

UNIVERZITA PALACKÉHO V OLOMOUCI

FILOZOFICKÁ FAKULTA

Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky

Bakalářská práce

Lukáš Ondruch

Anglická filologie- Ruská filologie

Margaret Thatcher Reflected in Soviet Union's Media (Izvestija;
Pravda: Organ Central'nogo Komiteta Kommunističeskoj Partii
Sovetskogo Sojuza)

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Olomouc 2015

Podklad pro zadání BAKALÁŘSKÉ práce studenta

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NÁZEV ANGLICKY:

Margaret Thatcher reflected in Soviet Union's media (Izvestija; Pravda: organ Central'nogo Komiteta Kommunističeskoj Partii Sovetskogo Sojuza)

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ZÁSADY PRO VYPRACOVÁNÍ:

Cílem bakalářské práce je charakteristika prezentace Margaret Thatcherové Sovětským svazem.
V práci se zaměříme na její politická rozhodnutí a jejich následnou prezentaci v médiích SSSR v letech 1985-1990.
Osnova : 1) Životopis Margaret Thatcherové
2) Politická rozhodnutí Margaret Thatcherové
3) Prezentace Margaret Thatcherové v médiích Sovětského svazu v letech 1985-1990

SEZNAM DOPORUČENÉ LITERATURY:

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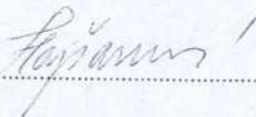
Podpis studenta:


.....

Datum:

19.5.2014

Podpis vedoucího práce:


.....

Datum:

19.5.2014

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V Olomouci dne

Vlastnoruční podpis

Děkuji Mgr. Pavlíně Flajšarové, Ph.D. za odborné vedení této bakalářské práce, její čas a veškerou pomoc, kterou mi po celou dobu práce poskytovala.

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1 Introduction

Margaret Thatcher is a significant figure of 20th century's politics. She is well known for her peculiar opinions and an intransigent attitude. For this, a Soviet journalist gave her the nickname 'Iron Lady'. Of course, Margaret Thatcher's politics did not pass by the Soviet Union's media. This thesis deals with a reflexion of Margaret in two major Soviet daily papers—*Pravda* and *Izvestia*— in the period of 1985-1990.

In the first part, I will focus on Margaret Thatcher's life. I will shortly describe her life from her childhood until her death in 2008. I will also provide a brief biography of Mikhail Gorbachev, who was a leader of the Soviet Union during the analysed period. Mikhail Gorbachev introduced so-called 'perestroika' and 'glasnost', which are reforms that directly, influenced mass media. I will focus on those reforms at the end of the first part and I will provide some information about the daily papers—*Pravda* and *Izvestia*, which are the main sources of my next analysis.

In the second part, I will describe selected articles, collected from the two newspapers. For every article described, I will provide an information about historical events, which the article deals with, if necessary. The purpose of the part is to display Margaret Thatcher's reflection in Soviet Union's media. At the end of every year described I will sum up and evaluate the articles about Margaret Thatcher. I will also try to analyse how the attitude of the two Soviet papers changed towards Margaret Thatcher during the analysed period.

2 Margaret Thatcher's life

2.1 Grantham's Years

Margaret Thatcher (Margaret Hilda Roberts) was born on 13 October 1925 in a small town, within the South Kesteven district of Lincolnshire, Grantham. Her parents, Alfred and Beatrice Roberts, brought up two kids – Margaret and her sister Muriel, who was not only Margaret's older sister, but also she became her best friend, as Margaret claimed. The family was religious, following the Methodist movement. The Roberts were also a musical family, and the parents had Margaret learn the piano from an early age: "In fact, I turned out to be quite good, and I was fortunate enough to have excellent teachers and won several prizes at local music festivals."¹

Unlike her sister Muriel, Margaret had a closer relationship with her father, who owned a shop in North Parade. However, he always wanted to be a teacher, but he had to leave the school due to financial difficulties in his family. Alfred Roberts was a lead figure not only in their family life, but also in public. Beside his 25 yearlong membership in Grantham's council, he was also a president of the Chamber of Trade and from November 1945 to 1946, he served as the Mayor of Grantham. In spite of his political activity, he never became a member of any political party and always stood as an Independent.

There are very few records of Beatrice Roberts, the mother of Margaret Thatcher, compared to those of her father. "In a particular sense, Beatrice was a typical wife of a British shopkeeper in the Inter-war period."² She did not have much influence on Margaret and in many sources Margaret is referred to as Alfred Roberts's daughter and sometimes her mother is not even mentioned. On the other hand it was her, who took care of household and taught Margaret everyday duties of a women at the time: "Although we had a maid before the war – and later a cleaning lady a couple of days a week – my mother did much of the work herself, and of course there was a great deal more than in a modern home. She showed me how to iron a man's shirt in the correct way and to press embroidery without

¹ Margaret Thatcher, *The Path to Power* (London: HarperCollinsPublishers, 1995), 9.

² Hynek Fajmon, *Margaret Thatcherová a její politika* (Brno: Barrister & Principal, 1999), 29.

damaging it.”³ Beside cleaning, cooking and baking, Beatrice Roberts was a professional seamstress and made cloths for the family.

2.2 Studies at Oxford

Despite her problems with entrance examinations, in 1943, Margaret started studying chemistry at Somerville College, Oxford. In Oxford, Margaret lived a modest life, as studies at Oxford were expensive even in the time and she failed to get a scholarship she needed. On the other hand, she was honoured to meet and work under scientists, she admired ever since, such as Dorothy Hodgkin (a Nobel Prize winner of 1964). Even in Oxford, apart from her family, she remained stuck to her religious life and attended Church every Sunday.

2.3 Political career

In a sense, Margaret Thatcher’s political beginnings date back to her Oxford years: “Almost as soon as I came up to Oxford I had joined the Oxford University Conservative Association (OUCA)”⁴ According to Margaret, Oxford politics was nursery for talent. In March 1946, she became a Treasurer of OUCA and in October, she served as a President of OUCA. Those Oxford years convinced Margaret that what she really wanted to do was to be an MP, even though she was leaving Oxford with a degree in Chemistry. Margaret started working in a company called BX Plastics at Manningtree. In 1949, she went to a Conservative Party Conference, where she met an Oxford friend John Grant, with whose help she got a chance to become a candidate of Conservative Party at Dartford. At that time, Margaret met Denis Thatcher, her future husband, who became a great support, when she, in 1950, started studying law. Three years later, giving birth to her kids (Mark and Carol) slowed her political career down a bit, but did not completely stop it: “Of course, to be a mother and a housewife is a vocation of a very high kind. But I simply felt that it was not the whole of my vocation. I knew that I also wanted a career.”⁵ Therefore, after 6 months of taking care of her children and her house,

³ Thatcher, *The Path to Power*, 12.

⁴ Thatcher, *The Path to Power*, 42.

⁵ Thatcher, *The Path to Power*, 81.

Margaret was ready to go back to the world of politics. After several years and some unsuccessful tries to become an MP, in 1959 Mrs. Thatcher finally got her seat, being elected as a Member for Finchley. In Finchley Margaret created a stable background for her political career. In 1970, after Tories' win in the General elections, Margaret became Secretary of State for Science and Education and she stayed in her function until next General elections in 1974. In 1974, two General elections took part in Great Britain. In February 1974, the elections did not end up with a definite result; therefore, they had to be repeated in October 1974. As a result the Labour Party won and Conservative Party became an opposition. The loss encouraged the Tories to find a new leader of the party. In 1975, after few manoeuvres Margaret was elected as a leader of Conservative Party. In 1979 Conservative Party won in General elections and so its leader Margaret Thatcher became the Prime Minister.

