Samizdat as Extra-Gutenberg Phenomenon

Ann Komaromi
Comparative Literature, Toronto

Abstract   This article proposes to treat samizdat in terms of a textual culture opposed to modern print culture. The choice to cast samizdat as an "extra-Gutenberg" phenomenon represents a way of extending the observation that samizdat can no longer simply be defined as the mouthpiece of dissident opposition. Beyond binary oppositions of truth vs. falsehood, and dissidents vs. state, on which previous perceptions of samizdat have depended, we might now see the essential quality of samizdat to be its exemplification of epistemic instability, inasmuch as samizdat texts are not automatically invested with authority. From this perspective, new questions about the production, distribution, and reproduction of samizdat texts with varying types of content turn on a central issue: how was the trustworthiness or value of such texts established? This article explores these issues through personal testimony about the production and circulation of samizdat in the USSR and in the West. Juxtaposing the theory of gift giving with new critical approaches to book history, textual culture, and bibliography, the article aims to highlight the interest of personal testimony and material texts in a critical analysis of samizdat history. Finally, as a striking example of an epistemically unstable textual culture, samizdat represents not merely opposition to a defunct political system: it also exemplifies issues relevant to a global Internet culture today.

Gene Sosin, who worked for many years at Radio Liberty, wrote about the copy of the second edition of the *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopedia* (*Big Soviet Encyclopedia* [1949–58]) that he purchased for the Radio's New York office. Sosin called this Soviet encyclopedia "a treasure trove of Soviet disinformation and distortion." Specifically, Sosin (1999: 7) recalled the fact that volume 5 of the encyclopedia (published in 1950) originally contained

a long entry for Lavrentii Beriia, chief of the NKVD, the secret police under Stalin. After Beriia's arrest in July 1953, subscribers to the encyclopedia received a note from the publisher with instructions to cut out pages 21–24 with scissors or a razor and to paste in a new substitute entry provided on the Bering Sea. The imagery of this story is compelling: a sea of obfuscation and lies washes over facts and people in official Soviet print. By contrast, samizdat, the post-Stalin uncensored press, could appear to be a hard rock of fact, jutting out unexpectedly above this sea of misinformation. Upon closer inspection, however, the reality appears to be more complicated.

Samizdat has often been cast as the venue for the repressed truth about current events, history, and social issues, on the one hand, and for the stifled genius of artistic discovery, on the other hand. Samizdat was "the voice of opposition," as presented by French Trotskyites and by George Saunders.[1] The most widely reported samizdat text was the authoritative *Chronicle of Current Events* (*Khronika tekushchikh sobytii*, Moscow [1968–82]), a bulletin providing information on human rights and legal abuses not found in the official Soviet press.[2] On the literary side, Dmitry Pospielovsky (1978: 44–45) maintained that "contemporary *samizdat* and *tamizdat* includes the greatest writers and poets—both living and dead—of the Soviet era, while the bulk of the contemporary *gosizdat* output is grey mediocrity at best." The uncensored works of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the figure perhaps most identified with Soviet samizdat, represented both truth and artistic genius. His *Gulag Archipelago* exposed the enormous scope of the Soviet labor camps. This archipelago comprised a system of scattered camps. Solzhenitsyn's work also constituted a string of islands of testimony and facts floating on the sea of official misinformation or lack of information about the Soviet penal system. Solzhenitsyn's samizdat aimed to present the *truth*, and its great weight reflected the responsibility of the artist. As Solzhenitsyn claimed at the end of his Nobel speech in 1972:

> ONE WORD OF TRUTH OUTWEIGHS THE WHOLE WORLD
> (*ODNO SLOVO PRAVDY VES' MIR PERETIANET*).[3]

1. The 1970 French edition, entitled *Samizdat 1. La voix de l'opposition communiste en U.R.S.S.*, comprised a reproduction of issue 546 of the French publication *La Vérité* (*Truth*) (see *Samizdat 1* [1970]). Saunders's book *Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition* (1974) echoed the Trotskyite perspective and the title of the French edition on samizdat.
2. The British publication *Index on Censorship*, for example, which began in 1972, regularly both announced the appearance of issues of the *Chronicle* and featured news items taken from those issues. The *Chronicle* achieved the status of primary source of information (almost exclusively among samizdat editions) for *Index on Censorship* because of its acknowledged reliability (see the section "Index Index").
3. This statement is set off in all-caps as the penultimate paragraph of Solzhenitsyn's *Nobel lecture* (1972: 34, 69).

Solzhenitsyn's statement asserts traditional logocentric values. The claim operates on an ontological axis: as opposed to official lies, this uncensored author offers the truth. Solzhenitsyn's expression of truth was made possible by the relatively new—at that time—phenomenon of production and distribution in *samizdat* and *tamizdat* (where tamizdat refers to the publication abroad that follows and/or precedes samizdat distribution).

Solzhenitsyn did not pay much attention to the mechanics of circulation and publishing as such—the truth itself, told by the powerful artist, should compel the world's attention, as indeed it did at that time. However, it would behoove scholars looking back today to materialize the media of samizdat and tamizdat for analytic focus. This will reveal that the knowledge and value carried via samizdat seems in general far less rock solid than Solzhenitsyn's statement suggests. The knowledge carried by samizdat texts, and the value of the uncensored text, prove far more subject to contestation and negotiation than generally thought: after all, samizdat presents essentially the text that is *not previously authorized*.

Samizdat and Print Culture

Recently, some common conceptions of samizdat and uncensored culture in the Soviet Union have come in for critical scrutiny. In particular, the fundamental character of the opposition of samizdat to officialdom has been challenged. The recent reference work on samizdat from Leningrad (*Samizdat Leningrada* [Dolinin et al. 2003]) significantly expanded the boundaries of samizdat beyond a generally accepted corpus of texts embodying social engagement and political opposition.[4] Serguei Oushakine (2001) argues in his article that even dissident samizdat did not really embody opposition: he contends along Foucauldian lines that the discourse of dissent essentially mimicked official discourse.[5]

Long after the end of the Soviet Union and the Cold War that provided the initial context for the production and reception of samizdat, a reevaluation of samizdat does seem in order: the corpus of materials considered samizdat should be expanded and the concept sharpened with the help of new critical tools. I propose considering samizdat to be a different type of opposition, a special form of textual culture that constitutes

4. Savitskii's (2002: 31–33) exploration of the myths of the Leningrad Underground (*andegraund*, as Leningraders said it) details some of the mechanisms by which the construction of uncensored texts as political opposition in tamizdat publication and Western reporting gave Leningraders a pole against which to define their own purely apolitical culture.
5. Accordingly, samizdat as an oppositional discourse "in a sense shared the symbolic field with the dominant discourse: it echoed and amplified the rhetoric of the regime, rather than positioning itself outside of or underneath it" (Oushakine 2001: 192).

a significant alternative to modern print culture. This perspective has a basis in the way writers and readers of samizdat conceived of the period themselves: the poet Anna Akhmatova reportedly called the Soviet period "pre-Gutenberg."[6] Moscow Conceptualist Lev Rubinstein described his works as the offspring of an "extra-Gutenberg" literary culture.[7] The chief feature of this extra-Gutenberg culture is—as I propose to illustrate—the epistemological *instability*, rather than the rock-hard truth, of the text.

To consider print culture and samizdat critically today, we may shift our attention from the ontological to the epistemological axis. This will be realized through attention to the variable materiality of texts as they are produced and reproduced, with the implications for negotiations of truth and value carried by these material forms. Such a shift has taken place in critical discussions of book history in recent years. On the concept of "print culture," a key reference is Elizabeth Eisenstein's influential 1979 book on the impact of the printing press. In Eisenstein's account, the invention and implementation of Gutenberg printing press technology effected a revolution, making possible what she called "print culture" and the related paradigmatic developments of Reformation individualism, Renaissance humanism, and modern scientific knowledge. Adrian Johns's more recent study of book history, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (1998), polemicizes with Eisenstein's history of the modern era. Johns's account demonstrates how, in the early modern period of bookmaking, the stability and truth of print had to be negotiated, created, and invested in texts by those who contributed to the texts' production and distribution.

Johns highlights the epistemic instability of early print culture: "early modern printing was not joined by any obvious or necessary bond to

6. Nadezhda Mandel'shtam recalled that Anna Akhmatova said of Nadezhda's husband, the poet Osip Mandel'shtam, that he did not need Gutenberg's invention. "In a sense," said Nadezhda Mandel'shtam (1970: 380), "we really do live in a pre-Gutenberg [*dopechatnaia*] era" (from the end of the chapter "Window on the Sophia Embankment"). The phrase "pre-Gutenberg" is relatively widely invoked for late Soviet culture and commonly attributed to Akhmatova. Viacheslav Ivanov wrote of visiting Akhmatova and seeing one of Brodsky's poems in her room ("V odinochke pri khod'be plecho . . ."). Judging by the date—February 14, 1964—the poem must have been written just days before in prison (Brodsky 1997: 23). Ivanov was amazed at the speed with which items circulated. Akhmatova commented, "We live according to the slogan 'Down with Gutenberg.'"; "she [Akhmatova] often repeated the contention that people read verses because they are not printed" (Ivanov n.d.).

7. In a paper for the 1988 conference "Chaos and Texts," Rubinstein wrote: "For myself, avant-gardism always meant the extremely conscious unofficial status of my (and my friends') situation and existence in local culture. Moreover, I mean unofficial status conceived as aesthetics and poetics." He explained his signature genre, the poetic card catalog, this way: "it is an object, an expanse [*ob"em*], a Not-Book, a child of the 'extra-Gutenbergian' existence of literary culture" (Rubinstein 1990: 345–46).

enhanced fidelity, reliability, and truth. That bond had to be forged," he insists. And he (ibid.: 5) elaborates:

> If an early modern reader picked up a printed book—*De Natura Libri*, perhaps— then he or she could not be immediately certain that it was what it claimed to be, and its proper use might not be so self-evident. Piracy was one reason. . . . More broadly, ideas about the correct ways to make and use books varied markedly from place to place and time to time. But whatever the cause, it is not easy for us to imagine such a realm, in which printed records were not necessarily authorized or faithful. What could one know in such a realm, and how could one know it? We ourselves routinely rely on stable communications in our making and maintenance of knowledge, whether of the people around us or of the world in which we live. That stability helps to underpin the confidence we feel in our impressions and beliefs. . . . Instability in records would equally rapidly translate into uncertainty of judgment. The most immediate implication, then, would be epistemic.

Johns evoked a world far away and almost unimaginable to his modern Anglophone reader, for whom the understanding of print articulated by Eisenstein long seemed natural. By contrast, readers and observers of late Soviet culture—at least those who were critically inclined—saw a new type of uncertainty in Soviet print due to known instances of falsification and obfuscation (as in Sosin's example of the *Big Soviet Encyclopedia*). The shaken authority of Soviet official culture in the eyes of a broad public dates particularly to Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin's mistakes at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party in 1956. It seems no exaggeration to say that there ensued an evacuation of sense from Soviet ideology. The basis of official Soviet truth and authority degenerated for many into ubiquitous clichés. The development of late Soviet joke culture illustrates this shift: "In capitalism, man exploits man, while in socialism, it's the other way around," went one joke that worked on the basis of ideological cliché. Another Soviet cliché announced, "Freedom is an acknowledged necessity." A joke based on that cliché exploited the similarity of the Russian word for freedom (*svoboda*) and the name of Czech president Ludvík Svoboda: "Svóboda—eto osoznánnaia neóbkhodimost'," went the joke, which displaced the stresses on all words, mimicking the dubiously literate speech of Soviet leaders.[8]

8. Ludvík Svoboda was president of Czechoslovakia from March 1968 to 1975. He was a supporter of Slovak Communist Party Secretary Aleksandr Dubček's reforms. The humor of this joke is specifically linguistic, depending as it does on a speaker's knowledge of stress patterns in Russian. It subtly creates a sense of community among speakers and listeners that depends on the exclusion of Russian Soviet leaders. See discussion of the origin and operation of late-Soviet joke culture by Andrei Siniavskii (Abram Terts), who quotes this

For many, Soviet official news and history became the opposite of reliable knowledge. In the same way, Soviet official literature, arts, philosophy, and science became suspect, if not worthless, for a significant number of people. Critically minded Soviet citizens sought to recapture or create alternatives in samizdat publications, but the expression of such alternatives did not necessarily possess the authority that official culture had lost. In fact, samizdat reflected in heightened form the instability afflicting official Soviet print. In what ways did it do this? And given this instability, how were samizdat versions of history, facts about current political processes, literary works, alternative systems of values, and thought validated in specific instances?

