# TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations Preface

X1

XV

XX1X

XXX111

	_			
-		-	-	

A Note on Nomenclature Acknowledgments

Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION

## **SECTION 1**

Chapter 2POLAND: THE HARBINGEROF CRISIS AND COLLAPSE13Intellectual Opposition in Poland: 1956–196513The Catholic Church in Poland18The Students' Protest: March, 196822The Workers' Protest: Gdańsk, 197027The Events of June, 1976: Radom, Ursus, and Beyond34Komitet Obrony Robotników (KOR):25

The Workers' Defense Committee	35
The Alternative Civil Society?	40
Towarzystwo Kursów Naukowych (TKN):	
The Flying University	42
The Pope's Visit, 1979	43
Solidarity (Solidarność)	45
Intellectuals within Solidarity	49
Martial Law and its Aftermath	51
Solidarity Underground	53
Re-Legalization, the Roundtable Talks (RT),	
and Free Elections	56

V1	11		

Chapter 3		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	A: FROM INTERRUPTED	
TO VELVET REV	OLUTION	59
Czechoslovak Stalinis	m and the Role of Intellectuals	59
The Economic Crisis	of the 1960s	62
Proposals for Econom	nic Reform	63
-	nd the Cultural Renaissance	
of the 1960s		65
The Student/Youth M	lovements and Strahov	68
The Prague Spring		70
The Action Program	and Soviet Response	71
Independent Currents	s: The Untimely Rebirth	
of Civil Society		76
Čierna nad Tisou		77
Crisis: Soviet Mobiliz	ation and the Moscow Protocols	79
Normalization		80
The Underground M	usic Scene and the Trial of the PPU	84
The Helsinki Accords	and Charter 77	88
Výbor na Obranu Nesp	ravedlivě Stihaných (VONS)	92
The "Underground U	Iniversity"	92
Samizdat Publishing a	and Distribution	94
Repression and Resist	ance in the Czech Lands	
and Slovakia in the	e 1980s	95
The Underground Ch	urch in Slovakia	100
The Tide Turns: "Just	a Few Sentences"	102
The GDR Exodus and	d the Fall of the Wall	103
November 17 and the	Birth of Civic Forum	
and Public against	Violence	103
Havel na Hrad		106
The New Year's Addre	ess and the Consolidation	
of Democracy		107
Chapter 4		
	RY: REPRESSION, REFORM,	
	BLE REVOLUTION	109
	ution of 1956: Lessons and Legacies	109
Kádárite Communisn		112
	mic Reform: The NEM	113
	on and the Second Economy	116

.

Intellectuals: On the Road to Class Power?	118
The Budapest School	122
"Populist" vs. "Democratic" Dissent	125
Beszélő and Hungarian Samizdat	130
Toward an Alliance: The Bibó Festschrift and Monor	135
Lakitelek	138
Intra-party and Election Reform	139
The Rebirth of Civil Society	142
Ellenzéki Kerekasztal (EKA) and the "Pacted Transition"	146
The "Four Yeses" Referendum	151
June 16, 1989: The Reburial of Imre Nagy	152

ix

## **SECTION 2**

57
57
65
77
80
84
92
99
99
04
08
15
25
29
36
42
47
51
54

Chapter 7	
THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION IN HUNGARY	257
The Philosophical Legacy of György Lukács	257
The Influence of István Bibó	261
Kis and Bence: Toward an East European Marxism?	266
The Social Contract of Beszélő and "Radical Reformism"	277
Kis' Democratic Alternative	281
Miklós Haraszti: The Nature of Repression for Workers	
and Artists	290
Theorizing Civil Society: Konrád's Antipolitics	298

### **SECTION 3**

Х

Chapter 8	
THE DISSIDENT CONTRIBUTION	
TO POLITICAL THEORY	313
Defining the Problem: Civil Society	
and the Shifting Boundaries of Public and Private	313
Toward a Reconstituted Public Sphere: Central European	
and Western Intersections in Theorizing Civil Society	316
Reappraising Civil Society: Feminist Critiques	325
Political Economy as Critique:	
The Dissidents Meet the Market	327
Dissident Thought as Reconstructed Liberalism	334
Political Theory Engages with Dissident Theory	348
Marginalization or Public Engagement: The Role of	
Central European Intellectuals in the Post-Communist Er	a 354
DIDI TO OD A DITT	265

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

365

397
398
398

## NOTES

## INDEX

463

399