



Samizdat.
Between Practices
and Representations
Lecture Series
at Open Society
Archives, Budapest,
February-June 2013.

EDITED BY
VALENTINA PARISI

Samizdat.
Between Practices
and Representations
Lecture Series
at Open Society
Archives, Budapest,
February-June 2013.

EDITED BY
VALENTINA PARISI

Co-sponsored by the
Central European University
Institute for Advanced Study
and EURIAS

Colophon

Parisi, Valentina (ed.)

Samizdat. Between Practices and Representations
Lecture Series at Open Society Archives,
Budapest, February-June 2013.

IAS Publications No 1

© Central European University,
Institute for Advanced Study 2015

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-615-5547-00-3

First published: February 2015

Proofreading: Christopher Ryan

Graphic design: Ákos Polgárdi
Typefaces: Adobe Jenson & Architecta

Contents

Acknowledgements	p. 005
Preface	p. 007
<i>The common pathways of samizdat and piracy</i> BALÁZS BODÓ	p. 019
<i>“Music on ribs”. Samizdat as a medium</i> TOMÁŠ GLANC	p. 035
<i>The media dimension of samizdat.</i> <i>The Präprintium exhibition project</i> SABINE HÄNSGEN	p. 047
<i>The dispersed author. The problem of literary authority</i> <i>in samizdat textual production</i> VALENTINA PARISI	p. 063
<i>Movement, enterprise, network. The political economy</i> <i>of the Polish underground press</i> PIOTR WCIŚLIK	p. 073
<i>Samizdat as social practice and communication circuit</i> OLGA ZASLAVSKAYA	p. 087
Authors	p. 101
Index of names	p. 105

Acknowledgements

This volume brings together the texts of all the lectures delivered at the Open Society Archives (OSA) in Budapest in the course of the Samizdat Lecture Series that I had the pleasure of organizing between February and June 2013, thanks to a ten-month fellowship offered by the European Institutes for Advanced Study (EURIAS) programme. While staying in Budapest and taking advantage of the invaluable support and deeply stimulating atmosphere constantly offered by my host institution – the Institute for Advanced Study at Central European University (IAS CEU), I experienced the need to look for confrontation and intellectual exchange within the active community of scholars involved in the topic I was dealing with. The initial plan to invite to Budapest two individuals – Tomáš Glanc and Sabine Hänsgen – towards whom I was greatly indebted for suggestions when I was completing my own book on Soviet *samizdat* periodical editions – was spontaneously (that is, as a consequence of an immediate and highly gratifying audience response) enlarged to include scholars I was not personally acquainted with but whose brilliant capacities to extend in unexpected directions the current critical debate on *samizdat* I very soon came to appreciate. Therefore, I would like to thank the EURIAS network for trusting and supporting my project on reading practices related to Soviet *samizdat* throughout the academic year 2012-2013, and the staff of IAS CEU, specifically the academic director Professor Éva Fodor and the academic secretary Éva Gönczi, for their constant help, without which I would never have been able to carry out my task successfully. The Samizdat Lecture Series was organized thanks to the attentive support of OSA director Professor István Rév, and to the invaluable help of OSA staff. I am indebted to Nóra Bertalan, who sent out invitations and kept the CEU community updated on our project, and to Olga Zaslavskaya, who constantly assisted me during all the lectures. I would like to mention, among others, as a part of our most responsive and affectionate audience, Professor Marsha Siefert, Oksana Sarkisova, László Beke and Endre Szkárosi, who contributed substantially to our discussions with critical questions and personal recollections about the circulation of the underground press in socialist Hungary. This volume has achieved its present shape thanks to the enthusiasm with which Éva Fodor and Éva Gönczi supported my publication project, and I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to them both.

Preface

Samizdat means autocracy. Everyone who self-publishes a typewritten text grants himself self-sufficient power over his own editorial product. But this kind of power is nothing compared with the power of *samizdat* itself. This enormous gift will swallow everyone who is involved in it, and will draw them into a whirlpool, whose bottom we cannot see. And that is why we all feel nostalgia for *samizdat*, because its power over us is absolute¹.

1. Alejnikov 2007: 258.

Judging from the personal recollections, nostalgic *homages* and self-mythologising reveries on the theme which have more or less recently appeared in Russia and post-Soviet countries, *samizdat* represented a fundamental tool of self-expressive and interpretive possibilities for a maybe not particularly large, but certainly active array of authors and readers in the former Socialist bloc, whose legacy is in some ways still alive. Although in its more ephemeral and iconic form (i.e. barely legible typewritten carbon copies on fragile paper, spontaneously reproduced by readers themselves), *samizdat* is almost exclusively a Soviet and Czechoslovakian phenomenon, different and more technologically advanced versions of unofficial self-publishing flourished in all the Eastern European countries, coexisting in parallel with the censored press. Originally started as a way to compensate for the book shortage generated by preventive censorship, and to circulate texts which for various reasons were quite unlikely to be printed in the state-controlled media, *samizdat* soon developed into the privileged medium of political dissent and, as such, was incorporated into Cold War narratives. Even if Western propaganda at that point had already developed a machinery of its own in order to encourage “evolutionary processes toward greater freedom, democratic rights” (Reisch 2013: 51) and, possibly, re-association with what used to be called “the Free World”², nevertheless *samizdat* was accorded great attention by Western observers and considered a reliable repository of information about what was going on beyond the Iron Curtain (“primary source material in the study of current Soviet affair”, as Albert Boiter defined it in 1972)³, as well as a significant symptom of restlessness and instability in civil societies. As a consequence, it is not surprising that “the scholarly treatment of *samizdat* began with the treatment of its political

2. In addition to the Radio Free Europe network, which mainly broadcasted *samizdat* texts received from the USSR and the satellite countries and constantly monitored this information flow, I would mention the secret book distribution program to Eastern Europe funded by the CIA during the Cold War as a part of the West’s campaign of psychological warfare against Communist ideology. See Reisch 2013.

3. Boiter 1973: 282–285.

dimension [...] in the 1970s” (Kind-Kovács and Labov 2013: 4). Although such an evaluation lost its viability after the fall of communism, the heroizing narrative of effective resistance jointly elaborated by dissidents and Sovietologists still persists in the view that the often entangled phenomena of *samizdat* and *tamizdat* substantially contributed to democratization processes in East Central Europe, despite the small number of people who could access this uncontrolled information flow and the even smaller number of those who were able to select its content in a self-conscious, creative way⁴. In this respect, it is interesting to note how qualities traditionally ascribed to *samizdat* – ranging from alternativeness to open subversion – promptly re-emerged in the manifestos of several self-publishing digital projects launched on the Russian internet. Even before undergoing a critical, historically-founded assessment based on archival materials, *samizdat* has turned into a countercultural myth and as such it has been repeatedly evoked in the “postprintium”⁵ situation by anti-copyright activists, as well as by self-appointed opponents of economic censorship and globalized commercialization.

4. Russian sociologists Boris Dubin and Lev Gudkov stated that 2%–5% of Soviet population dealt with samizdat texts (Dubin and Gudkov 2009: 79). Aleksandr Daniel’ calculated that The Chronicle of Current Events, which topped the “popularity list”, was followed by no more than one thousand readers (Daniel’ and Roginskij 2007: 47).

5. Schmidt 2010: 85–103 and Schmidt 2013: 221–244.

6. See Hirt and Wonders 1998; Forschungsstelle Osteuropa 2000.

7. It is worth mentioning here the Soviet Samizdat Periodicals. Uncensored Texts of the Late Soviet Era project, initiated by Ann Komaromi at the University of Toronto. See: samizdat.library.utoronto.ca/

On the other hand, after the impressive exhibitions of *samizdat* documents held at the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the new century⁶, and as a consequence of the growing need to preserve these artifacts and to make them more accessible to the scholarly community through digitalization⁷, a material turn as occurred in *samizdat* studies. This conceptual shift from a content-focused approach to a formal one helped to foreground something that apparently was more self-evident, but nevertheless had so far been underestimated: that any *samizdat* publication is a “unique, unparalleled book” (“уникальная книга”, Strukova 2012: 12). Or, better, something quite different from a book, fundamentally challenging our presuppositions about what a published text should look like. In other words, *samizdat* brings us face to face with a medial anachronism constituted by a manuscript or a typescript (whether authorial or reproduced by readers), which circulated as if it was not an unfinished version, but a type of publication in its own right, invested with all the characteristics that a printed item is usually granted (completeness, stability, reliability, etc.). *Samizdat* artifacts constitute a unique order totally distinct from other more canonical registers of transmission; therefore, here it is even more crucial than in other cases to follow Roger Chartier’s suggestion that we turn our attention to the effects of meaning that physical supports produce, since “there is no text that exists outside the material structure in which it is given to be read or heard” (Chartier 2003: 51).

While establishing a parallel level of textual dissemination, self-publishing influenced reading habits and practices. Turning their attention to physical carriers of meaning, scholars started questioning the character of recipients’

response to *samizdat* texts and tried to define more precisely the features of the communities of readers who shared such experience. A fundamental question underlies this approach: how did *samizdat* reading influence forms of sociability, permit new modes of thought and change people's attitude towards power? In their turn, considerations about the impact of self-publishing on Soviet society are largely dependent on the significance assigned to the *samizdat* audience. Did *samizdat* – as well as other alternative cultural practices – imply the existence of a discrete community with a set of shared interests and beliefs (an “interpretive community”, to use the expression coined by Stanley Fish), or was it rather a means of expression common to various groups, characterized by a high degree of transience and heterogeneity?

Rather than aspiring to offer a comprehensive outline of the history/ies of self-publishing in the Socialist bloc, this volume strives to conceptualize the shift which now prevails in *samizdat* studies, i. e. from *representations* (or self-representations, in the case of eye-witnesses' recollections) to a broader analysis of the various *practices* nurtured by *samizdat* editors and readers. By “practices” I mean all procedures of production and consumption related to textual fixation and transmission; all ways of operating (what Michel de Certeau calls “arts de faire”) which enabled *samizdat* “users” to circumvent state censorship, share information, and re-appropriate forgotten or forbidden texts by incorporating them into their own publishing project and thus “re-writing” them in a creative way. By re-situating *samizdat* in the fluid realm of cultural practices, we will finally be able to tackle questions that have so far remained unexplored, such as those concerning copyright issues and the potential overlapping of *samizdat* and piracy. I think that all the lectures brought together under this title reflect – although in a variety of methodological approaches – this reinforced attention towards practices, here understood as “tactics”, which enabled self-publishers to secure their own intellectual independence and to stand up to state repressive and censorial strategies.

Undoubtedly, a hint of de Certeau's *The Practice of Every Day Life* and of its fundamental distinction between strategies and tactics is to be found in Tomáš Glanc's contribution “*Music on ribs*”. *Samizdat as a medium*. Before analyzing the clandestine production of music recordings on recycled X-ray film, Glanc focuses his attention on the character of the community “developing in close interdependence with the creation and circulation of the text itself”. In this connection, he draws on the concept of “tactical media”, elaborated in the 90s by David Garcia and Geert Lovink to identify “cheap ‘do it yourself’ media, made possible by the revolution in consumer electronics and expanded forms of distribution” (Garcia and Lovink 1997), which are exploited by groups and individuals who feel aggrieved by or excluded from

the wider culture. Although rooted in the *postprintium* medial scene, this notion is largely indebted to de Certeau's observations about the "tactical use" consumers can make of elements of mass culture by manipulating and altering them in a creative manner. What is produced by structures of power at the strategic level is tactically employed by ordinary people in daily life to subvert the rituals and representations that institutions seek to impose upon them. As a matter of fact, the term coined by Garcia and Lovink denotes "opportunistic" forms of media activism which privilege temporary, hit-and-run interventions in already existing channels over the creation of permanent, alternative structures. Similar tactics were also employed by self-publishers, for instance when copying machines located in offices or even presses in printing shops were used surreptitiously, outside working hours, in order to bring out more or less seditious booklets. In these specific cases, the same technologies which served state bureaucracy could be tactically adopted by *samizdat* activists for their own purposes. On the other hand, Glanc points out that it would be misleading to attribute subversive intentions to all participants in *samizdat* production and consumption, since their interests and positions cannot be grouped under to a single common denominator. In his opinion "*samizdat* is just the medium, a vehicle for the message going from the sender to the recipient". Whereas neither the technique of reproduction nor the source are decisive elements in defining a document as *samizdat* since, as Glanc remarks, even state institutions generated a *samizdat* of their own, other characteristics related to consumption are recurrent: for instance the fact that self-published texts were intended for repeated "use", even if the physical characteristics of the printed document might prove inadequate for such a purpose.

The archaic, pre-Gutenbergian quality of such artifacts is also at the core of Sabine Hänsgen's lecture, devoted to what – borrowing an expression coined by the Russian critic Andrej Ar'ev – we could define "aprioristic *samizdat*"⁸. This category was developed in contrast to a *samizdat* labelled as "unintentional" and consisting in texts which had been proposed to State publishing houses and which started circulating in self-published form after they were rejected. On the contrary, Hänsgen centered her lecture on works conceived for strictly unofficial circulation. This exclusive focus allows her to portray in a vivid and insightful way the counterculture milieu in Moscow, which "succeeded in establishing an independent artistic infrastructure". As soon as the prospect of a liberalization of cultural life created by the "thaw" faded away, a growing number of poets resigned themselves to the idea that their works would never be appear in print. As a consequence, literary *samizdat* started providing a "mirror image of the canonical and normative relations prevailing in the official literary sphere". The parallel universe of *Präprintium* – the title of the pioneering exhibition curated by Hänsgen and Georg Witte in 1998-1999 – existed for many years beyond

8. Ar'ev 2012: 212.

the state institutions, and produced handwritten or typewritten books which can often be regarded as valuable works of art. Stressing the difference between *samizdat* artifacts and Western artists' publications, which were conceived as a critique of the art market and the commodified culture of late capitalism, the author demonstrates how the turn to scribal practices provided poets and writers with a comfortable, although marginal, milieu, and with new, unrestrained possibilities for creative self-expression.

A radically different picture emerges from Piotr Wciślik's contribution, centered on the political economy of the Polish underground press or *drugi obieg* (literally "second circuit" of textual production and circulation). In particular, this lecture – which is an extract from a more extensive work intended to open up the history of Polish political thought through a bottom-up perspective, i. e. to analyse ideas and practices developed not by dissidents whose works circulated as *samizdat*, but by *samizdat* activists themselves – is focused on a crucial shift that occurred in the 1980s. Under Jaruzelski's regime the exponential growth of underground print shops allowed the transition from extra-Gutenbergian textual production to a fully Gutenbergian print culture, and – consequently – from a gift-economy (personalized and community-oriented) to a kind of market exchange. *In nuce* – I would add – it is the same transformation as a handful of Soviet activists pleaded for, as in 1971 Aleksandr Bolonkin, editor-in-chief of the socio-political journal *Svobodnaja mysl'* [Free Thought], suggested that individual and spontaneous typewriting should be eschewed in favour of a network ("колиздат", which means "collective publishing") that would clandestinely print a number of thick journals and sell them to subscribers. Whereas such a system never evolved in the USSR, because of surveillance and repression, Wciślik describes in detail how market mechanisms developing in the Polish *drugi obieg* clashed both with the logic of the social movement and the economics of self-publishing, based on a substantial equivalence between what the producers supplied and consumer demand⁹. The first victims of this shift were thick socio-political journals, whose analyses often turned out to be outdated by the time they reached the readership. Thus, it is not surprising that readers rather bought books conceived for more "repeated" use.

On the other hand, basing his arguments on archival data, the author convincingly demonstrates that the Polish underground press depended to a great extent on the grey economy. This convergence with the black market made repression easier, since the state authorities could prosecute activists not only for political reasons, but also for economic ones. A very similar point is to be found in Balázs Bodó's original survey of the common pathways of *samizdat* and piracy. Drawing on the common origins of censorship and copyright in the decades following the inception of the press, Bodó

9. On the equivalence between supply and demand in Soviet *samizdat* see Daniel' 2005: 30 In this respect, *samizdat* resembles manuscript production, which took place in response to known demand and required limited upfront investment.

argues that political control over printed items and economic monopolies are often intertwined. There is evidence that in the modern age the same equipment and the same channels that were used to circumvent economic monopolies were used to circumvent censorship as well. There is an intrinsic ambiguity in copyright infringements, since for some piracy has always been merely a profitable enterprise, whereas, for example, for clandestine printers under the *Ancien Régime* smuggling banned texts of the Enlightenment into France was also a matter of principle. To a certain extent, I would say, this ambivalence is frequently found in *samizdat* activity too, as we know for instance from Ljudmila Alekseeva's recollections: she copied some books for her husband's friends, who gave her money for it, but she would have never accepted any compensation for typing out the *Chronicle of Current Affairs*.

Conversely, the same mechanisms that grant market control can also be used to exercise political control, and copyright can become a tool for political censorship. In 1973, when the Soviets signed the Universal Copyright Convention, and introduced new domestic copyright legislation which enabled the state to nationalize intellectual property, many observers expressed the fear that this provision would be used to combat *tamizdat*, i. e. to block the publication abroad of works which circulated as *samizdat* in the USSR. This probably remained an unfulfilled prophecy, since the Soviet authorities had far more effective ways to combat *samizdat* than copyright laws, but the case mentioned by Bodó is significant in terms of what is happening now in China. As far as the new, digital *samizdat* is concerned, the author pointed out that intermediaries, such as search engines, ISPs, and other online service providers tend to remove perfectly legitimate content which users have freely published, because in most cases it would be too complicated to review the legality of the rights holders' claims against such transformative uses. To conclude, demystifying the naïve, triumphant narrative of an intrinsically libertarian internet shared by cyber-utopianists, Bodó lays claim to a redefinition of the concept of copyright infringement inspired to Michel Foucault's treatment of censorship "as a complex web of external pressures and internal(ized) values, individual and institutional practices, which reflect upon and respond to each other". Rejecting the illusion that piracy can be somehow erased, scholars should "take steps to understand *how* copyright piracy exists, and interacts with markets, laws, technologies, values [...] and social imagination".

Copyright issues are also central in my own lecture, *The dispersed author*. As Bodó argues, original literary works circulated as *samizdat* copies "with only the implied (but rarely explicit) consent of the authors". We can mention a few cases when authors explicitly protested against the spontaneous, uncontrolled reproduction and dissemination of their texts.

Of course, they did not charge *samizdat* publishers with piracy crime or copyright infringement; rather they claimed the right to have their works circulating *only* in a form which was revised and approved by themselves. Josif Brodskij's protests addressed to the editors of the Leningrad *samizdat* journal "Sumerki", who published an unauthorized translation of his English essay *In a room and a half*, are indicative of authors' dissatisfaction with their inability to supervise *samizdat* publishing practices. This lack of control raises fundamental questions about authorship, and challenges the stability of literary categories. Drawing on Michel Foucault's definition of author as "principle of thrift in the proliferation of meaning", I argue that this unifying principle, which impedes the free manipulation and re-composition of texts, is obscured, if not obliterated, when publishing activities are performed by readers at the grassroots level. In self-publishing the author-function theorized by Foucault *disperses* into those who reproduce the texts and construct their meanings. Since textual dissemination is virtually unrestrained and free from the boundaries usually set by copyright policies, textual instability is not a matter of authorial re-thinking and revision, but a consequence of the reader's involvement in the process of *mise-en-page* of the text. In this respect, self-publishing fits into the perspective opened up by D.F. McKenzie, when he remarked that in every publication project "an author disperses into his collaborators, those who produced his texts and their meanings" (McKenzie 1999: 27). Therefore, the repeated transmission of a single text via different media and through the hands of professional and amateur "editors" cannot be reduced to a mere "accumulation of noise" (Labov&Kind-Kovács 2013: 6) resulting in possible mistakes and corruptions of the original text. Of course, departures from the authorial text could occur, but what is more relevant for a re-evaluation of *samizdat* as a grassroots practice is readers' self-conscious ability to create the very form of the artifact and thus convey it towards a particular audience and a particular interpretation.

A similar perspective is reinforced by Olga Zaslavskaya's contribution, which is a part of a much wider attempt to interpret *samizdat* in the theoretical framework provided by book history and by the study of the material means deliberately chosen and employed by authors, editors, printers and booksellers to mediate meaning and stimulate response. Portraying *samizdat* "as a specific form of socio-cultural practice", Zaslavskaya draws on the "communications circuit" traced out by Robert Darnton to show the interaction between the many agents involved in the transmission of books through societies. While developing this model in 1982, the Harvard scholar referred to the outcomes of his own research on the *Société typographique de Neuchâtel* (1769-1794) and, more in general, on book circulation in Europe under the *Ancien Régime*, but he also suggested that, "with minor adjustments", his schema should apply "to all periods in the

10. Darnton 2007. See also Van der Weel 2000 and 2011.

11. Another scholar who evoked Darnton's schema with reference to self-publishing was Gordon Johnston. Nonetheless, he was skeptical about the applicability of the "communications circuit" to the study of samizdat, because of its "text-based" character and the variety of forms it encompasses (not only books, but also journals, newspapers, pamphlets, etc.). See Johnston 1999: 122.

history of the *printed book*" (my italics). Whereas Darnton's proposition has generated over the decades a significant number of alternative diagrams - as he admits in the revisited version of his model¹⁰ - Zaslavskaya is attempting for the first time to adapt its categories to (usually) non-printed items, namely *samizdat* production¹¹. Placing her analysis at a transnational level, she questions to what extent Darnton's model changes in the context of self-publishing. This is a crucial question, not only because it enables us to discern that in the case of *samizdat* agents identified by Darnton (publishers, authors, readers, booksellers, smugglers etc.) tend to exchange roles and to overlap in their functions ("...there were many cases when a 'passive' reader, after receiving *samizdat* literally for overnight perusal, later became not only a regular reader, but a distributor or publisher of *samizdat*"). While it implies a comparison with a system based on printed items, the *samizdat* version of Darnton's communications circuit could enable us to ascertain in which ways the non-print origin of the artifacts affected the production process. Due to the great variety of situations taken into consideration (and, of course, to limits of space imposed by the lecture as a genre), Zaslavskaya does not propose an alternative diagram here, but raises a series of very interesting points – for instance, about the difficulties inherent in trying to define what a *samizdat* author is. This opens up new possibilities for understanding and describing *samizdat* as a practice which strongly challenges established ideas of authorship, creativity and reception.

Valentina Parisi

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alejnikov, N. (2007). *Čto i začem. Ob istorii SMOGa i mnogom drugom*. Moscow: Agraf.

Alekseeva, L. *Vospominanija o Samizdate predsedatelja Moskovskoj chel'sinkskoj gruppy Ljudmily Alekseevoj*. Available at: http://antology.igrunov.ru/l_alexeeva.html (retrieved 04/01/2015).

Ar'ev, A. (2012). Estetičeskie predpočtenija samizdata. *Zvezda* 2: 208-214.

Belenkin, B, Strukova, E. & Superfin, G. (Eds.) (2013). *Acta samizdatica. Zapiski o samizdate. Al'manach* 1 (2). Moscow: GPIB Rossii, Meždunarodnyj Memorial.

Boiter, A. (1972). Samizdat: Primary source material in the study of current Soviet affairs. *Russian Review* 31 (3): 282-285.

Chartier, R. (2003). Labourers and voyagers: From the text to the reader. In D. Finkelstein & A. McCleery (Eds.), *The book history reader*. London-New York: Routledge, 47-58.

Daniel', A. (2005). Istoki i mysl' sovet'skogo samizdata. In V. Igrunov (Ed.), *Antologija samizdata. Nepodcenzurnaja literatura v SSSR 1950-e-1980-e. Tom 1: do 1966 goda*. Moscow: Meždunarodnyj inst. gumanitarno-političeskich issledovanij, 17-33.