2.3.1 Prime Minister

Margaret Thatcher was a unique and outstanding: "She was the first female prime minister in Britain, holding office without interruption for longer than anyone since Liverpool. She was the first serving prime minister to be removed by a ballot of her MPs. She was the only twentieth-century party leader to give her name to what was an ideology—affirming the virtues of limited but firm government—and also a project to rescue Britain from post-war collectivism."⁶

In her first electoral period, Margaret appeared in a difficult position, as she had to face the tense relationship between West and East, generally known as the Cold War. The USSR and other Communistic countries seemed to be economically stable. Many signals about their successes in economy, social sphere and militarization appeared. Especially the partnership between the USSR and underdeveloped countries, which was targeted against the West, posed a threat. Margaret did not hesitate to declare the USSR and the Eastern bloc the main enemy

⁶ Robert Eccleshall and Graham S. Walker, *Biographical Dictionary of British Prime Ministers*. (Florence: Routledge, 1998). Accessed April 16, 2015. ProQuest ebrary, <http://site.ebrary.com.ezproxy.lib.cas.cz/lib/knav/reader.action?docID=10035302>, 358.

of Britain.⁷ The international relationships were not the only troubles Mrs. Thatcher had to face during her first electoral period. In 1982, Falkland Islands, the British sovereign territory, appeared invaded by Argentina. The Argentinian junta said, that the islands were closed to the South America and had been inherited from Spain in 1800s. Margaret Thatcher did not share the same opinion: "The people of the Falkland Islands, like the people of the United Kingdom, are an island race. Their way of life is British; their allegiance is to the Crown. They are few in number, but they have the right to live in peace, to choose their own way of life and to determine their own allegiance."⁸ After trying to settle the conflict amicably, the Prime Minister took an intransigent stand on the issue, which can be demonstrated on an answer she gave to BBC journalist John Cole, when in an interview he asked the Prime Minister how far was she prepared to go in the conflict: "It is still British and the people still wish to be British and owe their allegiance to the Crown. How far? We are assembling I think the biggest fleet that's ever sailed in peace time, excellent fleet, excellent equipment, superb soldiers and sailors, to show our quiet professional determination to retake the Falklands because we still regard them as sovereign British territory and the fact that someone else has invaded them does not alter that situation."⁹ About 25 000 soldiers were sailing across the Atlantic ocean to islands 8000 miles away from the mainland United Kingdom. The conflict was unique as neither Britain, nor Argentina officially declared the conflict a war. Interesting position took the US, their main goal was to become a sort of go-between, as they were worried, that by supporting either side, their own interests in Latin America would be endangered.¹⁰ After more than eight weeks, the conflict ended by British victory, which helped to boost the popularity of Margaret. If it had not, it probably would have meant the end of her political career: "Had the war been lost, Thatcher would have been derided as a megalomaniac, impelled by an obstinate belief in her own infallibility and by nostalgia for imperial grandeur to

⁷ Fajmon, *Margaret Thatcherová a její politika*, 166-167.

⁸ "HC S: [Falkland Islands]," Margaret Thatcher's Foundation, accessed April 12, 2015, <http://www.margaretthatcher.org/>

⁹ "TV Interview for BBC (Falklands)," Margaret Thatcher's Foundation, accessed April 12, 2015, <http://www.margaretthatcher.org/>

¹⁰ Fajmon, *Margaret Thatcherová a její politika*, 187.

send men to their deaths to the other side of the world in the last colonial battle of an enfeebled nation.”¹¹

In 1983, after a significant win in General Election, in which Tories won 317 chairs, Mrs Thatcher started her second electoral period. In October 1983, the intervention to Grenada took place. Grenada was a member of Commonwealth. However, because of the escalating tension between the USSR and the West, Ronald Reagan, the US president decided to send an army to Grenada. The US thought, that Grenada might turn to another communist country, partially because of the USSR and Cuba’s influence. Ronald Reagan informed the Prime Minister about the intervention, but although she was absolutely against any US military action, she could not do anything. The whole event provided another argument to Soviet propaganda. ¹²

In 1984, the Prime Minister had to face another problem—the coal miners’ strike. The strike was undertaken by the NUM (National Union of Mineworkers). It is necessary to mention, that all the coal mining activity was in 1947 nationalised and concentrated into one big state corporation: National Coal Board (renamed to British Coal Corporation in 1987). In her memoirs Margaret says, that she knew that she would have to deal with something from the moment Mr Scargill was elected the leader of the NUM.¹³ It was clear, that there were economic reasons to close some pits in the UK. The pits were not profitable and so Ian Mac Gregor (the head of the NCB) prepared a plan. He wanted to close all 75% unprofitable pits until 1988. This would meant removing 64 000 workers from their jobs. The argumentation of the NUM, as Margaret says, started to digress from the reality.¹⁴ The strike started on 12th March and for few days it looked like the government would have to step up, but Mrs Thatcher was not ready to give in: “The government was nevertheless set on defeating the miners, and Thatcher revealed that she was no less Manichean than Scargill by letting slip her conviction that the strikers had to be taught as firm a lesson as the Argentines in the Falklands war.”¹⁵ Fortunately, the

¹¹ Eccleshall and Walker, *Biographical Dictionary of British Prime Ministers*, 368.

¹² Fajmon, *Margaret Thatcherová a její politika*, 199-200.

¹³ Thatcherová, *Roky na Downing Street*, trans. (Praha: Naše vojsko, 1996), 236.

¹⁴ Thatcherová, *Roky na Downing Street*, 237.

¹⁵ Eccleshall and Walker, *Biographical Dictionary of British Prime Ministers*, 369.

government was based on previous experience prepared with supplies of coal and no other long-term strike joined the miners. Scragill that hoped during the winter of 1984, the government and the management of the NCB would comply with NUM's requests, because the country would be running out of the coal and in the winter the electricity and coal consumption reach their peaks. Nevertheless, thanks to the supplies and the fact that winter in 1984-1985 was rather mild, the government informed that the country had enough supplies of coal for another year so the strike definitely ended on 3rd March 1985. However some people state that the strike made a huge effect to mass of people and some of them have to cope with its consequences up till now: "Mr Brunt, who recently ran a course on the miners' strike at Northern College, says that although the situation is improving in many former mining areas, the effect of the strike was overwhelming. "They are struggling to cope - it's going to take two or three generations to work through.""¹⁶

In December 1984, the upcoming General Secretary of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev visited London. In her memoirs, Margaret mentions that at end of the visit she was hoping that she had been talking to the next Soviet leader, because as she later said to journalists she believed that she and Mikhail could do business together.¹⁷ Mikhail evaluated the visit positively as well: "Definitely, the visit commence a sea change to an important political dialogue between our countries about nuclear weapons and nuclear security."¹⁸

The period of 1985-1990 is later discussed in the second part of the thesis.

2.3.2 Resignation

In 1990, the popularity of Conservative Party and Margaret Thatcher reached its minimum. In October 1990, Margaret participated in the European Community Summit in Rome. The most important point of the summit was the ECU (European Currency Unit). Margaret Thatcher was, in contrast to all other countries, against creation of any currency union. After her visit in Rome, the situation

¹⁶ "1984: The beginning for the end of British Coal," BBC News, accessed April 22, 2015, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/>

¹⁷ Thatcherová, *Roky na Downing Street*, 315.

¹⁸ Michail Sergejevič Gorbačov, *Vzpomínky a zamyšlení*, trans.(Praha: Euromedia Group – Ikar, 2014), 284.

escalated even more after Geoffrey Howe's misinterpretation of Britain's stance towards the currency union. He announced that the government did not oppose the principle of a single currency, which was not the position of party, nor Margaret Thatcher, its leader. The Labour Party took advantage of it and as a result, Geoffrey Howe signed a resignation on 1st November 1990.¹⁹ On 13th November Geoffrey gave a speech in House of Commons: "The tragedy is -- and it is for me personally, for my party, for our whole people, and for my Right Honourable Friend herself, a very real tragedy -- that the Prime Minister's perceived attitude towards Europe is running increasingly serious risks for the future of our nation. It risks minimising our influence and maximising our chances of being once again shut out."²⁰ Margaret Thatcher realised the huge impact the speech would have even on her own position. In her memoirs, she said that maybe the speech did not fulfil its indirect intention—to point out the differences between the politics that caused his resignation—but it certainly fulfilled the direct intention—to do her harm.²¹ On 22nd November, Margaret signed a resignation.

2.4 1990 - 2013

After her resignation, Margaret started giving speeches. The speeches were given mostly abroad and to a great extent in the US. In the US, Margaret was supported by big audience, which provided her not just money, but also love and admiration.²² She also made several journeys to Soviet bloc's former countries. She was very well admired there, especially in Poland. In 1999 she visited the Czech republic and revealed Churchill's statue in Prague. The only post-soviet countries, in which she did not find many supporters, were Georgia and Ukraine.²³

Margaret remained politically active even after her resignation. In 1992 she was given the title of nobility—Baroness Thatcher of Kesteven, which provided her the membership in the House of Lords.

¹⁹ Fajmon, *Margaret Thatcherová a její politika*, 255-256.

²⁰ "Geoffrey Howe, 1990," *New Statesman*, accessed April 6, 2015, <http://www.newstatesman.com/>

²¹ Thatcherová, *Roky na Downing Street*, 573.

²² Robin Harris, *Nezlomná*, trans. (Voznice: LEDA, 2014), 317.

²³ Harris, *Nezlomná*, 323-326.

In 2003 her husband Denis died, which affected Margaret's mental health. She believed that her husband was still with her. It took two years for her to cope with the loss she was exposed to.²⁴ Since 2008 many information about Margaret's health condition getting worse started appearing. Baroness Thatcher died of a stroke on 8th April 2013. Her funeral took place on 17th April 2013 in St Paul's Cathedral.

