

A 351930

# A CARNIVAL OF REVOLUTION

CENTRAL EUROPE 1989

PADRAIC KENNEY



PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

PRINCETON AND OXFORD

## CONTENTS

#### INTRODUCTION

Street Theater, Concrete Poetry 1

# PART ONE: ACTORS, STAGES, REPERTOIRES 21

#### CHAPTER ONE

Eating the Crocodile with a Spoon, or, A Career Guide to the Underground 23

The Amnesty Trap • Political Charity • Church and Opposition • The Workers' Dilemma • Vents or Accumulators?

#### CHAPTER TWO

Come With Us! They Aren't Beating Today! The Art of the Blizzard 57

The Ballad of Marek Adamkiewicz • Conservative Pacifism, Anarchist Nationalism • Ideals and Instruments • "Radiators" across the Bloc • Żarnobyl • The Blue and the Green • Bratislava Speaks Up • "I'd Rather Live" • In the Future Tense

## CHAPTER THREE

As If in Europe: The International World of Peace and Human Rights 91

Reticence and Revolutionary Tourism • Dialogue for an Endangered Continent • Helsinki from Below • On the Friendship Trail • Borders Fall in East Germany • Coventry Cathedral and the Church on Żytnia Street

#### CHAPTER FOUR

The New Politics of the Konkretny Generation 123

A Shy Little Wave for Gorbachev • The Lion Cubs of Western Ukraine • Slovenia's People for Peace Culture • Hungarian Orange Appeal • Towards an Opposition in Prague • Workers of the Last Hour

## CHAPTER FIVE

How the Smurfs Captured Gargamel, or, A Revolution of Style 157

The Elfin Rebellion • Hippies in the Holy Garden • The Young

Subversive's Handbook • Gloom in Kraków • Pietia's Crusade • Pornoslavia • God, King, and Country in Bohemia • To Become a Smurf

## PHOTOESSAY: Photographing the Carnival 195

# PART TWO: A REVOLUTION IN SIXTEEN SCENES 213

Scene One: "I Blink, and I See Another World": The Candlelight

March 215

Scene Two: A Tale of Two Lenins 217

Scene Three: Slovene Spring 225

Scene Four: Days That Shook Lviv 229
Scene Five: Strikes in Shades of Orange 233
Scene Six: An Invasion Remembered 238

Scene Seven: WaterDam/ned: Hungary Defends the Danube 241

Scene Eight: Independence Day and Palach Week 244

Scene Nine: Encircling the Round Table 249

Scene Ten: Mothers and Children 254
Scene Eleven: On the Fourth of June 257

Scene Twelve: Hungarians Bury the Communists 261

Scene Thirteen: Korzos and Road Races 265 Scene Fourteen: Lviv Passes the Baton 269

Scene Fifteen: The Mosquito and the *Messedemos* 274 Scene Sixteen: Bring a Flower with You! The Velvet

Revolution 280

**EPILOGUE** 

No More Picnics, After the Revolution 293

Iacob's Retreat • Remembering 1989

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS 307

Notes 311

Sources 323

INDEX 331