Daniel', A. & Roginskij, A. (2007). Über das Publikationsprojekt "Die Chronik der laufenden Ereignisse". In H. Hamersky, P. Heidrum, H. Pleines & H. Schröder (Eds.), *Eine andere Welt? Kultur und Politik in Osteuropa, 1945 bis heute*. Stuttgart: Ibidem Verlag.

Darnton, R. (2007). "What is the history of books?" revisited. *Modern Intellectual History* 4(3): 495-508.

Dubin, B. & Gudkov, L. (2009). *Intelligencija. Zametki o literaturno-političeskich illuzijach*. St. Petersburg: Izd-vo Ivana Limbacha.

De Certeau, M. (1984). *The practice of every day life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Forschungsstelle Osteuropa. (Ed.). (2000). *Samizdat. Alternative Kultur in Zentral-und Osteuropa: Die 60er bis 80er Jahre*. Bremen: Edition Temmen.

Garcia, D. & Lovink, G. (1997). The ABC of tactical media. Available at: http://subsol.c3.hu/subsol_2/contributors2/garcia-lovinktext.html (retrieved 04/01/2015).

Hirt, G. & Wonders, S. (Eds.). (1998). *Präprintium. Moskauer Bücher aus dem Samizdat*. Bremen: Edition Temmen.

Johnston, G. (1999). What is the history of Samizdat? *Social History* 24 (2): 115-133.

Kind-Kovács, F. & Labov, J. (2013). Introduction. In Kind-Kovács, F. & Labov, J. (Eds.). *Samizdat, tamizdat & beyond. Transnational media during and after Socialism*. New York-Oxford: Berghahn, 1-23.

Schmidt, H. (2010). Kreative Selbstartikulation und Verbot. *RuNet* und die Tradition des Samizdat. In: Blick zurück nach vorn. Samizdat, Internet und die Freiheit des Wortes. *Osteuropa* 11: 85-103.

Schmidt, H. (2013). Postprintium? Digital literary samizdat on the Russian internet. In Kind-Kovács, F. & Labov, J. (Eds.), *Samizdat, tamizdat & beyond. Transnational media during and after Socialism*. New York-Oxford: Berghahn, 221-244.

Reisch, A. (2013). *Hot books in the Cold War. The CIA-funded secret Western book distribution program behind the Iron Curtain*. Budapest-New York: CEU Press.

Strukova, E. (2012). Samizdat kak pamjatnik knižnoj kul'tury vtoroj poloviny XX veka. In Belenkin, B. and Strukova, E. (Eds.), *Acta samizdatica. Zapiski o samizdate. Al'manach. Pilotnyj vypusk*. Moscow: GPIB Rossii, Meždunarodnyj Memorial, Zvenija: 7-13.

Van der Weel, A. (2000). The Communications Circuit Revisited. Paper delivered at the SHARP conference, Mainz, July 2000. Available at: <http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/English/B&P/Eltext/CCRev.html> (retrieved 04/01/2015).

Van der Weel, A. (2011). *Changing our textual minds. Towards a digital order of knowledge*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.

The common pathways of samizdat and piracy

Balázs Bodó

PIRATEBROWSER - NO MORE CENSORSHIP!

On the 10th of August, for its 10th anniversary, The Pirate Bay (TPB) released a piece of software called the Piratebrowser, tagged with the headline: “No more censorship!” (Anon 2013b). It enables users who live in countries where access to TPB is blocked¹ to circumvent national internet filters. It is a simplified version of a TOR network-based web-browser², which is used by many who want to stay anonymous and avoid the blocking and the surveillance of their online activities. The TOR network is used by: dissenters in oppressive countries with pervasive internet censorship; privacy-conscious users who wish to stay hidden from the surveillance machinery of spy agencies; leakers and whistleblowers; and users who wish to engage in various illegal activities from watching child pornography to buying drugs.

There are many reasons why governments and private interests wish to survey or censor certain online content and services. Copyright enforcement is one of them. The methods and technologies used for blocking access to TPB in the Netherlands and to Twitter in Iran are the same. But as the Piratebrowser warns us, the tools to circumvent these blocks are also the same. Copyright piracy and anti-censorship actions are crossing paths again, for the umpteenth time in the history of copyright (and censorship). But the question remains: is the latest effort of online pirates to cross-dress as free-speech warriors a simple opportunistic move to gain legitimacy, or there is something more to their claims?

THE CO-EVOLUTION OF COPYRIGHT AND FREE-SPEECH POLICIES

It is not just piracy and *samizdat*³ that are so closely intertwined. Censorship and copyright also have common origins, dating back to the early years of printing. The celebratory decades following the introduction of the press in Europe during the late 16th and early 17th centuries soon gave way to a nauseating hangover prompted by a flood of texts deemed heterodox and seditious. To regain control over the production and distribution of texts

1. Government-mandated or voluntary filters are in place now in Ireland, the Netherlands, Belgium, Finland, Denmark and Italy. See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Countries_blocking_access_to_The_Pirate_Bay

2. TOR- The Onion Router is a network of computers through which the internet traffic is passed, rendering the identity of the users more or less anonymous. It also enables users to circumvent locally implemented internet filters as it routes internet traffic through end-points outside of those filters.

3. Though it has a well established historical meaning that refers to the self-published, dissident texts in the Soviet Union, in this article I use the term *samizdat* to denote any effort that aims to distribute texts against the will of authorities. In return, the term censorship denotes efforts both by governments and by private interests to control the distribution of texts. For more on the definition of censorship see the concluding section of this lecture. Coincidentally, the self-published nature and decentralized distribution of historical *samizdat* fits well into the current web2.0 logic of content production.

in England, Queen Mary issued a royal charter in 1557 incorporating the Stationer's Company, a guild of printers in London, entrusting them with the task of policing the print market. In exchange the Company received a complete monopoly over everything that was printed (Pollard 1916). This offered enormous benefits for both sides: the Crown finally had an instrument of effective political control over the press, while the Company members could exercise complete economic control. The Company's register, which first recorded the fact that a given book was deemed publishable, soon turned out to be the ideal tool to establish ownership rights over the texts (copies) entered into it. By the early 1560's, copyright was born out of this simple but powerful arrangement (Feather 1994).

Centralization of both political and economic power, especially on such a scale, always produces its malcontents. The concentration of the copyrights of some of the most profitable texts (Bibles, almanacs, sermons, law books, alphabets) in the hands of a few wealthy printers prompted several waves of piracy in England during the 17th century. From time to time, disenfranchised printers found ways to set up massive clandestine printing operations, and the very same presses that catered for readers who could not pay monopoly prices could also serve those who wanted to read censored materials (Judge 1934).

For some, piracy was just a profitable enterprise. For others, especially for some pirate printers around the borders of the *Ancien Régime* in France, smuggling banned texts of the Enlightenment to France was also a matter of principle (Darnton 1982, 2003; Wittmann 2004). Selling Voltaire and copies the *Encyclopédie* in places where it was on the index of censors was both an excellent business opportunity *and* a powerful force of social and political change, advancing the interests of the nascent *bourgeoisie* against the entrenched feudal classes. Again, the same equipment and the same channels that were used to circumvent economic monopolies were used to circumvent censorship as well.

In late 17th century England, the arbitrary nature of both the print monopoly and the censorship of the press prompted intense debates over both the freedom of the press and the ownership of texts (Rose 1993, 2003). Members of the emerging *intelligencija* fought simultaneously for economic and political emancipation. The role of copyright reform was to secure control over the revenues generated by texts, while the abolishment of prior censorship could promote political emancipation. Just as the old, publisher-based, perpetual copyright and the crown's attempts at censorship could not be successful without each other, the new, author-based copyright could hardly be imagined without radically reforms to the way the press and free speech were regulated. Out of these debates a new arrangement was born.

The figure of the economically independent author, taking *ex-post* responsibility for his printed words, while having the chance to live by his pen, has served well for the best part of the last three hundred years.

With time, important legal instruments were developed to ensure that the economic controls imposed on the ownership and circulation of texts do not limit free speech. The protection of expression (rather than of the ideas behind it), the limited term of protection, the doctrines of exhaustion or first-sale and the development of a series of exceptions or limitations where no right-holder permission is needed⁴ are the main instruments for ensuring harmony between freedom of expression and copyright (Nimmer 1969). Due to the fact that copyright provides financial incentives to produce texts, it is regarded by many as the “engine of free expression”⁵.

POST-MODERN COPYRIGHT AND THE FREEDOM IN CYBERSPACE

The growing economic and political power of copyright-based industries and the emergence of the internet (among other reasons) gave rise to what Pamela Samuelson labels “post-modern copyright”, which has some disturbing parallels with the old, publisher-based ways of ordering the information markets (Samuelson 2002). The structural changes both within the copyright industries and the context of copyright regulation⁶ have revived the debates over the relationship between free speech and copyright (Balkin 2004; Kaplan 1967; Netanel 2008; Samuelson 2002; Tushnet 2004).

One of the key issues raised by the last decade of scholarship is the integration of the internet into the regulatory frameworks of copyright and free speech. Despite the early, utopian approaches which considered cyberspace as a sovereign space (Barlow 1996; Turner 2006), it swiftly became clear that this medium is subject to the same pressures of control as any other (Lessig 2006; Palfrey 2010). Governments around the world routinely censor texts from digital circulation (Deibert et al. 2008; Morozov 2012). In the UK this concerns pornography and other content deemed harmful to minors, which, as it turned out recently, seems to include all “esoteric material” (Anon 2013a). In other parts of the world, such as China or Iran, it concerns political or religious dissent.

Big corporations are also trying to exert control over the popular use of their intellectual property online. Appropriation (Coombe 1998), remix (McLeod 2007) or other transformative ways to use protected works without permission are subject to routine copyright enforcement efforts by various rights holders.

4. I refer to cases such as parody, pastiche, commentary, criticism or certain educational settings. In continental law such cases are usually spelled out, while in the common law countries the general framework of fair use makes such uses permissible.

5. The term was used by the US Supreme court in *Harper & Row Publishers, Inc. v. Nation Enterprises* (SCotUS Case No. 83-1632).

6. Samuelson offers the following trends which she identifies as a step-back from the arrangement reached after the first modern copyright statute in 1710: the concentration in the copyright industries, the primacy of profit maximization, rather than of the promotion of learning, excessive pricing, the increasing length of copyright terms towards perpetuity, the subsidence of the author and the rise of the work, the expansion of exclusive rights and the erosion of fair use and other copyright limitations, the decline of originality as a meaningful constraint on publisher rights, the unclear origin of rights, the rise of private ordering and enforcement, the rise of the rhetoric of “piracy” and “burglary”, and the ever-enhanced criminal sanctions.

Modern-day government censorship and private copyright enforcement seem to be fundamentally different both from each other and from their historical precedents. But, as it turns out, due to the similarities in their execution, as well as the potential synergies between the two, they have much more in common than we might at first like to think.

The legal scholarship of the last decade has focused mainly on the chilling effects of copyright, where creative production by amateurs as well as by professionals is hindered by the legal hindrances to building upon pre-existing works. While such a practice is in theory legitimate and justified, in reality it is routinely contested by rights holders on copyright grounds. The toxic combination of overzealous rights holders and the extreme costs of protecting fair use privileges do pose a problem, especially for digital *samizdat* writers: the amateur or semi-pro bloggers, music producers, fan fiction writers, videographers and remixers of the internet. This situation is further aggravated by the way in which copyright enforcement in the digital environment is set up. On the internet everyone has the chance to issue their own *samizdat* publication, but distribution is facilitated by various intermediaries, such as search engines, ISPs, and other online service providers like file hosting services, blogging platforms, etc. The limited liability and safe harbour provisions (including notice and takedown mechanisms) which shield such intermediaries from legal liability arising from their users' copyright infringement are conditional upon the removal of content identified as infringing by rights holders, which creates the perfect setup for collateral censorship (Meyerson 1995; Mulligan 2013). This happens because intermediaries have an incentive to remove perfectly legitimate content when the alternative is to individually review the legality of the rights holders' claims. Couple that incentive with the high incidence of content falsely identified as infringing by algorithmic agents operating without direct human control, and with the wilful abuse of the system by some to silence critical voices, opposition, competition and commentary (Electronic Frontier Foundation 2013; Von Lohmann 2010; Seltzer 2010), and you get a perfect storm, where beyond the problems of chilling effects on free speech (self-censorship), we also have to face extensive and aggressive ex-post (corporate) censorship as well.

A great deal of digital ink has been devoted to the chilling effects of copyright regarding new cultural production. On the other hand, the second class of copyright infringement, which consists of non-transformative uses, has received little attention in the free speech debate. The function of the 18th century pirates in the context of censorship is well understood, and their role in circumventing oppressive economic and political structures has received due recognition (Johns 2010). Few studies have tried to understand the same issues in the case of the online, unauthorized, non-transformative

reproduction, the downloading and the sharing of copyrighted works (Bodó 2011; Karaganis 2011; Liang 2005). The legal consensus finds little or no value in plain p2p file-sharing, despite the fact that copyright may act as a significant barrier, not only to the production of derivative texts, but to the circulation of the original works as well.

COPYRIGHT AS A TOOL FOR CENSORSHIP

There are quite a few known instances where copyrights are used for clear, political censorship. The Bavarian state, which is the post-war copyright holder of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, has used its exclusive rights to keep the book off the market during the last half-century. The Dutch state, which owns the rights of the Dutch translation, uses the same means to block publication in the Netherlands. Publishers who wished to circumvent this instance of censorship had to resort to piracy.

The censorship and copyright policies of less democratic governments also offer instructive tales. In the Soviet era, *samizdat* was not, of course, subject to copyright considerations. Both original texts as well as the *samizdat* publications of Western literature were usually reproduced and distributed with only the implied (rarely explicit) consent of the authors. It was understood that any copyright restrictions would hinder the dissemination of valuable information.

Somewhat surprisingly, this latter view was also shared by the Soviet authorities. For much of its existence, the Soviet Union exempted translations from any protection whatsoever, in order to facilitate the import and dissemination of literary works in a populous and multi-lingual country. While the USSR used copyright piracy to obtain and disseminate knowledge, it was also feared that it would use copyrights to suppress the circulation of *samizdat*. In 1973, when the Soviets signed the Universal Copyright Convention, and introduced new domestic copyright legislation which enabled the Soviet state to nationalize intellectual property, many, most prominently the *samizdat* writer Aleksandr Solženicyn, feared that this provision would be used to block the publication of *samizdat* works abroad, in the West (Jinnett 1974; Levin 1983; Newcity 1980).

On the evidence available now [...] the Soviet Government seems to count on using the world copyright law to turn its tight domestic censorship into effective international censorship. [...] Ironically the preface to the UCC declares that "A universal copyright system will facilitate wider dissemination of works of the mind and increase international understanding". The apparent Soviet scheme now is an instrument to hinder such "wider dissemination".

7. Solženicyn, quoted in Levin 1983.

Although there is no evidence of such actions within the publishing domain (as Levin noted, the Soviet state had far more effective means to block *samizdat* than copyright laws), yet, the fact that the fear spread in Western publishing circles suggests that they understood quite well that the same mechanisms that grant market control can also be used to exercise political control.

What remained an unfulfilled prophecy in the Soviet case became a reality a few decades later, when China started to use copyrights and other trade rules to enforce censorship. There are several official complaints to the dispute-resolution body of the World Trade Organization (WTO) to document how China tried to enlist copyright protection to support her censorship machinery. The first one⁸ was concerned with the fact that until 2010, the Chinese statute on copyright did not provide protection to censored works. The results of the US complaint on the issue are instructive. China removed this provision from its laws, as it was found to be in conflict with the WTO Agreement on Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) which China had signed in 2001. The same agreement, however, gives China the sovereign right to control or prohibit the circulation of any work, a claim that the WTO panel acting on the issue also had to admit (Yu 2010). In the end, censored works were granted copyright protection, but that did not affect either their status as censored, or the machinery of censorship itself.

8. WTO DISPUTE DS362:
China — Measures Af-
fecting the Protection and
Enforcement of Intellectual
Property Rights

The second US complaint⁹ (filed on the very same day as the first) was concerned with limits imposed by China on market access. In that dispute the US complained that China only allows two state-owned companies to import audiovisual works. Again, China had to revise its legislation, but the panel decision again confirmed China's right to censor the cultural domain, adding only that it had to do it in a less trade-restrictive manner. As one commentator put it: "[This] may be a legal win for the US Government, it is not a win for freedom of speech. It may facilitate importation and distribution of material that passes Chinese censorship, but it leaves China's substantive content review intact and may even make it worse" (Pauwelyn 2010).

9. WTO DISPUTE
DS363: China — Measures
Affecting Trading Rights
and Distribution Services
for Certain Publications and
Audiovisual Entertainment
Products

These examples indicate that copyright is a rather redundant as a tool to enforce any serious censorship regime. The WTO cases also leave the question open as to whether in the long run strict censorship rules can coexist with market rules that conform to global standards.

ECONOMIC CENSORSHIP – SOME UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES OF COPYRIGHT

The introduction of the global copyright standards to a censorship-happy country may or may not reduce the effectiveness of political censorship, but in any case it introduces a new source of power into the local cultural domains. Well-enforced copyright protection paves the way for both wilful and involuntary economic censorship by those who hold the copyrights.

The classic definition of economic censorship covers cases when media companies or news organizations are pressured by their advertisers to drop certain topics. Economic censorship in the copyright domain also has the effect of certain texts disappearing from the marketplace of ideas, but the reasons for this may just as well be due to circumstances as to deliberate intervention.

The economic powers that copyrights grant can be, and routinely are, converted into political power. The negotiations around the TRIPS Agreement highlighted the fact that the stronger intellectual property protection frameworks not only diminish developing countries' ability to modernize through "piracy" (as the US has, or the USSR did, for the better part of their histories), but also subject them to the inequalities inherent in the global knowledge markets. If the newly protected rights holders do not wish to sell at prices developing countries are willing or able to pay (Karaganis 2011), then intellectual property protection becomes a tool for maintaining global political and economic inequalities (Bettig 1996; Deere 2008; May and Sell 2006; May 2006; Richards 2004; Scotchmer 2004). The fact that the US is the worst offender when it comes to updating its copyright laws to comply with unfavourable TRIPS decisions (Lee 2011) suggests that at least in some cases the preservation of this global order is more important than adherence to international institutional frameworks that were designed to strengthen that order. As we have already noted, at local levels copyright grants significant power to rights holders over the interpretations of their texts (Coombe 1998), rendering the production and circulation of critical, heterodox messages a legally adventurous enterprise.

Besides this aforementioned, wilful (ab)use of economic power, there is another logic that makes texts disappear from the marketplace (of ideas). The current catalogue of publicly sold copyrighted works is shaped by a number of factors: the (expected) demand, the production and distribution costs, the resources available to the rights holders, and the (geographic) density of the distribution network, among others. Any of these factors can render a work commercially unavailable, creating gaps of varying size between supply and demand on the market. Unmet market demand creates

the perfect conditions for the emergence of grey and black markets, which illegally provide what the legal alternatives cannot or will not offer (Bodó and Lakatos 2012). There is ample evidence that the copyright system in its current form creates an immense number of orphan works (whose rights holders are unknown) (Covey 2005; Mousner 2007; O'Reilly 2005), and an even larger group of out-of-print works (Heald 2007, 2013). While legislators are trying to catch up, the unfortunate effects of this type of economic censorship are promptly remedied through the emergence of extensive pirate markets, both online and offline.

TOWARDS A REDEFINITION OF COPYRIGHT INFRINGEMENT

Does this mean that pirates are free-speech warriors? Can we decide by answering the question of whether copyright is censorship? If the task were so simple, we would not need to go too far. Court cases both in the US and in the EU acknowledge the fact that copyright protection may hinder free speech, and we need to constantly re-balance the two. Are they in balance, then? If we ask the courts again, the answer is affirmative. The US Supreme Court, in *Golan v Holder*¹⁰, was asked to give an opinion on the question of whether the retroactive extension of the term of copyright protection, and the removal of works from the public domain, would breach first amendment rights. At the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), the administrators of the Pirate Bay, who were convicted in the Swedish courts on copyright infringement grounds, sought free speech protection for sharing copyrighted works¹¹. Both decisions re-visited the balance of free speech and copyright protection, but brought no substantive shifts in the *status quo*. The rulings re-affirmed that copyrights may have adverse effects on free speech rights. The US Supreme Court found that as long as the free speech safeguards (the fair use exceptions and the idea/expression dichotomy) are not changed by Congress, the balance is satisfactory. The ECHR established that while operating a site which facilitates file sharing is covered by the right to “receive and impart information” under Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights, even if the files being shared are copyright-protected and the facilitation takes place for profit-making purposes, this right enjoys less protection than right holders’ rights to the protection of their intellectual property. The conclusion that both Courts reached was that the current balance that legislators and the judiciary have struck between the two values does not justify intervention.

Should we stop here and rest our case? We certainly could, but then we would not be accounting for the fact that the Courts’ interpretations are not universally shared, either by rights holders, who complain about the lack of enforcement tools, or by users, who complain about intolerable interference with the online practices they see as legitimate.

10. GOLAN v. HOLDER. 132 S.Ct. 873 (2012). United States Supreme Court, January 18, 2012.

11. Fredrik NEIJ and Peter SUNDE KOLMISOPPI against Sweden, application no. 40397/12, ECHR Decision of the ECtHR (5th section) of 19 February 2013

This lecture has tried to highlight some of the issues at the intersection of copyright and piracy. How should one connect these dots, and how should one interpret the resulting picture? The real debate is just starting. Just as courts do not share the view that these conflicts are anything more than glitches in an otherwise satisfactory system, there are many who do not share the view of the courts. Those half-million users who downloaded the Piratebrowser in the first twenty days of its existence may think that these glitches are evidence of copyright being systematically used to censor legitimate speech.

At this point it would seem rather difficult to bridge the gap between the two interpretations. But in any case, this latest move by copyright pirates to reframe their struggles in the context of censorship raises two important issues for us to consider.

First, as the Piratebrowser story suggests, different online dissenting / delinquent groups are in some sense rapidly merging. As noted earlier, there are many different groups that use technologies which provide extra privacy, from terrorist organisations to governments, revolutionaries, recreational drug users, privacy conscious citizens, whistleblowers, leakers etc. Some enjoy state support, others are targets of law enforcement agencies with multi-billion dollar budgets, some enjoy considerable public support, others never will, but they have at least two things in common. Efforts to control online communications, the surveillance of the internet, online blocks and filters constitute fundamental threats to their existence; thus their survival depends on the availability of reliable privacy technologies.

Copyright piracy is a form of social banditry¹² (Hobsbawm 1969; Lea 1999) which has so far been legitimized by the belief that such actions were simply not criminal. The popularity of such ideas as “sharing is caring” or “file-sharing is not a crime”, and the success of pirate parties were signs of the legitimacy of different copyright-infringing social practices.

In recent years copyright enforcement has started to enlist online intermediaries, and has tried to establish itself in more fundamental, architectural levels of internet technologies. This move made the pirates adapt and evolve: they turned to the tools of the censored to resist copyright enforcement. But pirates gained more than just an internet filtering circumvention technology. They also found a cause for their rebellion. They may have started as ignorant merry men happily sharing what was sold and all that wasn't, but they soon found themselves in the company of all the disenfranchised groups on the internet: victims of persecution, political censorship and economic deprivation. They share the tools as much as they share the strong desire for anonymous, private and undisturbed online communications.

12. Social bandits are groups “whom the lord and state regard as criminals, but who remain within peasant society and are considered by their people as heroes, as champions, avengers, fighters for justice, perhaps even leaders of liberation and in any case as men to be admired, helped and supported.” (Hobsbawm, 1969: 17).

This is the cause they will fight for from now on; this is the cause with which they can replace the ageing idea of the digital free-for-all; this is their way to gain new legitimacy, when the (mis)educational efforts of copyright holders slowly turns the tide against them.