3 Mikhail Gorbachev

In 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev was elected General Secretary of the Soviet Union. He introduced perestroika and glasnost, which were reforms that affected many spheres, but also mass media, therefore indirectly the reflection of Margaret Thatcher in *Pravda* and *Izvestia*.

Mikhail Gorbachev was born on 2nd March 1931 in Stavropol region, USSR. One of his grandfathers Andrey was and sent to Siberia for failing to fulfil the plan for sowing.²⁵ The other Panteli was accused of Trotskyism, imprisoned and interrogated, which influenced 7 years old Mikhail: "Gorbachev was old enough to remember that he had lived in the 'plague-stricken house' of an 'enemy of the people' which no one—not even relatives and family friends—dared to visit lest the same fate befall them as had befallen his grandfather." These unpleasant events left a certain stigma on Mikhail.²⁶ In 1950, when Mikhail was 19 years old, he started thinking about his future and he knew that he wanted to continue studying. As he says in his memoirs, he liked math, history, physics and literature, so he was thinking about a technical specialization, but after all, he decided to send an application to Law Faculty of Moscow University and he succeeded. He attended the faculty since 1950 to 1951.²⁷ During his studies, an important personal event happened. In 1951 he met Raisa Maksimovna Titorenko and he married her two years later, in 1953.²⁸

²⁴ Harris, *Nezlomná*, 381-382.

²⁵ Archie Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 25.

²⁶ Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor*, 26.

²⁷ Gorbačov, *Vzpomínky a zamyšlení*, 55-56.

²⁸ Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor*, 29.

After his studies, he moved back to Stavropol. 1955-1970 is a period of Gorbachev's life, that he in his memoirs named the fight for survival and of course a fight for a social status. Seven of those years Mikhail dedicated to a political work with the young and the remained eight years he worked on different positions in Party's departments.²⁹ In 1957, Raisa gave birth to their first daughter Irina, which complicated the financial situation even more and Raisa had to go back to work truly quickly after giving birth, because the family was incapable of living just from Mikhail's salary.³⁰ His wife Raisa was unemployed for a certain time and finally with Mikhail's support and her patience she started teaching philosophy at a university. The Gorbachev family's situation started getting better. The buy of a television was according to Mikhail the climax of the period.³¹

In 1970, Mikhail was elected First Secretary for the Stavropol region and he stayed in the office until 1978, when he was elected a Secretary of the Central Committee and moved to Moscow. A year after, in 1979, he became a candidate member of the Politburo and a full member in 1980. He finally became General Secretary of the Soviet Union in 1985. His promotion between 1978-1985 was rather rapid, for a politician like Gorbachev: "In Soviet politics, however, there was many a slip 'twixt cup and lip, and the Brezhnev era provided quite a few examples of ambitious younger politicians being pushed aside to make way for an older man."³² Mikhail also remembers in his memoirs, that the Party was against young people with new ideas and enthusiasm in its head. For example, Yuri Andropov said to him: "An old ox ploughs a straight furrow."³³

After his election, Gorbachev, knowing that a significant changes needed to be done, started a process called perestroika. The terms openness and glasnost are understood as driving forces for perestroika. Mikhail also meant a considerable change in West's perspective of the USSR. In 1985-1990, the USSR moved from being a devil enemy to the West to being a partner, with which a quality partnership can be established. Mrs Gorbachev also contributed very much in the

²⁹ Gorbačov, *Vzpomínky a zamyšlení*, 127.

³⁰ Gorbačov, *Vzpomínky a zamyšlení*, 109.

³¹ Gorbačov, *Vzpomínky a zamyšlení*, 127-128.

³² Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor*, 61.

³³ Gorbačov, *Vzpomínky a zamyšlení*, 315.

end of the Cold War.³⁴ His contribution did not pass by without a notice and Mikhail was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1990. In the same year, after first democratic and free elections, the Congress of the People's Deputies (the first parliament in the USSR) elected Mikhail Gorbachev the President of the USSR. However, on 25th December 1991, resigned the presidency to Soviet Union.

3.1 Perestroika

Perestroika was a group of political reformations introduced in 1980s and wildly associated with the Soviet leader of that time Mikhail Gorbachev. In 1985 he publicly spoke about tendencies Soviet economy had, without any misrepresentations: "Then I said in public for the first time, that the USSR legged behind other developed countries, and the slowing down economy development complicates the situation in economy, social sphere and fulfilling defence assignments."³⁵ This was the first time a Soviet leader did so publicly. Mikhail realised that not only economical changes were needed. He was aware that society and all the socio-cultural aspects needed to be reformed.

3.2 Glasnost

The term 'glasnost' is often translated as openness or transparency. Margaret Thatcher in her memoirs says, that the new term (glasnost) reflected the need of different understanding of reality, that there was a need to know the facts and say at least a part of the truth in order to make better conditions.³⁶ Glasnost itself is not a phenomena introduced by Gorbachev, some sources state that it has been in Russian since 18th century and even Lenin was for so called 'open press'. Glasnost can refer to two realities. One of them being the policies, which were believed to weaken the power of the Communist Party. It can also refer to less censorship in Soviet media. Before 1985, media was used as place for communist propaganda only: "Before 1985, no one in the USSR thought of the Soviet media as

³⁴ "Biography," The International Non-Governmental Foundation For Socio-Economic And Political Studies (The Gorbachev Foundation), accessed April 19, 2015, <http://www.gorby.ru/>

³⁵ Gorbáčov, *Vzpomínky a zamyšlení*, 319.

³⁶ Thatcherová, *Roky na Downing Street*, 323.

a source of entertainment. Rather, it was allegedly a serious press a collective "propagandist," "agitator" and "organizer" -- with a historical mission to spread communism."³⁷ In February 1986, Gorbachev, as the general secretary, expressed the need of openness and honesty in the media: "We shall not perish, because we are not afraid to speak of our weaknesses and we shall find a way to overcome our weakness." Gorbachev also changed many members of Communist Party and significant number of head editors of communistic press was exchanged as well, but Gorbachev soon got to his aim: "By July 1986, Gorbachev was impressed with the new openness in the press. He noted that "nothing comes of its own accord" and "none of us can continue living in the old way...why has the Central Committee launched criticism, self criticism and openness on such a broad scale? I can tell you that so far we have lost nothing, we have only gained.""³⁸ Glasnost influenced the ideological shade of the news, so after 1985 the reports in newspapers were much more objective.

4 Media

In my work, I use articles concerning Margaret Thatcher from two daily newspapers: *Pravda* and *Izvestia*. According to a survey that took place in Leningrad, USSR, the two daily papers were the most popular: "Pravda was more popular among the respondents with sixty-seven percent of them indicating, that they read Pravda. Izvestia was in the second position with forty-nine percent of the respondents as its readers."³⁹ Considering the two papers to be the most popular, in the analysed period, they are the most accurate representations of my analysis.

4.1 Pravda

First number of Bolshevik daily newspaper *Pravda* was published on 22 April 1912. The newspaper was the main organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its mouthpiece. This fact provided the newspaper a significant amount of

³⁷ Festus Eribo, " 'The Changing Media in the USSR': New Evidence from a Recent Survey. " (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Washington, DC, August 10-13, 1989.)

³⁸ Eribo, *The Changing Media in the USSR*, n.p.

³⁹ Eribo, *The Changing Media in the USSR*, n.p.

popularity during the Communist Era. Pravda was published until the collapse of the USSR, when the daily paper was sold off.

4.2 Izvestia

The printing out of *Izvestia* started in 1917 . Before the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, it was published as an organ of the Central Committee of the Worker's Council. After the Revolution it became the official organ of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union. In 1992, *Izvestia* was privatized.⁴⁰ Today the newspaper loses its seriousness to sensationalism: "The leading 'serious' nationwide newspaper, *Izvestia*, waddles in between, increasingly on the receiving end of accusation of sensationalism and pandering to the government."⁴¹ Nowadays *Izvestia* is one of the most popular newspapers in Russia: "With its circulation of over 150,000, the *Izvestia* daily is one of the oldest-running and most popular nation-wide newspaper that Russia currently has."⁴²

5 Reflection of Margaret Thatcher

In this part, I analyse articles collected from the daily papers. During my research, I found some numbers of the papers missing. However, every day is covered by one or another paper, therefore such a fact should not lead to any misrepresentation.

5.1 1985

In 1985, both papers published a great number of articles and columns containing the unemployment issue. This should not be surprising, considering the fact that the number of unemployed people in 1982 exceeded 3,000,000 and stayed above that level until 1987. In addition, many miners lost their jobs, because of the pits' closures in the previous year. Therefore, articles about unemployment in the UK and even almost unnoticeable mentions of it were frequent. One of them was

⁴⁰ Anna Arutunyan. *Media in Russia*. (Berkshire: McGraw-Hill Education, 2009). Accessed April 9, 2015. ProQuest ebrary.

