

## RECEPTION OF COUNTERCULTURE IN EASTERN EUROPE

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### ABSTRACT

THE PAPER SUGGESTS THE ABSENCE OF COUNTERCULTURE POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA. COUNTERCULTURE IS A CONCEPT THAT DESIGNATES THE NEW AXIOLOGICAL ORIENTATIONS OF YOUNG PEOPLE DURING THE 1960S, INCLUDING THE PROTEST IN GENERAL, THE FIRST ROCK MANIFESTATIONS, THE WIDESPREAD USE OF HALLUCINOGENIC SUBSTANCES, TELEVISION VIEWING, INSTINCTUAL RELEASE AND THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION. COUNTERCULTURE AROSE AND WAS THEORIZED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND THEN EXPANDED INTO THE WORLD. AT THE SAME TIME, THE DIFFERENT DEFINITIONS FOR AN UNDERSTANDING WILL BE REPORTED, WHICH ARE THE BOUNDARIES OF THE CONCEPT. DEFINED AS A CONCEPT IN PARTICULAR BY INTELLECTUALS IN THE WEST, IT HAS MANIFESTED ITSELF DIFFERENTLY EVERYWHERE. OUR ANALYSIS WILL STUDY THREE HISTORICAL SPACES - THE US, POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN COMPARATIVE APPROACH IN ORDER TO OBSERVE THE MANIFESTATION OF COUNTERCULTURE AND PROTESTS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE.

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**KEYWORDS:** COUNTERCULTURE, PROTEST, GENERATION, LIFESTYLE

### INTRODUCTION

The 60's of the last century offers a far-reaching historical and political perspective when it comes to mass-oriented mass movements. It is the decade in which the baby boom generation came to maturity, and with it came a new conception of the world. Being the result of accumulations over time, a change in collective mentality, or technical advances, it brings with it a new lifestyle reflected in the values of the time. The world is witnessing the formation of a new culture, one that prompted the show of sexuality and an extravagant style of clothing.

Some intellectuals assert that 1968 is similar to 1848, although unlike 1848 the year 1968 had a larger spread exceeding the borders of Europe. From Mexico to the US to Germany and Poland the students were protesting against the war and any model of authority.

Developing in the context of the Cold War, we can identify four major factors that contributed to the eruption of counterculture: 1) Civil Rights movement from the United States, 2) An alienated generation in relation to their societies, 3) The Vietnam War, and 4) the modern

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media means as the TV and the direct transmission. All in all, historiography pleads for an international counterculture.

The goal of this paper is to analyze in a comparative approach the counterculture in Czechoslovakia, Poland and the United States of America. Eventually it will argue for the lack of counterculture in the first two historical spaces.

### **APPROACHES AND HISTORIOGRAPHY**

Mostly, the historiographical approach of the subject can be integrated in 2 major taxonomies: the historical approach and the socio-cultural approach

The research on the origins of social movements is of interest for many social sciences and the diversity of methodologies used had a significant impact on the development of this area of study. The interest for such subjects had a constant increase since the sixties. In 1960, most of sociologists reached a point where they stated that the pluralism and pragmatism of the modern societies will eliminate the problem of mass protests. In the next years this claim was discredited because they observed the sixties as being full of mass movements, strikes, radicalism and activism. This fact favored an assiduous study of this period and by this reason, interdisciplinarity became a point of reference for its rich answers. In the next years the subject of mass movements became a major interest for historians, political scientists, sociologists and anthropologists alike and this strong collaboration strengthened the creation of international institutes having as a main goal the increase of paradigms and theoretical approaches concerning social mass movements. The new paradigms were historical, cultural and structural. In the last decade the structural and cultural approach became more and more different from each other. Among the remarkable intellectuals we find Jeff Goodwin and James Jaspers<sup>1</sup>, Doug McAdam<sup>2</sup>, Charles Tilly, Bert Klandermans<sup>3</sup> and Arthur Marwick<sup>4</sup>. In the same time truly interdisciplinary approaches are limited due to ultraspecialization which makes it difficult the use of notions and concepts from other sciences<sup>5</sup>. While the structural approach focus on the distribution of material resources and political opportunities, the cultural one is oriented towards the interpretation of these factors, namely how social movements can comprehend their own context.<sup>6</sup>

In the structural approach, Jackie Smith and Tina Fetner assert that most of the structural analysis acknowledge the state as the main arena where the social movements take place. This engendered two important concepts- the political context and mobilization structured. This vision is however limited for two reasons; the global structures can switch and their influence upon various political context can fluctuate. Beside this, states are part of the global framework and they can change depending on the influence of the actors. Thus the true problem is how the global integration and social movements influence the nature of the state

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<sup>1</sup> Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jaspers, *Rethinking Social Movements : Structure, Meaning and Emotion*. (Rowman & Littlefield, 2003).