This radical transformation from naïve infringer to self-conscious protester points to the second moral of this story. Scholars of copyright (and piracy) need to follow in the footsteps of censorship scholars, and take a second look at their subject. In recent years the studies on censorship have moved a long way from the simplistic understanding of the concept of censorship. To quote (Holquist 1994): “the [...] illusion, that censorship is a vice to be overcome through morally guided will, assumes that there either is censorship or not - that a complete absence of censorship is somehow possible. Despite Freud’s stoic assertions that censorship is unforgeable, all too often it is still treated through a crude axiology, as an absolute choice between prohibition and freedom. This position denies the reality of interdiction and masks the necessity of choosing between the myriad specific conditions that embody censorship’s fatedness. To be for or against censorship as such is to assume a freedom no one has. Censorship is. One can only discriminate among its more and less repressive effects.” According to Foucault, censorship is not simply the “external silencing of a resistant subject’s speech” (Freshwater 2003) or a “predefined set of institutions and their activities” (Kuhn 1988), but rather, as a form of power that shapes the discourse, it is a complex web of external pressures and internal(ized) values, individual and institutional practices, which reflect upon and respond to each other (Foucault 1978, 1979, 1981). Likewise, scholars interested in copyright enforcement and piracy need to overcome the binary understanding of piracy, according to which piracy either is, or isn’t, and take steps to understand *how* copyright piracy is, and interacts with markets, laws, technologies, values, practices and social imagination.

Due to the shared technological foundations, copyright enforcement in the digital domain may be hard to separate from the larger struggles around security, privacy, surveillance, and from the overall war on general purpose computation (Doctorow 2012). As a result, that pirates now walk the same path as other dissenters, political and other, again, still fundamentally different, but hardly distinguishable any more.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anon. (2013a). Open Rights Group - Sleepwalking into censorship. Available at: <https://www.openrightsgroup.org/blog/2013/sleepwalking-into-censorship> (retrieved 04/01/2015).

Anon. (2013b). PirateBrowser - No More Censorship! (September 16, 2013). Available at: <http://piratebrowser.com/> (retrieved 04/01/2015).

Balkin, J. M. (2004). Digital speech and democratic culture: A theory of freedom of expression for the information society. *NyuL rev* 79:1.

Barlow, J. P. (1996). A Declaration of the Independence of Cyberspace. Retrieved January 18, 2011 at <https://projects.eff.org/~barlow/Declaration-Final.html>.

Bettig, R. V. (1996). *Copyrighting culture: the political economy of intellectual property*. Boulder, Colo: Westview Press.

Bodó, B. (2011). *A szerzői jog kalózzai*. Budapest: Typotex.

Bodó, B. & Lakatos, Z. (2012). P2P and Cinematographic Movie Distribution in Hungary, *International Journal of Communication* 6: 413–45. Available at: <http://ijoc.org/ojs/index.php/ijoc/article/view/1261/712> (retrieved 04/01/2015).

Coombe, R. J. (1998). *The cultural life of intellectual properties: authorship, appropriation, and the law*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Covey, D. T. (2005). Re: Response to Notice of Inquiry about Orphan Works". Available at: <http://www.copyright.gov/orphan/comments/OW0537-CarnegieMellon.pdf> (retrieved 04/01/2015).

Darnton, R. (1982). *The literary underground of the Old Regime*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Darnton, R. (2003). The Science of Piracy: A Crucial Ingredient in Eighteenth-Century Publishing. *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 12: 3-29.

Deere, C. (2008). *The Implementation Game: The TRIPS Agreement and the Global Politics of Intellectual Property Reform in Developing Countries: The TRIPS Agreement and the Global Politics of Intellectual Property Reform in Developing Countries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Deibert, R., Palfrey, J., Rohozinski, R. & Zittrain, J. (Eds). (2008). *Access denied: The practice and policy of global internet filtering*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Doctorow, C. (2012). The Coming War on General Purpose Computation. Available at <http://craphound.com/?p=3848> (retrieved 04/01/2015).

Electronic Frontier Foundation (2013). Unintended Consequences: Fifteen Years under the DMCA. Available at: <https://www.eff.org/pages/unintended-consequences-fifteen-years-under-dmca> (retrieved 04/01/2015).

Feather, J. (1994). *Publishing, piracy, and politics: An historical study of copyright in Britain*. New York: Mansell.

Foucault, M. (1978). *The History of Sexuality, vol. 1, An Introduction*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1979). *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison*. New York: Vintage Books .

Foucault, M. (1981). The order of discourse. In Young, R. (Ed.), *Untying the text: A post-structuralist reader*. New York: Routledge.

Freshwater, H. (2003). Towards a Redefinition of Censorship. *Critical Studies* 22: 225–45.

Heald, P. J. (2007). *Property Rights and the Efficient Exploitation of Copyrighted Works: An Empirical Analysis of Public Domain and Copyrighted Fiction Best Sellers*. SSRN. Available at <http://ssrn.com/paper=955954> (retrieved 04/01/2015).

Heald, P. J. (2013). How Copyright Makes Books and Music Disappear (and How Secondary Liability Rules Help Resurrect Old Songs). *Illinois Program in Law, Behavior and Social Science Research Papers*, 13. Available at: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2290181> (retrieved 04/01/2015).

Hobsbawm, E. J. (1969). *Bandits*. New York: Delacorte Press.

Holquist, M. (1994). Corrupt Originals. The Paradox of Censorship. Introduction. *PMLA – Publications of the Modern language association of America* 109 (1):14-25.

- Jinnett, R. J. (1974). Adherence of the USSR to the Universal Copyright Convention: Defenses under US Law to Possible Soviet Attempts at Achieving International Censorship. *Cornell International Law Journal* 8: 71.
- Johns, A. (2010). *Piracy: The Intellectual Property Wars from Gutenberg to Gates*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Judge, C. B. (1934). *Elizabethan book-pirates*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kaplan, B. (1967). *An unhurried view of copyright*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Karaganis, J. (Ed.). 2011. *Media piracy in emerging economies*. New York: SSRN Books.
- Kuhn, A. (1988). *Cinema, censorship, and sexuality, 1909-1925*. London: Routledge.
- Lea, J. (1999). Social Crime Revisited. *Theoretical Criminology* 3 (3): 307-25.
- Lee, E. (2011). Measuring TRIPS Compliance and Defiance: The WTO Compliance Scorecard. *Journal of Intellectual Property Law* 18 (2): 401.
- Lessig, L. (2006). *Code: version 2.0*. New York: Basic Books. Available at: <http://www.exacteditions.com/exact/browse/459/529/3382/1/1> (retrieved 04/01/2015).
- Levin, M. B. (1983). Soviet International Copyright: Dream or Nightmare. *Journal of the Copyright Society of the U.S.A.* 31: 127.
- Liang, L. (2005). *Beyond Representation: The Dilemmas of the Pirate. A Conference on Inequalities, Conflicts and Intellectual Property*. New Delhi: Alternative Law Forum.
- Von Lohmann, F. (2010). *Unintended Consequences: Twelve Years under the DMCA*. Electronic Frontier Foundation.
- May, C. (2006). The Denial of History: Reification, Intellectual Property Rights and the Lessons of the Past. *Capital & Class* 88: 33-56.
- May, C. & Sell, S. K. (2006). *Intellectual property rights: A critical history*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

McLeod, K. (2007). *Freedom of expression®: resistance and repression in the age of intellectual property*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Available at: <http://www.loc.gov/catdir/toc/ecip076/2006101176.html> (retrieved 04/01/2015).

Meyerson, M. I. (1995). Authors, Editors, and Uncommon Carriers: Identifying the Speaker within the New Media. *Notre Dame Law Review* 71: 79.

Morozov, E. (2012). *The net delusion: The dark side of internet freedom*. New York: PublicAffairs.

Mousner, J. O. (2007). Copyright Orphan Works: A Multi-Pronged Solution to Solve a Harmful Market Inefficiency. *Journal of Technology Law & Policy* 12: 395.

Mulligan, C. (2013). Technological Intermediaries and Freedom of the Press. *SMU L. Rev.* 66: 157–277.

Netanel, N. W. (2008). *Copyright's paradox*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Newcity, M. A. (1980). Universal Copyright Convention as an Instrument of Repression: The Soviet Experiment. in 24th ASCAP Copyright Symposium: 1-50.

Nimmer, M. B. (1969). Does Copyright Abridge the First Amendment Guarantees of Free Speech and Press? *UCLA Law Review* 17: 1180.

O'Reilly, T. 2005. Oops - Only 4% of Titles Are Being Commercially Exploited. *O'Reilly Radar*. Available at http://radar.oreilly.com/archives/2005/11/oops_only_4_of_titles_are_bein.html (retrieved 04/01/2015).

Palfrey, J. 2010. Four Phases of Internet Regulation. *Social Research: An International Quarterly* 77 (3): 981-96.

Pauwelyn, J. (2010). Squaring Free Trade in Culture with Chinese Censorship: the WTO Appellate Body Report on China-Audiovisuals. *Melbourne Journal of International Law* 11: 119.

Pollard, A. W. (1916). The Regulation Of The Book Trade In The Sixteenth Century. *Library* s3-VII (25): 18-43. Available at <http://library.oxfordjournals.org> (retrieved 04/01/2015).

Richards, D. (2004). *Intellectual property rights and global capitalism: The political economy of the TRIPS Agreement*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe.

Rose, M. (1993). *Authors and owners: The invention of copyright*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Rose, M. (2003). Nine-tenths of the Law: the English Copyright Debates and the Rhetoric of the Public Domain. *Law and Contemporary Problems* 75 (13): 75-88.

Samuelson, P. (2002). Copyright and Freedom of Expression in Historical Perspective; *Journal of Intellectual Property Law* 10: 319-344.

Scotchmer, S. (2004). The Political Economy of Intellectual Property Treaties. *Journal of Law Economics & Organization* 20 (2): 415-437.

Seltzer, W. (2010). Free Speech Unmoored in Copyright's Safe Harbor: Chilling Effects of the DMCA on the First Amendment, *Harvard Journal of Law & Technology* 24: 171.

Turner, F. (2006). *From counterculture to cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the rise of digital utopianism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Tushnet, R. (2004). Copy this Essay: How Fair Use Doctrine Harms Free Speech and How Copying Serves it, *Yale Law Journal* 114 (3): 535-90.

Wittmann, R. (2004). Highwaymen or Heroes of Enlightenment? Viennese and South German Pirates and the German Market. Paper presented at a conference on *The history of books and intellectual history*, Princeton University. Available at: http://www.princeton.edu/csb/conferences/december_2004/papers/Wittman_Paper.doc (retrieved 04/01/2015).

Yu, P. K. (2010). The TRIPS Enforcement Dispute. *Nebraska Law Review* 89: 1046.

“Music on ribs”.

Samizdat as a medium.

Tomáš Glanc

The extensive number of texts disseminated through *samizdat* is certainly not infinite, but is nevertheless not attributable to any common denominator in terms of content, authorship, aesthetics, politics, or even method of reproduction. What connects them, then?

If we look at a text not only as an object that acts as a bearer of meaning, but also and especially as a medium characterized by its specific component material (Duchastel 1982: 170), in this category of texts the *samizdat* belongs to a subset. It is a medium in its own right – despite such disparate practices and media – with methods of literary production that have embraced a wide range of techniques, from the classic typewriter to various kinds of duplication and reprographic systems, including the use of an underground printing press (especially in Poland) or almost unique cases of audio recording on recycled X-ray film, as we shall see shortly.

In trying to define *samizdat* we aim to develop theories that will not be valid in an absolute sense, but will allow us to understand this phenomenon as a particular kind of literary production, regardless of the beliefs and status of its promoters, or of the semantics of the works that were thus circulated and read. So what are the characteristics we should be aware of? The technique of reproduction is not a decisive element and neither is the identity of the source. Let us consider, for instance, the mimeographs used for the National Theatre archives bulletin, which were issued by a state institution but whose content was officially deemed to be “for internal use” and hence not subject to the usual ratification procedures; nor was the bulletin recorded as a periodical publication. There has not yet been sufficient research on mimeographs and institutional bulletins of this type, which saw a significant increase in the Czechoslovakia of the late 1980s. Similar phenomena can be seen in other countries whose state institutions generated their own *samizdat*, competing with the “authentic” kind. In this way, texts intended for the Soviet Politburo or official representatives of the Orthodox Church were published secretly, accompanied by the acronym DSP (*dlja služebnogo pol' zovanija*, i.e. “for service use”) (Bljum 1995: 179). For example Natal'ja Abalakova and Anatolij Žigalov, founders of the

TOTAPT wart group and authors – from the 1960s – of *samizdat* poetry collections, were commissioned by the Moscow Patriarchate to translate works by authors like Rudolf Otto and James Hastings, intended for circulation in very restricted ecclesiastical circles. Although the translators were theoretically required to deliver all copies of their translations to the customer, they still managed to keep a few for themselves, which they then circulated in the “real” *samizdat*’.

1. I refer here to the letter by A. Žigalov dated April 22th, 2009. Archiv Forschungsstelle Osteuropa an der Universität Bremen, Fond 217.

In a lot of research into *samizdat* (Skilling 1982: 64-80; Wilson 1992: 138) the same observation is repeated to the point of becoming a *cliché*, but without critical interpretation it would be very difficult to identify the phenomenon: this type of production enabled the return to a pre-Gutenberg culture based on new criteria. The archaization of this moment of communication is reminiscent of aspects of book culture prior to the introduction and diffusion of printing, when books were available only to a closed community of users and intended not for one reading but for repeated circulation. Nevertheless, this analogy does not exclude a substantial difference. While pre-Gutenberg volumes, subject to communal use and housed in monastery libraries, were of outstanding beauty, and the elevated standard of material processing aimed to guarantee durability, in most cases the exact opposite was true of the *samizdat*. Here the return to anachronistic techniques was not accompanied by a renewed focus on the quality of the support and its duration. On the contrary, *samizdat* books were even cheaper and of even poorer quality than those churned out by state printers. This return to the pre-Gutenberg situation at a distance of five hundred years thus led to the extreme consequences of the Gutenberg revolution. At that time it made available new, simple, low-cost communication aids, but the problem of accessibility was of course still complex due to the particular circumstances in which *samizdat* texts were distributed.

At the same time, at least two key aspects of the medieval scriptorium value system were present. Firstly, each *samizdat*, by virtue both of the risks related to its manufacture and distribution and the small number of copies available, was offered at a nominal price. Secondly, the fact that a *samizdat* was so difficult to acquire enhanced its value. A further analogy can be seen in the fact that *samizdat* books, in contrast to mass-produced ones, were intended for repeated “use”, even if the physical characteristics of the printed document might prove inadequate for such a purpose. So at a functional level there was a strong recovery of the idea of circulating a book time after time. Both of these aspects emphasize the tactile factor of the *samizdat* book (or text), the uniqueness of a product bearing the material traces of a unique, inimitable “career”, as well as traces of its previous readings and readers. Then the marks left on the paper by the “workshop” that made it and by its readers become an integral part of its meaning, inscribed in the sphere of the work’s significance.

In this way the *samizdat* text is involved in forming a community which develops in close interdependence with the creation and circulation of the text itself. The tangibility of the text is heightened by its unique origin, characteristic of its individuality. Unlike what happens with traditional books, we find ourselves dealing with singular features which give the text its exceptional value: the energy with which the typist has hammered out the text, the colour and kind of typewriter ribbon, the model of typewriter, the characteristics of the individual letters, margins, page layout, notes, binding, title, preparatory notes, illustrations, if any, line spacing, corrections sometimes added by hand, errata... All of these features are unique and all reduce the distance between the product and those who created it. This does not occur only when the *samizdat* text is physically written by its author, in which case we speak of the text as a physical extension of the author's body, the act of the hand that is writing (Sabel and Bucher 2001), but also when the writer is a person other than the author: their closeness and presence are almost palpable. In most cases, the author of a *samizdat* is personally acquainted with whoever reproduces the work and creates the tangible format. Hypothetically, they may also follow the paths physically travelled by the work and encounter the readers. In the context of the traditional book market all this is certainly not possible, because the book is an item of merchandise distributed on the state publishing market or sold on a large scale, and it leaves a communication network that cannot be reconstructed. The *samizdat*, on the other hand, preserves its private and intimate dimension, since the circulation of these unique specimens can, in theory, always be controlled. Clearly, this process can be hindered or blocked by confiscations, losses, distribution issues, or political police traps, but all this represents but one exception.

The uniqueness of the *samizdat* has generally been interpreted from a political perspective, as a form of writing not subject to censorship. This fact should, however, be understood in a different perspective, such as that embraced by the concept of "tactical media" (Garcia and Lovink 1997), which designates alternative news media able to express the positions of a minority that is not considered sufficiently represented in the press, in print, in television broadcasts, and in society. *Samizdat* creates a community that cannot, however, be identified with a group of "opponents of the regime" because its interests and positions are not attributable to a single common denominator. Participants project onto this medium a broad range of content and their positions are linked by something quite indefinable. *Samizdat* is just the medium, a vehicle for the message going from the sender to the recipient. At the same time, in its individual manifestations, it will no doubt forge a community, a unitary constellation based on trust, on fellowship and shared values (though expressed only in embryonic or imagined forms). Similarly, it is obvious that such a community exists only as

a generic aura, as a state of mind that never leads to anything palpable. The *samizdat* anticipates the phenomenon whereby people who do not need to know each other in person or meet physically (all the more so considering that the *samizdat* is intertwined with an illicit atmosphere of conspiracy) still belong to the same media circuit and take part in shared platforms. In an era of digital revolution, soon followed by the natural decline of the “classic” *samizdat*, this phenomenon has been given the name of “virtual community” (Rheingold 1993).

Conversely the *samizdat* constituted an “impossible community”. The development and dissemination of this concept was pursued by Jean-Luc Nancy, Maurice Blanchot, Giorgio Agamben, and Alain Badiou, and by Russian authors, first of all Oleg Aronson with his *Bogema: opyt soobščestva* [Bohème: an experimental community, 2002], which certainly addresses the nineteenth century, but whose theories and scope may also be applied to more recent times. In a nutshell, for communities that “cannot be represented” or are “impossible”, the underpinning concept is that communities can exist without resting on a solid base, on a single core or with a horizon in the aggregating sense. This is certainly true, a fortiori, for the *samizdat* community, and at biographical, historical and, in some cases, even aesthetic levels, recovering the avant-garde group example and the radical nature of their publishing aims, but transforming foundations to the point of being beyond recognition.

The physical immediacy of a *samizdat* work, together with the presence of its author, means paying attention to the tangible, material form of any publication, which in normal book production would be assigned a secondary meaning. The shapes of the letters, the paper, the parts of the cover and of the rest of a book are not usually considered part of its “content”. In the case of the *samizdat*, however, the provisional nature of the support becomes part of the meaning of the text, and numerous readers, even after decades, connect the experience of the reading with the specific materials of the specimen they had at their disposal. This is certainly something that can happen with any kind of text, but in a *samizdat* proves to be a more frequent phenomenon, of greater impact and with deeper motivations.

A special case of *samizdat* is perceived as a phenomenon linked not only to a clear, heightened physical presence but also to the bodies of the author and the recipient, as well as the intrinsic qualities of the means. We refer to the so-called “music on ribs” (also called “on bones” or “on skulls”), a method differing from the written *samizdat* and its most common forms on one hand, and on the other related to it, even if not identical. Its motivation would still be that of disseminating works impossible to find on the state market and compensating for this deficit through alternative means.

Different and somehow opposed to the classic *samizdat* is the cause/effect relationship between the technique used for circulation and the content circulated. In the classic *samizdat* the cause that triggers the process is the work that the subject of *samizdat* communication cannot or will not publish in accordance with the terms provided for by the state system. Therefore this subject resorts to actions and methods that become the effect of this unsatisfactory situation, tackling the obstruction that has arisen with alternative means, like a typewriter, for instance.

In the case of “music on ribs”, the method at the origin of the process is made possible by technology which, in turn, becomes the cause of a particular practice similar to *samizdat*, or even interpretable as a precise variant. Soldiers returning from Europe to the Soviet Union after the war brought trophies with them that included contemporary music records and Telefunken equipment for audio recording and for the duplication of records (Kravčinskij 2012). These devices became the trigger for a process of communication and trade which, unlike the classic *samizdat*, was not completely alternative with respect to state institutions, but existed rather as a sort of parasitic organism.

At the end of 1946, an engineer named Stanislav Kazimirovič Filon opened the *Zvukozapis'* (audio recording) studio on Nevskij Prospekt, certainly authorized by the authorities. A little later, a similar studio was set up in the centre of Moscow (in ulica Gor'kogo, now Tverskaja). The experiment was then repeated in other cities. The studio equipment allowed the “mechanical incision of audio grooves on special, semi-rigid discs, in other words the creation of real discs: not simply copying those that came out of the factory, but recording directly through the microphone. The studio's sign read ‘audio incisions’” (Kravčinskij 2012: 253). The officially declared ability to record audio messages, for example, on a master disc might be accompanied by that of making a musical version of a *samizdat*, for instance. Kravčinskij writes: “But the studio's main purpose was the illegal production for profit of so-called saleable articles, which were in great demand on the market” (Kravčinskij 2012: 254).

The first copies were of works by Western authors, forbidden or impossible to find in the Soviet Union for various reasons² [Ill. 1]. Unlike *samizdat*, in which the monetary dimension was secondary and books circulated as part of a system reminiscent of a spontaneous library used by an unknown number of users, the illegal recordings made in the studio with Telefunken equipment were specifically intended to be marketed.

These recordings were mostly products intended for sale, although it is very difficult to distinguish the strictly economic incentive from the

2. Kravčinskij provides us with a list of the most popular authors and trends (2012: 254): jazz performed by the leading foreign bands; tango, foxtrot, romances sung in Russian by performers who had left their homeland with the first and second waves of emigration. These included Aleksandr Vertinskij, whose discs were still banned, despite his return to the Soviet Union in 1943. Records dating back to the 1920s by young Leonid Utesov were also copied: songs like *Gop so smykom*, *Limončiki*, *Murka*. Among the performers who sang in Russian there were also famous names like Petr Leščenko (sometimes accompanied by his wife Vera), Konstantin Sokol'skij, Vladimir Nepljuev, Leonid Zachodnik, Iza Kremer, Mija Pober and Alla Bajanova. Touring Gitane groups were also popular, especially those from Paris with soloists such as Vladimir Poljakov and Valja Dimitrievič. Pieces sung by Vadim Kozin in the 1930s were also in great demand.

intellectual interest due to the content, which became the object of both cultural and commercial exchange. Many witnesses, however, focus on the substantial profits made by the producers of “music on ribs”, and not only in the capitals but also in provincial cities³. However, most important from our standpoint is something that Kravčinskij, the historian of “music on ribs”, mentions only in passing, as a kind of secondary information: the fact that the material support used for the recordings was “in general, recycled X-ray film on which skulls, bones, ribs and other parts of the body could be glimpsed against the light” (Kravčinskij 2012: 254).

This is something that is not found in the traditional *samizdat*, where the medium, as already mentioned, might bear the fingerprints of the typist or other traces left by readers, such as casual notes, stains, creases, or annotations in the text or margin. The uniqueness of “music on ribs” is rather different in the sense that it is imprinted on people’s bodies by means of the radiographic image; that is, on images of the bodies of individuals who were usually sick [Ill. 2&3]. This radically physical recording method, in which the body figures only through its photographic reproduction, however, is vaguely reminiscent of the *duchoborcy* sect, which rejected official paper books because, according to its beliefs, the truth had to be written on the “Tablets of Memory”; in other words its bearers had to be living persons tasked with transmitting spiritual knowledge from one generation to the next⁴.

