1. THE STATUS OF BRNO AS A CULTURAL PHENOMENON IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In 1918, when Czechoslovakia was founded on the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Brno had about 200,000 inhabitants, whereas the capital of Prague about 900,000 inhabitants. Between the two world wars Brno underwent unprecedented economic and cultural expansion; it was often perceived as a connecting line of Czech and Slovak ideas or activities in the middle of the republic between Prague and Slovak Bratislava. Brno became an important centre of modern functional architecture (e.g. Villa Tugendhat designed by the architect L. Miese van der Rohe, the Avion Hotel by Bohuslav Fuchs, the pavilions at Brno Exhibition Centre). Many outstanding musical works were premiered here (Janáček, Prokofjev, Martinů). In 1969 Czechoslovakia adopted the federal system. Bratislava became the capital of the Slovak Socialist Republic; Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia, likewise became the capital of the Czech Socialist Republic. The idea of a triple federation with Brno administrating all of Moravia up to the north was not enforced. The political position of Brno as the second largest city in the state was administratively weakened in favour of “Pragocentric” tendencies. However, one out of five universities was still located in Brno, alone with a further five colleges. In the 1960s important cultural institutions were established and extended here. Thus, a large number of university students (about 10,000 at the end of the 1980s) and workers in science, art and education were concentrated in Brno. The political persecution of the 1970s was more massive and consistent in the Czech Socialist Republic than in Slovakia, a great deal more people in Bohemia and Moravia were banned from publishing and practising their professions than in Slovakia. On the other hand, the majority of intellectuals in Brno not only knew someone, either personally or vicariously, but also kept in touch with someone from Slovakia and especially Prague\(^1\). Thus, the dissident setting in Brno did not form a closed circle with a ghetto-like atmosphere. Until the second half of the 1980s unofficial social activities (i.e. cultural, publishing or artistic) did not declare political goals as primary. From today’s perspective, it seems that a lot of independent activities were motivated by cultural (intellectual, artistic, scientific or academic) needs of authors or editors. The reason for this could be due to the village character of life in a community (polis) where everyone knows everyone else, which made the conspiratorial preparation of political protests harder; or because of the higher religiosity of the Moravian population which was connected with a lower level of overt involvement in politics or, possibly, because legal punishments for independent editing activities were more severe in Moravia (at courts in Brno, Olomouc and Ostrava) than in Prague\(^2\). However, the second half of the 1980s saw a growing political involvement even among Brno citizens or, to be more precise, among Moravian

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\(^1\) In 1980 Prague had 1,193,345 inhabitants, Brno had 365,837 inhabitants, Bratislava 357,574 inhabitants – data from Ilustrovaný encyklopedický slovník, I-II, Praha 1980.

independent “activists”\textsuperscript{3}. They were not merely intellectuals, university student groups or professional circles; to a great extent they belonged to the young generation of citizens who were in favour of independent editing and civic activities on the basis of their experience of life in totalitarian Czechoslovakia\textsuperscript{4}.

2. SAMIZDAT IN BRNO

The existence and various forms of independent, samizdat activities have already been described in academic foreign literature, in Czechoslovakia and also in works of lots of contemporary Czech researchers. This study focuses on the 1980s in Brno. Nevertheless, to offer a clearer portrayal, I will briefly outline the Czechoslovakian context.

It is assumed that over one hundred samizdat editions have been created in Czechoslovakia\textsuperscript{5}. Approximately 250-300 samizdat periodicals came into existence between 1948 and 1990. However, many of them are recorded as periodicals with only one (i.e. the first) issue (e.g. journal To, 1989; Bych, 1988), others as annuals (Moravská čítanka; Knihařské Rozhledy). Johanna Posset in her work Česká samizdatová periodika 1968-1989 [Czech Samizdat Periodicals 1968-1989] noted 177 samizdat periodicals between 1970 and 1989, 24 out of them were published in Brno\textsuperscript{6}. Besides, J. Posset collected fragmentary data about further 51 Czech periodicals published in Czechoslovakia, five of them supposedly in Brno\textsuperscript{7}. Martina Hanáková in her MA thesis Brněnské samizdatové edice a časopisy 1970-1989 [Brno Samizdat Editions and Journals 1970-1989] described 17 editions and 36 periodicals\textsuperscript{8}. According to these sources, 39 samizdat periodicals originated in Brno in the 1980s. My research has revealed three further titles founded in Brno in the 1980s: Zvěřokruh, Klacek and HA. Thus, recent research has shown that all editing activities in Brno have not been discovered or described thus far.

