

### III. LITERATURA I KULTURA NIEZALEŽNA

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#### ALTERNATIVE EXISTENCE OF ART IN “INTERNAL EMIGRATION” IN SLOVAK PART OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN YEARS 1977–1989

Internal emigration<sup>1</sup> generally emerges in totalitarian regimes, which don't care about human rights and freedom of speech, arts included. Accompanying characters are: censorship, discrimination, single production as well as freedom restrictions, depreciation of personal working output, degradation of job competencies, surveillance and interrogation by state security, enforced cooperation with state security, power abuse, persecutions, enforced “creative methods” (socialist realism) through the party state apparatus.

The concept of “internal emigration” according to E. Löwy spread during the post-war period of totalitarian communist regimes<sup>2</sup>. We can distinguish between two phases of dissident i.e. “those who think differently”, respectively against the regime resistant artists, writers, citizens. We can also distinguish between civic and catholic dissident. The first phase of internal emigration is represented by the group of dissidents from the 1950s, the second phase emerges in the so called “consolidation period” (normalization) in the 1970s.

Slovak culture was prepared to resist external political power in the second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century from previous periods in its history, when experiencing the hegemony of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, assimilatory and therefore eliminative: Hungarian, Czech, and German. In the second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century it was Soviet hegemony, which was ideologically controlling the countries of Central Europe, liberated from the Nazi German influence (either occupation or puppet state). However these were subsequently in the zone of Soviet ideological influence<sup>3</sup>. Since the first phase of dissidents (after 1945), into which naturally

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<sup>1</sup> The concept of “internal emigration” could be found in the works by Ernst Löwy: *Literarische und politische Texte aus dem deutschen Exil 1933–1945*, Stuttgart 1979. E. Löwy uses this concept for writers, who were living in the Third Reich, but were not publishing. Some of them emigrated (such as the Mann family), some of them were collaborating with the Nazis (such as G. Hauptmann), some of them staid in Germany, but were not publishing (such as R. Huch). (In: *Paradoxy Pavla Straussa*, Bratislava 2006).

<sup>2</sup> Hannah Arendt elaborated the concept of „totalitarian government“. She uses this concept for political regimes, which are joined under the leadership of one leader. She considers two totalitarian regimes of twentieth century (fascism and communism) as equal. H. Arendt, *Původ totalitarizmu I–III*, Praha 1966, p. 679.

<sup>3</sup> M. Bátorová, *Slovak literature and culture from the “postcolonial” perspective*, “Primerjalna književnost”, letnik 37, št 3, December 2014 (journal CC), p. 71–85.

belongs the emigration wave of the after-war Slovak intelligence living later in forced emigration in Canada and in Buenos Aires, the intellectuals who stayed in Slovakia were those who were publicly standing up against the German (Nazi) hegemony and were persecuted during the Slovak State (also known as the First Slovak Republic) and held in Ilava prison (DAV generation, P. Strauss – persecuted because of his Jewish background, J. Hnitka – persecuted because of his open antifascist stance and others), which were infamously struck by the following Czech (E. Beneš and K. Gottwald) and Soviet (J.V. Stalin) hegemony. Into this period fall also the judicial murders (for example the DAV movement member V. Clementis)<sup>4</sup>.

After the second world war, there was a different situation in culture and literature between Slovakian and Czech lands, however the writers organizations were seemingly working with Prague central, while the Slovak cultural society was irrationally doing its own (as far as possible), according to what it was accustomed to from earlier periods. Still, the judicial murders in 50s hit the Slovak intellectuals so hard, that they were recovering from the shock for the next decades and the fear remained deeply rooted in their minds. That's why in Slovakia we are talking even in the 70s about the so-called "silent dissident" in contrast to Czech dissident, which was more vocal and organized in the VONS<sup>5</sup>.

Dissident in both periods (after 1945, as well as after 1970) could be divided into two groups: a) clerical (could be more divided according to the confession) or b) civic. The clerical group was evaluated in the book *Persecution of Churches in the Communist Countries in Central and Eastern Europe*<sup>6</sup> (catholic, protestant, Greek-catholic, Jahvistic), where there are also papers from the Czech lands of Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

<sup>4</sup> To understand the situation in Slovakia during the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, therefore in the 50s of 20<sup>th</sup> century see: M. Bátorová, *Socialistický realizmus a jeho podoby v slovenskej literatúre (Tvorba Dominika Tatarku a Františka Hečka v 50tych rokoch 20. storočia)*, in print; S. Courtois, N. Werth, J.-L. Panné, A. Paczkowski, K. Bartošek, J.-L. Margolin, *Čierna kniha komunizmu. Zločiny, Teror, Represálie*, Bratislava 1999, pp. 24–25; L. Lipták, *Slovensko v 20. storočí*, Bratislava 1998. (formerly 1968); R. Letz, *Slovenské dejiny V. 1938–1945*, Bratislava 2012.

