

Content

Preface — V

Acknowledgments — 1

Introduction — 3

Historiography of the Topic — **22**

Hungarian and Romanian Historiographies on “the Long 1968” — **35**

Part I: **Context(s)**

1 The Childhood of a Generation — 47

1.1 Missing Fathers — **47**

1.1.1 Making Sense of the Holocaust — **49**

1.1.2 The Deportation of the German-speaking Population in the Soviet Union — **51**

1.1.3 Political (Dis)continuities — **55**

1.2 “You just don’t go against the Empire”: The Influence of the 1956 Revolution on Protest Tactics — **57**

1.2.1 Hungarian Sixty-eighters Recalling the 1956 Revolution — **60**

1.2.2 “Divide et Impera” Always Works: The Limited Impact of the 1956 Revolution in Romania — **62**

1.3 Hidden Transcripts of the Sixty-eighters — **64**

1.3.1 Oleg Koshevoi, Old Shatterhand and Marx — **66**

1.3.2 Movies as “Drafts for Future Revolutions” — **68**

1.3.3 Hidden Transcripts and the “Hippie Problem” — **71**

Conclusions — **75**

2 (De)Forming Institutions — 77

2.1 Hippies as “Animal” and Juvenile Criminals — **77**

2.1.1 Schools: “This was Normal for me, but it was a Different World” — **78**

2.1.2 Libraries as Alternative Channels of Information — **82**

2.1.3 Press: “We Knew About the Names, but we did not Know Very Well Their Productions” — **83**

2.2 Hippies as Clients — **87**

2.2.1 State-directed Youth Organisations — **87**

2.2.2 Birth of the Private Sphere — **89**

2.2.3	Revamping Youth Organisations —	93
2.3	Hippies as Negotiating Partners —	97
2.3.1	The Birth of Autonomous Spaces —	98
2.3.2	“You Can Pick Them as Capitalists do” —	101
2.3.3	Censorship —	103
2.3.4	Hungary: “The Merriest of the Barracks”? —	108
Conclusions —		110

Part II: “A Nylon Curtain”?

3 Media and “the Nylon Curtain” — 115

3.1	<i>Metronom</i> and <i>Teenager Party</i> , the First Broadcasts for Teenagers —	117
3.1.1	Drop-out and Tune-in —	117
3.1.2	The Birth of a New Leisure —	119
3.1.3	The Birth of a New Type of Broadcast: RFE —	122
3.1.4	A New Type of Journalism —	124
3.2	Teenagers' Self-perception —	128
3.2.1	Letters as Emotional Vehicles —	132
3.2.2	Gharry O'Hara Asks: We Want the “Emigrant Song” —	134
3.3	Reactions of Communist Regimes —	136
3.3.1	Jamming —	137
3.3.2	Media Campaigns —	141
3.3.3	Over the Nylon Curtain and Back —	142
3.4	Hippies: A Category of Investigation —	147
Conclusions —		152

4 Rocking the Socialist State through Magnets and Tape Records — 154

4.1	The Story of Electric Guitars: Sex, Noise and Rock'n'roll —	155
4.1.1	Fenders Made from Toilet Covers and Door Magnets —	158
4.1.2	Teenagers' Self-perception: Technological, Symbolic and Performative Prestige of the Electric Guitar —	161
4.1.3	Building an Acoustic Society —	163
4.2	Smuggling Vinyl across the “Nylon Curtain” —	166
4.2.1	First Attempts: Shellac and Records on X-ray —	166
4.2.2	Becoming Professional: Smuggling across the Nylon Curtain —	169
4.2.3	Trustful Networks —	172
Conclusions —		179

Part III: Ultra-Left and Mystical Revolutions

5 Unexpected Models: Lukács and Eliade — 185

- 5.1 Ultra-Leftist Revolution in Hungary — 192
- 5.1.1 Different Ways to Challenge the Soviet Union's Hegemony — 194
- 5.1.2 A Gradual Radicalisation — 198
- 5.1.3 Lukács's Legacy: "A Return to Marx and From Marx to Reality" — 200
- 5.2 The Vietnam Phase (1964–December 1966) — 204
- 5.2.1 The Internationalism Never Happened — 204
- 5.3 The Group of the Revolutionary Hungarian Communists
(January 1967–January 1968) — 208
- 5.3.1 Going Illegal — 208
- 5.3.2 The Factory Phase — 210
- 5.3.3 The Main Group and the High Councils — 212
- 5.3.4 "Theses for a Program" and "The Way of the Revolution" — 214
- 5.3.5 The Pre-history of Hungarian Samizdat? — 217
- 5.4 The Trial and Prison (January 1968–August 1968) — 220
- 5.4.1 An Uncomfortable Trial — 220
- 5.4.2 From Political to Cultural Revolution — 223
- 5.5 Pol-beat: A New Phase — 224
- Haraszti and Gerilla Együttes — 230

Conclusions — 234

6 Mystical Revolution in Romania — 236

- 6.1 National Ideology Replacing Socialism — 237
- 6.1.1 Nation-building Discourse — 237
- 6.1.2 "Rare Flowers" — 241
- 6.2 Esoteric Counterculture — 242
- 6.2.1 The Life of Zacharias Lichter — 242
- 6.2.2 Ceata Melopoică — 247
- 6.3 Ethnological Counterculture — 250
- 6.3.1 Phoenix: Rock Music as a Trans-ethnic Platform? — 250
- 6.3.2 Between Avant-garde and Orthodox Mysticism — 252
- 6.4 Hijacking Counterculture Ideals: Cenaclul Flacăra — 256
- 6.4.1 The Folk Phase — 257
- 6.4.2 The Romanian Joan Baez — 258
- 6.4.3 System-embedded Non-conformism — 260
- Tactics of Hijacking Counterculture — 262

Conclusions — 265

XII — Content

7 General Conclusions — 267

Appendix A – List of Names — 271

Appendix B – Primary Sources Description — 274

References — 276

Primary Sources — 276

Oral History Archives — 276

Archives — 277

Secondary Sources — 280

Index — 287