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KEVIN WINDLE

VOICES CRYING IN THE WILDERNESS: REVOLUTIONARY EDITORIALS IN THE
BRISBANE RUSSIAN PRESS OF 1919

Bis unsre Hand in Asche stiebt,
Soll sie vom Schwert nicht lassen;
Wir haben lang genug geliebt,
Und wollen endlich hassen.

Georg Herwegh
'Das Lied vom Hasse'

The little-known newspaper *Nabat* (The Tocsin) marks the end of a remarkable period of Russian-language journalism in Australia. The product of a determined group of revolutionary-minded activists, it came into being in the wake of the Brisbane 'Red Flag Riots', when a coalition of radical groups including the Union of Russian Workers (URW) staged a march through the streets of Brisbane on 23 March 1919 with red banners flying, to challenge an explicit ban imposed under the War Precautions Act. In response the returned soldiers attacked the URW's premises in South Brisbane, shattering the peace of the city in a week of anti-Russian riots – termed 'pogroms' by their victims – and demanding that all 'damned Russian mongrels' be deported.¹ The Queensland police put down the unrest only with difficulty, and charged some demon-

The author wishes to thank Dr Elena Govor and Dr Marian Simpson for their comments on an early draft of this paper.

¹ See Herman Bykoff, 'Deportation of Russians', *Daily Standard*, 31/7/1919.

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strators with affray or displaying the prohibited emblem of revolution. Members of the URW, as unnaturalised aliens, were singled out for special treatment: within six months, ten Russians, including the most prominent of the leaders, would be deported.² This in effect spelt the end of the URW as an organisation, though attempts were made to regroup under a new name, as the articles in *Nabat* show.³

The contents of *Nabat* No. 1 (6 August, 1919) have been studied elsewhere and an attempt made to identify the anonymous editors and contributors.⁴ Some of the contents of *Nabat* No. 2 (no date, late 1919) have also received attention, as they offer a Russian view (as opposed to an official Australian view or an Australian journalist's view) of the demonstration, the riots and subsequent events.⁵ The second issue of the newspaper, like the first, appears to have achieved only very limited circulation, its production having been complicated by arrests, imprisonment and the deportation of editorial staff. A copy – possibly the sole surviving copy – is now held in the Central State Museum of Modern Russian History (GTsMSIR).⁶ The copy is in typescript

² See Raymond Evans, *The Red Flag Riots: a Study of Intolerance* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1988); idem, 'Agitation, Ceaseless Agitation: Russian Radicals in Australia and the Red Flag Riots', in *Russia and the Fifth Continent: Aspects of Russian Australian Relations*, eds. John McNair and Thomas Poole (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1992), pp. 125-171; and Kevin Windle, *Undesirable: Captain Zuzenko and the Workers of Australia and the World* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2012).

³ The masthead of *Nabat* No. 1 reads 'under the editorship of the Group of Communists, Brisbane'. Different forms of words appear in the editorials.

⁴ Kevin Windle, 'Nabat and its Editors: the 1919 Swansong of the Brisbane Russian Socialist Press, or *Hac еще судьбы безвестные ждуют*', *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies*, 2007, 21/1-2, pp. 143-163.

⁵ 'Razgrom SRR. Krasnaia demonstratsiia i okhota za Bol'shevikami', *Nabat*, No. 1, 6/8/1919, continued in No. 2. The anonymous author is Bykoff. In English in Kevin Windle, "'A Crude Orgy of Drunken Violence": A Russian Account of the Brisbane Red Flag Riots of 1919. Translation and Commentary', *Labour History*, 99, November 2010, pp. 165-178. See also idem, 'An Anarchist's Farewell: Alexander Zuzenko's correspondence on his deportation in 1919', *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies*, 2016, 30/1-2, pp. 87-111.

⁶ State Central Museum of Modern Russian History (GTsMSIR), catalogue number: 1913/БИО-12А.

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rather than print, on sixteen unnumbered large-format pages. The present study provides an English translation (see the Appendix below) of two leading articles from *Nabat* No. 2 which have not hitherto been examined or republished in any form. In an attempt to throw some light on matters of authorship and provide some necessary context, it also explores the background against which they came to be written and without which they cannot be fully understood.

The Russian community's press can tell us much about the mood in that community and its evolution in difficult times, its attitude to the surrounding Anglophone society and strained relations with it at a time when anti-Russian feeling ran high. Underlying these, as a causal factor and theme of central interest to all readers, is coverage of and responses to the October Revolution and its aftermath in their distant homeland. These are the topics that fill the pages of *Nabat*, which appeared without legal sanction and enjoyed a shorter life than its predecessors. With it a series of Russian-language organs which dated back to the early days of the Union of Russian Emigrants (URE) in 1912 came to an end, and its second issue would be its last.⁷

The GTsMSIR copy of *Nabat* No. 2 bears no date, but its contents place it between 18 September and about 8 November 1919. Some of the material may have been written earlier than September, and some, of less immediate topical concern, may have originated before the first issue (6 August 1919), but not found a place in it. This applies, in particular, to 'A Few Words about the English Worker', dealing with a matter of ongoing interest throughout the period.

⁷ For surveys of the Russian-language newspapers of this period see Aleksandr Savchenko, 'Pervye russkie gazety v Avstralii', *Avstraliada* 15 (1998), pp. 12-13; Louise Ann Curtis, 'Red Criminals: Censorship, surveillance and suppression of the radical Russian community in Brisbane during World War 1', Ph.D. dissertation, Griffith University, 2010, p. 43ff.; Kevin Windle, 'Australia's Early Russian-Language Press (1912-1919)', in *The Transnational Voices of Australia's Migrant and Minority Press*, eds Catherine Dewhirst and Richard Scully, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming).

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The editors do not declare themselves by name, and the anonymous authors of the articles cannot always be positively identified. In the case of the first issue, there is no doubt that the two Russian leaders of the Red Flag procession, Herman Bykoff (also known as A. Rezanoff and Aroff) and Alexander Zuzenko (Matulichenko, Sania Mamin, A. Nargen), worked together to produce most of the material, and Bykoff remained involved, as long as he was able, in the production of the second.⁸ Zuzenko was in no position to contribute to that issue, having been deported from Australia on 17 April. While en route to Egypt and Odessa, he was able to smuggle a letter to his comrades out of Hobart prison, and the editor placed it in *Nabat* No. 2,⁹ but it is clear that after that date he could have had no further contact with the newspaper.

Since accounts of the careers of Zuzenko and Bykoff are available elsewhere, only the points of greatest relevance are repeated here. Both were sailors by trade and had been involved in revolutionary work from an early age, at first in the Socialist Revolutionary Party, for which they had served prison terms in Russia. Zuzenko (1884-1938), who had come to Australia in 1911 and was deemed a 'dangerous propagandist',¹⁰ long favoured an anarchist strain of revolutionary thought, still apparent in his writing of 1919. Then for some time he adhered to a view that anarchism and Bolshevism were fully compatible, if not one and the same. Only later, in 1920, did he fully embrace the policies of Lenin and Trotsky and emphatically renounce his earlier beliefs.¹¹ Bykoff (1891 - ?), an equally energetic activist and journalist, in Aus-

⁸ Here and below, with the exception of bibliographical references, personal names are given in the form used by their owners in Australia: Herman Bykoff (not German Bykov), Klushin (not Kliushin), Peter Simonoff, Nicholas Lagutin, etc.

⁹ See Windle, 'An Anarchist's Farewell,' p. 98ff.

¹⁰ National Library of Australia: Papers of William Morris Hughes, MS1538, Series 21, f. 202, H. E. Jones to Attorney-General's Dept., 16/8/1922.

¹¹ See Windle, *Undesirable*, esp. p. 54, pp. 91-92, and 'An Anarchist's Farewell'.

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tralia since 1916, invariably proclaimed himself a Bolshevik, hence his often bitter disagreements with Zuzenko.¹² The clearest statement of his beliefs is a long and intemperate reply to questions from S. Bolotnikoff of Ingham, in which he berates the latter for his imperfect understanding of Marx, Lenin and the dictatorship of the proletariat, attacks adherents of anarchism, and declares that those who do not back Leninist Bolshevism are in effect supporters of the old order and the bourgeoisie.¹³

Another figure of interest is Nicholas Lagutin (1885-1928), the putative author of some contributions to *Nabat*.¹⁴ Of his career little is known before he arrived in Australia in August 1913, or beyond the intelligence accumulated by the military authorities during his years in Queensland. Bykoff's satirical play, set in Brisbane in December 1918, and a sarcastic barb in an open letter by Konstantin Klushin (Kliushin, Orloff) indicate that he was educated and well read.¹⁵ In his early years in Queensland, he was a convinced anarchist, like Zuzenko,¹⁶ and in late 1918 contributed to Zuzenko's illegal newspaper *Deviaty val* (The Ninth Wave) from an anarchist

¹² See Windle, "'Unmajestic Bombast': The Brisbane Union of Russian Workers as Shown in a 1919 Play by Herman Bykov', *Australian Slavonic and East European Review*, 2005, 19/1-2, pp. 29-51.

¹³ Preserved in English only, with censored correspondence. National Archives of Australia (NAA): A6286 1/114, Aroff [Bykoff] to Bolotnikoff, 11/3/19, QF3408.

¹⁴ See Windle, '*Nabat* and its Editors', p. 161; idem, '*Listok gruppy rossiiskikh rabochikh: a Brisbane Russian Newspaper, its Origins and Orientation*', *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies*, 2018, 32/1-2, pp. 64-65. The Nicholas Lagutin in question is not to be confused with a namesake who joined the AIF in World War I.

¹⁵ Bykoff's play, in NAA: BP4/1 66/4/2165, is entitled 'O tom, kak my uchimsia samoupravleniiu i kontroliu'. See Kevin Windle, 'Unmajestic Bombast'. Passing mention of Lagutin may be found in K. Kliushin, *Okonchanie pis'ma k ipsvichanam*, State Library of Queensland: TR2035 Beckingham Family and Lane Family Papers, Box 7044. See Windle, '*Listok gruppy*', p. 65.

¹⁶ Lagutin's name appears in a list of participants in 'The First All-Queensland Conference of Anarchists', 28/12/1915. NAA: BP4/1 Box 4 66/4/2165, f. 372.

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position, for which Bykoff, who also contributed, criticised him.¹⁷ However, it is clear that Lagutin underwent a similar ideological evolution to Zuzenko: by late 1919 he was no longer the same anarchist as he had been in 1915, and he would soon be active in organisations which called themselves simply ‘communist’ or ‘Bolshevik’, or both. To the intelligence officers of the Australian army, such distinctions were of little consequence. In their reports, Lagutin is depicted as something of a fanatical firebrand, noted for a keen interest in bomb-making,¹⁸ though some who knew him spoke of him as ‘a talented artist and enthusiastic naturalist’.¹⁹

Bykoff, Zuzenko and Lagutin were all able and prolific writers. Bykoff was skilled in a range of genres, given to enriching his writing with pertinent allusions to classical and other writers of earlier times, as may be seen in particular in his unpublished farce.²⁰ Zuzenko, for his part, drew grudging admiration from the Australian military censors. As they scrutinised the community’s correspondence and its press, they felt obliged to acknowledge his uncommon gifts as a writer and agitator. Since Bykoff and Zuzenko left a wealth of articles signed in their own names, it is often possible to compare these with the anonymous material and establish authorship on the basis of recurrent tropes, motifs and individual quirks of usage. In the case of Lagutin, this is more difficult: specimens of writing which can be authenticated as his are scarce, so the basis for comparison is slight. Any attribution to Lagutin must therefore remain tentative.

The two articles selected here ‘Towards Unification’ and ‘A Few Words about the English Worker’, from the first pages of *Nabat* No. 2, focus on two matters of

¹⁷ NAA: A6286 1/114, Aroff to Bolotnikoff, 11/3/19, QF3408.

¹⁸ See esp. NAA: A6122/40 111, Summary of Communism, f. 59ff.

¹⁹ ‘Last Tributes to Nicholas Lagutin’, *Daily Standard*, 15/2/1928.

²⁰ Bykov, ‘O tom ...’.

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prime importance to the community in the months following the riots, when it faced its sternest test. They typify the concerns of the community's leaders and echo in acute form their writings and statements elsewhere, in particular those of Bykoff and Zuzenko. Some thematic connections with those other writings will be taken up in the commentary below.

There are good grounds for taking the longer of the two articles, 'A Few Words about the English Worker', to be the work of Bykoff. The topic is one on which he had much to say elsewhere, and in very similar terms. When he writes of the benighted local worker 'lulled by traitors and political manipulators from the out-moded school of peaceful-evolutionary prostitution of the mind and conscience', sleeping 'the sleep of the obtuse' and needing the Russian worker to 'wake him from his nightmare', we recognise familiar metaphors from an article known to be by Bykoff in the same newspaper.²¹ And while in Brisbane Prison on 7 June 1919, 'A. Rezanoff' had written in an open letter of the 'mental hibernation' in which the Russian people had slumbered for centuries before the revolution.²² It is true that 'The English Worker' is signed 'A Russian Worker', a style sometimes used by Zuzenko, but Zuzenko had no monopoly on this appellation, and the title and subject matter of this piece make that by-line an apt and logical choice.

The fact that Bykoff can be identified as the author of 'The English Worker' and the account of the demonstration and riots does not imply that he was also responsible for 'Towards Unification'. That piece contains no obvious features which might link it to him. There were others in the community – though not many – who were not unwilling to try their hand, and some might be described as journalists *manqués*. One such was Lagutin, who had served for a while as editor of the fortnightly Russian-

²¹ 'Razgrom SRR'.

²² NAA: BP4/1 66/4/2165, Svoboda mysli i revoliutsiia: pis'mo k tovarishcham.

language *Znanie i edinenie* in 1918, before Zuzenko took over, and continued to harbour journalistic ambitions. At liberty throughout the period in question, and never deported, he may have been better placed than Bykoff to play an editorial role and produce some contributions to *Nabat*. The author of 'Towards Unification' writes as editor ('*Nabat* calls on you ...'), and Lagutin was one who could claim the requisite editorial experience at a time when such expertise was in short supply.²³

As 'Towards Unification' opens with a reference to 'two years' of struggle since the revolution, another contribution to *Nabat* No. 2 is of relevance here. Entitled simply 'The Second Anniversary' (*Vtoraia godovshchina*), it hails the Russian proletariat's victory in the class struggle and declares that henceforth the anniversary will be celebrated as 'the beginning of the onset of the emancipation of labour from the economic chains of capital'. However, in the same breath, it expresses views which the earlier editor, Bykoff, would have rejected as symptomatic of inexcusable ideological confusion: there is a favourable reference to the anarchist Bakunin, and the writer declares that 'sooner or later Europe will have to come under the influence of the Russian Soviet Revolution or Russian Anarchy'. Such statements, anathema to Bykoff, are fully consistent with the anarchistic thinking of Zuzenko and Lagutin. Some of the expressions used in 'The Second Anniversary' are, in fact, strongly reminiscent of Zuzenko, but by early November he was far removed from his fellow journalists, in Constantinople or Odessa. Occasional coincidences of wording may be best explained by cross-fertilisation between like-minded comrades, and Zuzenko, with his gift for catchphrases and inspired flights of rhetoric, set an infectious example.

There is little doubt that 'The English Worker' was written well before Bykoff's deportation on 18 September 1919, and almost certainly after the riots of 23

²³ The recently deported included the intellectual and journalist Konstantin Klushin (Orloff; editor of *Listok gruppy* in 1918), in addition to Bykoff and Zuzenko.

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March. It is known that by means of hunger strikes he secured the right to be treated as a political prisoner in Brisbane's Boggo Road Jail. He made use of his privileges to write articles for the press, and continued to do so when briefly released in July.²⁴ He and his comrades appear to have enjoyed no such indulgence while awaiting deportation in August-September in Darlinghurst Detention Barracks, where conditions were harsh and surveillance strict. He may well have written 'The English Worker' between late March and early August 1919, and chosen not to include it alongside his other extensive contributions to *Nabat* No. 1 (6 August). 'Towards Unification', with its references to 'two years' of struggle by the Russian proletariat, is of later origin, closer to the second anniversary of the October revolution, and, therefore, by a contributor who was not among those deported in September, such as Lagutin.

Both articles stress the need for unity and concerted action, from which no one has the right to remain aloof. Zuzenko and Lagutin had earlier issued calls for unity or unification, and the word itself (*edinenie*) figured in the title of the newspaper of which Lagutin was founding editor, succeeded in that post by Zuzenko (*Znanie i edinenie*). Unity was an ideal by which Bykoff too set great store: it was central to the editorials he drafted for the abortive *Fakel* (The Torch) before the riots.²⁵ The Russian community was fractured and divisions had been bitter. A splinter group, the Group of Russian Workers, had formed, then faded, in 1918, and for a while Bykoff had been prominent in it, but before long he returned to the URW fold.²⁶ Meetings of both bodies were often stormy. The minutes of the Ipswich branch of the URW and successor organisations, preserved in the archives of the Communist International (Comintern),

²⁴ See Windle, 'Nabat and its Editors', p. 147.

²⁵ NAA: BP4/1 66/4/2165, 'Nashi zadachi' and 'Peredovitsa'. See Windle, 'Australia's Early Russian-Language Press (1912-1919)'.

²⁶ See Windle, 'Listok gruppy', pp. 62-63.

record vehement verbal clashes and personal abuse, and occasional fisticuffs.²⁷ As noted above, Bykoff himself had been at odds with Zuzenko and had pilloried his anarchistic stance in his unpublished play, but they shared enough common ground to jointly lead the Red Flag demonstration on 23 March 1919 and, *in extremis*, collaborate to produce *Nabat* No. 1.

In ‘A Few Words about the English Worker’, Bykoff takes aim at British/Australian attitudes and lack of interest in world revolution. He had an additional personal reason to feel aggrieved: in the immediate aftermath of the demonstration, he had been stabbed and beaten by ‘probably drunken soldiers’ and very nearly thrown into the Brisbane River.²⁸ The indifference and passivity of the local proletariat form a leitmotif in much writing by URW members, both before and after the riots of March. Bykoff feared that the British ‘spiritual hibernation’ had the potential to infect immigrant Russian workers and nullify attempts to rouse them. In his article ‘Russian Australia’, he had described Russians in Australia before World War I as wishing only to become English and quickly succumbing to the ‘*indifferentnost*’, or political apathy, they saw around them.²⁹ Zuzenko had been forthright when editing *Knowledge and Unity*, the English-language successor to *Znanie i edinienie*: ‘You have not been strong and alert in the past, comrades of ours [...] You have been lacking in your duties as

²⁷ Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI) *fond* 495, *opis* ‘95, *delo* 6, f. 37; see K. Windle [Windle], ‘K rannei istorii russkoi obshchiny v avstraliiskom gorode Ipsvich (1913-1924)’, *Berega*; vypusk 21, 2017, pp. 18-23; Windle, ‘Listok gruppy’, p. 57.

²⁸ ‘Razgrom SRR’; ‘Deportation of Russians’, *Daily Standard*, 31/7/1919.

²⁹ NAA: BP4/1 66/4/2165, ‘Rus’ Avstraliiskaia. Iz zapisnoi knizhki “trampera”’, in English in Kevin Windle, ‘Hades or Eden? Herman Bykoff’s *Russian Australia*’, *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies*, 2012, 26/1-2, p. 17.

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militant members of the working class ...³⁰ Over three years later he would write in evident disgust that British workers were woefully lacking in class consciousness and solidarity, even as he strove to hasten the progress of revolution in Australia.³¹ An unsigned report in *Nabat* No. 2 on the deportation of Bykoff and others concludes by saying that, for want of local support, the URW has paid dearly for its efforts: ‘The colossal sacrifice to the local workers’ movement has fallen on barren ground.’³² And in this context another unsigned contribution to the same issue, under the title ‘Troubling dreams’ (*Trevozhnye sny*), should not be overlooked. The author dreams that an unseen figure addresses him, saying (inter alia) (p. 4):

Increased exploitation and conscription in industry oppress the worker from all sides, taking from him his last right to think in the interests of his class. We also see that the local worker, instead of celebrating the First of May, the international holiday of the workers, as a protest against capital and its coercive public policy, celebrates some sort of comedy to please his enemy the bourgeois. [...] We see that the local worker, lulled by traitors and political manipulators who have adroitly positioned themselves on the necks of the workers and live at their expense, sleeps the sleep of the hungry and can see no further than the end of his own nose. [...] It is our duty to help him wake from his inane nightmare.

³⁰ Civa Rosenberg, ‘To Our Australian Comrades’, *Knowledge and Unity*, No. 23, 31/12/1918, p. 1. The author is Zuzenko, who had been banned from publishing, so wrote under his fiancée’s name.

³¹ ‘Revolution! A Russian’s Opinion’, [unsigned] *The Communist*, 18/8/1922.

³² ‘Deportatsiia.’ The author is unknown, but cannot be Bykoff or Zuzenko, as the report post-dates the deportations, listing the eight deportees of 18 September 1919, including ‘Rezanoff’ (Bykoff).

The phrasing of these last lines, almost duplicating those found in ‘The English Worker’, leaves little doubt that the author is Bykoff.

In ‘The English Worker’, the allied intervention in the Russian Civil War and the participation therein of soldiers from the British and Australian working class is cause for much indignation.³³ The writer tells of British trade-unionists and bands of ‘scabs’, described as ‘scum’ (*gadost*), being armed and sent to Murmansk, Archangel and Vladivostok to plant their ‘treacherous bullets in the breast of the revolution’. The attitude of the English worker is ‘criminal’, and the word ‘barbarians’ figures in both pieces. Further, a sharp distinction is drawn between the steadfast Bolshevik workers of Russia, covered in glory, and the Russian workers in Australia, viewed with less favour: while sympathetic to their comrades in Russia, they are cautious and sometimes surrender to cynicism, hypocrisy and petty-mindedness, finding excuses for failing to act in their support. Their devotion to the cause is, it seems, more a matter of lip service. Bykoff appeals to their consciences and delivers an emphatic reminder that they are duty-bound to go among the unresponsive Australian proletariat as disciples of the ‘religion of rebellion’ and preach the new faith.

While the tone of leading articles in the Russian press before the riots, especially those by Zuzenko, was often hectoring, in these pieces, after the riots, it reaches a new pitch of shrillness, and the writer of ‘Towards Unification’ resorts to threats: [when we leave for Russia] ‘we will take with us our membership lists and will not forget the names of those who refuse to aid the cause of the Union of Communists.’ The threat was not entirely empty. It is known that three years after Bykoff’s deportation, documents from the Queensland Russian organisations were sent to him in Soviet Russia, to be forwarded to the archives, where they have reposed to this day.

³³ On the role of Australian troops in the anti-Bolshevik intervention, see Michael Challinger, *Anzacs in Archangel: The Untold Story of Australia and the Invasion of Russia 1918-1919* (Melbourne: Hardie Grant, 2010).

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They include agenda, minutes of meetings, and lists of members and subscriptions. Covering letters urge that they be perused, because they contain material which should be entrusted to the GPU.³⁴

Both articles are marked by colourful, not to say purple prose ('oceans of tears', 'rivers of blood', 'best red roses of the Russian revolution', 'black ravens of reaction', 'bloodthirsty vampires of militarism'), and signs of haste: there is some questionable syntax and internal repetition, in addition to much mis-spelling and careless typing. The editors in their straitened circumstances did not enjoy the luxury of copy-editors or proofreaders. If their writing smacks of hyperbole, it should be remembered that for the Queensland Russian community this was a time of deep, indeed terminal crisis. While relations with the Anglophone society around them had been strained before 23 March, alienation now seemed to be complete, and more than ever the writers felt themselves to be 'voices crying in the wilderness', as the 'Russian Worker' puts it. The repercussions of the riots, imprisonment and deportation of active members meant that the community would never be the same, and many individual lives would be profoundly altered. But to the activists and editorialists, their personal fate was not the most important consideration. Bykoff, Zuzenko, Lagutin and their comrades saw themselves as actors in a much larger drama – the momentous struggle being played out in their home country, which would be forever changed, with historic consequences for all of humanity.

The revolution, 'great, terrible, and long awaited', had in Bykoff's words, 'rung out like the peal of Easter bells',³⁵ and within a short time the event had become the object of near-religious veneration. This is nowhere more apparent than in another

³⁴ RGASPI: *fond* 495, *opis'* 95, *delo* 15, f. 3, 'tov. Sekretariu TsK RKP Dal'. Biuro gor. Chita'. See Uindl, 'K rannei istorii', p. 19.

³⁵ NAA: BP4/1 66/4/2165, 'Rus' Avstraliiskaia'; Windle, 'Hades or Eden?', p. 18.

piece, not published in any form but drafted as a feuilleton under the title 'On Sacred Topics'.³⁶ It bears the signature 'Stepan Tukov', but the highly individual handwriting is clearly the same as that in other manuscripts known to be Bykoff's work, in the same archive folder. If Bykoff was making a copy of an essay by another hand, he had clearly happened upon a writer whose views were in tune with his own. It seems most probable that it was intended for *Fakel*, which did not proceed to publication. The wide range of literary references in 'On Sacred Topics', including Milton, Byron, Goethe, Lermontov and the Bible, mirrors that displayed in Bykoff's play and essays, and some characteristic phrases and images link it so closely with other writings signed by Bykoff/Rezanoff that 'Tukov' may safely be classified as another *nom de plume*.³⁷

The purpose of 'On Sacred Topics', which pre-dates the 'betrayal' during the riots, is not to deplore disunity in the Russian community or the passivity of the Australian worker. Rather it projects a splendid Utopian vision of a just and blissful post-revolutionary future. Although Bykoff described himself as a Bolshevik and 'Maximalist', and compared himself favourably to anarchists like Zuzenko and Lagutin,³⁸ here he shows himself in a different light, and what unites these men is more clearly apparent. When he turns his mind to the future of humanity, his vision of a coming brotherhood of Man, suffused with Biblical imagery, is a far cry from anything offered by Russia's new rulers, but less distant from Zuzenko's.

³⁶ NAA: BP4/1 66/4/2165, 'Na sviashchennye motivy'. This document, along with the editorials for *Fakel*, the play 'O tom...' and the article 'Rus' Avstraliiskaia', was seized during a raid on Bykoff's lodgings in early 1919.

³⁷ On the use of pseudonyms, see NAA: A1/15, Item 1924/30649 'Soozenko – Undesirable' (Alias Tuzenko [*sic*] – Alias Matulishenko [*sic*]); with commentary, in Kevin Windle, 'Standard-Bearer of the Australian Revolution: The Interrogation of Aleksandr Zuzenko by Special Branch. An annotated transcript', *New Zealand Slavonic Journal*, 39, 2005, pp. 175-215. Zuzenko, when quizzed by his British interrogators about his impressive range of aliases, explained that a journalist on a small newspaper needed to maintain the pretence of a team of correspondents, rather than a single industrious individual.

³⁸ See, in particular: 'O tom ...'.

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The revolution, ‘Tukov’ writes in tones of rapture, will transform human nature: the Man of the Future will be a new species, unlike the craven creatures of the past. The spirit of the New Man and the new age is one of ‘anger and bold, indomitable rebellion against all gods and tyrants’. ‘Struggling for equality and brotherhood, we seize rights from the exploiters.’ Mankind is poised to break free from its present vale of tears into a new Eden not unlike the New Jerusalem in the vision of John the Divine, and ‘Socialist Communism is that promised land of Canaan, where there is no sadness or sighing ...’ The author bookends his feuilleton with a quotation from Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, in a famous translation by Ol’ga Chiumina (1899): ‘The mind is its own place, and in itself / Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven.’³⁹ The author shows himself fully conversant with the fundamental texts of the Christian faith, giving evocative Biblical references in appropriately elevated register, and saluting the New Man who has ‘cast down all gods, Olympian and Christian’.

‘Tukov’ goes on to appeal to the workers of the present to sacrifice themselves and their happiness for the sake of the people of the Future, whose path will be one of ‘joys and resounding canticles’ [*zvonkikh pesnopenii*]; they will ‘drink from the river of the water of life as clear and pure as crystal’.⁴⁰ The eagerly awaited ‘Sun of Life, of Love, Equality, Brotherhood, Freedom and Peace, and Harmony’, of which ‘Tukov’ writes, would soon reappear in similar terms in the open letter ‘Freedom of Thought and Revolution’, over the signature ‘A. Rezanoff (Herman Bykoff)’: ‘the sun of justice, love and goodness rises over a land washed in blood and tears.’⁴¹ Nor were such effusions alien to Zuzenko, who wrote in *Knowledge and Unity* of ‘the sun of social-

³⁹ *Vnutri sebia sozdat’ iz ada nebo / Sposoben on i nebo sdelat’ adom*. The quotation is altered on its second appearance, to read ‘we can make ...’ (*sposobny my*).

⁴⁰ ‘As clear and pure as crystal’: a refrain used five times in the feuilleton, taken from the Book of Revelation, 22.1.

⁴¹ ‘Svoboda mysli’.

ism', which would send 'its glorious rays of justice and humanity into the hearts of the people'.⁴² For all their differences, Zuzenko and Bykoff were at heart kindred spirits.

A defiant rejection of Christian virtues, sometimes suggesting an atavistic affinity with the idealists of the People's Will (*Narodnaia volia*), mentioned in 'The English Worker', comes to the fore in 'On Sacred Topics', when 'Tukov' invokes the German romantic revolutionary tradition of the nineteenth century. Unmoved by 'Christian humbleness of mind' (*smirennomudrie*), he writes, 'we feel that we have loved our enemies long enough; we want to hate them' (*dovol'no my vragov svoikh liubili, my nenavidet' ikh khotim*). These lines form a refrain in a poem by Georg Herwegh (1817-1875), 'Das Lied vom Hasse' (1841), well known in a Russian translation by the thinker and *narodovolets* Petr Lavrov.⁴³ The poem, by one who was close to Bakunin and Herzen, enjoyed great popularity in Russia and was often quoted in radical circles.⁴⁴ It is clear that the sentiments expressed by Herwegh continued to strike a chord in the hearts of Australia's Russian radicals. Both editorials from *Nabat* No. 2 conclude by dismissing any divine or supernatural power. Citing Marx in paraphrased form, 'Towards Unity' enjoins the workers to take their fate in their own hands. They cannot rely on 'any gods or heroes'. Bykoff closes 'The English Worker' with a proverbial saying which, in its Russian form, makes a similar point: '*Ne bogi gorshki lepiat*' (Pots are not fashioned by gods).⁴⁵

⁴² 'No Neutrality', *Knowledge and Unity*, No. 27, 14/2/19, p. 1. Again, the signature Civa Rosenberg is a disguise.

⁴³ In Herwegh's original: Wir haben lang genug geliebt, // Und wollen endlich hassen. See: <https://lyrik.antikoerperchen.de/georg-herwegh-das-lied-vom-hasse,textbearbeitung,211.html> [accessed 15/6/2020]

⁴⁴ The Russian version is cited in Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, *200 let vmeste (1795-1995)* (Moscow: Russkii put', 2001), as 'the anthem of the Bund, the Marseillaise of Jewish workers'.

⁴⁵ In the text, preference is given to a roughly equivalent English saying.

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In Brisbane in 1919, far from the new Land of Canaan, *Nabat*'s leader writers could not have foreseen developments there. Nor could they have suspected that the 'bloodthirsty vampires' and 'crazed barbarians' of whom they wrote might come to seem less objectionable than the masters of the new society in which they had invested such fervent hopes.

Bykoff would not remain a voice crying in the Australian wilderness for long. By the time he had prepared his contributions to *Nabat*, it was plain that he and those arrested with him had come to the end of their extended Australian sojourn, and that the newspaper was unlikely to run to a third issue. Six months after the riots and five months after the deportation of Zuzenko as ring-leader, they were shipped out of Sydney on the SS *Frankfurt*, never to return. Bykoff would soon find himself in surroundings presumably more congenial, and in a position of responsibility: in 1923 he was secretary of the Far Eastern Party Bureau in Chita, Eastern Siberia. An article published ten years later shows that his interest in the 'English worker' was undiminished: it is a scholarly study of the working class in Britain at the turn of the nineteenth century.⁴⁶ Details of his later life are scant and unconfirmed, but he appears, unlike Zuzenko, to have survived the years of Stalinist terror unscathed.⁴⁷ Lagutin would remain in Brisbane, despite more than one recommendation from military intelligence officers that he be deported.⁴⁸ Close surveillance was maintained, and his further attempts to pursue a journalistic bent were frustrated. He was, however, still active in what was then called the Union of Russian Worker Communists in its twilight years,

⁴⁶ German Ivanovich Bykov, 'Angliiskii rabochii klass vo vtoroi polovine XVIII v. i v pervoi polovine XIX v.', *Bor'ba klassov*, 1933, No. 2, pp. 78-97.

⁴⁷ See Windle, '*Nabat* and its Editors', p. 146f. On Zuzenko's later life and his death in the Great Terror, see Windle, *Undesirable*.

⁴⁸ NAA: A6122/40 111, Summary of Communism, f. 64; A456/4, 'Conditions in Queensland' (21/12/1918); BP4/1 66/4/3557, N. Lagutin. G. Irving, 8/10/1919.