<sup>5</sup> M. Bátorová, *Dominik Tatarka slovenský Don Quijote*, Bratislava 2012; see 1. chapter: „Vnútna emigrácia“ ako gesto slobody, pp. 24–50. See also: eadem, „Vnútna emigrácia“ ako gesto slobody (Dominik Tatarka a Ľudvík Vaculík po roku 1968), "World Literature Studies", vol. 1 (18), 2009, no. 2, pp. 58–75. It is interesting, that in the extensive editions edited by B. Bakula about the post-colonial aspect in the Central Europe: *Dyskurs postkolonialny we współczesnej literaturze i kulturze Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, Poznań 2015; *Postkolonialny syndrom pokoleniowy*, Poznań–Wrocław 2016; but also in the paper M. Bátorová, *Slovak literature and culture from the "postcolonial" perspective*, op. cit., there is no participation of Czech scholars on the research of this aspect.

<sup>6</sup> *Prenasledovanie cirkvi v komunistických štátoch strednej a východnej Európy*, Bratislava 2010. Some particular fates from the Slovak catholic dissident are already elaborated in the books: *Pars pro toto svedectvo – dokument Silvester Krčméry: Pravdou proti moci. Príbeh muža, ktorého nezlomili*, Bratislava 2014. After 1989 published books of secretly ordained "bishop-worker" – cardinal J.Ch. Korec and books and papers which are about him: E. Boldišová, *Film STV o kňazovi a básnikovi donovi Š. Sandtnerovi z 90. rokov 20. storočia*; J. Silan, *Dom opustenosti*, finished 1970, official edition Bratislava 1991; J. Hvišč, V. Marčok, M. Bátorová, V. Petřík, *Biele miesta v slovenskej literatúre*, Bratislava 1991 (wright text on pp. 25–60); M. Bátorová, *Kresťanská tvorba na Slovensku po roku 1945 (alebo jeden z typov alternatívnej tvorby na Slovensku po roku 1945)*, in: *Slovenská kresťanská kultúra – Osudy a osobnosti (príspevky z rovnomennej konferencie, konanej v Ostrihome 7. apríla 2010) / Szlovák keresztény kultúra – Sorsok és egyéniségek*, ed. M. Žiková, Ostrihom – Esztergom 2010, pp. 19–30.

The civic dissent from the field of literature and its proscribed authors could be further divided into the first phase of dissident<sup>7</sup> and the second phase of dissident<sup>8</sup>. The interspace, which emerged between the ban on publication in 50s or 70s of 20<sup>th</sup> century and publications printed after 1989 is filled with works – one’s workings, which were published abroad, or were smuggled through borders by the authors<sup>9</sup> or others<sup>10</sup>.

Samizdats were however written and published even at home, in the “internal emigration”. One of the best known is *Slovenský variant moderny. 1978–1979* (The Slovak variant of modernity. 1978–1979) written by the scholar of fine art Tomáš Štrauss, who didn’t pass the background check and was fired from Comenius University from the position of the head of department of Aesthetics and was sent to “manufacture”<sup>11</sup>. This samizdat is one of the most important reference points for the investigation of action, conceptual and in overall alternative or unofficial art, respectively art outside the institution, which couldn’t be researched during the communist era<sup>12</sup>.

The samizdats of Dominik Tatarka in *Ne-čas* (1978), *Písачky* (1979), *Sám proti noci* (1984), *Navrávačky* (1988) are part of the research and discourse in the first scientific book dealing with D. Tatarka by the author of this paper<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> P. Štrauss, *Človek pre nikoho / Worte aus der Nacht*, Bratislava [bilingual]; M. Bátorová, *Paradoxy Pavla Straussa*, op. cit.; V. Petrik *Neznáma kapitola Smrekovej poézie*, in: *Proti noci. Básne vnútorného exilu*, Liptovský Mikuláš 1993; H. Ponická, *Kto si čo zvolí*, in: *Dominik Tatarka a ti druzi*, Brno 1991, pp. 6–13; J. Hnitka, *Transfúzia*, Bratislava 2003; J. Čomaj, *Múrom proti hlave. (Život a dielo J. Hnitku)*. Čadca 2013.