Personal modesty or a change of careers of many samizdat authors and producers resulted in the fact that after 1990 they did not offer their samizdat editing activities to research and archiving. Thus these activities can be traced only sporadically\textsuperscript{9}. For example, the wide range of authorial activities of Moravian artists was not presented to the public until an exhibition called Brněnská osmdesátá [Brno of the 80s] (2010 in the Brno City Museum) by the curator Marcela Macharáčková; these activities and exhibits were both artistic and textual, curatorial and editorial\textsuperscript{10}. It will be a task for researchers to provide correct descriptions and classification.

\textsuperscript{3} J. Soukupová, Nepoddajný aneb Nešlo to jinak, Brno 2010.
\textsuperscript{4} Often this experience drew on the ban on studying, which the regime used to persecute children and grand-children in families of people politically active during the Prague Spring in 1968; tens of thousands of families in Czechoslovakia in the 1970s and 1980s were affected in this way.
\textsuperscript{6} Periodicals localized by J. Posset in Brno (editorial boards entirely or partially in Brno): Akord; Box; Brněnský informační bulletin NMS – IDS; brněnský orgán Nezávislého místního sdružení – iniciativa za demilitarizaci společnosti; Bych; Dialogy; Dominik; Dopisy, a. o.; Otevřený dialog; Host; Hrad; Impuls; Kaluž na stropě; Knihařské rozhledy; Koruna; Moravská čítanka; Obraz přítele; Obšťastník; Patnik; Pěna; Plantázník; Pokaždé; Revue 88; Sociologický obzor; Společenství; Střední Evropa (version for Brno); Sursum; Sot; Tulák; Uhlík; Univerzum; Velehrad; Vole hled'; Výběr zajímavostí z domova i ciziny, Ibidem, pp. 172-182.
\textsuperscript{7} AC; Dlask; Dým; Pokaždý jinak – furt stejně; Tempo, Ibidem, pp. 175-177.
\textsuperscript{8} Periodicals localized by M. Hanáková in Brno: A co; Akord; Box; Brněnský informační bulletin NMS – IDS; Dialogy; Diskuse; Dominik; Dopis z Taízé; Dopisy; Excerpta; Folkové noviny; Host; Hrad; Impuls; Kaluž na stropě; Knihařské rozhledy; Koruna; Moravská čítanka; Obraz přítele; Obšťastník; Patnik; Pěna; Plantázník; Pokaždý; Revue 88; Sociologický obzor; Společenství; Střední Evropa (version for Brno); Sursum; Sot; Tulák; Uhlík; Univerzum; Velehrad; Vole hled'; Výběr zajímavostí z domova i ciziny, M. Hanáková, Brněnské samizdatové edice, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{9} Sometimes no copies were preserved – this is the case of literary samizdat by students of Czech language and literature at the Faculty of Arts in Brno: about ten issues called Clió were published within the group that formed around Zdeněk František Sotolář and Jiří Travníček. Each issue had four type-written copies, A5, 8-12 pages, some issues had photographs. The journal contained mainly poetry, short stories and travel reportage and was published 1980-1981.
\textsuperscript{10} Brněnská osmdesátá, ed. E. Macharáčková, Brno 2010.
tions of e.g. literary texts, auto-interpretative 
texts and commentaries of its own exhibitions, 
exhibition catalogues and invitation cards or 
video presentations of artists, especially in 
cases where exhibitions were repeated in pri-
ivate or non-exhibition places (such as ateliers, 
flats, cultural clubs or gastronomic facilities). 
In the first place, taking into account the sug-
gested breadth and variety of artistic and ed-
torial activities, it will be necessary to collect 
and archive materials and information related 
to them.

Editing and publishing activities in Brno 
samizdat are described in the literature with a 
different degree of literary-scientific intensity. 
Thus, first of all, I will try to classify the older 
and the more recently acquired information in 
the following summary; then I will present the 
material briefly: describe and evaluate it. The 
structure of the summary is not normative, but 
more along the lines of a draft. It will be possi-
ble to add further works, periodicals or editions 
when they are discovered in the future, and it 
will be possible to undertake a more subtle clas-
sification.