With the passing of time Boris Tajgin and Ruslan Bogoslovskij, two activists who had taken part in night shifts at the *Zvukozapis*’ studio, turned production into a full-blown underground activity, installing home-made technology that was able to offer the same level of performance as the original Telefunken equipment [Ill. 4]. They then opened an illegal company for the production of bootleg records. The musical *samizdat* circulated on X-rays of body parts (“city hospitals overflowed with old X-ray films waiting to be destroyed and radiologists who were supposed to burn it at regular intervals were only too happy to get rid of it”, Kravčinskij, 2012, 255) and was gradually perfected so that skulls, ribs and other bones were hidden by photographs. This system of reproduction lasted fifteen years,⁵ until the appearance of audiocassettes in the early 1960s, which quickly became the preferred medium for musical *samizdat* and continued to ride the crest of the wave until the abolition of censorship in the second half of the 1980s.

3. For example, a witness recalls: “The director of a factory in Gelendžik told me that in his hometown there were two recording studios, run by two brothers of Greek origin. They earned so much they were even able to afford to buy a Mercedes in Leningrad (although if the truth be told, it was a war trophy). The curious thing was that the two brothers were able to survive with their noisy music company until the era of Vladimir Vysockij (1961). At this point their luck ran out as one of the two studios was located next to the town’s Soviet and Vysockij’s voice performing his criminal underworld songs was not appreciated by the municipal authorities, who closed the studio down”

4. In this respect, see Glanc 2001, 49–65.

5. Meanwhile, many “music on the ribs” activists were tried several times and sentenced to prison for terms ranging from 3 to 5 years. See Kravčinskij 2012: 259.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aronson, O. (2002). *Bogema: opyt soobščestva. Nabroski k filosofii asocial'nosti*. Moscow: Fond Pragmatika Kul'tury.

Bljum, A. (1995). *Zakat Glavlita. Kak razrušalas' sistema sovetskoj cenzury: dokumenty, chronika 1985-1991 gg.*, Moscow: Kniga.

Duchastel, P. (1982). Textual Display Techniques, in Jonassen, D. H. (Ed.), *The technology of text: Principles for structuring, designing, and displaying text*, Englewood Cliffs: Educational Technology Publications.

Glanc, T. (2001). Ein Buch gegen die Schrift. Životnia kniga. In Frank, S., Lachmann, R., Sasse, S., Schahadat, S. & Schramm, C. (Eds.). *Mystifikation - Autorschaft – Original*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag: 49-65.

Garcia, D. & Lovink, G. (1997). The ABC of Tactical Media, available at http://subsol.c3.hu/subsol_2/contributors2/garcia-lovinktext.html (retrieved 04/01/2015).

Kravicinskij, M. (2012). *Istorija ruskogo šansona*. Moscow, AST.

Rheingold, H. (1993). *The virtual community. Homesteading on the electronic frontier*. Boston: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Sabel, B. & Bucher A. (2001). *Der unfeste Text. Perspektiven auf einen literatur- und kulturwissenschaftlichen Leitbegriff*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann.

Skilling, G. H. (1981). Samizdat: A Return to the Pre-Gutenberg Era?, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* 19: 51-66.

Wilson, P. (1992). Living Intellectuals: An Introduction. In Goetz-Stankiewicz, M. (Ed.), *Good-bye, samizdat: Twenty years of Czechoslovak underground writing*. Evanston, Northwestern University Press.

ILLUSTRATIONS

III. 1

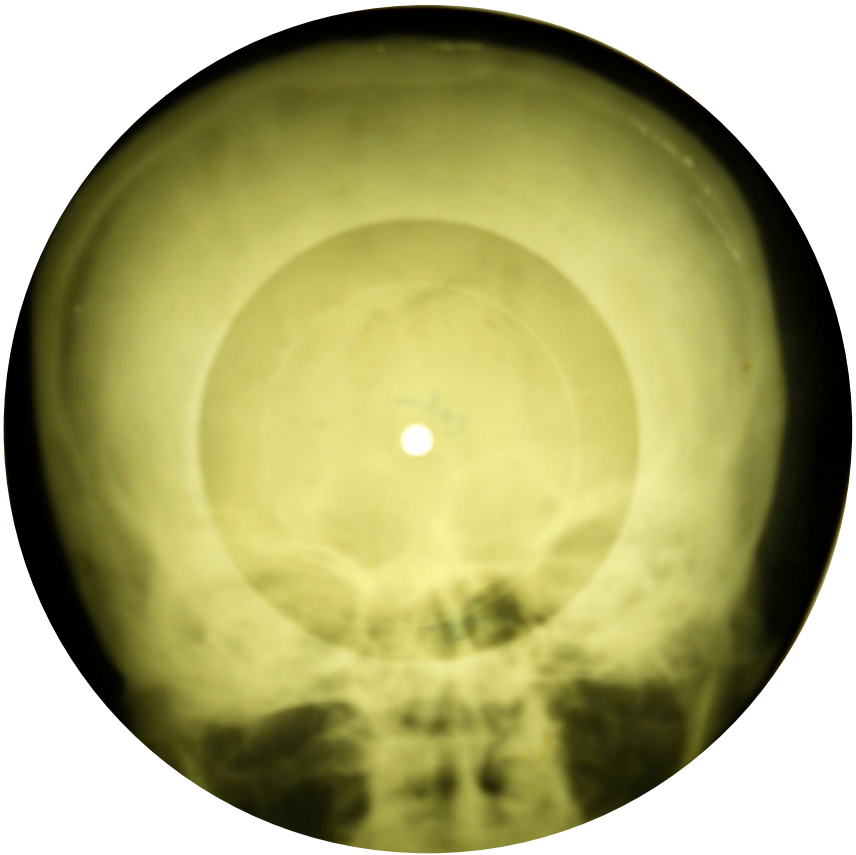
Here and in the next pages
(III. 1, 2, 3): "music on ribs"
from Polivanov family's
archive, Research Centre
for East European Studies,
Bremen University,
FSO 01-137.



III. 2



III. 3



The media dimension of *samizdat*. The *Präprintium* exhibition project

Sabine Hänsgen

In 1998 Georg Witte and I curated the *Präprintium. Moscow Samizdat Books* exhibition, which was on show for several months: at the National Library in Berlin (May 14th-June 27th 1998) and at the Weserburg Museum in Bremen (November 11th 1998-March 11th 1999)¹. By displaying textual artefacts preserved in Russian as well as in German archives, the exhibition set out to illustrate the uniqueness of the self-publishing phenomenon in Russia in the decades between Stalin's death and the collapse of the Soviet Union (1953-1991). Choosing *Präprintium* as a title for our project, we intended to underline from the very beginning the fact that unofficial authors were artificially cast back into a pre-Gutenbergian situation. Excluded from the state-run publishing channels and monopolized print media, writers and artists established their own spaces of self-publication beyond the state institutions, and created handwritten or typewritten books, which can often be regarded as valuable artworks. Many of them exist only as single copies, while others were reproduced as carbon copies. The very fact that such writings would not appear in print made them turn into *books* of a very special kind, made out of collages, experimental texts, visual poetry, ironic re-elaborations of official printing art. Here writing "staged" itself through interaction with other, especially visual, media².

At the same time, the exhibition was the result of our common, fifteen-year-long experience as publishers, translators and archivists of the Moscow counterculture scene³. Therefore we decided to focus our attention exclusively on the Moscow *milieu*. We did not want to ignore or underestimate the importance of the Leningrad underground scene in developing an effective self-publishing network for the preservation and re-evaluation of Russian modernist culture; nevertheless we believed that only close personal relationships with people who actually took part in this process could help us to accomplish our task: to examine *samizdat* via solidly grounded evidence and to illuminate its roots in the Russian cultural tradition. As I have already mentioned, due to biographical reasons it was especially in Moscow that we could count on such connections, which would enable us to access private archives and to

1. See the catalogue of the exhibition, Hirt and Wonders 1998. In various arrangements *Präprintium* travelled then to Minoritenkloster Graz (1999), Austrian National Library in Vienna (2000) and PrinzMaxPalais Karlsruhe (2001).

2. For an evaluation of writing as action and result in *samizdat* practice see Hänsgen and Witte 2003.

3. This activity resulted in several editions, see for instance Hirt and Wonders 1984, 1987, 1991, 1992.

obtain personal recollections from eye witnesses and key figures such as Vsevolod Nekrasov, Dmitrij Aleksandrovič Prigov, Andrej Monastyrskij and Lev Rubinštejn.

As far as our documentation practice in the 1980s is concerned, we tried to figure out which documentary medium (footage made during art-performances, recordings of poetry readings in private flats) could be the most appropriate in order to reflect the different ways of artistic expression we were faced with in Moscow. In *Präprintium* we decided to turn our attention to the largely overlooked, ambivalent role played by the book as a *medium* in unofficial Soviet culture. In contrast to artists' publications in the West, which were conceived as a critique of the art market and the commodified culture of late capitalism (Bury 1995, Moeglin-Delcroix 1997, Perréc 2002), *samizdat* books produced by poets and artists were meant as a form of opposition to Soviet ideology and to its attempt to control textual production through preventive censorship (Doria 1986). Starting from the 1960s, the widespread hopes for a liberalization of cultural life instilled by Nikita Chruščëv's "thaw" gradually faded away after exhibitions were banned (as, for instance, was the show at the *Manege* in 1962)⁴ and writers were put on trial (Iosif Brodskij in 1964, Andrej Sinjavskij and Julij Daniel' in 1966). As a consequence, a clear separation emerged between official, printed literature on the one hand, and unofficial, unprinted literature on the other. Counterculture succeeded in establishing an independent artistic infrastructure which retained its importance until the era of *perestrojka*. *Samizdat* was an omni-comprehensive countercultural textual cosmos that ranged from writings by Russian nationalist dissidents to translations of American sociologists, from Russian-Orthodox to Buddhist scripts, from Gulag memories to pornographic novels. From a literary perspective, what arose was rather like a mirror image of the canonical and normative relations prevailing in the official literary sphere. Many Russian intellectuals deemed *eo ipso* only non-printed texts to be authoritative, worth reading and true. In regard to this Osip Mandel'stam's words from 1930 sound prophetic: "I divide all of world literature into authorized and unauthorized works. The former are all trash, the latter - stolen air".

4. About the *Manege* exhibition (and Chruščëv's reaction to it) see Gerčuk 2008.

The cult-value assigned to non-printed texts was further enhanced by the fact that *samizdat* was able to resurrect an entire chapter in the history of literature otherwise eradicated by the official Soviet publishing system. Inaccessible works by modernist authors, which had not been reprinted since their first publication, were distributed as *samizdat* copies. This circumstance provided them with an almost sacred status, akin to that of manuscripts transcribed in medieval monasteries. However, Moscow transcribers did not produce handwritten, calligraphic copies, but mainly typewritten ones. By using typewriters, authors became their own typesetters. Typing was no longer

just an editorial practice, as it was in re-typing pre-existing texts, but became a productive way of publishing one's own poetry.

As far as *Präprintium* is concerned, the anachronistic aura of *samizdat* pre-Gutenbergian books has been probably emphasized by the fact that they have been displayed in glass showcases, as if they were paleontological findings, traces of a lost natural environment. I think that the artefacts we selected for the exhibition as examples of a forced (or intentional) return-to-the-past (in medial terms, of course) were provided with some interesting additional effects by this kind of presentation. On the other hand, a CD-rom (both made available at the exhibition and added to the catalogue) gave the visitors the chance to browse through the digitized versions of *samizdat* books. This particular way of reading was at odd with the authentic, private context of *samizdat* reception; yet, the intimate contact between reader and monitor might have virtually restored the conditions of reading in secret.

At the same time, we tried to underline the fact that *samizdat* was something more than the finished textual product. It was an entire *milieu*, a productive artistic microcosmos on the fringe of the official world. By moving to the periphery and creating on the fringe, the artist could find the best conditions for affirming his own individuality. People acting on the borderline between the world of publishing houses and the microcosmos of manuscripts-in-the-drawer and readings held in kitchens were particularly sensitive to the dissonances between these different spheres of artistic existence. Nikolaj Glazkov - who is considered to have coined the term *samizdat* as early as 1944, when he added *sam-sebja-izdat* ("self-publishing house") as a publisher's mark to the cover pages of his self-typed volumes of poetry - used to enter the sub-totals and grand totals of verses in the table of contents of his typewritten booklets, rather than page numbers. In this way he ironically reflected on official publishing conditions and especially on the fact that authors were paid by the line for works printed by publishing houses. Glazkov's books mirror the drama experienced by the poet who is denied authorial space by the time in which he lives, and who can only acquire such space by creating it himself [Ill. 4].

Turning to the individual identities of *samizdat* authors, I think it is worth mentioning a few examples of the "pregutenbergian" genres which the *Präprintium* exhibition displayed.

1. In the 1950s and 1960s, one of the main centres of the unofficial cultural scene was Lianosovo, a suburban shanty town situated at the periphery

of Moscow in an ideological as well as a geographical sense. Writers from the Lianozovo “school” (Evgenij Kropivnickij, Jan Satunovskij, Igor’ Cholin, Genrich Sapgir and Vsevolod Nekrasov) established a tradition of private poetry readings that exerted a sustained influence on the Moscow *samizdat milieu* in the following decades. Lianozovo poetry revived oral traditions by taking spoken words from everyday life and turning to forgotten themes of crime, poverty, illness and alcoholism. *Baračnaja poezija* (*poetry of the slums*), the label that was quickly attached, suggests the paradoxical nature of such writing, which sought confrontation with the *baroque* tone of approved Soviet literature not only thematically, but also in its overall, essential style (Hirt and Wonders 1992).

Yet the Lianozovo group was interested not only in the spoken reality, but also in the written one. The *Präprintium* condition, the forced regression into the pre-Gutenbergian age, went along with a new concept of writing as an intimate, domestic activity. As an example of this attitude we can mention Evgenij Kropivnickij’s self-made booklets. He used to bind them using domestic textiles (thus reviving the poetry album tradition), or to decorate the front and back covers with geometric, abstract expressionist or ornamental floral patterns. Another feature of writing as a domestic activity was the large number of dedications that we find in typewritten and handwritten books. In many cases, the front page with a dedication replaced in an almost demonstrative way the cover of the printed book. The cover is addressed to the anonymous buyer/reader, while the dedication refers to a very specific person: the reader who receives the *samizdat* book directly from the author’s hands (Hirt and Wonders 1998: 29).

The home-made, hand-crafted character of *samizdat* books inspired self-referential examples of concrete and visual poetry, focused on the very nature of *samizdat* as a kind of forced medial anachronism. Exploring different strategies of textual manipulation, permutation and deformation, authors turned to archaic artistic techniques which acquired a huge relevance within the Soviet semiosphere. At the same time all these techniques (creasing, tearing, cutting and glueing the page) were irreconcilable with official culture and its almost sacred vision of text (which in its turn perpetuated, albeit in trivial form, the Medieval tradition). In this regard I would refer to the book cult during the Stalin era: the endless reproduction of writings by the Great Leader, the adulation covering page upon page of academic discourse, the exquisiteness of the materials used for printing, pregnant with symbolism suggesting the value and permanence of their written content.

In the late-Soviet era of stagnation, the suggestive power of the State-approved book was gone and the ideological design of the urban space degenerated into a collection of dead forms – slogans that nobody read any

more, posters ignored by passers-by. Experiments with writing surfaces and materials in the 1960s and 1970s (which can be interpreted as a Russian version of concrete and visual poetry) must be placed against this backdrop of lifeless, ossified textual relics (Hänsgen 2012: 97).

In Lianosovo Vsevolod Nekrasov discovered his specific form of minimalist poetry. He becomes the pioneer of a minimalism that captures, in a minimum of space and with minimum deployment of materials and complexity, the poetic dimension of the inconspicuous using the tool of minimal divergence. The space of the speech is visualized on the written surface of the poem, and becomes the space of the text. Nekrasov generally places his compositions (which can be reduced to a single word, a letter or even a punctuation mark) on loose leaves of paper reminiscent of tear-off notes. On the one hand, this poetic minimalism aims to go back to the molecules of language, to discover behind the monstrous texts of the totalitarian era whether anyone is “still alive”. On the other hand, Nekrasov is far away from the maximalist utopia of primeval and universal languages formulated by avant-garde theorists of poetry. Whereas the avant-garde breaks real languages into fragments and seeks to create a new language, indeed a new world, from elementary particles, phonemes and letters, Nekrasov sets out to find the residual pieces and remnants of everyday speech. The period between the avant-garde epoch and the present was marked by the experience of totalitarian cultures and their perversion of avant-garde concepts in an endeavour to tap the productive, creative potential of signs for the purpose of the universal aestheticization of reality. This experience motivated Nekrasov’s polemic dissociation from the avant-garde’s characteristic demiurgic conception of poetry. Velemir Chlebnikov, for example, thought of himself as the “chairman of the globe”, and the poets of the “Left Front of the Arts” (LEF) conceived themselves as “life builders”. In contrast, Nekrasov describes poetry concisely as “not erecting, not creating – the creators have already played enough havoc – but rather opening, getting behind what actually is” (Nekrasov 1994: 133).

2. The 1970s were dominated by the thought categories of textual analysis. Text as an open structure, its framework, its boundaries, became the central focus of attention. But in contrast to the contemporary academic discourse, which was semiotic and structuralist in its direction, the issue for conceptualist aesthetic practice departed experimentally from the boundaries of text, opening to the performance situation or dissolving them into a potentially infinite scale of accompanying – instructing, commentating, interpreting, cataloguing – texts. What ensues is a series of genres that realize in very different ways this going beyond the boundaries and limits of text.

Viktor Pivovarov and Il'ja Kabakov developed the genre of albums, absurd pictorial stories consisting in series of single sheets that were to be read out personally by the authors in their studios – a kind of home theatre with clear reminiscences of the tradition of peep-show boxes and folk picture sets whose stories were told by performers in streets and market places. What formerly took place in public before a crowd of curious onlookers now played out in a private, domestic setting. And whereas pictorial broadsheets, which were reproduced and sold, owed their existence to the invention of printing, the albums of Pivovarov and Kabakov consisted of original authorial sheets. We encounter the phenomenon of a calculated, indeed demonstrative shifting of context – the artists' answer to the media-historical paradoxes inherent in the conditions under which they created their artworks. This situation was further intensified by the fact that they deployed precisely those graphic techniques that they also used to earn their living as children's book illustrators. In all likelihood, it is the tension between the hoarding, storing and collecting characteristics of the albums (as albums of reminiscences, photo albums, poetry albums, document dossiers) and the open, provisional, rearrangeable way in which the album is organized that exerts such an attraction among Moscow artists to this day.

A further re-elaboration of the album as a genre can be seen in Kabakov's *samizdat* collage *Transmission of energy* [Peredača energii]. Here the artist glues some photos of his own work, the album *Gorochov the Joker* [Šutnik Gorochov] on a copy of the weekly illustrated magazine *Ogonek*. A couple of thick threads provide for the "transmission of energy" between the *samizdat*, "obscure" artifact (or, better, its photographic reproduction) and the most popular Soviet magazine, read by millions. Mass culture and elitist, clandestine aesthetics are brought together and overlap on the same carrier of meaning in order to exemplify the impossibility for the unofficial artist to withdraw completely from the social environment to which he belongs [Ill. 5]. At the same time, the collage can be interpreted as an example of appropriation of different texts, images and materials, a strategy which was widely performed by Moscow conceptualists and testifies to the gradual reception of the postmodern aesthetic (with its emphasis on citation and the re-use of ready material rather than individual creation) in the unofficial artistic entourage (Weitlaner 1998, Hänsgen 2012a).

The interrelationship between text and book – the physical quality of text that has been reified as a book, the book as a technical form of organization and symbol for a meaningful holistic script – this is the theme running through the works of Lev Rubinštejn. Since 1975 Rubinštejn has placed fragments of text on separate cards (usually index cards) or sheets that he numbers and compiles to form series. The stack of cards channels attention

to the material artefact of the texts, which differs in some respects from the book: the series of cards are an open sequence of written surfaces, with gaps and breaks between them, disappointing the expectation, habituated by the bound book, of a self-contained textual whole. It is the minimal reading performance, the act of turning over the cards, the physical perception of the breaks that make the here and now of the reading situation itself the actual centre of the poetic moment. In the process of this reading performance, a unique tension develops between the poetic quality of the texts read out, on the one hand, and their *mechanical*, typewritten arrangement and *bureaucratic*, physical form, on the other. The myth, objectivated in the book, of the literary work of art as a holistic construction, be it a poem or narrative, is placed here in a borderline situation.

Dmitrij Prigov addresses and confronts this tradition with a radically different approach. Prigov, who came to fame in the early 1980s with his poems about everyday myths in Soviet society (such as his militiaman figure), conjures up a metaphysics of writing. In one gigantic, unfinished series of *Alphabets*, he disorganizes the didactic and world-ordering ambitions of the major ideological texts using a constant stream of new methods. Here, too, the existential situation of the unofficial author comes into view in an ironic and self-ironical way [Ill. 6]. Ironic when Prigov hypes himself as a Soviet writer adhering to the Five Year Plan with his obligatory daily output, and self-ironical when he makes the classical medium of the *samizdat*, the typed volume of writings, into dead material on his part, for example in his *Text Graves* – books of poetry stapled together on all four edges. Prigov continues *ad absurdum* the repetitive principle of text as embodied symbolically in the book, for example in the form of successive generations of carbon copies of one and the same typewritten text that continue until they become illegible.

3. The 1980s see a new aspect entering the stage. A young generation of New Wavers, groups likely *Mukhomor* and *Detskij sad*, in whose name infantile stylization became a programme, avow a primitive texture following the experiments of the conceptualists. However, this new expressionism is stylized through and through as well: it is “cold”, as a member of *Mukhomor* put it. The new, “wild” style also had consequences for the way the *samizdat* book was approached. The scrupulous methods of textual manipulation (serialisation, lettrism, minimalism) are succeeded by demonstratively rough folders and notebooks, often compiled in collective, spontaneous improvisations. Felt markers and ballpoint pens, watercolour and acrylics brushes tastelessly wielded, badly developed photographs were the preferred tools of work. These gestures also have their own tradition – the

throwaway books of the futurists during the 1910s that countered the book cult of symbolist modernism with their demonstrative roughness and use of cheap materials; the difference being, however, that what was neo-primitivist pathos in those days is now a style copied by its heirs.

Moving close to contemporaneity, we observe a persistent *tendency to archive*. Year after year, literary texts, essays, photodocumentations of performances, reproductions of pictures were gathered by the Moscow Archive for New Art (Russian acronym: "M.A.N.I."), a collective body, consisting at first in personal folders for each author, then in the form of voluminous anthologies, and finally – symptomising the changing times – in the collective's own museum bearing the same name. In this perspective it is worth mentioning Vadim Zakharov, who has been methodically establishing himself as the archivist of the Moscow art scene since the 1980s. He initially worked with surveys and interviews among Moscow artists, who were photographed by Georgij Kizeval'ter in the settings of their respective studios. These photos and interview transcripts, compiled in a cardboard sleeve under the programmatic title *Through the Studios*, constitute a unique documentation of the unofficial art scene in 1980s Moscow. With the changing conditions for public expression during the *glasnost'* and *perestrojka* periods, artists' books became the subject-matter of collections and exhibitions⁵. The spirit of the archive also prevails in the genre of journals. As an example we can mention the "*Pastor*" magazine, edited by Zakharov in Cologne as a way of continuing his previous documentation activity, although the layout of this new periodical edition was, of course, designed in a digital form. Yet he did it from afar, from his new home in Cologne – this, too, is a symptom of the end of an era.

5. The first exhibition of samizdat artists' books was the famous itinerant show curated by Rimma and Valerij Gerlovin in the 80s after they emigrated to the United States (Doria 1986).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bury, S. (1995). *Artists' books: The book as a work of art, 1963–1995*. Aldershot: Scolar Press.

Doria, C. (Ed.). (1986). *Russian samizdat art*. NY: Willis Locker & Owens.

Gerčuk, Ju. (2008). *Krovoizlijanie v „MOSCh“, ili Chruščëv v Maneže*. Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie.