<sup>8</sup> Particular (supported by personal documents) evidence about the dissident in Slovakia is book by Jozef Janlonický: *Samizdat o disente 3. Záznamy a písomnosti*, Bratislava 2007. The book T. Štrauss, *Utajená korešpondencia*, Bratislava 1999, contains the letters by the kunsthistorian to creative artists and their letters to Tomáš Štrauss when he was in the emigration. He supported many dissident artists, by introducing them to the scene, by reviewing and commenting their works. *Cesty a príbehy moderného umenia 2. Zborník príspevkov z kolokvia k 70. narodeninám prof. Tomáša Štraussa*, zostavila E. Belohradská, Bratislava 2002. With the dissident in Slovakia in the years of normalization was from the political point of view dealing Juraj Matrušiak and Norbert Kmeť: J. Marušiak, *Nezávislé iniciatívy na Slovensku v rokoch normalizácie*, in: *November 1989 na Slovensku. Súvislosti, predpoklady a dôsledky*, eds J. Pešek and S. Szomolányi, Bratislava 1998, pp. 54–75; idem, *Špecifické aspekty pôsobenia „občianskeho“ disentu na Slovensku po roku 1969*, in: *Slovenské dejiny v dejinách Európy. Vybrané kapitoly*, Bratislava 2015; N. Kmeť, *Slovenská opozícia za normalizácie*, in: *Slovenská a česká spoločnosť v období normalizácie. Liberecký seminár 2001*, Bratislava 2003, pp. 185–208. Two extensive foreign projects should be also mentioned: *SAMIZDAT – alternative Kultur in Zentral- und Osteuropa; die 60er bis 80er Jahre/Forschungstelle Osteuropa an der Universität Bremen*, Hrsg. W. Eichwede. Bremen 2000. *SZAMIZDAT. ALTERNATÍV KULTÚRÁK. KELET – ÉS KÖSÉP – EURÓPÁBAN 1956 – 1989*, Budapest 2004; M. Bátorová, *Personal Ethos in the Literature of Slovak and Czech Dissidents: The Essay as a Form of Expressing an Active Personality*, in: “Primerjalna književnost”, letnik 33, št. 1, junij 2010, pp. 153–166, (journal CC); eadem, *Slovak literature and culture from the „postcolonial“ perspective*, op. cit.; eadem, *Wasser als Anfang und Ende. Zum Motiv des Wassers im Werke Dominik Tatarka*, In: *Wasser – Gewässer*, Hrs. K. Röttgers, M. Schmitz-Emans, Essen 2012, pp. 99–107; M. Bátorová, *Dominik Tatarka slovenský Don Quijote. Sloboda a sny*, Bratislava 2012, part: *Prílohy- 50 príloh archívnych dokumentov* (English version 2015).

<sup>9</sup> D. Tatarka, *Sám proti noci*, München 1984; also: *Navrávačky*, Köln 1988.

<sup>10</sup> For example the novel: *Križové štácie* by Jozef Hnitka was published without the author’s knowledge in the journal “Ludové zvesti” in Canada. (See: DI LI ZA, 0/III – 1135, 19. II. 1953).

<sup>11</sup> T. Štrauss, *Slovenský variant moderny 1979*, samizdat.

<sup>12</sup> A. Bátorová-Euringer, *Aktionskunst in der Slowakei in den 1960er Jahren, Aktionen von Alex Mlynárčik. Theorie der Gegenwartskunst*, Bd 16, Berlin 2009.

<sup>13</sup> M. Bátorová, *Dominik Tatarka*, op. cit.

The subject of research in this paper will be the rarity among the Slovak samizdats, *Tri slnečné dni* (Three days of sun) by the icon of Slovak velvet revolution Ján Budaj from 1981<sup>14</sup>.