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and as late as 1924, on behalf of the Brisbane District Group of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA), announced the imminent launch of another newspaper.⁴⁹ He died suddenly in Brisbane in February 1928 and was buried in Toowong Cemetery.⁵⁰

When the most determined activists were deported from Australia and their presses finally shut down, the perceived menace to social cohesion posed by the Russian community would decline. It is true that Peter Simonoff, the ‘Bolshevik consul’, would remain in Australia until his recall in 1921, pursuing his clandestine efforts to make the infant CPA an effective revolutionary body,⁵¹ and that one deportee, Zuzenko, would return with a related mission as an agent of the Communist International in 1922,⁵² but the community of Russian residents could no longer provide the core of a militant workers’ movement, as it had once aspired to do. *Nabat*’s calls for unity in 1919 rang out to a shrinking audience. The vestiges of the URW would soon be in no position to provide a local vector or ‘Bolshevik nucleus’ to further the Comintern’s aims; and by the time the despised ‘English workers’ of the CPA had

⁴⁹ NAA: BP4/1 66/4/3557, N. Lagutin, Dorogie Tovarishchi, 18/3/1924. The contents of this letter suggest that the addressees are the Comintern secretariat in Moscow, but this is not entirely clear. The title of the newspaper is given as ‘Novy poriadok’, but since Lagutin’s collaborators are named as the Australian communists J. W. Roche, B. Huggett and A. Jenkin, it must have been in English: *The New Order*. Lagutin has the role of editorial assistant.

⁵⁰ ‘Russian’s Death’, *Daily Standard*, 14/2/1928, p. 7. His age is given as ‘forty’, but a certificate of alien registration states that he was born in July 1885, in ‘Archangle’, Russia. See NAA: BP4/3 Russian Lagutin, N. Alien Registration Certificate No. 160, 31/10/1916.

⁵¹ See Kevin Windle, ‘Trotskii’s Consul: Peter Simonoff’s account of his years as Soviet representative in Australia (1918-1921)’, *Slavonic and East European Review*, 93/3, July 2015, pp. 493-524; idem, ‘Pervyi konsul Sovetskoi Rossii v Avstralii P. F. Simonov i ego druz’ia i nedrugi’, *Klio*, No. 6 (114), June 2016, pp. 176-188; Iurii Artemov [Artem Rudnitskii], *Russkaia revoliutsiia v Avstralii i seti shpionazha* (St Petersburg: Aleteiia, 2017).

⁵² Kevin Windle, ‘“A Bolshevik Agent of Some Importance”: Aleksandr Zuzenko’s autobiographical notes and British government records’, *Slavonic and East European Review*, 92/2, April 2014, pp. 284-304.

overcome their internal differences, that Party had no need of the local Russian community or its dedicated editorialists.

Appendix: Translated editorials from *Nabat*, No. 2

Towards Unification

Comrades! For two years the Russian proletariat has been doggedly struggling against the united front of the world bourgeoisie; for two years the black ravens of reaction have been flocking in from every hand to the battlefields of the revolution and holding a terrible funeral feast of bloody battle in which the best red roses of the Russian Revolution wither before they have had time to bloom. The best forces of our brother proletarians have perished at the hands of the barbarians; the best words and powerful speeches have died away with them, while we here in our obtuse ignorance are still busy with our shameful factionalism and, owing to our squabbles and disputes, for reasons of personal self-esteem and dubious calculation, fail to hear their fervent call 'unity is strength', and we sometimes forget not only the immediate tasks of the revolution, but even our very selves. Shame on us, comrades!

Without the least rational justification, we, a handful of Russian workers in Australia, members of one family, of the same proletarian social class, have scattered in all directions, leaving open our common front against the capitalist foe, and now sit in our burrows, as if nursing grievances against one another and waiting for the master to come and decide matters for us... And meanwhile the numberless Russian people, beset on all sides by enemies and greater difficulties than we face, are carrying out the task of class division. All intermediate groups between labour and capital have al-

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ready been destroyed, and only two camps – the proletariat and White reaction – remain locked in mortal combat for supremacy over the rest of society.

The time has come for the implacably stern trial of the ‘class struggle’, with echoes of mutual violence, suffering, groans, and oceans of blood and tears! And the time has come for us to stop playing our tragi-comic games of blind man’s bluff. We must dare to look facts in the face and clearly understand their simple but inescapable truth, to wit: we cannot fail to take an interest in the fate of the revolution in our homeland, and in one way or another must politically define our positions; since there are no longer any groups in Russia other than the organised proletariat and the organised reactionary element, we must declare ourselves according to our class interests, either on the side of the proletariat or on that of reaction. We have no other choice. The Russian proletariat declared to the whole world, ‘He who is not with us is against us!’, when it launched the social revolution.

Aiming to unite the Russian workers in Australia in a single orderly body, in the name of the ideas of the international Proletariat, *NABAT* calls on all politically aware workers, in both the cities and the country, to join the Union of Bolshevik-Communists,⁵³ of which there are branches in all Australian states, bringing with them the politically unaware, and foster the development of the ideas of the Social Revolution.

Comrades! Join us before it is too late! Enough of divisions and disputes! Solidarity is the guarantee of our victory! If anybody refuses to join the ranks of our organisation, he must realise that we cannot consider him a comrade, for whoever is not with us is against us and against the Great Russian Revolution! Having secured the opportunity to depart for Russia, we will take with us our membership lists and

⁵³ *Soiuz Bol'shevikov-Kommunistov*. This name and others like it reflect attempts to reconstitute an association of Russian workers after the arrest and deportation of most of the URW's leaders.

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will not forget the names of those who refuse to aid the cause of the Union of Communists. Party dissensions belong in the past and there is no longer any place for them in the Red Soviet ranks. Join them yourselves and bring with you those who are outside the organisations. We summon all confident workers to the red banner of the Soviets, before it is too late!⁵⁴ Enrol in the Union of Bolshevik-Communists, branches of which exist in all states of Australia.

Our Red *NABAT* calls on you to serve the Revolution, comrades! Do you dare to refuse? Who is an honest worker, and who a White Guard? Are you with us or against us? If you are with us, it is your duty to be a member and aid the workers' common cause. We now recognise two camps: the camp of the Reds and the camp of the Whites. And anyone who does not wish to find himself on the blacklist as a White must join our Red ranks.⁵⁵

The workers' cause is a matter for the workers' own hands,⁵⁶ not those of any gods or heroes, so the primary task of the workers must be solidarity and unity, for 'unity is strength!'

Long live the social revolution!

⁵⁴ The qualifier preceding 'workers' is partly obscured. It is taken here to be *uverennykh* (convinced, confident, assured) rather than *umerennykh* (moderate).

⁵⁵ Beneath the word 'White', the word *reaktsioner* (reactionary) has been appended by hand.

⁵⁶ 'The workers' cause ...': the author cites in paraphrased form a maxim from the works of Karl Marx which became a slogan: 'Die Befreiung der Arbeiterklasse muß das Werk der Arbeiterklasse selbst sein' (The emancipation of the working class should be a matter for the working class itself).

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A Few Words about the English Worker⁵⁷

What is wrong with him? The Russian revolution has given the peoples involved in the European war the right to cry out against that shameful slaughter. The Russian worker, by coming out on strike against capital and the bloodthirsty vampires of militarism, provided the opportunity to rise up in defence of trampled human values, delivering mortal wounds to nightmarish, sanguinary patriotism.

Almost the whole world is in rebellion. Everywhere bold protests ring out against the chains of economic slavery. Only the depersonalised public of once-Great Britain has remained unmoved by the mighty fire in the hearts of the noble strugglers for life and for the happiness of all mankind. The appeals of the Russian proletariat to aid the common cause of economic liberation have been answered by complete indifference from the English worker. That indifference, with his wondrously senseless submissiveness to fate, have made it possible for reaction to reply to those appeals with their salvoes of British punitive expeditions against the serried ranks of Russian workers: instead of a greeting, a bullet in the breast of the Revolution. Within the walls of Britain's trade unions, those who detest social thought organise gangs of scabs, of unscrupulous violators [*narushiteli*] of the class struggle, of dull-witted, soulless violators of the new-born ideas of international working-class morality. This scum is organised, armed and sent, instead of a greeting, to Russia. The English worker's criminal attitude to his class interests, and therefore those of the success of the revolutions in Russia, Austria, Hungary and other countries, verges on being a strange kind of sport, a game with one's conscience. And how does he justify his bo-

⁵⁷ Russian *angliiskii* (English) is used loosely and is often best translated as 'British'. In the Australian context, and at this period, it denotes any Anglophone, not discriminating between Scottish, Irish, Welsh and Australian-born.

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vine indifference to the workers of other countries, who are responsible for such a great world event, the epoch of the struggle between labour and capital.

The Russian worker's splendid generosity of spirit and deep sense of principle will perhaps forgive the English worker his treacherous bullets in the breast of the revolution, but will history forgive him when it looks at life with impartial eyes? No, it will not. Was he really unprepared to accept the present events? Did he really lack great advantages in the matter of economic education? What did he learn, living in conditions of individual political freedom, freedom of the press, of assembly and other advantages? Surely more than how to be a scab, a local policeman of a type whose time passed with Tsarism in Russia.

And what has become of us defectors from Great Russia, mired in the swamp of arrogant England's cultural cynicism? Shall we really succumb to the influence of the English worker's spiritual hibernation and inactivity, and are we really incapable of throwing off the vile mark of mediocrity? Are we really condemned to remain on the sidelines as outside observers of the building of the new life?

Comrades, before our very eyes reaction is organising bands of crazed barbarians, widely exploiting dirty falsehoods to blacken the glorious heads of our comrades, and doing all it can to halt the progress of social revolution in Russia. On the pretext of paying war debts, shillings are being collected not only from citizens of Australia, but also from Russians, and turned into bullets to pierce the breasts of our comrades in Murmansk, Archangel and Vladivostok. And however liberally they water the path of the new life with their blood, when we harken to their cries for help, we understand that they alone cannot attain the ideals of happiness for the people. They are appealing to us for help, comrades. And however much we excuse ourselves, in the eyes of true revolutionaries our inactivity is not justified. Every new drop of blood shed in Russia, Germany and other countries falls like a heavy stone on our con-

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science. Under the severe blows of world reaction, our homeland has offered itself as the victim of social experiments with remarkably staunch faith, fully conscious of a heavy ethical obligation to humanity for its moral renaissance. And neither oceans of tears nor rivers of blood can shake that faith, and it marches on, as in a beautiful fairy-tale, singing the anthems of the social revolution.

And what are we doing? Are we doing anything to justify ourselves in the eyes of those taking part in this great struggle when we return to Russia and read for ourselves the gloomy account of the struggle for justice? Up to now we have read newspaper reports on what is happening in our country, sometimes talking primly of our moral obligations, which we speedily reduced to the expediency of the wolf being sated and the goats uneaten,⁵⁸ and with innocent cynicism and hypocrisy ended our conversations by talking of charity beginning at home,⁵⁹ or uttering cheap banalities (in the guise of reasonable criticism) about the efforts of some who try their best to aid the common cause. The black irony of public sycophancy imperiously imposes the clutches of moral prostitution, constricts the soul with the shameful bonds of voluntary submission to mediocrity, and those who in other circumstances might boldly and cheerfully take up the struggle with arbitrary wrongdoing find themselves in the market of petty-mindedness, in a wild ride on a race-course leading to self-enslavement. Cries for help directed to those who might be able to help remain 'a voice crying in the wilderness'.

And that is true. What are we doing? Nothing. Yet the great revolution has laid upon us a moral obligation to be the foremost workers in the world! And are we doing anything at all to live up to that responsible calling? Many of us reason, 'Too bad we don't know English; just think what we could do.' And then, having persuaded our-

⁵⁸ A reference to the Russian saying: *I kozy tsely i volki syty*, meaning that all parties are well satisfied.

⁵⁹ The author adapts the saying: *Svoia rubashka blizhe k telu*.

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selves that we are not to blame, withdraw deep into our individual grubby little base egos, and forget about everything.

But if each of us could say to the local worker, with sincere faith in the rightness of our revolutionary views, as much about the origin of the social revolution as we have to say when we beseech our bosses to give us a crust, there is no doubt that far fewer bullets and bayonets would be plunged into the breast of the Russian worker. For the threat comes not from outside, but from within. Punitive expeditions are raised not in Russia, but in those countries and that environment in which we find ourselves. We can see that the local worker, lulled by traitors and political manipulators from the outmoded school of peaceful-evolutionary prostitution of the mind and conscience, sleeps the sleep of the obtuse, while the fires of revolution in Russia and Germany are unable to ignite in him any spark of awareness. Is it not our obligation, being close to him, to help him awaken from his nightmare?

On this matter, there cannot be two opinions. Yes, we can help teach him, or at least suggest how he might protest against the aggressor. Bear in mind, comrades, the great service performed by Russia's Populists, her men of ideas, by going to the people!⁶⁰ After all, at that time the Russian peasant and learned people spoke two different languages, whereas now, comrades, you can see how beautifully those two languages have blended together into a single whole. What splendid speeches are now ringing out throughout the world in that one united language! Why should we be so afraid of our backwardness in English when we have such wonderful traditions? Comrades, let us agree, we all make our own happiness.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Populists: the Russian text has *narodnosti* (ethnic groups/minorities), but the qualifying phrase and the reference to 'going to the people' (*khozhdenie v narod*) make it clear that *narodnosti* is a scribal or copyist's error, and that *narodniki* (Populists) is meant.

⁶¹ Again the author resorts to a proverb: *ne bogi gorshki lepiat* (literally: pots are not fashioned by gods).

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It is time to get down to work. Away with all doubts, all false shame and lack of self-belief! Right before our eyes we see the huge masses of Australian workers; go among them and preach your religion of rebellion. And all shame and pangs of conscience will fall from your shoulders like a phantom before the memory of those who have fallen or are still struggling for the just cause.

To work, comrades! Long live the SOCIAL REVOLUTION!

A Russian Worker

СНЕЖАНА ЖИГУН

**‘РЕБЕНОК – ЭТО МОЯ БЕДА И РАДОСТЬ, ЭТО НЕРЕШЕННЫЙ ВОПРОС В МОЕЙ
ЖИЗНИ’: МАТЕРИНСТВО В ТВОРЧЕСТВЕ УКРАИНСКИХ ПИСАТЕЛЬНИЦ
1920-х – ПЕРВОЙ ПОЛОВИНЫ 1930-х ГОДОВ**

Введение

В украинской литературе девятнадцатого века тема материнства освещалась преимущественно с эссенциалистской точки зрения, а с развитием феминистских идей – с позиций национализма. М. Богачевская-Хомяк (1995) отслеживает продолжительную связь феминизма и национализма в Украине и объясняет этот симбиоз тем, что национализм предоставляет женщинам функции биологической и символической репродукции нации, а затем акцентирует внимание на семье и материнстве. Большевицкая революция 1917 года вызвала значительные политические и общественные изменения. Декреты ‘Об отмене брака’, ‘О гражданском браке, детях и о внесении в акты гражданского состояния’ и ‘Декрет об охране детства и материнства’ изменили статус женщины и ребенка. Женщина приобретала право на материальное и сексуальное самоопределение и на выбор места жительства и гражданства; получала четырехмесячный оплачиваемый отпуск в связи с беременностью, право на оплачиваемые перерывы для кормления младенцев. Законодательно уравнивались права детей, рожденных в браке и вне его.

В целом первое десятилетие советской власти обозначено идеями государственной заботы о детях, которая провозглашалась прямой обязанностью. Это касалось не только беспризорных детей (усыновление было введено в правовое поле только в 1926 г.), но и детей из семей, опека над которыми передавалась разнообразным детским коллективам и воспитательным

учреждениям. И только в 'сталинской' конституции 1936 г. охрана детства связана с материнством, но не следует забывать, что при этом от женщины и в дальнейшем требовалось быть передовиком производства и активно участвовать в общественно-политической жизни.

Если нормы, способствовавшие женской эмансипации, кажутся довольно прогрессивными, то те, которые были призваны сформировать новый конструкт материнства в Советском Союзе, вызвали и вызывают существенные споры. О разнице между материнством как частным опытом, 'потенциальным отношением любой женщины к ее возможностям рожать и к детям' (Rich 1986, 13) и материнством как институтом, который стремится держать тот потенциал и женщин во власти мужчин написала Адриена Рич. Украинская женская литература 1920-х годов демонстрирует сложные отношения между идеологическим концептом материнства и персональным опытом.

Нэнси Ходоров (1978) считает, что материнство не является врожденным инстинктом, но важным фактором женского концепта идентичности, конструкции индивидуального субъекта и социальной организации гендера. Поэтому женский опыт 1920-х годов, воплощенный в текстах, интересен для Украины и постсоветских обществ, где женская идентичность и организация материнства постоянно испытывают давление разнонаправленных идеологий.

Главным идеологом 'женского вопроса' в первые годы большевистского режима была Александра Коллонтай, взгляды которой исследовательница Т. Осипович квалифицирует как 'радикальный марксистский феминизм' (Osipowich 1993, 176). С этих позиций написано и объёмное исследование *Общество и материнство* (Kollontai 1916). На основании данных медицинской и производственной статистики автор продемонстрировала, что тяжелая фабричная работа превращает материнство в нелегкое испытание, а

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отвратительные условия труда и быта обуславливают женские и детские болезни, высокую смертность, беспризорность и обездоленность детей. Выход из этой ситуации Коллонтай видела в улучшении условий женского труда и охране и обеспечении материнства через государственное страхование. Большевистский переворот вдохновил А. Коллонтай на более радикальные идеи: в работе *Семья и коммунистическое государство* (1918) она отказывает семье в существовании в будущем обществе, поскольку в нем больше не будет общего для всех членов семьи хозяйства, экономической зависимости женщины от мужчины-кормильца и необходимости заботы о детях. Эту заботу должно полностью взять на себя государство.

Третья значительная работа А. Коллонтай – *Новая женщина* (1919), вызвала к жизни концепт растиражированный в литературе и СМИ первого десятилетия советской власти. Отрицая традиционный образ женщины, не мыслимой без мужа, любви и семьи, а, следовательно, и таких качеств как покорность, чуткость, эмоциональность, уступчивость и податливость, Коллонтай предлагает женщине стать полноправной и полноценной. Путь к этому – воспитание новых качеств, которые до сих пор ассоциировались с мужским характером. Да, новой женщине важно научиться побеждать свои эмоции и выработать самодисциплину; уважать свободу другого человека; требовать от мужчины уважения и бережного отношения к своей личности; быть самодостаточной и самостоятельной личностью; не сосредотачиваться на любви и отбросить двойную мораль. Эти идеи подверглись значительному искажению: большевистская идеология использовала их для усиления трудовой эксплуатации женщины, а в быту ими обосновывали эксплуатацию сексуальную, которая в итоге вылилась в несколько громких судебных дел, вроде ‘чубаровского’.

Как справедливо заключает М. Богачевская-Хомяк,

Главная причина того, что советские украинки в этот период не смогли полностью воспользоваться предоставленными им правами, является объективной: возможности для развития женщин в Советском Союзе никогда не были реальными. Осуществляя тоталитарный контроль над населением, его производственной и творческой деятельностью, партия эффективно манипулировала женщинами. Она использовала интеграцию женщин в общественную жизнь для достижения своей цели, а не для того, чтобы удовлетворять женские нужды. (Bohachevsky-Chomiak 1995, 364)

Справедливость этих соображений ярко иллюстрирует медийный дискурс 1920-х годов, в котором женщина представлена, прежде всего, как работница, а остальные аспекты ее личности мыслятся как требующие нейтрализации для повышения эффективности ее работы. Материнство мыслилось советскими идеологами как инструмент воздействия: 'Женщину лучше организовать вокруг детского сада. В процессе работы детского сада легче разбудить ее политическое сознание, выяснить ее общественную роль, сделать из нее активного члена общества' (Doroshkevych 1928, 2). Газета *Пролетарская правда* содержит многочисленные материалы о детских учреждениях, параллельно убеждая, что семейное воспитание вредно для будущих строителей социализма.

То есть, общественно приемлемым материнство было только в определенный государством период заботы о новорожденном, в дальнейшем женщина должна была передать свои функции государственным учреждениям и

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приобщиться к борьбе за высокие показатели производства. По сути, материнство воспринималось как продуцирование детей.

Если обратиться от медийного к художественному дискурсу, то стоит вспомнить работу В. Гудковой о формировании советских сюжетов (Gudkova 2008), в которой автор утверждает, что в ранних советских пьесах любовь осмысливается авторами как контрреволюция, а женщина становится в один ряд с врагами социализма (рядом с кулаком и нэпманом). Анализируя преимущественно мужские драматургические тексты 1920–1930-х годов, исследователь выделяет следующие типы женских образов: 1) коварные соблазнительницы, 2) нарушительницы порядка, 3) прагматические, ведь теперь они выбирают мужчин, 4) осознавшие свое равноправие. А материнство чаще мыслится героями как мещанство, побочный, обременительный результат ‘удовлетворения потребности’. ‘Новые женщины’ в сюжетах того времени не желают тратить время и силы на воспитание детей. Многие героини не хотят и (или) не могут их иметь. Материнство как чувственный опыт заменяется идеей ‘фабрики’ по производству здоровых детей (например, в пьесе С. Третьякова *Хочу ребенка* (1926)). В этих условиях эмоциональная связь матери и ребенка, родственные чувства, частные переживания явно обесценивались.

Развенчание конструкта материнства в женской прозе 1920-х годов

Украинский канон литературы 1920-х годов – полностью андроцентричный. По крайней мере, если воплощением его считать известную антологию *Расстрелянное Возрождение* (1959), то в ней среди более 40 авторов не представлено творчество ни одной женщины. Примечательно, что антология *Неизвестное Расстрелянное Возрождение* (2016) из 50 авторов содержит произведения 6 женщин. Впрочем, их появление в издании пока не повлияло на школьные и университетские курсы литературы этого периода, где женщины-

писательницы и дальше отсутствуют. Это чаще объясняют недостаточно высоким художественным уровнем текстов, но это относительный критерий: мужским текстам этого периода отчетливо эпигонского и даже графоманского характера уделено значительно больше внимания исследователей. Возможно, вытеснение женского творчества этого периода на обочину можно объяснять разрывом феминизма с национализмом, а именно такая коллаборация способствовала популярности двух поколений писательниц XIX века: группы *Первого венка* (*Перший вінок*, 1887), в частности Натали Кобрынской и Олэны Пчилки, и поколения 'дочек': Леси Украинки, Ольги Кобылянской и других. По крайней мере, Максим Тарнавский (1994) указывает на поддержку раннего украинского феминизма мужчинами как одну из четырех парадоксальных его особенностей. А также можем наблюдать стремительный успех Олэны Телиги и Ирины Вильде, чье творчество было пронизано идеями национализма.

Украинская культура того времени была сформирована, по крайней мере, двумя идеологическими дискурсами: марксизма и национализма, которые были способны объединяться в творчестве многих писателей (исторические и политические причины этого раскрыл М. Шкандрий (Shkandrij 2013, 17-39)). Мужские тексты этого периода изображают мать как создателя культурно-ценностного пространства, она 'как синоним опеки и ценностной ориентации своих детей способствует их духовной идентификации' (Otkovych 2010, 95). В произведениях писателей-мужчин материнство часто приобретает смысл символического воспроизводства человечества или создания (рождения) нового общества.

Скажем, в новелле М. Хвильевого 'Из Вариной биографии' ('Из Вариної біографії', 1928) не слишком добродетельная женщина рождает ребенка от большевика и сравнивается с Богородицей, а само событие называется

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исключительным гражданским случаем. В повести С. Тудора (галичанина-коммуниста) 'Мария' ('Марія', 1928), незамужняя женщина также уподобляется Деве Марии и рождает во время революционного марша.

Женские тексты менее склонны наделять материнство символическим значением, но существенно проблематизируют его. В значительной степени они принимают концепцию 'новой женщины', создавая героинь, независимых от мужчин как финансово, так и эмоционально (например, Надежда из 'Машинистка' ('Друкарка' 1927) или Ялына из 'Весной' ('Весною', 1928) Галич; Галина и Лета из *Тракторобуд* (*Тракторобуд*, 1931-33) Н. Забилы, но тема материнства вызывает многогранную дискуссию.

Условно самый простой текст – 'Березовый сок' ('Березовий сік', 1930) Варвары Чередниченко, поскольку прямолинейно иллюстрирует идеи А. Коллонтай. Героиня произведения Гафийка настаивает на праве полигамных отношений, аргументируя это отказом от чувства собственности. Она также называет институт материнства и отцовства позорными, убеждая: 'Ты представь себе только, как бы жилось детям, если бы любовь, заботу, беспокойство, ласки, труд и деньги всех 'родных папочек и родных мамочек' разделить на все без исключения детское население Союза Советов ...' (Cherednychenko 2017, 292).

Она объясняет свои убеждения не идеологией, а собственным травматическим опытом: героиня выросла в детском доме и остро почувствовала разницу в отношениях к родным и чужим детям. В частности, в подростковом возрасте она стала жертвой насилия мужчины, имевшего собственную дочь.

Психоаналитики трактовали бы эту травму как такую, которая мешает героине состояться как мать, взяв ответственность за чью-то жизнь. И, возможно, стоит символизировать большевистскую революцию как травму,

которая сделала женщин не готовыми к ответственности за детскую, а порой и свою жизнь. Впрочем, автор этого этюда закончила Фребелевский педагогический институт, и этим можно объяснить смещение точки зрения с женской на детскую.

Писательницы, имевшие собственных детей, склонны проблематизировать предложенный идеологией конструкт материнства. Скажем, в центре производственного романа *Тракторобуд* Натали Забилы (1931; 1933) – судьбы двух матерей, работающих на стройке завода, который символизирует собой будущую счастливую жизнь. Героиня первой части романа Галина Клынько – инженер, в составе комсомольской группы проектирует основное здание завода. Она единственная женщина-инженер в этом конструкторском бюро, но это достижение имеет свою цену: за сыном Галины ухаживает ее мать. С мужем Галина развелась именно из-за своего желания родить ребенка, тогда как он стремился сосредоточиться на инженерной работе. В романе он каждый раз упрекает Галину, акцентируя ее несостоятельность заботиться о ребенке из-за работы и комсомольских нагрузок. Но материнство было осмысленным решением женщины: в начале супружеской жизни в студенческие годы она прервала беременность, чтобы сосредоточиться на учебе. Характерно, что муж не платит алиментов на ребенка, но в романе работа Галины мотивируется не этим, а эмансипацией и производственным энтузиазмом. В конце концов, мальчик умирает и только это заставляет Галину пропустить несколько дней работы. Его похороны изображены сферой интересов только женщин: за гробом, кроме Галины, идет ее мать, сестра и несколько соседок. Ни отец ребенка, ни друзья Галины не пришли ее поддержать. Горе героиня переносит стоически, запрещая коллегам выражать сочувствие и даже вспоминать об этом. Впрочем, ее внутреннее состояние выдает ошибка в расчетах, из-за которой возникает

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угроза стройке. Таким образом, несчастное материнство мыслится писательницей как угроза самореализации женщины.

Эта часть романа, которая вышла в 1930-ом году, то есть во времена падения популярности идей А. Коллонтай, поднимает вопрос о создании условий для работы женщин, которых привлекли на полную занятость. Печальный сюжет ставит под сомнение возможность одновременной самореализации женщины как матери и как специалиста: впредь Галина уже не хочет иметь детей, убегает от пережитого на Дальний Восток и пытается сосредоточиться на работе.

Впрочем, такое толкование темы подрывало привлечение женщин к труду, вероятно, поэтому появляется вторая часть истории о бетонировщице Лете Азаровой. Она также имеет ребенка – Маивку, которую оставила с бывшим мужем, несмотря на то, что он не был ни любящим, ни ответственным отцом. Лета называет своего ребенка ‘бедой и радостью’, ‘нерешенным вопросом в своей жизни’ (Zabila 1933, 62). Она хочет забрать ребенка к себе позже, когда обустроит свою жизнь. Сейчас девочка фактически оставлена на служанку, но когда та должна вернуться домой в деревню, то привозит ребенка в барак, где живет Лета. Ее подруги решают коллективно заботиться о девочке, но быстро выясняется, что брошенных детей имеют и другие работницы стройки, поэтому они устраивают ясли. Так оптимистично Наталя Забила решает проблему нерадивого отношения государства к работницам-матерям.

Изображенные героини вполне соответствуют конструкту ‘новой женщины’: они самодостаточны, самостоятельно решают свою судьбу, не зависят ни от кого, ни финансово, ни эмоционально. Они разрывают с мужчинами ради себя, а не ради новых отношений. Их материнство является осознанным выбором, а не принуждением обстоятельств, обреченностью

рожать, и при этом они странным образом пренебрегают самореализацией в роли матери, дети не вписываются в избранные ими жизни и их материнство практически лишено эмоционального бытового опыта, они делегируют свои обязанности в отношении ребенка другим. И хотя Н. Забила акцентирует, что вернувшись домой Галина первым делом склоняется над колыбелью, поправляет одеяло и интересуется состоянием ребенка, но Лесик спит и не знает об этой заботе. И Галина, услышав про постоянный плач ребенка, отвечает, что работы очень много, и ей придется задерживаться. Таким образом, 'новая мать' в концепции романа – рожаящая женщина, а процесс воспитания может быть передан другим.

Первая часть романа содержит важный, хотя и эпизодический образ. Это мать Галины, а также еще четырех детей, Надежда Степановна. О ее жизни известно мало: есть только намеки, что она принадлежала к аристократической петербургской семье, которую во время революций разбросало по миру. За два года до этого она потеряла мужа, лектора университета или института, и жила одна, пока к ней не вернулась после неудачного брака беременная Галина. С точки зрения окружения, она – счастливая мать: 'Хоть и трудно сейчас живется, – говорила Марта Даниловна, – а вы, все же счастливая, Надежда Степановна: все ваши дети выросли, выучились, работают на хороших должностях, одним словом – вышли в люди ...' (Zabila 1931, 27).

И Галина видит материнское счастье в ее детях: 'Да не смотри ты так пессимистично на вещи, моя старушка, – вот мы когда-то тебя порадуем: соберемся все вместе и устроим праздник имени нашей матери' (Там же, 32). То есть, Надежда Степановна – традиционный для украинской культуры образ берегини, женщины, которая живет ради семьи и ее счастье напрямую зависит от нее. Однако в новых обстоятельствах мать не чувствует себя уверенно: 'Что

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же, я не противоречу, не мне же жить – им. Что же я, старая, буду им препятствовать? Чтобы совсем матери отrekliсь? Умирать самой – жутко, Марта Даниловна' (Там же, 28).

То есть, она мыслит себя как прошлое, пройденное, на что не следует обращать внимания (и Галина обращается к ней 'моя старушка', называет ее взгляды 'ретроградными'). А главный страх ее – что, вырастив пять детей, она останется одинокой, без помощи и ухода. И этот страх небезосновательный: трое из детей устраивают свою жизнь в других городах, а во второй части романа к ним присоединится и Галина, последняя же дочь Вера лишь изредка навещает мать, поглощенная работой. Эмоциональная связь с детьми очень дискретна: Галина сообщила матери о браке только тогда, когда шла делать аборт. Впрочем, слова дочери свидетельствуют также и о том, что мать остается моральным авторитетом и в какой-то степени хранителем нормы: 'Специально ради тебя в загс вчера ходили, вот видишь «запись о браке», – не стану же я из-за такой мелочи нарушать покой твоих ретроградных взглядов' (Там же, 29).

Тем не менее, традиционные взгляды Надежды Степановны на роль женщины в семье позволяют Галине реализовываться профессионально. Ведь именно она создает Галине условия и возможности: она не только заботится о ребенке, но и выполняет домашнюю работу, чтобы дочери не нужно было заниматься домашним хозяйством, вернувшись с работы. Служанку, которая должна помогать по хозяйству, Галина записала в школу ликвидировать неграмотность. Галинина благодарность проявляется своеобразно: она риторически привлекает мать к тем, от кого зависит успех социалистического строительства. Что бы ни вкладывала Н. Забила в образ матери, Надежда Степановна предстает как хранительница культурно-ценностного наследия

традиции, что воспринимается как устойчивый фундамент, способный выдержать любые причудливые надстройки новых времен.

Повесть Александры Свеклы 'Надломленные сердцем' ('Надломлені сердцем', 1930) также дискутирует со взглядами А. Коллонтай. Впрочем, повесть выходит в свет в то время, когда эти взгляды уже не поддерживались господствующей идеологией. Поэтому трудно говорить, была ли эта критика собственным голосом Александры Свеклы, которая самостоятельно воспитывала сына, или иллюстрацией нового партийного курса в сфере семьи и материнства.

Главная героиня повести Ирина – образцовая новая женщина: она участвовала в боях во время гражданской войны (конечно, на большевистской стороне), сейчас работает литератором, имеет заработки, которым завидуют мужчины-военные. При этом она блестящий оратор и неожиданно умело справляется с физической работой. Она не просто ровня мужчинам, она часто превосходит их дальновидностью, способностью убеждать, рациональностью. Неудивительно, что эта суперженщина захотела реализоваться как мать и воспитать своего ребенка самостоятельно, без отца, который был, по ее выражению, лишь 'нужная на некоторое время машина'. Свою беременность она объясняет осмысленной реализацией инстинкта: 'Сбрось с меня культуру, набросанную тысячелетиями, и выйдет из меня зверь, самка. Вполне естественно, что и у меня, как и у каждой самки, появилось желание материнства, но это все не заставляет меня жить семейной жизнью с его вечным богом во главе' (Svekla 2017, 316). Она не делает событие из своей беременности, не меняет своего образа жизни. Беременность не мешает ей отправляться в дорогу в тряской тележке, работать (хотя бы и за станком), выступать публично и даже встретить другого мужчину, нет! – даже желать его.

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Писательница избегает описывать изменения, происходящие с женщинами в первом триместре беременности, делает их незаметными настолько, что сама героиня пять месяцев не задумывается о будущем своего ребенка: 'Сначала радость, что забеременела, потом работа. Некогда было думать ... Да что его думать? Появится на свет, жить будет ...' (Там же, 429). Но при первых движениях ребенка, которые совпадают со встречей с близким по мировоззрению мужчиной, она осознает 'новую жизнь в себе' и пересматривает свои взгляды.