Hänsgen, S. & Witte, G. (2003). *Die sichtbar unsichtbare Schrift des Samizdat*, in Choroschilow, P., Harten, J., Sartorius, J. & Schuster, P.-K. (Eds.) *Berlin - Moskau, Moskau - Berlin 1950 – 2000*, vol. 2: *Chronik und Essays*. Berlin: Nicolai, 244-249.

Hänsgen, S. (2012a). Noch einmal im Samizdat. Aneignungsstrategien von Bildern, Texten und Büchern im Moskauer Konzeptualismus, in: Gilbert, A. (Ed.): *Wiederaufgelegt. Zur Appropriation von Texten und Büchern in Büchern*. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 265-280.

Hänsgen, S. (2012b). SovKonkret: Vom Transfuturismus zur konzeptuellen Poesie / SovConcrete: From Transfuturism to Conceptual Poetry, in Thurmann-Jajes, A. (Ed.): *Poesie – Konkret / Poetry – Concrete. Zur internationalen Verbreitung und Diversifizierung der Konkreten Poesie / On Concrete Poetry's Worldwide Distribution and Diversification*. Köln: Salon Verlag, 97-118.

Hänsgen, S. (2013). Am Rande, im Verborgenen, im Visier. Interview von Olga Martin, in: *Novinki. Online-Zeitschrift, Portal und Informationsbörse zu Literatur der Länder Ost- Mittel- und Südosteuropas*. Available at: http://www.novinki.de/html/zurueckgefragt/Interview_Haensgen.html (retrieved 04/01/2015).

Hirt, G. & Wonders, S. (Eds.). (1984). *Kulturpalast. Neue Moskauer Poesie und Aktionskunst*. Wuppertal: Edition S-Press.

Hirt, G. & Wonders, S. (Eds.). (1987). *Moskau. Moskau. Videostücke*. Wuppertal: Edition S-Press.

Hirt, G. & Wonders, S. (Eds.). (1991). *Konzept - Moskau - 1985. Eine Videodokumentation in drei Teilen*. Band 1: Poesie. Band 2: Aktion. Band 3: Ateliers, Wuppertal: Edition S-Press.

Hirt, G. & Wonders, S. (Eds.). (1992). *Lianosowo. Gedichte und Bilder aus Moskau*, München: Edition S-Press.

Hirt, G. & Wonders, S. (Eds.). (1998). *Präprintium. Moskauer Bücher aus dem Samizdat*. Bremen: Temnen.

Nekrasov, V. (1991) Erklärende Notiz (1979–1980), *Schreibheft* 44: 133–35.

Moeglin-Delcroix, A. (1997). *Esthétique du livre d'artiste, 1960-1980*. Paris: Jean Michel Place, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Perrée, R. (2002). *Cover to cover: The artist's book in perspective*. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers.

Weitlaner, W. (1998). Aneignungen des Uneigentlichen. Appropriationistische Verfahren in der russischen Kunst der Postmoderne, *Wiener Slawistischer Almanach* 41: 147-202, & 42: 189-235.

44
И на муръ вѣнчанъ изъ-подъ стана.
Всѣхъ вѣхъ вѣхъ модификаціи.

Челъ стаетъ лучше для изобретѣн,
Але для современника не такъ!

441.

Слова

Николай Иванович Глазков.

ПОЛНОЕ СОБРАНИЕ СТИХОТВОРЕНИЙ.

КНИГА ПЕРВАЯ.

МОСКВА-1953-САМОВЫИЗДАТ.

III. 4
N. Glazkov, Complete
Works. Vol. 1. Moscow,
Sam-sebja-izdat, 1953.

*"Игра" Аркадия Лобовича.
Гравюра Анна Мухоморова в кофрах у Зубовых в их загородном
имении. Прислание: 1843 год*

Виктор ПОПОВКИН

связи до шести десятых долей миллиметра (Новый материал в

мелких суставах кисти рук нечувствительны) в виде глянцевых

М. В. Волков взял на себя непопулярное задание по созданию

Фото И. Ту

И

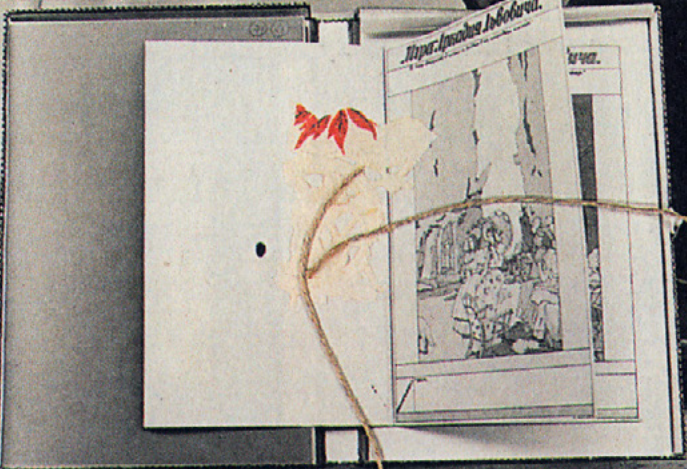
ли сюда на скорой помощи «Сейчас будет пальцы». Я шептал, что женщина слезе во и радость от летарного кама светленность. Вста да это и помямо масса операционно пришивая и потеранный. Я слеза битованной ивери, очень каю: вот сам же избоа бита, они еще прокладки, эти два только что пришитых пальца, и все-таки они — живые.

Сегодняшний день — та грань во

СОПЕРНИЦА

время, когда именованное по даню самизда (ше) постов области севич будней. Я разговариваю с директором областного центра, который отвечает на мои вопросы. Он говорит, что операция по пришиванию пальцев была выполнена успешно, но требует еще времени. Он говорит, что операция была выполнена успешно, но требует еще времени.

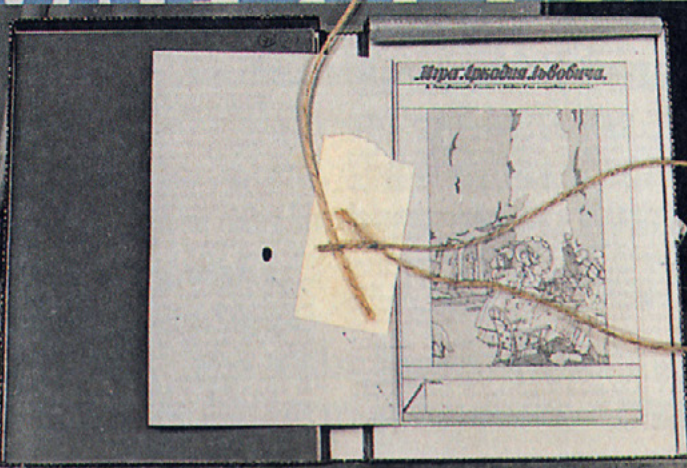
16



зывает не только увлечение, но и неподдельное изумление. Представьте себе: здесь умеют даже выпаривать пальцы! Да, да, и видел именно такой, искусственно

вильную развитию ребенка — травма. Детство и отрочество не случайно называли в этом отношении — возрастом повышенного риска. Вот почему, и слову ска-

Тому, конечно, причиной и все организующая обстановка и все нашей врачей, медицинских сестер, санитаров, педагогов, воспитателей.



ночь ребенка, дать по-настоящему. Ведь по одним из путей юные фразкультуры, фудотературы, фактисмом, фет, робость маломиссия, что, убоио, что, и ствован с ББ им судьбы, а с больша фидисстер. та в сам фибильши гдн учебно

сосудики диаметром от трех де- то есть замена поврежденных директор ЦИТО, кандидат наук СССР, и др. в области консультации.

Ира Аркадий Лубовича. Франсуа Лезетр в роли Паскани на сцене театра Бюшар. Примечание: 1986 г.

Школьные заметки в самой клинике — лишь часть дела. При ЦИТО создан и успешно работает первый в мире специализированный интервал для ребят, страдающих сколиозом. Им не надо и одновременно мальчишек и очень негусто; а лечат методично и ных классов сразу двум шкиво. Они скопаны тут же-при ЦИТО. Там, выслушав ментов, приискусствования бы безмалокостями, сидит и муно

маши тковой совместности. Решено их позволить спастись жизни. В нашем институте профессор Дачинский провел интересный эксперимент. Ему удалось приблизить ногу от одной со-



Сейчас, к разу этого созданы уже кое на интери Мы снова ра. Мстислав от массы по-торных работ и передаче костей, суста-же. И приме-замышения су-вов. И непо-для операци-тивна. И ра-подстрахаче-ние, возрас-аживость рук-следования в горные вед-цельных ме-лечения спор-институт

вспомогательная система — С. М. Тер-гизаров. И заслужен-ный деятель науки профессор А. И. Кальчин, осуществляющая лечение так-ких поражений позво-ночника с помощью операционных пу-тем, так и с успехом нильской фре-

и предостереженья. Шелест цветов лиловых, шорох утиных краков, станут души добрые всех заграничных трюков. Светлые эти дали, смутные эти дали, сердце не примет на землю и сплыв-

Наласадок я спрашивала ученого, что отнимает гравиора на стене в его кабинете. Там двое крепко-накрепко крепко принимают пор-видимо, знатному горючанину? — Это репродукция с картины известного итальянского художника, — говорит М. В. Волков. — На ней изобра-уверждает цитируя да Даминуя шивающую ногу от ун-Это был, эксперимент только для жизни да-ска черн-богоузости, сердце — светлы, а на

Игротерапи-Начало еще-Молодые А. П. Берез-Лауреат Гос-дуций имен-ного аппарата-Прикрасно с

Ночной полет — непрочный материал, но велико, пилот, твоё искусство. Ты золотую осень разменяла на серебро преддверия Якутска. В высоком небе на гроизем «Ту» ты облетал мир.

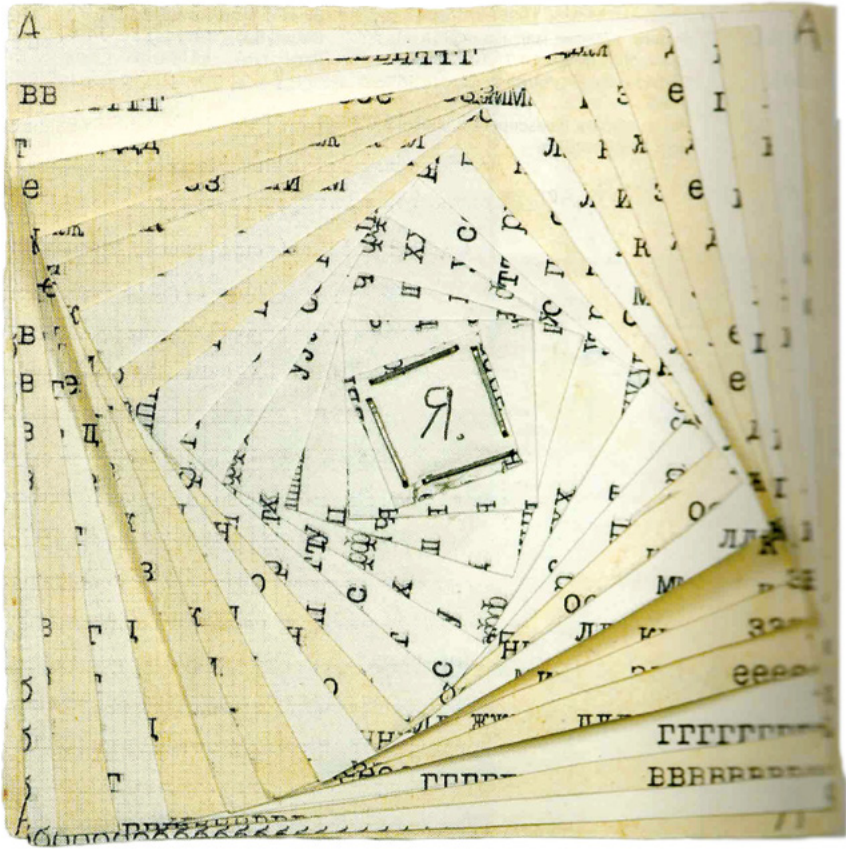
и предостереженья. Шелест цветов лиловых, шорох утиных краков, станут души добрые всех заграничных трюков. Светлые эти дали, смутные эти дали, сердце не примет на землю и сплыв-

ны, кой, цветом, ма, ободно, ны лицо, угла, унцу, ва, щца, влет дух, упу, слух, , тельщи, как это, бланс — чк смеха, х каблучок, омнионельн, и юбок, инновенна, юбок, речешком, и, облачная теплые крыш.

Ира Аркадий Лубовича
Вспомогательная система
26813

III. 5
I. Kabakov, Transmission of energy, mixed media, 1986, 33,5x26 cm.

III. 6
D. Prigov, I,
typescript, 1980s.



The dispersed author. The problem of literary authority in *samizdat* textual production.

Valentina Parisi

In his ground-breaking “Panizzi” lectures, delivered at the British Library in 1985¹, Donald F. McKenzie emphasized the effects of meaning that material forms produce in the transmission of literary and non-literary texts. As all works of lasting value are reproduced, re-edited and re-read over the centuries, they take on different forms and significations that are constructed in the encounter between authorial proposal and readers’ reception. As the New Zealand scholar pointed out, “...new readers of course make new texts and their new meanings are a function of their new form” (McKenzie 1999: 29). While providing some basis for a re-evaluation of both bibliography and book history, McKenzie’s remark seems to fit perfectly to *samizdat* practice. It is common knowledge that in the Soviet Union *samizdat* readers did make new texts *in the literal sense*, i.e. not only by actualizing in various ways the virtual meanings contained in a work, but also by physically reproducing it, usually with their own typewriters. As a number of studies have shown (Todorov 2008, 2009, Parisi 2013), readers often took on the role traditionally performed by publishers; that is, they fixed a text, shaped new carriers of meaning and, in so doing, instigated a new proliferation of singular acts of reading. As a consequence, not only was any *samizdat* text likely to be deformed by the technical circumstances of its production and transmission, but even the form it did have was shown to be “less an embodiment of past meaning than a pretext for present interpretation” (McKenzie 1999: 33). But, since any text, stable in its letter, is invested with a new status when the mechanisms that make it available to the audience change (McKenzie 1986, 1999, Chartier 1994, 1998), one can ask what it actually meant to read a text in a manuscript or typewritten form supposed to be equivalent to print publication². Which kind of response could *samizdat* texts generate in Soviet readers well accustomed to dealing with printed books? And, namely, what could be the consequences of the choice to commit the preservation and the transfer of a literary work to such a medium?

It is generally assumed that *samizdat* was a key form of dissident activity which aimed to spread forbidden works within and beyond the borders of

1. Then re-arranged and collected in McKenzie 1986, 1999.

2. In this respect *samizdat*, rather than being a return to a Pre-Gutenberg era (Skilling 1982, Komaromi 2008), reactivated the complementary coexistence of printed books and manuscripts during the 17th century, when the manuscript functioned “both as a normal form of personal record, and a normal form of publication” (McKenzie 2002: 245) and a well-organized manuscript trade functioned concurrently with the trade in printed items.

the Soviet Union and thus to discredit or undermine the authority of the Soviet State. But from a different viewpoint *samizdat* can also be analyzed as a self-significant medium which challenges to a great extent our presuppositions about what a published text should look like. In particular, while it established a parallel level of textual production and dissemination, *samizdat* revived aspects of scribal culture which the invention of the printing press had made anachronistic or pushed to the margins of the publishing process. While challenging the presupposition that print in itself is a guarantor of textual stability, in the introduction to his study *The nature of the book* Adrian Johns summarizes all the characteristics of printed items that the contemporary reader usually takes for granted: “We do not have to agonize over the reliability of a published book before we can put it to use. We do not need to undertake investigatory work to confirm that its author does exist and that its text is authorized. No literary spy needs to be hired to ascertain that it was indeed made by its stated publisher and that its contents will be the same as those of another copy of the same book found in any other place. In our world, all these characteristics are inherent in virtually any published book” (Johns 1998: 2). On the contrary, as we will see, *samizdat* text often confronted both readers and authors with problems that, at least in Western print culture, seemed to have become obsolete.

My purpose is to look at *samizdat* in the theoretical framework offered by book history and, in particular, to analyze how the non-print character of such a publication affected the process of the production, dissemination and appropriation of text. More specifically, in this lecture I intend to question to what extent *samizdat* challenged the stability of what Michel Foucault in his essay *What is an Author?* called the “institution of literature and its categories”. If we assume that a book is not the mirror of the author’s intention, but the result of a collaborative process between several non-authorial agents such as editors, publishers, translators, readers etc. (McKenzie 1999: 27), how does this dialectic change in the context of self-publishing? And if we define our relationship to texts – as Chartier does – as the interplay between the set of constraints imposed by the author on the reader and reader’s liberty in deciphering the text³, what additional meanings does this encounter assume, when the reader becomes a self-appointed publisher?

As a starting point I would refer to a particular case which in my opinion represents an excellent example of what Jerome McGann called “the socialization of texts”⁴, that is the permanent journey of a work from one context to another. In 1990 – which means at a very late stage of *samizdat* history⁵ – the Leningrad typewritten journal *Sumerki* (“Twilight”) published an unauthorized translation of *A Room and a Half*, an English essay by Iosif Brodskij (or, better, Joseph at this point of his career), which first appeared in *The New York Review* on February 27th, 1986, and then was re-published

3. Chartier 1994: viii.

4. Mc Gann 2002: 39–46.

5. Sumerki editors, Aleksandr Novakovskij, Arsen Mirzaev, Aleksej Gurjanov and Dmitrij Sinočkin were fully aware of the redundant character of their journal, since Gorbačev’s glasnost’ and the consequent loosening of censorship made *samizdat* apparently less necessary than in the past. At the same time, self-publishing continued to be the only way to give voice to the young generation, unable to gain access to official “thick” journals, which all of a sudden were allowed to publish authors such as Pasternak or Nabokov. See Mirzaev 2007.

in the volume *Less than One*⁶. Brodskij's memoir on his childhood in a Leningrad communal apartment was translated into Russian by Aleksandr Kolotov, who in the 1990s was to become a professional translator dealing with authors such as Dylan Thomas and Isaac Asimov⁷. An editorial note published in the 8th issue of *Sumerki* makes it clear to what extent Brodskij was disappointed by the uncontrolled proliferation in the Soviet Union of unofficial translations of his English essays. The editor Aleksandr Novakovskij wrote bitterly: "After issuing the first run of *Sumerki* n. 8, we heard that Iosif Brodskij had categorically prohibited the publication of his English texts in Russia. [...] We express our apologies to Iosif Brodskij. We do hope that the status of our journal will prevent him from charging us with piracy crime"⁸.

Far from being idyllic, the dialectic between authorial writing strategy and readers' reception (and re-creation) of a text often turned out to be conflictual. The author's legitimate aspiration to preserve the form of his work from eventual corruption collided with readers' interest in appropriating it and re-using it in a creative way in their own unauthorized publications. This is particularly evident in the above-mentioned case: The editors of *Sumerki* not only included Brodskij's memoir in their typewritten journal, but also tried to integrate it into their own publishing project, by presenting it in the permanent section devoted to the St. Petersburg urban space and by adding a folded map of the Litejnyj district where Brodskij spent his childhood. In a way, they tried to bring the exiled poet "back home". This *samizdat* appropriation of a text published abroad goes conceptually far beyond the decision taken by Vladimir Maramzin in 1973 (that is the year following the poet's departure from the USSR) to collect all Brodskij's *samizdat* poems circulating in Leningrad in order to assemble them in a complete works edition and allegedly save them from oblivion. At that time young writers from Petersburg perceived Brodskij as a truly *samizdat* poet, "existing outside the normal literary process"⁹ and were deeply concerned about the fact that abroad he might stop writing as a consequence of the loss of a responsive audience. As Michail Chejfec pointed out:

When the poet was expelled from the USSR, we were afraid that emigration could destroy his creative personality. How could he continue writing at a high level, being torn away from the natural element of his mother-tongue, from the "wild" environment of the Russian language, from his readers, who were able to perceive any nuance, any hint to a endless number of cultural realia [...]? In the end we were just average Soviet citizens, obsessed by the idea that every writer who emigrated, and especially every young poet, was condemned to starvation in the West. In brief, we thought that Joseph's destiny had been irreparably broken at its highest point (Poluchina 2006: 26-27).

6. J. Brodsky, "In a Room and a Half", *The New York Review*, February 27th, 1986: 40-8; re-published in J. Brodsky, *Less than one. Selected essays*, New York, Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1986: 447-501.

7. A. Kolotov's translation, entitled *V polorach komnatach* (*Sumerki*, 1990, 8) also appeared in the Leningrad newspaper *Smena* (in two installments, March 20th, 1991, p. 5 and March 27th, 1991, pp. 4-5). Later on an authorized Russian translation by Dmitrij Čekalov, entitled *Poltory komnaty*, would be published in *Novyj mir* 1995, 2: 61-85.

8. *Sumerki*, 8, 1990, Research Centre for East European Studies, Bremen University, FSO 01-53.

9. See Valentina Poluchina's interview with Michail Chejfec, in Poluchina 2006: 29.

10. See for instance Michail Chejfec's recollections: "In the USSR a network of samizdat activists was established at the grass-roots level. Maramzin was possibly a main spreader of self-published literature in Leningrad (I am not really sure about his status, anyway I can say that I received from him on a regular basis a lot of samizdat documents – articles, novels, short tales). I don't know who gave Maramzin all this stuff, the only thing I knew was that after reading I had to return everything. But Maramzin was not aware of the fact that I gave all texts to a trusted type-copyist (Ljudmila Ejzengardt) who would type me five copies. I sold 4 copies to my friends for 20% of the expenses I incurred. I selected sheets from different copies, so that every booklet could be equally legible and I kept the first copy for myself as a kind of reward for having organized the reproduction process. This network was fully invisible, I insist: Maramzin didn't know about my 'clients', he thought I was just a reader. As far as I am concerned, I cannot assume that someone involved in my "company" did not reproduce his own text in five more copies, and then sell them to his own friends" (Poluchina 2006: 27–28).

11. Todorov 2008: 735–758.

Therefore, Maramzin's *samizdat* edition was conceived as a kind of unofficial homage to the absent poet, meant to perpetuate both his memory and his presence in the motherland through his works. By contrast, *Sumerki's* editors turned to Brodskij when he was a definitely well-established author, who – one must not forget – had been awarded the Nobel prize in 1987.

In order to clarify why reader response and self-publishing strategies conflicted with authorial intention, I think it is worth drawing on Foucault's theory of the author-function. In the relevant essay *What is an author?* he claims that the notion of author is the fundamental principle for the designation of a text, the "privileged moment of individualization in the history of ideas" (Foucault 2003: 378). As an ideological figure, the author is the incarnation of a unifying principle, which strives to identify a certain way of writing or a text corpus with a certain person and, in this way, impedes the free manipulation, the free composition and re-composition of texts. As a result, "the author is the principle of thrift in the proliferation of meaning" (Foucault 2003: 390). This principle is obscured, if not obliterated, when publishing activity is performed by readers at the grass-roots level. In self-publishing the author-function disperses into those who reproduce the texts and construct their meanings. Since textual dissemination is virtually unrestrained and free from the usual boundaries set by copyright policies¹⁰, textual instability is not only a matter of possible authorial re-thinking and revision (McKenzie 1999) but a consequence of the reader's involvement in the process of editing and composition, i.e. in the core of publishing activity.