The circulation of texts in samizdat bears some resemblance to the circulation of oral culture, such as jokes. Elizabeth Eisenstein articulated the features of print culture as it has generally been experienced in the modern post-Gutenberg period: *standardization*, *dissemination*, and *fixity*.[9] Samizdat texts, by contrast, were closer to unstandardized, spontaneously disseminated, unfixed oral culture. Eisenstein discussed the standardization of multiple copies of a text, which made possible the verification and correction of texts available to a whole community of interested persons, as in the standard scholarly editions we know today. Samizdat meant the loss of standardization. A samizdat version and the printed text to which it referred could differ significantly one from the other.[10] Natal'ia Trauberg translated a number of G. K. Chesterton's essays and two of his books, *St. Thomas Aquinas* and *St. Francis of Assisi*, for samizdat in the 1960s. The trans-

joke in his essay on Soviet jokes (*anekdoty*) (Terts 1978: 91). In turn, Alexei Yurchak (1997: 179) cites Siniavskii in his discussion of the Soviet joke as a symptom of the general cynicism of late socialism.

9. Johns (1998: 10) summarized these cardinal features of print culture as described by Eisenstein in his preface.

10. Although it was not openly discussed in the Soviet Union, such variation from the text occurred of course in Soviet official publishing—see, for example, Maurice Friedberg's (1962) analysis of the Soviet versions of Russian classics. Friedberg displayed a keen nose for the biases of Soviet print culture. For example, he discussed the taming of Hemingway's language in this line from *To Have and Have Not* (1937: 225): "No matter how, a man alone ain't got no bloody fucking chance." In Russian translation the line read, "Still, a man alone can't do a damn thing (*ne mozhet ni cherta*)" (Kheminguei 1968: 631–32). In a "generally serious" Soviet study of Hemingway, said Friedberg, the commentator treated the translation as the norm and the original as the departure: "In the original, Harry's last sentence is lexically sharply strengthened" (Lidskii 1973: 290). By contrast, samizdat—because of the lack of censorship—implied pure transmission, in Friedberg's judgment. Friedberg referred on the next page to "an illegal samizdat translation of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (presumably, faithful to the original) [that] circulated in the USSR some years prior to the appearance of the censored printed version in 1968." That samizdat version had been seen by Solzhenitsyn (Friedberg 1977: 30–31).

lation into samizdat involved more than the difference between English and Russian words. As Trauberg (2000) said:

> The fate of manuscripts in samizdat is perfectly medieval: they were not under our control, we did not direct them, unknown people made their own additions. . . . Moreover, translation for samizdat produced its own particularities. Many allusions, which would not be understood without extended commentary, I had to excise—for example, references to untranslated books of Huxley and Faulkner, and even to translated works, because they were not after all well known to Russian readers. Sometimes I myself shortened, for example, passages that seemed to me to be repetition, because I was in a great hurry. In a word, this was in no way an academic preparation of a manuscript.[11]

Nor were samizdat copies of particular items necessarily equivalent to one another: Leon Uris's *Exodus*—which was hugely influential in the independent Jewish national revival—circulated in various Russian samizdat translations. In one version, the translators cut out large portions of the 600-plus-page novel for the sake of brevity, and on principle: they deemed the romance Uris had created between Ari Ben-Canaan and the Christian woman Kitty inappropriate for Zionist reading. The resulting text was approximately 150 pages. Another, even shorter, translation resulted from the retelling of the story by one prisoner in camp who had read the book in English before incarceration. An inmate who heard the story was so impressed that he wrote it down from memory after being released. The resulting typescript was just seventy to eighty pages. That version itself was altered in further reproductions.[12]

The samizdat text would not necessarily be widely disseminated the way printed texts generally could be assumed to be.[13] It was too difficult to type large numbers of identical texts—with papyrus paper and carbons and strong fingers one might get up to seven or eight copies, but the final copy would hardly be legible.[14] Photographing typescripts made it possible to

11. All translations from the Russian are mine unless otherwise noted.

12. As Viktor Fedoseev, a novelist, journalist, and editor of Jewish samizdat, told it, the version of *Exodus* based on prison camp retelling inspired another, more explicitly Zionist version of the short samizdat text, once again omitting the romance between Ari and Kitty. The story of this prison camp version related by Fedoseev is thin in particulars and could be apocryphal. The story of a version produced in Dubrovlag prison camp sounds more solid. In any case, there seems to be no doubt that several strikingly different versions of Leon Uris's novel circulated in samizdat beginning about 1963 (Schroeter 1979: 64–68).

13. Eisenstein (1979: 71–80) pointed out that even if the meaning of "wide" dissemination might be debatable in the early years of print culture and in specific cases, the consequences of dissemination by print for all kinds of religious, judicial, political, and scholarly developments were enormous.

14. Aleksandr Voronel' (2007) praised the strength of typist Sara Shapiro's fingers for copying the samizdat journal *Jews in the USSR* (*Evrei v SSSR*, Moscow, no. 1–20, 1972–79), but

increase significantly the number of copies, although paper was relatively expensive and resulted in a bulky text—the photograph paper itself was thick and tended to curl.[15] Moreover, the KGB might seize copies. Copies might also be lost—as in the case of samizdat translations of Jorge Luis Borges and Eugène Ionesco from 1959 or Venedikt Erofeev's legendary lost novel *Dmitrii Shostakovich*.[16]

Conversely, copies might proliferate out of control: Petro Grigorenko, a Red Army general who became a dissident, described the fate of a letter he wrote in response to a scathing ideological review of Aleksandr Nekrich's book *1941. 22 June* that appeared in issue 9 (1967) of the Soviet journal *Voprosy istorii KPSS* (*Questions in History of the CPSU*). Grigorenko offered his own analysis, which largely coincided with Nekrich's, of why the beginning of World War II resulted in such disaster for Soviet troops. Although Grigorenko's analysis was highly critical of Soviet leaders, it was not outrageously critical—he did not say as much as he might if he did not intend to pass censorship.[17] Grigorenko's acquaintance Sergei Pisarev saw the typescript of the unpublished letter and asked for a copy to read. Grigorenko asked Pisarev not to give it to anyone else, as it was meant for regular journal publication, not samizdat. A few days later, returning the text, Pisarev could hardly contain his enthusiasm. He praised the work and said the high opinion was not only his: "I gave it for one night to my acquaintance, a Doctor of Economics, and when he brought it back, he said he did not sleep the whole night. He read it and understood he had to have such a work in his own library. He got a typewriter, put ten pieces of paper and copied it in one night. He brought me one copy as a present" (Grigorenko 1997: 446–47). Whether the Doctor was able to do all ten copies at one time, or whether he did it in two sessions, samizdat texts had a tendency to multiply uncontrollably. When Grigorenko reminded Pisarev that he

even she could produce only seven copies at a time. Konstantin Kuz'minskii, one of the greatest collectors of samizdat, expressed amazement at the fact that typist Ester Veinger on a Czech Consul typewriter could type eight or even nine copies (Kuz'minskii and Kovalev 1980–86, 1:28).

15. Leah Slovin described the photographic reproduction process as "heavy and expensive" for copies of *Exodus*. Her group took advantage of the possibility to mimeograph three hundred copies. Such technology was rarely available to samizdat producers in the Soviet Union (Schroeter 1979: 65).

16. Erofeev claimed that the text of his novel *Dmitrii Shostakovich* (1972) was stolen from him on an electric train in a bag with two bottles of vermouth (Tosunian 1990), though no credible copy has ever turned up, and this story is likely a mystification. Trauberg's (2000) memory of doing Borges and Ionesco translations sounds more credible, though the fate of those texts, which were lost in an electric train, resembles that of Erofeev's lost novel.

17. Grigorenko did not, for example, speak about the broad unwillingness of Soviet troops to fight for the Soviet system as a contributing factor. That, he knew, would have landed him in a psychiatric hospital immediately (Grigorenko 1997: 436–37).

did not want the text in samizdat, Pisarev dutifully returned to the doctor and promised Grigorenko that they had collected all copies. One way or another, however, the letter ended up in samizdat, and the official journal turned down Grigorenko's request for publication because it was already in samizdat: "I've received already four 'samizdat' copies of your letter. So we will not publish it. We are not popularizers of 'samizdat'," the journal editor informed him (ibid.: 447).

In his memoirs, Grigorenko expressed wonder at the "marvel of popular creation" that was samizdat. The means of entry into the system of distribution were multiple and the methods of multiplication obscure (ibid.: 447–48). Once released into unofficial circulation, the text assumed a life of its own, but this life was spontaneous and unpredictable, and it was not fixed in official Soviet print.

The fixity of the text, more or less assured by print culture as Eisenstein (1979: 113–26) described it, made possible the preservation of knowledge and the progress of scholarship, both humanistic and scientific. In the case of samizdat, a text might or might not be picked up and established as part of the corpus of known, available texts. Grigorenko (1997: 448) claimed not to know why certain texts enjoyed heavy circulation in samizdat networks, while others, which he might have judged to be apparently equally worthy, in effect died for lack of circulation. Samizdat could mean new life for texts that might otherwise disappear, but it did not necessarily mean the text would be fixed. The long trajectories of certain texts that passed through samizdat and the feats of labor and skill required to support them are legendary: Nadezhda Mandel'shtam, widow of the poet Osip Mandel'shtam, memorized her husband's texts, many of which were not safe to preserve even in typescript at home. Soviet publication was uncertain and could not cover the politically sensitive pieces, like the epigram on Stalin: "We live without sensing the country beneath us" (composed in 1933). Thus it fell to publication in the West (tamizdat) to fix Osip Mandel'shtam's *Collected Works* as well as Nadezhda Mandel'shtam's memoirs.[18] Similarly, Joseph Brodsky's poetry, well known through private readings and samizdat circulation, had to be published abroad. Vladimir Maramzin devoted himself to the significant task of collecting Brodsky's works, a task that cost him his liberty and Soviet citizenship.[19] On a much

18. The first authoritative edition of Mandel'shtam's works was put out by émigré scholars G. P. Struve and B. A. Filippov (Mandel'shtam 1967). Max Hayward and Clarence Brown helped arrange the Western publication of Nadezhda Mandel'shtam's memoirs (Mandel'shtam 1970).