<sup>2</sup> Doug McAdam, John McCharty, *Comparative Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Cultural Framings*, (New York: Cambridge University Press).

<sup>3</sup> Charles Tilly, *Contention and Democracy in Europe, 1650-2000*, (New York: Cambridge University Press)

<sup>4</sup> Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britan, France and the Unites States, 1958-1974*, Bloomsbury Reader.

<sup>5</sup> Bert Klandermans and Conny Roggeband, *Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines*, (Springers, 2007), 10

<sup>6</sup> Bert Klandermans and Conny Roggeband, *Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines*, 11

The cultural approach developed as a reaction to the structural one. Jim Jaspers asserts that artifacts, words, rituals, individuals and art have carry symbolic burden and culture incorporates world visions, moral principles and institutions. Culture, according to Jaspers, contains cognitive processes and emotions on how the world should look like. Therefore, Jaspers argues for a reanalysis upon the structures, progress and causes of social movements.<sup>7</sup>

Although divided, there are some convergent positions inside both paradigms. For example, structuralists McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly stated: “ the necessity to take strategic interaction, consciousness and historically accumulated culture into account”<sup>8</sup>.

The three major paradigms are being sustained by the sciences which dispose of methodologies necessary for the research of social movements. Sociology is the major science which has a subject dedicated to this type of research. Sociological definitions are centering on collective behavior, institutionalism, communication networks, movements adherents and their capacity to create a macro-social impact. A greater emphasis was placed on how social institutions influence people’s choices, thus trying to explain how collective movements become sources of change. The complexity of social movements represent a point of interest for Political Science which tries observe their impact in politics. David Meyer and Linda Lupo state that social movements never developed as part of political science, thereby its contributions are scarce, representing a few ties between the protests and the social capital.

The social-psychological perspective highlight the role of individuals in the social processes around him. Jacqueliën van Stekelenburg and Bert Klandermans outline four social-psychological characteristics of social movements- social identity, social cognition, emotions, and the link between collective identity and collective action. By the interaction of these factors a framework of possible motivations for collective action is formed. Similar to the cultural approach, anthropology has a tradition in researching the role of culture in social movements. According to Ton Salman and Willem Assies, anthropology has a considerable interest in studying the role of culture in protests. The connection between culture and protests encompass the cultural factors of a society and the reproduction of culture by the movement<sup>9</sup>.

Finally, the historical approach is the most detailed and complex of all. Historians study the movements as a historical phenomenon and they evaluate their development on long term. According to Brian Dill and Ronald Aminzade, historians in comparison to sociologists do not seek to create theories or general answers for phenomena. The historians answers are detailed and rigorous, namely made for a single historical space. Historians contributions to the research of social movements consist in their detailed, and dynamic analysis<sup>10</sup>.

The causes of protests were highlighted since the beginning of sixties. Historiography pronounced itself upon a concept which define the mass movements- Counterculture. The term was first used by John Milton Yinger in an article (*Counterculture and Subculture*) published in *American Sociological Review* in 1960, he defined it as: “To sharpen our analysis, I suggest the use of the term contraculture wherever the normative system of a group contains, as a primary element, a theme of conflict with the values of the total society, where personality variables are directly involved in the development and maintenance of the group's values, and wherever its

<sup>7</sup> Bert Klandermans and Conny Roggeband, *Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines*, 11

<sup>8</sup> Bert Klandermans and Conny Roggeband, *Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines*, 22

<sup>9</sup> Bert Klandermans and Conny Roggeband, *Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines*, 22

<sup>10</sup> Bert Klandermans and Conny Roggeband, *Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines*, 12

norms can be understood only by reference to the relationships of the group to a surrounding dominant culture.”<sup>11</sup>

A larger study regarding counterculture is made by Theodore Roszak in his book- *The Making of a Counter Culture* (1969). Roszak defines counterculture as: counterculture is primarily a rebellion against the application of the techniques of a fantastically productive industrial system to all areas of human life – to politics, education, leisure, the unconscious drives and even to the protest against technocracy itself.”<sup>12</sup> Laurence Veysey and Kenneth Westhues are two other notorious specialists in the study of counterculture, although we have to take in consideration that the writings of those four intellectuals are mostly focalized on Western Europe and America<sup>13</sup>.