The following periodicals published by Brno 
authors in the 1980s will be described in a 
greater detail:

– Literary journals: Host, Bych, To, (3.1); 

– Magazines focused on jokes and entertain-
ment: Zvěrokruh, měsíčník spolku pro potírání 
všeobecné nudy & přátel; Klásek and Klín(3.2); 

– Specialized cultural periodicals: Folkové 
noviny; Pěna; Informační bulletin Polsko-
československé solidarity (3.3); 

– Periodicals focused on fine art: HA; an edi-
tion of invitation cards to exhibitions Galerie 
Drogerie Zlevněné zboží; Výběr zajímavostí 
z domova i ciziny (3.4); 

– Professional and academic journals: Knih-
ářské Rozhledy; Revue 88; Sociologický obzor 
(3.5).

The journal Host originated in Brno on the 
initiative of Jaroslav Šabata; Dušan Skála be-
gan its preparation at the beginning of 1985, 
and Zbyněk Fišer was invited as literary editor. 
D. Skála and Z. Fišer collected various original 
literary and essayistic material and journalis-
tic contributions, which were directly written 
or translated for the forthcoming journal. D. 
Skála managed the economic and production 
aspects of the journal as well as controlled the 
distribution of the issue; Z. Fišer took charge of 
the editorial work in the first issue. The aim 
of the journal was to draw on Host do domu 
(banned in 1970) in its content; however, it did 
not have a clearly defined structure of sections 
and a stable circle of contributors at the be-
ingning. Besides original literary or journalis-
tic texts and translations, Host also included some 
articles taken from exile or samizdat publica-
tions. The first issue contained 126 pages of
text including a supplement. There were also photographs (illustrating an article on the artist Jan Zuziak, reportage from a folklore festival in Lanžhot and two portraits). Texts were cyclostyled, and the size was always A4. The number of copies was around 200, and the first issue was sold for 50 to 70 crowns. All copies of the first issue were sold out. For reasons of subterfuge the address of the editorial office was not stated at first, most authors were protected by pseudonyms or codes, and the first issue, published in 1985, was intentionally listed as the third. In the following years four more issues were published irregularly, although the original aim was to publish Host twice a year (double issue 2+3, 1987, 428 pp.; no. 4, 1988, 828 pp.; no. 5, 1989, 498 pp.). Because of the extent of further issues, nos. 2+3 and nos. 4 are without pagination, individual contributions in no. 5 are paginated independently. The first three volumes (no. 1, 2+3, 4) had the same black and white cover, the fifth issue was orange and even contained colour illustrations. Its production was finished in December 1989. The table of contents of the fifth issue was substituted with a list of authors in subject units. D. Škála with his full address was stated in the imprint of the double issue 2+3 as the head of the editorial board; black and white copies of J. Kolář’s collages were used as illustrations, and contributions were printed on papers of various colours. D. Škála was stated in the 4th issue as a “publisher” with his full address. The technology enabled printing of illustrative photographs. The fifth issue of Host was published with full names of editors and their addresses (Dušan Škála and Jitka Skálová, Jana Soukupová, Roman Švanda). The authorial circle of original contributors came mainly from Brno and Moravia. In the 5th issue the journal was given a subtitle “independent occasional journal for philosophy, literature, fine art, music and...” and took the form of a literary almanac. The significance of the journal Host lay in the fact that under one roof dissident authors would meet new contributors from different generations and professions, and thus Host presented a host of novelties from original literary production, journalistic works (reviews, reportage, and interviews), documentaries from the literary field or activities of citizen movements. Through extensive translations of fiction it established the awareness of cross-cultural connections and traditions in literature and art. In 1990 the first legalized issue of Host was published, size A5, which contained a selective bibliography of samizdat issues and, in the colour supplement as a literary mystification by J. Kratochvíl, commemorated the works of the painter J. Zuziak from the first samizdat issue.

3.1.2 Bych

In 1986 Milan Ohnisko undertook the preparation of an issue of a literary journal, which was not published until 1988. It was a typewritten collection called Bych in 13 copies.
Z. Fišer, Samizdat journals published in Brno in the 1980s