19. The trial of Vladimir Maramzin was reported in issue 35 (31 March 1975) of the *Chronicle of Current Events* (*Khronika*).

broader scale, Konstantin Kuz'minskii, with the help of the blind Grigorii Kovalev, recorded the ephemeral creations of Soviet nonconformist poets and got them published in America in the massive and curious *Blue Lagoon Anthology* (Kuz'minskii and Kovalev 1980–86).[20]

Fixing a samizdat text—and this of course happened only to a proportion of such texts—meant in most cases that the text traveled out of Soviet samizdat and was published in a printed Western edition. However, with the advent of samizdat, the trajectory of texts from unfixed existence to print was not unidirectional in some ideal modern sense: as we already saw in the cases of texts authored by Chesterton and Uris, printed editions could make their way from the West into samizdat and be reproduced there in much less stable variants. Mikhail Bulgakov's novel *The Master and Margarita* is also curious in this regard: the text was recovered from obscurity and fixed in a Soviet print publication (in the journal *Moskva* [1966–67]), which subsequently circulated in a samizdat version with excised portions typed and taped into the journal copy (thereby calling into question the authenticity of the official Soviet version) (figure 1). There were also many texts of Leningrad samizdat that did not achieve Western publication. The reasons could be practical and/or principled: it was not easy for everyone to claim a Western publisher's attention, and in the opinion of some, especially Leningraders, publication of a samizdat text abroad attested to a political or commercial interest at odds with the purity of an autonomous culture.[21]

Epistemic Instability and the Validation of Samizdat Texts

There were other reasons why the ideal fixity of the text could be cast into doubt: perhaps the text only pretended to be true and/or worthy of attention? Johns (1998: xx) devoted considerable attention to the phenomenon of piracy, by which he meant any violation of copy ownership or propriety. Piracy threatened the reliability of printed texts in a way echoed in samizdat

20. Viktor Krivulin—poet, cultural organizer, and historian of samizdat—cited Grigorii Kovalev as one of those who preserved a special Soviet unofficial oral tradition of poetry; Kovalev could reproduce not only the words of the poet, but also his manner of reading (Krivulin 1999: 344).
21. Viktor Krivulin (1999: 351), a spokesperson of Leningrad unofficial culture, articulated this viewpoint most pointedly: Leningrad developed by the late 1960s into the center of aesthetic or cultural samizdat, as opposed to the political dissidence of Moscow. Meanwhile, "Muscovite non-political samizdat becomes gradually commercialized. Something like an underground literary market opens up, where an increasingly large role is played by editions published abroad and clandestinely brought across the cordon. In the end, tamizdat proves more viable in a market sense than samizdat, and it squeezes out amateur book production" (ibid.: 350).
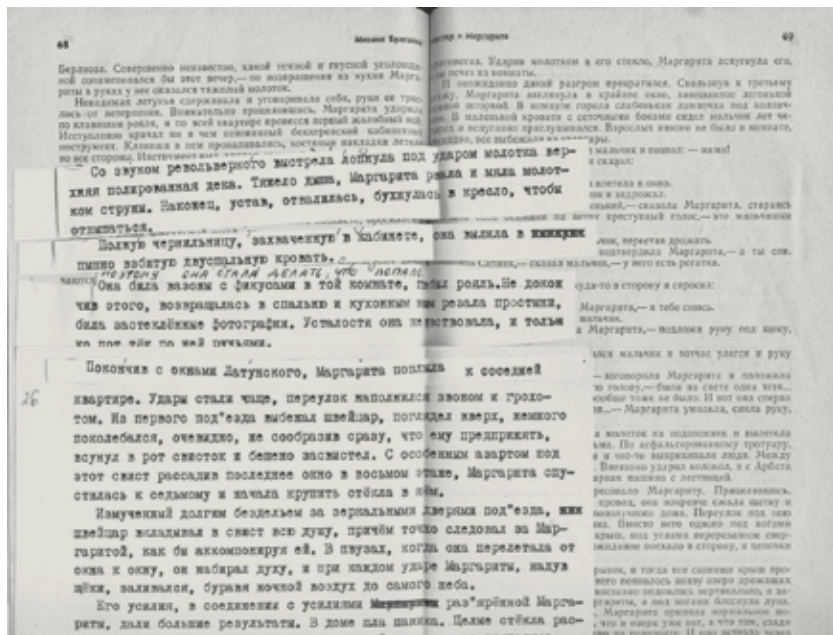
Figure 1   Mikhail Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*. Samizdat version with excised portions taped into the text from the official journal *Moskva*, 1967, no. 1. Memorial Society, Moscow, Samizdat Archive, F. 157, "Kollektsiia samizdata."

culture by the possibility of KGB infiltration. However, if piracy has been a relatively marginal phenomenon in print culture (though admittedly much less marginal in Johns's account of the early history of the book), then the specter of KGB provocation was ubiquitous in samizdat. Conspiracy theories simply obsessed many who participated in samizdat culture, and they created doubts abroad too. Journalist and author Michael Johnson said that, in the 1960s, there was doubt and skepticism about dissidence and samizdat among Western observers: "It took a while for us journalists in Moscow to understand what was going on" (O'Keeffe and Szamuely 2004: 23). At that time there were doubts about the authenticity of Grigorenko's dissidence, and issues of the *Chronicle of Current Events* were "treated with some disdain by the foreign press" for about six months after they first became known in the West. Then, said Johnson, in January of 1968 it all changed: Amnesty International sent in an observer team, and they verified that the dissident activity was real (ibid.: 23–24). Amnesty later extended its imprimatur to the *Chronicle* by assuming its republication.

Solzhenitsyn's credibility was not a given, either. Martin Dewhirst, who worked at Radio Liberty, said "in America there were people who,

for years, said that Solzhenitsyn did not exist, and that it was probably the KGB that concocted those pieces and sent them to the West to confuse Western public opinion" (ibid.: 26). French Communists accused Solzhenitsyn of being a Nazi sympathizer when *Gulag Archipelago* appeared in France ("L'Affaire Solzhenitsyn"). Back in the Soviet Union, Solzhenitsyn's credibility came under fire from hard-line nationalists, who viewed his second marriage as evidence of a Jewish-Masonic plot. Mikhail Kheifets (1981: 158), who was imprisoned with Vladimir Osipov, editor of the nationalist samizdat journal *Veche* (*Popular Assembly*, nos. 1–10 [1971–74]), claimed that the split over Solzhenitsyn's divorce and remarriage broke that journal. Kheifets addressed rumors that Osipov was doing the bidding of the KGB and that *Veche* amounted to state-sponsored nationalist propaganda, which he thought were unfounded. He detailed Osipov's own suspicions that the faction of *Veche*'s editorial group opposing Osipov, under the leadership of Svetlana Mel'nikova, was in fact closer to covert governmental directives.[22]

Editors of samizdat periodical publications worked on protocols to receive information and feedback securely: the *Chronicle of Current Events* instructed its readers to pass along any information they wished to communicate to the *Chronicle* editors (whose names and addresses were not published on the edition) through the person who gave them a copy of the *Chronicle*. That person would pass the information to the one from whom the copy was received and so on through the chain. There was a caveat: "Do not try to trace back the whole chain of communication yourself, or else you will be taken for a police informer" (*Khronika*, no. 5, December 31, 1968; translated in Reddaway 1972: 54). Revol't Pimenov, editor of an early samizdat information leaflet, *Informatsiia* (Moscow [1956–57]), found out during his trial that, despite his precautions, some items of information he received and circulated were wrong. Most could be traced to a single acquaintance whom, following the revelation of wrong information, he suspected of working for the KGB. However, a couple of other false items came, as Pimenov learned later, from foreign radio transmissions. Pimenov had been on guard against information from the broadcasts of the BBC, Deutsche Welle, or Voice of America. He regarded them to be unreliable and would not have included the information had he known the source (Pimenov 1979: 251). Doubt could, then, extend beyond potential KGB interference.

22. On the basis of what he learned from Osipov in prison camp no. 19 in Mordovia, Kheifets (ibid.: 142) explained that Mel'nikova represented the point of view of the *gosudarstvenniki* (the statists), also called *shovinisty* (chauvinists). Kheifets judged Osipov himself to be among the "honest" nationalists.

But KGB provocations did exist. Grigorenko (1997: 448) acknowledged that some samizdat texts, which looked no different from others, were KGB falsifications of samizdat. They were immediately sniffed out as such by the samizdat public; he claimed that "there never was in my memory an instance of a KGB document getting any circulation." The task of recognition would have been more difficult for foreigners and those living abroad: the anti-Soviet émigré organization, the Popular Workers' Union (Narodno-Trudovoi Soiuz [NTS]), assembled a collection of samizdat documents (many of which it published in its Russian-language journals *Posev* and *Grani*). A number of item descriptions for the archived collection were marked "KGB falsification."[23] However widespread the incidence of KGB infiltration and textual falsification may actually have been, the paranoia about KGB provocation is highly characteristic of samizdat culture, and it testifies to the epistemic instability of these texts.

This epistemic instability raises the question, how did people dealing with samizdat texts determine what was reliable information? By what method were facts, people, and discrete texts judged to be what they purported to be? In practice, the veracity of samizdat information was established in the Soviet Union through trials for "libel" (Article 190.1 of the Soviet Russian Criminal Code). Pimenov (1979: 251) said that only fewer than ten of more than one hundred items in his materials were judged false. The trial of Sergei Kovalev, primarily for his work with the *Chronicle of Current Events*, helped demonstrate the credibility of that samizdat publication as an unofficial source of news: of 694 discrete items in the relevant materials, only 7 were finally entered into the case by Soviet authorities as libelous, and only 2 details of items from the *Chronicle* were factually dubious (Alekseeva 2001: 265).

Western organizations publicizing samizdat information acknowledged the need to establish reliability and credibility. Radio Liberty broadcast hundreds of samizdat documents back to the Soviet Union, and it reproduced thousands of samizdat pages for circulation in the West in its print collections: the *Materials of Samizdat* (*Materialy samizdata*), a series of documents initially prepared for internal circulation at Radio Liberty between 1971 and 1991, and the *Collection of Samizdat Documents* (*Sobranie dokumentov*

---

23. There were about fifteen instances of the description "KGB falsification—missing" (*fal'shifka KGB—otsutsvuet*) out of about seventeen hundred items in the NTS samizdat register of items received prior to 1987, according to the documents in the NTS Samizdat Collection at the Hoover Institution. The register included documents from Poland as well as the USSR. What were the missing items? How were they determined to have been falsified? Were other documents excluded as fakes before they were logged? One would like to find answers to these questions.

Samizdata [1972–78]).[24] In a statement from 1973 on the back of the *Register of Documents* for the Samizdat Archive, Radio Liberty claimed: "The *Arkhiv Samizdata* is a systematized collection of copies of samizdat documents written in the Soviet Union and sent abroad. Each such document received is carefully examined for authenticity, and only then registered and stored in the archive" (Radio Liberty 1973). While the statement does not specify how this was done, the abundant Radio Liberty research files at the Open Society Archive testify to the amount of work that went into the process of assembling information about names, organizations, and events (see Open Society Archives, 1956–94). Galina Salova (2008), who worked as research editor to prepare editions for broadcasts on Radio Liberty and for publication in the series *Materialy samizdata* from 1977 to 1994, said that two independent verifications were required for each fact—a person's release from prison, for example. Reverend Michael Bourdeaux, who founded Keston College in 1969, spoke about the widespread distrust of samizdat in the 1960s. Keston monitored the oppression of religious groups in the USSR. At the Center for the Research and Study of Religious Institutions (Centre des recherches et des études des institutions réligieuses, Geneva), for which Bourdeaux worked in 1966–69 reviewing the Soviet press, Bourdeaux's superiors objected to his proposal to use information obtained from samizdat sources. After founding Keston College, Bourdeaux and his staff were scrupulous about establishing the reliability of information that they circulated (to Radio Liberty, among others). They carefully checked the authenticity of names and facts against the official Soviet press: thus when the official paper *Soviet Latvia* (*Sovetskaia Latviia*) referred to the imprisonment of Baptist dissident Iosif Bondarenko, the reference provided some basis for trusting Bondarenko as a samizdat source. The existence of the unofficial Baptist church and of its samizdat publications, the *Herald of Salvation* (*Vestnik spaseniia*) and *Brotherly Leaflet* (*Bratskii listok*), was confirmed by a 1966 Soviet book on the Baptist religion, part of the official series the Library of Contemporary Religions (Mitrokhin 1966: 80–81). Around the same time, the Soviet press attacked Michael Bourdeaux for his book on religion in

24. The series *Materialy samizdata* initially comprised bulletins for internal circulation among Radio Liberty staff, though the collection of these items was later made available through libraries. The series *Sobranie dokumentov samizdata* was made available from its inception to a small number of national and university libraries in Europe and the United States (see Open Society Archives 1956–94). The purpose of the print publications was to make samizdat documents available to Western researchers (Boiter 1972: 282). These publications included "primarily documents of social, political, economic or historical significance" (Radio Liberty 1973). Belles lettres were not included, since those items posed copyright issues; also they could be published elsewhere. Some types of social samizdat, including Baptist and Jewish samizdat, were also not generally included, because other outlets distributed them.

the Soviet Union (*Opium of the People* [1965]), identifying Bourdeaux (incorrectly) as a friend of the unofficial Baptist Initiative Group (*Initsiativniki*) and its head Georgii Vins. This negative official reference brought Bourdeaux's existence as a reliable Western channel to the attention of Vins, who subsequently contacted Bourdeaux to provide information and texts (Bourdeaux 2007).