Беременность Ирины является не только физиологическим состоянием, но становится фактором изменения ее мировоззрения. До сих пор она была правоверной марксисткой, и ее взгляды были созвучны с трудами А. Коллонтай. Героиня произносит длинные речи о зависимости женщины в мире частной собственности: '... какой бы ни был раб мужчина, он в то же время был обладателем второго раба – женщины, женщина из поколения в поколение несла только одну науку: приобрести себе сильного самца-патриарха, который мог бы дать ей угол' (Там же, 395):

Можем ли мы требовать от таких женщин, будущих матерей, чтобы они дали обществу морально вполне здоровое поколение, когда они сами морально искалечены, когда в семейном окружении они получают одно воспитание, за его пределами им прививают второе, а выйдя замуж, образуют себе третье, чтобы потом всю эту смесь передать своим детям, которые так же будут переходить от одного окружения к другому? Можем ли мы быть морально здоровыми, шатаясь в разные стороны? (Там же, 395).

Эта критика патриархального строя из уст героини сопровождается и критикой национального нарратива материнства от рассказчика: ‘Он пел дойну (колыбельную – С.Ж.) ... и говорится в ней об извечной покорности и тоске бывшего раба молдаванина, которую носил он долгими веками и до сих пор не избавился еще от нее, впиталась она ему с *молоком матери*, опутала сетью мозг, и под звуки дойны *колыбельной, которую пела мать*, он застыл в этой покорности кому-то’ (курсив мой – С.Ж.) (Там же, 386).

Итак, забеременев, героиня бросала вызов патриархальному миру и надеялась, что сможет ограничить его влияние на своего ребенка. Но, когда ребенок становится физически осязаемым, она также перестает мыслить абстрактно, а задумывается, что ответит ребенку на вопрос о папе: ‘Меня охватывает ужас, когда я представляю то одеяло лжи, которым предстоит мне прикрываться от своего собственного ребенка, потому что не смогу же я в те его годы объяснять свой взгляд на семейную жизнь’ (Там же, 431-432).

Важной деталью является то, что осмысливая свое самостоятельное материнство, героиня не сомневается в своей способности позаботиться о ребенке, обеспечить его материально. Но в жалобе соседской девочки: ‘Оля бедная ... У Олюшки нет папы ... Ей не купят лошадку, как Гене’ (Там же, 434), героиня слышит жалобу на моральную обделенность, которую испытывают дети из неполных семей в традиционном обществе. Она осмысливает свой поступок как безответственность: ‘Я радовалась, что будет ребенок, будет игрушка, которая заполнит мое свободное от работы время, а о том, что ребенок – будущий гражданин нашего общества, – я не думала’ (Там же, 432), и чувствует себя бессильной бороться против вдохновляемого традицией общества. Если до беременности она видела цель жизни в труде на благо общества, то, забеременев, она входит в конфликт с ним: ‘Я хотела позволить

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себе роскошь иметь ребенка, не имея патриарха над собой, и за это должна искупить вину, потому что общество нагло протягивает руки к тому, что я считала только своим' (Там же, 436). Она характеризует материнство как единственный 'уголок' в себе, который не намерен подчиняться обществу. Таким образом, героиня стремится отстоять материнство как частное, личное, неподвластное государству. В то же время, героиня осознает, что ребенок – будущий член общества, она не может рассматривать его как исключительно свою частную собственность, тем более средство самореализации.

В наблюдаемых судьбах женщин, зависимых от патриархального воспитания, беременность превращается в 'тупую надсадную боль', которая, что характерно, шла из головы и расходилась по всему телу. Поэтому она делает аборт варварским образом, убив уже сформировавшегося здорового ребенка. Этим диким способом писательница утверждает право женщины на принятие решения относительно своего тела и будущего, даже называя его насилием и преступлением. Однако пустоту, которую Ирина чувствует после своего поступка, она заполняет новыми отношениями, в которых рождает нового ребенка, признавая правоту нового мужа: 'Надо делать шаги, а не прыжки в историю' (Там же, 455).

Примечательно, что в эпилоге, из которого читатель узнает о родившемся у Ирины ребенке, сам младенец отсутствует, о его существовании становится ясно из реплик диалога. Каким был этот мальчик, свершилась ли самореализация Ирины в материнстве, какой стала матерью, к сожалению, читатель не узнает. Рассказчик только вспоминает, что в ее глазах появилось мягкое выражение, которого не было раньше. Но было это следствием материнства или счастливого брака – неизвестно. Поэтому главным событием повести является осмысленный отказ от одинокого материнства, а не рождение

‘нового гражданина’ молодого государства. То есть, повесть ‘Надломленные сердцем’ признает идеи А. Коллонтай об исчезновении семьи преждевременными и пропагандирует прочные семьи единомышленников.

Повесть А. Свеклы вышла в одно и то же время, что и роман Н. Забины *Тракторобуд*, но, как видим, трактует материнство совершенно иначе – как воспитание самодостаточной личности, которое целиком полагается на мать или семью, тогда как общественное воспитание трактуется как вредное, ибо передает ‘обременительное наследие поколений’. Соответственно и концепт ‘достаточно хорошего материнства’ в романах совершенно разный. У Натальи Забины он предполагает дать жизнь (родить и вырастить здоровым), обеспечить (маленький Лесик имеет разнообразные игрушки), чувствовать эмоциональную потребность заботиться, даже реализуя ее эпизодически, но главное – жить вместе с ребенком (как, наконец, это делает Лета), даже находясь большую часть суток на работе. Не много по современным представлениям. При этом, в воспоминаниях В. Кулиша (1966), сама Н. Забила была заботливой матерью, которая очень деликатно воспитывала своего сорвиголову-сына:

Замечательная женщина, спокойная и сердечно-милая. Она и выдающаяся детская писательница. Не раз перехватывала Тараса так сказать ‘в акции’, вытирала вечно грязный нос, что-то ему там говорила (никогда даже пальцем не тронула), затем, поцеловав, отпускала на свободу (Kulich 1966, 29).

Кроме того, роль детской писательницы, которую она со временем выберет, спасаясь от репрессий или реализуя эмоциональные потребности, предполагает эмоциональный контакт с ребенком и внимательное отношение к воспитанию. Поэтому роман в большей степени апеллирует к положению

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матерей-работниц того времени, условия труда которых были настолько сложными, что достаточно хорошее материнство предусматривало такие скромные достижения.

Для Александры Свеклы, героиня которой гораздо ближе к писательнице, чем у Забилы, достаточно хорошее материнство совсем другое – это обеспечение ребенку комфортных условий для развития личности, так же, как и благополучия. При этом воспитание ребенка возлагается исключительно на мать и семью и они не могут быть заменены никем другим.

Женская лирика и рассказ о личном опыте

Образ материнства в женской лирике отражает собственный эмоциональный опыт авторов, который они получали, добавляя к непростым социальным условиям личные истории. Самые интересные – Натали Забилы и Раисы Троянкер.

Наталя Забила происходила из аристократической семьи, после революции мать с детьми переехала из Петербурга в Украину и поселилась в провинциальном городке. Поэтому четырнадцатилетней Натале пришлось быстро повзрослеть, в 20 лет она вышла замуж за писателя крестьянского происхождения Савву Божко и родила сына Тараса. Брак был недолгим, в том числе и из-за отношения мужа, похвалявшегося ‘перевоспитать’ жену-аристократку. В первое время раздельного проживания Наталя была вынуждена оставить сына у родственников мужа, что ее сильно угнетало, но, уладив бытовые вопросы, она забрала ребенка к себе. Затем был несчастливый брак тоже с писателем А. Шмыгельским, от которого родились две дочери Ясочка (героиня очень популярных в советское время детских книг) и Галочка (Галочка-стрыбалочка – ‘попрыгунья’), умершие маленькими. А еще позже – брак с художником Дмитрием Шавыкиным, дочь от которого, Маринка, тоже

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умерла маленькой. Ее лирика позволяет предположить, что она могла иметь дочь около 1926 года, которую быстро потеряла, но документально это не подтверждено. Учитывая такую личную историю, исследовательница творчества поэтессы Татьяна Трофименко считает, что:

желание хотя бы в поэзии воплотить идеал материнства, счастливой семьи, который не удавалось реализовать в жизни, в значительной мере объясняет причину перехода Натали Забилы почти исключительно на творчество для детей (Trofymenko 2014, 264).

Это объяснение не исключает и обращения к детскому творчеству как попытки спастись от сталинских репрессий. Так или иначе, но в 1920-е годы поэтесса успевает рассказать свою историю.

Первый сборник поэтессы *Далекый край* (*Далекый край*, 1927) содержит несколько стихов на тему материнства, позже эта тема дополняется в следующих сборниках, но стихами, написанными во времена первого. То есть поэтесса не решается рассказывать всю историю, выбирая тексты по каким-то другим критериям, чем полнота и завершенность. По крайней мере, первое стихотворение материнской тематики в сборнике – эпатажное. От имени ‘стройной, изгибистой пантеры’ поэтесса заявляет:

Есть закон – единственный, неотразимый, / А жизнь –
безжалостно ясна: / имеет право жить только сильный, – / Только
сильный может взять меня. / Желтый взгляд мой синий полумрак
режет ... / Каждый хорошо знает свой путь: / Борьба за свободу и
за еду, / Борьба самки за малышей ... (Zabila 1927, 17-18)

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Следующий стих – ассоциативно идентифицирует лирическую героиню с изображенной пантерой: в ситуации, когда мужчина требует от героини выбрать между ним и детьми (для Натали Забилы это была реальная ситуация, когда ее поклонники побуждали отказаться от сына Тараса), она отвечает: ‘Дорогой мой! Я, прежде всего, – самка, / И для меня дети – прежде всего’, хотя последние строки: ‘А я уже не знаю, / Может, прежде всего на свете ... ты?’ (Там же, 19) показывают, насколько сложным является это решение. В последующих сборниках этот мотив дополнится еще одним стихотворением: героиня разрывает добрачные отношения ради материнских обязанностей: ‘Не может быть любви, / Если не будет ребенка, – / Не может быть ребенка, / Потому что где-то далеко – мой сын’ (Zabila 1930-b, 77).

Подчеркивание неразрывности материнской связи с ребенком резко диссонировало с общественной тенденцией отчуждения ребенка от матери. В первом сборнике присутствует также диптих ‘Сказки колыбельные’, однако традиционный жанр Н. Забила развивает как фантастично-символическую лирику, адресатом которой лишь условно можно считать ее сына. Сказочная тематика была также своеобразным вызовом обществу, ведь в первые десятилетия большевистской власти, господствовало мнение, что фантастика сказок вредит развитию детей.

Сборник завершается идеологической балладой ‘Лена’ о расстреле забастовщиков Лензолота в 1912-ом году, рассказанной как история беременной жены погибшего забастовщика, которая преждевременно рождает ребенка из-за этого трагического события. И в следующем сборнике *Избранные стихи* (1930-а) тема материнства теряет приватность и откровенность. Собственно, сборник содержит три стихотворения, касающихся данной темы: ‘Гудок’, ‘Ребенок умер’ и ‘Мать’. Первый стих описывает советскую традицию чествования дат смерти

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политических лидеров заводскими гудками, которые собирали людей на митинг. Героиня произведения также бросает 'одного ребенка дома' и идет 'на властный зов гудков'. 'Ребенок умер' – стихотворение, появившееся до печального опыта самой Н. Забилы. Впрочем, оно вероятно стало следствием какого-то реального эпизода, учитывая детализацию изображения:

С застывших рук холодные хризантемы / На замерзшую землю
роняют лепестки. / Такое тяжелое, такое тяжелое несем, / Что не
поднять, не изогнуть руки ... / такое тяжелое и такое маленькое, – /
Словно в лодке во сне плывет, – / Яркую игрушку зажал в ручке ...
/ Белокурый ... нежный ... И видите – неживой (Zabila, 1930-а, 17).

Лирическая героиня пытается утешить несчастную мать, обратив ее внимание на то, что ее жизнь не ограничивается только материнством, что она – специалист, благодаря творческим мечтам которой растут 'здания радостных домов'. Эти слова являются практически вызовом традиционной женской судьбе, которая ограничивалась семейной жизнью. И хотя тема на самом деле болезненная, Н. Забила раскрывает ее удачнее, чем Агата Турчинская в стихотворении 'Потеря', которое она посвятила неизвестной, но реальной Ире Яременко. Описывая растерянность и отчужденность женщины после потери дочери, Турчинская ограничивается нахождением тривиального смысла: 'Но знаю я, что радость не узнать / Без боли, слез без дорогостоящей потери' (Turchynska 1929, 355). Третье стихотворение – 'Мать' Н. Забилы эксплуатирует тему вечной материнской любви и ожидания.

Примечательно, что сборник *Стихотворения*, изданный ДВУ в том же 1930-ом году, содержит эти три стихотворения в цикле 'Созидательное', а лирику о собственном эмоциональном опыте материнства выделяет в цикл 'Моя

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осень'. Этот цикл начинается со стихотворения 'Август', где героиня наслаждается отдыхом на море, тонко намекая на любовные приключения: 'Руки и плечи солнцем зацелованные, / А губы – никто об этом не знает ...' (Zabila 1930-b, 68). Эту идиллию разрушает упомянутое выше стихотворение 'Один вечер', которое в ткани цикла может толковаться как болезненное воспоминание, потому что следующий стих 'Спеют черешни' возвращает нас в мир природы и любви: 'Море и ветер. Солнце и ты. / Море плещется, брызжет золотом. / Ветер, целуй меня! / Солнце, люби' (Там же, 70), и, несмотря на то, что единственные названные сексуальные действия в этом художественном мире героиня принимает от природы, стихотворение завершается признанием о беременности, которая тоже вписана в образ природы: 'Солнце, слушай, скажу тебе тайну, знаешь – я тоже, как черешневый цвет – <...> / в себе спрятала / Лелею, / выращиваю / плод' (Там же, 70). Эту естественную тему поддерживает и следующее, уже упомянутое выше стихотворение о пантере. Эти образы могут свидетельствовать о недостаточной смелости говорить о собственном теле, стремлении поместить его в привычный для патриархальной традиции контекст природы.

Два следующих стихотворения 'Моя осень' и 'Подснежники', на первый взгляд, не имеют прямого отношения к материнству, но воспроизводят эмоциональное состояние лирической героини: в то время поэтессе было всего 23 года, а она проникнута вопросами: 'Окончился ли путь мой? / Прошло ли лето? / И неужели – зима?' (Там же, 73), которые никак нельзя связать с окончанием жизненного пути. Очевидно, она беспокоится о собственной судьбе женщины: закончилась ли она с приобретением роли матери? Следующие стихи – истории завершения любви в семье, разрыва добрых отношений по инициативе женщины ради защиты сына, увлечения мужчинами и разрывы с

ними, – будто отрицают сомнения и страхи, высказанные ранее, но последнее стихотворение в цикле, ‘У моей дочери глаза цвета олова’, подводит горькую черту:

Летают, реют белым голубем / Мои печальные песни: / Я о своей
огненной молодости / Сплетаю воспоминания грустные. – / Когда-
то заиграет буйным пламенем / Серебристый свинец глаз ... / А
для моих глаз никогда уже / Назад жизнь не потечет. / А ветер
рвет осеннее золото / И я иду – кончаю путь... (Там же, 83).

Этот добровольный отказ лирической героини от личной жизни в пользу материнства поражает и пронизывает, ведь она признает его как главное в жизни. При этом отнюдь не идет речь об общественной роли, а только о личной самореализации: в художественном мире поэзии Н. Забины ребенок никогда не бывает ‘общественным’, она видит в своей новорожденной дочери продолжение собственной женственности.

Как видим, эта лирическая история, составленная из стихов разных лет, игнорируя хронологию, прямая противоположность развитию темы в *Тракторобуде*, изданном в том же году. Возможно, роман был данью конъюнктуре, но также предположим, что Н. Забины творчески осмысливала возможные формы реализации женщины в материнстве: формальную и всепоглощающую. Примечательно, что она не предложила варианта гармоничного сочетания материнства с другими способами реализации женщин.

Вторая героиня этой части исследования – Раиса Троянker. Еврейка, родившаяся в маленьком городке Умань, сбежавшая из него с укротителем тигров. Впоследствии она оставляет его и выходит замуж за начинающего писателя Оноприя Тургана, от которого рождает дочь Олэнку. Как и у Н. Забины,

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материнская тема в творчестве Р. Троянker неоднородна. Она скорее демонстрирует растерянность поэтессы: попытки выступить в роли 'новой женщины', пропагандируя прогрессивные в то время идеи (Троянker принадлежала к группе 'Авангард', которая пропагандировала революционные изменения во всех сферах жизни), проблематизируются собственным опытом, а еще позже материнство вступает в конфликт с творческой самореализацией. Поэтому дискурс материнства приобретает диалогичность. Большинство стихов в двух сборниках Троянker – стихотворения 'новой женщины': она работает на заводе, ликвидирует безграмотность и мечтает построить пятилетку за четыре года. Материнство для нее – прежде всего 'производство' пионеров и октябрят, будущих революционеров. Особое внимание среди этих стихов привлекает стихотворение 'Вечер' ('Вечір'. 1928), где лирическая героиня рассказывает маленькому сыну о возможной войне и признается: 'Отнесу тебя в детдом, / дни в дыму и газах загудят. / Я, маленькая – целого часть, – / и в Красную армию пойду ...' (Trojancker 2009, 78).

Привлекает внимание не только пренебрежение материнскими обязанностями в пользу гражданских, а то, что монолог обращен к сыну, которого в реальности у Троянker не было. Й. Петровський-Штерн трактует это как элемент 'самоэмансипации': 'Троянker меняет гендер своего ребенка, указывая на мужское тело как катализатор творческого письма' (Petrovsky-Stern 2018, 212). Но кажется, что сын является маркером отчуждения собственного голоса от голоса 'новой женщины', для которой материнство мелькает перед бывшими 'огнями восстаний' (которых в жизни Троянker также не было). В другом стихотворении у героини также есть взрослый сын-чекист. В стихотворении 'Письмо' Л. Кардиналовской, у которой в то время не было детей, также фигурирует сын-большевик. Вероятно, сын в этих стихах является

не 'катализатором творческого письма', а ответом на милитаристские запросы времени.

Настоящее имя дочери, Олэнка, становится маркером собственного опыта поэтессы, которая актуализирует совершенно чуждую для дискурса того времени идею рода. Ни в одном из анализируемых текстов не идет речь о ребенке как о члене семьи, наследнике национальных и семейных традиций или качеств. Но украинско-еврейский брак поэтессы вызвал к жизни стихотворение 'Меня папа прогнал и проклял' ('Мене тато прогнав і прокляв', 1928), в котором традиционная еврейская семья не принимает не похожую на них внучку: 'А у Олэнки синь в глазах / и светлые волосы. Что же скажет моя девочка / на острый вопрос "нация"?' (Троянкер 2009, 80). В одном из первых стихов в сборнике героиня, описывая свою беременность, мечтает: 'Может – дочь маленькая ... / Замирает сердце. / Будет у нас октябренок / Маленькая пионерка' (Там же, 77), но с появлением дочери идеологические определения уступают национальным. Троянкер не соглашается с идеологически навязанными представлениями о ребенке как о новом человеке, лишенном наследия традиции. И, несмотря на общественный курс на смешанные браки, интернационализм и разрыв традиций, Раиса Троянкер задается вопросом идентичности своей дочери, подчеркивает важность родства. Другое стихотворение – 'Первая победа' ('Перша перемога', 1928) утверждает как событие вставание Олэнки на ножки, называя его триумфом, и одновременно глорифицирует материнское чувство: 'Большое счастье, когда ты можешь / себя чувствовать матерью' (Там же, 93). Интересно, что граница между личным, реальным опытом и идеологической конструкцией материнства закрепляет и отличающиеся гендерные роли: лирическая героиня воспроизводит феминное поведение в стихах о реальной дочери и маскулинное – рядом с вымышленным сыном.

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Но самыми ценными, с точки зрения свидетельства об эмоциональном опыте женщины 1920-х годов, являются два стихотворения, которые, несмотря на разнородную тематику, объединены мотивом протеста против общественного давления. Первое стихотворение – ‘В десятую годовщину’ (‘У десяту річницю’, 1927) – история матери-работницы, которая не может пойти на торжественное собрание на заводе, где должна сделать доклад, потому что ее ребенок болен и нуждается в уходе. Это понятное сегодня решение вводит героиню в конфликт с коллективом:

Знаю, Зина скажет: / « Видишь, свое всего дороже!» И улыбка на
губы ляжет, / И всем будет ясно вот что: / Скажут: «Вот какая
большевичка – / все слова, а на деле нет» / У ребенка пятна на
личике ... / Зина слова ‘мать’ не знает ... Ой сегодня все меня
ругают, Я лишь мать, я только мать (Там же, 81– 82).

Поэтесса уже примеряла себе роль работницы завода, когда описывала историю разрыва с консервативной иудейской семьей ради светлого будущего. Но в стихотворении ‘В десятую годовщину’ она порывает с ‘новыми женщинами’, демонстрируя, как их давление скрывает реальную проблему: несмотря на новое законодательство, которое гарантировало женщинам широкие права, идеологическая практика сводит эти достижения на нет, и женщине приходится отстаивать свое право быть матерью.

Стихотворение ‘Рождение поэта’ (‘Народження поета’, 1928) – самый откровенный образец выхода из-под влияния социальных институтов ради самореализации, ведь поэтесса дискутирует не только со старым или новым конструктом материнства, а с любой попыткой общества навязать ей правила поведения. Рождение поэта (в тексте стихотворения – поэтессы) происходит в

момент освобождения от социальных ролей, даже когда речь идет о самой желанной из них. Лирическая героиня переживает угрызения совести, что ее стихи рождаются во время болезни дочери, но, несмотря на все, ценит эти мгновения творчества и утверждает свое право на них. Очевидно, именно проблема сочетания творческой свободы и материнства волновала Троянker больше всего. По крайней мере, в стихотворении 'Ночной разговор' ('Нічна розмова', 1928), в котором лирическая героиня обращается к Мефистофелю, утверждает: 'Легко быть любовницей / Даже матерью и женщиной / Но как увязать это с призванием творца ...' (Там же, 106). Обращение к дьяволу свидетельствует о неверии в возможность такого сочетания в реальности того времени.

Искренность, с которой эти поэтессы рассказывают о собственном материнстве, контрастирует с закрытостью этой темы в творчестве поэтесс междувоенного двадцатилетия вне советской республики, в частности Натали Ливицкой-Холодной и Олэны Телиги. В сборнике первой 'Огонь и зола' ('Вогонь і попіл', 1932) материнство вспоминается лишь раз как потенциальная часть отношений с мужчиной ('Барвинок-зелье'/'Барвін-зілля'). У Олэны Телиги мотив материнства не менее редкостный и не относится к лирической героине, а является символом рода и родины ('Возвращение'/'Поворот'). В известной статье 'Какими нас желаете?' ('Якими нас прагнете?', 1935) Телига резко критикует традиционный образ матери:

Когда от такой женщины требуется быть только матерью и женщиной, то для нее будет много важнее родная крыша, чем родная земля. А детей своих (а иногда и мужа) воспитает она «по своему образу и подобию» героями борьбы за жизненные выгоды и за всяческие, для этого нужные, компромиссы. Тогда ее

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привязанность к своему тесному коллективу – семье, не раз толкнет ее к измене большего коллектива – нации (Teliha 2006, 93).

Поэтесса утверждает, что современная ей женщина стремится быть ‘иным, но равноправным и верным союзником мужчин в борьбе за жизнь, а главное – за нацию’ (Teliha 2006, 101), а это означает, в частности, и воспитывать в своих детях жертвенную любовь к родине. Все же за пафосом идеологии прячется и личная драма Олэны Телиги – она не могла иметь детей после сделанного аборта. Но этот опыт не стал темой творческого осмысления.

Высказанные Телигой идеи имели влияние, о чем свидетельствует трилогия Ирины Вильде ‘Бабочки на булавках’ (‘Метелики на шпильках’, 1935-1939), героиня которой Дарка Попович отказывается от брака из-за того, что не воспринимает жениха партнером в воспитании ‘новых’ людей, а именно в этом она видит свое назначение.

Заключение

Итак, женские тексты того времени позволяют с близкой дистанции посмотреть на опыт материнства во времена резких социальных изменений 1920-х годов. В отличие от текстов медийного идеологического дискурса и мужских текстов тех времен, женская проза проблематизирует новый конструкт материнства, а лирика передает личный опыт. На основании рассмотренных текстов можем сделать вывод, что материнство в то время начинает осмысливаться как личное решение, а не обреченность, одновременно оно побуждает женщину сохранять семью, вопреки тогдашней практике упрощенных разводов. Противостояние идеологии в целом окрашивает материнство того времени: это касается как критики условий труда, при которых женщины не имеют возможности

заботиться о своих детях, так и марксистских постулатов, вроде распада семьи и отрицания семейного воспитания. Распространенность мотива болезни и смерти ребенка (что опирается на реальную высокую детскую смертность в те годы) становится эмоциональным аргументом против определенного идеологией доминирования обязанностей работницы (колесика системы) над материнскими обязанностями, которые мыслятся как внесистемные, почти не поддающиеся идеологии. Впрочем, в лирике, которая воспроизводит личный опыт поэтессы, материнство может вступать в конфликт с самореализацией лирической героини как женщины и как творца.

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**DEPORTATION AND RECONCILIATION: THE HISTORICAL AND LITERARY
IMAGE OF POSTWAR POLAND'S LEMKOS IN ANDRZEJ STASIUK'S PROSE**

Tylawa, Tylawa, okruhle sełeczko,
Jak ja tia ne wydžu, bolyt mia serdeczko.¹

Якось лемка старого я малою спитала,
чого голову завжди до землі прихиляє.
А тому, що, дитино, я живу на чужині.
Гордо голову свою я носив на
Лемківщині. Чуже поле тут сію і чуже
споживаю, навіть словом чужим я вже
тут розмовляю.²

Introduction

The present paper brings together separate narrations, descriptions and comments referring to the Lemkos in Andrzej Stasiuk's prose into a unified literary image of this ethnic group against the background of Lemko history. It utilises historical sources and written narrations focused on the most recent past of the Lemko people, and Lemko fiction – all in conjunction with Stasiuk's perception of this matter, which os-

¹ A Lemko song created in exile.

² Stepaniya Homa, m. Nadwirna. 'Once, as a child, I asked an old Lemko why he was always leaning his head to the ground. That's because, child, I'm an expatriate now. I used to be a proud citizen of my native land, Lemkivshchyna. I am sowing here someone else's field, consuming what belongs to them. I've even started speaking their language.' Stepania Khoma, *Nadvirna town*, translation Olha Dovbush (cited from Kabatchiy, 2018, 8).

cillates between the Lemkos' collective memory with its deep grievances over deportation and their reconciliation with the current situation.

A Brief History of the Lemkos

Writing about his adopted homeland, the contemporary Bieszczads, Andrzej Stasiuk frequently touches on dramatic moments from the past of the original inhabitants. He creates a vivid artistic vision of changes caused by the waves of forced migration of the Lemkos from 1939-1947. The Polish author writes fiction that is full of compassion for the Lemkos, a people who were forced to leave their homeland, and he sees his task as one of resurrecting, as far as possible, the things that were destroyed.

In the south-eastern corner of Poland, in the Low Beskids and the Bieszczady Mountains, lies the Lemko Land (Polish *Lemkowszczyzna*; Ukrainian *Lemkivshchyna*, *Lemkovyna*).³ Now remote and sparsely populated, this territory is the ancestral home of one of Europe's most distinct minorities, the Lemkos, who, for the most part, practise Eastern Rite Christianity (the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church or Eastern Orthodox Church), speak an East Slavic vernacular (see Struminski (2000, 101–106) for further information on the Lemko language) and use the Cyrillic alphabet: they are close to the larger Ukrainian community. Before 1944 the Lemko population lived in a compact cluster in Poland and was estimated to be between 50,000-150,000 people; by the end of the 1930s the number of Greek Catholics and Orthodox (or Lemkos) was calculated as 130,121 (Duć-Fajfer 2001, 8). According to a 2011 census of mi-

³ Antoni Kroh explains the variety of these names by the ethnic orientation of the Lemkos and their national position: 'The Ruthenian-oriented Lemko will use the name Lemkovyna, whereas the Ukrainian-oriented Lemko will say: Lemkivshchyna. The Polish name for the country is Lemkowszczyzna' (Kroh and Drożdżik 2006, 12). I use these names synonymously.

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norities in Poland, 10,000 citizens declared Lemko identity.⁴ The question of the ethno-national identity of the Lemkos has always aroused disputes among historians, sociologists, linguists and anthropologists. The Lemkos themselves had, and still have, problems with their own ethnic and national identification. Indeed, the ambiguity of the Lemko national identity caused conflicts and tragedies within families, villages and in churches. 'Starting more or less from the decline of the 19th century the Ruthenian and Ukrainian ideologies began to intercross and oppose one another in the Lemko Land. The Ukrainian ideologists claimed that the Lemkos are the Ukrainians of a very low national awareness, where the Ruthenian ones considered them to be a branch of the Ruthenian people, distinct from the Ukrainian.' (Kroh and Drożdżik, 2006, 11). According to Jarosław Moklak (2012, 15), 'The political engagement of the pro-Russian and national-Ukrainian camps, growing since the late 19th century, accelerated the process of political self-definition among Lemkos. Until the outbreak of the World War, both orientations interwove with each other, developing their agendas throughout the entire region.' After the dissolution of the Russian Empire as well as the Habsburg Monarchy in November 1918, the Polish and the Ukrainian people living in Eastern Galicia fought for their national independence and the establishment of new nation states. The conflict of interests led to the outbreak of war between Poland and Ukraine. Against the background of these events two short-lived Lemko states emerged: the Ruthenian National Republic of the Lemkos (with a Russophile orientation and an intent of unification with Soviet Russia) and the pro-Ukrainian Komancza Republic of Eastern Lemkivshchyna, which 'planned to unite with the

⁴ A recent (2011) census (Narodowy Spis Powszechny) of minorities in Poland stated that there are 7,000 Lemkos with first-declared ethnonationality and a total of 10,000 (including second-declared ethnonationality). 'Przynależność narodowo-etniczna ludności', in *Raport z wyników. Narodowy Spis Powszechny Ludności i Mieszkań 2011*, 105–107. Warszawa: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2012. https://stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/gus/lud_raport_z_wynikow_NSP2011.pdf. Compare: Machul-Telus (2013, 7).

Western Ukrainian People's Republic, but was dispersed by the Poles on 23 January 1919, during the Ukrainian-Polish War' (Smele 2015, 505).

During the inter-war period there were four rival political orientations to be found in the Lemko population: Ukrainian, Moscovophile, Old Rus and government (pro-Polish). For details see Moklak (2000, 27-32) and also Moklak (2013, 35-59; 83-104), which show in detail the mechanisms of the functioning of the competing Lemko political orientations in Poland between 1918 and 1939: Old Rusyns, Moscovophiles and National Movement Activists.

The Lemkos in Poland to this day maintain two separate orientations: the Ukrainian and Carpatho-Rusyn. In the Polish consciousness, Lemko is very often equal to Ukrainian (Kwilecki 1974, 274; Machul-Telus 2013, 8). As a result of the forcible deportation at the end of World War II and afterwards, the majority of Poland's Lemkos were resettled from their historic homeland to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (numbering about 70,000) and scattered in the North-Western region of Poland (about 40,000) (Kaczyński 1991, 1).

Already in July 1944 the new Polish-Soviet border was determined. The Allies recognised the Soviet Union's right to the territory east of the 1939 border. However, according to Stalin's decision, the Bieszczady and Lesko were transferred to Poland, which was under his control. At the beginning of the war a few Lemkos left Łemkowszczyzna for Soviet Ukraine. Inspired by the idea of liberation from fascism, at the turn of 1944 some Lemkos voluntarily enrolled in the Soviet Army. Many of those who survived wanted to return home. Meanwhile, in their villages, Soviet functionaries suggested 'repatriation' to the east. Poland's Lemkos remained at home, on their native lands, but the policy of the new Polish government towards them can be viewed as one of betrayal. When, in 1945, a Ukrainian delegation (including the Lemkos) representing Rzeszow, Lublin and Krakow districts was sent to see the Pol-

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ish Council of Ministry in regard to the needs of the Ukrainian population for schools, including Elementary Schools, High Schools, Teacher Training Colleges, and Trade Schools, the Council officially declared that Poland was not the same as it had been prior to 1939 and, therefore, its nationalities would not be oppressed. However, it was recommended that the Ukrainians ought to resettle in the Soviet Union for the good of both the Poles and the Ukrainians, because, in this way, according to the Polish state authorities, it would be possible to eliminate the historical tendency of the two nations to settle scores with each other (see Hryhor, 2018).⁵ Already before the end of the war, on 9 September 1944, Edward Osóbka-Morawski and Nikita Khrushchev had signed an agreement on the evacuation of Ukrainians from Poland and Poles from the Ukrainian SSR. The second region that was to be subject to resettlement was the south-western part of the Ukrainian-inhabited Polish territories, near the Polish-Czechoslovak border. 'According to this agreement, resettlement was to be voluntary' (Subtelny 2001,155). The criterion of religion was decisive (Pisuliński 2009, 27-30), but in Lemko villages, the Soviet and pro-Soviet organs propagated information persuading the population to agree to resettlement. Some people, mostly the poorest Lemkos, who lived in the places most damaged by the war, yielded to communist pressure and voluntarily resettled to Soviet Ukraine (Mazur 2001, 41). Orest Subtelny (2001,158) recognised the Russophilic orientation of some Lemkos as another reason for this voluntary action:

This region was populated by a substantial minority of Lemkos, a distinct ethnic group, which at that time had not yet defined their national identity. Among this population, Ukrainian national consciousness was

⁵ The full article, in Ukrainian, appeared in *Annals of the World Lemko Federation*. Hryhor 1975, 135; Bohdan Huk/ Гук 2008, 9.