Counterculture is usually associated with the postwar generation. Their world was apperared as stultifying being marked by the overwhelmed rationalisation of the modern societies. In their attack against this, they used humanistic values as love, liberty, sprituality etc<sup>14</sup>. The Hippie Generation, the core of the counterculture was emotional, overly hedonist, infatuated rock and drug fans who preffered sexual freedom instead of sexual taboos. During the ascension of hippies, homosexuals found their opportunity to release their sexuality “If it feels good, do it !”<sup>15</sup>. Although counterculture was ubiquitous sustained by the most privileged members of the postwar consumerist societies, counterculture wasn’t about material things, but about spiritual values. The students of the Democratic Society in the United States of America was one of the many organizations who were warning the world about its true needs- civil rights, nuclear control and decolonization.

### **UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

The territory of the United States was marked not only by dissatisfied students regarding their universities or society, but also by a civil rights movement, a women rights movement, a gay rights movement and an environment movement. Counterculture created not only a generation of dissidends, but also one with a specific lifestyle.

The United States had by far one of the biggest and influencing generation of the sixties. In 1968 the US had two movements which were militating for black people rights. Stokely Carmichael, an activist from New York and the coordinator of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Comitee ( SNCC) created the name „Black Panthers” accompanied the „Black Power” slogan<sup>16</sup>. The question might be why, but to understand this we have to go back in the fifties.

In 1954, the US was the wealthiest society on earth. The remainings of Great Depression and war ceased to exist. The goods movement and the destruction of european industries reflected in great enrichment and eventually in a baby-boom. The number of births increased by 19% between 1945 and 1945, then by 12% in 1947 keeping an ascendance until the sixties<sup>17</sup>. In this

<sup>11</sup> J. Milton Yinger, *Contraculture and Subculture* in American Sociological Review, Vol. 25, No. 5 (Oct., 1960), 625-635, 6, disponibil pe [www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org) accesat in 23.03.2018.

<sup>12</sup> Richard Wasson, *The Making of a Counter Culture* by Theodore Roszak, Review, College English, Vol. 31, No. 6 (Mar., 1970), 624-628, disponibil pe [www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org) accesat in 26.03.2018

<sup>13</sup> Keith A. Roberts, *Toward a Generic Concept of Counter-culture*, *Sociological Focus*, Vol.11, No.2 (April 1978), 111-126, 1, available on [www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org)

<sup>14</sup> Bert Klandermans and Conny Roggeband, *Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines*, 624

<sup>15</sup> Bert Klandermans and Conny Roggeband, *Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines*, 126

<sup>16</sup> Mark Kurlansky, *1968. The Year that Rocked the World*, (Ballentine Books, New York, 2004)

<sup>17</sup> Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties. Years of Hope, Days of Rage*, (Bantam Book, 1987), 22

years we can notice a change in everyday life symbolism, long roads and infrastructure began to symbolize freedom while cars were becoming the symbol of success and comfort. The change in the social fabric determined a great increase in services along with the number of students enrolled in universities. Expenses plummeted from 749 million dollars in 1945 to 6.9 billion dollars in 1965.

The Old Left was reconfiguring itself after the war, especially after the atomic bomb had been detonated. The bomb has drawn a line between the generations, for the ones who lived the war this was fact because their country became prosperous, but for the youth it was nothing more than savagery. Music, media and cinematography began to focus mostly on youth. Intellectuals as Paul Goodman, Herbert Marcuse and William Appleman were writing „rebel” books trying to attract the sympathy of youth. In fact, nothing more influenced the new generation in the world's states than the means of broadcasting and mass propagation.<sup>18</sup>

In 1958 and 1959 the first politics, sex-talking and literature clubs appeared. Columbia and Berkeley's campuses were already notorious for their jumble. A New York young activist- David McReynolds was defining the values of the new generation - *The beat generation by its very existence serves notice on all of us who are political that if we want to involve youth in politics we must develop a politics of action. The beat generation can understand Gandhi much better than they understand Roosevelt. They can understand Martin Luther King much better than they can understand Hubert Humphrey. They can understand the Hungarian workers much better than they can understand Mikoyan.*<sup>19</sup>

In 1960 the first countercultural germs reach the surface. In Greensboro, North Carolina four afro-american students (Ezell Blair, Franklin McCain, Joseph McNeil and David Richmond) enter a bar for “whites-only” and they required services. They were members of Youth Council of National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)<sup>20</sup> and while being refused in the fifth day after, a protest of three hundred people was announcing the war against racial segregation.