(numbered, carbon copies on flimsy paper, hard cover) with copies of illustrations by Laco Garay. Bych was supposed to follow the first issue of samizdat Host; Z. Fišer came to the editorial board of Bych from Host. Other members of the editorial board were Milan Martin Šimečka and Petr Pospíchal. The journal was focused primarily on literary texts, cultural journalism (literary, theatre and film reviews), cultural anniversaries (e.g. birthdays of foreign authors commemorated by publishing a description and an extract from their work), translations and looks into translation workshops (commented literary translations of the same text) etc. Authors participating in the journal were both members of the editorial board and many authors and translators from Brno, or rather co-workers who delivered various texts anonymously. Most contributions were published under pen names. Milan Ohnisko (with his full address) signed as the editor of the issue. The journal was planned as a quarterly. The published typewritten Bych has a character of an almanac. It summarized on 167 pages texts prepared into the first, second and third issue, with a table of contents and an imprint. The importance of the journal from today’s perspective can be seen in the fact that the editorial board was an independent team whose members were born around the year 1960 (1957, 1959, 1960, 1965). The journal aimed at a well considered concept by establishing sections, and it paid great attention to translated literature and cultural journalism, as well as humorous texts. The editor characterized the objective of the journal as an intention “to contribute to the preservation and spread of independent literary continuity and cultural continuity in general, to the settling into the space of free creation and a more dignified life” (Bych, p. 2).

3.1.3 To

In autumn 1987 Miloš Voráč started preparing an issue of a literary-cultural journal; Voráč (the managing editor and the author of the content structure cooperated with Petr Pospíchal (the initiator of the concept) and Martin Kopecký (technical preparation of manuscripts). The editorial work completely professional, all aspects of which contributed to the preparation of a functioning periodical. M. Voráč prepared detailed editorial and organizational principles as well as those of the conceived content of the journal. He suggested and defined individual sections, created a list of royalty rates for authors and translators, announced the cover and logo design contest (five authors entered the competition). Petr Pospíchal organized the production of the entire printing in Poland, and in February 1989 three hundred copies were distributed from Brno at 35 crowns a copy. In the imprint of the journal there was the Brno address of Vuk Kráteňa who informed the Ministry of Culture.
about the existence of the journal in January 1989\textsuperscript{12}. The first issue of To had 191 pages and 23 sections (e.g. Featured topic: Stalinism, Interview, Forgotten Europe, Short Course On Practical Democracy, Information about the Authors). Authors and translators primarily between the ages of 20 and 30 can be found among the contributors. Many of them were publishing in samizdat for the first time, and most under pseudonyms. The importance of the journal lies in the well considered content balance and in the high editorial and typographical level of work. Despite the wide circle of contributors, the preparation of the first issue of the journal proceeded undisturbed, with contributors cooperating mostly without claiming any wages. The quality of the journal was a stimulus for further authors and a clear signal of the cultural autonomy of authors and readers. Today M. Voráč sees the activity of that time as a contribution to the destruction of the state system, which limited freedom of speech and human beings in all fields of culture\textsuperscript{13}.

3.2 Magazines focused on jokes and satire

Journals Host, To, Bych, Revue 88 or the newspaper Folkové noviny included not only serious literary, journalistic or academic topics but also humorous contributions – either original entertaining texts and texts with the appeal of unwanted humour or documents which were comic because of the absurdity connected with the time of their origin (e.g. extracts from files of Kim Il-sung, the ex-leader of North Korea, about his ideology Chuch’e). This content feature was symptomatic for constantly growing content diversity of independent editing activities. Periodicals did not primarily focus on political aims or needs to inform about politically motivated activities. Periodicals of the late 80s were characteristic for dealing with topics representing the natural interests of readers in civic, aesthetic or academic issues. It was a feature representing normal behaviour in an abnormal society controlled by censorship and suppression\textsuperscript{14}. Organizers of educational activities in Brno, unlike in Prague, such as Jiří Müller or Petr Oslzlí, did not want to aim home academic seminars of underground universities at the dissent closed in a “ghetto”, they wanted to open them to selected interested people from circles beyond dissent. This concept supported by the British Jan Hus Foundation was successfully realized in 1985-

\textsuperscript{12} After the first issue was published, frequent police house searches followed in the flats of editors and subscribers in the spring of 1989. Editorial data for the first issue were confiscated; however, materials for the second issue were saved. The Piňos brothers, Adam and Jan, took charge of the editorial work from Miloš Voráč; nevertheless the second issue was not published.

\textsuperscript{13} According to an interview between this study’s author and M. Voráč, held on 19/4/2011.