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weak, and sympathies for the Soviet Union were considerable. These regions were still a bastion of Russophilism, and many of the residents argued that they, who sometimes called themselves Rusyns, were a branch of the great and powerful Russian nation.

Thereafter some Lemkos ‘who left Poland for Soviet Ukraine in 1945-1946 as so called voluntary-enforced emigrants, having realised what they had come to, hurried back to Poland either as repatriates (claiming to be Polish or using false identity) or crossed the border illegally’ (Kroh 2006, 21). Those who managed to return gave first-hand information about life under the communist régime in the USSR (see, for example, the memories by Teodor Gocz from Zydranowa in Gocz (2011, 51)). It quickly became apparent to the Polish authorities that resettlement would take an enforced form (Pisuliński 2009, 219). The idea of achieving ethnic homogeneity in Poland – like the idea of the expulsion of Germans from Czechoslovakia – was seen by the authorities as being necessary in the spirit of post-war changes. Under the next, more decisive, agreement (16 August 1945) thousands of Lemkos were forcefully removed from their native land. Teodor Gocz, an eyewitness of these events, wrote about their suffering in his native Zydranowa, a village in the administrative district of Gmina Dukla, close to the border with Slovakia:

Our tragedy began when some of the farmers had cut the grass and corn, and some of them had even harvested their potatoes. On October 2 a large contingent of the Polish army arrived in the village. The officers announced that people should pack for leaving, because on the next day they would be sent to Ukraine. Not everybody believed this, but people were scared because it was already autumn, winter was coming and they were afraid of the resettlement. During the night, the army began to collect the rest of the cattle, sheep and horses that had not been taken by the Germans. In the village of Zydranowa,

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32 families were resettled, all of which by different means struggled against relocation. Some hid in the forest, others went to different villages... In 1945, 125 families were forcibly resettled from Zyndranowa. After their departure from Wróblík (by train – O.W.) it seemed that the village would still be teeming with the lives of those who had stayed. Most of the houses were empty, with only cats meowing woefully, as the owners were gone and there was nobody to feed them (Gocz 2011, 43-50).⁶

‘Akcja Wisła’ (‘Operation Vistula’), 1947-1950, was the culmination of a process of ethnic cleansing, ejecting the Lemkos from their homes, and the deliberate destruction of their ethnicity. At the end of the war, some UPA (the Ukrainian Insurgent Army) units fought in the Lemko region. A few of the Lemkos actually sympathised with the UPA, but most of them were not motivated by ideology: they helped anyone who needed their support, or were forced to help one or other side at this dangerous time. In Poland they were traditionally regarded as a branch of the Ukrainian nationality, and in 1946-1947 the Polish authorities perceived all Lemkos as sympathisers of the Ukrainian nationalists.

⁶ ‘Kiedy gospodarze skosili trawę i zboże, a niektórzy wykopali już ziemniaki, rozpoczęła się nasza tragedia. 2 października do wsi przyjechało dużo polskiego wojska. Oficerowie ogłosili, żeby ludzie przygotowali się do wyjazdu, bo w następnym dniu [...] będą wywozić na Ukrainę. Nie wszyscy w to wierzyli, ale strach ogarnął ludzi, bo była już jesień, zbliżała się zima i każdy bał się tego wysiedlenia. Wojsko, nocą, zaczęło zabierać te resztki bydła, owiec, koni, których nie zabrali Niemcy [...]. We wsi Zyndranowa zostały wywiezione 32 rodziny, które w różny sposób broniły się przed wysiedleniem. Niektórzy skryli się w lesie, inni poszli do innych wsi... W 1945 r. przymusowo wysiedlono ze wsi Zyndranowa około 125 rodzin. Po ich wyjeździe z Wróblíka (pociągiem – O.W.) wydawało się, że wieś będzie dalej tętnić życiem z tymi mieszkańcami, którzy pozostali. Większość domów została pusta, miauczały w nich tylko żałosne koty, bo brakowało w nich gospodarzy i nie było komu ich nakarmić.’ All translations from Polish are mine, if a translator is not noted. Patrycja Trzeszczyńska, a Polish anthropologist, has explored 66 Lemko discourses (diaries, autobiographies, interviews, etc. published in Poland and Ukraine) and reconstructed the memories of witnesses to the tragic events (Trzeszczyńska 2013, 168-402).

In the Vistula Operation, innocent people, civilians – Ukrainians and the Lemkos among them (who found themselves on the Ukrainian side of the Polish-Ukrainian conflict) – suspected of helping the Ukrainian underground, were forcibly ousted from their homes, herded into transport wagons, and forced to relocate among a hostile Polish population, who perceived them as Ukrainian enemies. The main aim of this vigorous campaign was to relocate these people as individual families, scattering them all over the recovered territories (from which the German inhabitants had just fled or been expelled), where they would soon be assimilated with Poles. Eugeniusz Miśło, a historian from Warsaw, has stated that it is still unknown whose initiative the Vistula Operation and its forced expulsions was, Polish or Soviet (Miśło 1993, 18). A similar opinion is presented by Roman Drozd (2001, 158-165), who underlines the controversial character of the issue of the eviction and resettlement of the Lemkos. In either case, the Polish authorities modelled it on Soviet actions. As Marek Jasiak (2001, 175) notes, ‘The Polish military-administrative solution to the Ukrainian problem was, in practice, nothing more than a Stalinist approach to ethnic policy’.

This repressive action was meant to disperse the Ukrainians (including Lemkos) in the so-called ‘recovered lands’ (northwestern Poland) and it included the following resolutions: firstly, to relocate Ukrainian and mixed marriages to these lands and to place them ‘in clusters not exceeding 10 percent of the total population, at least 50 km from the land borders, 30 km from maritime borders and provincial cities’, and, secondly, to coordinate this operation with the governments of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia (Miśło 1993, 24; 65). This policy was encouraged and approved by the Polish inhabitants. According to Miśło, even in the Western Lemkivshchyna, where the UPA activity was negligible and Polish-Ukrainian conflict was practically non-existent, the local community was in favour of the deportation of the Lemkos and sympathised with the government (ibid., 20). In mid-1947 the entire region was de-

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sented, as the Lemkos were now scattered throughout the northern and western territories of Poland.

The deportation clearly traumatised the Ukrainians and Lemkos. 'They were dispersed among the Polish population, practically without trace, and they generally arrived empty-handed [...], receiving no compensation for the land and property they had left behind' (Subtelny 2001, 169). Some of them returned to their abandoned homes in the Low Beskids and the Bieszczady Mountains in the years of political thaw. By the late 1950s, about 2,000 of them had managed to return to the Carpathian Mountains (Reinfuss 1990, 132), overcoming different obstacles of an economic and political nature (the same number is given by Kwilecki (1974,199)). Kazimierz Pudło (1995, 374) states that 6,000 Lemko families had returned since 1956, that is about 3 percent of those in Poland. Since the end of the 1980s, the consequences of the deportation have been widely discussed in Polish, Ukrainian and English by historians, journalists, anthropologists and eyewitnesses of the tragedy.⁷ Pudło (1995, 351) has noted the omission of the Lemko question in Poland until 1956 and the sparsity of studies before 1987 (1987, 8). From 1987 there has been more attention paid to Lemko issues in present-day Poland. There has been something of a rebirth of Lemko culture, beginning with the founding of the Song and Dance Company 'Lemkovyna' by Jarosław Trochanowski, a Lemko composer and musician who returned to his home in 1968, the publishing of Lemko primers, language textbooks, poetry and prose; the opening of the Skansen of Lemko Culture in Zyndranowa by Fedir Gocz in 1968; and the founding of the Lemko Watra (1983), the Society of Lemkos (1989) and the Union of Lemkos (1990). Publications discuss the current material conditions of Lemkos living in Poland, the problem of material compensation for the community's

⁷ In 1997 'A Select Bibliography of Polish Press Writing on the Lemko Question, 1987–1993' by Susyn Y. Michalasky came out. See <http://www.carpatho-rusyn.org/susyn/susyn2.htm>, accessed 16.01.2018.

losses, renovation of their churches, etc. They are concerned with the collective and cultural memory of the Lemko community, the Lemkos' fight for survival in the conditions in which they find themselves; that is, reconciling themselves with their situation.⁸ There has also been some émigré work on this topic, for example, Diana Howansky Reilly's (2013) history of Ukrainian relocation, in which the author, drawing on oral interviews and archival research, narrates the story of the main characters, the Lemko Pyrtej family.

Stasiuk's portrayal of the Lemkos

Literature, unlike history, gives a fictitious narrative of events, but it often reflects historical reality. Andrzej Stasiuk (born on 25 September 1960 in Warsaw), one of the most successful and internationally acclaimed contemporary Polish writers, was the first Polish author to raise the Lemko question through literature in early 1990. In 1986, prior to his literary fame, he had left his native city of Warsaw and withdrawn to the small village of Czarne, previously Lemkovyna, in the Beskids. He lives at present in Wołowiec, about five kilometres from Czarne. Today Wołowiec is made up of a dozen or so farms, an Orthodox church and a cemetery. From the outset of his solitary life here, he encountered the way in which this picturesque land was weighed

⁸ It is worth mentioning at least some of them here: K. Pudło, *Łemkowie* (1987); T. A. Olszański, 'Wokół łemkowskich "Watr" i spraw' (1989); A. Kaczyński, 'Łemków miało nie być' (1991); H. Duć-Fajfer, *Łemkowie w Polsce* (1992); Janusz Albin and Jan Chudy, 'Z genezy Stowarzyszenia Łemków' (1994); J. Albin, 'Próby odbudowy łemkowskich tradycji kulturowych na Podkarpaciu' (1999/2000); *Łemkowie, Bojkowie, Rusini – historia, współczesność, kultura materialna i duchowa* (vol. 1, 2007 and all subsequent volumes); J. Syrnyk, *Ukraińskie Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne (1956-1990)* (2008); S. Dudra, *Poza małą ojczyznę. Łemkowie na Ziemi Lubuskiej* (2008); H. Duć-Fajfer, *Między bukwą a literą. Współczesna literatura mniejszości białoruskiej, ukraińskiej i łemkowskiej w Polsce* (2012); S. Dudra, 'Łemkowskie "stawanie się" narodem' (2013); M. A. Koprowski, *Łemkowie: losy zaginionego narodu* (2016); S. Dubiel-Dmytryszyn, *Rusini, Łemkowie, Ukraińcy: w kręgu rusińskiej tożsamości etnicznej w Karpatach* (2018).

down by tragic events. His reaction to this new location can be seen in *Wschód* ('The East') in which he wrote: 'In '86, I came to live in a wooden house in the middle of nowhere. (...) The sun rose over a dark hill. It climbed higher and higher and shone over the deserted land. On graves and roadside crosses. (...) On the skeletons of church Domes. On the remains.'⁹

Stasiuk is a writer who constantly touches on the issue of the resettlement and deportation of the Lemkos – from *Opowieści galicyjskie* (1995; English version *Tales of Galicia*, 2003) to *Wschód* (2014). In his everyday life he has always been concerned with the tragedy of the native lands of his adopted home. In his specific style – impressionistic, imaginative, fragmentary, often filled with magic and irony – the writer has tried to reconstruct the deportation of the Lemkos in vivid and concrete detail. Of Stasiuk's style one scholar has noted that he 'is able to play merry havoc with genre. Quite consciously and deliberately, he intertwines memoir, travelogue, and nature writing, together with an admixture of reportage and latter-day ethnography, all subordinated to the wistful discipline of the languid prose' (Johnstone 2011, viii). Such a writing craft is able to make history and the present time overlap. The following passage is similar to an historical re-enactment, but it is more emotional as a result of the imaginary characters and scenery. The narrator appears to be a living witness of the events:

There was running and shouting, dragging out of the cottages and beating. Soldiers in uniforms, but really they were the security force

⁹ 'W osiemdziesiątym szóstym zamieszkałem w drewnianym domu na odludziu. [...] Słońce wstawało znad ciemnego zbocza. Wspinało się wyżej i świeciło na tę wyludnioną krainę. Na groby i przydrożne krzyże. [...] Na szkielety cerkiewnych kopców. Na resztki.' (Stasiuk 2014, 14-15)

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equipped for field work. (...) So, no nature, only politics, class hatred, national hatred and the blessing of the Kremlin man-eater. From the very beginning, I had been haunted by the vision of an endless string of wagons driving the nation to the train station in Zagorzany. House after house, family after family, village after village. On the wagons, there was their property (a few hours for packing), small children and old people. The rest walked leading their cattle. Hens, dogs and cats stayed in the households. Villages in the summer of '47 must have looked peculiar: doors creaking in the wind, on the floors lay abandoned equipment, open drawers, spilled grain, feathers in the air. It was silent, and no smoke rose from the chimneys. I wonder whether foxes came first from the forest to plunder the poultry houses undisturbed, or looters from Polish villages and towns.¹⁰

In the last sentences, the author/narrator shows the local Poles' lack of compassion and shrewd exploitation of the situation.

In his *Dziennik okrętowy* (2000, 'The Log-book') Stasiuk reconstructs the experience of the resettled Lemkos in their new home in the form of a heart-to-heart talk with his Lemko neighbour from Czarne. The neighbour's own family was scattered in 1947 in western Poland and his relatives, tempted by propaganda, were resettled to

¹⁰ 'Były krzyki, bieganina, wywlekanie z chałup, przekleństwa, bicie. Żołnierze w mundurach, ale tak naprawdę to wyekwipowana polowo bezpieka [...] Czyli żadna przyroda, tylko polityka, nienawiść klasowa, nienawiść narodowościowa i błogosławieństwo kremlońskiego ludojada. Od samego początku nawiedzała mnie wizja niekończącego się węża furmanek wywożącego naród na stację kolejową w Zagórzanach. Dom za domem, rodzina za rodziną, wieś za wsią. Na furkach jechał dobytek (kilka godzin na spakowanie), małe dzieci i starcy. Reszta szła, prowadząc bydło. W obejściach zostały kury, psy i koty. Wsie latem czterdziestego siódmego musiały wyglądać dziwnie: skrzypiały na wietrze drzwi, na podłogach leżały porzucone sprzęty, otwarte szuflady, rozsypane zboże, puch w powietrzu. Panowała cisza i z żadnego komina nie unosił się dym. Ciekawi mnie, czy najpierw nadeszły z lasu lisy, by bez przeszkód plądrować kurniki, czy też rabusie z polskich wsi i miasteczek.' (Stasiuk 2014, 15-16)

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Soviet Ukraine. He himself miraculously avoided their fate. The newcomer and the survivor are talking peacefully and privately. It appears as if both of them have become reconciled with their situation, but memory is still active and causes anxiety. Stasiuk's narrative has echoes of Bogdan Gambal's autobiographical notes about his parents born in Czarne and deported in 1947: 'The Legnica region for my parents never really became a homeland, it was a life in exile' (Gambal 2016, 226).

The neighbour tells me about his visits to the west, people there still live out of suitcases since those are German houses, German land, and in beds, here and there, the covers still are warm with Protestant warmth. Something given – at least if it is big enough – never becomes one's own. It mostly concerns the land. Especially land that was taken away and returned in place of what was stolen. It bears the curse of one's own and somebody else's misery.¹¹

It is worth recalling that Stasiuk is a part of a generation of writers who came of age in the years after the collapse of communism, and his works are preoccupied with the ghosts of Poland's communist past. In the post-communist landscape he finds the consequences of the Ukrainian Lemko policy of 1944–1947. With pain in his heart, the author/narrator observes empty villages and hamlets (Czarne, Nieznajowa, Radocyn, Długie, etc.), where not long ago the Lemkos lived. With bitter irony he talks about the history of post-communist life:

¹¹ 'Sąsiad opowiada mi o swoich wizytach na zachodzie, gdzie tak naprawdę żyje się wciąż trochę na walizkach, bo przecież to niemieckie domy, niemiecka ziemia, a w łóżkach tu i owdzie, zastawało się pierzyny jeszcze ciepłe protestanckim ciepłem. Darowana rzecz – jeśli tylko jest wystarczająco wielka – nigdy nie staje się rzeczą własną. Najbardziej dotyczy to ziemi. Zwłaszcza takiej, która wcześniej została zabrana i oddana w miejsce również zrabowanej. Ciąży na niej podwójne przekleństwo własnego i cudzego nieszczęścia.' (Stasiuk 2001, 88)

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[...] and today the grass covers the outlines of their [Lemko] houses and one needs an animal instinct and an archaeologist's experience to discover the signs of bygone life. When I take a westerner to this region and I try to explain that he is walking across a populous and bustling village, they cannot believe that my story is fifty, not five hundred, years old. [Cemeteries] manage to survive a bit longer [...].¹²

Ruins, single wooden Lemko cottages, desolate or thinly populated villages, towns in which there are never more than two buses waiting at the bus station, become the scenery of *Dukla* (1997) and *Tales of Galicia*, two among several of Stasiuk's works available in English (among the others are *White Raven*, *Nine*, *Fado* and *On the Road to Babadag*). Once the Lemko land began behind Dukla, and so now 'Dukla is the overture to empty spaces' (Stasiuk 2011, 64), he says metaphorically and with sad irony. This historical town, which is situated some 16 kilometres from the Slovak border, has itself kept traces of the Lemkos' culture in the hidden backyards of the local museum:

Blades of grass and loops of coloured yarn had been shaped into an image of the Dukla town hall. [...] Further on there were Orthodox churches and chapels scorched on wood, pictures assembled from straw of coloured scraps of material, thick, uneven oil paintings, all showing the beauty of the Dukla region. (2011, 24-25)

¹² '[...] a dziś trawa kryje zarysy ich [Łemków] domów i trzeba zwierzęcego instynktu albo wprawy archeologa, by odkryć znaki niedawnego życia [...]. Gdy zabieram w te rejony jakiegoś człowieka Zachodu i próbuję mu wyjaśnić, że idzie przez ludną i gwarną wieś, nie może uwierzyć, że opowiadam historię sprzed pięćdziesięciu lat, a nie sprzed pięćuset. [Cmentarzom] udaje się przetrwać odrobinę dłużej [...].' (Stasiuk 2001, 86-87)

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After the Lemkos were deported, most of their traditional customs were no longer practised and the folk art connected with those customs was no longer produced. To some extent, however, Lemko folk craft (decorative painting, wood carving, weaving and tapestry) has been continued by separate survivors (autochthons) and some older Poles who grew up near Lemko communities. Stasiuk gives prominence to this fact in *Dukla*. Looking for Lorrain masterpieces at the local museum in vain,¹³ the narrator of these stories set in the early 1990s is confused about historical changes, such a 'bizarre transformation that had swept Lorrain aside and replaced him with a Goryunov, a Shpagin submachine gun, and pictures burned on wood and made with coloured threads.' He 'couldn't fathom the final destination of time' (Stasiuk 2011, 26), which had changed the local people and their values.

Occasionally the narrative mentions Lemko churches, mostly those that have been ruined: 'That time we'd been sitting on the hill behind the wooden church' (ibid., 17); 'This was all that remained of the Greek Catholic church' (Stasiuk 2003, 50); 'The Greek Catholic church, he thought then, the church. There it was, falling to pieces to the right of the path. Young birch saplings, sown by the wind, were growing on the thick, roofless walls' (Stasiuk 2003, 90). The wooden churches of the Lemkos are perhaps the most distinctive feature of the Lemkovyna landscape.

Most Lemkos in Poland were Eastern-rite or Byzantine-rite Catholics (Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church), while a substantial minority belonged to the Orthodox Church. The Lemko church ('tserkva') – from an architectural point of view – was and still is a unique phenomenon of sacred construction. The distinctive wooden architectural style of these temples is their typical ground plan, and – very often – the highest cupola of the church is placed at the entrance, with the roof sloping down-

¹³ The historical museum in Dukla is an eighteenth-century palace, the residence of the Mniszechs of Moravia, who owned a rich collection of European paintings.

wards towards the sanctuary (see for details: Brykowski 1986, 89–93, who distinguishes five types of Lemko churches; Kryciński 2005; Grażyna and Zygmunt Malinowski, Elżbieta and Piotr Marcinişzyn 2009). There were also many Lemko churches with the highest cupola at the centre.¹⁴ When the Lemko minority was resettled, the new Catholic owners of the churches frequently did not take care of their condition; and many of them were allowed to fall into neglect. The third chapter of Bozhena and Oleh Iwanusiw’s (1987) photo album *Church in Ruins* gives a list of churches that no longer exist and drawings of those whose pictures could not be obtained from photographs. Five churches from Lemkovyna have survived and been entered on the UNESCO World Heritage List (St Michael’s church in Brunary, 1777, and St Jacob’s in Powroźnik, 1600, are among them).¹⁵ This subject has also been described in detail by Jarosław Giemza and Jerzy Tur (2017) in their book on churches and icons of Lemkovyna.

In Stasiuk’s balladic and magical *Tales of Galicia*, both fictitious ghosts and fictitious beings recurrently come into contact with Lemko churches. As Anna Jamrozek-Sowa describes in picturesque style, ‘The ghosts of displaced Lemko are still wandering among the wild apple trees and their houses, of which only cellars remain.’¹⁶

¹⁴ In ‘Architektura cerkiewna’ Jerzy Tur (Giemza and Tur 2017, 98-99) describes a few types of Lemko churches, he explains the variety of Lemko church architecture by the specific location, the close contact of two cultures – Latin and Byzantine, and their interfacing.

¹⁵ *Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa: Rejestr zabytków nieruchomych*. Wojewodztwo małopolskie; wojewodztwo podkarpackie. 31 grudnia 2017. https://www.nid.pl/pl/Informacje_ogolne/Zabytki_w_Polsce/rejestr-zabytkow/zestawienia-zabytkow-nieruchomych/stan%20na%2031.12.2017/MAL-rej.pdf

¹⁶ ‘Pomiędzy zdziczałymi jabłoniami i domami, po których pozostały już tylko piwnice, błakają się duchy wysiedlonych Łemków.’ (Jamrozek-Sowa 1996, 197)

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The wooden Lemko church is the protagonist of a short story entitled 'Place', with its narrator/author withdrawn into the background. There is in fact no church. It was removed for restoration, leaving only the shape, the 'place' of the title:

Place. It didn't take them long. Two months. A rectangle of grey, clayed earth was all that was left. That bareness looked like a strip of torn skin in the wooded and desolate landscape. Grass would grow here next year, for the first time in two hundred years. Or rather nettles. They show up more quickly than anything else in the places people abandon.

'Nothing. They took it to a museum.'

'The whole thing?'

'The whole thing, piece by piece.'

He walked into the beaten-down little square [...] (Stasiuk 2003, 42)

As if in contrast to the quick removal of the church, the narrator, who, like Stasiuk, lives in the former Łemkowszczyzna, step by step reconstructs in his imagination the prolonged and complicated process of the erection of the temple: 'From consecration of that patch of earth, up through the risky operation of security domes to the steep, banked rooftops' (Stasiuk 2003, 50). It was erected using log construction with shingled walls and roofs. The narrator thinks it likely that the local Lemkos started construction in winter, when they had a lot of time and relatively easy transport. His sense organs and his artistic sense vividly feel '[t]he high-pitched sound of saws, the blows of axes shaping the corner joints, the master builders' commands and curses as the next hewn log was raised' (ibid., 47). It took almost a year to erect the temple:

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By autumn it was already done. The last shingles were nailed down. The structure was closed. Inside, the floor was laid out. A fragment of the world had been taken out of the world, brought to another realm (Stasiuk 2003, 47).

And then, surely, whole decades must have passed before the interior took on its dignified and ceremonial appearance. There was something moving in the amateur polychromy imitating stone cornices, columns and pilasters – distant memories of the sanctuaries of Jerusalem and Constantinople, perhaps a vision of the New Jerusalem. (Stasiuk 2003, 49–50)

The vivid reconstruction of the distant past intertwines with the reality observed by the narrator. He remembers the piety and reverence with which the original inhabitants who were resettled to Soviet Ukraine see once more their beloved Lemkivshchyna, their homes and church. They once formed here a compact and isolated mountain community, and the loss of this lifestyle has been extremely burdensome and painful:

Not long ago, when the eastern border was opened up, the builder's descendants began to turn up here fifty years after they had left, displaced from their home villages by brute force or by deceit. Old women stepped over the church's threshold, entered the nave, kneeled on the clayed mud, since the floor was by now long gone, crossed themselves and bowed down low to the ground. To whom? The altar stood crookedly, propped against the wall, not a trace of its former splendour remaining. [...] Parts of icons, the ones that were the most important... (Stasiuk 2003, 47).

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One day the narrator witnesses a paralysed old man being brought in by his family to bid a last farewell to his church. He had been baptised there and before that, in 1895, his father had helped to put the new roof on and cover the shingles with sheet metal. It was his and his relatives' 'place', who, like him, were given permission to return to the neighbouring village. He tells of streets, wooden cottages, orchards and people that no longer exist except in his memory. This past is still remembered by the oldest members of the Lemko people, some of whom had returned from the west and north of Poland to their abandoned places as a result of the Ministry of Internal Affairs condemning the Vistula operation. It seems likely that Stasiuk's old man and his family are an artistic representation of them.

Living in this empty place, from time to time the narrator enters the old ruined church. He carefully climbs the narrow steps to the attic, because the ceiling boards barely hold together. All the time he admires the builder's craftsmanship and feels the heroic, unequal fight of the personified church, like a ship struggling for survival:

The rafter framing, the high entablature of the bell tower – all of it was joined together without a single nail, by hinging, dowelling and dovetailing – it reminded me of the inside of an old sailing ship. When the wind blew from the south, you could hear a monotone creaking. The skeleton was hard at work. It weathered the gusts of wind, groaned imperceptibly and, still unyielding and resilient, it sheltered the stillness of the closed space within it.

A tawny owl had made its nest in the place where the bells once hung. Its nocturnal hooting made crosses look as if they were made from the same substance. As if nature had completely reclaimed the church, which had been wrenched from it two hundred years before. (Stasiuk 2003, 49)

In 'Place' Stasiuk presents two viewpoints of the old Lemko church which embodies the Lemko community: etic and emic. A man with a camera (maybe a tourist or an admirer of art) represents those Poles who perceive the Lemkos from the point of view of ethnography and culture, i.e. from the outside. He approves of the idea of taking away the church from its place: "It would have been good", said the man with a camera' (Stasiuk 2003, 49). The narrator, connected with this earth and the lives of its inhabitants, perceives the church from the perspective of the Lemkos, for whom it is more than a place of interest, something deeper, the sphere of the sacred, their beginning and end. His response is not unambiguous. The church has been removed for restoration and only the shape of the place is left. In just this way, many Lemko churches were taken to new places, among them the 19th-century church of the Birth of the Virgin from Ropki (this church is described by Jerzy Tur (2017, 106-107), which is now located in the Sanok Outdoor Museum in Poland). Marek Nalepa portrays the narrator's mood poetically:

Festive light, a ceremonial sign of the Almighty's presence, smoke rising from censers and the singing of the faithful, man's gift for God, in the deserted and obliterated contours phenomena are fleeting and short-lived. They slip through the fingers of the pensive observer and can be held in the lungs for a short moment, as remains of hurt beauty.¹⁷

Generally Stasiuk avoids the issue of Polish-Ukrainian conflicts, but in *Tales of Galicia*, one of the female protagonists, Babka (Grandma), gives a kaleidoscopic

¹⁷ 'Uroczyste światło, obrzędowy znak obecności Najwyższego, unoszący się w górę dym z kadzielnic i śpiew wiernych darowany przez człowieka Bogu, w opustoszałych i zatartych konturach są zjawiskami ulotnymi i krótkotrwałymi. Przeplývają między palcami zadumanego obserwatora i dają się tylko na chwilę zatrzymać w płucach, jako resztki skrzywdzonego piękna' (Nalepa 1998,74).

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series of memory pictures, her remembrance of the post-war destruction and looting of a Lemko church by her Polish compatriots: 'The mad crowd pushes the gates', 'bang and crash inside', 'broken leftovers of an iconostasis on the snow' (Stasiuk 2003, 123). In his later *Wschód*, which was written nineteen years after *Tales of Galicia* (a distance of almost one generation and another literary genre), the author, speaking about the Lemkos, changes his tone: instead of a lyrical, sensitive local man who tells the story from the first-person point of view in 'Place', a new storyteller has appeared. Irreverent and ironic in his combined autobiographical reflections and travel notes, Stasiuk relates stories about himself and his colleagues, about the cruel mill of history and reconciliation with time. He expresses his compassion towards the Lemkos in a new manner, but, nevertheless, clearly:

And now we were loading shop counters and cupboards on the floor of a hundred-year-old Lemko cottage miraculously surviving in a village from which all the houses had disappeared. Sixty-four cottages were gone, burnt down, lost. Fifteen meters long, massive, with steep and high roofs, which were supposed to keep hay all winter for cattle and sheep. Like upturned hulls of ships with the lines of white clay fixing the fir logs soaked in black petrol running along the board. Out of sixty-four one was left and now we were stuffing it with communist oddments. To be fair, we should have burnt them and scattered the ashes to the four winds of heaven over the Lower Beskids. We should have done that. The same was done to the sixty-four cottages and all the remains of Rus from the Bug and San Rivers to Szlachtowa and the Grajcarek creek. But no. We kept loading. Wood and splice were greasy from hands and things, soaked with smells and heavy. Life en-

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tered them and froze. The layers of life: Łemkowszczyzna, communism and now us, sweaty from heavy-lifting.¹⁸

In an interview after the publication of *Wschód* Stasiuk described the reality of these ‘Lemko beams’. He also noticed slight positive changes in his former Lemko village Wołowiec: ‘There had been 130 here before the Vistula Operation. Right now, not counting the ‘Urban’ house and ours, seven have been rebuilt. Seven families returned from the resettlement. When you walk through valley after valley, you can see deserted villages, only names are left. And it is beautiful.’¹⁹ His positive assessment of the new situation utilises the old local geographical names established by the Lemkos, Ukrainians and also some Poles in 1981 (see Trzeszczyńska 2013, 99). At the forefront of their activity was church renovation, including the church at Wołowiec, which dates back to the eighteenth century, but which was used as a barn for sheep in the 1950s.

¹⁸ ‘No i teraz ładowaliśmy sklepowe lady i szafy na klepisko stuletniej łemkowskiej chaty, cudem przeżyłej we wsi, z której zniknęły wszystkie domy. Przepadło, rozpadło się, poszło z dymem, sześćdziesiąt cztery chałupy. Długie na piętnaście metrów, przysadziste, pod stromymi i wysokimi dachami, które miały zmieścić siano na całą zimę dla bydła i owiec. Jak odwrócone kadłuby statków z ciągnącymi się wzdłuż burt jasnymi liniami glinianej zaprawy spajającej jodłowe bale nasączone czarnym petroleum. Z sześćdziesięciu czterech przetrwała jedna i teraz upychaliśmy do jej wnętrza komunistyczne resztki. Chociaż żeby było sprawiedliwie, powinniśmy je spalić i popiół rozsypać na cztery wiatry nad Beskidem Niskim. Tak powinniśmy zrobić. Tak samo jak zrobiono z sześćdziesięciu czterema chałupami i tymi wszystkim resztkami dawnej Rusi od Bugu i Sanu po Szlachtową i potok Grajcarek. Ale nie. Ładowaliśmy. Drewno i sklejka były tłuste od dotyku rąk i rzeczy, nasiąknięte zapachami i ciężkie. Życie w nie weszło i zastygło. Warstwy życia: łemkowszczyzna, komunizm i teraz my, spoceni od ciężaru.’ (Stasiuk 2014, 11-12)

¹⁹ Andrzej Stasiuk, ‘Trzy czwarte świata jest beznadziejnie biedne i w końcu przyjdzie po te nasze bogactwa.’ Andrzej Stasiuk interviewed by Michał Gostkiewicz, *gazeta.pl* <http://weekend.gazeta.pl/weekend/1,152121,16701542>, accessed 21.01.18.

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There are no young Lemkos to be seen among Stasiuk's returnees – those born in the Reclaimed Territories have gained a new homeland and have reached some sort of reconciliation with their situation. 'People also, in some sense, have stopped being afraid of this history', concludes the writer in his interview, avoiding meaningful interpretation of his words. 'I do not know if it is good or bad [...], I am just describing the world'.²⁰ Stasiuk writes in order to perpetuate the memory of historical injustices. His literary representation also includes those who were passive observers of the relocation of Lemko villagers and later indifferent witnesses of the slow decay and destruction of their home and culture. Whether the writer wishes it or not, his works cannot be indifferent to history. The following fragment of his autobiographical work clarifies this sense of Stasiuk's 'describing the world':

Will [God] ever look on the places in which we live. Will he ever resurrect the ruined wooden houses, dry wells and everything we did not have pity on? Will we ever receive a sign? [...] I was coming back home for the thousandth time with the same feeling of driving through something like a desert and that I had to tell stories, recall images in order to avoid getting lost and reach my destination. Under the immense sky, with those stories which are like frail fires in the night on a windy plain. There was nothing else I could do. Nothing.²¹

²⁰Andrzej Stasiuk, 'Trzy czwarte świata jest beznadziejnie biedne i w końcu przyjdzie po te nasze bogactwa'. Andrzej Stasiuk interviewed by Michał Gostkiewicz, *gazeta.pl* <http://weekend.gazeta.pl/weekend/1,152121,16701542>, accessed 21.01.18.