Ján Budaj is talking at the beginning of this samizdat, which is in this form preserved only in three copies: “At the beginning just briefly – who, why and how we wanted to do something in the Medical Garden in the last May days in 1980”. The idea of event “Three days of sun” (3DS) emerged among the non-professional actors and artists, working with processual (action) artistic forms in the autumn of 1979. These were attempts for street forms of theatre, which was covered by the theatre Labyrinth” (p. 2)<sup>15</sup>. The structure of team-members of 3DS, where professional creative artists (painters, graphic artists) were also supposed to be integrated, was with this type of presentation heading toward the goal to create the situation of contact with the public. The new components (members) in 3DS were ecologists<sup>16</sup>. Action 3DS mediated, in terms of representation of artists across all arts, the attempt to create “authentic public event”. Organizers were aware, as Budaj wrote: that public and audience for 3DS will be uninformed, sceptical and suspicious, but they could count only on their own powers and reviving abilities against the society “numbed by normalization”. However the goal to create the public space for people gatherings, the public event, was subjected to many bureaucratic restrictions, which organizers had to undergo. Activities (action, theatrical, musical, visual as well as ecological presentation) were supposed to last daily between 10:00–21:00, in days, when Bratislava had most visitors, therefore in Thursday, Friday and Sunday. Beside the advertisement in journal “Večerník”, information leaflets advertising the event were also prepared. 3DS was therefore legal, the 3DS bulletin had license as well as print number, (the official written permission was granted by the V-club and by Town Cultural Department of Bratislava [ObNV I and NVE]). Nevertheless, the event by 3DS never happened, it was officially prohibited, without the reason, all documents related to this event and 3DS were confiscated and/or destroyed. The Labyrinth theatre was locked down as well as V-club, all its employees were fired and persons involved with 3DS were interrogated. Ján Budaj wrote “I think, that beside everything unpleasant that happened, this event/non-event gave us something; let’s say it gave us the feeling that we tried to do something normal” (p. 3).

The whole samizdat was edited as the document of activity on the turn of 70s and 80s by Ján Budaj. The written part is supplemented by Xeroxed copies of photos from individual events. The artistic events, as artistic piece has the quality to pull the audience in, doesn’t need to be documented, its purpose is in the activation of consciousness. Majority of these events that happened in Slovakia therefore doesn’t have a proper photo-documen-

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<sup>14</sup> The first edition was published in 1981 only in one exemplar, after which Ján Budaj created three exemplars of the second edition, which is the source of information for this paper.

<sup>15</sup> The Labyrinth theatre was young people, who were engaged into the offbeat theatre styles. Contrary to than contemporary groups from artistic underground after 1970 they were not hiding and were not into compromises (short description by J. Budaj). The home institution of Labyrinth theatre was V-klub on SNP square, from which the artists received the official permission.

<sup>16</sup> 3DS were the first stage of Bratislava nahlas (Bratislava aloud), which is celebrating its 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary this year. Bratislava nahlas was the group of intellectuals concerned with the ecological problems which they brought into attention. The book of the same name, 64 pages in A4 form in the first edition (1000 copies) was published in October 1987.

tation. Even if the motive for this could be also related to the fear of later persecution. The different approach was present in neighbouring (in sense of human rights – free) Austria, where rich photo-documentation exists, as well as written records documenting the origin, rundown, results and importance of many artistic events and concepts.

Into this samizdat, Ján Budaj has included several interviews with personalities who are describing the 3DS as well as aims and intentions of particular events. It contained time reflections regarding how the artists lived etc. Samizdat contains 45 pages in total in an A5 format. At least half of it are images – reproductions of photos from events, but also posters, descriptions, scripts, poems by Ivan Hofmann and Peter Michalovič from the song group Slnovrat. Another half is the already mentioned interview bounded on the drawing paper. The written pages of the samizdat are numbered but there is no table of content. The pictures are mostly related to the prepared action 3DS. The basic intentions were as follows: to draw attention; to attract the indifferent public to reflect upon their surroundings or to become interested in some related activities; the art as public affair and art as “the responsibility for the world” (the ecological background as P. Bartoš intended). The 3DS event from 1980 was following the efforts and activities of artist Alex Mlynárčik from 60s of 20<sup>th</sup> century as well as on other activities of Budaj, Archleba and others in 70s, which were organized in Bratislava<sup>17</sup>. After the failure of 3DS, only the few believed in the power to at least to some degree arouse the public interest by this way. The time distance of one year caused total scepticism, which is confirmed by the testimony of Labyrint theatre member Jozef Tichý: “I think that nowadays, no one will be interested in openness, honesty and spontaneity, because it is not possible to believe in it” (p. 6).