\textsuperscript{14} Some private galleries and art projects in Czechoslovakia worked on the same principle of normality. However, compared to samizdat activities, they were given even positive attention in the official press. Exhibitions were sometimes reviewed and if they took place in public (e.g. in Brno in Gallery Chemist’s Reduced goods, 1986-1989), they were visited (according to the testimony of the artist Rostislav Pospišil) not only by the State Security (StB) but also by the public (based on an interview of this study’s author and R.P, 10/5/2011).
3.2.1 Zvěrokruh

Martin Gerneš’s magazine Zvěrokruh, měsíčník spolku pro potírání všeobecné nudy & přátel was published in 1981. M. Gerneš allegedly created and published more than twenty issues, but they have so far not been discovered. One issue preserved from April 1981 has 9 pages, A4 size, type written carbon copy, in a paper envelope painted by hand with a swallow paper airplane glued to it, published in three numbered copies. It contains poetry and lyrics (original ones and translations), three texts of art journalism and photographs; the names of the authors are genuine, no address is given. The texts are not of a political nature.

3.2.2 Klacek and Klín

In 1988 grammar school students published a humorous magazine called Klacek in one copy. The magazine was written by hand on A1 sized paper, it had colour illustrations, and the copy was not preserved. Authors Jan Havlíš, Václav Brázda and Jiří Bůžek remained anonymous. They published the second issue as university students in Brno at the end of 1990; Marek Šebela joined the authorial team. J. Havlíš rewrote and illustrated the texts. Authors parodied ideological manifestos as well as ironized the falseness of social developments. Klacek was followed by a leaflet periodical, hand written and copied on A4 sized paper; its title was modified during 1990-1993: Ražený klín (12 issues in 10 copies), Klín ražený (3 issues in 4 copies), Zaražený klín (1 issue in 10 copies), Frakční klín (1 issue in 10 typewritten copies). The texts were based on mystification (e.g. “Address: General Consulate of Absurdistan for Universum, Rajhrad”), parodies of official announcements, nonsense (e.g. texts in Japanese, Czech texts written using spelling rules from the period of the National Revival), verbal humour (“Coulour Journal”), political satire. The magazine with modified titles Klacek and Klín is an example of provocative student humour and spontaneous political satire.

3.3 Specialized cultural periodicals

3.3.1 Folkové noviny

In the imprint of the first issue of Folkové noviny its editor and anonymous publisher Michal Přibáň states that this “quarterly, entirely devoted to events in Czech folk music” was published in Prague. In fact, from February

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16 Information on the number of copies according to an interview with J. Havlíš in May 2011.

17 “Koupel v medu II: / Probudil nás z mlhy snové letargie / Klapek na očích, na uších, a zadnící svist obušku blízko naší hlavy, / chuť krvě stěkající z nosu. / Sléváme se v pěstích / na náměstích; / křičíme svá (?) přání a tajné Pravdy; / smějeme se svým (?) pokřiveným obrazům ve výložích, / máváme prapor, / [...] / Děláme převrat (i když se mu říká revoluce, / do konce něžná nebo sametová) / netečte krev, / ale spína slov z hrdel Strak a Bazilišku; / Moc zušlechťuje. Absolutní moc zušlechťuje absolutně. [...] / Máme ten dojem, že / je to jen koupel ve zcukernatého medu” [Honey Bath II: / Awaken from the haze of dreamy lethargy / Flaps on eyes, ears and bottom by the whizz of truncheon near our head, / the taste of blood running from nose. / We’re merging into fists / in squares; / we’re shouting our (?) wishes and secret Truths; / we’re laughing at our (?) distorted images in shop windows, / we’re waving flags, / [...] / We’re doing a putsch (although it is called a revolution, / even gentle or velvet) / blood isn’t flowing there / but the dirt of words from throats of Magpies and Basilisks; / “Power cultivates. Absolute power cultivates absolutely.” [...] / I have a feeling that / it is just a bath in saccharified honey], Klacek magazine, p. 3.
to June 1989 three issues were published and always in Brno (size A5, number of pages 16, 20 and 12, typescript reproduced on a copier, about twenty copies of each issue). Later the editor finished his work. Neither names of the editorial board and co-operators nor contact details were provided in the journal. The newspaper was focused on information and events concerning Czech folk music at home and in exile, it included especially lyrics (they were usually transcribed from recordings made at concerts, from records or from broadcasts), it also contained some regular sections: reviews, surveys, documents. In the first issue M. Přibáň reprinted a protest letter by cultural workers demanding the release of Václav Havel, who had been imprisoned in January 1989, with long lists of signatories – usually official and forbidden artists, journalists and scientists. The production technology enabled photographs and illustrations to be published. The importance of the journal lies in its unique, systematic focus on the Czech folk scene.

3.3.2 Pěna

In 1989 and 1990 six issues of the journal Pěna, bearing the subtitle Nezávislý společensko-politický výběr ze sovětského tisku [Independent Socio-Political Selection from the Soviet Press] were published in Brno. The journal was signed by various editors along with their contact details. The first issue was signed by Ondřej Pospíchal and Simona Hradilková. In 1989 a double issue (the zero and the first) was published, which contained 14 contributions from 1988 and 1989; texts were selected from official periodicals Moskovskie novosti, Literaturnaja gazeta, Ogonek and Kul’tura i žizn’. The issue contained interviews, announcements, news about the situation in the USSR (problems connected with the candidacy of A. Sacharov in parliamentary elections), reports about police intervention against demonstrators in January 1989 in Prague, essays, interviews and documents. The journal contained 65 pages of A5 size, typescript reproduced on a copier (or a laser printer), which enabled the production of a greater number of copies (exact figures are not known). The importance of the journal was in the revelation that there was greater freedom of information in the Soviet Union than in its satellites. This was seen as an inspiring manifestation of the democratization of the Soviet society.

Other periodicals edited in Brno also reported on the social situation abroad from the perspective of independent citizen groups. In 1988 a group of Russian scholars published Obraz přátelů, a translation journal of cultural and political articles from less accessible Soviet

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18 An extensive contribution in the 4th issue of Host journal is also devoted to independent Czech folk singers.
periodicals. The journal was issued in A4 size, as a typescript with 12 copies; three issues were published (in October, November and December 1988), from 58-71 pages in length.

3.3.3 Informační bulletin Polsko-československé solidarity

Another journal called Informační bulletin Polsko-československé solidarity [Information Bulletin of Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity] represented an attempt to provide systematic information on Polish independent activities and their cooperation with Czechoslovak independent groups. The cyclostyled bulletin of A4 size was published by Petr Pospíchal (Brno) and Petr Uhl (Prague); it covered primarily the news on collective or independent activities of independent initiatives (e.g. Joint declaration of Eastern European countries on the 20th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia from 21/8/1988), news about the persecutions of activists and translations from Polish. Two issues, 9 pages in length with illustrative photographs were published20, the first “no. 0” (with a mistake in the title Informační bulletin Československo-polské solidarity) in July 1988, the second, signed as “no. 1”, in October 1988. Both issues included contact details of the editorial board in Czechoslovakia and Poland.

3.4 Periodicals focused on fine art

3.4.1 Ha

The journal Ha was published in Brno from spring to autumn 1980 by the art students Radek Horáček and Vladimír Havlíček. The journal had ten copies; five issues were published in A4 size, the final two issues in A5 size. Instead of consecutive numbering, individual issues were marked by exact dates; there were no imprints or contact details. The first issue (24/2/1980) had 17 unnumbered pages, carbon copies on flimsy paper including photographic and graphic supplements; the second issue (22/3/1980) had also 17 unnumbered pages, on flimsy paper including photographic and graphic supplements; the third issue (with the date 28/4/1980 on the cover) had 28 pages of a similar character and a supplement; the fourth issue (10/5/1980) had 27 pages of a similar character (incl. a loosely inserted text on a double leaf); the fifth issue (marked with the

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19 Information taken from J. Posset, Česká samizdatová periodika, op. cit., 103.

20 J. Posset mentions the printing of 200 copies, Ibidem, p. 69.
date 26/10/1980 on the cover) had 25 pages of a similar character; the sixth issue dated 25/10/1980 had 10 pages of A5 size; the seventh issue was published without a date on the cover, in A5 size oriented horizontally, it had 14 pages, 9 out of them were full-page photographs. Authors signed their texts with codes or first names. Original works of art – art prints – were usually signed in full; nevertheless, the table of contents provided only codes. Principles for contributors were specified in the first issue as well as the aim of the journal. It was formulated as an appeal to organize meetings of authors and to discuss publicized literary and critical texts and works of art. The journal included screenplays of action art, descriptions of happenings or reportages about performances, textual or photographic documentation of events, art photographs, academic review essays, art historical studies, art prints, but also experimental literary texts (e.g. visual poetry or conceptual art). The criticality of authors was expressed in detailed descriptions of bureaucratic prohibitions of artistic projects (“Frňákoviny” for April Fools’ Day in 1980), in depicting taboo topics (the saving of a Romanesque church in Mušov village, famous for discoveries of Roman legions’ camp, from flooding by the artificial lake on the river Thaya). The type written copies were made on flimsy paper, photographs usually in an envelope or a case, art prints on A4 sheets or glued to a base sheet. Everything was stapled together in paper folders. Editors also worked with the art effect of the transparent paper, used visual penetrations of texts into art prints or nature items (tree leaves, paper perforation etc., in no. 6). The importance of Ha can be seen today in its profiling as a periodical of young fine artists (born at the end of the 1950s) focusing on action and conceptual art and on experimental textual work. They also tried to achieve critical reflection of this art and their own work.