Thus, the cross-referencing of printed and nonprinted texts, of Soviet official sources and dissident sources, functioned epistemically to constitute reliable knowledge. There were other, softer methods used, however: the credibility of institutions like the Radio Liberty Samizdat Research Department and the Keston Institute built up over time, as did their research files and reliable Soviet contacts. Other softer methods included evaluating the "internal consistency" of documents received (Bourdeaux 2007) and a sort of instinct for reliable vs. provocative information operating on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Pimenov (1979: 251) said that if an item reported to him seemed scandalous, it was usually not true. Important in this regard was the tone in which information was delivered: the *Chronicle of Current Events* was famous for its dry professionalism,[25] observed also in academic presentation and discussion of dissident information in the West. A contrast to that style can be found in the emotional and scandalous testimony of Richard Wurmbrand (1967), a Romanian priest persecuted for his faith. The newsletter *Catacombes* (*Messager supraconfessionnel de l'église du silence*, Courbevoie, France [1971–92]), proved itself similarly prone to emotional and provocative reporting on the persecution of religion in Communist lands, and its presentation of facts might be suspected to be insufficiently precise.[26]

Personal contacts and networks of trust and reliability mattered tremendously. Sosin (1999: 125–28) describes the reception of Andrei Amal'rik's essay "Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984?" (1980). Now a famous document of the Soviet dissident movement, the essay caused a scandal

25. Natalya Gorbanevskaia (1977: 34), first editor of the *Chronicle*, said in an interview after she had left the Soviet Union, "The importance of the *Chronicle* lies—well, sometimes, of course, mistakes are made—but, in principle, it lies in its objective tone, objective, making no judgments. . . . I have to say that this tone was not always maintained. . . . And I think that it was my own fault because I, myself, saw every issue through to its final form and did not succeed in teaching anyone how to do it."

26. The abundant and emotional imagery on the pages of *Catacombes* (including a full-page drawing of Christ on the cross) as well as the reliance on emotional appeals and indictments contributed to the nonacademic impression given by this publication. In issue 15 of *Catacombes* (December 15, 1972, 12), the text apparently translated from the Baptist *Bulletin of Relatives of Prisoners* (no. 1 [1972]) is oddly accompanied by the image *Herald of Salvation* (no. 1 [1972]) and is not identified as being a different publication.

upon its arrival at Radio Liberty in 1968. Amal'rik was then unknown to the general public. Part of the staff regarded the content as russophobic and potentially problematic for the station's public relations. Was it a provocation? Professor Karel van het Reve, former Dutch correspondent in Moscow (who became secretary of the Alexander Herzen Foundation in Amsterdam), vouched for the authenticity of the document on the basis of his personal knowledge of Amal'rik. Consequently, the station broadcast the text in six installments, with caveats and disclaimers, in the series Documents from the USSR.

Beyond the truth or falsehood of particular facts and the authenticity of a document or a name, some more subtle questions arise in the epistemically unstable textual system. What constitutes a valuable text? The twin to the threat of "KGB falsification" that haunted samizdat is "graphomania," the uncontrolled sickness of writing. Writers of uncensored texts may be particularly prone to it, since the mere fact of being unpublished (i.e., repressed) can contribute to an exaggerated sense of the worthiness of what one writes.[27] Ardis Publishers, begun in Ann Arbor, Michigan, by Carl and Ellendea Proffer in 1971, specialized in publishing samizdat texts, mainly of the literary and cultural variety. The publishers disavowed any political agenda—their publications would embody cultural significance and artistic taste.[28] But how did they choose what to publish? Writer and editor Igor' Efimov, who worked for Ardis, claimed that Carl Proffer's literary taste was inscrutable.[29] However, some points about how value was established

27. A variety of unofficial Soviet spokespersons have commented on this phenomenon, including historian Aleksandr Daniel', literary critic and writer Andrei Siniavskii, and spokesperson of Leningrad underground culture Viktor Krivulin (Komaromi 2004: 611–12).
28. In the preface to the first issue of the Ardis journal *Russian Literature Triquarterly* (1971), the editors unequivocally asserted: "We will not publish articles on literary politics or similar cold-war criticism of either the American or Soviet variety. This is a literary journal, not a political one. . . . The contents reflect the tastes of the editors, the needs of English-speaking readers, and chance." Priscilla Meyer's (1971: 420) programmatic article in that same issue complained along the same lines about a politically motivated American neglect of Soviet literature: "The usual reason given for this neglect is that the literature is not worth analyzing on its aesthetic merits, and it is true that the post-Stalin period is less interesting to aestheticians than others. But why, then, has the richer period of the 1920s suffered a similar fate? While the circumstances of the suppression of Mayakovsky, Olesha, Pilnyak, Babel, Zamyatin, and Zoshchenko are frequently related, there are remarkably few stylistic examinations of their work. The American perception of Soviet literature is distorted by political bias and should be examined." Ardis set out, in the first place, to recover those overlooked treasures of the early Soviet (and Russian Silver Age) periods.
29. Efimov wrote in early 1980 to Sergei Dovlatov that it was not in fact known what Carl Proffer liked in literature (Dovlatov 2001: 73). Dovlatov wrote to Efimov in 1984 about his work for Radio Liberty, where they refused to admit criteria of taste at all: "Radio Liberty does not allow critical reviews of works. They think that Soviet authorities already severely criticize emigrants, although I think the Soviet authorities don't give a shit" (ibid.: 320).

can be drawn from the history of the Ardis endeavor: the Proffers began their publishing with a large number of photographic reprints of so-called Silver Age and early Soviet publications. These included the nearly lost volume of poetry by Osip Mandel'shtam, *Stone* (*Kamen'* [1913]), Aleksandr Blok's *The Twelve* (*Dvenadtsat'*, 1918 ed., with drawings by Iurii Annenkov), Boris Tomashevskii's *Theory of Literature* (*Teoriia literatury* [1928]), and others. The Proffers got copies of these books from sources in the Soviet Union as well as from Western antiquarian bookstores, relying to a large extent on the suggestions of Russian friends about what was interesting. Among these, Nadezhda Mandel'shtam and Vladimir Nabokov were particularly authoritative sources.[30] On the basis of these older works and Nabokov's Russian works, Ardis gained a reputation for interesting publications, and they subsequently used that symbolic capital to back some new uncensored Soviet writers too. The presentation and promotion of one of their biggest publications of contemporary uncensored Soviet literature is indicative: Sasha Sokolov's *School for Fools* (*Shkola dlia durakov* [1976]) won Nabokov's praise as "an enchanting, tragic and touching book" ("obaiatel'naia, tragicheskaia i trogatel'naia kniga"). Nabokov's words were printed on the cover and appeared in most reviews of the book.

Broadly speaking, the questions surrounding the epistemically unstable text have to do with what may be considered valuable or significant and what is true or usable information: the evaluation may be a complex mixture of judgments and needs. In the case of the samizdat historical collection *Pamiat'* (*Memory*, nos. 1–5 [1976–81]), new types of materials were presented for the historical record. These included items from personal archives, letters, memoirs, and unpublished historical investigations. Reviewing the collection after its appearance in the West, historian Mikhail Geller (1979: 192) quoted Maksim Gor'kii's statement to the effect: "We need to know everything about the past, not as it is already told, but as it is illuminated by the teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin." Geller's point was that the system itself deforms history. Worse, as pointed out in the editorial preface to the first issue of *Pamiat'*, the system hid and perhaps even destroyed historical documents: "The archives of the VChK-GPU-NKVD—organizations with their hand on the pulse of Soviet history—went up in smoke through the chimneys of the Lubianka in October 1941, and the archives of the MGB-MVD, as some believe, were also burned in 1953" ("Predislovie" [1977]).[31] In the light of this historical situation, the

30. Ellendea Proffer (1996) outlined the development of the Ardis Publishing House project in the context of Russian contacts.

31. Arsenii Roginskii, editor of the collection *Pamiat'* and now chairman of the board of directors of the international Memorial society, said he and others working on the collection

authority vested in institutions of record and of publication for historical truth could give way to the testimony kept by those millions of citizens whose lives this history touched.

Thus, *Pamiat'* asserted the worth of otherwise unvalidated forms of historical testimony. Yet this posed a problem acknowledged by the editors (ibid.):

> Our collection cannot, unfortunately, become a really scientific publication.
>
> A scientific editing process would necessarily demand verification of the trustworthiness of the sources of information that appears on the pages of *Pamiat'*. But since *Pamiat'* is compiled by us of materials that . . . cannot make it into censored print, most of the sources required for verifying them are for the most part located in special sections of the libraries and archives [closed to the public].
>
> To a great extent this will depend on the reader. We believe that the beginning we have made will have a real chance of success only if readers furnish us with new materials, make our publications more precise, add to our publications.

However, such a dialogue was actually limited to the circle of intelligentsia in Moscow and Leningrad who knew the editors and their work (Roginskii 2008). The names and contact information of editors residing in the USSR did not appear on the publication: Natalya Gorbanevskaia's address in France was given instead. The issues, at six hundred to eight hundred typescript pages (figure 2), would have posed a real problem for clandestine circulation. The feedback loop was not realized on a large scale.

In the model of using unpublished documents as historical record, as proposed by the editors of *Pamiat'*, then, verifiability depends on community involvement. However, what kind of community is meant? Broad public participation was extremely difficult to realize. The problem concerns the perusal as well as the distribution of eight-hundred-page typescript volumes: what readers would be motivated to spend their time reading such extensive materials? In the case of the Soviet Union at that time, the risk incurred by such an endeavor would also have been prohibitive for most, though attractive for some. In terms of subject matter, the theme of volume 1 of *Pamiat'*—the Stalinist camps—proved compelling in Solzhenitsyn's treatment, but other accounts of the camps before and after failed to spark wide interest and debate. The *Pamiat'* collections appear to have been done for specialists and for establishing an alternative historical record rather than engaging a broad, active public debate at that

---

heard numerous oral reports about people seeing smoke from the fires and bits of burned documents in both 1941 and 1953. Later archival investigations confirmed that large caches of documents were burned, though details of the events have not been published (Roginskii 2008).
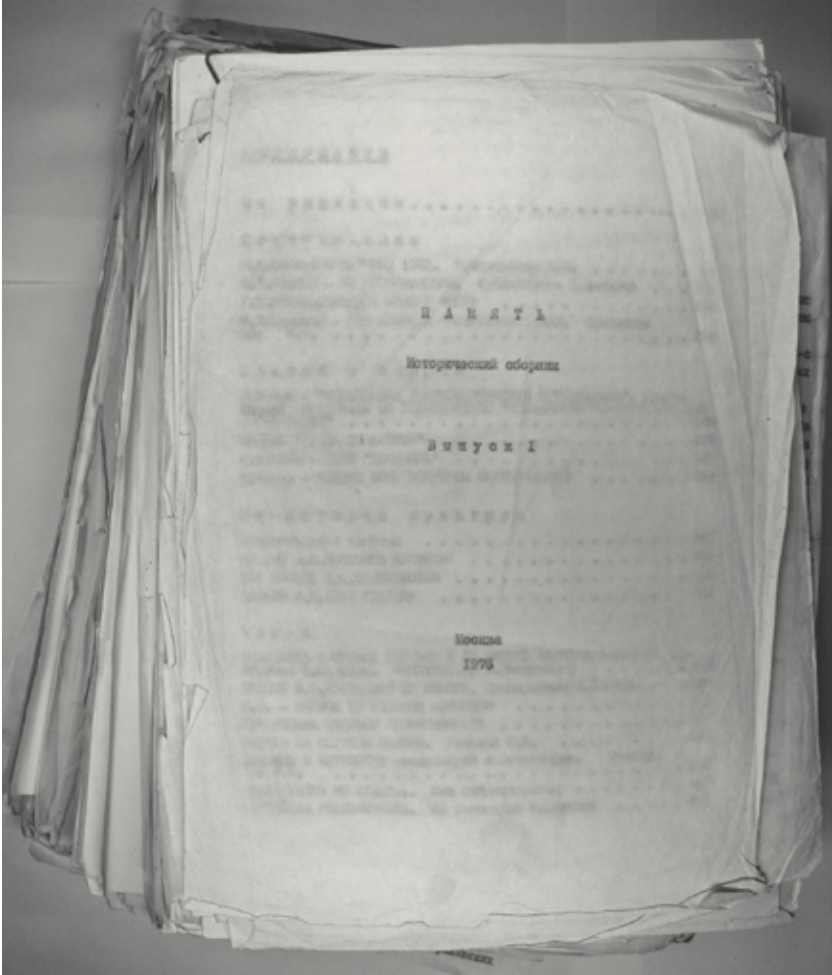
Figure 2 *Pamiat'*, no. 1, 1975. Memorial Society, Moscow, Samizdat Archive, F. 104, "Sbornik Pamiat'."

time in the USSR. In fact, *Pamiat'* was published abroad, and its mission of presenting unpublished historical documents from personal archives and libraries was continued and extended by the Western periodical series *Minuvshee*. This demonstrates again that fixing the samizdat text for public consideration happened most often through tamizdat and was not a purely internal Soviet affair.

In the case of specific national, ethnic, or faith-based issues, moreover, broad public interest could be quite difficult to generate. The case of Jewish emigration is paradigmatic in this regard, illustrating the strategies of

discursive and media amplification required to make a broad impact. Early Jewish samizdat publications devoted to the struggle to emigrate show the efforts to link the Jewish issue to the broader principles of human rights. The samizdat journal *Iskhod* (*Exodus* [1970–72]) featured two epigraphs on the cover of each issue: one, about Jerusalem, from Psalms 136:5–6; the other, concerning the right of every person to leave a country and to return to it, from Article 13, part 2, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (figure 3).[32] The linkage was successful. Human rights at that time had tremendous power as a discourse: Andrei Sakharov, authoritative spokesperson of the democratic movement for human rights, helped mobilize the U.S. Congress on behalf of human rights issues with a letter in 1973. Human rights, as concerned the Soviet Union in the 1970s, meant first and foremost the right to emigrate. The Jackson-Vanick amendment linked the right to emigrate to trade agreements, and that amendment was adopted as part of the U.S. trade bill in December 1974.[33]

By contrast, the movement on behalf of Soviet Germans found it much more difficult to attract attention. In a review of the Soviet German samizdat journal *RePatria* (1974), I. Ratmirov spoke with respect of a German campaign for emigration that had at last become a public issue with wide resonance. However, just a few months previously, the German cause seemed insignificant to most, as he (1975: 64) explained:

> I remember a conversation in spring of 1974 with one of the most famous Soviet dissidents. We were speaking about the trial of V. Klink and F. Shnarra and the publication of the collection *RePatria*. In answer to my request to speak out in defense of V. Klink and F. Shnarr, he tried to convince me it was pointless, like the whole German national movement, because no one needs these Germans and they cannot interest even the government of Willi Brandt (in this, it would seem, lies their difference from the Jews). It is good to see that recently among Russian dissidence there has been a growing revaluation of this negative attitude.[34]

Ratmirov argued that the German national cause should resonate with broader national movements. However, the comment of the "famous" dissident suggests there had been a lack of a successful public relations campaign—whereby to activate public opinion and political interest abroad.

---

32. Copies of the four issues can be found in the second issue of the publication *Evreiskii samizdat* (1974), where the title pages are reproduced.

33. Pauline Peretz outlined the trajectory of the Jackson-Vanick amendment. On Sakharov's letter to Congress and adoption of the trade bill, see Peretz 2006: 236, 248.

34. *RePatria*, the only known samizdat periodical publication of the Soviet German movement, was republished in somewhat shortened form in number 16 of *Volnoe slovo* (1975]). Ratmirov's review appeared in number 2 of the Russian patriotic journal *Zemlia*.

"Если я забуду тебя, Иерусалим,
– забудь меня, десница моя;
прилипни язык мой к гортани моей,
если не буду помнить тебя,
если не поставлю Иерусалима
во главе веселия моего."
                    /Пс. 136. 5,6/

И   С   Х   О   Д
/сборник документов/

"Каждый человек имеет право покидать
любую страну, включая собственную,
и возвращаться в свою страну."
                    /Статья 13, п.2 Всеобщей
                    Декларации Прав Человека/

Выпуск 2
1970
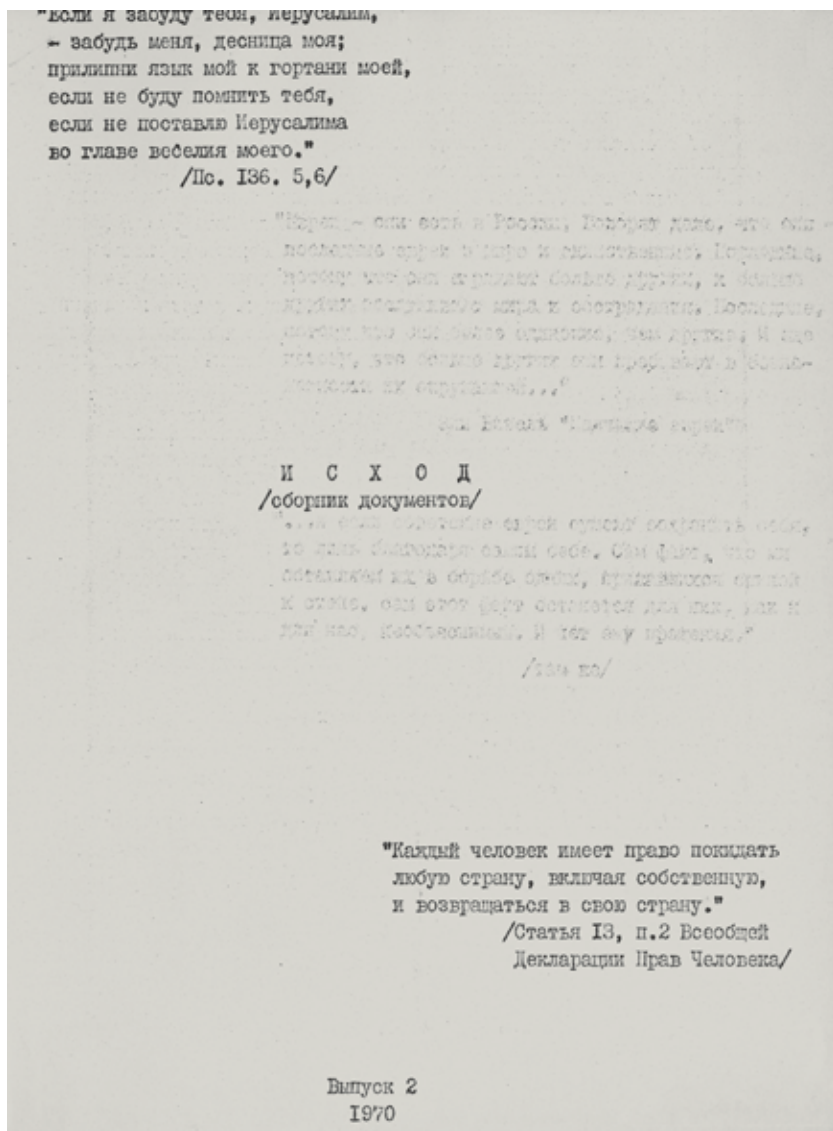
Figure 3 *Iskhod*, no. 2, 1970. Xerox of samizdat typescript, Radio Liberty Samizdat Collection, Open Society Archives, Budapest, HU-OSA 300-85-9/AS426.

That response outside of the Soviet Union made a tremendous difference, and samizdat politics needed it.

Cultural samizdat also gained significance by being picked up abroad. Zoia Krakhmal'nikova's collections of Christian materials, which appeared under the title *Hope* (*Nadezhda* [1977–82]), was republished by the NTS
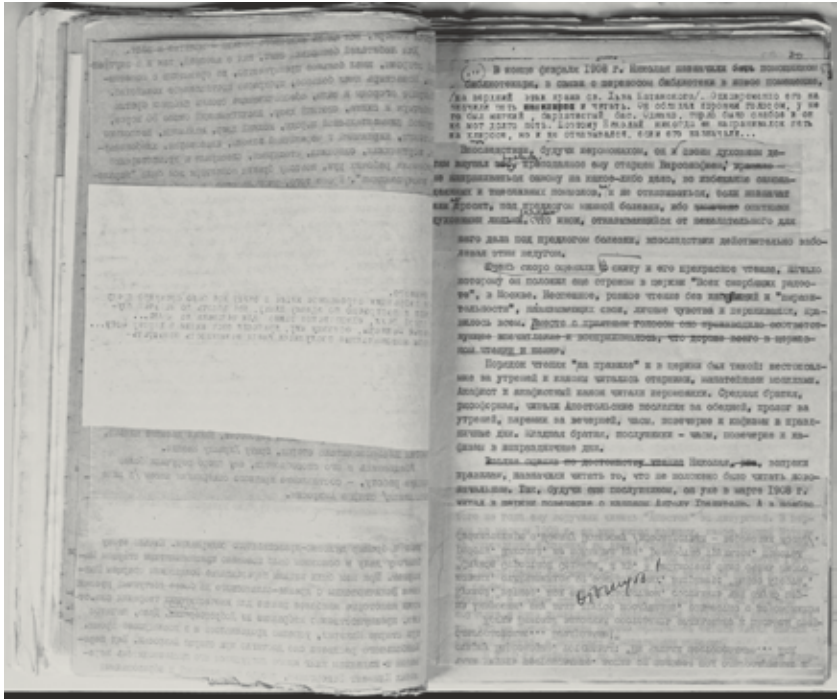
Figure 4 *Nadezhda*, part 8, 1981. Inside pages with paste-ins, corrections to type-script on onionskin paper. Hoover Institution, NTS Samizdat Collection, item 1303/81.

publishing house Posev (Possev) in Frankfurt beginning in 1978. From the messy copies of the typescript preserved in the NTS collection (figure 4), it is obvious that *Nadezhda* was designed to be sent abroad for publication, after which it would be recirculated for its Soviet audience. Posev issued advertisements to people in the West to support the edition so that copies of it could be smuggled back into the Soviet Union.[35] Krakhmal'nikova reflected on the various forms of the collection and their meaning for different readers:

> Texts and witnesses to Christ, about the life of the Church and about the reality of this life become appreciably more valuable from an apologetic viewpoint if they appear in printed form, for publication shows the reader that the text is acknowledged as having real worth by someone other than the writer. Publication is in itself of spiritual benefit. I can also tell for instance to whom I

35. In issue 36 of the émigré journal *Kontinent* (1986), for example, the ad for issue 9 of *Nadezhda* exorted readers: "Acquire them to send to Russia. Send us your offering for the same goal."

should give a printed copy of *Nadezhda* and who would benefit more from a typed one.[36]

The final comment is rather obscure. What type of person would appreciate the typed copy more than the printed one? It is clear from Krakhmal'nikova's comment about the different sorts of copies that form has meaning, however. Krakhmal'nikova's statement also highlights the fact that different readers might be reading the text with various senses of its value—the printed copy might represent validation by a larger community of believers, while the typed copy could represent the authentic expression of Soviet believers. This observation can be extended to the tamizdat version. The publication of *Nadezhda* by the anti-Soviet émigré organization NTS had a potential political subtext,[37] even though this was disavowed in the foreword to the Frankfurt edition: "The publication of *Nadezhda* by whoever has undertaken it cannot pursue any goals of a commercial or political character" (Krakhmal'nikova 1981). The statement may indeed reflect the views of many who supported the edition and who read it in the Soviet Union. The worth of the printed edition of which Krakhmal'nikova spoke was not necessarily political, but it was not less powerfully compelling to supporters who believed rather in its spiritual value.

Curiously, after Krakhmal'nikova's arrest in 1982, issues 11 and 12 of *Nadezhda* appeared from Posev as the product of an anonymous group in the Soviet Union who carried on Krakhmal'nikova's work. However, no typescript copies for these issues are preserved in the archive, and one wonders if it was in fact a samizdat edition. Perhaps the support from people and organizations in the West, or the propaganda value of the ecumenical Christian editions, was great enough to motivate Posev to try to keep it up as a pseudo-samizdat publication?

36. Krakhmal'nikova was quoted by Tatiana Goricheva in her foreword to an English-language edition of selections from *Nadezhda* (Goricheva 1989: 8).
37. NTS had a long history of projects to get texts into the USSR with the express goal of fomenting subversive political activity there. V. D. Poremskii of NTS formulated a "molecular theory" as part of his "theory of revolution in the conditions of a totalitarian regime" (*NTS* 2000: 32–33). In an effort to reach (ideally) every single Soviet citizen individually, NTS launched a series of air balloons that between 1951 and 1957 carried 97.4 million leaflets, 7.7 million newspapers, and 930,000 brochures and journals into the Soviet Union. The Americans, from whom NTS received support, demanded that they stop in 1957, because the balloons interfered with U2 spy planes (ibid.: 37).
   The publications from Posev publishing, begun in 1952, included a good deal of non-political material, though some things, like the samizdat journal of poetry *Sintaksis*, published in number 58 of the Posev journal *Grani* (1965), were framed in a provocative political way that was dangerous for many writers in the Soviet Union. See details of the Posev publishing activity (Gorbanevskii et al. 1995) and discussion of a reactionary apolitical posture in Leningrad alternative culture (Savitskii 2002: 31–32).

   The samizdat text—epistemically unstable, unfixed—is a text that must travel and which changes form as it is realized in succeeding contexts. These forms have significance for the degree and type of reliability and worth perceived to be invested in the text.
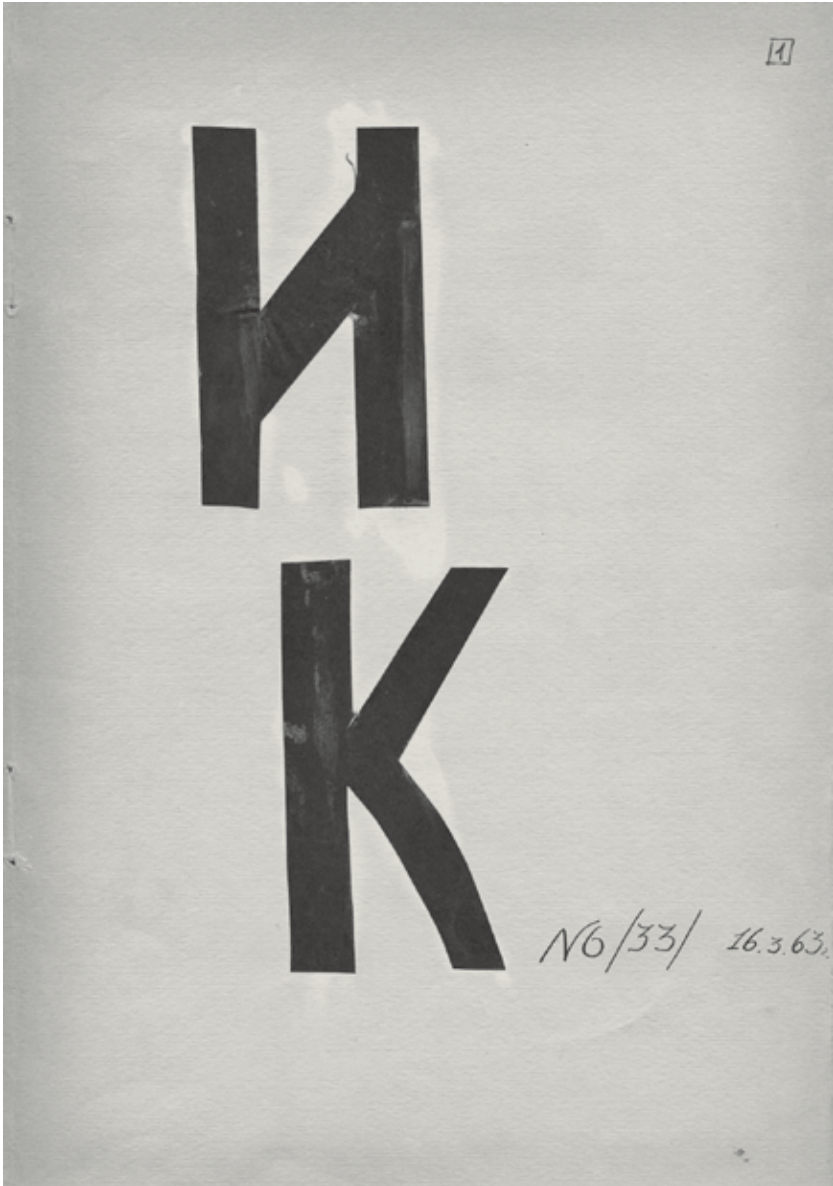
Samizdat Texts as Given Objects

It has been common to treat the samizdat text without special attention to this material form(s) of the textual object. However, within samizdat production itself we can find the basis for an alternative perspective. Pimenov's samizdat leaflet *Informatsiia* (1956–57) reflected, as he described it, a view of samizdat that we might now identify as the mainstream or traditional view. Pimenov recounted the terrible disappointment he and his collaborator Ernst Orlovskii experienced when they translated a speech by Yugoslav Titoist Edvard Kardelj about workers' soviets. Before they could publish it, the official journal *Kommunist* published the speech in full, with categorical criticism, rendering their own efforts "worthless," because now the speech was not worth publishing in samizdat (Pimenov 1979: 249). By contrast, the journal *Iskusstvo kommuny* (*Art of the Commune* [1962–63]) features the text of a speech by the chairman of the Ideological Commission, L. F. Il'ichev, which has been simply cut out of an official Soviet paper and pasted into its own pages. The section title "Questions of Degeneration" ("Voprosy marazma") under which Il'ichev's speech appears humorously highlights the emptiness of sententious official pronouncements on the responsibility of art and the artist (figures 5 and 6).[38] The name *Iskusstvo kommuny* recalls the avant-garde publication of the same name published in Petrograd in 1918–19 (the double numeration on issue 6 of 1963, which is also issue 33, demonstrates continuity with that early publication, which stopped at number 19).[39] From the avant-garde perspective as recovered here, the transposition of content from one form of the text into another radically alters its significance. This experimentation with the form of the text looks like a forerunner of Soviet Conceptualist attention to the text, reflected in the comments of Lev Rubinstein quoted above. Indeed, the social group in which *Iskusstvo kommuny* was born included future sots-artist

38. Original copies of the journal *Iskusstvo kommuny* can be found at the Institute for the Study of Eastern Europe at Bremen. The speech by Il'ichev followed the meeting of Khrushchev and Il'ichev with six hundred representatives of the cultural intelligentsia at the Kremlin, March 7–8, 1963.
39. There were 8 issues of *Iskusstvo kommuny* in 1962 and 6 more in 1963, numbered 1–6 for that year as well as parenthetically, to reflect the continuity of the edition: 19 (original issues) + 8 (issues in 1962) + 6 = 33.

Figure 5   *Iskusstvo kommuny*, no. 6 (33). Archive of the Forschungsstelle Osteuropa, University of Bremen. Fond F. 76 (Petrov V. M., Gribkov V. S., Melamid L. A.)

Вопросы маразма

2

ОБ ОТВЕТСТВЕННОСТИ

ПРАВДА

ХУДОЖНИКА

9 МАРТА 1963 г., № 68 (16289)

ПЕРЕД НАРОДОМ

Товарищи! Мы снова собрались, чтобы продолжить обмен мнениями по вопросам литературы и искусства. Беседа, проходившая 17 декабря 1962 года, оказалась настолько интересной и содержательной, что Н. С. Хрущев предложил продолжить ее. Имелось в виду, что сразу же после Нового года удастся собраться вновь. Однако обстоятельства сложились иначе, и перерыв затянулся больше, чем предполагалось.

Но, как говорят, нет худа без добра.

События за это время развивались так, что в сущности перерыва вроде и не было. В течение почти трех месяцев у нас шло живое обсуждение наиболее острых вопросов развития советского искусства. Дискуссии, начатые в связи с посещением руководителями партии и правительства художественной выставки в Манеже и обменом мнениями 17 декабря, вышли за пределы творческих союзов, расширили аудиторию и превратились по существу во всенародное обсуждение.

И в этом нет ничего удивительного. Ведь речь идет о вопросах, очень близких народу и глубоко волнующих советского человека, о путях развития художественного творчества, о том, чьим интересам оно должно служить и какие идеалы утверждать.

Словом, речь идет об ответственности художника перед народом.

I.

Мы все живем и работаем для народа. Поэтому главное для нас: как советские люди восприняли заботу партии о дальнейшем развитии советского искусства, нашей литературы.

Мнение их, как и надо было ожидать, оказалось довольно единодушным. В ЦК КПСС и Совет Министров СССР, в редакции газет и журналов поступило множество писем, телеграмм, статей, откликов, заметок. Авторы их — рабочие, колхозники, ученые, инженеры, художники, писатели, студенты — выражают одобрение и горячую поддержку борьбе партии за жизненную правду советского искусства и литературы, за их коммунистическую идейность и высокую художественность.

Было бы, конечно, интересно огласить здесь письмо за письмом. Картина оказалась бы очень внушительной. Но для этого потребуется слишком много времени.

Однако кое-что все-таки надо назвать.

Напомню вам письмо Ф. Богдановского, Ю. Гагарина, Г. Ламочкина, В. Петрицкой и других, опубликованное в «Комсомольской правде». Товарищи ясно выразили свое отрицательное отношение к формалистическим увлечениям некоторых художников, поэтов и композиторов. Они пишут о тех, кто в погоне за дешевой сенсацией, маскируемой в иных случаях пустыми декларациями, тащат на выставки и в эфир бессмысленные сочетания красок и звуков да еще пытаются выдать свои изделия за «новаторство». Высмеивая псевдоноваторов, которые, кивая на кучку салонных юнцов, говорят: «Молодежь за нас», авторы письма заявляют:

«Нет, советская молодежь всегда была и будет против подделки под новаторство, против проповеди бессмыслицы и индивидуализма, против всего, что мешает молодым людям понимать жизнь, вырабатывать твердые жизненные убеждения, правильно оценивать факты и явления прошлого».

Figure 6   *Iskusstvo kommuny*, no. 6 (33). Page 10 (ibidem).

Aleksandr Melamid (Freidin 2008). Samizdat introduced epistemic instability that subverted the authority of official print culture in varied and subtle ways.

In order to understand the operation and effects of this textual culture more fully, we need to pay attention to the form of the textual objects, not only the content. There has long been acknowledgment of the aura of the samizdat textual object—the mythologized dog-eared text—but little analytic attention has been given to it. The samizdat typescript really did exert a powerful sense of promise and peril, for the simple reason that it could be quite dangerous. Martin Dewhirst, who smuggled texts in and out of the Soviet Union for NTS during frequent trips between 1959 and 1964[40] and who worked for Radio Liberty beginning in the late 1960s, spoke of a great sense of responsibility to the people who gave texts to be smuggled out. During his visit to Prague in August 1968, he received a typescript of Vladimir Voinovich's classic comic novel *The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of Private Ivan Chonkin*, among a whole suitcase of samizdat texts: "It was an incredible experience for me to sit in my cheap hotel room with a Soviet tank right in front of the hotel on the street, at the end of August 1968, reading Voynovich's novel about this Soviet soldier during the Second World War" (O'Keeffe and Szamuely 2004: 20). He took the typescripts out, and Voinovich's novel was subsequently published: "As a result, the wife of the author was interrogated. So were her parents, who were both given a real grilling. They both died a few days later. So one was very conscious of the moral responsibility one had in such a situation" (ibid.). Voinovich's satirical novel did not reveal military secrets, nor was it straightforwardly "anti-Soviet." Nor did Dewhirst's motivation for beginning his samizdat work with NTS lie in anti-Soviet fervor: on the contrary, he felt an interest in helping Soviet society move forward along the promising path of liberal reform begun in 1956 with Khrushchev's "thaw." At that time, the end of the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s, if one believed people should be able to read what they want to read, NTS was "the only game in town" for helping the cause (Dewhirst 2007).

Later, there was Radio Liberty. Dewhirst described the care they took there with copies of original samizdat typescripts:

> If somebody said that he wanted to send some samizdat to the West but he didn't want it to be published, then that was fair enough. It was put in the huge safe of the Samizdat Section of Radio Liberty in Munich and was not even re-typed. Everything else, incidentally, was re-typed because in those days it was still felt, rightly or wrongly, that every typewriter in the Soviet Union had been

---

40. As detailed in the interview he gave for the Memorial Society (Dewhirst 2004).

checked and that one could have key prints, like voice prints, and furthermore that one could tell from a carbon copy, as well as from the original, on which typewriter such-and-such a work had been produced. (O'Keeffe and Szamuely 2004: 20–21)

Dewhirst's reflections highlight the human element of these textual transactions. Dewhirst (ibid.: 19) also spoke about the way these exchanges transcended economic and political calculations and even made such considerations seem improper:

> In my own personal experience. . . . I had never come across a single Soviet citizen who actually made money out of re-typing samizdat and selling it to friends and colleagues. . . . So here was the dilemma. I was sitting there and getting paid by, first of all, the CIA for a year or so after I first arrived, and then by the US Congress. I was paid in Deutschmarks, and the income supplemented my basic university salary to no small extent. I think all the people who worked in this very small Samizdat Section in Radio Liberty worked extremely hard. Possibly we were over-compensating for our guilt complex at having a cushy job, handling works which had been sent out through various channels at considerable personal risk.

Dewhirst's comments need not be taken as a cue to sentimentalize or mythologize the character of the samizdat text or the people involved in its production and circulation. We should always be alert to the possible financial and political implications of particular instances of textual transmission and reproduction. At the same time, those transactions are not always subject to a simple economic or political logic. The samizdat textual object is perhaps most productively viewed as an object of exchange, the currency of new and sometimes unexpected social networks. Rather than a hard economic currency (its value given and consistent), these textual objects resemble the gifts studied by the anthropologist Marcel Mauss. Mauss's analysis of exchanges in traditional societies remains intriguing and productive because of the significance it accords to the participants' own terms. Mauss thus explored the *hau*, the spirit of things given among Maori people. The hau proceeds from the giver (and the act of giving), and it has the power to compel the recipient to further exchange. A Maori informant, Tamati Ranaipiri, described it this way:

> I will speak to you about the *hau*. . . . The *hau* is not the wind that blows—not at all. Let us suppose that you possess a certain article (*taonga*) and that you give me this article. You give it me without setting a price on it. We strike no bargain about it. Now, I give this article to a third person who, after a certain lapse of time, decides to give me something as payment in return (*utu*). He makes a present to me of something (*taonga*). Now, this *taonga* that he gives me

> is the spirit (*hau*) of the *taonga* that I had received from you and that I had given to *him*. The *taonga* that I received for these *taonga* (which came from you) must be returned to you. It would not be fair (*tika*) on my part to keep these *taonga* for myself, whether they were desirable (*rawe*) or undesirable (*kino*). I must give them to you because they are a *hau* of the *taonga* that you gave me. If I kept this other *taonga* for myself, serious harm might befall me, even death. This is the nature of the *hau*, the *hau* of personal property, the *hau* of the *taonga*, the *hau* of the forest. (Mauss 1990 [1923–24]: 11)

Mauss stressed the fact that in this Maori understanding it was the object itself (the taonga) that compelled anyone into whose possession it came to further exchange: the thing received is not inactive. Even when abandoned by the giver, it still possesses something of that person (ibid.: 11–12).

In samizdat textual exchange, too, the textual object given possesses the spirit (the identity) of its owner or owners—this may encompass the author and/or typist or reader who passes it on—and that spirit confers responsibility on the recipient for proper further exchange, as people like Dewhirst understood it. The reproduction is not the same as the original: it is a new textual object but one that, like its predecessors, bears the traces of the person or group passing it on. In Mauss's account, the items of ritual exchange (called the *kula* exchange in the Trobriand Islands of Melanesia) also represent more than simple objects. Mauss (ibid.: 24) explained that the *vaygu'a*, the "essential objects in these exchange-gifts," are "not unimportant things, mere pieces of money. Each one, at least the dearest and most sought after— . . . has its name, a personality, a history and even a tale attached to it. So much is this so that certain individuals can even take their own name from them." Such items must be treated with respect and caution—they carry the spirit of the giver, and they confer identity on the recipient. These gift items support social relations and serve to bind communities. This might be a useful model for thinking about these samizdat texts socially, as the basis of identity and community. Samizdat forged alternative publics within the USSR, and it supported significant informal social links across international borders.

Mauss's analysis of the gift had tremendous influence on the development of structural anthropology. However, the structuralists Claude Lévi-Strauss (1950) and Claude Lefort (1951), who were among the first commentators of Mauss's work, found his reliance on indigenous concepts to be an analytic weakness. The object itself and the specific context gave way in structuralism to an abstract logical system that could be applied to various contexts. Subsequently, however, exactly those things regarded as weaknesses from the structuralist point of view seemed to the next generation of ethnographers to be most innovative, supporting a new interest in

objects, in material culture, in reconstruction of indigenous explanations, and in personal relations.[41]

Rather than viewing samizdat in the abstract terms of political struggle, truth, opposition, and repressed genius, there is, it seems to me, a whole interesting field of work to be done on the samizdat text and its social networks. Now this work can be done without putting people in personal danger. The changed political climate creates new opportunities, and the greater availability of materials, including original samizdat documents, makes this approach possible in a way it was not before.

The excursion into gift theory highlights the way this critical perspective on the text as artifact of culture may be somehow premodern or post-structuralist, which is to say, not necessarily committed to an abstract calculus of political motivation (e.g., that all samizdat was anti-Soviet) or material interest (e.g., a mythologized absolute disinterestedness). Attention to the samizdat textual object itself reveals the frequently international character of textual exchanges as well as the variety of interests that may meet at the site of the textual object.

This attention to the form of the textual object, and the social networks in which it is realized and circulated, also finds a solid basis in recent discussion of book history, textual culture, and bibliography. Adrian Johns (1998: 28) argued: "A new historical understanding of print is needed. What will it look like? One immediately evident feature will be its regard for the labors of those actually involved in printing, publishing, and reading. Another will be its respect for their own representations of printing, embracing both its prospects and its dangers." Like the Maori themselves or residents of the Trobriand Islands in Mauss's investigations, those who participated in the production and circulation of samizdat texts should be heard. Because the differences between Western and Soviet contexts was so great, but also because the global political context today is so much changed, we do not automatically understand the context in which they worked, their motivations or options.

A number of critics and scholars have argued for reexamining critical

---

41. Florence Weber (2007) discussed this changing attitude to Mauss's work in her preface to the 2007 Quadrige edition of the gift essay. She cited as proof of the productivity of Mauss's methods, previously dismissed or disparaged, the ethnographic work of the 1980s–2000s by Arjun Appadurai, Michel Callon, Pierre Lascoumes, Yannick Barthe, Luc Boltanski, Laurent Thévenot, Florence Weber, and Jacques Godbout (ibid.: 31). In addition, Jacques Derrida critiqued Lévi-Strauss's apprehension of Mauss from his own post-structuralist perspective. Lévi-Strauss eliminated the affective and the magical from theory of gift, and he privileged the logic of exchange and relation "in order to eliminate the question of the thing" (Derrida 1992 [1991]: 76). For Derrida (ibid.), "to reduce the latter to exchange is quite simply to annul the very possibility of the gift."

methodologies based on an abstract and ideal text and for paying more attention to the variations of the material text.[42] Jerome McGann's (1991) work on theories of editing and textual culture yielded tools useful for dealing with the textual object of samizdat, such as analyzing the bibliographical and paratextual codes of texts. In the case of samizdat, the typescript and its copies and reproductions bear information about the people who made the text and the purpose for which they made it. This may supplement, complicate, or even contradict paratextual statements (as in the case of the Posev edition of *Nadezhda* with its NTS production and avowed apolitical character).

Finally, to cite a specialist in bibliography, we will do well to heed D. F. McKenzie's (1999: 12) call to extend our apprehension of the forms of the text: "Bibliography is the discipline that studies texts as recorded forms, and the processes of their transmission, including their production and reception. . . . What the word 'text' also allows, however, is the extension of present practice to include all forms of texts, not merely books or . . . signs on pieces of parchment or paper." McKenzie (ibid.: 13) further explains: "I define 'texts' to include verbal, visual, oral, and numeric data, in the form of maps, prints, and music, of archives of recorded sound, of films, videos, and any computer-stored information, everything in fact from epigraphy to the latest forms of discography. There is no evading the challenge which those new forms have created."

Conclusions

The epistemically unstable text—whose worth or reliability is uncertain— is a text that tends either to be reproduced, acquiring value through the successive investments people and institutions make in it, or to disappear. The classic fragile samizdat typescript manifests in a striking way this materially unstable textuality. The challenge of samizdat involves tracing its textual lives from such typescripts into further forms, including successive print editions in the West and also radio transmissions (and, later, audio tape and/or new typescript). Nor do the texts generated in samizdat exist on paper alone. Thus magnitizdat, the uncensored production and distribution of audio tapes in the Soviet Union, on which bard music

---

42. Thomas Tanselle (1989: 18) advocates a relatively traditional bibliographical and hermeneutic model of the ideal "original" text, an abstract linguistic entity that lies behind the existence of the text on paper or in sound and to which all acts of performance or reading refer. In contrast to Tanselle's method, Margreta De Grazia and Peter Stallybrass (1993: 256–57) advocate critical attention to the materiality of the text as a way to highlight the historical situation of texts and of reading.

and early Soviet rock thrived. Samizdat journals like *Menestrel'* (Moscow [1979–85]), devoted to bardic music (figure 7), and a rock publication, such as *ROKur'er* (Kharkov, Ukraine [1986–89]) (figure 8), illustrate the close connection, indeed overlap, of media visible already within samizdat in the Soviet Union.

Perhaps we can, in the spirit of Mauss's analysis, refer to the spirit of the samizdat textual objects themselves. Samizdat texts, in their drive to be reproduced, tended to cross international borders. They infected readers with the compulsion to produce their own texts. Methodologically, it proves difficult to set boundaries to "samizdat textual culture." The term "samizdat" itself has a tendency to proliferate out of control: émigré scholar Helene Szamuely claimed that people who do weird art on walls or write criticism of the American government had no right to call this "samizdat," thereby implicitly comparing themselves to "people who actually risked their lives to write criticisms of the Soviet government" (O'Keeffe and Szamuely 2004: 2). With all due respect for those who did indeed risk their lives, I think we should not automatically deny the spirit of samizdat as it seeks expression in ever-new contexts and forms.

Vladimir Strukov's (2004) commentary on the post-Soviet animated series *Masiania* (www.mult.ru) would be interesting to consider in this regard. There seems to be a congruence between the aesthetic values of Soviet samizdat and some post-Soviet alternative culture. This echo of samizdat possesses semantic potential, but it also creates potential pitfalls. Strukov (ibid.: 444) pointed out that "*Masiania*'s poor animation and sound suggest a deliberate primitivism in which amateurism becomes a conscious strategy to enhance the appeal of the project." Strukov (ibid.: 451) analyzed this series's means of circulation and compared it to samizdat: "Initially *Masiania* had entered the private space of browsers in the same way as, for example, samizdat books or audio-taped rock music during the 1980s, which were valued above all for their status as alternative forms of cultural representation." When *Masiania*'s creator Oleg Kuvaev took the animated series to television, however, he was criticized for commercializing the project: the public has an "unwavering perception of television as an exclusively commercial space, whereas the Internet, perhaps owing to its novelty, is still believed to have areas that are free from commerce, and must be filled, to paraphrase Soviet slogans, with 'a genuinely people's art,' that is, *Masiania*" (ibid.).

More interesting than the question of whether the Internet (like samizdat) constitutes a space of some ideal "freedom" are the epistemic implications of Strukov's observations: what are the significances we assign to the forms of our texts—audio, visual, digital, paper, or other? What types of

Figure 7 *Menestrel'*, no. 1 (11), 1981, with a picture of the bard Vladimir Vysotsky. Archive of the Forschungsstelle Osteuropa, University of Bremen. Fond 5/2.26 (Krylov A. E.).
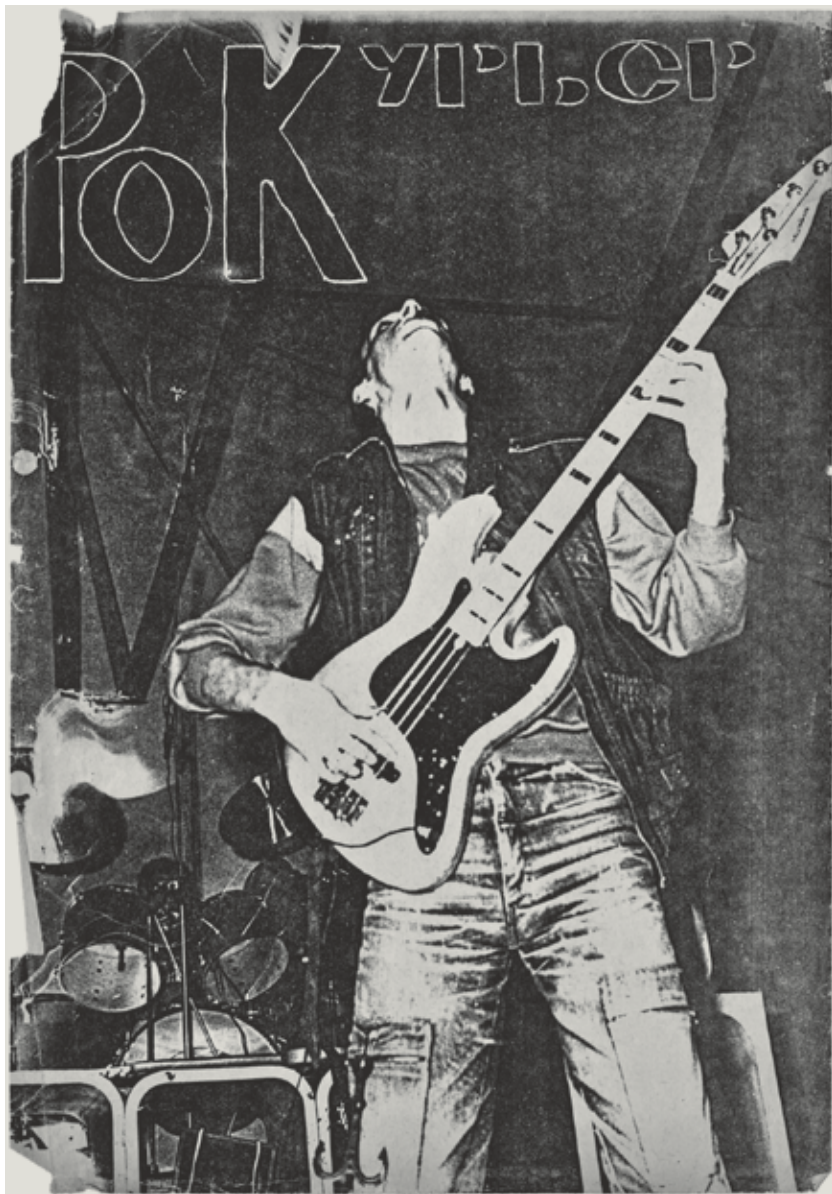
Figure 8 *ROKur'er*, no. 1, Kharkov, 1986. George Washington University, Gelman Library, Special Collections, International Counterculture Archive, box UP7.

bibliographical and paratextual cues do we take as signs of their veracity or worth? The faraway world of epistemic instability that Johns described in the early modern West, and that is also found in late Soviet samizdat, seems in fact very like the global Internet culture we encounter today. Texts are far less standardized in their reproduction. They are less likely to be fixed by Internet publication, but they are also more prone to be picked up and disseminated (perhaps in altered form) beyond the control of the initial producers of the text. This textual culture seems far more unpredictable and spontaneously generated (see the lists of "most e-mailed" articles on the Web sites of the *New York Times* and other major papers) than the staid world of print to which we are used, and it poses new challenges. How do we establish the veracity of news items that come from nonstandard sources, like the notorious e-mail whisper campaigns about presidential candidate Barack Obama's radical Islamic schooling? On what basis do communities develop and disseminate knowledge specific to their identity and values? Is that knowledge automatically trumped by knowledge standardized and fixed by a larger community? Obviously, those who would manipulate segments of the American electorate with viral campaigns, like purveyors of radical Islamic theories about the conspiracy behind the September 11 attacks, know it is not.

Even as we seek a more nuanced understanding of late Soviet samizdat for a critical history of that period, we may do so with a sense that the opposition samizdat textual culture illustrates concerns not only a bygone era. It may in fact prove quite relevant to our concerns today.

References

Alekseeva, Liudmila
    2001 *Istoriia inakomysliia v SSSR. Noveishii period* (*History of Dissent in the USSR*) (Moscow: ZAO RITS "Zatsepa").
Amal'rik, Andrei
    1980 *Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984?* English trans., edited by Hilary Sternberg (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin).
Boiter, Albert
    1972 "Samizdat: Primary Source Material in the Study of Current Affairs," *Russian Review* 31 (3): 282–85.
Bourdeaux, Michael
    1965 *Opium of the People: The Christian Religion in the U.S.S.R.* (London: Faber and Faber).
    2007 Interview with author, July 16.
Brodsky, Joseph [Iosif Brodskii]
    1997 "V odinochke pri khod'be plecho . . ." ("In a Cell While Walking One's Shoulder . . ."), series 5, "Instruktsiia zakliuchennomu" ("Instructions to a Prisoner"), in *Sochineniia*, 2:23–24 (Saint Petersburg: Pushkinskii fond).
De Grazia, Margreta, and Peter Stallybrass
    1993 "The Materiality of the Shakespearean Text," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 44 (3): 255–83.

Derrida, Jacques
  1992 [1991] *Given Time: I. Counterfeit Money*, translated by Peggy Kamuf (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
Dewhirst, Martin
  2004 Interview with Ia. Zykova, Edinburgh, May 30.
  2007 Telephone interview with the author, March 28.
Dolinin, V. E., B. I. Ivanov, B. V. Ostanin, and D. IA. Severiukhin
  2003 *Samizdat Leningrada (1950–1980): Literaturnaia entsiklopediia* (*Samizdat of Leningrad, 1950–1980: Literary Encyclopedia*), edited by D. IA. Severiukhin (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie).
Dovlatov, Sergei
  2001 *Epistoliarnyi roman s Igorem Efimovym* (*Epistolary Novel with Igor Efimov*) (Moscow: Zakharov).
Eisenstein, Elizabeth
  1979 *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communication and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Freidin, Iurii
  2008 Interview with author, April 6.
Friedberg, Maurice
  1962 *Russian Classics in Soviet Jackets* (New York: Columbia University Press).
  1977 *A Decade of Euphoria: Western Literature in Post-Stalin Russia, 1954–64* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).
Geller, Mikhail
  1979 "'Pamiat' i 'pamiat'" ("'Memory' and 'Memory'"), *Vestnik RSKhD* 128: 192–204.
Gorbanevskaya, Natalya
  1977 "Writing for 'samizdat,'" *Index on Censorship* 6 (1): 29–36.
Gorbanevskii, M. V., et al.
  1995 *Svobodnoe slovo 'Poseva.' 1945–1995* (*"Prosev's" Free Word*) (Moscow: Posev).
Goricheva, Tatiana, ed.
  1989 *Cry of the Spirit: Christian Testimonies from the Soviet Union* (London: Fount Paperbacks).
Grigorenko, Petro
  1997 *V podpol'e mozhno vstretit' tol'ko krys . . .* (*In the Underground You Meet Only Rats . . .*) (Moscow: Zven'ia).
Hemingway, Ernest
  1937 *To Have and Have Not* (New York: Scribner).
Ivanov, Viach. Vs.
  n.d. "Besedy s Annoi Akhmatovoi" ("Conversations with Anna Akhmatova"), www.akhmatova.org/articles/ivanov.htm (accessed March 28, 2008).
Johns, Adrian
  1998 *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
"Katalog periodicheskikh i prodolzhaiushchikhsia neformal'nykh izdanii na russkom iazyke v arkhive samizdata (SPI-1 AS), 1986–1990, ch. 1" ("A Catalog of Periodical and Continuing Informal Editions in Russian in the Samizdat Archive [SPI-1 AS], 1986–1990, ch. 1")
  1991 *Materialy samizdata* (*Samizdat Material*), no. 8.
Kheifets, Mikhail
  1981 "Russkii patriot Vladimir Osipov: Part 2," *Kontinent* 28: 140–79.
Kheminguei, Ernest
  1968 *Sobranie sochinenii v chetyrekh tomakh* (*Collected Works in Four Volumes*) (Moscow: Goslitizdat).

Khronika tekushchikh sobytii (*Chronicle of Current Events*)

    1968–1982 Nos. 1–65. Reprint available in electronic format from the international Memorial society Web site, www.memo.ru/history/diss/chr/index.htm (accessed March 31, 2008).

Komaromi, Ann

    2004 "The Material Existence of Soviet Samizdat," *Slavic Review* 63 (3): 597–618.

Krakhmal'nikova, Zoia, ed.

    1981 *Nadezhda. Khristianskoe chtenie* (*Hope: Christian Reading*), vol. 6 (Frankfurt am Main: Posev).

Krivulin, Viktor

    1999 "Zolotoi vek samizdata" ("The Golden Age of Samizdat"), in *Samizdat veka* (*Samizdat of the Age*), edited by Anatolii Strelianyi et al., 342–54 (Moscow: Polifakt).

Kushnir, Aleksandr

    1994 *Zolotoe podpol'e. Polnaia illiustrirovannaia entsiklopediia rok-samizdata. 1967–1994. Istoriia. Antologiia. Bibliografiia* (*The Golden Underground: Full Illustrated Encyclopedia of Rock-Samizdat. 1967–1994. History. Anthology. Bibliography*) (Nizhny Novgorod, Russia: Dekom).

Kuz'minskii, Konstantin K., and Gregory L. Kovalev, eds.

    1980–86 *Antologiia Golubaia laguna/The Blue Lagoon Anthology of Modern Russian Poetry*, vols. 1–5 (Newtonville, MA: Oriental Research Partners).

"L'Affaire Solzhenitsyn"

    2007 *La Fabrique de l'Histoire*, emission avec Emmanuel Laurentin la chaîne *France Culture*, Paris, December 11.

Lefort, Claude

    1951 "L'échange ou la lutte des homes," *Temps modernes* 6 (64): 1400–1417.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude

    1950 *Introduction à l'oeuvre de Marcel Mauss* (Paris: PUF).

Lidskii, Iu. