

Changing Europe



Volume 7

Sabine Fischer, Heiko Pleines (eds.)

Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe

ibidem

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CHANGING EUROPE

Edited by Dr. Sabine Fischer, Dr. Heiko Pleines and
Prof. Dr. Hans-Henning Schröder

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Foreword

The roles of civil society in Central and Eastern Europe are manifold. Before the end of socialism, civil society in this region was associated with dissident movements, human rights activists and, above all, the Polish Solidarity movement. However, nationalist movements, which are sometimes referred to as the dark side of civil society, were also present under socialism. Once socialism had come to an end, civil society organizations in most Central and East European countries grew in number and quality. They have gained new opportunities to influence the development of their countries, but also face challenges ranging from European integration in Central Eastern Europe to authoritarian pressures in some CIS and Balkan countries.

In examining the role of civil society in these societal developments away from socialism, care should be taken to avoid placing the focus exclusively on non-governmental organizations (NGOs), as formalized NGOs are only one part of societal mobilization and self-organization. It is also important to look not only at the level of organization and activities, but also at the underlying individual motivations and perceptions as part of specific political cultures.

Utilizing a wide range of empirical cases, the contributions in this edited volume highlight these different aspects of the role, development and societal background of civil society in Central and Eastern Europe. The first part of the book deals with dissent under socialism in order to illustrate the limited room for manoeuvre as well as the self-perception of civil society activists in the socialist regimes of Central Eastern Europe in the 1970s and 1980s. The second part of the book looks at the role of civil society in the Western Balkans in the context of the breakup of the former Yugoslavia and the related ethnic conflicts. The third part goes on to examine the role of civil society in the post-Soviet region, which is marked by authoritarian tendencies. The fourth part returns to Central Eastern Europe with an analysis of the impact of EU accession on the role of civil society and considers the underlying aspects of a 'common European memory'. The final section of the book looks at two cases – one from Central Eastern Europe, one from the CIS region – of political participation and lobbying by civil society organizations.

This book presents a selection of the papers discussed at the Changing Europe Summer School on 'Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe' held at the National University of 'Kyiv-Mohyla Academy' (NAUKMA), Ukraine in July 2009. Organised since 2006 by the Research Centre for East European Studies (Forschungsstelle Osteuropa) at the University of Bremen, the Changing Europe Summer School has every year invited twenty to thirty young academics from different disciplines (political science, sociology, history, anthropology, economics, law, geography) to share their research on Central and Eastern Europe. Our main goal is to give them a chance to present and discuss their research projects as well as to help them become more integrated into

the academic community. Participants are selected by means of an anonymous review process that is kindly supported by the members of our international review panel (for more information on the Changing Europe Summer Schools, see www.changing-europe.de). The results of each Summer School are published in this book series.

It goes without saying that this book would not have been possible without ample support. First of all, our thanks go to our partners from NAUKMA, namely Larysa Chovnyuk and Tamara Martsenyuk, and to the participants themselves, whose enthusiasm and knowledge made the Summer School a truly worthwhile event. We would also like to thank all the referees who aided us in the selection process for appropriate participants. We are additionally grateful to all those who helped to organize the Summer School and the book production, namely Hilary Abuhove (language editing), Stefan Forstmeier (Summer School organization), Judith Janiszewski (style editing), Julia Kuszniir (organizational support) and Matthias Neumann (layout).

Last but certainly not least, we want to express our gratitude to the Volkswagen Foundation for its generous support of the Changing Europe Summer Schools.

Bremen and Paris, February 2010

The Editors

Part I. Dissent under Socialism

1. Smashing Concrete with Words. The Central European 'Dissidents', Their Representations and Discourses

1.1. Introduction

What do a Burmese monk, a Chilean writer, a Russian chess champion and an Iranian feminist have in common? Not much, it seems. And yet they are all crammed into one (supposedly descriptive) category – they are 'dissidents'. As a Czech playwright known more for his political activities once wrote:

From time to time I have a chance to speak with Western intellectuals who visit our country and decide to include a visit to a dissident in their itinerary – some out of genuine interest, or a willingness to understand and to express solidarity, others simply out of curiosity. Beside the Gothic and Baroque monuments, dissidents are apparently the only thing of interest to a tourist in this uniformly dreary environment.¹