3.4.2 Galerie Drogerie Zlevněné zboží

Exhibition previews in the Brno Galerie Drogerie Zlevněné zboží can be labeled as a kind of periodical, too. The periodical texts were invitation cards to a real state-owned shop in Kotlářská Street. The authors of the project the dramaturge Petr Oslzlý and the fine artist Rostislav Pospíšil deliberately limited the textual part to original invitation cards to exhibition previews, which were always made by the
exhibiting artist. Between 1986-1989 twenty exhibitions took place there, none was prohibited, and some were even reviewed in the official press\textsuperscript{22}. A supplement to the preview was a presentation of the artist’s characteristics in the form of a time-lapse film portrayed shot by Aleš Záboj (about 30 minutes). The projection took place after the preview in a separate room of the Prague Inn. Exhibitions were open to the public – customers in the shop – for a few weeks. Curators and organizers focused on mature authors from their surroundings who had only limited exhibition opportunities at that time (e.g. Jan Šimek, Joska Skalník, Petr Baran, Vladimír Kokolia, Jaroslav Kořán, Jan Steklík, J.H. Kocman or R. Pospíšil)\textsuperscript{23}. Over the course of two years R. Pospíšil published only two printed artifacts – postcards as the gallery’s New Year greeting cards in 200 numbered copies. In addition, a catalogue with the description of the exhibition project’s concept was created in 1992. Due to reasons of secrecy, as few texts as possible were made because. Although State Security visited the previews and exhibitions, it never took action against them. Thus, the activity of the gallery became an oasis of normalcy and freedom in in abnormal and unfree social conditions.

3.4.3 Výběr zajímavostí z domova i ciziny

The journal Výběr zajímavostí z domova i ciziny was published, copied and distributed among artists and art theoreticians by the Brno art dealer Karel Tutsch between 1987 and 1989. Tutsch ran a private gallery called Galerie Na bidýlku [Gallery on a Perch] on Václavská Street in Brno, which even put on foreign exhibitions. Besides reviews of home exhibitions, the journal also included academic articles of Czech and foreign theoreticians and artists on contemporary fine art. Eight issues of the journal were published; each had about one hundred pages and six copies. Výběr is occasionally mentioned in the literature, but its real copy is inaccessible nowadays because K. Tutsch and his colleague professor Igor Zhoř have recently passed away and their literary estate has not been made accessible so far\textsuperscript{24}. However, it is highly probable that K. Tutsch gave out all copies of the journal to readers and authors.

3.5 Professional and academic journals

3.5.1 Knihařské Rozhledy

Jiří Hynek Kocman published Knihařské Rozhledy as an annual in 1988-1990. In the first issue called Knihařské Rozhledy ’87 (with the deadline 15/3/1988) a letter from the author of the project (from 27/1/1988) was inserted before the table of contents. The letter characterized the project as a platform for academic discussion and an exchange of in-

\textsuperscript{22} P. Oslzlý, Galerie Zlevněné zboží. Katalog retrospektivní výstavy Zlevněného zboží v Rennes, Brno 1991.

\textsuperscript{23} Other exhibiting artists: J. Daněk, J. Dungel, H. Ganly, V. Houf, M. Husák, Jef Kratochvíl, A. Lamr, B. Pacholík, K. Rechlík, T. Ruller, K. Rynkiewicz, Z. Ságllová.