Such an argument can be easily proved, if we turn to archival materials. A striking example of textual instability caused by readers' personal interpretation is the case of Varlam Šalamov's short stories, reported by Leona Toker in her essay about *samizdat* and what she calls "the problem of authorial control"¹¹. The author of the *Kolyma Tales* was highly sensitive to readers' attempts to edit his very individual style and to "correct" his works. In a letter to his life partner Irina Sirotinskaja, he complained that *samizdat* scribes, copying his short story *How It Began*, tended to complete the word *rabo[tali]* ("we worked") which he had deliberately left unfinished. This means that when, on the typewritten copy which they received, they found only the correct expression "rabo...", they thought that the typist could have omitted some letters by mistake and so they added them in their new copy, in order to restore what they believed should have been the author's original text (Toker 2008: 743). My suspicion is that, if they had found "rabo..." in a printed version of Šalamov's story, they would have not perceived it as a mistake and they would have tried to figure out what the author could have actually meant by it. But since they had found it in a typewritten copy, they unconsciously distrusted *samizdat's* capacity to be a reliable medium and, consequently, they produced what, borrowing a term used by linguists,

we could define as a hypercorrection. That is, they introduced a “mistake” into Šalamov’s text precisely because they wanted to correct it.

Still, it would be wrong to regard every shift from authorial intention as a corruption of the authoritative text. Drawing on McGann’s “critique of modern textual criticism”, I would rather argue that – far from simply playing the role of the ancient scribes who sought to preserve and transmit the classical texts, but who introduced, in the process, various contaminations – *samizdat* readers took on the more complex role generally performed by editors and publishers by dictating the form that the outside of the literary work would eventually take. As in the *Sumerki* case, they did not limit themselves to reproducing a text, but exceeded the responsibilities traditionally ascribed to the recipient of a literary work by creating the very form of the artefact and thus directing it toward a particular audience and a particular interpretation. In Genette’s terms, they invented a paratext, that “fringe” of the printed text that is always the conveyor of a commentary (authorial or more or less legitimated by the author) and “constitutes a zone between text and off-text, a zone not only of transition but also of *transaction*: a privileged place of a pragmatics and a strategy, of an influence on the public, an influence that [...] is at the service of a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it.” (Genette 1997: 1).

This is especially true in the case of the *samizdat* edition of Lev Rubištejn’s poems (*Kartoteka*), originally written on bibliographical cards and intended not to circulate as a text, but to be performed by the author before a restricted audience. Nevertheless, *samizdat* editors strove to publish *Kartoteka* in their typewritten journals in order to make it available for a broader audience than the narrow circles which could attend Rubištejn’s public performances in Moscow or Leningrad. By sinning against the author’s intention, readers/editors created for *Kartoteka* a new form which was eventually adopted in the 1990s, when Rubištejn’s works finally appeared in print. Rubištejn’s *samizdat* texts were usually accompanied by an editorial note explaining to the reader those characteristics of *Kartoteka* that had been obliterated by its physical inclusion in the literary journal¹². Hence, the “authority” for the text rests neither with the author nor with the readers/editors; it resides in the actual agreement which these two cooperating authorities have eventually reached. By contrast, in many other cases, “the author as a principle of thrift” seems to volatilize, due to his inability to control the very process of reproduction and dissemination of the work; consequently the readers’ liberty prevails over authors’ choices.

This is not surprising, if we consider that readers’ expectations played a crucial role in self-publishing from the very start. Their interest in reading a certain work could even determine the choice of the technique used in the

12. See for example: “Editorial note: we would like to make it clear that the above-published text [...] exists only in the form of a small stack of bibliographical cards. Our decision to present it as an uninterrupted text in a way goes against the author’s intention and it is due only to technical reasons.” (Rubištejn 1983: page without number.

reproduction process and thus condition the physical features of *samizdat* texts. Such an attitude is demonstrated by Leonid Žmud', editor-in-chief of the Leningrad self-published magazine *Metrodor*:

I incessantly received books, but sooner or later I had to give them back and I couldn't bear it. Consequently, I started to reproduce them by Xerox or I gave them to typists. Nabokov and Platonov passed through the typewriter, because typists loved them, while Solženicyn and Zinov'ev would end up in the Xerox (Žmud 1998: 205).

After the mid 70s the increased circulation of photocopied and photographed materials established a dualism in *samizdat* production: on the one hand mechanically duplicated documents, theoretically more authoritative than typewritten copies (provided that the source-text was a reliable one) and, on the other hand, texts reproduced either by readers or professional typists who would receive a fee for it. In the latter case – as Žmud' pointed out – *samizdat* scribes read (and possibly edited) texts while typing; textual appropriation went along with the individual creation of a new carrier of meaning. Such a merging of reading with editing/publishing practices generally led to a more creative and intimate relationship with the book as an object. This became clear to many by the end of 1980s, when once-“forbidden” authors started to be published both in volumes and in the so-called “thick” literary journals:

Now on my book-shelves there are many books by Belyj, Achmatova, Cvetaeva, Platonov, Bulgakov and Kafka. At a certain point the almost illegible typescript of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* has turned into a weighty gift edition, unfortunately with awful illustrations. Anyway, I like to re-read my self-made books [...] because they are part of my life (Leksin 1987).

On the other hand, self-publishers sometimes seemed to be concerned about readers' unlimited freedom to copy and assemble various materials without any legal restriction. A possible attempt in foucaultian terms to re-affirm the author function as the principle of thrift in textual circulation is to be seen in the paradoxical emergence of a *samizdat* copyright. In July 1983 the typewritten journal “Transponans” released in its 17th issue some unpublished materials by avant-garde artists thanks to the collaboration with the art historian Nikolaj Chardžiev, who as a young man in the 1930s befriended leading members of the Russian avant-garde and preserved their manuscripts long after their works were banned as subversively bourgeois. In view of the inestimable historical value of such texts – unpublished poems by Aleksej Kručënych and Kazimir Malevič – “Transponans” editors Sergej Sigov and Anna Taršis decided to “forbid” readers to copy them by

specifying in a notice “*reproduction is forbidden*” (“perepečatka zaprešaet’sja”). Moreover, they appropriated the copyright on the materials together with Chardžiev by adding a typewritten copyright symbol beside them (Parisi 2013: 237). At that time it was generally assumed that readers had to mention the title of the journal they had copied texts from, but nobody had yet tried to prevent readers from copying texts¹³. Of course, Sigov and Taršis did not expect any financial return from this formal ownership of rights and it is unlikely that their prohibition prevented any reader from falling into temptation. Anyway, their paradoxical attempt to reassert the principle of intellectual property in a context where copying, sharing and assembling was the rule, introduced a bias in *samizdat* practice, since some documents were evaluated as too precious to be copied by the readers without any authorial or editorial control. Here ideals of authorship and reception started to become deeply involved in conflicts over self-publishing, in a way which definitely evokes contemporary debates on creative commons and piracy.

13. In 1973 the typewritten journal «Veče» published the notice: «When copying texts, please mention the journal “Veče”» (Veče 1973:). In 1983 «Molčanie»’s editors pointed out: «Copying original texts is allowed only by mentioning M.» (Molčanie» 1983: page without number).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chartier, R. (1994). *The order of books. Readers, authors and libraries in Europe between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Chartier, R. (1998). *Au bord de la falaise. L’histoire entre certitudes et inquiétude*. Paris: Albin Michel.

Daniel’, A. (2005). Istoki i mysl’ sovetskogo samizdata. In Igrunov, V. (Ed.). 2005. *Antologija samizdata. Nepodcenzurnaja literatura v SSSR 1950-e-1980-e. Tom 1: do 1966 goda*. Moscow: Meždunarodnyj inst. gumanitarno-političeskich issledovanij, 17-33.

Foucault, M. 2003. What is an Author? In Rabinow, P. and Rose, N. (Eds.) *The essential Foucault. Selections from essential works of Foucault, 1954-1984*. New York: New Press, 378-391.

Genette, G. (1997). *Paratexts: Thresholds of interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Johns, A. (1998). *The nature of the book. Print and knowledge in the making*. Chicago, London, University of Chicago Press.

Leksin, V. (1987). Iskus “zapretnogo” ploda. K vychodu proizvedenij Vladimira Nabokova, *Moskovskie novosti* February 27th.

McGann, J. (2002). The socialization of texts. In Finkelstein, D. & McCleery, A. (Eds.) *The Book History Reader*. London, Routledge: 66-73.

McKenzie, D. F. (1986). *Bibliography and the sociology of texts*. London: British Library.

McKenzie, D. F. (1999). *Bibliography and the sociology of texts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McKenzie, D. F. (2002). *Making meaning: Printers of the mind and other essays*. Boston: University of Massachusetts Press.

Mirzaev, A. (2007). Pered rassvetom? Pered zakatom?... (*Sumerki*. 13 let spustja). RGGU, Sapgirovskie čtenija, available at <http://science.rggi.ru/article.html?id=66055> (retrieved 04/01/2015).

Molčanie (1983), (Editorial note), *Molčanie*, 7, July-August, FSO 01-5/2.30, pages without number.

Parisi, V. (2013). *Il lettore eccedente. Edizioni periodiche del samizdat sovietico, 1956-1990*. Bologna, Il mulino.

Poluchina, V. (2006). *Iosif Brodskij glazami sovremennikov. Kniga vtoraja (1996-2005)*, St. Petersburg: Zvezda.

Rubištein, L. (1983). Al'favitnyj ukazatel' poezii, *Obvodnyj kanal* 4, 1983. FSO 01-5/01, pages without number.

Todorov, V. (2008). Publish and Perish: Samizdat and Underground Cultural Practices in the Soviet Bloc I, *Poetics Today* 29 (4), Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Todorov, V. (2009) Publish and Perish: Samizdat and Underground Cultural Practices in the Soviet Bloc II, *Poetics Today* 30 (1), Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Veče 1973: (Editorial note), *Veče*, 10 (December 19th 1973, in *Sobranie dokumentov samizdata*, München, Radio Liberty, vol. 21/b: .

Žmud, L. 1998. Studenty-istoriki meždu oficiozom i "liberal'noj" naukaj, *Zvezda* 8: 204-210.

Movement, enterprise, network. The political economy of Polish underground press

Piotr Wciślik

In exploring the underground print culture of Poland under Jaruzelski, this lecture has a dual aim: to restore the political aspect of *samizdat* studies and to open the history of political thought to a bottom-up perspective.

While the phenomenon of the *samizdat* press in the Soviet bloc has recently received considerable attention from researchers in the field of cultural history, this renewed scrutiny explicitly rejected the focus on political content that characterized the first wave of *samizdat* studies, due to its partisan bias, which reduced this complex and versatile medium to the simple function a mouthpiece for the anti-communist opposition and a source of revelations about current events that were distorted by the official propaganda. The intention behind the new cultural turn has been to read *samizdat* as a fact of culture in its own right. The focus on materiality, textuality and readership practices has surely enhanced our understanding of what the *samizdat* counterculture was about, however the political aspect has been either narrowed down to a negligible context, or understood in semiotic-structuralist terms, in which it is languages, discourses and the materiality of the text that do politics (Oushakine 2001, Komaromi 2008, Zaslavskaya 2008, Parisi 2013). Nevertheless, studying *samizdat* culture beyond erstwhile Cold-War polarities should not, I believe, prevent us from making an effort to understand what the grey army of editors, printers and distributors of the underground press thought they were doing politically. That is, it is worth looking at activists, not only at linguistic structures or discursive practices.

The political thought of *samizdat* took the form of a predominantly anonymous, fragmentary and dispersed collective knowledge, a hasty reflection on spontaneously emerging practice, which has to be reconstructed from interviews and articles that fit a column on an A-5 sheet. Indeed it is due to this hasty, fragmentary character, that it should rather be called a political imaginary, understood as a sort of political thought from below. Thus, to make underground press culture an object of study of political thought is

to open this field to a bottom-up perspective. Indeed, political scientists tended to deal with the political thought *in samizdat* (in the writings of Jacek Kuroń, Václav Havel, György Konrád and other major dissident thinkers) rather than with the political thought *of the samizdat* activists themselves. The latter mattered politically in a different way to the way the thought of the egregious dissidents mattered; they represented a more horizontal and diffused way of influencing the mass of people which, after 1989, contributed to building civil society in Poland.

“Underground society may act with efficiency and solidarity if it organizes itself – bottom up, through individual enterprise – into independent, self-governing social institutions – firms”. This statement from the *Petit Conspirator*, a popular guide to underground publishing, widely circulated in the aftermath of the introduction of Martial Law, exemplifies well the pervasive ambiguity in the semantics of the independent press, which is the interpretative point of departure for this lecture. On the one hand, the common concept for the collective action undertaken by printers, distributors, publishers and editors was an “underground society” which together formed a democratic – “independent and self-governing” – social movement. On the other hand, the sites where the action was concentrated were journals, print shops and publishing houses, commonly referred to as “firms”. On the one hand we approach questions of democratic theory; on the other, issues of political economy.

1. [C. Bielecki, J.K. Kelus, U.Sikorska], *Mały Konspirator* [Warszawa: s.n. 1983], p. 4.

What the underground press activists meant by democracy, and how dissident “living in truth” – based on deliberation in public and the conspicuous exercise of the rule of law – was possible in conspiracy, which suits neither deliberative bodies, nor action in public, is a question which merits a study of its own. While that question remains in the background, this lecture deals mainly with the other layer. As “firms” the underground enterprises were engaged in a particular sort of business: that of cultural commons. Therefore, it seems pertinent to ask how they tackled the matters of the political economy of cultural goods. Was the logic of a democratic social movement compatible with the entrepreneurial spirit? What is the relationship between the underground press and the grey economy? Should the independent space of exchange of cultural goods be regulated by market mechanisms, or by conscious (democratic) political decisions? To what extent should the hierarchies of cultural value be dependent on readers’ demands? What is the relationship between free culture and intellectual rights?

THE GOLDEN AGE AND THE CRISIS

Jaruzelski’s Poland saw an exponential growth of the phenomenon of uncensored publications, exploding under the umbrella of legal Solidarity and

expanding despite – or perhaps because of – the introduction of Martial Law (Friszke 2001, Kozłowski and Olaszek 2011, Sowiński 2011). This proliferation of the “free word”, as it was then called, implied the passage from an extra-Gutenberg to a fully Gutenberg print culture and – consequently – from a form of exchange that is best understood as a type of gift-economy (simple, personalized and community-oriented) to a form of exchange that far more closely resembled a market type of commodity exchange, in the sense of a complicated division of labour and anonymity for both producers and consumers, as well as the increasing importance of prices². Not surprisingly, the market became an important reference in the discussion of how the flow of independent culture should be organized, especially given that the underground space for the exchange of cultural goods developed and flourished in a rather spontaneous, unregulated way.

In its early years, the underground press operated in a “producer’s market” in the sense that consumer demand was able to absorb everything the *samizdat* movement had in stock (Mianowicz 1983). The independent printed matter was a token of identification with the opposition, and people were buying books and newspapers if not because of their intrinsic worth, than as a contribution to the cause. For the same reason, there was no shortage of volunteers for every stage of the publishing process. It also meant that the turnover of investment was quick enough to maintain the overall solvency of the underground firms. During this short golden age, there was little tension between market logic and the movement logic and the political economy of *samizdat* was not really on the agenda. It became a burning question once the whole movement entered into a crisis and its spontaneous mechanisms started to reveal a rather unpleasant side.

The crisis was due to many factors: the overall collapse of the entire economy, inflation, the rapidly diminishing purchasing power of the readership; the official rationing of paper (some suspected that this was another dirty trick of the Communists’ to undermine underground activities) and its rising price on the black market; the general mood of Jaruzelski’s “normalization”, brimming with disillusionment at the seemingly endless war of attrition between the illegal trade-union and the Jaruzelski regime; but also the very triumph of the underground publishing movement, consisting in a steady pressure towards the relaxation of censorship, more reliable information in the mainstream media, and the acceptance into the official realm of many hitherto banned issues and figures (Maziarski 1989); finally, professionalization: the switch from mainly voluntary activism to increasingly material preoccupations (Nawrocki 1988: 140).

The crisis was aggravated by the dual dependence of underground publishing on the grey economy. That is interesting because it goes against the

2. Even though I do not support the strong distinction between what is and what is not a samizdat publication, I agree with the criterion presented by Tomasz Mianowicz (1983): the samizdat stage ends where the independent press starts to employ both complex division of labour and advanced technologies, and where there emerges a broad and anonymous space of exchange (which could be called a “market”). In this lecture I also try to show how the institutional and technological threshold is also a threshold in political thinking.

common assumption that one should search for the roots of the post-1989 realities in the pre-1989 unofficial realm and understand the “second economy” – incidentally, in Poland the underground press was called “press of the second circuit” – as a sort of emerging market economy in a socialist environment.

A culture that is illegal flows together with other illegal goods: it is acquired in similar ways and combated in similar ways (i.e. not only as political, but also as economic crime). On the one hand, the industrial output of the Polish independent press was dependent on the grey economy – if it hadn’t created a black market demand for paper, ink and printing equipment, the phenomenon of independent publishing would have never reached such proportions (Nawrocki 1988: 166-7). On the other hand, this coexistence also meant that what was dubbed the “third circuit” (the black market in pornography, books of dreams, guides to alternative healing and xerox copies of textbooks) was parasitizing on the second (the *samizdat*) circuit, trafficking underground bestsellers at exorbitant prices³. Several *samizdat* activists condemned this uncontrolled expansion of the black market as “mafia practice” and “profiteering”, since it gave a bad name to the political underground as a whole, the silent majority being unable to distinguish clearly between honest and dishonest producers. Indeed, one would need to have a very predatory image of capitalism – and not the lyrical model widely shared among the dissidents – to believe that all this was a free market *in spe!* (Buntowszczyk 1986)

3. Józefa Kamińska (pseudonym of Władysław and Wojciech Chojnacki) in her bibliography of underground publications explicitly excluded the “third circuit” from her considerations, due to its “purely commercial concerns” (Kamińska 1988: 13).

The point where the spontaneous logic of the underground market clashed most radically with the logic of the social movement was the case of the “thick” socio-political or opinion journals. The thick journals were at the heart of the dissident movement: it was through them that the independent public sphere existed; they were the place where social and political problems were articulated and where independent public opinion formed. Last but not least, it was these journals that had the strongest community-building effect: it was through the activity of editing their respective titles, big and small, that groups of activists integrated among themselves and often identified publishing activity with oppositional activity at large.

It was the thick journals that became the first victims of the switch from a producer to a consumer market. One aspect of this process was the readership preference for books over journals, explained by the general de-politicized mood during the process of “normalization”, but also by the books’ more permanent value. You can re-read a novel or a historical monograph without it becoming outdated. Conversely, a political commentary can get outdated and in many cases a journal would reach some of its readership only half a year after being submitted to print. Moreover, the

publishers' subordination to consumer demand aggravated the problem, creating a vicious circle: because they were not selling well, publishers would be reluctant to print journals at all or would relegate them to the bottom of the priority list, which meant that they would come out in worse quality, with less regularity and with even greater delay, creating even more consumer dissatisfaction and so on. What is more, the preference for books became a threat to the sustainability of the whole network: books and other non-periodical publications travelled through channels which were kept open and active precisely because of the regular publication of the periodicals (Katarzyński 1986, Oset 1987).

In order to accumulate the resources for more ambitious publications, the producers would sometimes release so-called "fajans" - all sorts of memorabilia bearing the symbols of political resistance, such as stamps, postcards or calendars. However this created another vicious circle. While the revenue from "fajans" made it possible to solve the problem of the supply of books, at the same time it reduced demand, since many opposition supporters felt excused from buying books once they had bought "fajans" (Anon.1986a).

MOVEMENT OR MARKET?

There were different reactions to the crisis of the independent press, and they came from virtually every corner of the underworld of independent publishing. The distributors, i.e. those who had to deal with the crisis in face-to-face contacts and often covered losses out of their own pockets, put pressure on the publishers to accommodate to consumer demand. An announcement about the establishment of a Warsaw Club of Distributors made it clear: "In the context of the abolition of all representative bodies in the aftermath of December, we the distributors are the only social milieu which knows and represents the real position of society on publishing matters" (Anon. 1987d). The distributors protested against being forced to distribute journals and declared their irritation at having to bear the consequences of bad publishing policies. The journals, they claimed, alienated the readership with their outdated commentaries, by being too ideological, or simply by being dull. The readers, unsatisfied, but feeling guilty about being picky, would resolve this dilemma by not showing up at the distribution venues at all.

Publishers tended to be more on the side of the movement logic, harbouring serious doubts about leaving it all to the spontaneity of the market. The consequence, they worried, could be the disappearance of the thick journals, which in turn would have the effect of eradicating serious political analysis (Rakowiecki 1988). Even though the market indicated which

publications were the most widely read - valuable information in itself - it was not entirely clear how to reconcile the consumers' tastes, as reflected in the anonymous demand, with the interests of culture, which the publishers believed they represented. The one and the other were, in their view, not quite the same thing and in the new situation where average taste prevailed over political loyalties, and with the liberalization of the official culture (free from the constraint of economic calculations), the firms, if they were to transform themselves into profit-driven, capitalist enterprises, would be forced to print only the most primitive anti-communist pamphlets and second-rate fiction (Nawrocki 1988: 174).

The debate over the commoditization of the publishing movement cut both across and through editorial boards. Konstanty Gebert, aka Dawid Warszawski, an eminent underground political commentator, argued that this was one of the few cases in which the left-right divide actually did apply to reality of the Polish underground. In the editorial circle of his journal *KOS*, the supporters of commoditization would usually use arguments which situated them on the right: that there was no such thing as culture, but merely individual consumers of cultural goods; that the market was an optimal regulator of social interactions, the price expressing both consumer preference and openness towards the journal's persuasion, and thus, that upsetting the relationship between the product and the price would be demoralizing for all parties involved. Arguments against commoditization would often employ a leftist repertoire. The editorial left would regard the "free word" as commons, access to which was a right of every citizen, with the fewest possible restrictions, whatever their nature. In particular, commons should not be treated as ordinary commodities and the cost of production should be covered either by voluntary donations or by redistribution mechanisms. Even a small financial restriction on access would affect culture as a whole, since readers under budgetary constraints would buy *KOS* at the expense of other cultural goods (Warszawski 1987).

Despite significant individual voices to the contrary, such as that of the veteran, pre-Solidarity journal *Głos*, the collective response of the *samizdat* movement was, in the sense proposed by Warszawski, a resolutely leftist reaction. In 1986 it materialized in an institution called the Fund for Independent Publications, a consortium of the biggest underground publishers, with the aim of pooling resources, coordinating their activities and defending intellectual property rights, as well as offering financial help to the smaller firms (Anon. 1987d, Anon. 1986a). The main rationale was to ensure the financial solvency especially of those firms which published original works, paid royalties and refrained from producing "fajans"

The case of intellectual property rights is quite interesting in this context. Despite the fact that many articles would appear in the underground press with the annotation “printed without the knowledge or consent of the author,” the major publishers were in principle adamant about the need to respect intellectual property rights, as far as authorship and the integrity of the works was concerned (Nawrocki 1988: 136). Their concern for intellectual property rights would seem to be a case for a market approach. However, on closer inspection, this demands several qualifications. First, the policy held mainly for domestic and *émigré* authors, to the detriment of foreign writers. Moreover, respect for intellectual property did not translate into freedom to negotiate prices – the authors were usually paid according to the official (socialist!) honorarium scales (Nawrocki 1988: 173). The profit margins which the distributors added to the cost of the printed matter were not supposed to be very wide either. In order to avoid undue profiteering, the item that headed the list of best practices was to print the price on the book, as well as to periodically communicate the legitimate production costs of a publication, expressed in price per page (Anon. 1986a, Anon. 1986c, Anon. 1987b). In other words, the policy was not only uneven with respect to domestic and foreign authors, but it also made space for a number of norms that were clearly embedded in the socialist economy.

At the same time, the Social Council for Independent Publications was set up to act as a monitoring body for the fund. The council was composed of people with public authority and unrelated to any of the big publishers. It was also recognized by the leadership of Solidarity. It audited the operations of the fund, evaluated the quality of production from the perspective of its cultural significance, offered mediation in case of conflict, monitored the realization of the ethical code of independent publishing, and last but not least, issued long-term policy recommendations (Anon. 1986b).