United States had the biggest youth movement on whole earth and it was a point of reference for every student movement. Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin were the first to announce the foundation of an international party (Youth International Party) with the purpose of uniting every movement in world.

## POLAND

In 1968, the idea that the Eastern Bloc was having internal problems was widespread in the Western world. For Poles, 1968 meant students protests, an anti-Semitism campaign and political tensions. USSR was facing a rebellion from Romania and Yugoslavia but it had a bigger interest in stopping Wladyslaw Gomulka gaining more power in Poland. Although Gomulka was confident that USSR was enough weak and his chances obtaining concessions were high, he was sure that Kremlin won't accept two things- the contestation of Warsaw Pact and the contestation of Moscow monopoly of power. First of all, Gomulka had problems in maintaining his power- the economy was stagnant and several factions were seeking to eliminate him, the most important one being Moczars's faction, the head of Internal Affairs Ministry.

<sup>18</sup> Matza, *Subterranean Traditions*, 116

<sup>19</sup> David McReynolds, “Youth ‘Disaffiliated’ from a Phony World”, Village Voice, Martie 11, 1959, in MacDarrah, Kerouac and Friends, 215

<sup>20</sup>Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties. Years of Hope, Days of Rage*, 83

Moczar didn't read Marx but he knew how politics work. Moczar was leading "The Partisans" a faction which fought the Nazis and who were the main opponents of the muscovite faction lead by Gomulka. In order to gain support, Moczar used an old trick- the jewish card.

Jews are part of Poland's history since XV century and their anti-Semitism was present over time. During the years of Second World War, the poles didn't hesitate to collaborate with the Nazis in order to get rid of jews, but socialism that came later promised to eliminate the problem of anti-semitism. Although the total jewish population was about 3 million people in the interwar era, after 1945 it started to decline dramatically.

While Gomulka and Moczar were struggling for power the students were rising as a movement. The young generation was troubled by their society. Most of them were the sons and daughters of important communists and party members, with a good material condition, but this didn't prevented them to criticize the values of their parents.

The protest of 1968 have their roots in the year 1956, which marked the end of Stalinism in Poland and the reorientation toward a more liberal state policy. After 1956, the intellectuals Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski tried to use this context in order to attack the system from within. Modzelewski created in 1956 the Revolutionary Youth Union, which after one year, has been incorporated in the Socialist Youth Union. This union had several factions and the most radical was called *Komandosi*.

The polish youth was aware of their lack of freedom and they began to be inspired by Herbert Marcuse who was criticizing the polish communist system. As dissidents the students developed ways of gathering information from New York Times and Le Monde. In 1968 they already heard about Martin Luther King's success. In 1964, Kuron and Modzelewski along with Adam Michnik, a history student at Cracovia first talked at radio Free Europe about a communism with "a humane face".

The protests began in 1968 after the party banned the poem *Dizady* written by Adam Mickiewicz, an important polish poet from the XIX century. The poem message had an anti-russian burden. The theatre became a great symbol of freedom, which is why the party chose to close the National Theatre. This galvanized the *Komandosi* members and requested "independence without censorship"<sup>21</sup> and they marched toward Mickiewicz's statue. On 16 February they sent a petition to *Sejm* condemning censure. On February 11<sup>th</sup> the Union of Polish Writers were writing a manifest opposing the intervention of state in culture, as a response the party used repression in both cases.

The students were aware about the danger of protesting right in the street but being young and radicals they weren't fearing repression. They protesting against Moczar, others at Warsaw University campus but in short time trucks full of workers arrived and aggressed the students. In March 11<sup>th</sup> the students were protesting at Cracow, Poznan and Lodz but they were brutally repressed by the police. In short time, the police cut off the communications between universities. The youth was inspired by what Dubcek managed to do in Czechoslovakia "We are waiting our Dubcek !"<sup>22</sup>. Meanwhile the communist party took action against any possible intellectual that was supporting in any way the students arresting Kuron, Modzelewski and Michnik. Various foreign

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<sup>21</sup> Martin Klimke and Joachim Charloth, *1968 in Europe. A history of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008p.182

<sup>22</sup> Mark Kurlansky, *1968. The Year that Rocked the World*, 133

publications paid attention to the Polish events, writing about Jews, hooligans, Stalinists and how the leaders of the students had been arrested.