'Dissidents' have always been the object of Western attention, and there are many reasons (not only aesthetic and voyeuristic as the quote could suggest) for why that is the case. Who are the 'dissidents', how do they come to be, and what sort of impact do they have? This contribution proposes to look back at the democratic opposition movements in Central Europe in order to define the 'dissident' as an analytical rather than simply descriptive concept. Putting aside the debate about the actual role of domestic and societal forces in bringing down Communism in Central and Eastern Europe, we can easily agree that there is something fascinating about the phenomenon of dissidentism in general. While 1989 is a caesura of groundbreaking importance for Central Europeans, on the global scale it meant that prisoners of conscience from this part of the world would nearly disappear from the pages of Amnesty International bulletins. Opposition to authoritarianism and dictatorial power continues world-wide, and so does dissidentism. The latter is not only an act of civil courage characterized by the Greek term *parrhesia*, meaning the conscious act of speaking the truth to power at the risk of grave consequences.² It is, perhaps more importantly, an instance of transnational recognition in which an oppositionist from one country is recognized for something larger and wider than he or she is, becomes a symbol of certain values and is taken for an example of a predefined social and political setup. To put it simply, 'dissident' is not a mere label, and empowerment does not boil down to the

1 Havel, Vaclav: *Open Letters. Selected prose, 1965–1990*, London: Faber and Faber, 1991, p. 261.

2 *Parrhesia* is extensively discussed in: Foucault, Michel: *Fearless Speech*, Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2001.

dollars transferred by human rights foundations in the West. The term has performative qualities of its own.

The dissertation project presented here is based on the assumption that the 'dissidents' constitute a socio-political phenomenon that is different from democratic opposition movements. The 'dissident' is thus seen as a rhetorical and political *figure* which is empowered through international recognition; however, it is the translation of the figure of the 'dissident' into local contexts that enables it to function internationally. The project therefore seeks to investigate the historical roots as well as the changing meanings of the concept of 'dissident' in the context of Central Europe, and look into the ways the concept itself was employed by those who were labelled as such. The example of human rights (HR) and pacifist discourse is provided as an example of how the specific position the 'dissidents' were in and their role as metaphorical 'bridges' between 'East' and 'West' were used to translate or *localize* values usually considered universal.

1.2. Literature on Dissent in Central Europe. A Critical Review

Two decades after 1989, scholars in the humanities and social scientists are still struggling to understand and explain what really 'brought the Iron Curtain down'.³ International relations theorists and prominent historians generally focus on the macro-scale power politics leading to the 'end of the Cold War' and on the emergence of a new world order from the debris of the old system.⁴ The emphasis on international processes and great power politics seems to have had an impact on the general Western discourse, which emphasizes the symbolic 'fall of the Berlin Wall' rather than the 'democratic revolutions' of Central Europe (CE) or the 'Autumn of Peoples'. These studies explain the events of the late 1980s either through material⁵ or ideational factors,⁶ putting more emphasis on either on Western or Soviet policies; what they share is a general tendency to dismiss the importance of societal actors such as democratic opposition

3 I purposefully call up the different metaphors and expressions used to describe the events of the late 1980s and early 1990s in Central and Eastern Europe to show how varied scholarly and political perspectives are. For an overview of most recent scholarship on '1989' see: Ash, Timothy Garton: 1989!, in: *New York Review of Books*, 2009 (Vol. 56), No. 17.

4 E.g. Wohlforth, William C.: Realism and the End of the Cold War, in: *International Security*, 1994–5 (Vol. 19), No. 3, pp. 91–129; Brooks, Stephen G. / Wohlforth, William C.: Power, Globalization and the End of the Cold War. Reevaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas, in: *International Security*, 2000–1 (Vol. 25), No. 3, pp. 5–53; Hyde-Price, Adrian: Normative Power Europe. A Realist Critique, in: *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2006 (Vol. 13), No. 2, pp. 217–234.

5 Kotkin, Stephen / Gross, Jan T.: *Uncivil Society. 1989 and the Implosion of the Communist Establishment*, New York: Random House, 2009.