Many creative artists were able to precisely describe and comment on the concepts of their actions while still being able to communicate their ideas via words. Alex Mlynárčik alone, but also Ján Budaj, V. Archleb, Tomáš Petřivý (who signed Charter 77). Among them was also Havrila, an academic painter, who (in the Budaj samizdat 3DS – second interview), was also sceptical against the purpose and the impact of these activities for public (he even consider it as the “waste of time”) and is speaking about the novel, which he is finishing at the moment. It will be an extensive 500 pages long, about Roberta Weiners life story. He intended to illustrate the novel by himself with drawings he had done for the past ten years. Budaj will also be asking about the movie and Vlado Havrila answers, that “his last three and half minute long shot was made two years ago” (with Gabo, Betka and Naďa). He considers the movie production as the strongest yet. He experienced some nuisances because of the 3DS, but as he said: “it was bearable”. What he considered worse than interrogation was, that his friends were not meeting up together and were not talking together, afraid that their “words will be recorded”... (p. 7–13).

The fragment of talk between Ján Budaj and Stano Filko follows, trending for transcendence and describing in detail “for the spirituality” (p. 14–16).

Another contribution is the interview with Ľubo Ďurček, who after the ban of 3DS also called for the necessity of isolation. He also talks about the (almost one hundred pages long) book Áno-Nie (Yes-No), which was Ďurček always carrying with him and displaying

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<sup>17</sup> They were tied by ropes in front of the library of Marxism-Leninism on the corner of today Sedlárska and Laurinská Street, or they were lying on the narrow street, face down, between the Old Town Hall and Jesu-it church. See: A. Bátorová-Euringer, op. cit.



on request. He sometimes even donated the book. However, in the interview he talks about the fact, that he gave only 100 pieces of the book and the continuously increasing “incommunicativeness” was considered by him as unsolvable problem of the civilization.

The event by Róbert Cyprich, prepared for 3DS was displayed on the poster – notification with the name “24 hours in.” Rudo Sikora follows, whose illustration for the 3DS bulletin were considered by Budaj as communication route, practically the appeal for public dialogue. There is even one-page long information about the “Temporary Company of Intense living”<sup>18</sup>.

In former Czechoslovakia, the contacts with Czech artists were rare, so beside the interview with Jozef Tichý, there was also an interview with Peter Stember in May 1981, where we can learn something about the Prague alternative scene and Milan Kozelka and Milan Knížák, as well as about Brno based Marian Pallo and Vláďo Ambróz.

Samizdat also has an interview – one of the crucial ones – with Alex Mlynárčik. Almost twenty years after Happsoc I (poster Happsoc I from May 1965 by S. Filko and A. Mlynárčik is listed here). Mlynárčik is mentioning the sphere, which is relevant for the art as well as for the percipient: about “the property of extraordinary experience”, which Dušan Hanák called “enchanted situation”. “When the dream is a life” – as told by Mlynárčik. This excellent and original artistic thinking of Mlynárčik makes one happy even after years, when this travelled artist compares seemingly incomprehensible: the authors anonymity, achieved perfection and functionality of American hotels and sacred buildings, where the author is not known, however the result is perfect for human being. He is critical to market like mechanism, which was brought to the art (the object wrapping by Christ). Regarding the Argília (the world, which was as a concept created by Mlynárčik for insiders) he talks about Exupéry and his Little Prince, and about that “type of life truths understanding”, where the path to understanding Argília lies. He, little prince, is above the ground, in the spiritual space, deeper or higher. He is still with us, because he was before he was, before Exupéry. There always was a world of deep truth, deep happiness”.

On the question by Ján Budaj, if he is willing to do another action, as one of the few answers: “Of course. It is necessary and people, I am convinced, would accept that, they would be interested and would participate.” (the record of the interview is from the 6th of June 1981).

Followed by the record by Budaj about the offence against the alternative art attempts in the movie by D. Hanák: *Ja milujem, ty miluješ* (I love, you love), which was banned and only the poster remained and is listed here and also the movie by J. Jakubisko: *Postav dom, zasad' strom* (Build a house, place a tree) which was “the last battle” of Jakubisko, as commented by Budaj.