At the end of March 1968, the student movement ceased to exist due to brutal repression of the party. Warsaw University closed 8 departments and 7000 had to repeat their year. Approximately 2700 people were arrested and 15 000 Jews emigrated due to anti-Semitism. The strategies of protest used were similar to those in West. Most of them were letters sent to superior institutions and the export of documents for example in France where they were published in *Kultura* edited by Jerzy Giedroyc.

As a general view the protests of 1968 failed and none of the students' requirements was implemented. The culture remained restrictive, Michnik had his career destroyed and was imprisoned.

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The spring of 1968 in Prague was the first initiative to reform the "top" system and marked the beginning of the transformation of the Eastern Bloc system. The historical process is significant because it did not mean breaking society from the Communist regime as it happened in Poland in 1980 or Hungary in 1956. The process was led by a notorious Communist then Alexander Dubček. The reform attempt ended, however, with the invasion of Soviet tanks and the destruction of the hopes of creating a "communism with a human face". The country has been occupied for more than 25 years, political leaders have been arrested and deported, and on 26 August the "reformers" signed a pact in Moscow to restore Czechoslovakia.

Who was Alexander Dubček? Dubček received a political position at 46, was enigmatic, tall and charismatic. He was the son of a Slovak tailor, Stefan Dubček, who emigrated to America and became a pacifist. He married a Slovak from Chicago and became Marxist. In 1921 they returned to Slovakia, who had become Czechoslovakia because they did not find the freedom they were looking for in America. At home, Stephen wanted to get involved in the socialist construction of his own country. In 1925 he moves with his family in Kyrgyzstan to work in an agricultural cooperative. They arrived there but they endured long period of poverty so that in 1938 would return to Czechoslovakia. Alexander was 17 years old and was a Communist figure.

The Czech Republic was fortunate to be a privileged province of the Habsburg Empire, which meant early industrialization and modernization. The Slovaks, on the other hand, had another status and their region was backward, but they were in good relations with the Czechs. In 1920, the Czech Republic was already one of the most important workers' unions and the Czech Communist Party was among the most powerful in the Comintern, gaining about 10% of the votes during the interwar period.

After the war, the policy of Czechoslovakia reoriented from itself to the USSR, which it saw as a protector, after the West had disappointed them with the Great Economic Crisis, the Nazi invasion and the Vienna Dictate. Respect for Moscow grew with the coming of the Red Army that left immediately after the war, leaving Czechoslovakia the only unoccupied country at the beginning of the post-war era. The Communist Party came to power through a "short march" due to the people who supported it, the political program that promised a "specific road to socialism" and the anti-capitalist sentiment manifested by the rejection of the Marshall Plan<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Karel Kaplan, *The Short March: The Communist Takeover in Czechoslovakia, 1945-1948*, (London, 1987)

The nationalization of the industry and the transformation of society also meant atrocious repressive policy, 250,000 arrests and 500,000 victims of religious discrimination.

The demobilization proposed by Khrushchev after Stalin's death had a favorable echo in Czechoslovakia, which caused it to be pachyphist, and that is why the system almost collapsed. Dubcek was a worker and in 1953 he was already a regional secretary in a region in the center of Slovakia. In 1960, the interpretations of Marxism by Gramsci or the Frankfurt School reached Czechoslovakia and questioned the domination of socialism in socio-human sciences, and students demanded more and more freedom in terms of book circulation. Until 1967, the cultural differences between the young generation and their parents were growing.

In 1960, Dubcek was working in the Kolder Commission, which analyzed government abuses in the 1950s. During that time, he had several conflicts with Novotny, the first secretary general who opposed him. In 1963, the commission had enough power to remove the secretary, instead they chose Dubcek for his candidacy. The situation worsened considerably for Novotny when Hrushev was removed by Brezhnev and had to make concessions. Thus he reduced censorship, and writers and artists are given more freedom. However, the state was still very repressive and the economy had significant problems. Due to the censorship relaxation, the Czechs and Slovaks had contact with the West. Interesting in the case of Czechoslovakia is that it quickly formed a generation as in the West. Hippies were present, and in Prague most young people in Europe were wearing jeans, long hair, shirts with flowers or they were listening to rock n roll. Prague became famous and visited by several hundred thousand tourists annually.

In 1967, a group of young people decided that they could do what the Westerners did best - to protest. They imitated closely the style of the West, in the morning they were carrying the candles that symbolized the study time, but at the end of the march they were watched by policemen who did not hesitate to become violent.

