as his going off to Walden Pond in order to drive life into a corner; in the sixties that was superseded by Thoreau's night spent in jail in order to drive the government into a corner. This paper will deal with Thoreau's impact in both the US and Europe in 1968, as well as two decades later when 'Civil Disobedience' became the slogan of the velvet revolutions in Eastern Europe.

Keywords: Thoreau; Civil Disobedience; political context; the US and Europe in 1968; velvet revolutions; Eastern Europe

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Emerson's major works in Bulgarian. Her current project focuses on Margaret Fuller's work, both research and translation. Albena Bakratcheva is life member of the Thoreau Society, USA and founding member and Executive Council member (2011–2015) of IASA, the International American Studies Association. In 2014 the Thoreau Society granted her the Walter Harding Distinguished Service Award.

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Inner City Blues: Blues Legacies and the Roots of 1968

In this article, I would like to propose an alternative and long view of "1968" which is grounded in black liberation movements, Afrodiasporic cultures, neighborhood-based organizations and sustained and propagated by music and sound. Venturing into this alternative history, I consider the Bronx, Harlem, and Naples, Italy as networks of resistance and nodal junctures for the transmission of Afrodiasporic cultures of opposition. Connecting the mutual influence of global social movements, music and neighborhood-based organizations, my article is also an invitation to start thinking about history through acoustic/musical resonances.

Keywords: Activism in the South Bronx; inter-ethnic alliances; Black liberation movements; Afrodiasporic and creolized cultures; music and echo-chamber effect; Harlem; Naples; Mediterranean

Alessandro Buffa holds a PhD in US history with an emphasis on African diaspora, World history, modernity and cultural studies from Stony Brook University. While in New York, he attended graduate seminars in African American cultural history and Black diaspora at the CUNY Graduate Center and Columbia University. He worked as Assistant of Iain Chambers, founder of the Center for Gender and Postcolonial Studies at the University of Naples, L'Orientale. His published work focuses on black culture and music in New York and Naples. He is currently a Research Fellow in English at the University of Naples "L'Orientale."

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Memory of the Warsaw Pact Intervention in the Post-August History 1968–1989 Manipulation, Oblivion, and Conservation

The meaning of the Warsaw Pact intervention in August 1968 soon became a matter of political manipulation. The spontaneously shared notion of the "occupation" quickly turned into its very antithesis.

The postulate of the "friendly assistance" of the Soviet Army gradually promoted on the official level played a key role in the policy of the so-called consolidation. As a consequence, the Prague Spring was denigrated as an attempted counterrevolution. The memory of the August "occupation" disappeared from the public sphere: It went underground or was pushed into the private sphere. The idea of the heroic and victorious fight against the counterrevolution, so much cherished by leftist radicals, reached its peak by the end of 1970 when it was confirmed by an official document. After that, it started losing its momentum as if the Prague Spring and the August events were rather due to fall into oblivion. But in 1989, the relevance of the 21st August suddenly reemerged in public protests against the Communist régime, which were taking place on that date. The article explores the coexistence/parallel lives of the three conflicting memories of the August 68 during the post-August history of normalization mentioned below: the privatized memory of occupation, the radical memory of fraternal assistance, and the policy of oblivion.

Keywords: Czechoslovakia; Soviet army; Prague Spring; normalization; memory

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Counter-revolution, or Authentic Socialism?
American Far-Left Reactions to the Czechoslovak 1968

For the majority of Leftists in the 1960s, the Soviet Union ceased to be intellectually and ideologically inspiring. Both Soviet Communism and Western capitalism at that time represented "the System" which offered universal manipulability and universal marketability as its only alternative modes. Thus, the Left searched for authentic socialism, whether in the Marxist-humanist philosophy, in the Third World revolutions, or in the local socialist traditions. However, even though the global Left faced several general problems common to all Cold War worlds, there were also important contextual differences which prevented the common base from further development.

Following this general context, this article will focus on the Left in Czechoslovakia and in the USA, particularly on the question whether the Czechoslovak reform movement of the late 1960s was inspiring for various groups on the US Left. With regard to the US left-wing reactions to the Prague Spring or to the resistance of Czechoslovak people against the Warsaw Pact invasion, the article will pay attention

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especially to the discursive dichotomy of authentic socialism vs. counter-revolution.