In its first report, the council reaffirmed the social-movement character of the underground press. “The independent publishing movement is our greatest strength, the most effective way of establishing ties with society and shaping its opinion, deserving praise and propagation worldwide. As long as there are no demonstrations, protests and strikes, it is the principal battlefield. The independent publications are the most important weapon of society in the struggle to achieve its justified aspirations” (Anon. 1987a).

The council argued against abandoning the *samizdat* movement to market mechanisms alone, where the general interest of culture was at stake. Competition was a positive factor as long as it served to improve of the quality of the cultural goods; however, in the context of a limited supply of paper, equipment and printing services, uncoordinated, chaotic rivalry for the scarce infrastructure did not counteract price inflation but, on the

contrary, raised the spectre of an overall collapse. In principle, the publishing houses should be self-financing enterprises, but, in the council's opinion, they should also be able to coordinate their activities and establish a policy which would counteract the overlapping publishing initiatives that increased the costs of the general publishing infrastructure and diminished the purchasing capacity of readers (Anon. 1987c).

The council called for a balance between long-term goals and immediate political effects: in the long run, shaping an autonomous vision of Polish culture should have priority over primitive anti-communism. This was another indirect criticism of spontaneous consumption patterns. Special mention was made of those publishers who, despite adverse circumstances, continued to publish periodicals, which, according to the auditors, were at the core of the independent intellectual life and constituted "the most spectacular success of the Independent Publishing Movement and all independently-minded Poles in the last decade" (Anon. 1987a).

NEITHER MOVEMENTS NOR MARKETS: NETWORKS

Insofar as we consider institutions to be the privileged site of political life, we might conclude that the political economy of the underground press gave precedence to the movement logic, in that it was motivated by the desire to sustain the autonomy of culture and create an independent public opinion, rather than by any wish to create market strongholds inside the decaying structure of socialism, moreover, being very attentive to the deficiencies of market competition.

Instead, however, the last part of this lecture will be devoted to a minority report, a policy proposal notable for its attempt to "think out of the box" and to demystify the categories of the debate about the crisis, pointing beyond both the movement logic and the market logic and revealing the network-like character of the underground press. Not surprisingly, the author is hidden behind a pseudonym: LL⁴.

4. LL. was probably one of the pseudonyms of Tadeusz Wypych, a member of the Interfactory Workers' Committee of Solidarity, responsible for the distribution of the group's journal *CDN Głos Wolnego Robotnika*. See Świerczyńska 1995: 98.

The crisis, according to LL, was due to both institutional and intellectual inertia. The organizational model of independent publishing emerged in the pioneer years before Solidarity and coalesced in the first months of Martial Law. It took the form of a social movement, whose main actors were "firms" – the print shops and publishing houses. Both provided for the movement's political existence in the sense that they were the only publicly recognizable parts of underground print culture, which otherwise consisted of many more actors. When the crisis hit and the rational redistribution of funding became the problem of the day, the firms came to be considered as its sole recipients.

Unlike the free marketeers, LL did not contest the necessity of a rational redistribution of resources: it was “ideological” (in the sense of privileging political dogma over the pragmatics of real-life practice) to assume that independent publishing could function without subsidies. The real problem was not whether to support it, but how. Here, LL was equally sceptical about the “social movement” rhetoric. Institution-building as a response to the crisis reminded him of “socialist gigantomania.” He contested the claim that the publishing movement as a whole functioned as a spokesperson, and considered the “clandestine authority” of the Council a contradiction in terms and a symptom of detachment from reality.

The creators of the Fund, LL argued, were trapped in the current political forms: reifying the firms as the only possible actors of the movement and therefore, the only possible beneficiaries of redistribution: “The firms are not the sole actors of second-circuit publishing, but only a form of institutionalization of possible and reasonable actions in a broader background and infrastructure. In the end the function of a firm is nothing more than to act as one fund whose expenditures and revenues bind together multiple activities into a more or less coherent chain of actions [...] The names and logos of firms are in the first place overt and public symbols of those particular actions, which must remain clandestine for reasons unrelated to publishing matters. Despite this fact, the firms are still seen as the sole actor of independent publishing, and independent publishing as a whole is perceived as the domain of action of the publishing firms” (L.L. 1987: 59).

Firms made the activities of the independent publishing movement possible, but at the same time they obscured the existence of other actors which made these activities sustainable. This was especially the case with the distribution channels which mediated between the firms and the reader. The distribution structure eluded both the logic of the movement and that of the market. It was constituted neither by collective decision, nor by individual entrepreneurship. It was a *sui generis*, small social structure existing according to its own rules and functioning in a different social space than the firms. The defining feature of this space was, first of all, its necessary anonymity and clandestine nature. Thinking in terms of the independent publishing movement and, therefore, in terms of public action, rendered them invisible.

According to LL, the entropy and underdevelopment of the distribution network was the core of the problem. The crisis manifested itself not only in the above-mentioned vicious circle of slower turnovers, diminishing ambitions and shrinking outreach - it also entailed the problem of losing touch with the reader. The books not only reached a smaller audience, but also the wrong one: people received books they did not want to read and

did not have access to the ones they wanted. Again, this was not a problem of insufficient competition as such, but rather of the inability to go beyond the “leaflet stage”, or recipient-blind distribution. What was lacking were institutions that could enable printing on demand, subscriptions, information about novelty, archives, libraries, catalogues; nor was there a forum to discuss these problems.

The solution proposed by LL was to transform the hitherto anonymous distribution structures into equal players and redirect the common pool of funds toward subsidizing the better organization of distribution in general. These subsidies, LL concluded, should support not another “democratic representation of the consumer sector” but a “general tool adjusted to market mechanisms” (L.L. 1987: 65-66).

LL’s analysis of the publishing crisis was unique in the way it captured the network-like nature of the underground press: consciousness of its opacity and of its decentred and anti-hierarchical character translated into mistrust towards anybody who could lay claim to being a general political spokesperson and thus concentrate political action. Conversely, the proposition of a “tool adjusted to market mechanisms” did not follow from a “free market” ideology, which LL clearly rejected. It reflected the fact that the “market mechanism” was a handy cognitive tool to imagine a spontaneous coordination of political action, in fact quite like an “independent and self-governing” movement in the minds of its proponents, who LL happened to criticize. In a way, it was here that the anti-political rhetoric of dissident democracy reached its ultimate conclusions.

No less importantly, LL’s network perspective on underground publishing translated into a distinctive view of the meaning and purpose of the organization of the flow of cultural goods. The Fund put emphasis on the cultural-political content: building a social movement around fostering independent national culture, science and political thought. Here the emphasis was less output-oriented and more access-oriented. The purpose of the underground press was to enable access to culture in a personalized way, where all instances of individual taste and creativity could find their niches. Solidarities that the independent press culture was said to be producing should be an effect of horizontal communication processes, rather than of participation in the same imagined community. The problem of the political economy of cultural commons turned out to be neither a question of consumer demand, nor of the particularly understood aims of national culture, but ultimately a question of organizing an uninterrupted and unmediated space for distribution.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anon. (1986a). Szansa dla wydawców. *KOS* 93, April 13th.
- Anon. (1986b). O sprawach podziemnego ruchu wydawniczego: rozmowa z przedstawicielami SRWN I FNW. *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 191, December 10th.
- Anon. (1986c). Komunikat FWN, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 232, December 16th.
- Anon. (1987a). Niezależny Ruch Wydawniczy: opracowanie Społecznej Rady Wydawnictw Niezależnych. *Serwis Informacyjny Społecznego Komitetu Nauki* 40, January 11th.
- Anon. (1987b). Listy do redakcji. *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 207-208, April 22nd.
- Anon. (1987c). SRWN: o sytuacji w Niezależnym Ruchu Wydawniczym. *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 213, May 27th.
- Anon. (1987d). Komunikat FWN. *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 222, October 7th.
- Buntowszczyk, K.G. (1986). Bibuła, szmal i złudzenia. *Promieniści* 10 (86) February 16th.
- Friszke, A. (Ed.). (2006). "Solidarność" podziemna 1982-1989. Warsaw: ISP PAN.
- Kamińska, J. (1988). *Bibliography of underground publications in Poland: 13 XII 1981-VI 1986*. Paris: Editions Spotkania.
- Katarzyński, K. (1986). SOS dla czasopism. *Vacat* 42.
- Komaromi, A. (2008). Samizdat as Extra-Gutenberg Phenomenon. *Poetics Today* 4 (29): 629-667.
- Kozłowski T. & Olaszek J. (Eds.). (2011). *Opozycja i opór społeczny w Polsce po 1956 roku*. Warsaw: IPN.
- L.L. (1987). Uwagi o niezależnym obiegu wydawniczym. *Kultura* (Paris) 10 (481): 56-67.
- Maziarski, J. (1989). O stanie komunikacji społecznej. *Most: wolne pismo* 21: 52-56.

Mianowicz, T. (1983). Samizdat czy Niezależna Kultura. *Tydzień Polski*, March 3rd.

Nawrocki, G. (1988). *Struktury Nadziei*. Warsaw: Pokolenie.

Oset. (1987). List do redakcji. *Serwis Informacyjny Społecznego Komitetu Nauki* 41, January 25th.

Oushakine, S. A. (2001). The Terrifying Mimicry of Samizdat. *Public Culture* 2 (13):191-214.

Parisi, V. (2013). Writing about Apparently Nonexistent Art. The Tamizdat Journal "A-Ja" and Russian Unofficial Arts in the 70s-80s. In Kind-Kovács, F. & Labov, J. (Eds.) *From samizdat to tamizdat: Transnational media during and after socialism*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2013: 190-205.

Rakowiecki, J. (1988). Inaczej. *Promieniści* 4 (115), November 17th.

Sowiński, P. (2011). *Zakazana książka. Uczestnicy drugiego obiegu 1977-1989*. Warszawa: ISP PAN.

Świerczyńska, D. (Ed.) (1995). *Kto był kim w drugim obiegu?: słownik pseudonimów pisarzy i dziennikarzy 1976-1989*. Warszawa: IBL PAN, 98.

Warszawski, D. (1987). Tyle hałasu o 10 zł. *KOS* 113 (4).

Zaslavskaya, O. (2008). From Dispersed to Distributed Archives: The Past and the Present of Samizdat Material. *Poetics Today* 4 (29): 669-712.

Samizdat as social practice and alternative “communication circuit”

Olga Zaslavskaya

The history of print and publishing in Central Eastern Europe is an integral part of the history of the book, a discipline that has been actively developing in recent decades. However, the study of publishing practices (both official and unofficial) in the countries of the former Soviet bloc during the period of “really existing socialism” is still underrepresented¹. This lecture aims to take a closer look at *samizdat*, or self-publishing, as a specific form of socio-cultural practice through the application of the notion of the communications circuit, proposed by Robert Darnton for research into the print culture².

The general term *print* usually refers to a complex of different methods to make expressed thoughts simultaneously available to a large number of people. The status of printing in society is determined by its role both as a branch of industry and, at the same time, as a special area of intellectual thought, mediated by the desire of intellectuals for independence (Febvre&Martin 1976: 109). This situation inevitably leads to tension between the interests of industrial production, and the desire for autonomy of the creators of printed products. In terms of Bourdieu’s field theory, printing is situated at the crossroads of several fields. However, in the case of total state regulation, the economic field is determined by the specific configuration of power relations that is characteristic of state socialism. Therefore, the socialist state became an agent trading cultural values through a system of printing and book-selling that included censorship. It excluded dissenting intellectuals from the official publishing channels, and posed questions about the further strategies of writers. In this situation, *samizdat* and *tamizdat* became an alternative means of self-expression and cultural resistance.

One of the main functions of *samizdat* was to compensate for the lack of those texts and ideas that could not appear through official publishing and press. Over the years, *samizdat* was transformed into the principal independent communicational channel of the Central East European cultural and political dissent both within and beyond the national state borders.

1. See, for example, Šmejkalová, J. 2001; Šmejkalová, J. 2011.

2. Due to the limits of the current publication, we do not include in the analysis other manifestations of self-publishing, such as *magnitizdat*, *radioizdat*, *videoizdat* and *tamizdat*, suggesting that each form has its own specific appearance, technology of reproduction and dissemination practices. For more details about these forms see Mitchel 1992; Sze-mere 2007; Lovejoy 2013.

As a process, *samizdat* was a collective effort by many people - from writers and typists to Western Sovietologists, from translators and distributors to the political advisors and broadcasters of the Western radios. *Samizdat* texts were created, typed and handled, copied and broadcasted, listened to and read, discussed on both sides of the Iron Curtain, and carefully analyzed by secret services in both the East and the West. At the same time, as Harold G. Skilling emphasised, "independent" does not mean that those who participated in the movement were not threatened with persecution. On the contrary, the history of *samizdat* is full of cases of repression against writers and distributors; arrests, searches, interrogations, threats of physical violence, trial followed by imprisonment - this was the price paid for "freedom of speech". Even when the repression did not lead to a direct sentence, they were orchestrated in such a way to compromise a person or force her or him to withdraw from the movement. However, whatever the circumstances, *samizdat* was never fully suppressed, appearing in new forms and manifestations.

SAMIZDAT AS COMMUNICATION CIRCUIT

In his article "What is the history of books?" Robert Darnton proposed a model for the analysis of how a book is created and distributed in society (Darnton 1982, 1990). Since its inception, print has been an agent of social change, and books have often become the specific locus of the struggle of ideas, values and beliefs. In his scheme, Darnton presented the path taken by any printed work before it reaches its main addressee - the reader. The relationship between author and reader takes shape through a chain of intermediaries, including publishers, printers, transport agents (even smugglers), sellers and distributors, bookbinders, and finally, readers (who in their turn can be subdivided into customers, library users, reading club members, etc.). This model includes six main processes: authorship, publishing, printing, transportation, sale and reading. For each of them Darnton defines the appropriate actor - author, publisher, printer, transport agent, seller, and, finally, reader.

There were different levels of specialization in each role, as well as different combinations of roles and professional relationships. For Darnton it was more important to record the transitions from one phase to another, from one role to the other, in order to determine the relationships between the different phases both at the level of an individual actor, and from the perspectives of the systemic development being affected by the internal connections and the external factors. The latter can vary practically endlessly. For his research purposes, Darnton confined them to three main categories: intellectual influence and publicity; economic and political situation; and political and legal sanctions. When suggesting this schema,

he never insisted that the history of the book should be written in accordance with his or anybody's else model. On the contrary, by introducing the concept of "communication circuit" he showed how diverse fragments could be analyzed in the framework of particular conceptual schemata. Therefore, one can study transmission models at different points in the network, or the place and role of the reader in the formation of different network configurations, or address the characteristics of the authorial presence (or absence) in a communication scheme.

Current knowledge of the history of printing and press is based on different models of the circulation of printed material and its consumption. However, a common feature is that control over texts belongs to publishers (to a lesser extent to the author, though he can control the process, as this is usually specified in the contract), including printing and distribution of products. There is a significant shift (or even replacement) of roles in the case of informal publishing: while the author can be also an editor and a publisher (self-publisher), in practice he cannot control the further process of re-publishing, which depends entirely on the reading audience that decides on the further publication process, a process that can be described as "snowballing" (Feldbrugge 1975: 7). Ann Komaromi, describing this process in the Soviet Union, pointed out that the "circulation of *samizdat* was more rhizomatic and spontaneous than the underground press — *samizdat* was like mushroom "spores" (Komaromi 2012:74). A *samizdat* author, editor, or editorial group generally could not produce a large print run and distribute copies from a central point. An editorial in the *Moscow Chronicle* addressed itself to readers who were the "volunteer publishers", reader-publishers who passed on copies or typed additional copies for distribution. This chain structure protected everyone: if you wanted to pass information back to the editors, the editorial suggested, use the chain and do not try to jump directly to the editors, or you might be taken for an informant" (Komaromi 2012:74).

SAMIZDAT PUBLISHING HOUSES

In the Central East European countries, a centralized publishing system was established based on the model introduced in the Soviet Union, where this process took several years³. In the early 1940s, the industrial publishing complex was formed, and the major publishing houses (such as the State Publishing House of Political Literature, known as *Gospolitizdat*, and the State Publishing House of Economic Literature or *Gosekonomizdat*) were established. The abbreviated forms of their names were used by Soviet writers to produce yet another "publishing house" - *sam-sebja-izdat* or, *samizdat*. Thus, *samizdat* can be considered a "private publishing house", existing in spite of the state monopoly over print, on the margins of the

3. In 1927-1929 the State Publishing House "absorbed" independent publishing houses such as "New Moscow", "Down with Illiteracy" and others). In 1929, a special resolution on the centralization of publishing houses was issued, and from the first Five-Year Plan onwards book publishing was included in the general economic development plan (Kenez 1985; Ovsepien 1999; Bljum 2000).

cultural sphere, underground, and even illegally. In the history of Central Eastern Europe, there are only a few examples of *samizdat* - as a private publishing initiative - managing to exist legally: in 1968 in Czechoslovakia and in 1980-1981 in Poland.

The Thaw and further developments in Soviet cultural life radically changed the situation: the spontaneous process of self-publishing became an independent institute of culture. The fact that the word *samizdat* started to be written with a capital letter - *Samizdat*, in the same way as *Gosizdat* (State Publishing House), was indirect evidence of this process. *Samizdat* was perceived as a real alternative to official publishing with the distributed nature of reproduction, as a phenomenon of creative freedom, which could be carried out without the participation and control of "Them": the State and The Party

Although some of the elements of the official system (for example, publishing houses and editorial boards of periodicals) were recreated in *samizdat*, the limited technical and financial resources affected both the quantitative characteristics and the genres of *samizdat* production. Whereas Soviet and Czech *samizdat* books were published in single copies or in minimal numbers, the situation in Hungary and the GDR was somewhat better. However, only Polish underground publishing houses were able to circulate both books and periodicals to a wide readership⁴. The largest number of publishers emerged in Poland, where a special place belonged to the NOWA publishing house. Between 1977 and 1989 it published more than 300 books by Polish and foreign authors and several magazines (*Zapis*, *Krytyka*, *Puls*, *Tygodnik Mazowsze*). Professionally organized, it had its own system of printing and distribution. Sales allowed NOWA to pay translators, printers and distributors, and even reviewers. Additionally, it dealt actively with other media, particularly with video (*videoizdat*).

4. In the USSR and Czechoslovakia handwritten or typewritten texts dominated, whereas in other Eastern European countries other techniques were used: from the hectograph to photocopying and offset printing. A particular achievement was the special technique known as "frame" (Falk 2003: 130-131).

In 1980-1981 (the period known as the "carnival of Solidarity"), independent publishing houses were hardly clandestine, since their activities were widely known, a net of regular readers was established and *samizdat* was available even in the state libraries (Warwo 1995). Despite the introduction of Martial Law in 1981, the number of publishers and publications did not decrease, as might have been expected, but continued to grow. The first issue of *Z dnia na dzień* [Day by Day] came out in Wrocław on the day after Martial Law was declared, and was issued regularly three times a week until 1990. The main emphasis in these conditions was laid on the regularity of the output of periodicals as evidence of continuing resistance.

R. Chartier, D. F. McKenzie and other scholars have shown that the semantic aspect of a literary work is not something frozen; it develops anew each time in a particular historical situation under the influence of many factors, including authorial intention, reading practices, and the ability of the readers to “read into” the text their own, additional meanings, as well as the materiality of the texts (McKenzie 1999; Chartier 1994). The interpretation of a text depends on knowledge of the forms in which it existed or exists, and the history of reading practices is always a history of objects. But apart from the “way of writing” (in Chartier’s words), which bears witness to the various constraints associated with a particular social order and political regime, the analysis of *samizdat* as a body of uncensored texts gives an opportunity to highlight such traditional categories of the book history as authorship, authors, books, copyright, readers and readership.

The complexity of *samizdat* classification affects the determination of the categories of authorship⁵. Can we consider the writers of clearly graphomaniac works as *samizdat* authors? Or should authors of works that circulated in *samizdat* without their approval and knowledge, be named *samizdat* authors? Of course, a conscious decision about publishing works in a clandestine way is the basic criterion for defining *samizdat* authors. However, as we know, some authors (mainly for security reasons) had to declare their disapproval or even claim that they knew nothing about the publication of their works in *samizdat* or abroad. While defining *samizdat* as a specific way of existence related to texts which society regarded as relevant, Aleksandr Daniel’ emphasized that the republishing of *samizdat* texts went beyond the author’s control, in the course of their distribution among readers (Daniel’ 2005: 18). Under conditions of censorship, the author tends to hide his/her authorship, publishing works under a pseudonym, or giving manuscripts to close friends to be sure they will be returned. Following the liberalization of the regime after Stalin’s death, uncensored manuscripts were just put into circulation as *samizdat*⁶.

Usually a writer finds his name through communication with readers - be it a large audience or a modest circle of friends and followers. S/he creates his own writer’s image through the reflection of the readers with whom in normal conditions s/he communicates in person or through correspondence. *Samizdat*, like emigration, cut off potential readers and limited the emotional communication between writer and audience, about which the former had to guess or learn from a variety of non-traditional sources. For example, on being arrested s/he might find out that an investigator had read some of the *samizdat* editions prior to the interrogations (Zach-Blonska 2002:149).

5. For different views on *samizdat* categories and genres see Hyung-min 2004; Johnston 1999; Sukosd 2012.

6. Petr Grigorenko complained that he could not control the distribution of his article, which instead of being published in the journal *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, circulated in *samizdat* (Grigorenko 1981: 446-448).

Non-conformism and dissent were individual responses to various forms of discrimination on the part of the regime. Once they had chosen *samizdat* as a form of internal exile, many writers found a decision about real emigration much easier, thus moving into the category of *tamizdat* authors⁷. One of the imperatives that brought many expatriate writers, editors and publishers to turn to *tamizdat* was a clear understanding of the need to continue their intellectual activities abroad. Therefore, the word “return” in the title of the book *Emigration and return of writers in Eastern and Central Europe* (Neubauer and Török 2009) can be understood both as a physical return, and in the sense of the authors’ return to their readers through *tamizdat* or *radioizdat* (Kind-Kovács 2013).

For many writers the experience of individual protest and participation in *samizdat* was supplemented by *tamizdat*-related activities. Besides East European émigrés, another group of people took an active part in the development of the *tamizdat* network - the Western intellectuals. For them *tamizdat* was a symbol of literary resistance (Kind-Kovács 2010; Goffman 2009; Benatov 2009). They also became devoted *samizdat* readers, although their activities went far beyond reading practices.

READERS OF SAMIZDAT

Robert Darnton specifically pointed out that reading remains the most difficult phase in the circuit to understand and describe. To recreate the past model of readers’ behaviour, one should analyze the whole complex of relationships between texts and the readers. In doing so, both the documented evidence (which is rather difficult to find) and the formal characteristics of the printed texts or manuscripts are important, because the changes in media that make the texts readable also alter their value and status over certain periods.

According to the Czech dissident Miroslav Petroušek, the structure of *samizdat* readership represents a mirror image of the structure of a “normal” reading public. If we imagine a normal reading public in graphical form, as a pyramid, the “elite readers” (who read philosophical, social science and “high literature” texts) are at the top, and “the general readers”, who were mainly reading “popular literature” – constitute the base. In the case of *samizdat* readers, we will have an inverse pyramid: most of the regular readers of *samizdat* preferred philosophical, political, and historical writings, while only a minority was interested in “popular literature”, which was published sporadically in *samizdat* (Petroušek 1993:127).

There were several categories of people, who voluntarily or because of their duties (as censors or members of the secret police) became *samizdat* read-

7. About the difference between “emigration” and “exile” the Czech writer J. Skvorecky wrote: “I am not an emigrant, - she said almost gaily, I am exiled. [...] - And what’s the difference? - It is simple. [...] I cannot return home. Emigrants can” (Skvorecky 1999: 197).

ers. Such categories as “active” and “passive” readers of *samizdat* are rather nominal: there were many cases when a “passive” reader, after receiving *samizdat* literally for “overnight use”, later became not only a regular reader, but also a distributor or publisher of *samizdat*. At the same time, not every reader necessarily joined the movement. For a long time a “grey zone” existed: a specific set of sympathizers, who much later, during the transition period, joined the democratization process, sometimes even becoming leading political figures (Šiklová 1990).

A special group of readers developed in the West: besides the general public, who read *samizdat* in *tamizdat* translations, there were at least two other categories: scholars and specialists interested in the history and culture of Central Eastern Europe and representatives of organizations, foundations and centres that were involved in the ideological Cold War, such as Amnesty International, PEN, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Voice of America, and others. From the other side, Communist Party officials and secret service agents from the countries of the Soviet block also developed into a special type of reader, as Vladimir Toltz pointed out⁸.

Samizdat authors rarely had any direct feedback from their readers in the traditional sense. Their contacts were supported through Western-based communities of national diasporas, printed books by the Western publishers and radio broadcasts. Some debates that were initiated in *samizdat* found their developments in émigré journals, whereas manuscripts, covertly transferred to the West, went back as *tamizdat* publications⁹.

The difficulty of estimating *samizdat* circulation complicates the quantitative analysis of readers. We still do not know the total number of *samizdat* “originals” (not to mention their copies) which included periodicals, books and other documents (letters of support, treatment and all sorts of statements, open letters, appeals, etc.). Additionally, the listeners of RFE/RL (and other radios) special programmes on *samizdat* can be also treated as a special type of *samizdat* reader (Parta 2007; Mikkonen 2010).

However, there was yet another function that *samizdat* readers started performing, after becoming publishers, distributors and collectors. Ludvík Vaculík, editor of Czechoslovak underground publishing house Edice Petlice, saw his mission as “breaking the wall of silence”: his aim was to save the manuscripts. Preserving and publishing these texts, he created a specific archive that would later become a valuable source for writing the history of the period (Vaculík 1992: 123-4).

8. See Tolz, Vladimir 2006. In its turn, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) not only monitored *samizdat* literature but also actively supported the publishing and distribution of these texts. According to recent publications, more than a million books were published and sent to the countries behind the Iron Curtain in the period from 1953 until 1993. See Reisch 2013.

9. Thus, in Czechoslovakia a discussion on Czech-German relationships, which emerged in *samizdat*, was continued in the émigré press; similarly, debates on the notion of Central Europe found their way into *samizdat* publications in the home country (Petroušek 1993: 130).

In addition to publishing houses, distribution channels and transportation services, the *samizdat* network included libraries and archives (Zaslavskaya 2013). In Poland, where the “second culture” was in serious competition with official culture, underground cultural institutions (including libraries, archives and bookshops), operated practically legally. Similar initiatives in other countries, for example the Hungarian “Rajk Laszlo boutique”, existed for a short period only¹⁰.

10. Another example in Hungary is ArtPool (Klanczay, Julia and Galantai, Gyorgy 2013).

In countries where the threat of repression and confiscation was much higher, the *samizdat* system extended abroad. The first attempts to contact Western publishing houses were already being made in the 50s-60s, for example, by Boris Pasternak, Andrej Sinjavskij and Julij Daniel'. However, it was only with the further spread of the *samizdat* network in the 70s that more systemic transnational communication was developed.

This informal publishing system had to cross the boundaries of the national states in order to get out of the “censored zone” and continue its activities under safer conditions, in the form of *tamizdat*. Consequently, *samizdat* archives abroad were set up as a kind of intersection between *samizdat* and *tamizdat*, combining several functions. In addition to the traditional tasks of collecting and preserving documents of historical value, such archives served as informational “nodes” for underground culture back to the home countries and were specific focal points of *samizdat-tamizdat* circulation, connecting internal and external actors of the *samizdat* circuit.

Michel Foucault considers that the inert mass of documentation gains its documentary power through history and has its own history (Foucault 1972:130). History in this respect is a method by which a society recognizes and processes this mass. Paul Ricoeur, in his turn, sees archives not only as physical places arranged as a kind of shelter for documentary traces, but also as social places where social history evolves (Ricoeur 2004). Social groups construct their own images of the world and its history. These images arise from the interactions among individuals, based on agreement upon versions of the past. Collective memory emerges through communication, through social frameworks; therefore “it is to the degree that our individual thought places itself in these frameworks and participates in this memory that it is capable of the act of recollection” (Halbwachs 1992: 38). Collective or social memories are put into shape by certain circumstances, both political and cultural, shared beliefs and values; and they embrace issues of authenticity, identity, and power (Cattel and Climo 2002). Archives are an important part of such frameworks, as they are the instruments used by the collective memory to reconstruct an image of the past.

The continuing debates about the nature of archives define certain differences between archives and libraries. While libraries exist to provide access to materials that are stored on their premises, over the centuries archives have served as “gatekeepers” by limiting and even impeding access to their contents. In this sense, “*samizdat* archives” provided an alternative solution because their main goal was to ensure access to the *samizdat* documents they received through clandestine channels and covert activities by disseminating them both in the East and West in the form of the books, periodicals and radio broadcasts (Reisch 2013 and Kind-Kovács 2012). A significant proportion of *samizdat* materials were smuggled out of the communist countries to the West and ended up with numerous organizations¹¹. The dispersed character of *samizdat* sources soon became one of the serious obstacles for Western scholarship, journalists and political analysts. In April 1971, “a group of scholars and journalists, all of whom had long experience in dealing with *Samizdat* materials”, met in London at a conference to discuss the “Future of *Samizdat*: Its Significance and Prospects” (Boiter 1972: 282-285). In his paper, Albert Boiter proposed creating centralized access to *samizdat* material and suggested Radio Liberty as such a centre: “The basis for this proposal was the consideration that Radio Liberty already possessed one of the largest organized collections of *samizdat* and that its staff includes people with the necessary linguistic and research skills to undertake the task” (Boiter 1972: 283). More than one hundred scholars, journalists, and official organizations contributed documents to the collection. In return “Radio Liberty agreed to make available to scholars in an appropriate form the texts of all *samizdat* documents placed in the archives” (RFE/RL 1973a: 3), which brought into being the publication of *Sobranie Dokumentov Samizdata* [Collection of *Samizdat* Documents]. Thus, the small *samizdat* collection at Radio Liberty (at that moment it contained, according to Boiter, approximately two thousand separate documents covering around twelve thousand pages) became an internationally recognized *samizdat* archive (Zaslavskaya 2009: 669-710). Similar to the Soviet *samizdat* collection, the special unit was founded to collect the Polish *samizdat*.

RFE/RL *samizdat* archives were not the only projects in this area. At least two other important initiatives should be mentioned: the Czechoslovak Documentation Centre, organized by Vilém Prečan, and the Research Centre for East European Studies (*Forschungsstelle Osteuropa*) founded by Wolfgang Eichwede¹². Their activities in the late 70s and 80s, conducted in close cooperation with Western institutions, East European émigrés and dissidents, resulted in creating archives of *samizdat* and in strengthening the *samizdat* network as a transnational community. With the help of this community, many works that would otherwise have been consigned to filing cabinets returned home as *samizdat* publications (Kind-Kovács 2010).

11. Because of the high degree of secrecy that surrounded the clandestine transportation network, it is difficult to trace back the *samizdat* routes. The *samizdat* smugglers from Hungary, for example, used Vienna, while most of the Czech *samizdat* went through German cities, and *samizdat* from the Soviet Union, and especially from the Baltic countries, was transported through Stockholm and Amsterdam. The list of the organizations that were involved in the “*samizdat* affair” includes the Keston Institute (UK), the International Institute of Social History (Netherlands), the Hoover Institute (US), (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (Germany) and the Feltrinelli Foundation (Italy), to name only a few.

12. On the Czechoslovak Documentation Center a fundamental reference is Skilling 1998; for the history of *Forschungsstelle Osteuropa* see <http://www.forschungsstelle.uni-bremen.de/en/>

“*Samizdat* archives”, together with other actors of the *samizdat-tamizdat* communication circuit, proved to be an effective form of resistance that allowed the “autonomy” of the protest movement in the Soviet bloc countries to develop through the establishment of cultural communication across borders.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Benatov, J. (2009). Demystifying the Logic of Tamizdat: Philip Roth’s Anti-Spectacular Literary Politics, *Poetics Today* 30 (1): 107–132.

Bljum, A. (2000). *Sovetskaja cenzura v epochu total’nogo terrora. 1929-1953*. St. Petersburg: Akademičeskij proekt.

Boiter, A. (1972). Samizdat: Primary Source Material in the Study of Current Soviet Affairs. *Russian Review* 31 (3): 282-285.

Cattel, M. G., & Climo, J. J. (2002). Meaning in Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives, in Cattel, M. G. & Climo, J. J. (Eds.) *Social memory and history: Anthropological perspectives*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira, 1-36.

Chartier, R. (1994). *The order of books: Readers, authors, and libraries in Europe between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Darnton, R. (1982). What is the History of Books? *Daedalus* 111 (3): 65-83.

Darnton, R. (1990). *The kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in cultural history*. London: W.W. Norton and Company.

Falk, B. J. (2003). *The dilemmas of dissidence in east-central Europe: Citizen intellectuals and philosopher kings*. Budapest-New York: Central European University Press.

Feldbrugge, F. J. (1975). *Samizdat and political dissent in the Soviet Union*. Leyden: A. W. Sijthoff.

Febvre, L. & Martin, H. J. (1976). *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*. London: Verso.

Foucault, M. (1972). *The archaeology of knowledge and the discourse on language*. London: Tavistock.

Goffman, E. (2009). Introduction, in Goffman E. & Morris, D. (Eds.), *The New York public intellectuals and beyond. Exploring liberal humanism, Jewish identity, and American protest tradition*. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1-11.

Grigorenko, P. (1981). *V podpol'e možno vstretit' tol'ko krysy...* New York: Izd. Detinets.

Halbwachs, M. (1992). *On collective memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Johnston, G. (1999). What Is the History of Samizdat? *Social History* 24 (2): 115-133.

Joo, H.-M. (2004). Voices of Freedom: Samizdat, *Europe-Asia Studies* 56 (4): 571-594.

Kenez, P. (1985). *The birth of the propaganda state*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kind-Kovács, F. (2010). Life-stories Reconnected: Publishing Tamizdat as a Symbolic Act of Recreating Biographical Coherence Across the Iron Curtain, in Autio-Sarasmö, S. & Brendan H. (Eds.), *Winter kept us warm: Cold War interactions reconsidered*. Helsinki: Kikumora Publications, 170-191.

Kind-Kovács, F. (2012). (Re) Joining the Community of Letters? The circulation of uncensored literature in/of Cold War Europe, in Pinheiro, T., Cieszyńska, B. & Franco, E. (Eds.), *Ideas of/for Europe. An interdisciplinary approach to European identity*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 177-195.

Kind-Kovács, F. (2013). Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty as the “Echo Chamber” of Tamizdat, in Kind-Kovács, F. and Labov, J. (Eds.), *Samizdat, tamizdat & beyond. Transnational media during and after Socialism*. New York-Oxford: Berghahn, 70-91.

Klaniczay, J. & Galántai, G. (2013). *ArtPool. Experimental art archive of East-Central Europe*. Budapest: ArtPool.

Komaromi, A. (2012). Samizdat and Soviet Dissident Publics, *Slavic Review* 71 (1): 70-90.

Lovejoy, A. (2013). "Video Knows No Borders": Samizdat Television and the Unofficial Public Sphere in "Normalized" Czechoslovakia in Kind-Kovacs, F. and Labov, J. (Eds.), *Samizdat, tamizdat & beyond. Transnational media during and after Socialism*. New York-Oxford: Berghahn, 206- 216.

McKenzie, D. F. (1999). *Bibliography and the sociology of texts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mikkonen, S. (2010). Radio Liberty - The Enemy Within? The Dissemination of Western Values through US Cold War Broadcasts. In Kononen, M. & Nuorluoto, J. (Eds.), *Europe - Evropa. Cross-cultural dialogues between the West, Russia, and Southeastern Europe. Studia Multiethnica Upsaliensa* 18, Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 243-257.

Mitchel, T. (1992). Mixing Pop and Politics: Rock Music in Czechoslovakia before and after the Velvet Revolution, *Popular Music* 11 (2): 187-203.

Neubauer, J. & Török, Borbála Z. (Eds.). (2009). *The exile and return of writers from East-Central Europe. A compendium*. Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Ovsepjan R. (1999). *Istorija novejšej otečestvennoj žurnalistiki*. Moscow: MGU.

Parta, E. (2007). *Discovering hidden listeners. An Assessment of Radio Liberty and western broadcasting to the USSR during Cold War. A study based on audience research findings, 1970- 1991*. California: Hoover Institution Press

Petrousek, M. (1993). Čekhoslovackij samizdat kak faktor social'nych izmenenij, *Sociologičeskije issledovanija* 8: 122-132.

Ricoeur, P. (2004). *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Škvorecký, J. (1999). *The engineer of human souls*. Illinois State University: Dalkey Archive Press.

Skilling, H. G. (1998). Archive of Freedom, in Pecka, J. (Ed.), *Acta contemporanea*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR: 377-399.

Šiklová, J. (1990). The "Grey Zone" and the Future of Dissent in Czechoslovakia, *Social Research* 57, 2: 347-363.

Šmejkalová, J. (2001). Censors and their Readers: Selling, Silencing, and Reading Czech Books. In Anghelescu, H. G. B. & Poulain, M. (Eds.), *Books, libraries, reading, and publishing in the Cold War*. Library of Congress-University of Texas Press.

Šmejkalová, J. (2011). *Cold War books in the “Other” Europe and what came after*. Leyden: Brill.

Sükösd, M. (2012). Underground Print Culture and Independent Political Communication in Communist Regimes: Samizdat as Typosphere in Central and Eastern Europe from the 1960s to the 1980s, *Korean Journal of Communication Studies* 20 (5): 61-85.

Szemere, A. (2007). *Up from the Underground: The Culture of Rock Music in Postsocialist Hungary*. Pennsylvania State University Press.

Tolz, V. (2006). Tamizdat among Readings of Soviet Elite, 1950-1960s, paper presented at the conference *From Samizdat to Tamizdat: Dissident Media Crossing Borders Before and After 1989*, Wien 2006, http://www.zzf-pdm.de/Portals/_Rainbow/images/veranstaltungen/samizdat-tamizdat.pdf (retrieved 04/01/2015).

Vaculík, L. (1992). A Padlock for Castle Schwarzenberg, in Goetz-Stankiewicz, M. (Ed.), *Good-bye, samizdat: Twenty years of Czechoslovak underground writing*, Evanston, Northwestern University Press.

Warwo, W. (1995). *A brief history of Polish underground publishing during Solidarity*. Available at: <http://www.library.cornell.edu/colldev/slav/publishinghistory.html> (retrieved 04/01/2015).

Zach-Blonska, J. (2002). Memory in Exile: Notes on Milosz, Identity, and Writing, in Radulescu, Domnica (Ed.), *Realms of exile: Nomadism, diasporas, and Eastern European voices*, Lexington Books: 149-158.

Zaslavskaya, O. (2008). From Dispersed to Distributed Archives: The Past and the Present of Samizdat Material. *Poetics Today* 4 (29): 669-712.

Zaslavskaya, O. (2013). Archivy samizdata. In Belenkin, B., Strukova, E. & Superfin, G. (Eds.), *Acta samizdatica. Zapiski o samizdate. Al'manach* 1 (2). Moskva: GPIB Rossii, Meždunarodnyj Memorial: 212-233.

Authors

BALÁZS BODÓ is currently a Marie Curie Fellow at the Institute for Information Law, University of Amsterdam. He has been a Fulbright visiting researcher at the Stanford Law School (in 2006-2007) and a researcher at the Budapest University of Technology and Economics, Center for Media Research and Education. He is the Project Leader for Creative Commons, Hungary, and a Member of the National Copyright Expert Group. His academic interests include copyright and media regulation, peer-to-peer communities, informal media economies and underground libraries. His most recent book is devoted to the role of P2P piracy in the Hungarian cultural ecosystem.

TOMÁŠ GLANC is currently a researcher at the UZH (University of Zurich). His publications deal with Russian and Czech culture as well as with literary and cultural theory, art and semiotics. He has worked as a guest professor at the Humboldt University in Berlin (2010– 2014); as a researcher at Bremen University (2007 – 2010) in Germany, where he coordinated a project on parallel cultures in Eastern Europe; as director of the Czech Cultural Institute in Moscow (2005 - 2007); and as head of the Institute for Slavic and East European Studies at Charles University in Prague (2000 – 2003).

SABINE HÄNSGEN is currently a researcher in the EU-project “Performance Art in Eastern Europe (1950-1990)” at the University of Zurich. She has held teaching positions at several German universities (Bremen, Humboldt University of Berlin, Bielefeld, Cologne and the Ruhr-Universität Bochum). Since the 1980s, she has been a member of the Moscow art group Collective Actions and has been collecting archival materials about unofficial art in the USSR, widely displayed in exhibitions. In 1998-2001 she organized the exhibition *Präprintium. Moscow Samizdat Books* with Georg Witte. She co-curated the exhibitions *Samizdat. Counterculture in Central and Eastern Europe* (Akademie der Künste, Berlin, 2000, displayed at the Millenaris Park in Budapest in 2004) and *Subversive Practices. Art under Conditions of Political Repression, 60s-80s* (Württembergischer Kunstverein Stuttgart, 2009). In 2012 she received a working grant from the the Igor Zabel Association for Culture and Theory.

VALENTINA PARISI has been a EURIAS fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies, Central European University, Budapest (2012-2013) and a postdoctoral fellow at the Istituto Italiano di Scienze Umane (SUM) in Florence (2009-2011). She is the author of the volume *Il lettore eccedente. Edizioni periodiche del samizdat sovietico, 1956-1990*, (Bologna, Il Mulino, 2013). For the whole academic year 2014-2015 she will work on a project on *tamizdat* publications as a EURIAS fellow at the Hanse-Wissenschaftskolleg (HWK) in Delmenhorst (Germany).

PIOTR WCIŚLIK graduated from the University of Warsaw and Central European University in Budapest, where he is currently completing his dissertation about democratic politics in times of Solidarity. In 2009-2013 he was curating Polish-language records of the Open Society Archives at the CEU, including its sizable collection of samizdat prints. Recently he co-authored and co-edited the volume *Thinking Through Transition: Liberal Democracy, Authoritarian Pasts, and Intellectual History in East Central Europe After 1989*, forthcoming in CEU Press. He employs his professional skills in animating the Digital Humanities in Central Europe.

OLGA ZASLAVSKAYA completed her PhD at St. Petersburg State University in cultural studies. After teaching at the universities of the Altaj region, she joined the Open Society Archives at Central European University (Hungary) in 1996, where she is a Samizdat Archives curator. She has organized several research and educational projects, conferences and workshops, including *Samizdat Text Corpora* and the HESP RESET (Regional Seminar for Excellence in Teaching), entitled *Alternative Culture Beyond Borders: Past and Present of Arts and Media in the Context of Globalization* (2007-2010). She was one of the founders of the *International Samizdat [Research] Association network*, and since 2007 she has been a Director of the International Alternative Culture Center. Her research interests include the history of Cold War print culture and the *samizdat* and *tamizdat* phenomena, alternative culture, new media and social movements. She is currently working on a book on cultural practices of uncensored print under socialism in Central Europe and its transnational network. Another research project of hers is connected with the problems of transnational modernity, with a focus on the role of East European Jews in these processes.

Index of names

The names and pseudonyms of people explicitly quoted in the text are reported here. Not included are the names only quoted in the footnotes and in the bibliographies following each individual contribution. The names of fictional characters and the names of literary works do not appear in the index.

Compiled by Valentina Parisi

A

Abalakova, N. 35
Achmatova, A. 68
Agamben, G. 38
Alekseeva, L. 12
Ar'ev, A. 10
Aronson, O. 38
Asimov, I. 65

B

Badiou, A. 38
Beke, L. 5
Belyj (Bugaev), A. 68
Bertalan, N. 5
Blanchot, M. 36
Bodó, B. 3, 11, 12, 19,
23, 26, 101
Bogoslovskij, R. 40
Boiter, A. 7, 95
Bolonkin, A. 11
Bourdieu, P. 87
Brodskij, I. 13, 48,
64, 66
Bulgakov, M. 68

C

Chardžiev, N. 68, 69
Chartier, R. 8, 63, 64, 91

Chejfec, M. 65, 66
Chlebnikov, V. 51
Cholin, I. 50
Chruščëv, N. 48
Cvetaeva, M. 68

D

Daniel', A. 8, 11, 91
Daniel', Ju. 48, 94
Darnton, R. 13, 14,
20, 87, 88, 92
De Certeau, M. 9, 10
Dylan, T. 65

E

Eichwede, W. 95

F

Filon, S. 39
Fish, S. 9
Fodor, E. 5
Foucault, M. 12, 13,
28, 64, 66, 94
Freud, S. 28

G

Garcia, D. 9, 10, 37
Genette, G. 67

Glanc, T. 3, 5, 10,
35, 101
Glazkov, N. 49, 57
Gönczi, É. 5
Gutenberg, J. 36, 63,
75

H

Hänsgen, S. 3, 5, 10,
47, 51, 52, 101
Hastings, J. 36
Havel, V. 74
Hitler, A. 23

J

Jaruzelski, W. 11, 73, 75
Johns, A. 64

K

Kabakov, I. 52, 59
Kafka, F. 68
Kind-Kovács, F. 8, 13,
92, 95
Kizeval'ter, G. 54
Kolotov, A. 65
Komaromi, A. 8, 63,
73, 89
Konrád, G. 74

- Kravčinskij, M. 39, 40
 Kropivnickij, E. 50
 Kručěnych, A. 68
 Kuroń, J. 74
- L**
 Labov, J. 8, 13
 Levin, M. B. 23, 24
 L.L. (Wypych, T. ?)
 80, 82
 Lovink, G. 9, 10, 37
- M**
 Malevič, K. 68
 Mandelštam, O. 48
 Maramzin, V. 65, 66
 McGann, J. 64, 67
 McKenzie, D.F. 13,
 63, 64, 66, 91
 Monastyrskij
 (Sumnin), A. 48
- N**
 Nabokov, V. 64, 68
 Nancy, J.-L. 38
 Nekrasov, V. 48, 50, 51
 Nikonova, Ry see
Taršis, A.
 Novakovskij, A. 64,
 65
- O**
 Otto, R. 36
- P**
 Parisi, V. 3, 63, 69,
 73, 102
 Pasternak, B. 64, 94
 Petrousek, M. 92, 93
 Pivovarov, V. 52
 Platonov, A. 68
 Prigov, D. 48, 53, 60
- R**
 Rév, I. 5
 Ricoeur, P. 94
 Rubištejn, L. 48,
 52, 67
- S**
 Saggir, G. 50
 Šalamov, V. 66, 67
 Samuelson, P. 21
 Sarkisova, O. 5
 Satunovskij, J. 50
 Sigej (Sigov), S. 68, 69
 Siefert, M. 5
 Sinjavskij, A. 48, 94
 Sirotinskaja, I. 66
 Skilling, H.G. 36, 63,
 88, 95
- Solženicyn, A. 23, 68
 Stalin (Džugašvili), I.
 47, 50, 91
 Szkárosi, E. 5
- T**
 Taršis, A. (Ry
 Nikonova) 68, 69
 Tajgin, B. 40
 Toker, L. 66
 Toltz, V. 93
- V**
 Vaculík, L. 93
 Voltaire (Arouet,
 F.-M.) 20
- W**
 Warszawski, Dawid
 (Konstanty, G.) 78
 Wciślik, P. 3, 11, 73, 102
 Witte, G., 10, 47, 101
- Z**
 Zakharov, V. 54
 Zaslavskaya, O. 3, 5, 13,
 14, 73, 87, 94, 95, 102
 Žigalov, A. 35, 36
 Zinov'ev, A. 68
 Žmud', L. 68