On Jan. 5, 1968, Novotny is removed from the party's presidency in favor of Alexander Dubcek. Dubcek was silent, and the reason why he liked the new generation was that he was anti-authoritarian and created the impression of a leader who was willing to dialogue with anyone. His mission was not easy, he had to enjoy Moscow and give the impression that he was a reformer, and more, to win the support of Novotny's men.

Dubcek failed to keep the situation under control, and perhaps his biggest mistake was that he did not remove Novotny's men. Dubcek made very vague statements, people just knew he wanted to reform the econ On February 15th, the youngsters in the country and in the country in Prague celebrated the victory of the hockey team against the unbeatable team of the Soviet Union. Supporters discussed the event for weeks.

Media, radio and television were under the control of state propaganda, but to the surprise of listeners and readers, it promoted democracy, the communist. The Union of Writers was allowed to create his own magazine, and the resistance especially manifested by bureaucracy decreased as Dubcek eliminated more and more of Novotny's supporters.

For a man with a true communist education "Democracy is not the only right and chance to pronounce one's own views, but also the way in which people's views are handles, whether they have a real sense of co-responsibility, co-decision, whether they really feel they are involved in

making decisions and solving important problems.<sup>24</sup> "Students were very confident in Dubcek, so they even thought the political situation in the past would never return.

Dubcek held a speech in April that spoke of a new model of democratic socialism. He advocated the Czechs' equality with the Slovaks and argued that the main role of the government is to build socialism. The ideas were contrary to their own beliefs, but Brezhnev did not accept the disappearance of the party's monopoly. The Pravda articles in Moscow condemned Dubcek's "bourgeois elements" and later came to the idea that anti-Soviet propaganda is being made in the Czech Republic. But Dubcek managed to persuade the Soviets that his liberalization was not an attempt to undermine Soviet authority, nor to destroy socialism.

Freedom that institutionalized in Czechoslovakia brought with it a powerful explosion of hippie culture. Young long-haired jeans who listened to rock and jazz filled the streets. The New York Times wrote, "Prague is essentially a Western-minded city in all things from the type and quality of its cultural life to the recent mania for turtleneck sweaters."<sup>25</sup> However, it should be noted that Prague has always been a cosmopolitan city in which German was the second official language, unlike Bratislava.

The most delighted scenario at the theater is "Who's afraid of Franz Kafka?", returning after being banned on the grounds that it is bourgeois creation. In the world of cinema, the Cannes International Festival featured three Czech films, including the work of Jiri Menzel *Closely Watched Trains*, which won Oscar in 1968 for the best foreign film.

Communism in Czechoslovakia was still very well seen by the overwhelming majority of the population, but the Soviets feared that the situation would fall out of control and the revolt would extend to Romania and Yugoslavia as well. Brezhnev and Kadar tried to persuade Dubcek to quit, but he and the high presidency voted to ignore the order of Moscow because he was convinced of his friendship with the Soviets.

On June 30, the first Soviet soldiers appeared in Czechoslovakia. And Dubcek was forced to resign. In the context of this liberalization, in the field of international relations, the attitudes of the Czechs and Slovaks were sympathetic to the West, which they wanted to approach.

## CONCLUSION

In general terms, Counterculture has been an international rebellion against forms of authority, but it is not limited to simple opaque definitions and mechanical manifestations. Counterculture is a lifestyle of liberation from all points of view. If we are to relate to the four factors on which historiography has agreed, Poland and Czechoslovakia did not have the post-war economic boom that propelled economies into consumerism. Thus, the TV was not so widespread as to represent a lifestyle (as it was in the West in general at that time), and the number of students was reduced, being conditional on the material state, so most of the students were sons and daughters party members and notorious communists. The Czechs and Poles had little freedom, they did not consume hallucinogenic substances, they did not have festivals like the West, they did not experience a sexual revolution, and the freedom of association was low. The symbolism of counterculture, thus, did not go beyond the simple frame of the garment. The programs of both peoples were especially focused on reforming and removing the Soviet system, and not on

<sup>24</sup> Mark Kurlansky, 1968. *The Year that Rocked the World*, 246

<sup>25</sup> Mark Kurlansky, 1968. *The Year that Rocked the World*, 252

spreading peace in the world or on civil rights. Our analysis testifies the failure of the two countries to meet the definition and practices of counterculture. The appearance of this generation in the 1960s was more of a protest of a generation of reforming students who found the opportunity during the liberalization period to expose their anti-systemic programs.

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