6 For ideational explanations of Soviet non-intervention policy see: Checkel, Jeffrey: *Ideas and International Political Change. Soviet/Russian Behavior and the End of the Cold War*, New Haven/CT: Yale University Press, 1997; English, Robert: *Russia and the Idea of the West. Gorbachev, Intellectuals, and the End of the Cold War*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

movements. In a recent, and otherwise impressive, history of post-war Europe, Tony Judt is clear about that:

Illusions and reborn hopes (...) that is all [societal actions] were. They were not in themselves a harbinger of the downfall of Communist power. [...] Communism was about power. [The mass dissent and the events in Poland] were a stirring prologue to the narrative of Communism's collapse, but they remained a sideshow. The real story was elsewhere.

He also dismisses intellectual oppositionists as 'a tiny minority of the population [who] represented only themselves [...]'. In his view, '[T]he intellectual opposition in Central Europe had little immediate impact.'⁷

Other strands of political science (e.g. comparative politics) are interested mostly in the institutional outcomes of the 'regime shift' and thus rarely ask about its causes and history.⁸ They employ Western categories of liberal democracy as an ideal type, creating such concepts as 'transition economies' and 'post-Communist nascent democracies' to explain the discrepancy between what is actually observed in CE and the ideal typical expectation. They fail, however, to problematize the notion of democracy as a general idea that is reformulated in various local (national) contexts.

Many important sociological and historical works challenge the writings mentioned above, arguing that change was often ideational and to a great extent came from below – i.e. from the domestic level of Central European societies. John L. Gaddis notices the 'shift in power from the supposedly powerful to the seemingly powerless', and clearly acknowledges the role of East and Central European societal movements:

They were ordinary people with simple priorities who saw, seized, and sometimes stumbled into opportunities. In doing so they caused a collapse no one could stop. Their 'leaders' had little choice but to follow.⁹

This sentiment, however, still depicts the societal actors as having been driven by some exogenous opportunities. Padraic Kenney suggests that younger opposition movements in Central Europe were especially able to create opportunities for themselves, thus finding a niche for action.¹⁰ Studies counterbalancing the materialist and intergovernmental views of 1989 often work with the concept of the civil society,¹¹

7 Judt, Tony: *Postwar. A History of Europe since 1945*, London: Verso, 2007, pp. 589–590, 576.

8 E.g. Miklaszewska, Justyna (ed.): *Democracy in Central Europe 1989–99. Comparative and Historical Perspectives*, Kraków: Meritum, 1999; Krouwel, Andre: *Measuring Presidentialism and Parliamentarism. An Application to Central and East European Countries*, in: *Acta Politica*, 2003 (Vol. 38), No. 4, pp. 333–364; Wydra, Harald: *Communism and the Emergence of Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

9 Gaddis, John Lewis: *The Cold War*, London: Penguin, 2007, p. 238.

10 Kenney, Padraic: *Framing, Political Opportunities, and Civic Mobilization in the Eastern European Revolutions. A Case Study of Poland's Freedom and Peace Movement*, in: *Mobilization. An International Journal*, 2001 (Vol. 6), No. 2, pp. 193–210.

11 Cohen, John L. / Arato, Andrew: *Civil Society and Political Theory*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994, and earlier: Keane, John: *Democracy and Civil Society*, London: Verso, 1988. Compare: Wnuk-

emphasizing the role of dissident intellectuals¹² and the impact of ideational factors;¹³ however, they often focus solely on the events of 1989 (under the label of ‘transition studies’)¹⁴ and not their roots.

The historical trajectories of oppositional sentiments and early examples of social movements have been explored already in a plethora of studies dating back to the late 1970s,¹⁵ with special emphasis on movements such as those spearheaded by the Polish ‘Solidarity’ and the *Workers’ Defence Committee* (KOR), or by the Czechoslovak *Charta 77*.¹⁶ Recently, a younger generation of Central European historians, making use of the new sources available, has recently been attempting to re-tell the story of the demise of Communism,¹⁷ and the key actors of these events are also sharing their reflections.¹⁸ The most striking dissonance is, however, that many of the written histories – factual accounts – of the democratic opposition movements as well as studies attempting to grasp the processes behind the democratic revolutions of 1989 fail to put forth any hypotheses about the mechanisms through which Communism was dismantled. Very interesting research seeking to fill this gap was conducted from the perspective of ‘inside-outsiders’, i.e. Western scholars pointing out processes and patterns less visible for academics enmeshed in their national contexts, discussing such

Lipiński, Edmund: Vicissitudes of Ethical Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe, in: *Studies in Christian Ethics*, 2007 (Vol. 20), No. 1, pp. 30–43.