\textsuperscript{24} R. Horáček, “Cesty z Křížové chodby”, Brněnská osmdesátá, op. cit., pp. 10-17.
formation among scientists and as a means of archiving or documenting knowledge and art activities in the field of artistic bookbinding. At the end of the letter, there were also instructions for contributors (e.g. “adjustment: A4 binder”, “contributions: only A4 size in seven legible copies”; “use your full name or a code to sign your contributions”). Nine contributions in the first issue were signed by J.H. Kocman. The following four also had full names. In the next issue four contributions were by Kocman and three by different authors. In the third issue of Knihařské Rozhledy ’89 from January 1990 there were 23 contributions by various authors (Igor Zhoř among others). Individual issues had about 20–30 pages. Knihařské Rozhledy provided information on exhibitions in private homes or selectively abroad, which were at least partially concerned with artistic books and bookbinding, artists, technologies or scientific literature, or news from the field. The focus and style of contributions was strictly academic.

3.5.2 Revue 88

At the beginning of 1988 students from four universities in Brno25 formed the editorial board of an independent journal Revue 88, bearing the subtitle Nezávislá vysokoškolská revue pro neformální iniciativy a kulturní ak-

25 They studied at the following schools: Janáček Academy of Music and Performing Arts, Jan Evangelista Purkyně University, University of Technology and University of Agriculture.

26 Names of other editors which are given in the imprints of individual issues: A. Kučera, M. Noha, M. Pavelka, R. Ráček, R. Sedlinský, P. Vítek, P. Plch, I. Zálešák, M. Zettlová, V. Vyskočil, D. Langar.
dent Initiatives, Wrote about us, Reflections-Reviews-Polemics, Portrayals, Ecology, Poetry. The journal had A5 sized paper, 35 type-written pages on average, reproduced on a copier. The printing of one issue of Revue 88 was 200 copies. Production was financed by editors, and the journal was given away for free. Each issue contained the full names of editors (sometimes including addresses) and a table of contents. The published texts were sometimes signed in full names. The importance of the journal is seen in the fact that it was the only university journal not supported and directed by the Socialist Youth Union (SSM), which was controlled by communists. This activity contributed to the civic radicalization of students, to their increased self-confidence and the courage to clearly formulate their requirements for democratizing changes in the school system, or in the educational system of the entire country.

3.5.3 Sociologický obzor

The scholarly journal Sociologický obzor concentrated on the field of sociology (original studies, translations, reviews etc.). It was published from 1987 to 1989 in Brno and Prague. In 1988 texts were already prepared on a computer. The second issue of the second volume (1988) contained 15 original contributions from Czech authors on 53 pages (size A4, texts in two columns, first carbon copies on a memory typewriter, beginning with this issue copies by a needle printer). The printing was first 40-50 pcs, from no. 2/1988 about 150 pieces. The journal was known for the high proficiency of its authors and at the same time for both a cultivated and reader-friendly style. The journal was divided into sections: e.g. Essays, Literature and society, Reviews (books published at home), Journals, Comments, I would like to read this book (reviews of books published abroad), Column, Instead of a document (reviews with extracts), Ideas [i.e. quotes by thinkers]. Full names or codes followed the texts; the editorial board was not specified. Contributions were mainly focused on the social situation in the country and its sociological reflection. The journal is significant because it filled a gap in the academic sociological discussion and the critical reflection of social phenomena in Czechoslovakia. It is not only evidence of the high level of critical academic thinking which aims to preserve its continuity and the continuity of an independent field, but also evidence of the civic responsibility of researchers who prepared the independent journal (e.g. the statistic elaboration of secret data concerning criminality).

4. THE IMPORTANCE OF BRNO SAMIZDAT AND RESEARCHERS’ CONTRIBUTIONS

The characteristics discovered of samizdat activities reveal the breadth of independent
civic activities and interests. The specialization in various disciplines and proficiency is also striking, which means that independent publishing activities replaced non-existent domestic academic monographs in many fields of the humanities, non-existent or inaccessible academic periodicals and non-existent or insufficient domestic scholarly journalism (e.g. journals focused on fine art and literature). Samizdat publications provided access to both older and more recent unavailable books and articles and to lyrics of folk singers, who could not publish records or their original texts. A lot of the independent editing activities supplied current information from abroad in forms of translations of scientific articles, studies or books. The breadth of editing activities, its special focus and the improving book production quality (typography, illustrations, binding) show how education, information supply and the cultivation of the spirit were vitally important for a growing number of citizens of the totalitarian state. At the same time, all samizdat activities were completely voluntary. Most activities were sheer altruism: authors, translators, editors and producers often worked without wages or for only a symbolic payment; publications and journals created in small editions were often given out for free or lent. The copying of someone else’s texts was not only a means of multiplication, it also demonstrated the sense of development of the society’s cultural values and the need for their documentation and storage.