Keywords: Prague Spring; US Left; authentic socialism; counter-revolution; the 1960s

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American and European Leftist Academia through the Prism of Paul Berman's *A Tale of Two Utopias: The Political Journey of the Generation of 1968*

In his book, Paul Berman outlines a productive framework for a further interpretation of ideas of the leftist thinkers in North America and Europe. This article tries to follow Berman's approach and to provide a critical stance towards the views of a number of Western social and political philosophers who write after 1968 and even after 1989. My findings confirm Berman's light irony to this trend of thought but emphasize that some of the works discussed seem to be realistic in avoiding unjustified optimism concerning the leftist position.

Keywords: leftist thought; social and political philosophy; political left; global predicament; subject fetishism; commodification of subjects; simulacrum; global surplus recycling mechanism; sin of the Left

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Kryštof Kozák is Deputy Head of the Department of North American Studies at the Institute of International Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University. As a Fulbright student he spent a year at University of California, San Diego. His recent publication is titled Memory in Transatlantic Relations. His research interest encompass transatlantic relations, migration as well as political economy.

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Eastern-European 1968s?

The concepts of 'long 1968' and 'counterculture' compete in order to define the same cultural movement. Depending on the cultural context, historians used both of them to broadly define the same idea. Yet the whole situation becomes more complex when explaining the protests in Eastern and Central Europe of the late 1960s. In this paper, I argue that the protests from Eastern and Central Europe were the result of a diffusion from Western Europe as well as an evolution of locally-generated situations.

Keywords: the long 1968; East-Central Europe; Roszak; promises of 1968.

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Modes and Moves of Protest
Crowds and Mobs in Nathan Hill's *The Nix*

The role of mass protest has been recurrently central yet controversial in the American culture. Central because American history presents a constellation of significant collective protest movements, very different among them but generally symptomatic of a contrast between the people and the state: from the 1775 Boston Massacre and the 1787 Shays's Rebellion, to the 1863 Draft Riots, but also considering the 1917 Houston Riot or anti-Vietnam war pacifist protests. Controversial, since despite—or because of—its historical persistence, American mass protest has generated a media bias which labelled mobs and crowds as a disruptive popular expression, thus constructing an opposition—practical and rhetorical—between popular subversive tensions, and the so-called middle class "conservative" and self-preserving struggle.

During the 20th century, this scenario was significantly influenced by 1968. "The sixties [we]re not fictional," Stephen King claims in *Hearts of Atlantis* (1999), in fact "they actually happened," and had a strong impact on the American culture of protest to the point that their legacy has spread into the post 9/11 era manifestations of dissent. Yet, in the light of this evolution, I believe the very perception of protesting crowds has transformed, producing a narrative in which collectivity functions both as "perpetrator" and "victim," unlike in the traditional dichotomy. Hence, my purpose is to demonstrate the emergence of this new and historically peculiar connotation

of crowds and mobs in America as a result of recent reinterpretations of the history and practice of protest in the 1960s, namely re-thinking the tropes of protest movements of those years, and relocating them in contemporary forms of protest. For this reason, I will concentrate on Nathan Hill's recent novel, *The Nix* (2016), and focus on the constant dialogue it establishes between the 1968 modes of protest and the Occupy movement.

Keywords: mobs; crowds; American literature; *The Nix*; Nathan Hill; mass protest; dissent

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The Case for a Native American 1968 and Its Transnational Legacy

Partly as a result of compartmentalized academic specializations and history teaching, in accounts of the global upheavals of 1968, Native Americans are either not mentioned, or at best are tagged on as an afterthought. "Was there a Native American 1968?" is the central question this article aims to answer. Native American activism in the 1960s was no less flashy, dramatic or confrontational than the protests by the era's other struggles—it is simply overshadowed by later actions of the movement. Using approaches from Transnational American Studies and the history of social movements, this article argues that American Indians had a "long 1968" that originated in Native America's responses to the US government's Termination policy in the 1950s, and stretched from their 'training' period in the 1960s, through their dramatic protests from the late 1960s through the 1970s, all the way to their participation at the United Nations from 1977 through the rest of the Cold War. While their radicalism and protest strategies made Native American activism a part of the US domestic social movements of the long 1960s, the nature of American Indian sovereignty rights and transnationalism place the Native American long 1968 on the rights spectrum further away from civil rights, and closer

to a national liberation struggle—which links American Indian activism to the decolonization movements of the Cold War.

Keywords: 1968; Native Americans; sovereignty; social movements; transnationalism; decolonization

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