²¹ 'Czy [On, Pan Bóg] kiedykolwiek spojrzy na miejsca, w których żyjemy. Czy kiedykolwiek wskrzesi zrujnowane domy z drewna, wyschnięte, zasypane studnie i to wszystko, nad czym nie mieliśmy litości? Czy kiedykolwiek da nam jeszcze znak? [...] Wraciałem do domu tysięczny raz z tym samym uczuciem, że jadę przez coś w rodzaju pustyni i muszę opowiadać historie, muszę przywoływać obrazy, by nie zbłądzić, by dotrzeć do celu.'

Conclusion

Creating a vivid artistic vision of changes caused by the waves of forced migration of the Lemkos from 1939-1947, of the deep and lasting political, social, ethnic, cultural and economic consequences of this traumatic event, Stasiuk sees his task as one of resurrecting as many of the things that were destroyed as possible. His fiction is full of compassion for the Lemkos, who 'wear pain in the genes' (Kabatchiy 2018, 8), the overwhelming majority of whom did not return to their original homeland, but assimilated wherever they were resettled. Others still regard the Lower Beskids as their homeland and maintain their identity. Stasiuk returns to the Lemkos' traumatic past, to their individual and collective memory, in order to prolong their presence in the Low Beskids and the Bieszczady. In his first years in a deserted Czarne he 'felt obliged to remember about the Lemkos, to grant them the right to be present'.²² His artistic narration shows that memory plays a role in the composition of historical and cultural knowledge of the Lemkos and the wider community. According to Jan Assman, cultural memory has its fixed points. 'These fixed points are fateful events of the past, whose memory is maintained through cultural formation (texts, rites, monuments)', called 'figures of memory' (Assman 1995,129). This article contends that Stasiuk's portraits of the Lemkos and Lemko culture represent such 'figures of memory', which are able to provide a working memory and act in the name of historical justice. He is not afraid to reveal the injustices of the past which cast a shadow on our present. Each of the works analysed is important as a historical document of the past,

Pod wielkim niebem, z tymi opowieściami, które są jak wątle ognie w nocy na równinie, gdzie wieje wiatr. Nic więcej nie mogłem zrobić. Nic.' (Stasiuk 2010, 165)

²² 'W Czarnem, gdy przez pierwsze dwa lata mieszkałem sam, czułem w tej ciszy absolutnej, w pustce powiejskiej, połemkowskiej wyraźną obecność duchów. Czułem się zobowiązany do pamięci o nich, do przyznawania im prawa obecności.' (Stasiuk 2015, 61)

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regardless of the fact that it was written by a writer from another historical time, based on his historical knowledge, life experience and artistic creation.

All Stasiuk's works contain a greater or lesser autobiographical element, especially noticeable in his autobiographical writing (travel memoirs, travel journals, memoirs, essays, etc.), in which the author writes about his own experiences in the first person in prose form. Mostly they are reflections on place and time. A characteristic attribute of Stasiuk's style is the restriction of narration to situations, persons or places known to the writer from his own experience or other reliable sources. The author, who is also often the narrator, usually emphasises what is remembered rather than who is remembering it. The Lemkos are perceived among other nations and ethnic groups in the context of events more or less distant from the author temporally and geographically, which is why these pieces of prose can be broadly understood as historical.

Stasiuk is generally apolitical, but opposed to any form of oppression. Such an attitude was probably a result of his early years (Stasiuk 1998, 83, 95), with his belief that war, violence and activities aimed at improving someone's own status or increasing power are unjustifiable. The mature Stasiuk criticises almost everything and everyone, though he avoids ideology and hides behind the 'description formula' ('I am only describing the world'). At the same time, he points out that the problems caused by historical injustices are best resolved by a reconciliatory approach, and only with the help of cooperative work can the identity and culture of the Lemkos be saved. In his prose Stasiuk repeatedly returns to Łemkowszczyzna, conscious that the Lemko homeland still serves as a reservoir of past and present Lemko identity.

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FROM POEMS IN PROSE TO BALLADS:
THE REMARKABLE VERSE OF ULADZIMIER ARLOŨ

In Belarus, a country often described as the last dictatorship in Europe,¹ history has been distorted or suppressed, lending particular significance to the authors of historical novels, the doyen being undoubtedly Uladzimier Arloŭ, a native of Polacak. His status as Belarus's leading prose writer is unchallenged, although as a poet he would not assume the title of a leader. Amongst living poets Uladzimier Niakliajeŭ and Aleś Razanaŭ have greater claims, although neither of them would be likely to make such an assumption.² To list Arloŭ's historical works in fiction and elsewhere would require another article, but one prose work, perhaps, deserves mention, the clearly satirical *jeu d'esprit*, *Orden Biely Myšy* (*The Most Noble Order of the White Mouse*, 2003), since its relevance to the present authoritarian régime effectively closed the doors of the official Belarusian publishing houses to one of the country's most prominent writers.³ Like most Belarusian intellectuals, Arloŭ finds the régime in Belarus highly dispiriting, although before this book he had attempted to co-exist with the

¹ For instance, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, in an interview with Jill Dougherty for CNN on Wednesday 20 April 2005, called the country 'the last remaining dictatorship in the heart of Europe'. Rice's assessment has been echoed in the titles of two important recent books about Belarus by Brian Bennett (2011) and Andrew Wilson (2011).

² Niakliajeŭ put himself up as a candidate for the country's presidency in 2010, a year of many protests throughout Belarus. As a result of proposing to establish a political party called 'Tell the Truth' and to become a liberal president, he was almost beaten to death by the police and security forces.

³ The transliteration system used in this article is the one officially accepted in Belarus. In the Bibliography the spelling of Arloŭ's first name and that of the geographical names follow that used in the relevant publications. In the text the spelling of names, including his own, is that preferred by the writer himself.

largest publishers. In later years Arloŭ has turned from historical fiction to history itself, in the hope of educating his ‘denationalised’ fellow-countrymen;⁴ he has also continued to write entertaining non-historical fiction, but the subject of this article is restricted to his poetry, which, although filled with national consciousness and awareness of the plight of his country (not an entirely new phenomenon in his work), is essentially different from the historical prose that first made his name familiar to readers of Belarusian literature.

Arloŭ’s fluent unrhymed verse is immensely rich in lexicon, imagery, variety of themes, and in frequent combinations of past and present, fantasy and reality, combining and passing between them with consummate ease. His consciousness of himself as a writer leads to many references to the Belarusian language and books, old and modern, including his own. The language of his verse contains some dialectal and, at times, obsolete words, and also includes free use of unconventional lexicon and word play. In fact, sex and women (particularly his wife, the poet Valiancina Aksak) feature in many poems, as does his curiosity about the natural world and other countries and their cultures, where he displays keen intellectual and worldly interests as well as extensive reading.

His earliest poems were published in two samizdat publications, of which he was one of the editors, produced by students of the History Faculty of the Belarusian State University in Minsk: *Blachitny lichtar* (Blue (?) Lamp, 1971-1974)⁵ and *Milavica* (The Star of Venus, 1974-1976). His first independent book of verse, *Tam, za dzviaryma* (There, Behind the Door), however, came out only in 1991, when he had

⁴ The concept of the country being ‘denationalised’ comes from David Marples (Marples 1999). As a result of his book, Professor Marples (a Canadian citizen) was denied a visa to visit Belarus on a permanent basis, as far as I know.

⁵ The adjective in the title is some kind of occasionalism: communication from the poet, 16.2.2019.

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already permanently settled in the capital, although his feelings for Polacak have remained strongly in his consciousness. The book's designation as poems in prose, a concept dating from the eighteenth century and continuing in many literatures up to the present day, is ambiguous, in that one of these, 'Haryšča' (The Attic), was published in a major anthology, not as a poem in prose, but simply as a verse (Skobla 2003, 659).⁶ Arloŭ's later verse collections are in blank or free verse, a subject on which the author expresses himself with characteristic vigour, suggesting in 'Čytaŭ svaje vieršy' (I Was Reading My Poems) that, for hungry students, free verse goes well with oral sex (UA 2009, 72). From an earlier book comes 'Ja ryfmuju' (I Rhyme) in which he reflects that he rhymes with everything that can be won 'у гэтай сусветнай свалкі' (at this universal rubbish dump [of rhymes]), but different times are coming:

набліжаючы дзень,
калі з маімі радкамі
назаўсёды зарыфмуецца
цішыня. (UA 2006, 119)⁷

(the approaching day, / when with my lines / there will rhyme for ever /
silence.)

Arloŭ's first poetic collection, like those that followed, is notable for its broad, sometimes dialectal or even obsolete vocabulary and orthography, perhaps unsurprising in the verse of a historical novelist. Thematically, too, it sets a trend for what is to

⁶ This was the first and last time that Arloŭ characterised his verse in this way.

⁷ After Michaś Skobla in a review referred to *Fajna snoŭ* as 'Fajna snoŭ' ('The fauna of dreams' as 'Fine again'), the poet replied to this at its launch with a witty epigram: 'Паэтаў беларускіх шобла са страхам думае пра Скоблy' (The gang of Belarusian poets thinks with fear about Skobla) (Skobla 2003, 658).

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come later with an extensive range of subjects: constant themes include national consciousness, self-identity and love, the last two often in startlingly ambiguous forms. The closing lines from one of the book's first poems, 'Žorny' (The Hand Mill), for instance, questions starkly the chances of nationally conscious people being heard:

Хто запомніць?
Хто пачуе?
Хто зразумее
галасы нашы? (UA 1991, 7)

(Who will recall? / Who will hear? / Who will understand our voices?)

Another verse, 'Čužanica' (The Alien Land), begins each of the six stanzas (or paragraphs) by suggesting that the poet lives in an alien land ('гэта чужая зямля'), but he finds consolation in hearing ever more loudly that he is lying alongside his ancestors and that it will become his true native country. In another poem, 'Nadzieja' (Hope), he is reassured by his father that they come from the same land, a hope that is all the more necessary when many of his fellow-citizens deny Belarus's language and heritage, suggesting that nobody understands either of them. In 'Asudžanyja' (The Condemned) the poet answers such people ironically, saying that the dead are silent in this language, as are the still unborn; the verse ends with a comparable assertion for the living:

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Але тыя, што прарочаць наш скон, ужо чуюць: жывыя таксама
маўчаць на нашай мове. (But those that foretell our demise already
hear: the living are also silent in our language.) (UA 1991, 78).⁸

In a strong poem, 'Liera' (The Lyre), a blind old musician attempts to tell first God, then confused people, that their land has long since been alien to them and that they are not happy, contrary to what they have been constantly told by the authorities, but are in reality slaves; the result of his words is that they surround the lyre-player and smash his instrument to pieces (UA 1991, 61). Finally, in 'Padarožniki' (Travelers), an even more parable-like verse, three men pass the poet walking over virgin snow. Gradually they cease to leave footprints behind them. When asked why there are no traces, the first says that he was silent when it was better to speak, the second that he spoke when it was better to be silent. When he asks the third one, the others reply that he is deaf and dumb, and the three continue on their way (UA 1991, 5). National consciousness, as Marples's experience demonstrated, is closely related to politics, and ArloŮ hints in two poems at confused attitudes and the difficulties of moving away from the past. In 'Sutońnie' (Dusk), a dense half-light descends and it is not clear whether it presages morning or night. Opinions are divided and uncertain people stand on a small hill, afraid to look at each other (UA 1991, 59). 'Miortvaje dreva' (The Dead Tree) shows how the eponymous tree attracts changes of attitude to it, but it (perhaps it represents communism?) has still not been cut down (UA 1991, 29).

Questions of self-identity, frequently complex and even confused, occur in several of these poems in prose, often depicting self-inspection in mirrors or other reflections, as, for instance, in 'Studnia' (The Well) in which the poet, looking down,

⁸ There are many references in ArloŮ's book of ballads to this silence. See, for example, 'Alieka (Balkanskaja balada)' where Romanians are believed by some to be really Bulgarians who are forced to be silent in that language: ArloŮ 2018, 47-48.

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wonders whether he is a youth or an old man or, indeed, whether there is an absence of any image. He concludes by asking who in reality anyone is, as he sees them in the mirror of deep water, whilst they see him in the mirror of the distant heavens (UA 1991, 60). In 'Dvoje' (Two) the poet writes that in his bed one person goes to sleep and a quite different one, physically and mentally, awakes in the morning. His hope is that one day these two people will meet (UA 1991, 83). Another poem relating to sleep is 'Majsternia' (The Studio), which describes his spending the night in a studio, and his fear of sleeping and awaking amongst sculptures without the consolation of loving hands and lips; at the end, however, he is convinced that in the morning the sculptor will find an additional work, something between Budny⁹ and a nameless tramp (UA 1991, 13). Also worth note is a complex poem, 'Halasy' (Voices), in which the poet by day and night cannot decide whether to shout or be silent, but, on seeking divine help and salvation, discovers that the Almighty has the same problem, and is waiting to hear from him, so that He too can be saved; the poet, however, continues to hear the two voices (UA 1991, 34).

Love is, of course, a staple element in almost all lyric poetry. Arloŭ's poems in prose are only occasionally lyrical, but they do display a variety of attitudes to physical attraction and its complexities. 'Ciahnik' (Train) depicts a mysteriously empty train that seems like fate or inevitability, drawing the poet and his partner into a bottomless pit leading to their annihilation. Their only salvation is to die and be resurrected together, but when they awake, he feels an alien breath on his cheek, and she simultaneously awakes on another's shoulder, later telling someone thoughtfully about the train she had dreamed of (UA 1991, 10-11). Equally complex is a verse,

⁹ Symon Budny (1530-1596), one of the great biblical translators and humanist educators in Belarusian history. It is notable that when this poem was reprinted (without paragraphs) in Arloŭ's next book, the figure who is part-tramp is the considerably more political Grand Duke Vitaŭt (1344-1430).

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'Voblaka' (The Cloud), in which a cloud seems to bear the profile of someone the poet had once loved but later left; he constantly denies recognising her, but when he notices tears in the eyes of the one he now loves, he pulls curtains over the windows to keep the image out; the cloud with the profile, however, continues to float on (UA 1991, 74). Three other poems may also be mentioned: in 'Hadzinnik' (The Clock) the poet sets the clock carefully, but instead of numbers there are names. The pendulum seems to cut off moment after moment from eternity, and the hands relentlessly rub out the names. At midnight, however, they return: 'Ідзе гадзіннік, і кожны міг паказваюць стрэлкі тваё імя' (The clock starts and every moment the hands show your name, UA 1991, 19). In 'Admaŭlieńnie' (Rejection) the poet describes the contradictions between his thoughts and words. He feels that every striving towards his beloved turns into a condemnation to loneliness: at a dark window he always seems to see his rejection approaching, and the ending is hardly more optimistic: 'Адчай не апошні прыпынак – чую ягоныя словы: – Я не пакіну цябе' (Despair is not the last stop – I hear its words 'I shall not abandon you', UA 1991, 72). 'Liustra' (The Mirror) features different women and how they appear in a mirror. Only one person, however, remains, although she is described in a way that would raise the hackles of any feminist: 'Толькі ты не знікаеш з майго люстэрка, / Ты у якой кожнае імгненне змагаюцца грэшніца і мадонна.' (Only you do not disappear from my mirror, / You in whom every moment there struggle a sinner and a Madonna) (UA 1991, 65). Finally, 'Partyja ŭ biljard' (A Game of Billiards) ends on a gloomy note at the prospect of time's passing:

Хто прыдумаў,
што ўсё праходзіць,
нават тое,
што праходзіць

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праз сэрца? (UA 2006, 144)

(Who conceived / that everything should pass, / even that / which
passes / through the heart?)

Encounters of various kinds and their difficulties play a considerable role in Arloŭ's first verse collection. In 'Šliach' (The Path) the meeting takes a somewhat abstract form, ending, however, with the topic of family heritage so close to the poet: 'Іду насустрач дзедаваму лёсу, як ішоў некалі дзед насустрач майму.' (I go to meet my grandfather's fate, as once my grandfather went to meet mine.) (UA 1991, 44). 'Pliaž' (The Beach) describes a boiling hot day when, walking along a deserted beach, he sees a man who is coming to meet him. Time moves on, the sun goes over the horizon, and the sea offers some respite to their bodies, but as they go to meet each other, the distance between them increases (UA 1991, 44). Comparable in message is 'Čovien' (The Rowing Boat) in which the rower sees a boat sailing under the water and another sailing above him in the sky. The boats follow the sun, expecting to meet there, at a place where time disappears and is born, where the future has been and the past is still to come. Meanwhile the rower gazes straight ahead (UA 1991, 24).

*

Arloŭ's second collection, *Faŭna snoŭ* (The Fauna of Dreams), takes its name from a poem in its predecessor. It also contains four verses already printed there: 'Haryšča' (The Attic), and the previously mentioned 'Studnia', 'Padarožniki', 'Sutońnie' and 'Ciahnik', reflecting the poet's continuing practice of repeating some poems from book to book, with only small (if any) changes of spelling or wording. Bearing in mind that the reprints, particularly in later books, were used to make changes or improvements, in this article poems will be cited from the more recent version where

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there is a significant difference from the first.¹⁰ Also notable are an increased sophistication of expression and an even broader range of subjects, as well as greater length and considerably more robust humour than in the first collection.

The opening poem, 'Parom praż Lia-Manš' (By Ferry Across the Channel), gives an impressionistic picture of arriving in Ramsgate before his visit to London. He misses his wife Valia and every time he mentions an attractive woman, adds: 'калі б на свеце не было цябе' (If in this world there had not been you) – a phrase that is repeated in various forms several times (UA 1995, 5-8). He also wonders what happens during the two-hour time difference between Britain and Belarus, and who spent those two hours in his place.¹¹ Another thing he constantly misses is that in England they do not speak Belarusian enough (of course, the same might be said of Belarus itself). His own versions of English names is at times bizarre; for instance London's Green Park becomes *zjaliony chutar* (UA 1995, 6, 8). There are several politically incorrect comments in Arloŭ's third collection, including various encounters with people of colour, though his remarks are less a sign of racism than of surprise, coming as he does from a country where the people are white (from the authoritarian leader up or down).¹² At the end of '1 krasavika 1995' (1 April 1995),¹³ for instance, describing a visit to the National Gallery, after some of the mild flirting that appears to characterise many of his travel accounts, he informs a black attendant that he is from a country

¹⁰ By significant is meant changes greater than those of spelling rather than words, and of page layout. More than forty of the poems in *Faŭna sloŭ* are printed in revised versions in *Parom praż Lia-Manš*.

¹¹ Such considerations occupy the thoughts of another very different Belarusian poet, albeit in her novel: see Volha Hapiejeva, *Rekanstrukcyja nieba (Raman u detaliach) – (Detal u ramanie)* (Reconstruction of the Sky [A Novel in Details] – [Detail in a Novel]), Minsk 2003, pp. 91-139 (p. 98).

¹² An exception is perhaps the droves of Chinese who have been invited to Belarus, presumably to boost the country's flagging economy.

¹³ The version of this poem in *Parom praż Lia-Manš* is without the year in the title that it has in *Faŭna snoŭ*.

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where there has never been slavery, but immediately blushes to the roots, not only at his tactlessness but also because of his hyperbole (UA 2006, 85). More happily, at the end of a thoughtful visit to the British Museum, in a verse of that name, he concludes with a whimsical comparison of London and Miensk:

У Лондане цвітуць вішні.
У Менску падае дождж.
Уліс праплывае паўз выспу сірэнаў.
Мая каханая кажа не мне:
гэта – маё надвор'е. (UA 1995, 43)

(In London cherry trees grow. / In Miensk rain falls. / Ulysses sails
past the sirens' island. / My beloved says, not to me: / this is my
weather.)

'Sustrečnyja' (People encountered) introduces an element of pure fantasy into the poet's view of England: an old man trying to pay for alcohol with out-dated money, a woman in the tube reading a sheet written in Arloŭ's handwriting, and a child carelessly singing the names of the poet's beloved known only to her and to him (UA 1995, 9). Arloŭ is not only a creative, but also a very well-informed poet, and his works refer to many historical and contemporary writers and events, only using footnotes for foreign languages and generally expecting his readers to share his breadth of knowledge. In his description of the main Belarusian institution in Britain, where even his native language may be heard, he only uses footnotes to translate Latin. In the whimsical but essentially realistic 'Biblijateka imia Skaryny ŭ Londanie' (The Francis Skaryna Library in London, UA 1995, 18-20), he shows no surprise at the rare books and documents, but delight at seeing them preserved there. Amidst the historical

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treasures, his mind ranges widely from the European Sarmatian Chronicle of 1581 to a shelf of books with Gothic lettering which produces an alarming little wind in the 'old' (probably 1930s) building in which the collection is housed. An ironic remark about the only book published in Belarusian during the eighteenth century leads to a disquieting feeling of temporal instability. In order to establish that changes have not yet become irreversible, he cautiously meets the eyes of the library's leaded window. After reflection, the chandelier confirms that for the time being at least he is himself (UA 1995, 20). Also derived from his visit to England in 1994 is 'Hrynvicki mierydyjan' (The Greenwich Meridian, UA 1995, 91) in which what might have seemed a very simple crossing from East to West turns out differently:

але,
зrabіўшы гэты крок,
раптам зразумеў, што
ты засталася
ва ўсходнім,
і мне зрабілася
страшна. (UA, 1995, 91)

(but, / having taken this step, / I suddenly understood that / you had
remained / in the East / and I felt / terrified.)

The sentiments here are clear, but far from all of Arloŭ poems about his beloved or other women are as straightforward.

After his fanciful approach to London, it should be noted that in all Arloŭ's poems of travel, Belarus, one way or another, is always present in his thoughts: clear examples are 'Božaja karoŭka z Piataj aveniu' (A Ladybird from Fifth Avenue, UA, 60-61) and 'Praha' (Prague, UA, 66-69). As is already evident, the poet's heart is in

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his native Polacak and the coach rides between there and the Belarusian capital are often imaginative as well as observant. In an interesting but disturbing verse we are reminded of his clear-eyed view of current reality, ‘Varažba na čajkach’ (Fortune Telling by Tea Leaves). The following lines are from the middle of the poem:

ці доўга мне
жыць у горадзе
дзе садзяць за краты
паэтаў, якія калісьці
былі выведнікамі
нашай будучыні,
ці доўга мне жыць у краіне,
што ўсё часцей
прыводзіць на памяць
гісторыю пра павука
якому адарвалі ножкі
і загадваюць бегчы. (UA 2006, 109)

(how long must I / live in a city / where they lock behind bars / poets
who were once / lookouts for our future, / how long must I live in a
country / which more and more / brings to mind / the story of a spider /
whose legs had been torn off, / and was told to run.)

Another poem, ‘Liunduš biely, kir papialovy’ (Expensive White Cloth, Cheap Dusty Material), is principally about medieval cloth, which he would have liked to give to his wife, ending with a bleak reference to the demonstrations that have marked the last two decades:

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мае крокі
на паплямленым крывёю
менскім бруку. (UA 2006, 107-08)

(my steps / on the Minsk pavements / spattered with blood.)

His own works, mentioned fleetingly in 'Sustrečnyja', figure also, usually with disapproval, by others in several poems. There is nothing surprising about his finding in the Bodleian Library ('Oksfard' – Oxford, UA 1995, 85) two of his books about Polacak gathering dust, but the eponymous scholar in 'Archivaryjus Vojna' (The Archivist Vojna) writes ironic commentaries on books given to him by the poet (UA 1995, 16), or, as we shall see later, a Dominican monk tells him that he should not have written his books at all (UA 1995, 74). Arloŭ's own comments on some other Belarusian writers tend to be unflattering. For instance, in the poem 'U Karalievu' (At the Queen's) he wonders why people would pay for a book with such a dubious title as *Bliuz karalieŭskaj kuchni* (Blues of the Queen's Kitchen [by Liera Som – AMcM]), UA 1995, 34). In a humorous, though heartfelt, poem about his cat Basia, 'Epitafija majoj kotcy' (An Epitaph to My Cat) he recalls reading his poems to her when drunk, whilst abusing well-known Belarusian literary works by graphomaniacs and wankers (UA 1995, 34). On the other hand he dreams of a prominent young writer Adam Chadanovič, 'Mnie pryšniŭsia Chadanovič' (I Dreamed of Chadanovič), wondering whether he is Nero, Suetonius or Brutus, but ends on a humorously optimistic note:

а бамжы чытаюць кнігі
знойдзеныя на памыйках
гэта значыць што пісьменства
наша красная – жыве! (UA 2009, 82)

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(and homeless people read books / found on rubbish dumps / which
means that our belles lettres / are alive!)

Finally, in books featured in Arloŭ's verses, between the middle ages and the present day is *Szlachcic Zawalnia, czyli Białoruś w fantastycznych opowiadaniach* (Nobleman Zavalnia, or Belarus in Fantastic Tales, 1844-46), a lively collection of folk legends and conversations on the borders of Polish and Belarusian literature, to whose author the poet pays affectionate tribute in 'Jan Barščeŭski' (Jan Barszczewski, UA 2006, 47-48).

In 'Kachanka' (The Lover) we learn that the eponymous woman's name is well-known, but after a description of what she might have been like sexually and in other respects, it turns out that her name is Night (UA 1995, 24). A curious, hardly less abstract poem, 'Pieršaja žančyna' (My First Woman), describes how this mysterious woman emerges from the dusk and sits at his table, and, while they drink, he attributes to her various rare features, such as her power over time, and suggests that their bodies will meet at the end of the earth, just as their hands are meeting on the table. Her prophecies for him are recalled, as he characterises her:

Яе голас
будзе старэйшы за яе цела.
Яе вочы
будуць старэйшыя за яе голас.
Яе душа
будзе старэйшая за гэты свет. (UA 1995, 68)

(Her voice / will be older than her body. / Her eyes / will be older than
her voice. / Her soul / will be older than this world.)

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The poem ends by repeating the first three lines, thus increasing the sense of almost a spell created by the many repetitions during the verse. The remaining three poems in this thematic group are unmistakably about his wife. A relatively simple, though far from conventional, love poem is 'Pakoj' (The Room), in which the passing of people through their room only increases their longing for each other. After the sounds of the town and, last of all, the music have subsided, a new birthmark appears on her slender shoulder (UA 1995, 41). 'Toje lieta' (That Summer), though overshadowed by thoughts of death, depicts an overgrown pond where once she had bathed in water that was as clear as her dreams. The last three lines emphasise the elegiac mood:

Тое лета
будзе доўжыцца
даўжэй за нас. (UA 1995, 66)

(That summer / will last / longer than us.)

Finally, 'Mansarda' (The Garret) is an interesting love poem also deriving from memories. It describes a deserted house where once they had been happy and a large map of places that they might have visited. The garret is presided over by a brass Buddha, and the poet hopes that this 'amber moment' will return, and that the telephone that once rang with his beloved's voice will ring again and he will pick up the receiver (UA 1995, 21-22).

Memories of his family also feature prominently in ArloŮ's poetry. For instance, there are instructions he received from his granny in three verses: 'Haryšča' (The Attic), 'Trochi infantilnaja razmova z majoj babuliej' (A Slightly Infantile Conversation with My Granny) and 'Vučyla babulia' (My Granny Taught Me): in the latter the advice is practical, such as not going to bed at sunset otherwise you won't

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wake in the morning; not looking in the mirror at midnight or else you will drown in it; and not gazing at girls in the cornfield and breaking the corn down, so that many people won't die of hunger and many young children will not be born. The last six lines sum up the present situation:

Пажатае жыта даўно
і поплаў мой
скошаны.
Сонца сядзе.
Глыбее ў дубовай асадзе
бабуліна люстра. (UA 1995, 23)

(The corn has long since been cut, / and my meadow has been / mown.
/ The sun sets. / More deeply in a frame of oaks / is my granny's mirror.)

The third poem, 'Haryšča', has already been mentioned as an anthological verse. It is found in *Za dzviaryma*, *Fajna sloŭ* and *Parom praž Lia-Manš*:

Не лазь на гарышча,
наказвае бабуля,
дзіўнае чыніцца там:
няма нікога,
ды гавораць нейкія людзі,
плача дзіця, а ўчора
круціўся сам сабою
калаўротак.

Дзень навывлёт

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сяду я ціхутка на печы –
слухаю гарышча:
гігоча прыцішана конь,
стоена дыхае хтосьці
слухаючы хату
або птушак на вільчыку.

Мы жывём у хаце,
над намі жыве гарышча,
над гарышчам – неба. (UA 1995, 60)

(Don't climb in the attic / my granny tells me, / funny things happen there: / there is nobody, / but some people say that / a child is crying, and yesterday / a little spinning wheel / turned of its own accord. // The day is over / I sit quietly on the stove / and listen to the attic: a steed quietly neighs, / someone is breathing secretly, / listening to the attic / or to the birds on the rooftop. // We live in a house, / above us is an attic, / above the attic is the sky.)

'Berlinskaja fantazija' (Berlin Fantasy) is in some ways less fantastic than Arloŭ's pictures of England, though it contains the same mixture of observation and speculation as his earlier poems of travel. 'Zhadka pra mora' (Recollection of the Sea) is a far shorter verse, but with the detail and imagination that characterise all this poet's work, as a solemn seagull, with head to one side, tells him sternly to remember this day, the holiday of the shortest shadow (UA 1995, 84). Finally, from *Faŭna snoŭ* may be mentioned two historical fantasies: 'Adnojčy daŭno' (Once, Long Ago) in which the poet tells a tale, with deliberate uncertainty about when and where it was (with a view of the Alps or the Pyrenees), in which a weary traveller arrives at a Do-

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minican monastery and is received by a consumptive prior on a terrace with a water clock and astrolabe, like those that appear in Skaryna's self-portrait, and says that Arloŭ should not have written the book he holds in his hand, as he turns over its last page and turns over the water clock. In the last six lines the poet, for his part, tells us that he will be travelling in a trolleybus with a view of Miensk suburbs and reading yesterday's paper, while the way-worn traveller drives his horse further over the mountain paths (UA 1995, 74). The second poem, 'Recept nieŭmiručaści' (The Prescription for Immortality), is about a legend told to the poet by an old Jew. It concerns a parchment Book of Dreams which had been stolen from the monks of Sinai who were besieged by pilgrims hoping to obtain the secret. Unfortunately for the thieves the last pages had been lost and with them the answer, which leads the poet to reflect that it is not so terrible if you do not need to come back to the wonders of nature. He left the old story teller on an empty platform in the underground waiting for the last train (UA 1995, 27-28).

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Parom praž Lia-Manš is the largest of Uladzimir Arloŭ's verse collections to date. It begins with 'Sproba zaveršanaha žyćciapisu' (An Attempt at a Description of My Life So Far) starting with his birth, on the day of Stalin's (and Prokof'ev's) death, in Polacak where he secretly received an Orthodox christening.¹⁴ In *Faŭna snoŭ* the already mentioned humorous poem about two monks, 'Archivaryjus Vojna', leads him to

¹⁴ In a later humorous poem, 'Brat Il'ja' he describes an Orthodox neighbour who believes the Belarusian language to be a product of the Antichrist (and that before the Revolution all true Orthodox communicated in Church Slavonic, and all Catholics, especially the Pope, have a special place in hell) (UA 2009, 49). It may be noted, incidentally, that Arloŭ is not a spiritual or religious poet in the way that his wife, Valiancina Aksak, undoubtedly is.

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wonder whether he might be a descendent of the archivist himself (UA 1995, 16); elsewhere, however, he thinks he may have gypsy blood in his veins, as is mooted in the already mentioned 'Trochi infantílnaja razmova z babuliaj' (UA 2006, 138), as well as 'Abdymajučy ciabe' (Embracing You (UA 2006, 149)) and in a later poem 'Miod' (Honey (UA 2009, 57)). In the attempt to describe his life, he says that, barely seven, he searched the underground passages linking, since the time of Stepan Batury,¹⁵ monasteries and churches, and years later searched labyrinths for the Polacak Chronicle and the cross of St Euphrosyne, and with them, as he wryly observes, dubious fame. He plans to die on the thousandth anniversary of Usiaslaŭ the Bewitcher,¹⁶ and to be buried according to the Greek Catholic (Uniate) rite with a bunch of cornflowers and three carnations in the national colours. With a sense of humour that never leaves him, he expects that in the Belarusian text on his memorial there will be an orthographical mistake in accordance with national tradition (UA 2006, 3-4). The poem with the book's title appeared in *Faiŭna snoŭ* and has already been discussed.

Death is a far from rare theme in Arloŭ's verse and in 'Pytaju darohu' (I Ask the Way) he asks an old stone mason and gardener in a cemetery how to get to a certain grave; both tell him that there will be three steps down to his own grave, but he takes this well:

Зайздросчу старым:
няма ў мяне іхніх прыкметаў.
Цешуся,
бо прыкметы мае –
да
самых прыступкаў –

¹⁵ Batury was King of Poland from 1576-1586.

¹⁶ Usiaslaŭ ruled in Polacak from 1044 until his death in 1101.

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мне одному належаць. (UA 2006, 52)

(I envy the old men: / I do not have their omens. / I console myself, /
for the omens are mine – / to the very steps themselves – and / belong
to me alone.)

Another less fanciful poem is ‘Kabinet’ (My Study), which ends with a contemplation of his will, declaring:

Зрэшты, сьмерць –
таксама свята
(хаця б таму, што бывае
толькі аднойчы.) (UA 2006, 136)

(But death is / also a celebration / [albeit just because it happens / only
once].)

‘Maje samahubstvy’ (My Suicides), with an epigraph by the poet himself, is about different people’s attitude (or lack of attitude) to this action. His first such thought was apparently at the age of seven and the second when he was fifty. Seneca, Socrates and Bohumil Hrabal are recalled, as he thinks of joining the water lilies in the Džvina, noting that the event might be appreciated by a ‘living classic’ in a cascade of alliteration. Charon is on holiday, but a bronzed young pair take care of all the formalities, including payment, and the poet, making his way into the sauna, recalls the Beatles’ song ‘Let it be’ (UA 2009, 67-79).

Related to the poet’s thoughts about death are his many references to fate, some of which have been mentioned already. A relatively simple example is ‘Aziaryna’ (The Little Lake) in which, tossing pebbles into the water, he reflects that

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each ripple has its own fate and name (UA 2006, 27). More touching is Arloŭ's recollection of childhood in 'Poplaŭ' (Water Meadow) in which his granny during a nature walk stops naming the wild flowers at one that has no name, saying to the boy that it is his fate, and that he will give it a name when he grows up. Anxiety that the meadow will be cut before he can name it brings him both fear and loneliness:

Маўчыць бабуля.
Мацнее вецер.
Стаю самотны
на сенажаці. (UA 2006, 34)

(My granny is silent. / The wind grows stronger. / I stand lonely / on
the mowed field.)

In 'Liampa, fateł i kubak' (Lamp, Armchair and Mug) he muses about what will happen to his most beloved possessions when he is no longer there, deciding that his mug will have the best luck:

яго знойдзе бадзяга, які
чытаў маю кніжку
і аднойчы выпіваў са мной
у альтанцы на нашым двары. (UA 2006, 151)

(it will be found by the tramp who / read my book / and once had a
drink with me / under the shelter in our courtyard.)

Dreams, unsurprisingly frequent in Arloŭ's second collection, *Fajna snoŭ*, are often the settings for poems that treat, amongst other things, death and fate. There are

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many radical time shifts from the ancient world to his favourite late medieval period and the present day. The swift-moving title poem of this book is particularly rich in changes of this kind, ranging from the tragically short-lived Belarusian poet, Anatol' Sys, to a victim of the 1863 Uprising, Leŭ Sapieha's clothes,¹⁷ and on to Prosper Mérimée, Ryūnosuke Akutagawa and Karl Jung, to name but a few of the characters. As he sits watching passers-by from both BC and AD, he feels himself at a turning point, observing the disappearance of the old (twentieth) century. Dreams are central to his life, and as he sits on the edge of a New York skyscraper with the object of his dreams, they remember: 'калі ты сьнілася мне / калі сном быў я сам' (when I dreamed of you / when the dream was I myself) (UA 2006, 38.)

Parom praž Lia-Manš ends on a note of aspiration, if not hope, as he describes the various places where freedom may be found, and in 'Saču tvaje znaki, Svaboda' (I Look Out For Your Signs, Freedom) anticipates the new century:

сачу знакі таго,
што павінна здзейсьніцца
ў гэтым стагодзьдзі,
паўсюль –
дзень пры дні –
сачу твае знакі,
Свабода. (UA 2006, 152)

(I look out for signs of that / which should happen / in this century, /
everywhere – / day by day – / I look out for your signs, / Freedom.)

¹⁷ A magnate in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania who edited that country's third Statute in 1588.

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Three years later appeared a fourth verse collection, *usio pa-raniejšamu tolki imiony źmianilisia* (It's All the Same, Only the Names Have Changed).¹⁸ One name that did not change was Polacak, the title of the opening poem, which, however, although mentioning the ancient buildings, also introduces the less frequent, though not unfamiliar, theme of loneliness:

Полацак

у даўкім віне
восеньскага паветра
іду па бруку
сярод старых камяніц
пад сцягам адзіноты. (UA 2009, 3)

(Polacak // in the sharp wine / of an autumn wind / I walk along the pavements / between old stone buildings / under the banner of loneliness.)

'Nia viedaŭ' (I Did Not Know) is a very lyrical verse about various parts of Polacak far from the tourist trail, ending, not for the first time, with a meeting with a mysterious woman (UA 2009, 23-24). 'Tak zachoćacca' (I So Want) is a poem about escape: from St Petersburg (where even the Moika looks vulgar), Prague (where on the wall of a public lavatory 'Žyvie Bielaruś!' [Long Live Belarus!] is written in bold letters), even Paris and finally Miensk; after various historical digressions, the poet expresses

¹⁸ The title is derived from a song by the group Bon Jovi.

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his longing to return home to his ancient Belarusian city (UA 2009, 97-99). In 'Jość harady prydumanyja Boham' (There are Cities Conceived by God) he wonders whether his city was conceived by God or the devil, before tracing its history and the destruction of most of its heritage, at the end hoping fervently that it will rise to its former glory again (UA 2009, 100). In 'Viecier' (Wind) a pinching wind reminds the poet of how as a schoolboy he used to pinch or squeeze a girl, Hanna, behind the school. The verse moves quickly to the death of the girl who had in time brought up a grandson, and to the death of a dried-up river, causing him to reflect that some die too early and some too late. He curses Zoroaster, and remembers the girl's name in its three variants (UA 2009, 8). The title poem of the collection is dedicated to the Podlasian poet, critic and translator, Jan Maksimiuk. In it Arloŭ closely observes various pairs of people in a semi-deserted metro and wonders what they will all be like in seventy-five years time. In the last stanza he thinks of things remaining to be done by him (even under a different name) such as writing a brilliant novel, visiting New Zealand, or having a drink with Milan Kundera to find out about the unbearable lightness of being.

'Talinskaja halubka' (The Tallinn Dove) has some elements familiar from earlier poems: Belarus and particularly Polacak are in Arloŭ's mind when he is abroad, in this case sitting in a café in the Estonian capital, where he forms a friendship with a local dove, sensing that they both need to preserve their identity; there follow some anti-Russian comments, and indecent multi-lingual puns, in this case on the Estonian word *pide* (handle), which reminds the poet of Belarusian *pidar* (pederast), although the local word he likes best is *terviseks!* (cheers!). Conflicts with Russians are also described in 'Połski tranzyt' (Crossing Poland), a poem in which each stanza begins with 'Як клясна ехаць па Польшчы' (How excellent it is to travel through Poland), and he even seems to enjoy cursing a passenger from the Berlin to Moscow carriage:

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як клясна ехаць па Польшчы
і сумаваць па нязбытным
палаяцца з пасажырам
з вагона 'Бэрлін-Масква'

сказаць што мы не Расея
і што ідзіце вы ў сраку. (UA 2009, 70)

(How excellent it is to travel through Poland / to feel sad about what
cannot be / to swear at a passenger / from the 'Berlin-Moscow' car-
riage // to say that we are not Russia / and kiss my arse.)

In 'Barsialona' (Barcelona) too, the poet thinks constantly of Belarus, comparing the position of the Catalans in Spain to that of his own country with its Russian neighbour. The unfinished cathedral of the Sagrada Familia is compared to the towers of St Sophia in Polacak, before the poem moves into fantasy, when fat and thin angels alike fly down, talking Catalan, and, despite the poet's suggestion that they should have been to schools or at least courses in Belarusian, the angels think he should learn Catalan (UA 2009, 52-55). Other familiar themes that receive different treatments in Arloŭ's fourth verse collection include, dreams, more travel, his books and writing, family, introspection and, as elsewhere ubiquitously, intimacy.

'Vam śnilasia?' (Did You Dream It?) is a poem about being an ancient manuscript in Latin or a place of transit like the Charles Bridge in Prague; looking out of a café he images that a green-eyed woman is reading (Henry Miller or Chadanovič), before a misty current sweeps everything away apart from this woman (UA 2009, 18-19). More literary whimsy features in 'Karektura' (Proof Reading) where correcting a

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text is compared to close inspection of a body. At the end of the poem he hopes most sincerely that it will not be long before he himself turns into a book.

Several poems are set in Scandinavia, encompassing both its geography and culture. In 'Na Hotlandzie' (In Gotland), for instance, he dreams of an island of Polacak and his childhood there, and in Polacak dreams of a magical Gotland. In 'Andersan i ty' (Andersen and You) he reflects on this author of children's stories who suffered from many fears, particularly of women and death, and who finally died of toothache. Although free of these phobias, the poet notes that he had not achieved nearly as much as Andersen did (UA 2009, 31-33). More surprising, perhaps, is 'Razmova z Stryndberham' (A Conversation with Strindberg) which describes a visit to his house and its lascivious curator, remembering how the Swedish playwright was banned in many countries, including Soviet Belarus, but not Poland. The poet is attracted by the thought of a meeting in some quiet place where they could arrange their own intimate theatre (UA 2009, 46-48).

As mentioned above, Arloŭ's books were not always well received, and he arouses hostility in Lviv, by remarks made to a café owner about Chernihiv, forcing him to leave his book behind with an e-mail, 'just in case' ('U L'vovie' [In Lviv]) (UA 2009, 40-41). 'U bukinista' (In a Second-Hand Book Shop) he sees his own books rubbing shoulders with those of Nobel prize-winners, but any feeling of satisfaction disappears when he realises that some of his books have been signed to friends before landing up there. 'To create equality', he plans to sign his other books as well (UA 2009, 65-66). Here may also be mentioned Arloŭ's version of a tautogram, which consists of over three hundred words (perhaps not all real)¹⁹ beginning with the letter 'V' (UA 2009, 83-96).

¹⁹ Belarusian dictionaries and even the internet are not always helpful in finding some of the words used by Arloŭ in his poems.

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Three poems about childhood and family have elements of humour as well as sadness. In the poem 'Ja maryŭ stać pataliohaanatamam' (I Dreamed of Becoming a Pathological Analyst) there are three people described as 'Uncle'. The first is Ženia, a Jew with sad eyes, described as Arloŭ's best friend in childhood, who lets the boy into some of the secrets of the morgue, and eventually emigrates to Israel, about which the poet comments, 'што ні кажыце прыемней мець справу з суайчыннікамі' (whatever you say, it is best to deal with your fellow-countrymen); he is succeeded by Hryša, a sad Jew with merry eyes who tells him stories, including one of a young couple who made love in a garage with the car's engine still on, and of how to have a romance with a student; when Arloŭ was already a writer, Hryša also emigrates to Israel, eliciting from him the same philosophical remark. The third 'uncle' Mikola was from a historically important family who favoured the preservation and use of the Belarusian language. Many of his stories were about placing mobile phones in coffins so that their inhabitants should not be lonely, although it was thought that various *mu-daki* (pricks) might easily dig them up at night. The poet wonders whether, when the time comes, he should take a mobile with him, but decides that he will not be lonely, when he meets the three embodiments of his childhood dreams (UA 2009, 79-81).

The final poem in this book, 'Paznaju siabie ŭ synie' (I Recognise Myself in My Son), ends particularly affectionately, after a list of similarities, good and bad:

ва ўменьні пакрыўдзіць

пакрыўдзіцца

дараваць

пазнаю сябе ў сыне

так хочацца пазнаць сябе і тады

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калі прысяду яму на плячо
цёплым ветрам. (UA 2009, 101-02)

(in the ability to offend / to be offended / to forgive // I recognise myself in my son // I so much want to recognise myself and then / when I sit on his shoulder / as a warm wind.)

*

Arloŭ's most recent (2018) book of verse is mainly of ballads: *paručník Piatrovič i praparščyk Zdań* (Lieutenant Piatrovič and Ensign Zdań). Varied in content but with an unfailing lightness of touch despite the immense number of literary and political references, and an unfailing sense of humour, they are likely to please this prolific writer's many readers.

There are nine sections, not all of which are ballads in any conventional sense of the word. The first, 'Kat Bałtazar' (Butcher Balthazar), is described as a Polacak ballad, and has a third-person narrator. As a child, Balthazar had helped Sobieski²⁰ to save Europe from the Turks at the battle of Vienna, and later defended Polacak from various enemies. Combining lust with sadism, he veers between two women, eventually seeming to tire of these activities, including his grisly job, instead replying to a phone call from America, before returning to the novel about contemporary love he is writing on his computer. This complete lack of chronology, as well as sometimes black humour, is simply the first example of elements that are common throughout this book.

²⁰ Jan III Sobieski was King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania from 1674 to 1696.

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The next section, 'Arkady Padui' (The Arcades of Padua, 2007) is not so much a ballad as a rumbustious guide, with footnotes, to the past and present of the Italian city. Were it by a lesser writer, it might be described as a romp. As in several later parts of the book, the protagonist is referred to in the second person as 'Ty'. As always with Arloŭ, vigorous masculine humour, as well as broad learning make his account of Padua, not least, of course, Skaryna's stay there, both amusing and informative; the cast of characters introduced range from Dante via Mérimée to Mussolini. As in all his non-historical prose and verse, this writer's thoughts are never far from his native country. For instance, a medical theatre reminds him of the Belarusian national white-red-white flag (UA 2018, 14), and he compares one of the ways Livy is reported to have prepared eggs with that which is popular in Polacak (UA 2018, 12-13). The guide contains a vast array of historical characters, a prodigious amount of information and digressiveness, reminiscent of Gogol or Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, as well as rich fantasy, much of it sexual, and, amongst it all, constant evidence of the author's lively enquiring nature.

Most of the other sections are also concerned with places and countries. 'Alieka' (Aleko), a Balkan ballad, set mainly in Bulgaria, begins with two rude words written in the snow which, he thinks, may be considered the first line of a poem. In this ballad the poet has been invited to receive the Aleko Konstantinov prize (earlier laureates include Heinrich Böll, Vasilii Aksenov and Maurice Druon), and is assigned an attractive young interpreter, Pienka, who has translated into Bulgarian a historical novel by Uladzimir Karatkievič and Arloŭ's own satirical *Orden Bielaj Myšy* (UA 2003). She is a strong nationalist who believes that Bulgarians founded Kyiv, and that Romanians are really Bulgarians who, being on the other side of the Danube, are forbidden to speak in their native language (UA 2018, 47). The poet, however, gives most space to Stalin's murderous policies in Belarus, and to two monuments, one to

Bulgarian support for Hitler during the war, and the other to the eponymous Lieutenant Piatrovič and Ensign Zdań, who play a minimal role in this complex and immensely referential ballad. On the train home he meets Russian guards who are drunk, simple minded, foul-mouthed and hostile to the Belarusian language, as well as to the poet's defence of his country and culture. In this they are like all the Russians in Arloў's ballads.

'Sura Sheinblit' (2009) is mainly about the Jewish town of Berdichev in Ukraine and its other inhabitants or visitors including Conrad, Balzac and Shelley. The name of Balzac's wife provokes from the poet, 'Вось табе й Чалавечая камедыя!' (There's a Comédie humaine for you!) (UA 2018, 58); the (Russian) refrain in this ballad is: 'не был ли ты евреем в детстве?' (Were you not a Jew when you were a child?) (UA 2018, 60ff), and as he engages in a fanciful flight with his woman on this occasion, Sura (aka Bella), over Berdichev, Viciebsk, Odessa, Paris and Jerusalem, he imagines somebody from Hamas saying: 'жыды ды яшчэ й лётаюць / збіць іх на х.й!' (the yids are still flying / let's shoot them to b.ggery!) (UA 2018, 59)²¹

'Vulica Salamieja' (Salome Street, 2017), a very lively Galician ballad, is set mainly in Lviv. It begins with towers, including the 9/11 disaster in New York, before turning to questions of Belarusian cooking. Unsurprisingly, in view of the Ukrainian war, it is, in addition to the by now familiar literary and cultural fantasies, rich in criticism of Russia's bellicosity and the crudeness of its tourists. In an uncharacteristically bleak moment, the narrator thinks of killing somebody in Lviv, although he understandably adds that it would not be the poets Serhii Zhadan or Marianna Ki-

²¹ This could be a reference to the ignorant Viciebsk councillors in the early 1970s who, receiving an offer from Chagall of his pictures, refused, having consulted equally ignorant Soviet 'experts' and being told that 'there are just a few Jews flying about'.

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ianovs'ka. Drinking Mexican coffee, he notes that Casanova (featured in the next ballad) does not mention Mexican women, although he praised those from Lviv, who, as we are told, were unreachable. One café has a plaque declaring that it was founded in 1863, the year associated by Arloŭ and all nationally conscious Belarusians with the Uprising led by Kastuś Kalinoŭski, when his predecessors fired at Muscovites or, indeed, betrayed the insurgents to members of the Russian punitive expeditions, five roubles for the living, three for the dead, which provokes a characteristic exclamation from the poet:

о святы Юр!
хіба можа ў святога
быць такога імя? (UA 2018, 75)

(O, holy Jura / can a saint really / have such a name?)²²

Other characters in addition to Salome are Alena Kiš (a Belarusian primitive painter), Oksana Zabužko and her very nationally aware book *Fieldwork in Ukrainian Sex*, as well as Bruno Schulz and his murderer Karl Günter, while Nostradamus and Bandera are among the large audience attending the narrator's poetry reading.

'Apošniaja žančyna Kazanovy' (The Last Woman of Casanova, 2017) is described as a Bohemian ballad. The woman of the title is Darota aged twenty-one, and Arloŭ mentions some of the famous lover's male visitors from Benjamin Franklin to Mozart. Darota, for her part, devises a wonderful revenge on Casanova for when he is sixty-six. This is not specified: could it be that his picture hangs in a public lavatory, or a post box with the sign, 'Write To Casanova He Will Write To You?'; the letters

²² The author is making a pun from the saint's name Jura, which as 'Юр' in Belarusian means lust.

in the box, incidentally are expected to be nearly all in Russian. In a restaurant the narrator writes in his notebook that Casanova was gazing at the ceiling, but when he discovered that the swarthy waitress was also called Darota, he too gazes at the ceiling (UA 2018, 97).

‘Hvirabi’ is a Georgian ballad named after the celebrated local red wine, Gvirabi. Knut Hamsun, notorious for his open admiration of Hitler, died there, but does not want to remain in his grave. The poet wonders whether there are any other Norwegian writers without graves, noting that the right-wing murderer Anders Breivik is still in prison. Other famous visitors and exiles that come to the poet’s mind include the poet Tadeusz Łada Zabłocki and playwright Aleksandr Griboedov, but it is a later aggressive Russian presence that seems uppermost in Arloŭ’s narrative, alongside women and drinking, when he declares that no treaty with Russia is worth the paper it is written on, and laments the destruction of a 1500-year-old chapel that had been turned into a prison and all its frescoes destroyed. There is much more information about Georgia itself, presented, as always, in a semi-fantastical manner. This ballad is particularly rich in a technique also found elsewhere, namely the repetition of lines and ideas (somewhat like the *leitmotifs* in Wagner’s operas).

Earlier in the book, a more straightforwardly autobiographical piece ‘Miod’ (Honey), begins with a reminiscence of eating bread and honey with slightly older friends, two boys and a girl, Ninka, when he was twelve. The question arises, not for the first time, of his having a gypsy grandfather, while they eat on plates decorated with a swastika (his grandmother remembers having a wartime friend Paul). As the honey rolls down Ninka’s front, the poet reflects on the dangers and pleasures of looking at women’s breasts and the rumour that it may extend a man’s life by five years (UA 2018, 28). He describes the unpleasant fates of many of his former friends, including Ninka. Later in what is probably the most straightforward narrative in this

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book, forty-three years after that honey, the poet suffers a heart attack, and wonders whether he had not ogled sufficiently, although, as he wryly observes, enough to survive; he has, moreover, drunk three times more from a mug with an eagle and swastika than his doctors would allow (UA 2018, 31). The poem ends with a verse by one of his friends, who was later to throw himself out of an eleventh-floor window:

а можа побач з намі свет
у часе на адлегласці імгнення
і можа іншы ты у ім жывеш
і можа ў цябе чыстае сумленне. (UA 2018, 32)

(and maybe alongside us is another world / at the distance of an instant
in time / and maybe you live in it / and maybe you have a clear conscience.)

The last section of the book is also not a ballad in the usual sense: 'Paetyčny fest u Druskienikach' (A Poetic Festival in Druskininkai). The *leitmotiv* here is 'твой арганізм атручаны паэзіяй' (your organism is poisoned by poetry, UA 2018, 116ff), and among delegates' discussions are the worth or otherwise of the Nobel Prize (including Svetlana Alieksievich's award in 2015), and whether a Spaniard's poems about Barcelona should acknowledge that it is not in Spain but Catalonia (a theme that occupied Arloŭ in his already mentioned poem devoted to that city) (UA 2009, 52). Arloŭ's verse 'Ліст начальніку турмы' (Letter to a Prison Governor) arouses great discussion of prisons and prisoners, but the poet wonders how much the other poets knew about what happened in 1937. A Japanese poetess recites a poem against all 'isms'; a sarcastic Croatian announces a poem 'Cyšynia' (Quiet) and then remains silent; and a Lithuanian reads a brutal poem about the Magi who find the infant Jesus

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in a plastic bag in a container, but leave him there for fear of trouble with the police, to suffer for our sins. When a Ukrainian reads a poem dedicated to the Bandera gang, also raising a yellow and blue flag, one listener says that she had been sick, and that such poems belong in a morgue (UA 2018, 123). The chaotic end of the conference comes with the appearance of a host of people from various countries and historical eras. Shakespeare, Milton, Frost, Whitman, Kipling, Eliot and others had been expected, although of these only the last three apparently made it. The final words, sung by the band Bon Jovi, are:

‘It’s all the same,
Only the names have changed.’

In many ways this book of ballads reflects the principal elements of Arloŭ’s poetic world. All are humorous, full of national awareness whatever the setting, with Belarus always uppermost in his mind. There is an immense cast of characters, mainly cultural and political, drawn from the past and present, which very frequently intermingle. The bleak pictures of Russians, and the very physical depictions of women, familiar from the shorter poems in earlier books, are also very prominent.

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Uladzimier Arloŭ is a very distinctive and immensely imaginative poet, whose vigorous free verse suits the many changes in chronology and swift movement between fantasy and realism in his work. The rich lexicon is strongly influenced by his historical training, and he is also not averse to dialectal expressions or, at times, foreign words; he is, moreover, often tempted by word play, particularly between Belarusian and other languages. The poet’s thematic world, in which dreams play a major role, is

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that of the culture of Eastern Europe and beyond (although Russia, as Belarus's 'big brother' fares badly in his works). He brings not only keen observation and considerable erudition to descriptions of the places he has visited, but his native Polacak is ever present in his mind. Also important is introspection in various forms, mostly related to death, resurrection, and especially his duty to protect his country from amnesia. Many verses are related to his childhood and his development as a historian and poet, with the fate of his books also prominent. His highly referential writing expects from its readers considerable classical learning, as well as knowledge of Belarusian letters and history as well as world culture. Also striking is the profusion of real and imagined women that populate some of his shorter and all of his longer poems, and sex and writing appear to be connected in several verses; his muse is a far from abstract, very physical person. Arloŭ's broad humour, even in the gloomiest verses, often breaks through in a body of immensely stimulating work that makes him one of the most talented contemporary Belarusian poets.

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TATIANA RIABOVA AND DMITRIY RIABOV

**INFANTILISING THE OTHER: THE METAPHOR OF CHILDHOOD
IN RUSSIA'S MEDIA DISCOURSE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS¹**

Introduction

In December 2017, in response to a journalist's question about the Polish investigation into the crash of flight Tu-154 near Smolensk in 2010, which, it was alleged, revealed the facts of Russia's guilt, Vladimir Putin accused Polish politicians of trying to complicate Polish-Russian relations through this and added, 'Turn this page over at last. Grow up and become mature!' ('Press-konferentsiia' 2017).² In October 2019, U.S. President Donald Trump, condemning the armed conflict between Turks and the Kurds, compared them to 'two kids fighting' ('Trump compares' 2019). These cases serve as an illustration of the fact that the metaphor of childhood is used on the international political stage, even, on occasion, by state leaders. We are, therefore, dealing with symbolic infantilisation, a type of symbolic politics, which consists of likening an individual or group to a child in order to gain a political advantage. The contention of this article is that the metaphor of childhood is a factor in foreign policy discourse.

The role of metaphors in international relations is of considerable interest to researchers (see, for example, Lakoff 2003, Cohn 1993, Steuter and Wills 2008, Norocel 2010); there are also works on the use of the metaphor of childhood in politics (e.g., Mills and Lefrançois 2018, Anand 2007, Nayak 2006). However, in relation to Russia, this issue has not been adequately researched. In this article we aim to fill this

¹ This research was supported by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research and the Expert Institute for Social Research (19-011-31711), and by the Russian Science Foundation (18-18-00233).

² All translations in this article are the authors' own.

gap and explore the role of infantilisation in the foreign policy discourse of the Russian media. The research questions are as follows: Why is the childhood metaphor relevant to politics? How is it used by the Russian media, primarily in the politics of national identity and the legitimisation of power? How is it used in the foreign policy discourse of contemporary Russia?

We begin by addressing the theoretical aspects of the metaphor of childhood as a factor in international relations. Next, we describe its use in the political rhetoric of the Russian media, including the representation of international relations. The final part of the article is devoted to the Ukrainian case, namely how symbolic infantilisation is carried out by the Russian media while covering Russian-Ukrainian relations. Our analysis here focuses exclusively on the hegemonic discourse of the Russian media, that is, discourse characterised by support of Russian foreign policy (which is typical for pro-Kremlin, communist and nationalist publications).

Among the media under analysis are printed and online media, together with popular blogs and internet forums. The chronological scope of the study of the Ukrainian case is limited to the six-month period after the election of Volodymyr Zelensky as the President of Ukraine, during which time discussions on the possibility of normalising relations with Ukraine became topical in Russia. The issue was discussed not only through the prism of possible political decisions, but also through the idea that these decisions were in some way being obstructed.

Theoretical framework

Metaphor has been interpreted as structuring the way we think and act, enabling us to understand and experience ‘one kind of thing in terms of another’ (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 3-5). It serves as a basic mechanism used by people to simplify the world and to bring it closer to their own life experiences. By allowing us to focus on one as-

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pect of a concept, a metaphorical concept can also keep us from focusing on other aspects of the concept that are inconsistent with that metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), and, thus, metaphors can be used effectively as political and ideological tools (Mills and Lefrançois 2018).

Metaphors are one of the most effective ways of producing new meanings. As Carol Cohn (1993) showed by the example of gender metaphorisation, they can serve as a means of symbolic violence. This role of using gender metaphors is determined by the fact that the male/female opposition has the potential to produce social inequality and draw symbolic boundaries. As Joan Scott (2001, 422) has noted, gender is both 'a constitutive element of social relationships [...] and [...] a primary way of signifying relationships of power'; thus it is engaged in the signification and legitimisation of the relationship of power and submission (Connell 2002, 54). The adult/child opposition possesses similar traits, and the use of the metaphor of childhood can also be seen as a case of symbolic violence: equating an individual or a community with a child is aimed at demonstrating the latter's lack of autonomy and need to be controlled.

The semantics of the childhood metaphor determine the potential of its political use. A constructivist approach to childhood presupposes prescribing to a child certain meanings (Cook 2002, 2). As Ashis Nandy points out, the idea of childhood as an imperfect transitional state on the way to normality – adulthood (moreover, the state of an adult white man) – was established in Western cultures in the time of Modernity and was inseparable from the concept of progressive development (Nandy 1984, 59). In his observation (*ibid.*, 360), 'this is the theory of progress as applied to the individual life-cycle. The result is the frequent use of childhood as a design of cultural and political immaturity or, it comes to the same thing, inferiority.' This is what makes it possible to use the adult/child opposition as a sort of matrix of a power rela-

tionship which reflects the existing social hierarchies. In this regard, Nandy notes that the metaphor of childhood is a widely used device in various forms of exploitation (ibid., 361)

The metaphor of childhood also intertwines with other differentiated markers. Cultural patterns of oppression are bound together and influenced by intersecting systems of society, such as race, gender, class and ethnicity (Crenshaw 1991). This explains the way in which socially constructed categories of differentiation interact to create a social hierarchy, and, it can certainly be argued that age-based markers can be added to this list. The childhood image has much in common with miscellaneous markers of Otherness – in particular, with representations of women in androcentric cultures (e.g. Ortner 1974).

Among other traits of the childhood image that determine its politicisation, it should be emphasised that it is employed in the politics of identity, separating one community from another. This role as a symbolic border guard can be illustrated by a Soviet slogan: ‘Two worlds – two childhoods’, which aimed to illustrate the superiority of the Soviet model of childhood over the Western model. U.S. propaganda during the Cold War exploited images of childhood in the same manner (Peacock 2014).

Moreover, being connected to relations of kinship, that is to ‘natural’ and ‘organic’ features, the metaphor of childhood is employed to legitimise power and to reify and naturalise a community – like the metaphor of the family (Yuval-Davis 1997, Norocel 2010, Hayden 2003). For example, the image of citizens as children of the motherland plays an important role in legitimising the national community as the only legitimate one (Yuval-Davis 1997, Riabov 2014).

All of this explains the use of symbolic infantilisation in politics. The most commonly researched case is the use of the adult/child opposition in colonial discourse, where the metaphor of childhood is employed to legitimise relations of power

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and submission; in particular, the fact that colonial peoples are likened to women and children (and sometimes even animals), different with respect to the norm – an adult white man, who symbolises civilisation. Equating indigenous peoples to children has a long tradition in European cultures. For instance, Hegel wrote that ‘Africa proper’ was the ‘land of childhood’ (Hegel 1956, 91). Nandy (1984, 58) finds that there are a number of ‘metaphor[s] of childhood that justified colonialism’, from James Mill’s conception of Britain as an adult guiding the development of India, to Cecil Rhodes’s assertion that ‘the native is to be treated as a child and denied franchise’. Yet a key difference is that, unlike representations of white children, colonised peoples are imagined as permanently childlike (see Barker 2011, Mills Lefrançois 2018). This gives rise to the idea that infantilisation justifies patronage from the adult, more enlightened and rational West (Anand 2007), and contributes to rationalise imperialism (Nandy 1984, 361). Stuart Hall notes that the discourse that divides the world into the West and the Rest, equating ‘savages’ to children, was intended to exclude non-white peoples, to demonstrate their lack of civility and inability to exercise self-control, and, through this, to justify the ‘White Man’s Burden’ (Hall 1997).³

Since in Western societies internal ‘they’ can also be subjected to orientalisation (Hall 1992: 280), the metaphor of childhood is engaged for the legitimisation of internal symbolic boundaries as well. The most telling example, perhaps, is equating African-Americans to children with emotionality, lack of self-control and superstition attributed to them, which in turn leads to racial discrimination (see, for example, Burman 1994).

It is important to note that Western discourse on Russia can also rely on orientalisation. Scholars have pointed out that the exclusion of Russia from the West employs similar practices by involving such binary oppositions as culture/nature, free-

³ On using the mother symbol of the Russian Empire in such a context see Riabov 2014.

dom/despotism, individualism/collectivism, civilisation/barbarism (Neumann 1999, Dittmer 2003). In this regard, the metaphor of childhood also plays a role. As early as the eighteenth century the British traveller William Richardson (1952, 174) wrote about Russians: 'They are bearded children.' This comparison is also utilised later, for example, in Finnish propaganda in the time of the Winter War of 1939-1940 (Vares 2012).

Symbolic infantilisation implies attributing to the Other (which can be a group or an individual) such features as emotionality, irrationality, irresponsibility, instability, lack of ability to make a decision and the inability to think logically (Anand, 2007, Nayak 2006). Among them is also the inability to take care of oneself: since infantilisation is the representation of certain political individuals or communities as vulnerable, helpless and backward children (Nayak 2006), they are associated with the need for a selfless and fearless rescuer-cum-protector. An analysis of the 'war on terror' discourse after September 11 shows that representations of the inhabitants of the Near and Middle East as helpless children helped to justify the American presence in Afghanistan and Iraq, and to ascribe hypermasculine traits to the USA (Nayak 2006).

There is one more aspect of infantilising colonised peoples. Gustav Jahoda (1999) shows how indigenous peoples are equated not only with children, but also with animals. Symbolic infantilisation is often accompanied by dehumanisation, a complete or partial denial of humanness. According to Nick Haslam's dual model of dehumanisation (2006), it exists in two forms: animalistic and mechanistic. Animalistic dehumanisation implies that aliens have no refinement, civility, moral sensibility or higher cognition, and leads to the perception of them as children (Haslam 2006, 253).

Infantilisation, therefore, includes both explicit labelling of someone as a child by direct comparison, and implicit – that is, endowment with qualities that are perceived as attributes of a child: emotionality, unreasonableness, helplessness, depend-

ence, irresponsibility, etc. Both types will be considered here in relation to the metaphor of childhood in the political rhetoric of contemporary Russia.

Infantilising the Other in the Foreign Policy Discourse of the Russian Media

The metaphor of childhood occurs in the hegemonic discourse of the Russian media within the context of the 'remasculinisation of Russia' – the politics of Russian identity that has been carried out by the authorities during Putin's rule. The remasculinisation of Russia has two goals: producing attractive images of national masculinity and creating an image of Russia endowed with masculine connotations, above all, strength, sovereignty and rationality (see Riabov & Riabova 2014). In this context, one should note the popularity of the image of the *muzhik* as a sort of exemplary Russian masculinity (Shaburova 2002, 534). This image is employed in the legitimisation of power; in their own turn, Russia's authorities actively promote this pattern of national masculinity. It is hardly surprising that this image has been legitimised in Putin's presidency, as he aligns with this *muzhik* type of masculinity. In turn, the high rating of the Russian president affects the popularity of the *muzhik* as an exemplar of national masculinity (Riabov & Riabova 2014, Wood 2016, Eksi Wood 2019, Sperling 2016). Olga Shaburova, who first analysed the image of the *muzhik* in post-Soviet culture, revealed the role of negative identification: to be a *muzhik*, you have to prove that you are not a woman, homosexual or child (Shaburova 2002, Riabov & Riabova 2014). Representations of Russia's top-rank officials as adults and responsible politicians are accompanied with the symbolic infantilisation of their opponents.