The final part of samizdat is about Július Koller, and his event from 1979, which was prepared for 3DS “Universal-cultural futurological operation: the total painting”. In the third point of “screenwriting” – the characteristic attributes of this event is written:

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<sup>18</sup> Temporary Company of Intense living (Dočasná spoločnosť Intenzívneho prežívania – written contrary to the Slovak grammar with big I by the author of the samizdat) is characterized by the description of five actions. One of them is the movement on the street during the 3DS, where the participants on this action are moving in the crowd, on the leader signal they throw themselves on the ground, stay like that for 5 second, than they move forward and repeat. It was an “experiment on the intersection of theatre, sociology and psychology”, such as was on (for example) – irrational actions “we-them”, or during the exhaustion run on the Danube dam.

“U.F.O.T.M. is cosmohumanistic cultural alternative, contrary to falsity, narrow-mindedness, double-dealing and conservatism of the art”.

In 27<sup>th</sup> January 1988, almost seven years later Ján Budaj made a reedition of the only piece of this samizdat, which he calls a book, and wrote an epilogue to this “edition” where the author is depicting the time of creation of this 3DS samizdat as “amateurish” and he sees an “empty space” for creativity.<sup>19</sup>

To conclude I should mention interesting actualizing and authentic piece of knowledge, which is closely related to the object of interest: at the moment at the scene of Slovak National Theatre a play of Czech director Jiří Havelka – *Elity* is played. The premiere was at March 2017. The play is third in a row (after play *Communism* and *Kukura* in the theatre *Aréna*) where the period of consolidation is captured and its coordinates are described in the whole realness and violence. In the final third the play contains the part with thesis that former “big shots” were thanks to money and other methods able to “flow” into the contemporary times and are still active and ruling!

The remarks on this play were not accepted by the journals such as *Denník N* and *SME*, with the comment, that the review of this play was already published. The main protagonist (leading actor) of the play *Elity* – E. Vašáryová, who has read these remarks, besides praising them, revealed that “they all put their hands off from this play”. Can we therefore assume that in our democracy not everything changed? The last part of the play is therefore true, and that is quite absurd finding!

These remarks will be however published, in the literary journal “*Romboid*” (in print).

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<sup>19</sup> 3DS participants (according to J. Budaj in the samizdat 3DS): 1) generation group, which studied and entered the world of culture in 60s: J. Koller, S. Filko, V. Havrila, P. Bartoš; 2) group, which entered the praxis after 1969: R. Sikora, E. Ďurček, M. Bočkay, K. Bočkayová, J. Mihalík, D. Tóth; 3) group, which never had opportunity for the education – the generation of 70s: V. Archleb, J. Budaj, I. Kalný, T. Petřivý, P. Sedala, J. Štuller, M. Štullerová, R. Cyprich, I. Thurzo, K. Říhový. Between the oldest and youngest participant of the 3DS event was the difference of 20 years, but they were connected together by (in Budaj’s words) “hope”. Further information to these authors are in the samizdats of 70s and 80s: T. Štraus, *Slovenský variant moderny*, op. cit.; R. Matuščík, without the title, 1985, essays by J. Chalupický, R. Cyprich, J. Valocha and others. J. Marušiak, N. Kmeť, *Słowacja*, in: *Słownik Dysydentów. Czołowe postacie ruchów opozycyjnych w krajach komunistycznych w latach 1956–1989*, t. I, Warszawa 2007, pp. 199–233. J. Marušiak, *The Normalisation Regime and its Impact on Slovak Domestic Policy after 1970*, “*Europe-Asia Studies*”, 60: 10, 2008, pp. 1805–1825; N. Kmeť, *Reflexia normalizácie na Slovensku*, in: Guba I, M. Macháček, *Ve službách česko-slovenského porozumění/porozumenia. Československé dokumentační středisko, o.p.s.*, Praha 2016, pp. 234–253; M. Bátorová, “*Vnútorná emigrácia*” ako gesto slobody (*Dominik Tatarka a Ľudvík Vaculík po roku 1968*), op. cit.

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### The alternative existence of art in “inner emigration” in the Slovak part of Czechoslovakia in years 1977–1989

#### Summary

This paper presents a comparison of Slovak and Czech dissidents, the origin of the so-called “silent” dissent, alternative art in Slovakia in the years of normalization, mostly after 1977.

**Keywords:** Slovak and Czech dissident movement, silent alternative, samizdat, literature, fine art, *Libri prohibiti* archive.