

## TEZE DIPLOMOVÉ PRÁCE

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**Semestr:**

LS

**Akademický rok:**

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**Název práce:**

American Left and Communist Czechoslovakia

Edit 2016/2017: The American Left and Communist Czechoslovakia, 1956-1968

**Předpokládaný termín ukončení (semestr, školní rok):**

LS 2015/2016

Edit: LS 2017

**Vedoucí diplomového semináře:**

**doc. PhDr. Miloš Calda**

**Vedoucí práce:**

**doc. PhDr. Francis D. Raška, PhD.**

**V čem se oproti původnímu zadání změnil cíl práce?**

The primary aim of the paper remains the same, that is, to analyze various relations between the American Left and the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia. The work will describe reactions to some important events in Czechoslovakia by American leftists and, from the other side, comments by both Czechoslovak dissidents and regime officials to the ideas of American left. The description of personal visits of American leftists in Czechoslovakia are still an important part of the work. The hypothesis, which has been added recently, is that the ideological content of ideas, writings, and activities is more important for the cooperation between particular groups than their structural position in the system. That means that we will try to prove that, during the Cold War, it was rather difficult for American Left and groups which opposed the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia to cooperate.

Edit 2016/2017: The main aim of the work is still to analyze the encounters of the American Left and Communist Czechoslovakia, with a particular focus on intellectuals and those who were critical to the ruling regimes in their countries or who tried to reform the leftist thought in an anti-Stalinist manner in the 1960s. The shift is also more to the comparison of the left-wing discourse on the social, political, and philosophical challenges of the period.

**Jaké změny nastaly v časovém, teritoriálním a věcném vymezení tématu?**

The subject of the work is still the same. We will analyze writings by leftist intellectuals, both official and independent journalists, and political activists with a substantial transatlantic element - more specifically, with these information which can help us understand the relations between the American Left and Communist Czechoslovakia. The time period covered by this work will be between 1964 and 1989, but the main focus will be on the second half of the 1960s and early 1970s.

Edit 2016/2017: Substantial changes have been made in the temporal specification of the topic. Initial aim was to cover the whole Cold War era but it proved to be too wide, so it was changed first to the period of the 1960s and 1970s and then finally to the period of 1956-1968. This timeframe seems to be the most compact since it covers a specific era of post-Stalinism beginning with the Khrushchev's revelation of Stalinist crimes and ending by the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Territorial focus on the transatlantic intellectual relations is the same as well as the subject of the work - the intellectual history of the Left with the emphasis on the discourse analysis of the topics relevant for both the East and the West.

### **Jak se proměnila struktura práce (vyjádřete stručným obsahem)?**

- 1) Introduction
- 2) Methodology and transatlantic intellectual history
- 3) American Left, Cold War, and the meaning of dissent
- 4) Politics, culture, and opposition - Pete Seeger's and Allen Ginsberg's visits
- 5) Transatlantic impact - American leftist debate about Prague Spring
- 6) The role of propaganda - Angela Davis's visit
- 7) Different dissents? Charter 77 and American Left
- 8) Conclusion
- 9) Sources

Edit 2016/2017: The structure of the work changed in order to describe the period of 1956-1968 in its complexity. Therefore, a long chapter which compares the philosophical understanding of the challenges of the era in the discourses of the Eastern and Western progressive Left was added. It includes also a comparison of the tactics of the movements, their approach to the intellectual-worker alliance, and towards the Third World.

1. Introduction.
2. The Road to the 1960s.
3. The Left in the 1960s.
4. Various Encounters across the Iron Curtain.
5. American Reactions to the Czechoslovak Reform.
6. Conclusion.

### **Jakým vývojem prošla metodologická koncepce práce?**

This work will be a part of the field which we can call transatlantic intellectual history. The main focus will be on the interpretation of texts but also of particular actions that together form the wider discursive frame. So, the method will be primarily discourse analysis, close reading of texts, and putting them into the wider Cold War context.

### **Které nové prameny a sekundární literatura byly zpracovány a jak tato skutečnost ovlivnila celek práce?**

- BUHLE, Paul. *Marxism in the United States: a history of the American left*. Third edition. London: Verso, 2013.
- Final Report on the Activities of the American Poet Allen Ginsberg and His Deportation from Czechoslovakia. *The Massachusetts Review*. 1998, Vol. 32, No. 2. p. 187-196.
- GINSBERG, Allen. Capitol Air. online: <https://www.rxlyrics.com/lyrics/a/allen-ginsberg/capitol-air-5c.html>
- LARNER, Jesse. Pete Seeger, "Folk Music", and the Left. *Huffington Post* (6. 8. 2009).  
[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jesse-larner/pete-seeger-folk-music-an\\_b\\_198511.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jesse-larner/pete-seeger-folk-music-an_b_198511.html)
- MARCY, Sam. *Czechoslovakia 1968: The Class Character of Events*.  
<http://www.workers.org/marcy/cd/samczech/index.htm>
- PAGE, Benjamin B. *The Czechoslovak Reform Movement, 1963–1968: A Study in the Theory of Socialism*. Amsterdam: B. R. Bruner B. V., 1973.
- PATOČKA, Jan. *Intelligence a opozice*. In: PATOČKA, Jan. *Češi I*. Praha: Oikoymenh, 2006.
- SOLŽENICYN, Alexandr. *Warning to the West*. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1976.
- SWEEZY, Paul M.; BETTELHEIM, Charles. *On the Transition to Socialism*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971.
- ŠKVORECKÝ, Josef. *Mirákl*. Praha: Albatros, 2009.
- THOMAS, Daniel C. *Helsinský efekt: mezinárodní zásady, lidská práva a zánik komunismu*. Praha: Academia, 2007.
- WHEELER, George S. *The Human Face of Socialism: The Political Economy of Change in Czechoslovakia*. New York: Lawrence Hill and Co., 1973.
- YOUNG, Ralph. *Dissent in America: Voices That Shaped a Nation*. Coincise ed. New York: Longman, 2009.

These sources represent selected literature which will be used for various chapters in the work. They cover especially the period of late 1960s and early 1970s, so that is why the work tends to focus more on this particular period. We are going to use different kinds of sources from theoretical articles to poetry or journalist articles and pamphlets in order to describe the heterogenous intellectual atmosphere of the analyzed era. Then, this work will work with Czech primary sources as well, especially newspapers like *Rudé právo*, *Mladá fronta*, *Literární noviny*, or *Světová literatura*.

We will also use oral history methods and do interviews with those who remember or participated on described transatlantic relations.

Edit 2016/2017: The sources reflects the period analyzed in this work, so especially the sources, both primary and secondary, covering the late 1950s have been added.

**Charakterizujte základní proměny práce v době od zadání projektu do odevzdání tezí a pokuste se vyhodnotit, jaký pokrok na práci jste během semestru zaznamenali (v bodech):**

- collecting sources for all chapters of the work
- making a structure of the work according to the main line of the argument
- working especially on theoretical aspects of dissent and about the left-wing thought in the USA
- selecting possibly useful primary sources (archival sources, newspapers) and getting contacts to some people personally involved in the events of the analyzed era
- getting new information especially for the chapter about Allen Ginsberg during the Allen Ginsberg Memorial Freedom Festival organized by our department

Edit 2016/2017:

- analyzing and comparing the main discourses of the period
- finalization of the work

**Podpis studenta a datum:**

Schváleno:	Datum	Podpis
Vedoucí práce		
Vedoucí diplomového semináře		