<http://site.ebrary.com.ezproxy.lib.cas.cz/lib/knav/reader.action?docID=10350199>, 101.

⁴¹ Arutunyan, *Media in Russia*, 84.

⁴² Arutunyan, *Media in Russia*, 101.

printed by *Izvestia* on 13th May named 'The previous position'. The article is based on Margaret's speech that was given on 10th May during the Scottish Party Conference. The paper says that Conservative Party will continue with using its force in international politics and their economic direction will get tougher, while protecting their massive capital and completely ignoring the needs of the working class.⁴³ Margaret also commented the unemployment during the Conference: "Many people find it a paradox that, although we have had a year of record output although we have had a year of record standard of living although we have had a year of rising profits and although we have had a year of record investment; all that and yet unemployment hasn't fallen."⁴⁴ *Izvestia* to the unemployment issue mentions that Thatcher's administration is worried about the massive unemployment in the country and is ready to do something about it. However, *Izvestia* says, she did not mention commonly known fact, that just during the Tories' period, the unemployment level exceeded as it never had before.⁴⁵

On 28th April Margaret gave an interview for BBC Radio 4 in its programme called 'It's Your World'. The interview was noticed by *Pravda* and a short, but detailed article was published on 30th April. The article was titled 'The previous trend' in which the interview is summed up. It says, that the Conservative Party's intension is to solve international problems by its power and that Margaret rejected the latest peaceful intentions of the USSR an anticipated establishment of a moratorium for spreading medium-range ballistic missiles. The paper also says that according to Margaret, London will hold its negative attitude towards a regulation of an Argentine/Falkland problem.⁴⁶ In reality, Margaret said: "We are quite willing to have talks on resuming diplomatic relations and economic ties. Indeed, some of our representatives met some Argentine representatives in Bern with a view to doing just that. But I'm afraid the talks did not get very far to our disappointment. ... The Falklands is British sovereign territory. Many of our families have been there for 150 years. There before a lot of the people who are now Argentinian families, even

⁴³ "Позиция прежняя," *Известия*, May 13, 1985, 4.

⁴⁴ "Speech to Scottish Party Conference," Margaret Thatcher Foundation, accessed April 22, 2015, <http://www.margaretthatcher.org/>

⁴⁵ "Позиция прежняя," *Известия*, May 13, 1985, 4.

⁴⁶ "Курз – прежний," *Правда*, April 30, 1985, 5.

emigrated to Argentina. It's British sovereign territory, there were no indigenous population when our people went there. They are British people, they wish to stay British. Do you expect me to deny them that right? Do you expect me to give up their right? Do you expect Britain to give up their right? Do you expect me to give up their right? Certainly not, that is their right, we shall defend it."⁴⁷ The article ends with saying that Margaret again declared against any sanctions in connection with South Africa.

On 2nd September, Margaret Thatcher made changes in the Cabinet. In her memoirs she says that every Party—especially Conservative—tends to blame the presentation of the Party for its difficulties, but she really believed, that some ministers were not in the right places and were not able to defend the politics in front of public. She wanted the Cabinet to present itself well until the next General Elections.⁴⁸ John MacGregor became Chief Secretary to the Treasury, Leon Brittan became Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, Douglas Hurd replaced Leon Brittan in the position of Home Secretary, and Norman Tebbit became Chairman of the Conservative Party, Tom King became Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and Lord Young became Secretary of State for the Environment. Despite those radical changes, Margaret Thatcher could not avoid the escalation of the situation at the end of the year 1985.⁴⁹ *Pravda* reacted to those changes in its article from 4th September titled 'Thatcher shuffles ...', which is just a description of the changes made. On the same day, *Izvestia* published an article called 'Changes in the government' in which the paper gives details about the changes and presents the causes: "According to all, Conservatives included, it is obvious, that the position of Tories and their power is weakened. Even the latest public opinion poll states so."⁵⁰ On 5th September, *Pravda* published another article 'Changes without changes', saying that those 'massive changes' are not shocking at all and that it was all obvious, thanks to the situation Tories are in.⁵¹ Margaret Thatcher felt that the changes would help the Party and that they created stronger administration, which

⁴⁷ "Radio Interview For BBC Radio 4 *It's Your World* (phone-in)," Margaret Thatcher Foundation, accessed April 6, 2015, <http://www.margaretthatcher.org/>

⁴⁸ Thatcherová, *Roky na Downing Street*, 286.

⁴⁹ Fajmon, *Margaret Thatcherová a její politika*, 216.

⁵⁰ "Перестановки в правительстве," *Известия*, September 9, 1985, 4.

⁵¹ Валентин Василец, 'Перемены без перемен,' *Правда*, September 5, 1985, 5.

would survive all troubles and would bring the Party to the next GE. Nevertheless, the Westland affair was about to begin.⁵²

The articles published by *Pravda* and *Izvestia* deal with the Conservative Party politics rather than Margaret Thatcher herself. The articles are rather short and almost unnoticeable, but overall negative. The politics of the Conservative Party was of course in opposition with the politics of the USSR and so the papers frequently called the politics of Margaret Thatcher sever and heartless.

5.2 1986

On 13th December 1985 the Westland affair burst out and it did not pass unnoticed by the USSR papers. The Westland affair is almost a forgotten event and even when Margaret Thatcher was writing her first memoirs she said that the affair should have been mentioned just as a footnote.⁵³ Westland was Britain's last helicopter manufacturer. The company started having troubles and soon it became obvious that Westland needed a partnership with another company in order to survive the crisis. The Defence Secretary Michael Heseltine had a strong preference in European companies such as Italian Augusta and French company Aérospatiale. However, evidently the best offer came from an American company Sikorski. The Secretary of Trade and Industry Leon Britton wanted the Westland to merge with Sikorski. In December, the situation was repeatedly discussed in the House of Commons and the discussions always ended up in favour of Sikorski. On 9th January 1986, Heseltine again brought up the discussion after which Margaret Thatcher announced the decision based on majority in favour of Sikorski. The same day Michael Heseltine published a report and announced his resignation. The discussion about the Westland were not over. Bad communication between Margaret Thatcher's office and Secretary of Trade and Industry Leon Britton was one of the affair's reasons, based on which, Leon Britton signed his resignation on 24th January 1986.⁵⁴ *Pravda* reacted to those events on 10th January 1986 with an article titled: 'Resignation of M. Heseltine' in which the paper says that during a meeting of the

⁵² Thatcherová, *Roky na Downing Street*, 289.

⁵³ Harris, *Nezlomná*, 251.

⁵⁴ Fajmon, *Margaret Thatcherová a její politika*, 220-222.

Cabinet, Margaret wanted every minister to confirm their support of the position of the Party. According to *Pravda*, after the demand M. Heseltine left the meeting. On 26th January *Pravda* continued with its reports on the Westland affair with another article: 'British Watergate?' in which it claims that the whole situation starts to feel like an analogy of Watergate (the affair that happened in the US in 70s). It refers to the affair as to a stormy political scandal. The article then informs about Leon Britton's resignation and mentions that even M. Thatcher might be endangered: "It needs to be said, that M. Thatcher took all the activities of Leon Britton under her protection, saying that his decision to publish the secret material discrediting former Defence Secretary was right. This statement boosted the attacks from the opposition even more and in the centre of them appeared Mrs Thatcher herself."⁵⁵

On 30th March, *Pravda* published a brief article in its section called 'Constructive approach'. The section was supposed to be a collection of positive reactions the USSR was getting for its attitude towards the situation in the Mediterranean in 1986. The article is based on a commentary published by *Morning Star* magazine and bountifully refers to it. It compares approaches taken by M. Thatcher and R. Reagan with approaches taken by the USSR. It says, that even though M. Thatcher and R. Reagan took negative stands, the USSR, on the other, made another steps in rectifying the world order. It stands that the situation calls for certain talks, and the best place to have them, according to the paper, is the UN. "The Soviet initiative again clearly demonstrates the cores of the priorities of the socialistic countries and aggressive, imperialistic superpowers. The battle for a peaceful, disarmed world is not a 'good condition' as arrogantly presented the issue M. Thatcher.", says the daily paper.⁵⁶

On 17th May, *Izvestia* printed an article, named 'A test for Tories'. The column says that Mrs Thatcher had to survive another unpleasant day, reacting to a criticism of her politics in the House of Commons. *Izvestia* mentions that this time, the leadership of the Cabinet, which had enlarged the army of the unemployed, was basically convicted inside the Westminster's walls. Even by some Tories. The paper refers to Edward du Cann's disagreement with not supporting the shipbuilding

⁵⁵ 'Британский Уотергейт?,' *Правда*, January 26, 1986, 5.

⁵⁶ "Конструктивный подход," *Правда*, March 30, 1986, 5.

industry enough and Nicolas Soames's criticism of government's measures that put an airline British Caledonian into harsh conditions. As an answer, the paper says, the typical 'no' could have been heard to every proposal of changing the direction of the government. Then the paper follows: "M. Thatcher again showed her character, acting according to the principle 'it's always been that way, it will stay that way'."⁵⁷ The column ends with saying that according to latest public verdict, Tories happened to occupy the third place, not just behind the Labourists, but even behind the social democrat and liberal's bloc.

In 1986, the Soviet papers took rather a negative stand towards Margaret Thatcher and her leadership. One of the reasons might have been the Westland affair, which was a sensation for the Soviet papers. After the affair the distrust of the British government was legitimate. Margaret was described by the papers as arrogant (in the 'Constructive approach') and bossy ('A test for Tories'). The articles causing the distrust and instability of the Conservative Party. Another reason for the negative approach by the Soviet papers could be the upcoming GE in 1987 and the small probability of another win of the Conservative Party in a row. If the Conservative Party had lost in the GE in 1987, the Soviet papers would probably have claimed another enemy defeated.

5.3 1987

In 1987, a significant amount of articles deals with Margaret Thatcher's visit to the USSR and her meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev. Margaret Thatcher's visit started on 28th March. On the day of her arrival, *Pravda* published a letter addressed to Margaret. The article containing the letter was labelled: 'Dear Prime Minister!'. In the letter an author—a pensioner called Margarita Pilchikova—is asking Margaret to read the letter and then talks about weapons of mass dysfunction and that namely Pentagon is thinking about using them. The reason is, according to the author, the merciless hate towards the USSR. The author then pays Margaret few compliments: "Margaret, you are a very clever and a charming woman. Try your best, in order to make our lives on this planet beautiful, in order to

⁵⁷ А. Кривопапов, "Испытание для тори," *Известия*, May 17, 1986, 4.

be surrounded by beautiful nature, breathe clean air and drink clean water and in order to have a bright sun shining above us.” At the end of the letter, the author says that they are all looking forward to her visit and they all hope that she will bring some warm up into their international relationship and will contribute to the worldwide peace.⁵⁸

On 30th March 1987 the official meeting of Margaret Thatcher and Mikhail Gorbachev took place. The dialogue was open, honest and according to Margaret it would rev up so fast. On the meeting, she said that she did not know about a single evidence of the USSR giving up on their intention to spread communism worldwide. M.S. Gorbachev according to her memoirs criticized conservatism as well as she, herself, criticized communism. The next issue discussed during the meeting was arms race.⁵⁹ On 31st March, *Pravda* published an article ‘The meeting of M.S. Gorbachev and M. Thatcher’ on its cover page. The exact same article was printed out in *Izvestia* on 1st April. In ‘The meeting of M.S. Gorbachev and M. Thatcher’ the conversation between Margaret and Mikhail is described as open, honest with an argumentation, but still in a friendly tone. The significantly bigger part of the article is dedicated to Mikhail Gorbachev’s opinions and his point of views, which he expressed during the meeting. Margaret Thatcher is mentioned in connection with atomic weapons as their supporter. The article also says, that she is for increase of Britain’s nuclear potential, because she does believe in the intension of the USSR to spread communism worldwide and there is a danger of the USSR invading Western Europe. According to the paper, Margaret showed a great interest in reforms, that were happening in the time in the USSR.⁶⁰ On the next page, the paper published M. S. Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher’s speeches. On 1st April *Pravda* and *Izvestia* printed the same articles: ‘The signing of Soviet-British papers’ and *Pravda* ran even another articles, which appeared in *Izvestia* on 2nd April: ‘The discussion in Kremlin’ and ‘M. Thatcher: We can have a sincere conversation’. In ‘The discussion in Kremlin’ the papers inform their readers about a meeting between Margaret Thatcher and Nikolai Ryzhkov, who served as the Chairman at the Council of

⁵⁸ Маргарита Пильчикова, “«Уважаемая премьер-министр!»,” *Известия*, March 28, 1987, 5.

⁵⁹ Thatcherová, *Roky na Downing Street*, 327.

⁶⁰ “Встреча М. С. Горбачева с М. Тэтчер,” *Правда*, March 31, 1987, 1.

Ministers. The article says that both sides—the British and the Soviet—are interested in cooperation and intensification of their relations. The article ‘M. Thatcher: We can have a sincere conversation’ is a translation of some points made by M. Thatcher during the interview. The whole interview was broadcasted. Some points that Margaret made are edited in the article. The journalists asked her about the meeting with M. S. Gorbachev and they wanted to know what Margaret and Mikhail had discussed. In her answer she mentions arms control and that nuclear weapons are necessary for maintaining peace and then she mentions chemical weapons: “Also, we had special talks on chemical weapons. We in Great Britain abolished our chemical weapons—we destroyed them—towards the end of the 1950s, so we have not got any. The United States did not modernise hers, but the Soviet Union not only has them but has modernised them and has a large stockpile. You can imagine this gives us cause for great concern, so we are very pleased that Mr. Gorbachev has accepted our proposals for inspection, to try to ensure that these weapons are destroyed—and we know they are destroyed—because, you know, after the First World War in Europe when they were used, they were so terrible that they were never used in the Second, and we hope therefore they will all be destroyed. That is on arms control.”⁶¹ *Pravda* summed the statement up to just two brief sentences: “We did agree that at the first place a chemical weapons question needs to be solved. The United Kingdom put forth serious solutions to this problem.”⁶² The significant part of the article deals with arms control. The Prime Minister, in the article, then talks about her meeting with Nikolai Ryzhkov, the Chairman at the Council of Ministers. At the end, Margaret says that the visit evokes a great feeling of satisfaction in her and that now both sides understand each other better.⁶³

In 1987, the Soviet papers started showing Margaret in much better light. One of the reasons being the visit of Margaret to the USSR and that Mrs Thatcher and Mr Gorbachev were satisfied with the visit and they talked about it in a very positive way. The differences between the politics seemed not to be a reason of a

⁶¹ “TV Interview For Soviet Television,” Margaret Thatcher Foundation, accessed April 6, 2015, <http://www.margaretthatcher.org/>

⁶² “М. Тэтчер: Мы сможем вести откровенный диалог,” *Правда*, April 1, 1987, 4.

⁶³ “М. Тэтчер: Мы сможем вести откровенный диалог,” *Правда*, April 1, 1987, 4.

hate, but rather a reason of an improvement. The warm relationship that Margaret and Mikhail were able to establish, was crucial for the next following years and for the reflection of Margaret in the Soviet papers.

5.4 1988

On 6th January, *Pravda* published a very short article in its section called '24 hours' saying that Margaret Thatcher set a record by being in the office the longest of all the prime ministers in that century.

On 14th January, *Pravda* printed another article concerning Mrs Thatcher called 'The performance of M. Thatcher', which deals with Margaret giving a speech to foreign press association on 13th January 1988. The article even cites some parts of her speech: "We must give due credit to Mr. Gorbachev. He is a man of remarkable energy and boldness. He clearly sees the need for change in the Soviet Union if it is to be a successful society, measured not just in ability to send men into space and to devise the most modern weapons, but in all other aspects of life."⁶⁴ The article then follows by saying that Margaret then pronounced series of stereotyped accusations against the USSR's foreign policy by repeating myths about fictional tries of the USSR to sap the position of the West in the world. However, according to *Pravda*, she needed to do so in order to demonstrate her support of consolidation of the defence power of the West. The article ends with another citation of Mrs Thatcher: "We enter 1988 fully aware of the dangers, fully aware of the nature of the system we are negotiating with, but I believe there are real prospects for progress in 1988 and that the world can be a safer place by the end of the year."⁶⁵

On 3rd November, *Izvestia* ran a feature on Margaret's visit to Poland called 'A partial schedule of the official visit', which is from a main part a reproduction of an article by *Gazeta Krakowska*, the largest regional daily newspaper in Krakow. According to Margaret, the reason for her visit to Poland was that she wanted to continue with strategy of helping the countries of the Eastern bloc. With which she

⁶⁴ "Выступление М. Тэтчер," *Правда*, January 14, 1988, 4.

⁶⁵ "Выступление М. Тэтчер," *Правда*, January 14, 1988, 4.

started in 1984 in Hungary.⁶⁶ The paper ironically informs about the Prime Minister's visit mentioning that her acting as a protector of interests of the Unions in Poland would be unconvincing as well as her shedding tears over the grave mound of Jerzy Popieluszko. The paper refers to Irish hunger strike of 1981, saying that 10 died in front of the eyes of the whole world, with the government leading by Margaret Thatcher stayed blind and deaf to it. *Pravda* says that at the end of the article, the *Gazeta Krakowska* mentions that regardless all the things that has been said above, it is important to improve the Polish-English relations.⁶⁷ *Pravda* reacts to Mrs Thatcher's visit to Poland in article from 4th November, called 'M. Thatcher in Warsaw', which is rather a description of events and discussions.

On 14th December *Pravda*, published an article 'Nowadays England' which deals with a fact that political scene in those days was flourishing, widely discussing domestic affairs as well as global ones, like dialogue East-West, England and the EEC (European Economic Community), European disarmament and local conflicts. The paper mentions Mrs Thatcher in connection with a blossoming economy of her country. It says that even though not everything is beneficial (the unemployment rate is still more than two million people), the gain in the GDP and the industrial productivity in the last year and this year are bigger than the most optimistic assumptions suggested. It says that Margaret Thatcher would like to put a crown of a Western leader on her head, as Mr Reagan, the president of the US, is just putting it off. According to *Pravda*, some people believe that Margaret would stay protecting conservatism and the Atlantic solidarity of the detached relations with the US. The other people, says *Pravda*, believe, that that she could use her experience and political authority in order to move the dialogue between East and West forward. Beside that, they pay attention to the fact that Margaret was one of the first western leaders to notice the changes in the USSR. The paper says that during the first visit of Mr Gorbachev to the UK, she noticed that there were some powerful people who had the ability to establish a new direction for the USSR. Thatcher supported perestroika and the relations between the West and East since 1984 have been getting better. The article ends with saying that all the Englanders

⁶⁶ Thatcherová, *Roky na Downing Street*, 531.

⁶⁷ "Частная программа официального визита," *Известия*, November 3, 1988, 5.

and Margaret Thatcher herself are very sorry that the official visit of Mikhail Gorbachev has to be postponed because of the events in Armenia (the earthquake). I says that everybody was ready to heartily welcome Mr Gorbachev in London.⁶⁸

It is a little unusual for the Soviet papers to mention a criticism of the USSR. In 'The performance of M. Thatcher' the paper mentions the criticism but of course it rationalised it with its own peculiar manner. On the other hand, in *Izvestia's* article 'A partial schedule of the official visit' the paper generously reproduce the criticism of Margaret by the Polish paper. The last analysed article, which deals with blossoming economy and relations of the Great Britain towards the USSR 'Nowadays England' of Pravda daily, demonstrate Margaret as an experienced and capable of improvement and maintaining of the Soviet-British relations, politician. Of course, in the article 'Nowadays England' she is sort of introduced as a Ronald Reagan's successor and just because it is Ronald Reagan it gives Margaret some preferential treatment.

5.5 1989

In 1989, the first event that caught attention of Soviet papers was Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Great Britain. On 5th April Mikhail Gorbachev arrived to London based on an official invitation. On 7th April, first articles dealing with the visit appeared in *Izvestia* and *Pravda*. In *Pravda's* 'A way to common-European home', there is a description of the events of the visit. On the next page, Pravda provided Margaret Thatcher's and Mikhail Gorbachev speeches. The whole article stresses the good Soviet-British relationship: "The weather—unusual for April's London—did not spoil the excitement of Londoners of developing the British-Soviet relationship. . . . and in Moscow, they consider the visit to be a great step in consolidation of the house."⁶⁹ *Izvestia* on 7th April printed 'Europe—our common house', which has the same content as *Pravda's* article (A way to common-European home), except for the introduction. On 8th April *Pravda* continues with the reports of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit and publishes an article 'The potentiality of confidence increases'. The article again opens up with saying that the short visit put a huge shadow over

⁶⁸Т. Колесниченко, "Англия в эти дни," *Правда*, December 14, 1988, 4.

⁶⁹ "Путь к общеевропейскому дому," *Правда*, April 7, 1989, 1.

all the previous visits on the river Thames's banks. It says that nobody hid that there are unsolved problems and issues complicating the process of normalisation.⁷⁰ *Pravda* also printed out a speech of Mikhail Gorbachev, followed by a speech by Mrs Thatcher.

During her visit in Moscow, on 23rd September 1989, Margaret gave an interview for a television, which was edited and published in *Izvestia* on 24th September. The article is named: 'Margaret Thatcher is answering to journalists' questions'. The article says that the press conference hall of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR was crowded as it had never been before. The 30 minutes were not enough for the conference for all the questions prepared for the conference.⁷¹ The paper printed snatches of the dialogue between the journalists and Margaret. All of the answers Margaret gave were then loosely reproduced in the paper so the primary meaning stayed the same, but the tone of Margaret's 'voice' is somehow different: "I think that we do. I certainly firmly support perestroika. It was a bold, courageous, visionary idea; one that will bring greater liberty to the people of the Soviet Union, which it is already doing. That, of itself, is very good both for the people of the Soviet Union and for all mankind and it also, as I have indicated, brings the prospect of economic success and prosperity. In other words, it opens up vistas and horizons which have not been available to the people of the Soviet Union for some seventy years."⁷² *Izvestia* summed up the answer into just few sentences: "We believe, that perestroika is a great event not just for the Soviet people, but for all humankind. We fully support the political reforms of the Soviet government . . . I believe in perspectives of blossoming of the USSR nation."⁷³ Such an editing was not rare for the Soviet media.

In December, confidence in Margaret's leadership was affected by resignations of Nigel Lawson and Sir Alan Walters. In December, Anthony Meyer announced his candidacy to the leader of the Party. The ballot took place on 5th

⁷⁰ "Растет потенциал доверия," *Правда*, April 8, 1989, 1.

⁷¹ П. Голуб, "Маргарет Тэтчер отвечает на вопросы журналистов," *Известия*, September 24, 1989, 3.

⁷² "Press Conference in Moscow," Margaret Thatcher Foundation, accessed April 24, 2015, <http://www.margaretthatcher.org/>

⁷³ П. Голуб, "Маргарет Тэтчер отвечает на вопросы журналистов," *Известия*, September 24, 1989, 3.

December and it ended in favour of Margaret as she won with a support of 314 members. However, just the fact that the ballot happened was a signal that the situation took an adverse direction.⁷⁴ On 6th December, *Izvestia* mentions the ballot in its article called 'Tories' choosing a leader'. The article informs about the results of the ballot and says that Margaret Thatcher will be in the head of the Party for at least one year. It then gives numbers of votes for Margaret (314) and for Anthony Meyer (33). However the paper analyses the numbers idiosyncratically: "Although, if we took the 24 votes that were spoilt and 3 of the members that were absent into a consideration, we would conclude that 60 members i.e. every sixth member refused to support the Prime Minister."⁷⁵ The article then follows with saying that so far no one has dared to compare to Margaret Thatcher and Anthony Meyers's intension was not to become a new leader of the Party, but rather to find out, how many members were not satisfied with the leadership of the Party. The paper closes the article with mentioning that the challenge to the leadership of the Party is a very important signal, not just a whim of an extravagant politician.⁷⁶ Pravda copied the article and published it on 7th December.

The articles concerning the Soviet-British relationship are all written in a very positive manner. All the articles seem to be almost celebrating the relations between the countries. Of course, Margaret still had some objections to the USSR politics, but media omitted most of the criticism and rather edited her statements. Mrs Thatcher was a great supporter of Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms and she spoke publically about her interests in those reforms. Therefore, the media almost always mentions Margaret's attitude towards the processes. On the other hand, the articles dealing with the official visits are very neutral and they are almost complete description without any judgment or evaluation. The last mentioned articles concerning the leadership elections in December 1989 reminds of the articles which appeared after the Westland Affair in 1986. It demonstrates the distrust towards the leadership of the Conservative Party and Mrs Thatcher's style of politics.

⁷⁴ Fajmon, *Margaret Thatcherová a její politika*, 248.

⁷⁵ А. Кривопапов, "Тори выбирают лидера," *Известия*, December 6, 1989, 5.

⁷⁶ А. Кривопапов, "Тори выбирают лидера," *Известия*, December 6, 1989, 5.

5.6 1990

In 1990, the most considerable articles concerning Margaret Thatcher in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* was those about her resignation. *Pravda* on 22nd November published an article 'The first time they played ...'. The article is about the results of the first ballot of leadership elections that took place on 20th November. The Prime Minister learned about the results in Paris, where she was taking part in the summit of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. *Pravda* says, that Margaret accepted the results with Stoic serenity and undaunted Prime Minister went to see a ballet in the evening that night.⁷⁷ However in her memoirs she remembers not being that serene: "Even though, I was a bit shocked I was not disappointed by that as I had expected. . . . It is not hard to understand that I could not pay my full attention to the ballet."⁷⁸ The paper then mentions, that in different papers some speculations appeared about Margaret fighting for her political life. *Pravda* on the other hand has opinion that is more objective: "These speculations are still rhetorical, considering the fighting spirit of the British Prime Minister and her intension to 'fight till the end'."⁷⁹ On 23rd November, *Pravda* and *Izvestia* printed out articles incorporating the Prime Minister's resignation. In *Izvestia*, there were article 'The end of the Margaret Thatcher's era' and 'Who's happy, who's sad...'. In *Pravda*, it was 'Margaret Thatcher's leaving'. *Izvestia* opens its article (The end of Margaret Thatcher's era) with a quotation of Margaret: 'It is a funny old world.' Margaret said those words, when she was announcing the decision to withdraw from the upcoming leadership elections. According to *Izvestia*, by saying those words, she ironically reacted to the situation she after all appeared in.⁸⁰ *Izvestia* then compliments Margaret: "One does not have to agree with her and can all the achievements the Tories have reached under Mrs Thatcher in the last eleven years into question, but one cannot question her brilliant intellect, her ability to argue, strong individuality, fidelity to her believes and principles."⁸¹ At the end of the article she is referred to as the iron lady, but for a change in a positive way. In

⁷⁷ А. Лютый, "Первый тайм они отыграли...," *Правда*, November 22, 1990, 5.

⁷⁸ Thatcherová, *Roky na Downing Street*, 576-577.

⁷⁹ А. Лютый, "Первый тайм они отыграли...," *Правда*, November 22, 1990, 5.

⁸⁰ А. Кривопапов, "Конец эпохи Маргарет Тэтчер," *Известия*, November 23, 1990, 1.

⁸¹ А. Кривопапов, "Конец эпохи Маргарет Тэтчер," *Известия*, November 23, 1990, 4.

the second article 'Who's happy, who's sad' *Izvestia* introducing different opinions on Margaret's resignation. An interesting opinion is given by a foreign affairs spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov: "For us, it's a shocker. In our perception, Margaret Thatcher was the 'Iron Lady', who fights till the end. We will remember her as a politician who contributed so much in development of good relationship between the USSR and the rest of the Europe. She was a historical authority, who helped to bring the USSR and Europe closer together."⁸² *Pravda's* 'Margaret Thatcher's leaving' deals with different opinions that authorities in Britain had and even blames Neil Kinnock (the then leader of the Labour Party) for saying, that Margaret's decision was a good news: "Well, be that as it may, one of the strongest, most tenacious, most admirable in the world and most ambiguous leaders that Britain has had in decades is leaving."⁸³ As it was in *Izvestia*, the whole article deals with the resignation and its background and analogically is full of praise for Margaret: " So, the 'Iron Lady' proved, that she is capable of not only reaching the set goals in hopeless situations, but she is also capable of respectable leaving. "⁸⁴

On 24th November, *Pravda* published even another article concerning the Margaret Thatcher's resignation 'She's leaving nicely'. The article says that the British are talking just about Margaret's leaving and that everyone agreed on that she was one of the strongest politicians in the century. Next, it is said, that she is not leaving the whole politics and that she will stay as a member of House of Commons, she will just move from the first row to the second.⁸⁵ In the article, there is also a reference to Gorbachev, as it says that Margaret said that she was the first of the Western leaders to see in Gorbachev a potential partner, to see that they could do business together and that she supported perestroika and tried to improve the relationship between the West and the USSR.⁸⁶

When leaving 10th Downing Street, Margaret appeared on the first pages of both Soviet newspapers. All articles concerning Mrs Thatcher's resignation were written in a very polite and admirable way. The papers used the nickname the Iron

⁸² "Кто рад, кто огорчен...", *Известия*, November 23, 1990, 4.

⁸³ А. Лютый, "Маргарет Тэтчер уходит," *Правда*, November 23, 1990, 5.

⁸⁴ А. Лютый, "Маргарет Тэтчер уходит," *Правда*, November 23, 1990, 5.

⁸⁵ А. Лютый, "Уходит красиво," *Правда*, November 24, 1990, 4.

⁸⁶ А. Лютый, "Уходит красиво," *Правда*, November 24, 1990, 4.

Lady as it was an honour, even though it is known, that Margaret was called the Iron Lady, because the nickname had had a pejorative meaning. Such a shift of meaning is a demonstration of a realisation of Margaret's successes and of good relationship she was able to create along with Mikhail Gorbachev by Soviet papers. The Soviet papers appreciated Margaret's achievements and sometimes even defended her. Comparing such articles with articles from 1985, it is obvious that the perception of Margaret by the USSR media significantly changed.

6 Conclusion

The aim of my thesis was to describe and analyse the reflection of Margaret Thatcher in two major Soviet daily papers—*Pravda* and *Izvestia*—in 1985-1990. I started with describing Margaret Thatcher's life and political events that affected the perception of her in the two papers. Margaret Thatcher was thanks to her intransigent opinions of a Western political leader widely discussed by the Soviet media. I found out, that the picture of Margaret in the Soviet papers changed rapidly since 1985.

In 1985 her politics were described as a wrong politics and Margaret was shown as a sever and anti-Soviet politician. The Soviet papers in 1985 were concerned about the unemployment rate. In 1985 the unemployment rate in the UK was above 3,000,000 and the daily news tend to criticize the government, namely the Conservative Party with Margaret as its leader for it. However, in 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev was elected General Secretary of the USSR and he started a process generally known as perestroika. I provided a brief biography about Mr Gorbachev, because his reforms perestroika and glasnost directly affected Margaret Thatcher's reflexion in the two papers. Glasnost in particular. Glasnost aim was to weaken the power of the Communistic Party and censorship in the USSR.

Mr Gorbachev in 1986 claimed to be satisfied by the openness the weakened power of the Communistic Party, although the papers were still more focused on the fiascos and failures of the Conservative Party and Mrs Thatcher. This stand was caused namely by the Westland Affair. In 1986, the papers started to question her politics especially the stability of it.

The perception of her started to change after her first official meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev in 1987 as she publicly supported perestroika. The relations between Margaret Thatcher and Mikhail Gorbachev were warm and friendly and so the Soviet papers described the Prime Minister very differently. The papers in their prints still avoided Margaret Thatcher's criticism and were wildly pointing out her positive evaluations. The differences between the two different systems—the British and the Soviet—were not described as reasons for hate, but rather as

reasons for improvement. The official visit of Margaret in the USSR appeared on cover pages of both the papers.

In 1988, Margaret's criticism of the USSR started to be published in the two papers, but papers provided some reasons to rationalised the criticism. Margaret was either criticized for her stands and also praise for her successes. On the both side criticisms published, the openness and the weakened power of the Communist Party can be demonstrated. Another evidence of the openness was an article concerning the successes of the Margaret Thatcher's politics. Such an article would not be suitable for the papers in 1985.

At the end of the analysed period, in 1990, I found out that the reflexion of the Margaret changed rapidly as the last articles concerning Margaret Thatcher's resignation are mostly positive. In the papers, Margaret is described as a significant politician, who contributed not just into the improvement of the Soviet-British relations, but also into the relations between the West and East. She is described as a big figure of the 20th century politics. The papers in their last articles about Mrs Thatcher, namely about her resignation, call the Prime Minister the 'Iron lady' but in an honourable tone. This shift of the meaning is very interesting, considering the fact, that nickname of the 'Iron Lady' was created with a pejorative meaning.

The picture of Margaret in the Soviet papers *Pravda* and *Izvestia* changed. One of the reasons being the good relationship that she was able to create along with the general secretary of the USSR of that time Mikhail Gorbachev. The other reasons are the reforms introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985— glasnost and perestroika.

7 Resumé

Cílem bakalářské práce bylo představit prezentaci Margaret Thatcherové dvěma deníky SSSR – *Pravda* a *Izvestia* v letech 1985-1990.

V první části své práce jsem se zabýval životem Margaret Thatcherové a její politikou. Seznámil jsem se s její biografií od dětství až po její smrt v roce 2008, abych získal pro práci širší kontext. Margaret Hilda Robertsová měla v dětství velmi blízký vztah se svým otcem Alfredem Robertsem, který byl také politicky aktivní, ačkoli jen na regionální úrovni. Alfred Roberts měl tak na Margaret velký vliv. Margaret začala v roce 1943 studovat chemii na Oxfordské univerzitě, která byla zároveň místem jejich politických začátků. Léta na Oxfordu Margaret přesvědčila, že politika je tím, co by chtěla opravdu dělat. Po úspěšném studiu chemie se Margaret rozhodla pro studium práv, aby se tím přiblížila vysněné kariéře. Paní Thatcherová se dočkala místa v Dolní sněmovně v roce 1959 a po úspěšných volbách se v roce 1979 stala premiérkou. V první polovině práce jsem se zaměřil především na období 1979-1985, vzhledem k faktu, že období 1985-1990 je v práci dále zkoumáno v kontextu Sovětských deníků.

Hned po nástupu na post premiérky se paní Thatcherová objevila v nepříjemné situaci. Na post premiérky se dostala ve chvíli, kdy se začínal vyostřovat vztah západu s východním blokem. Margaret se ale nebála veřejně prohlásit Sovětský svaz hlavním nepřítelem Velké Británie. V roce 1982 stála před nelehkým rozhodnutím, které mohlo vážně ohrozit její politickou budoucnost. Argentinské námořní síly podnikly invazi na Falklandské ostrovy, teritorium Velké Británie. Margaret Thatcherová se rozhodla poslat 25000 vojáků 8000 mil daleko, bránit zájmy Velké Británie. Konflikt skončil porážkou Argentinských námořních sil a Margaret si tak získala velkou popularitu a zároveň si zajistila vítězství v dalších volbách. V roce 1983, tehdejší prezident USA Ronald Reagana podnikl vojenskou invazi na Grenadu. Grenada, člen Commonwealthu, byla podezřívána z vojenského marxistického režimu. Intervence byla hojně kritizována i ze strany Margaret Thatcherové, ačkoli nebylo v jejích silách jakkoli zasáhnout. Celý incident přispěl dalšími argumenty sovětské propagandě. V roce 1984 začala ve Velké Británii mohutná hornická stávka. Stávka byla vyvolána iniciativou vlády zavřít 75% dolů.

Všechny tyto uhelné doly byly neprofitové, a tudíž pouze zatěžovaly britskou ekonomiku. Stávka byla oficiálně odvolána až o rok později. V roce 1984 navštívil Velkou Británii Michail Gorbačov, v té době budoucí generální tajemník SSSR. Margaret se s ním při jeho návštěvě setkala a jak sama ve svých pamětech uvádí, doufala, že se setkala s budoucím generálním tajemníkem.

Michail Gorbačov sehrál významnou roli v životě Margaret Thatcherové. Zasadil se i o změnu pohledu sovětských deníků na premiérku. Michail se narodil v roce 1931. V 19 letech se rozhodl pro studium práv na Moskevské univerzitě. V roce 1985 byl zvolen generálním tajemníkem. Byl poměrně mladý na tak vysoký post, což bylo neobvyklé. Nikdo z vedení strany se netajil tím, že ve vedení není zájem o mladé ambiciózní lidi. Ihned po nástupu se Michail začal zabývat tzv. přestavbou. Perestrojka neboli přestavba, byla skupina politických reforem, která měla za cíl od základu přebudovat sovětskou ekonomiku i společnost. S pojmem perestrojka je hojně spojován i pojem glasnost. Glasnost byla jakýmsi prostředkem pro oslabení pozice komunistické strany a zároveň důrazné omezení cenzury. Už v roce 1986 byl Michail Gorbačov se svými reformami spokojen.

Druhou část práce jsem věnoval popisu a analýze článků týkajících se Margaret Thatcherové nebo její politiky dvěma sovětskými deníky. Jedním z nich byl deník *Pravda*. Deník *Pravda* byl v analyzovaném období hlavním orgánem komunistické strany, což zaručovalo deníku velkou popularitu. Druhým deníkem byl deník *Izvestia*. Deník *Izvestia* byl orgánem Ústředního výkonného výboru SSSR.

Prezentace Margaret Thatcherové v obou denících se v průběhu posledních pěti let, kdy byla premiérkou, výrazně změnila. V roce 1985 deníky psaly především o problémech konzervativní vlády, její nestabilitě. Zajímaly se o vysokou míru nezaměstnanosti, která v té době překročila hranici 3,000,000. Premiérka byla mnohdy zmiňována pouze okrajově. Média také editovala výpovědi Margaret Thatcherové. V roce 1986 byla nejdiskutovanějším tématem v obou denících tzv. Westlandská aféra. Westlandská aféra byla senzací pro oba sovětské deníky. Zprávy o vnitrostranických neshodách, které skončily rezignací dvou britských ministrů (Michaela Heseltina a Leona Brittona), byly dokonce deníkem *Pravda* připodobňovány k americké aféře Watergate. Margaret byla tak i v roce 1986

viděna sovětskými deníky negativně. Byla popisována jako arogantní a panovačná. Deníky psaly o mírumilovných snahách SSSR o celosvětový mír beze zbraní na jedné straně a na druhé straně o Margaret Thatcherové a Ronaldu Reaganovi, kteří vůči těmto sovětským iniciativám zaujmuli negativní postoj. Velkou změnou sovětské perspektivy se stalo oficiální setkání Margaret Thatcherové s Michaiilem Gorbačovem v roce 1987. Deníky hovořili o dialogu, který Margaret s Michaiilem vedla, jako o upřímném, s jistou mírou argumentace, ale stále v přátelské atmosféře. Margaret Thatcherová se během své návštěvy dostala několikrát na přední strany obou deníků. Deníky poukazyvaly na ty nejpozitivnější aspekty návštěvy. Margaret se například zmiňuje ve svých pamětech o její kritice komunismu a Michailově kritice konzervatismu o čemž se deníky nezmiňují. Stále se však jedná o významný posun v pohledu na paní premiérku. Deníky se zmiňují i o jejím zájmu o perestrojku, kterým se netajila a přestavbu veřejně podporovala. Vztah, který Margaret s Michaiilem navázala, byl významným posunem ke sblížení východu a západu. V roce 1988 už média psala otevřeně i o kritice ze strany Margaret Thatcherové. Deník *Pravda* například přiznal kritiku SSSR ze strany Margaret Thatcherové a zastřešil ji vlastním vysvětlením. Deník *Izvestia* zase otiskl kritiku na adresu Margaret. V roce 1989 se konala oficiální návštěva Michaila Gorbačova v Londýně. Všechna oficiální setkání Margaret Thatcherové a Michaila Gorbačova byla v denících publikována s mnoha superlativy a byly vyzdvihovány přátelské britsko-sovětské vztahy a Margaretin zájem o přestavbu v SSSR. Rok 1990 byl významný zejména rezignací Margaret Thatcherové na post premiérky. Margaret rezignovala na svůj post 22. listopadu 1990. Sovětské deníky o ní v té době psaly jako o úctyhodné političce, která se zasadila o sblížení a normalizaci vztahů na evropském kontinentě. Poprvé za analyzované období ji nazývaly její přezdívkou „železná lady“. Ačkoliv v případě její rezignace, ztratila v sovětských novinách přezdívkou svůj původní, pejorativní význam a stala se jakýmsi čestným a úctyhodným titulem.

Došel jsem k závěru, že obraz Margaret Thatcherové se za pouhých pět let rapidně změnil. Z velmi negativně hodnocené političky, jak byla Margaret popisována v roce 1985, se stala uznávaná a ceněná osobnost, která se podle deníků zasadila nejen o zlepšení sovětsko-britských vztahů, ale i vztahů mezi

Východem a Západem. Jedním důvodem byly rozhodně reformy Michaila Gorbačova a druhým je nepochybně vztah, který Margaret s Michaiilem navázala.

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9 Anotace

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Počet stran: 44 (75635 znaků)

Klíčová slova: Thatcherová, Gorbačov, SSSR, média, Pravda, Izvestija, reflexe

Keywords: Thatcher, Gorbachev, USSR, media, Pravda, Izvestia, reflexion

Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá Margaret Thatcherovou a její prezentací dvěma deníky SSSR (*Izvestia* a *Pravda*) v letech 1985-1990. Práce se soustředí na vybrané články z daného období. První polovina práce je věnována především Margaret Thatcherové a Michailovi Gorbačovovi, dvěma významným politikům zkoumaného období. V práci se pokouším zdůraznit důležitost reformy Michaila Gorbačova na obraz Margaret Thatcherové v médiích SSSR. Díky jeho reformám a vztahům, které v daném období Velká Británie se Sovětským svazem navázala, se rapidně změnil pohled médií na tzv. železnou lady. Druhá část práce je věnována především popisu vybraných článků, týkajících se Margaret Thatcherové a její politiky. Na kritickém zhodnocení článků se snažím poukázat na vývoj a změnu pohledu na paní Thatcherovou médii SSSR.

10 Abstract

The thesis deals with Margaret Thatcher and her reflection in two USSR daily papers (*Pravda* and *Izvestia*) in 1985-1990. The thesis focuses on selected articles from the period. The first part is dedicated to Margaret Thatcher and Mikhail Gorbachev, who are two important politicians of the analysed period. In the thesis, I try to emphasize the impact of Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms on the presentation of

Margaret Thatcher by the USSR media. Thanks to his reforms and the relationship that Great Britain together with the USSR managed to established at the given period, the attitude of the Soviet media towards the so-called 'iron lady' changed rapidly . The second part deals with a description of selected articles, concerning Margaret Thatcher and her politics. I try to demonstrate the change and the development of the prescription of Mrs Thatcher by the Soviet media.