- 12 Bozóki, András (ed.): *Intellectuals and Politics in Central Europe*, Budapest: CEU Press, 1998; Friszke, Andrzej: *Przystosowanie i Opór. Studia z Dziejów PRL*, Warsaw: Więź, 2006.
- 13 As HR norms in: Thomas, Daniel C.: *The Helsinki Effect. International Norms, Human Rights, and the Demise of Communism*, Princeton/NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001; Evangelista, Matthew: *Unarmed Forces. The Transnational Movement to End the Cold War*, Ithaca/NY: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- 14 E.g. Ekiert, Grzegorz / Kubik, Jan: *Rebellious Civil Society. Popular Protest and Democratic Consolidation in Poland, 1989–1993*, Ann Arbor/MI: University of Michigan Press, 1999.
- 15 Poland from Inside, special issue of *Survey – a Journal of East and West Studies*, 1979 (Vol. 24), No. 4; Leftwich Curry, Jane (ed.): *Dissent in Eastern Europe*, New York: Praeger, 1983; Ash, Timothy Garton: *The Polish Revolution. Solidarity 1980–82*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1983; Havel, Vaclav et al.: *Power of the Powerless. Citizens against the State in Central-Eastern Europe*, New York: Palach Press, 1985.
- 16 Prečan, Vilem: *Charta 77. 1977–1989. Od Morální k Demokratické Revoluci*, Bratislava: Archa, 1990; Branach, Zbigniew: *Mit Ojców Założycieli. Agonia Komunizmu Rozpoczęła się w Gdańsku*, Bydgoszcz: Cetera, 2005; KARTA. *Słownik Dysydentów. Czołowe Postacie Ruchów Opozycyjnych w Krajach Komunistycznych w Latach 1956–1989, Tom I*, Warsaw: Karta, 2007; Friszke, Andrzej / Paczkowski, Andrzej: *NiepoKORni. Rozmowy o Komitecie Obrony Robotników*, Kraków: Znak, 2008.
- 17 Codogni, Paulina: *Okrągły Stół, czyli Polski Rubikon*, Warsaw: Collegium Civitas, 2009. From a more contestatory perspective: Musiał, Filip / Szarek, Jarosław: *Prezyc z Komuna. Z Archiwum Bezpieki – Nieznane Karty PRL*, Kraków: IPN, 2006.
- 18 Geremek, Bronisław / Zakowski, Jacek: *Rok 1989*, Warsaw: Agora, 2008; Wałęsa, Lech: *Moja III RP. Straciłem cierpliwość!*, Warsaw: Świat Książki, 2007; Michnik, Adam: *Wyznania nawróconego dysydenta*, Warsaw: Zeszyty Literackie, 2003; Havel, Vaclav: *Tylko krótko, proszę. Rozmowa z Karem Hvižďalą, zapiski, dokumenty*, Kraków: SIW Znak, 2007. Also, biographies were made available, e.g.: Kurski, Jarosław: *Wódz. Mój przyczynek do biografii*, Warsaw: BGW, 2008; Bouyeure, Cyril: *Adam Michnik, biografia. Wymyślić to, co polityczne*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2009.

notions as anti-politics or the blurred relationship of (counter)culture and power.¹⁹ Especially the latter project, developed by Kenney, constituted a very important and interesting attempt to bridge the factual and the process-oriented approaches with the idea of a 'carnival of revolution', while at the same time providing an alternative narrative of the history of Central European opposition in the late 1980s (which was, prior to this work, an under-researched lacuna).²⁰ In the field of international relations, Central European human rights movements were analysed using the transnational models of normative change developed in earlier studies.²¹ These models unfortunately downplay the role of domestic traditions and ideational contexts, and hence overlook the complexity of the 'grafting' and 'localizing' of norms.