Anna Fournier (2015) shows how during the last decade the Ukrainian and Russian pro-government media subjected the protest movement to symbolic infantilisation: protesters both in Ukraine and Russia were characterised as irrational, naïve, easily influenced by others and living at the expense of others. They were presented as

victims of external manipulation, rather than as independent entities. The coverage by the pro-Kremlin media of protesters in Russia during 2019 who were delegitimised precisely through infantilisation is indicative – they were attributed with children’s dreaminess and lack of life experience. Thus, the metaphor of childhood pursued the goal of legitimising state power. The use of the metaphor has another function – it helps position Russia in the international arena as a rational, responsible and strong country – in other words, an ‘adult’ country –, and is often accompanied by the infantilisation of the Other, in particular, Europe.

During the 1990s Russian authorities emphasised the youthfulness of a democratic Russia (see Boris Yeltsin’s Presidential Addresses of 1994 and 1997). However, as relations with the West deteriorated, Russia was becoming more and more ‘mature’ (Putin in his Presidential Addresses constantly referred to Russia’s millennial history, centuries-old traditions, the maturity of the nation, its spiritual sources; see Presidential Addresses of 2003, 2014, 2018, 2019), and this ‘growing-up’ acts as an element of remasculinisation.

It is significant that another image associated with the metaphor of childhood – Russia as an ‘apprentice’ of the West (see Götz 2016) – is also deconstructed in the hegemonic discourse. For example, in 2016 Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov stated that the West treats Russia as a student, pursuing its own selfish interests (Lavrov rasskazal 2016). In October 2019 the program director of the Valdai club Timofei Bordachev published an article in which he argued that Putin’s speech at the Valdai Club conference is one of the most significant after his speech at the Munich Security Conference in 2007. It completed a 25-year period of rhetorical rehabilitation of Russia’s foreign policy, its liberation from the complex of being the West’s ‘apprentice’ which was instilled into it when entering European politics at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Bordachev 2019).

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As Iver Neumann (2016) has noted, Russia has gone from an inferiority complex to a superiority complex in the post-Soviet era. This view of superiority is reflected in the Geyropa concept, which represents the West (and above all, Western Europe) as being devoid of masculine qualities (Riabov & Riabova 2014). It should be stressed that demasculinisation is supplemented by symbolic infantilisation – the West and its leaders are accused of infantilism and are deprived of the qualities that are normally attributed to adults: independence, responsibility, rationality, intelligence, realism (see, for example, Fadeev 2018, Drobnitskii 2019). A popular Russian blogger, noting this fact, writes: ‘The infantile West is beneficial to Russia. The more irresponsible idiots are in power, the easier it will be to beat them in the ongoing geopolitical game’ (Alksnis 2019).

Not only Western, but also Eastern Europe, especially Poland, is subjected to this symbolic infantilisation with the same connotations of weakness, unreasonableness, moodiness and irresponsibility. The infantilism of the current Polish government was viewed by a Russian historian as a desire to shift responsibility for the decisions taken by it to the Kremlin, and this opinion was disseminated by the Russian media, including that directed to foreign audiences (Sokolov et al. 2019).

Infantilism is also attributed to the leadership of former Soviet republics, especially to those who pursue a foreign policy which is unfriendly to Russia. For example, Elena Yampolskaya, Chairwoman of the State Duma Committee on Culture, stated that violent protests in the Georgian capital Tbilisi demonstrated sheer infantilism. The protesters seized the building of the Georgian parliament in order to prevent a Russian delegation from participating in the Interparliamentary Assembly on Orthodox Christianity (V Gosdume 2017). Visual discourse is also used to express the metaphor. One internet poster (‘Obama i Putin’) shows a confrontation between the presidents of Russia and the United States, whose allies are depicted as little children.

Belarus, Kazakhstan and Armenia are quietly standing behind Vladimir Putin's back, while Georgia and the Baltic countries, depicted as aggressive children, are by Barack Obama's shield.

Infantilising the Ukrainian Other

The analysis here is based on cases of representations of the Ukrainian Other during the first months after the election of Volodimir Zelensky as the President of Ukraine. It was a period when the prospects for normalising relations between the two countries started to be discussed more intensively in the Russian media, as well as in academic literature (Fedor 2015; see Kuzio 2017 for a thematic bibliography; see Riabchuk 2016 for a discussion of post-colonialism with regard to this issue). The image of Ukraine in Russia has also been studied in the framework of geopolitics and Russian nationalism (Hutchings & Szostek 2015, Riabova & Riabov 2015, Aridici 2019).

According to Mykola Riabchuk, the image of Ukraine in Russia dates back to the eighteenth century, when, in his opinion, there first appeared a Russian hegemonic view of Ukrainians as 'younger brothers' who should be both patronised and censured for improper behaviour (Riabchuk 2016, Kuzio 2017). The age metaphor was also used to refer to Russian-Ukrainian relations during the Soviet period, which were reflected in the representations of the Russian people as an elder brother, 'the first among equals' (Brandenberger 2002, 43).

To begin with, it is necessary to single out direct indications of the infantilism of Ukrainian politicians and society. These include the use of such explicit markers as 'infantile', 'children', 'non-adults', etc. The fact that such labels are used not only by Russian journalists, but also by top-level politicians is significant. For example, Leonid Slutsky, the Chairman of the Russian State Duma Committee on International Affairs, stated that Kiev 'demonstrated political infantilism, impotence and the inabil-

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ity to address the issues of general European stability and security maturely' (Slutskii 2019). Andrey Baklanov, deputy chairman of the Association of Russian Diplomats, referred to Ukraine's request for the negotiations between Russian President Vladimir Putin and his American counterpart Donald Trump to be held in Helsinki as 'infantile' ('Ekspert otsenil' 2018).

In addition to the explicit marking of Ukraine's policies as childish, the Russian media also frequently applies an implicit one. Ukraine's authorities and its population are frequently endowed with qualities that are associated with children, such as naïvety, faith in miracles, egocentrism, irresponsibility and the inability to control their behaviour. In fact, the 'Revolution of Dignity' itself has been considered to be a manifestation of this childish faith in miracles. The same faith in miracles is also used to explain the election of actor Volodimir Zelensky as Ukrainian president in 2019. The Regnum Agency, in particular, uses the words of the Ukrainian politician Andriy Parubiy to explain how, when electing Zelensky, Ukrainians were tired of war and wanted a 'miracle' ('Zelenskogo vybrali' 2019). A journalist of *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (Grishin, 2019a) made it clear that faith in miracles is a sign of infantilism, not only among Ukrainian citizens, but also its politicians, who, as he shows, urge Ukrainians not to work or negotiate, but only to 'believe in themselves'. Ukrainians 'are like children and have no intention of becoming mature at all [...] [L]ike butterflies in amber, the Ukrainians are stuck in their political provincialism and amaze the world around them with their Cossack frankness' ('Proekt Ukraina'). When characterising the advice of Ukrainians to President Zelensky before the Normandy Four meeting in December 2019 (including, for example, 'to push Putin against the wall') as inadequate, a Russian journalist again uses the metaphor of childhood: 'Poor naïve children! No, they are not even children – growing up, children develop and begin to perceive better what the real world is, to learn to live in it without Father

Christmas, snow maidens and ‘Russian troops in Donbass’. This lot seem to be utterly untrainable.’ (Grishin 2019a).

Egocentrism, a belief in their own exclusiveness, and the fact that the whole world revolves around them are other features of the children’s world view that are attributed by Russian commentators to contemporary Ukrainian society. To illustrate this egocentrism, the meme ‘The whole world is with us!’ is often used. It is designed to ridicule the belief inherent in today’s Ukrainians that ‘everybody owes them’ (see, for example, ‘Bol’shinstvo ukraintsev schitaet’ 2018). In 2019, information from the Ukrainian media about the astronomical amounts of money that the entire ‘world owes Ukraine’ aroused ridicule on the Russian net (Runet), for example: ‘The world must first pay, and then demand reforms and a fight against corruption. Ukraine will not let itself be deceived anymore’ (‘Skol’ko mir dolzhen’ 2019).

Irresponsibility is another ‘childish’ characteristic of Ukrainian society used by the Russian media that stems from the representations of the Maidan during the ‘Revolution of Dignity’. Thus, a Russian expert called the Ukraine line on gas ‘adolescent behaviour’. He drew attention to the Ukrainian government’s continuous waver- ing and ‘their desire to shuffle off their responsibilities to adults’ or ‘parents’, namely ‘the European Union, America, everyone, just not them’ (‘Vot oni i mechutsia’ 2019). Rostislav Ishchenko (Ishchenko 2019a), a Ukrainian political expert who emi- grated to Russia after the Maidan events and who often voices his support for the Kremlin in the Russian media, also calls Ukraine a child for its inability to defend its state interests and the desire to shirk its responsibilities: like a fractious child, it wants to wait until ‘its kind parents’ come and console ‘their cutie’, so that it receives every- thing and gives nothing back.

A journalist for *Ukraina.ru* regarded the Ukraine line on the Kerch Strait inci- dent as childish. In his opinion, it implied an inability to take responsibility and an-

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ticipate the consequences of one's actions. An attempt by Ukrainian military vessels to pass through the Kerch Strait in 2018, which led to a sharp worsening of Russian-Ukrainian relations, was in his opinion 'a childish prank' which 'will simply not do in the world of adults' (Voloshin 2018).

Ukraine's infantilism is also evidenced by the priority of emotions over reason attributed to its society which is seen, in particular, by the fact that during the 2019 presidential campaign the voting public 'voted with their hearts' (e.g. 'Zelensky was given credit contrary to reason; his polling numbers are the result of the Ukrainians' emotions' (Ishchenko, 2019b)). The Russian media also refers to other childish qualities: sensitivity, fractiousness, emotionality and lack of control over their own behaviour (Grishin 2019b, 'Ukraina podvergla' 2019), as well as children's desire to appear older than they really are. According to a *Regnum* journalist, this is manifested in Ukraine's desire to make its history more ancient.⁴

It is not surprising that in such a context Zelensky has become a favourite target of the Russian media in view of his young age and lack of political experience ('The boy was pulled from one scene and placed into another' ('Rosiiskii politolog' 2019). *Komsomolskaya Pravda* called him 'a baby', commenting on his attitude to negotiations with Russia: he 'can be sent to Putin only accompanied by adults, for example, Merkel and Macron, or better still, under the supervision of Trump and May. Otherwise, the Kremlin tyrant will confuse our baby, will deceive him and make him sign something against his national interests' (Smirnov 2019).

Infantilising also occurs by attributing to the Ukrainian president a desire to imitate successful politicians. Such a context determines the interpretation of Zelen-

⁴ 'Ukraine is a very young state, and a young state is just like a small child with its own needs, desires and whims. The author reminds that children always want to seem older. That is why Ukraine is looking for its place in history and, moreover, like any child, wishes much more than history can provide it with' (Sidoriv 2018).

sky's behaviour during his visit to the front line, which is seen as an imitation of the Russian president. Moreover, according to one journalist, it turns out more like 'a parody of children who have put their mother's shoes on and are trying to copy adults in every possible way' (Grishin 2019b). Comparison with Putin often casts doubt on Zelensky's masculinity. In particular, the Russian media ridiculed his 'wrong' body armour, which he was wearing during his visit to the Donbass region ('V seti vymeali' 2019). Infantilising here is used together with demasculinising: metaphors of childhood and gender interact and reinforce each other (see, for example, Riabova & Riabov 2015).

Thus, Ukraine, characterised by the Russian media as an infantile country, is endowed with negative connotations of childhood: irresponsibility, egocentricity, inability to control its behaviour, the imitation of adults. It is denied realism and an adult's ability to comprehend a situation. Against this background, Russia is responsible, rational, self-confident and views the unfriendly actions of Ukraine only as 'pranks of small children' (see, for example, 'Kadyrov razacharovalsia' 2019). In other words, the symbolic infantilising of the Ukrainian Other, manifested in representations of Russian-Ukrainian relations, is one of the methods of legitimising Russian foreign policy.

However, such a discourse strategy has two more functions. The first helps in implementing a policy of national identity in Russia: imaginary Ukraine plays the role of the negative Other. Thus, the author of an article based on the results of a survey conducted by the Russian Public Opinion Research Centre on the attitude of Soviet citizens towards perestroika emphasises that their faith in miracles was a manifestation of 'insane infantilism, which, in fact, destroyed the USSR in the late 1980s'. The citizens of Russia have overcome this infantilism; they are now 'mature and sensible people who have adopted a serious attitude to their past, but even a more serious one

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to their present and future' (Mardan 2019). Meanwhile, national concepts of almost all the former Soviet countries are based on a model of self-justification. According to the author, this is the 'worst form of infantilism'. In Ukraine faith in miracles remains a model of national behaviour, which became obvious during the election of Zelensky as the country's president ('he will make everything right, he will stop the war, he will tame the oligarchs and make a dollar worth five hryvnias'). At the same time, the journalist adds, 'Our opposition is trying to sell us the same political concept.' This is the second point: power is legitimised through discrediting political opponents. In order to do this, the hegemonic discourse of the Russian media draws parallels between the events in Maidan and the protest movement in Russia. For example, one journalist writes that an 'adult approach' is demonstrated by the 'Russian management team, which is not guided by ideals, but by the goal of ensuring the viability of the state' (Nosikov 2018). In the opinion of this journalist, the opposite of this approach is 'militant childhood' and 'radical infantilism', which means requiring, but not bearing any responsibility for these requirements. They explain the world as children: 'Putin has fun', 'Putin is bad', 'Putin is a servant of capital and the West' (Nosikov 2018).

It should be noted that the Kremlin's relations with the mass media are complex. Some media that are highly critical of the government on domestic issues (e.g. *Svobodnaia pressa*) generally support its assertiveness in foreign policy, including the Ukrainian question. First of all, they share the concept of Ukraine as a country dependent on the West, and the Euromaidan as a coup d'état organised by the West in which the Ukrainians were an object of manipulation, not 'adults' making their own political choices. This explains the media's direct comparison of the Ukrainian Other with a child or ascribing to it the qualities associated with children. By supporting the government's policy towards Ukraine, these media contribute to the legitimisation of power, even if they themselves do not set such a goal. At the same time, liberal media

outlets (including *Ekho Moskvy* which is owned by Gazprom Media, a company mostly owned by the Russian government) present a different view on Ukraine – a country that took a significant step towards becoming a democratic society, Ukrainians are freedom-loving and responsible, while Russians are paternalistic. Nevertheless, the discourse is hegemonic; it is based on the prevailing public opinion of Russia.⁵

Conclusion

The metaphor of childhood is widely used in representations of international relations. The potential for its use in political discourse is connected, first of all, with the fact that the opposition ‘adult – child’ is a matrix for denoting relations of power and submission. Childhood is a social construct. It is considered to be a transitional period before adulthood and is associated with the West-centric idea of progress. The metaphor of childhood, associated with the main tropes of orientalism, has been an instrument of colonial discourse for several centuries. This is the case when age and racial hierarchies complement each other.

In the hegemonic discourse of the contemporary Russian media, the symbolic infantilisation of the Other is part of the remasculinisation of Russia: Western countries and post-Soviet states are described using metaphors of childhood. The study of

⁵ The ideas of Russians about today’s Ukraine are generally correlated with those generated by the hegemonic discourse of the Russian media. Interviews were conducted by the authors in 2019 in two Russian cities, St. Petersburg and Ivanovo. 35 informants were selected based on gender, age and political preferences. When asked which countries’ behaviour could be compared to a child’s, the vast majority of Russian informants cited Ukraine. Here are a few assertions: ‘Ukraine goes where she is told to and does what she is told to do’, ‘Everyone is to blame for everything, but not them’, ‘Ukraine is a kindergarten, a nursery. [They can only] burn everyone, burn them all. Both aggression and irresponsibility.’ Informants often considered Zelensky to be ‘immature’, emphasising his openness, inexperience, the frivolity of his decisions and inability to calculate his strength, his impulsiveness, incompetence. However, Russians with liberal preferences often noted that such childhood characteristics of Ukraine and Zelensky are used to discredit them: ‘They try to show the insignificance of these countries, they belittle them’; ‘Adults perceive children not as equal to themselves, but as inferior people’. At the same time, the majority of informants considered that Putin and Russia could not be compared with a child at all, because ‘everything is very serious in Russia’, ‘Putin is an adult, because he pulled the country out of a crisis’, ‘Putin is a strong independent leader and his policy is protecting the sovereignty and independence of the country.’

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representations of contemporary Ukraine has shown that the country's political élite, and even Ukrainian society as a whole, are both explicitly and implicitly identified as infantile. The Russian media frequently attribute to them qualities associated with children such as faith in miracles, emotionality, egocentrism, irresponsibility and emotional instability. Through such representations of the Ukrainian Other the national identity of Russia is reconstructed as a strong, sovereign, rational, 'adult' country, legitimising its power and giving it an advantage over Ukraine in foreign policy.

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Lynn Ellen Patyk. *Written in Blood: Revolutionary Terrorism and Russian Literary Culture, 1861–1881*. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2017. ISBN 978-0-299-31220-6. xiii + 349 pp. Bibliography, index.

Lynn Ellen Patyk's *Written in Blood: Revolutionary Terrorism and Russian Literary Culture* offers an ambitious, often provocative, study of the links between literature and political terrorism in post-reform Russia. Patyk argues that 'revolutionary terrorism was just as much Russia's (literary word) as its (revolutionary) deed, and that it issued from the bourn of a literary culture whose marks it indelibly wore' (p. 4). However, Patyk largely swerves away from an investigation of historical causation to support this claim, instead focusing on how Russian writers represented, or even invented, the figure of the terrorist and the idea of terrorism. For Patyk, 'terrorism' does not simply denote violent acts; rather, in line with constructivist approaches, she defines it as a broader, discursive phenomenon, which includes the supposed mindset and psychology of the perpetrator, the climate of fear that surrounds such violence acts, and the mythical, Janus-faced figure of the terrorist/freedom-fighter.

Terrorism, by this definition, is as much 'word' as it is 'deed', and the collapse of apparent binary between words and deeds proves central to Patyk's creation of a literary 'genealogy' (p. 11) of terrorism in Russian literature. Patyk's prologue covers the beginnings of this genealogy, moving from Alexander Radishchev's *Journey from St Petersburg to Moscow* to less obvious sources such as Alexander Pushkin's *Bronze Horseman* and Nikolai Gogol's *The Overcoat*. Patyk offers fresh and insightful readings of these texts, particularly *The Overcoat*. The phantom avenger who appears at the end of Gogol's story brings terror to the streets of St Petersburg, but it is the ru-

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mours surrounding the ghost, and the climate of fear and paranoia that dominates the city, that constitute an early example of ‘terrorism’ (p. 35) in Russian literature.

The figure of Dostoevsky dominates Patyk’s monograph. The main body of the book is divided into four parts, three of which revolve around Dostoevsky novels: *Crime and Punishment*, *Demons* and *The Brothers Karamazov*. An outstanding close reader, Patyk conducts an insightful – and typically polemical – interpretation of each novel within its immediate political, social and legal context. Her reading of Raskolnikov foregrounds those moments where the antihero considers that he should have done something bigger and more extraordinary than his sordid murder of a pawnbroker and her sister. Moreover, Patyk suggests that Raskolnikov’s final acceptance of suffering in the novel’s epilogue ends up unintentionally replicating the logic of the extraordinary man put forward in the opening pages. In Part II, Patyk reads *Demons* as a novel that performs an act of ‘counterterrorism’ (p. 126), suggesting that Dostoevsky ‘sought to dismantle and thereby disarm’ the revolutionary Sergei Nechaev and his conspirators, ‘but in that very process discovered the symbolic centre of what would become ‘the Russian Method’’ (p. 127). In other words, Dostoevsky, despite – or because of – his fervent monarchism and reactionary credentials, imagines mass terror as a tactic in this novel *before* the revolutionaries begin using it.

While Dostoevsky explicitly addresses revolutionary violence in *Demons*, Patyk argues that terrorism is also hidden below the surface in *The Brothers Karamazov*. It is well established that Dostoevsky’s reaction to Vera Zasulich’s acquittal influenced his portrayal of Dmitry Karamazov’s trial, but Patyk moves in a fresh direction, suggesting that the Zasulich trial was also key to the trial of God that Ivan stages in front of Alyosha’s (and the reader’s) eyes. Patyk convincingly argues that Ivan’s poem is ‘a species of judicial rhetoric’ (p. 185), and the Grand Inquisitor’s apologia to Jesus echoes the ‘moral, religious, and emotional justification for ter-

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ror(ism)' (p. 186) offered by Zasulich's legal counsel and the press of the day. Patyk acknowledges Dostoevsky's work in exposing and critiquing the logic of revolutionary terrorism throughout the novel, but she argues 'he throws this prodigious labor to the wind' (pp. 206-207) with Alyosha's speech at the stone. She reads Alyosha's final speech as not the culmination of the novel's vision of prosaic goodness, but its betrayal, sharing in a sacrificial logic that unites Alyosha with his unlikely forebears, Raskolnikov and Petr Verkhovensky. The speech at the stone 'is not merely a speech, but the replanting of this same seed of heroic self-sacrifice in the fertile ground of the next generation' (p. 207).

In the shorter fourth part, Patyk addresses the emergence of the terrorist as a public figure of notoriety and celebrity, focusing on Ivan Turgenev's responses to Zasulich, Sergei Stepniak-Kravchinsky's popular profiles of Russian revolutionaries, and Vsevolod Garshin's literary representations of terrorism. However, she circles back to Dostoevsky in her epilogue, quoting Eugène Melchior de Vogüé's assessment of him from 1886: 'Dostoevsky's intention, of course, was undoubtedly to dissuade men from such acts [as Raskolnikov's] by representing their terrible consequences, but he did not foresee that the intensity of his portrayals might act in an opposite sense' (de Vogüé, cit. Patyk, 259). Patyk's Dostoevsky, like de Vogüé's, is of the Devil's party without knowing it.

The title of Patyk's book suggests an interdisciplinary study of terrorism as a historical and literary phenomenon. However, the book's primary strength lies not in repeated claims about Russian writers' prescience about terrorism as a historical phenomenon, but as a valuable new entry into long-standing debates in Dostoevsky studies. Patyk has voiced a serious, powerful alternative to Christian readings of Dosto-

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evsky. Not everyone will agree with her interpretations of *Crime and Punishment* and *The Brothers Karamazov*, but they will undoubtedly spark rich discussions in our field.

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Slobodanka M. Vladiv-Glover, *Dostoevsky and the Realists: Dickens, Flaubert and Tolstoy*. New York, Bern and Berlin: Peter Lang, 2019. ISBN 978-1-4331-5223-8. xi + 215 pages.

One grand pleasure in academic life arises when you are shown new things about a subject you (once) thought you knew. Slobodanka Vladiv-Glover achieves that with her subtle study of Dostoevsky as a Westernising-of-sorts Slavophile Realist. Vladiv-Glover combines mastery of the full gamut of contemporary literary theories (not least the Russian Formalists, via Bakhtin's 'dialogic' focus on 'polyphony' in Chapter 4) with meticulous research into agendas embedded in 'Realist' manifestoes and novels in European literature (Dickens, Flaubert and Tolstoy, discussed in Chapters 6, 7 & 8) to which Dostoevsky responded and/or which he admired. The result is an accomplished and persuasive re-appraisal of the *Sochineniia* of Dostoevsky.

All in all, Vladiv-Glover emphasises continuities, not breaks, in the mission of 'Realism'. She does so even when Dostoevsky espoused, as early as 1860, a distinct Slavophile national (*narodnoe nachalo*) Russian-Soil-mindedness (*pochvennost'* or *pochvennichestvo*) (pp. 55-57). Vladiv-Glover's Dostoyevsky does not differ before or after his arrest in 1849, his hard-labour prison sentence at Omsk until 1854, and his military service at Semipalatinsk until 1859. The arrested Petrashevtsy liberal of 1849, motivated by duties owed to 'the People', never left the building, Vladiv-Glover ar-

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gues, even when his nationalism became ardent (p. 54). Vladiv-Glover explains how Dostoevsky also upheld other duties, honouring and decoding universal liberal European ideas of self-expression and self-determination: quoting Dostoevsky in 1860 on how ‘the character of our future action should [also] be at the elevated level of a human universal’ (p. 58, here translated slightly differently to Vladiv-Glover). The people and the educated élite (*obshchestvo*) could and would reconcile, Dostoevsky believed (pp. 56, 62).

With subtleties and ironies reminiscent of Andrzej Walicki’s great study of *The Slavophile Controversy* (1975), Vladiv-Glover’s Dostoevsky is revealed as a Slavophile whose ‘Realist’ agenda is only explicable according to interests he shared with Westernising ‘Realist’ discourses. Vladiv-Glover finds that these interests developed from (Kantian and Hegelian) phenomenologies of perception and ‘inner dialogue’ (Hegel’s *Innerliche*). They were then expressed acerbically and allegorically in loving details derived from influential (1830s and 1840s) journalists’ and artists’ ‘Heads of the People’ typologies (Robert Tyas in England, Jules Janin and *Français peints par eux-mêmes* in France, A. P. Bashutsky in Russia, S. T. Gill in colonial Victoria, and eventually Van Gogh in The Netherlands in 1884), as well as from other great ‘Realist’ novels. Vladiv-Glover shows how Tolstoy, Flaubert and Dickens had a common phenomenological-psychological-literary agenda which Dostoevsky honoured in his emulation, and, indeed, also in his criticism.

Vladiv-Glover is also deeply interested in issues of literary theory. She even flirts in the last chapter with Ludwig Wittgenstein. Vladiv-Glover stands on more steady ground, however, when she rejects notions that social realities over-determine literature (pp. 1, 5, 18 (n. 1)). She is influenced, and she also shows how her subjects were influenced – directly or indirectly (as examples of Bakhtin’s dialogic *slovo s ogliadkoi na drugoe slovo* (p. 6)) – by Hegel’s *Die Phänomenologie des Geistes*

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(1807). The evidence Vladiv-Glover uses is derived from her analysis of Dostoevsky's abiding literary interest in self-reflexivity, and in his ways of juxtaposing. Vladiv-Glover supplements this with close attention to Dostoevsky's essays and correspondence.

The model of literary studies adopted by Vladiv-Glover does not think influences need to be admitted before they can be discerned and traced; *slovo s ogliadkoi na drugoe slovo*. Vladiv-Glover is able and ready to infer an agenda from literary practice (p. 10). On the model of Michel Foucault, Vladiv-Glover construes literature as synchronic, not diachronic (pp. 12-13). Above all, Vladiv-Glover uses her perceptive and imaginative study of Dostoevsky to show how 'the faculty of imagination' is able 'to construct meaning and a subject's point of view [based] on observed phenomena – the gaze performs in the phenomenology of perception and the poetics of the modern (Dostoevskian) novel' (p. 76).

All in all, Vladiv-Glover has also offered an intellectual history of imagination as a construct. She considers (pp. 1, 18 (n. 1)) Dostoevsky's imagination was foreshadowed by Hegel's lectures on aesthetics in Berlin in 1820s, as recorded via the extensive notes of his student, Heinrich Hotho, *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*, and, as she finds on p. 507, in the Suhrkamp 1970 edition of volume 13 of Hegel's *Werke*:

Denn dies Innerliche ist gleichfalls, wie die Bilder der Aussendinge, ein im Bewusstsein *Vorhandenes* und geht in seiner Unabhängigkeit von dem Äusserlichen von sich selbst aus. Ist nun die *Bedeutung* in dieser Weise das Anfangende, so erscheint der Ausdruck, die Realität, als das Mittel, das aus der konkreten Welt herbeigenommen wird, um die Bedeutung als den abstrakten Inhalt vorstellig, anschaulich und sinnlich zu machen.

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For this 'inner' life is, in the same ways as the images of external things, present in consciousness and is self-generating in its independence from the external. If Meaning is, in this manner, the beginning of all things, then the expression or reality appears as the means taken from the concrete world, in order to make meaning as the abstract content imaginable, perceptible and sensible.

This fine study will stretch all your preconceptions about Dostoevsky. It will also enlarge your ways of thinking about epistemologies of literature.

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Richard Tempest, *Overwriting Chaos. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's Fictive Worlds. Cultural Revolutions: Russia in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries*. Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2019. ISBN 978-1-64469-012-3 + 716 pages. Illustrations, bibliography, index.

Richard Tempest's book is a wide-ranging study of Solzhenitsyn's prose texts in the context of the Russian and Western literary traditions. It explores the intertextual connections between this writer's fictional worlds and those of novelists such as Dickens and Mann. Thus, the female body maimed by a train in the short story 'Matryona's Home' (1959) is discussed with reference to Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* (1873-77) and Dostoevsky's *Idiot* (1867-69). Tempest places Solzhenitsyn's story in a sequence of apocalyptic narratives, as selected and studied by David Bethea. He also shows that the geometrically formatted bodies of the female medical professionals Vera Gangart

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and Zoya in the novel *Cancer Ward* (1963-67) are closely linked to the textual patterns of Evgeny Zamyatin's anti-utopian *We* (1920-21). The author observes that 'Matryona's cabin is as vivid [a] domestic structure as the Dombey house in *Dombey and Son*' (p. 44) and compares the adventurous spirit of Oleg Kostoglotov, the protagonist of *Cancer Ward* who has just been released from camp and exile, to a character in Jack London: 'Like London's Smoke Bellew staggering out of the taiga after surviving the Arctic winter with its wolves, blizzards, and terrible silences, Oleg is greedy for life and the pleasures it offers' (p. 295).

In chronological order, the book covers the entire corpus of Solzhenitsyn's prose, from his short stories to the epos *The Red Wheel* (1983-91). The analysis of his poetics considers geographical and physical spaces (camp barracks and prison cages, hospital wards and private feminised loci), human bodies (ranging from the corporeal attributes of secondary fictional characters to the bodies and corpses of famous politicians), particularities of the male and female gaze, mathematical symbols and allusions, the patterns of the characters' speech (dialogues, idiolects, sociolects) and dreams, as well as key images and metaphors scattered throughout Solzhenitsyn's multi-generic productions: trains, circles, mirrors and crosses, among many others.

However, this is not only a book dedicated to literary poetics in the narrow sense of the word. It situates Solzhenitsyn's complex biography and the challenges and routines of his creative work in the cultural spaces of Russia, Europe and the United States, while examining his personal attitude to and relations with major Soviet and Russian political figures (Khrushchev, Yeltsin, Putin). Tempest also finds place to discuss the writer's private artistic tastes and preferences, and shows how they, explicitly or implicitly, enter his own texts (Solzhenitsyn's love of Bulgakov, for instance). On the pages of this book Solzhenitsyn emerges not only as a writer (even though he is primarily considered as such), but also as a reader, traveller, paterfamili-

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as, and a victim of (and victor over) the chaos of history. On top of it all, Tempest shares his own phone interviews with Solzhenitsyn (the full texts are attached in an appendix of the book), as well as encounters and conversations with the writer's widow, Natalia Solzhenitsyna, which adds to the lively and comprehensive nature of this scholarly treatise. At times the author even places the spotlight on some interesting discussions he has had with his students.

The overarching argument of this book is that Solzhenitsyn, despite his deep involvement with nineteenth-century writers, predominantly Tolstoy, and abundant polemical counter-references to Socialist Realism, acted as a Modernist; and that his epic *The Red Wheel* displays many formal and stylistic parallels with the experimental practices of Virginia Woolf, Ezra Pound, John Dos Passos, Vladimir Nabokov and other early and mid-twentieth-century Modernist writers: 'For like all important artists, Solzhenitsyn was a destroyer. In a larger sense, of the universalising Lie. In a narrower one, of the plots, genres, and tropes generated by its cultural practices' (p. 532). The most vivid example of Solzhenitsyn's Modernist proclivities, argues Tempest, are the short movie scripts or Screens in *The Red Wheel*: 'These quasi-film treatments [...] disrupt the flow of the narrative while imaginatively enhancing it by zooming in on the brutality of combat or mob action as they hint at the mythical meaning of both via montage and metaphor' (p. 349). To stress the experimental aspects of some of Solzhenitsyn's texts, the author employs a set of theoretical approaches developed by Erich Auerbach, Georges Bataille, Roland Barthes, Julia Kristeva and many other scholars of Western Modernism.

The book is intended for an academic audience as well as the general reader with an interest in Russian literature and history.

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Olga Voronina (ed.), *A Companion to Soviet Children's Literature and Film*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2019. ISBN 978-90-04-40148-8. xiii + 507 pages.

This second volume of Brill's Companions to the Slavic World, *A Companion to Soviet Children's Literature and Film*, features current research by thirteen contemporary scholars working mainly at American institutions. Some contributors (such as Marina Balina and Larissa Rudova) will already be known by those who have an academic interest in Soviet children's literature and culture.

In the introduction the editor, Olga Voronina, states that the subject of the book is 'the value of Soviet children's literature and film as the cultural foundation of the nation', while also noting 'the deficiency of awareness of its ambiguous impact on the Soviet and Post-Soviet society' (p. 5). As the authors each explore these themes from ideological, aesthetic, psychological and political angles, they also provide new knowledge on the influence of avant-garde aesthetics on Soviet literary and cinematic production for children.

The Companion consists of twelve chapters divided into three thematical parts: 'Forging a New Children's Culture: (R)evolution, Poetics, Aesthetics'; 'Constructing Socialism, Building the Self: History, Ideology, Narrative'; and 'New Approaches to the Avant-Garde: Reconstructing the Canon'. As might be expected in such a volume, a variety of conceptual frameworks is employed by contributors who explore the topic of Soviet children's literature, animation and feature film through historical, linguistic, cultural and psychological lenses, thus making the book relevant to different fields of scholarship.