Even though all these studies should be praised for adopting a bottom-up perspective and for their sensitivity to the role of societal actors (such as domestic opposition movements), little or no meta-reflection on the way we perceive Central European dissidents has appeared, and the idiomatic character of the concept of 'dissidents' has not yet been investigated.²² The notion of *civil society* in Eastern European contexts is mostly used to underline the conflict between the authoritarian state and the society. I argue that the figure of the 'dissident' and the mechanism of its construction can tell us more about the features of (and preconditions for) civil society in totalitarian/authoritarian states. This focus highlights the importance of transnational recognition and the complex interplay between the West and its Eastern neighbourhood in the development of civil society structures in Central Europe, while also emphasizing the socially constructed aspects of this process.

1.3. Research Strategy and Theory. Identities, Discourses and Dissidents

This is where the project sets off. Theoretically, it rests on the post-structuralist theories of discourse and the role of language as an ontologically significant, constraining and

19 Ost, David: *The Defeat of Solidarity*, New York: Cornell University Press, 2005; Kenney, Padraic: *A Carnival of Revolution. Central Europe 1989*, Princeton/NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.

20 Compare: Skórzyński, Jan: *Rewolucja Okrągłego Stołu*, Warsaw: SIW Znak, 2009.

21 Thomas, Daniel C.: *The Helsinki Accords and Political Change in Eastern Europe* (Chapter 7), in: Risse, Thomas / Ropp, Stephen C. / Sikink, Kathryn (eds): *The Power of Human Rights. International Norms and Domestic Change*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 205–233; Chilton, Patricia: *Mechanics of Change. Social Movements, Transnational Coalitions, and the Transformation Processes in Eastern Europe*, in: Risse-Kappen, Thomas (ed.): *Bringing Transnational Relations back in. Non-state Actors, Domestic Structures and International Institutions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 189–226.

22 Langenohl, Andreas: *Zweimal Reflexivität in der gegenwärtigen Sozialwissenschaft. Anmerkungen zu einer nicht geführten Debatte*, in: *Forum. Qualitative Social Research*, 2009 (Vol. 10), No. 2, <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs090297>

constitutive structure of all political action.²³ The 'dissident' is a concept developed in Western discourses on Eastern Europe and, more generally, on non-Western Others.²⁴ It is *performative* in the sense that the 'dissidents' are 'created' – i.e. constructed and empowered through transnational recognition.²⁵ It is *idiomatic* in the sense that it presupposes a certain implicit assumption about both the relationship between the West and Eastern Europe as well as the role 'dissidents' play in relation to their own societies (with respect to representing their societies; we can therefore treat the 'dissidents' as a part taken for the whole – a *synecdoche*)²⁶ and their rulers.

The first step is therefore a critical historical analysis tracing the formation and evolution of the concept of the 'dissident' based on the public discourse understandings and the historical uses of the term. The resulting definition of 'dissidents' sees them as a position in a web of power and meaning rather than specific individuals. 'Dissidents' are created through transnational recognition and are also empowered by it. It is therefore necessary to trace the evolution of the figure of the 'dissident' by analysing all levels on which it has operated: the domestic (official and underground), international (public and official), and exilic.

However, looking only at the formation of the 'dissident' concept would not help us understand the role it, and the people subsumed under it, played. It is therefore important to see the 'dissidents' in the context of larger processes of identity creation, in which Western Europe forged its notion of Self in relation to a certain Eastern European Other.²⁷ The material reality of the Iron Curtain reinforced the imagined division between the two, leading Westerners to construct the identity of the Eastern Other mostly in spatial terms.²⁸ The figure of the 'dissident', also symbolizing the society,

23 Cf. Foucault, Michel: *The Order of Things. An Archeology of the Human Sciences*, New York: Vintage, 1994. Also: Foucault, Michel: *Porządek Dyskursu*, Warsaw: Słowo/Obraz/Terytoria, 2002; for a more empirical application: Hansen, Lene: *Security as Practice. Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War*, New York: Routledge, 2006.

24 The West itself is understood here in the political sense of the Cold War context, meaning the capitalist and more often than not democratic (however blurred the concept is) states of non-Communist Europe as well as the US and Canada.

25 Searle, John: *The Construction of Social Reality*, New York: Free Press, 1995.

26 This logic is explained in: Szulecki, Kacper: *The Other Europe. How the West Created the Dissidents*, presented at the conference: *Intellectuals, Empire and Civilizations in 19th and 20th centuries*, Warsaw University, 22 June 2007.

27 For the historical foundations of this thesis see: Wolff, Larry: *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford/CA: Stanford University Press, 1994; as well as Neumann, Iver B.: *Uses of the Other. 'The East' in European Identity Formation*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999; also Hansen, Lene: *Security as Practice. Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War*, New York: Routledge, 2006.

28 As Lene Hansen notes, identities can be created on spatial, temporal and moral grounds. In the case of the Western discourse on the Eastern European Other, I argue that that space was used in the process of differentiation (West vs. East), while the identities of East European 'dissidents' included an element of moral and ideational similarity. The demise of Communism in East-Central Europe and the fall of the imaginary spatial division involved a reformulation of

suggested a split within the Other – prompting Westerners to construe the ‘dissidents’ as (at least potentially) sharing the values of the West and (supposedly) representing their own societies, while opposing the state socialist apparatus – a ‘fifth column of Western establishments east of the Yalta line’ as Vaclav Havel jokingly remarked.²⁹ This view impacted Western official policies and public opinions about the situation of Eastern European societies. It contained, however, some obvious simplifications that were difficult for Central-Eastern European oppositionist intellectuals to accept and often caused grave misunderstandings and fierce conflicts.³⁰

Discursive structures are difficult to transform, but they can be resisted and even destabilized. The discourse of ‘Central Europe’ constituted such an attempt to question and destabilize Western Europe’s perspectives on its Eastern neighbours. Because the identity of the Eastern European Other was constructed spatially, ‘Central Europe’ was a means to separate the inhabitants of Soviet satellite states (and of some western Soviet republics) from the Russian East also in geographical terms. The ‘dissidents’ own intellectual activity influenced the social imaginaries³¹ of Central European societies (in fact, the very notion of ‘Central European societies’ is an effect of the circulation and diffusion of formerly elite ideas).³² The next step in this project is therefore to probe official and samizdat publications for traces of these discourses. Additionally, the project embarks from these assumptions on a comparative analysis of the discourses of Polish, Czech and Slovak dissidents. What role did the idea of Central Europe play in joining the ‘dissidents’ from the countries in this region?³³ Are the ‘dissident’ ideas homogeneous in content, or is it the ‘structural’ similarity of power relations that makes ‘dissidents’ comparable? These questions are explored through a discourse analysis of ‘dissident’ writings and a historical analysis based on secondary sources.

Bearing in mind the specific role the ‘dissidents’ had to play – being suspended between the West and the domestic ‘Eastern’ settings, taken as a symbol of the ‘Western Self’ within the ‘Eastern Other’, the project takes a closer look at the practices of localization of wider (European and universal) ideas and discourses. The ‘dissidents’ attempted

the Eastern European Other in temporal terms – as ‘underdeveloped’ and ‘on the path to stable democracy’. Compare: Fabian, Johannes: *Time and the Other. How Anthropology Makes Its Object*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.

29 Havel, Vaclav: *Open Letters. Selected prose, 1965–1990*, London: Faber and Faber, 1991, p. 292.

30 Some examples of such misunderstandings between intellectuals operating in two separate worlds are given in: *Płynie się zawsze do źródeł, pod prąd, z prądem płyną śmiecie*, A. Michnik’s interview with Z. Herbert, in: *Herbert nieznan. Rozmowy*, Warsaw: Zeszyty Literackie, 2008; and famously: Miłosz, Czesław: *Zachód*, in: *Idem. Zniewolony umysł*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1999.

31 Taylor, Charles: *Modern Social Imaginaries*, in: *Public Culture*, 2002 (Vol. 14), No. 1, pp. 91–124; Lee, Benjamin / LiPuma, Edward: *Cultures of Circulation. The Imaginations of Modernity*, in: *Public Culture*, 2002 (Vol. 14), No. 1, pp. 191–213.

32 Kundera, Milan: *The Tragedy of Central Europe*, in: *New York Review of Books*, 26 April 1984.

33 *Contacts between Central European dissidents were established by the 1970s: Biuletyn informacyjny uczestników ROPCIO*, 6 October 1978 [samizdat], Archiwum KARTA.