Essays in the first part of the volume focus on the impact of the Bolshevik régime on early Soviet children's literature and film. Thus, Sara Pankenier Weld ex-

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amines the relationship between the state, children's writers and illustrators. Adapting Darwin's terminology, Weld names Soviet censorship 'unnatural selection' (p. 49) and compares it to evolutionary pressure in her discussion of the early Soviet picture book in the 1920s and 1930s. Ana Hedberg Olenina discusses the engagement of Soviet avant-garde filmmakers of the 1920s and early 193 with the theory of paedology – 'a holistic study of childhood' (p. 72). As Olenina argues, there were gaps between the Bolshevik vision for this discipline and the actual outcomes of psychological research. While Ainsley Morse also considers the application of avant-garde practice and poetics to the production of early Soviet literature for children, her focus is on *zaum'* or 'language of made-up words or phonetic segments' (p. 109) and creativity. Oleg Minin gives a detailed account of the contributions of OBERIU poets (Daniil Kharms, Yuri Vladimirov, Aleksandr Vvedensky, Nikolai Zabolotsky, and Nikolai Oleinikov) into the Leningrad children's periodicals *The Finch* (Чуж) and *The Hedgehog* (Ёж).

The second part of the volume opens with Marina Balina's analysis of Soviet-era historical prose for children as a complex and contradictory phenomenon. Noting the relative freedom, autonomy and originality in children's historical discourse when compared to Soviet literature for adults, Balina points out that the historical tale for children preserved the pre-revolutionary tradition of storytelling and restored what cultural historian Jakov Gordin referred to as a 'connection between times' (p. 179). Olga Voronina focuses on children who act as educators of adults in early Soviet children's literature; she traces the trajectories of the concept of 'the education of the soul' (p. 212). The figure of the heroic child in the historical context is the topic of Svetlana Maslinskaya's essay; she provides a comprehensive picture of child-hero narratives in Soviet children's literature from the 1920s through to the 1980s. While Tatiana Vo-

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ronina and Polina Barskova also write about child heroism, their focus is on children's literature concerning the Siege of Leningrad.

Maria Khotimsky's chapter opens the third part of the volume and provides the first detailed analysis of poetic translations by Kornei Chukovsky, Samuil Marshak, Daniil Kharms, Sergei Mikhalkov, Boris Zakhoder and Genrikh Sapgir which 'have made a lasting impact on the Soviet culture of childhood' (p. 342). Lora Wheeler Mjolsness's essay is dedicated to Ivan Ivanov-Vano's accomplishments in the field of Soviet animation, as well as the director's re-interpretation of Disney's heritage in the context of Soviet animation. Larissa Rudova also focuses on new approaches to Soviet film-making as she analyses the reasons behind the triumph of *Cinderella* (*Золушка*, 1947) directed by Nadezhda Kosheverova and Mikhail Shapiro. Anna Fishzon's essay examines animated 'images of immature and hysterical masculinity' (p. 470) during the era of Stagnation, such as *Винни-пух* (a Soviet *Winnie the Pooh*), *Карлсон* (*Karlson*) and *Гена* (*Gena*), as a way of overcoming the historical trauma of the period from the 1920s to the 1950s.

A particularly attractive feature of the Companion is the inclusion of rare colour and black and white images of book covers, book excerpts, feature film and animation stills. The volume has detailed footnotes, an extensive bibliography and a good index. Despite being interconnected, this collection of essays provides a kaleidoscopic rather than encyclopaedic view of Soviet children's literature and film. The Companion makes for engaging and inspiring reading; it would benefit Russian scholars and students, as well as a general audience seeking to expand their knowledge of the complex impact that Soviet children's literature and film had on the nation and its citizens.

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Marietta Chudakova, *Mikhail Bulgakov: The Life and Times* (H. Davies, trans.). London, UK: Glagoslav Publications, 2019. 642 pages, ISBN 978-1-78437-980-3. Index.

J. A. E. Curtis, *Manuscripts Don't Burn. Mikhail Bulgakov: A Life in Letters and Diaries* (Kindle ed.), 2012. New York, NY: The Overlook Press. ISBN 978-1-46830-139-7.

J. A. E. Curtis, *Mikhail Bulgakov*, London, UK: Reaktion Books (Critical Lives), 2017, 224 pages, ISBN 978-1-78023-741-1. Illustrations, bibliography.

J. A. E. Curtis, *A Reader's Companion to Mikhail Bulgakov's The Master and Margarita*, Boston, MA: Academic Studies Press (Companions to Russian Literature), 2019, xiii + 194 pages, ISBN 978-1-64469-078-9. Bibliography, index.

The rationale behind the selection of the above four titles for review is largely driven by Professor Curtis's recent book, *A Reader's Companion to Mikhail Bulgakov's The Master and Margarita*. In order to contextualise this title appropriately, it was necessary to examine a number of biographies and source books that attempt to make sense of Bulgakov's complex life and work. The thread that connects all these titles being reviewed here is that three have been authored by Curtis and the Chudakova biography has a preface by Curtis.

Offering context to the *Reader's Companion* are the 2019 translation of Marietta Chudakova's 1988 biography of Bulgakov (*Mikhail Bulgakov: The Life and Times*), Curtis's 2017 biography of Bulgakov (*Mikhail Bulgakov*), and her 2012 book comprising extracts from Bulgakov's letters and diaries (*Manuscripts Don't Burn*).

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Mikhail Bulgakov: A Life in Letters and Diaries). All these titles will be reviewed to differing extents.

I will examine the three contextual sources first, starting with the earliest biography, written by Chudakova. This abridged English translation of the Russian original (*Zhizneopisanie Mikhaila Bulgakova*) is a long but, nonetheless, absorbing read. It provides rich detail about Bulgakov's life and times, drawing context from diaries, letters and personal accounts. All of these sources have been authored by either Bulgakov himself, an array of wives and close relatives, or friends from various stages of his short, vexed, but, nevertheless, incredibly productive, life. In addition, there are a number of contributions from other contemporary sources that throw light on Bulgakov's rich *œuvre*. The book is divided into seven chronologically arranged chapters, each of which has a distinctive theme, often dividing Bulgakov's work into periods devoted to the theatre, the novel and opera. Whilst this might appear simplistic, it also provides useful reference points for an often complex life. The text is introduced by a preface by Curtis that provides a useful context for Chudakova's work, whilst letting the substantial piece of research that follows speak for itself.

What is most useful about this monumental work are long quotations from Bulgakov's lesser-known articles and documents which round out his life and work. These range from a long excerpt from an early article entitled 'The Renaissance in Trade (Moscow at the Start of the Year 1922)' (pp. 187-190) through 'Forty Forties' published in the *Voice of the Workers of Education* in April 1923 (p. 265), and an extensive section of a letter to his brother Nikolai dated 28 August 1929 (p. 394), to his famous letter of 1930 to seven representatives of the Soviet government (including Stalin), detailing his persecution by the critics and the effect it had on his reputation (pp. 410-412). Of equal value are Chudakova's well-informed hypotheses about Bul-

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gakov's motives and developments in his life where no documentation is available to support a firm assertion directly.

Chudakova, however, has been let down by the publishing process in a number of areas. Firstly, this edition is an abridged translation of Chudakova's original Russian text of the *Description of the Life of Mikhail Bulgakov*. The places where the text has been abridged, although indicated by an ellipsis, lack the clarity that could be conferred by additional space or carriage returns. This failure of typographical nicety also embraces the failure to close open quotes on a number of occasions, forcing the reader to re-read sections to ascertain where a quote from one source ends and another begins. This is surprising, as the proof-reader has been specifically credited on the title verso. It is also regrettable that desk editor and proof-reader have also failed to pick up numerous misspellings, the most conspicuous being 'Bulgkov' on p. 407. The effect of this is that the process of reading becomes staccato in nature, with the reader's flow arrested intermittently. This is particularly troubling in a book which is naturally rich and dense. Notwithstanding these blemishes, this book is a particularly important source for the Bulgakov scholar, a point noted in Curtis's preface.

Curtis's two biographical titles (*Manuscripts Don't Burn. Mikhail Bulgakov: A Life in Letters and Diaries* and *Mikhail Bulgakov*) are different fare. Both swap density for clarity, but are nonetheless rich sources of context. The earlier of the two – *Manuscripts Don't Burn* – provides a nice complement to Chudakova. Dividing Bulgakov's short life into roughly the same time spans as Chudakova, Curtis's collection of documents is a rich source book for Bulgakov's life, starting with the first available documents, dated 1917. While Chudakova emphasises the accounts of Bulgakov's third wife, Yelena Sergeevna, Curtis redresses the balance somewhat by drawing on material from Bulgakov's second wife, Lyubov Yevgenyevna. *Manuscripts Don't Burn* is a well organised text, with the preliminary sections of each chapter providing

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the requisite background for the source material which follows. The sources are all judiciously chosen, with letters interlarded with diary entries, thus providing diverse perspectives on Bulgakov's life. The advantage of this mode of treatment is that there is rarely any confusion about who is speaking. In addition, a section is devoted to each document or extract, hence ensuring its integrity. This format thus allows the reader to piece together these fragments of an already complex life without any ambiguity.

The later of the two biographical titles is Curtis's most recent biography of Bulgakov, published in Reaktion Books' *Critical Lives* series. This book divides Bulgakov's life into five sections, eliding the periods covered by Chapters 4 and 5 of *Manuscripts Don't Burn* into one longer chapter entitled 'The Years of Catastrophe' covering 1929 to 1936. In addition, the first chapter of the later work is expanded back to Bulgakov's birth date, encompassing those years where letters and diaries are non-existent. As in the earlier Curtis book, the quotations retain their integrity by being typographically differentiated from the surrounding narrative and/or explanatory text. Unlike Chudakova's biography, Curtis's *Critical Lives* title is judiciously punctuated with pictures of Bulgakov, his parents and siblings and his three wives. In addition, Curtis has included pictures of other people important in Bulgakov's life: Stalin, Gorky, Stanislavsky and, most significantly, a wonderfully evocative portrait of Chaliapin posing as Mephistopheles in Gounod's opera *Faust*, a significant influence on *The Master and Margarita*. The book is well proof-read and has comprehensive end notes, but lacks an index, which would have improved it from this reader's perspective.

This brings us to Curtis's *A Reader's Companion to The Master and Margarita*, which is both scholarly and readable. This companion impresses the reader by its structured approach to the novel under consideration. Curtis sets the scene with two chapters that concisely cover Bulgakov's all-too-brief life. These chapters are fol-

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lowed by another pair of chapters devoted to issues relating to both the textology of the novel and its publication history – both as central to any analysis of *The Master and Margarita* as any consideration of the book's structural issues, which are covered in the next chapter, 'A Tale of Two Cities'. The themes that run through the book – both Biblical and more general – are explored in Chapters 6 and 7 by means of an examination of Bulgakov's characterisations of Woland, Pilate and Ieshua. Curtis's thematic explorations are followed by another pair of chapters addressing a more generic set of considerations of firstly, how the book exemplified contemporary political satire, and, secondly, how it reflected the position of the writer in the literature of the time. The next chapter considers narrative voices through a stylistic analysis of extracts from the text, and the book concludes with a balanced evaluation of the available English translations of the novel, something that is particularly helpful for non-native speakers of Russian. This structure enables the reader either to read from cover to cover or to dip into the book easily, selecting aspects that suit his or her current needs.

Two chapters of the *Reader's Companion* are representative of the considered and illuminating unpacking of *The Master and Margarita* by Curtis, and her exploration of the book's nuances. The first of these is Chapter 3, which is devoted to the various drafts of Bulgakov's masterpiece. As with many textological analyses (for example, those contained in the commentaries in Bakhtin's *Collected Works*), a balanced approach is required when selecting which path to take. This is evident in the first section of the chapter when Curtis lays out the rationale for following Elena Kolysheva's account of the evolution of the text of the novel contained in *Master i Margarita. Polnoe sobranie chernovikov romana. Osnovnoy tekst* (Moscow: Pashkov Dom, 2014). The remainder of this chapter considers each of the six drafts in detail, providing context and contents, as well as noting variants. Curtis also devotes a

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significant amount of attention to the final revisions to the sixth draft, both those by Bulgakov in the months before his death in 1940, and those contained in his wife Elena's two retypings of 1939-1940 and 1963. This textological chapter thus tracks the evolution of the novel 'away from [Bulgakov's] original satirical depiction of Soviet life at some point in [his] near future, and increasingly towards a focus on eternal spiritual values, love, and art' (p. 40). Chapter 3 comes to the conclusion that 'it is probably true to say that there will never be an entirely "authorized" text of *The Master and Margarita*' (p. 40).

The second representative chapter of the *Reader's Companion* is Chapter 11, which lists and evaluates the available English translations of the novel. Here the rigorous approach that characterises Curtis's aid to understanding and appreciating Bulgakov's masterpiece really pays dividends. After a preliminary section that outlines the history of English translations of *The Master and Margarita*, Curtis selects a sample passage from the first chapter of the novel, first quoting the text of the Russian original. She then lays out each English version of the sample passage by four sets of translators: Michael Glenny, Diana Burgin and Katherine O'Connor, Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky, and finally Hugh Aplin. In her careful review of each translation, Curtis concentrates on what she considers to be the 'trickiest' words and phrases in the Russian original, and the translators' success or otherwise in rendering the passage into English. In doing so, she particularly attends to the nuances of speech where the translator attempts 'to capture the very different intonations of all of the three speakers': Woland, Ivan and Berlioz (p. 135). This attention to detail typifies the *Reader's Companion*, and is replicated in other chapters of this guide, most notably in Chapter 10, which covers narrative voices in the novel.

In summary, *A Reader's Companion to The Master and Margarita*, succeeds in unpacking a novel which is complex thematically, textologically and from a narrative

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perspective. The companion does this with rigour, clarity and subtlety and, as such, represents an indispensable guide to a twentieth-century Russian classic. And when combined with the other three titles covered in this review, the *Reader's Companion* constitutes a good basis for a Bulgakov reference section in any library.

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Owen Matthews, *An Impeccable Spy: Richard Sorge, Stalin's Master Agent*. London, Oxford, New York, New Delhi, Sydney: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019. ISBN 9781408857793. 448 pages.

The life of the most famous Soviet spy, Richard Sorge, has inspired several books and documentaries. Most of them glorify this 'secret soldier of the revolution', however, information gaps and distortions leave his story incomplete and unreliable. In contrast, Sorge's biography by Owen Matthews is well documented; based on published and previously unpublished archival sources, it helps redress earlier inaccuracies.

Like many other 1920s-30s 'great illegals', Sorge became a spy on ideological grounds, and remained true to his beliefs – and Stalin! – until his execution in 1944. Born in Baku and studying in his father's native Germany, World War I saw him volunteer before becoming disillusioned with militarism, aspiring to academia and then becoming a Communist. After moving to Moscow in 1927, Sorge forged a rising career in the Comintern espionage branch, OMS, only to be expelled from the Comintern in 1929. Matthews implies that, rather than being a victim of the Comintern's politics, the Red Army Intelligence Directorate (GRU) facilitated

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Sorge's transfer to their 4th Department, responding to his aspiration to become a military intelligence officer.

Before Sorge was posted to Japan in 1933, which earned him his international moniker of the 'impeccable spy', he spent three years in Shanghai, rebuilding a compromised intelligence network and observing the rise of Communist and Nationalist movements. Thanks to his cover as a foreign correspondent, 'comrade Ramsay' infiltrated both the top circles of the German colony and the Chinese communist milieu. Using his notoriously irresistible charm and powers of persuasion, he recruited key agents of his future Japanese network: radio operator Max Clausen and journalist Hotsumi Ozaki. Sorge's Shanghai task of uncovering Japan's future military plans also prepared him for his mission to Japan.

Sorge spent nine years in Japan, during which only one visit to the USSR was permitted, in 1935. At a time when Japan was considered impossible for espionage, he gathered top secret military and political intelligence on both Japan and Germany. In contrast to common Soviet intelligence tactics, Sorge operated under his real name and received virtually no local support from Soviet agencies; his 'front' as a Japan expert was so successful that it frequently interfered with his intelligence mission. Sorge's operational style also differed as a result of his independent decision-making and reluctance to let the Centre micromanage him. It took Sorge two years to build his network: he infiltrated Nazi diplomatic society, while agent Ozaki infiltrated the Japanese government cabinet. Sorge's reputation as a Japan political expert made him indispensable to the German embassy: his advice was sent to Berlin. Sorge's close friendship with the German Ambassador Eugen Ott permitted him to photograph top secret documents and send reports to the USSR about Japanese geo-political imperatives, the shifting balance of Japan-Germany-USA relations and Japan's war plans against the USSR.

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Despite Sorge's 'impeccable work' (as described by Kim Philby in Chapter 4), his relations with his Soviet handlers began to deteriorate from 1935. As the late-1930s purges swept the GRU and other intelligence agencies, he disobeyed his 1938 orders to return to Moscow; later, his pleas to return were ignored. After his GRU boss Ian Berzin was arrested and executed, his successors mistrusted him, suspecting him of disinformation and of being a German double agent. Sorge's meticulously substantiated reports attracted Stalin's scathing comments, especially those about Hitler's plans to attack the USSR in mid-late June 1941. The only reports of his that were trusted and acted upon concerned Japan not intending to invade the USSR in 1941, but concentrating on South-East Asia and the Pacific region. This led Stalin to move the Soviet Far Eastern and Siberian troops to help defend Russia's European part.

As Sorge's tensions with the Centre mounted, his famous bravery turned into disproportionate risk. Previously, risk taking had helped him brazenly access and photograph secret documents under the nose of the German embassy staff. Now, his personal conduct became increasingly erratic: reckless motorcycle rides resulted in crashes and serious injuries; boundless womanising and excessive drinking led to disorderly behaviour in public. Amidst a German embassy reception, Sorge would vociferously criticise Hitler and praise Stalin. Matthews shows him in a light that is far from idealistic, describing him as 'a pedant, a braggart', 'an idealistic communist and a cynical liar [...] driven by a profound compulsion to deceive' (Introduction). He shows Sorge callously exposing his agents to danger, with no regard for their safety. His ill-treatment of radio operator Clausen possibly precipitated the network's demise: feeling increasingly disillusioned with Communism and hurt by Sorge, Clausen either failed to send telegrams, delayed them or sent incomplete versions. In contrast, Sorge showed genuine loyalty towards his female companions, his Soviet wife Katerina Maximova, who was arrested and died in Siberian exile in 1943, and his Japanese

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long-term girlfriend, Hanako Ishii, the latter relationship earning him respect from his Japanese captors.

The narrative about Sorge's journey is interspersed with rather lengthy accounts of contemporary politics and people whom Sorge charmed, loved, manipulated and deceived. Though citing John le Carré's comment that 'spies make for tremendously unreliable narrators', the author treats Sorge's prison diaries uncritically. He mistakenly describes Isaak Babel as a poet, Felix Dzerzhinsky as a count, and the Trotsky-Kamenev-Zinovyev 'deviation' as a right-wing one. The reader is left sceptical reading that 'the Comintern was idealistic and well-meaning', in contrast to the GRU (Chapter 4).

The news of the arrest of Sorge and his team in October 1941 was met with shock and disbelief by all those whom he had deceived in Tokyo and Berlin. The Soviet Union denied any knowledge of Sorge, no exchange was discussed, and he was executed on 7 November 1944, still praising the 1917 Revolution. The USSR posthumously acknowledged Sorge, awarding him the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, but not until 1964. The story of Richard Sorge's life by Owen Matthews is written in a lively and engaging style that a general audience will enjoy.

Ludmila Stern

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Richard Sakwa, *Russia's Futures*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2019. ISBN 978-1-5095-2424-2. xii + 267 pages.

In the Foreword Richard Sakwa refers to the writing of his latest book as ‘a particularly tough assignment, [...] since anything to do with Russia today in certain circles has become extremely toxic, while academic and policy debates have become increasingly polarized.’ The polarisation is between, to use the derogatory labels each side uses for the other, the Putinistas and the Russophobes. Although no doubt he would not accept the label – the book is certainly no Putin hagiography – Sakwa is generally considered to be on the Putinista side of the fence. I, although also unhappy with the label, am on the Russophobe side.

The first part of the book (Chapters 1-4) describes Russia’s domestic circumstances. I agree with most things Sakwa says. Russia is not a totalitarian state. There are competing ideational groupings across a wide ideological spectrum. Sakwa identifies four: liberals, *siloviki* (officials working or with a background in the so-called ‘force’ structures), neo-traditionalists and Eurasianists. Putin plays them off against each other from the conservative edge of centre. The economy is not a kleptocratic basket-case. Sakwa talks of a dual state, with its ‘constitutional’ and ‘administrative’ sides, the former based on respect for law and liberal-leaning; the latter arbitrary and authoritarian. The latter is currently in the ascendancy. He notes Putin’s commitment to stability over dynamism and reform.

Despite general agreement I have two issues with this part of the book. The first is minor. In my view Sakwa is more upbeat about success in Russia’s technology sector than is warranted (the SSJ100 passenger airliner, for example, is not ‘world class’), and of Russia’s economic pivot to the East (the expansion of BAM – the Baikal-Amur Mainline – and the Trans-Siberian railway is not proceeding smoothly). But

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since his overall picture is one of backwardness and lack of dynamism, that is neither here nor there.

The second issue is more serious. He believes that the constitutional side of the dual state can win out over the administrative, although not in the form of Russia becoming a clone of a Western democracy. But in what way would a fully constitutional Russian state differ from a Western democracy? The West's politics of identity is a big part of it, judging by Sakwa's respect for Russia's 'respectable' conservatives and his unenthusiastic description of Western feminism. However, after stating that Russia should not have 'a licence for obscurantist and repressive views or practices', he declares that there are no fundamental ideological differences between the two sides (p. 132). Contradictions 'emerge not substantively because of normative divergence but out of power and status considerations.' It is 'hegemonic implementation that provokes problems' (p. 133).

It is those power and status considerations that take over in the second part of the book (Chapters 5-6, plus the Conclusion), on Russia's place in the world (Sakwa can be cheeky – the chapter is called 'Making Russia Great Again'). In Sakwa's view, if Russia moves conclusively in the 'administrative' direction, the results will be catastrophic not just for Russia, but for the world, since it will mean inevitable war. And hence, any past and future movement in that direction is the West's fault. For those who follow the polarised debates mentioned in the Foreword, the argument that follows will be familiar. Primarily through the enlargement of NATO and the EU, the West offended Russia's sense of its status and threatened its perception of its security, thereby forcing it into an aggressive stance (and closer ties with China). Sakwa rails against the unipolar world and US hegemony, and calls for Western and Central Europe to engage with Russia in a Greater Europe as part of a new pluralist global

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order, within which the unspecified differences between a Russian ‘constitutional’ state and Western democracy would be respected.

In Sakwa’s view Russia has laid a good basis for a new global order through its dedicated commitment to international agreements and institutions, with the UN given near sacred status. He recognises that the issue of the ‘neighbours’ is tricky. ‘Of course, Russia is also open to accusations of double standards with its intervention in Ukraine, but that can be considered defensive and provoked by the antecedent overthrow of a legitimate (although corrupt) government and a 25-year policy of enlargement and strategic recklessness’ (pp. 147-148). The annexation of Crimea was ‘certainly a revisionist act’, although one attributed to the temporary increased influence of Sergei Glaz’ev in Russian policy-making circles. Russian intervention in Ukraine was an exception, which should not be seen as devaluing Russia’s ‘broader normative argument’ (p. 148).

Although he makes no explicit statement on where the neighbours would fit into a Greater Europe, Sakwa recognises that ‘Moscow has a lot of work to do to reassure its neighbours that its commitment to the norms of international society is genuine’ (p. 199), but also suggests that, by overreacting to their fears of Russian revisionism, ‘they precipitated the outcome they intended to avert’ (p. 21). He rejects the view that ‘enlargement is simply a matter for those who are the subject of enlargement, based on ‘free choice’ (irrespective of how much this free choice is manufactured or what effect it may have on the security of others)’ (p. 202). Enlargement (including the Eastern Partnership with Ukraine) was ‘not only obtuse and retrograde but also fundamentally dangerous’ (p. 155).

Sakwa presents views opposite to his own politely and even with understanding. While his argument is a familiar one, it is part of an important debate which benefits from the eloquent presentation of one side of it here. There are no claims to

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new evidence or the results of new research, and there is little that a specialist will not already know. Pieces of potted history and detail on current policy matters are included, which provide good background for someone new to Russia. Among specialist readers the book is unlikely to produce converts from one side to the other. Neophytes will get a good introduction to Russia today, and will probably work out for themselves that while two-handed, the book is not, and is not presented as, even-handed.

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IN MEMORIAM: WILLIAM 'JOHN' MURDOCH MCNAIR

20 NOVEMBER 1949 - 12 JUNE 2019

John McNair's life, both personal and professional, was neatly bisected by his arrival in Australia in 1983. The first part comprised the years of education and establishment, the second his career at the University of Queensland as a lecturer and senior lecturer. He was born in Dundee, Scotland, but grew up in Montrose which he considered to be his home town. Following the early deaths of his parents he was taken to New Zealand at the age of eleven by his maternal aunt. He received his secondary education and BA MA in Christchurch. At the age of twenty-two he returned to Scotland, to the University of Edinburgh where he completed his PhD on Garin-Mikhailovskii. He had a weakness for minor Russian writers of the nineteenth century and his next research interest was the prolific, but now largely forgotten, Petr Boborykin. He spent the obligatory academic year in the Soviet Union in 1975 in Leningrad where he made several enduring friendships. Positions in Russian language departments were at a premium even in those heady days and John was subsequently employed on a number of short-term contracts. He worked on the Modern Russian Dictionary for English Speakers under the leadership of Lady Elizabeth Wilson at Cambridge University (he was proud of his work on the letter P), then for three years at the New University of Ulster at Portrush in Northern Ireland, and finally for three years at Trinity College in Dublin.

He arrived in Australia on the day of the Hawke Labor victory, having been appointed to a lectureship in the Department of Russian at the University of Queensland, which was, at the time, the largest department of Russian in Australia. His teaching brief was wide, as was the norm in small teaching collectives: nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature, Russian cultural history, interpreting and translation,

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advanced stylistic analysis. He was an erudite and eloquent lecturer with a command of English which constantly amazed and entertained students. When they would ask what had motivated him to study Russian during the Cold War years, he would invariably quote the wave of interest in the Soviet Union following the Sputnik flights and the 50th anniversary of the revolution. He would also mention the fiendish difficulty of its grammar as an added incentive. In later years his knowledge of English semantics and grammar was considered by his colleagues to be a scholarly resource.

Upon the retirement of Professor Boris Christa in 1990, John became head of the Department. This was a productive time, especially as enrolment numbers had increased greatly as a result of the Gorbachev reforms and the subsequent demise of the Soviet state. For several years the numbers of first-year language students exceeded 100. Following a series of restructures at the university, the department lost its independent status in 1997, being reduced from a collective of five lecturers and a secretary to one and a half academic positions in an amalgamation with the Department of German. In 2000 all the language departments were melded into a School of Languages and Comparative Cultural Studies. These were more difficult times for the discipline. Although a base level of students was maintained, subjects were continually reviewed and regularly cut. An increased number of subjects started to be taught on an interdisciplinary basis. For many years John and Peter Edwards, Professor of English, taught a popular course on the novel in nineteenth century Russia and England.

At one stage it was only a phone call from Premier Peter Beattie which averted further down-grading of the programme. Calling from the Australian Embassy while leading a business delegation to Moscow, the Premier, who had been very impressed by his hosts' proficiency in English, enquired of the Vice-Chancellor if Russian was

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being taught at the institution. The call led to a short-lived exchange with Moscow State University and a series of tele-bridges between the two universities.

Throughout his time in Australia John continued to publish. Initially his interests remained in the world of nineteenth-century literature, however later, under the influence of the more pragmatic demands of funding bodies, he moved into the area of Russo-Australian cultural relations. In 1992 he and Thomas Poole edited *Russia and the Fifth Continent: Aspects of Russian-Australian Relations*, and later with Thomas Poole and Lyndall Morgan, *Russian Sources on Australia*. In 1998 he published *At Home with the Gentry*, an annotated account of an English governess in Russia, the manuscript of which was brought to him by a descendant living in Brisbane. In 2000 *Encounters under the Southern Cross*, which he edited with Thomas Poole and Alexander Massov, appeared. He continued to publish on Soviet-Australian cultural contacts in Australian and British journals. He regularly attended AULLA conferences and was an office bearer of ANZSA for several years. From 2003-2010 John was co-editor of *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies* with Lyndall Morgan where the division of labour was largely determined by John's sometimes fraught relationship with modern technology.

John called an end to his career in 2017 after four years of maintaining the programme with the assistance of part-time tutors, Lyndall having retired at the beginning of 2013. His position was filled by Anna Mikhaylova on a tenure-track appointment. In February 2019, after consulting his doctor about a persistent cough, he was diagnosed with a terminal cancer. He died on 12 June of that year in Greenslopes Private Hospital. He is survived by his wife Lyndall Morgan and his son James McNair.

Lyndall Morgan

IN MEMORIAM: JONATHAN ERNEST MURRAY CLARKE

5 MAY 1948 - 12 FEBRUARY 2020

Jonathan Clarke, who was a significant contributor to the Russian departments at the University of Melbourne and Monash University, passed away earlier this year after a lengthy battle with leukaemia.

Jonathan was educated at Scotch College and went on to study Russian and Mathematics at the University of Melbourne. He had enjoyed Maths at school, seeing it as a game with the aim of finding solutions to the puzzles. After completing his undergraduate degree, he won a scholarship to Oxford and undertook his Master's Degree there. During this period, he spent time in Moscow to work on a rare manuscript held at the museum. He was under constant surveillance by the authorities, and was given several warnings by the Australian Embassy. He found the local food intolerable, and his health suffered until his return to England.

On returning to Australia, he completed his PhD at Melbourne University. Because Russian language fell out of favour during the 1980s, work in his chosen field was scarce. He took up teaching positions in Mathematics at Melbourne Girls Grammar and Ivanhoe Girls Grammar schools, where he met his wife, Susan Breen-Clarke. He also found work as a research assistant in Russian at Monash University, and in time this led to a full-time lectureship. He later went on to teach Russian at the University of Melbourne, but retired because of ill health in 2008. He continued to write articles for academic journals, with his final publication appearing only last year, despite him being very ill at the time of writing. His ability to speak fluently in Russian never left him, and, indeed, some of his Russian colleagues thought he was a native speaker.

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Jonathan will be remembered by his friends and colleagues as a person of deep thought, acute sensitivity to movements in the current Zeitgeist, and a whimsical sense of humour. He is survived by his wife Susan, two daughters, Anna and Eloise, and grandchildren Kai and Theodore.

Duncan Reid

Notes on Contributors

Arnold McMillin (b. 1941) is Emeritus Professor of Russian Literature in the University of London. He studied at London and Moscow Universities, and began teaching at London University in 1965. During the years 1976-1988 he was Professor of Russian at Liverpool University, and he has also held visiting professorships at the Universities of McMaster (Canada) and Osaka (Japan). He was Professor of Russian Literature in the University of London from 1988-2006. Professor McMillin taught Russian language, literature and music, and his publications include *The Vocabulary of the Byelorussian Literary Language in the Nineteenth Century* (London 1973); *A History of Byelorussian Literature from its Origins to the Present Day* (Giessen, 1977); *Belarusian Literature in the 1950s and 1960s* (Cologne, 1999); *Belarusian Literature of the Diaspora* (Birmingham, 2002); *Writing in a Cold Climate: Belarusian Literature from the 1970s to the Present Day* (London, 2010); *Spring Shoots: Young Belarusian Poets in the Early Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge, 2015) and *Breaking with Tradition: Belarusian Short Prose in the Early Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge, 2018). In addition he has edited six collections on Russian literature, and written over 80 articles on Belarusian subjects and over 40 on Russian literature.

Dmitriy Riabov is Lecturer in the Department of Political Science and International Relations at the Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg Campus, and a research grant employee at St. Petersburg State University. He holds a degree in Political Science (Cand. Sc.), and writes about discourse in Russia in the context of European identity politics. He has published papers in *Politex* (*Politicheskaiia ekspertiza*) and *St. Petersburg University Vestnik*. ORCID 0000-0003-3607-3618

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Oksana Weretiuk (Professor) received her PhD in Philosophy in 1991, Dr Hab. in Literary Studies in 2001 (Warsaw University), and professor's title in 2005. She is head of Comparative Studies at the University of Rzeszów, Poland. Her current research addresses the comparative study of Slavic literatures, the interconnection of Slavic literatures and cultures with those of English-speaking countries, literatures of borderlands, geopoetics, ecocriticism and animal studies. She is the author and editor of eighteen books and numerous articles in these and other areas.

Kevin Windle is an Emeritus Professor in the School of Literature, Languages and Linguistics at the Australian National University. His major publications include *From St Petersburg to Port Jackson: Russian Travellers' Tales of Australia 1807-1912* (co-edited with Elena Govor and Alexander Massov); *A New Rival State: Australia in Tsarist Diplomatic Communications 1857-1917* (co-edited with Alexander Massov and Marina Pollard); and a biography of Alexander Zuzenko. For his translations from various languages he has been awarded several prizes, including the

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Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs (FIT) Aurora Borealis Prize for the translation of non-fiction.

Snizhana Zhygun is Associate Professor at Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University and a researcher at the T. Shevchenko Institute of Literature of the Ukrainian National Academy of Science. Her research interests include literary theory, Ukrainian literature of the twentieth century and ideological influences on texts and by texts. Her recent publications include the monograph *Labyrinths and Horizons of Ukrainian Neo-realism* and several articles about Ukrainian women writers.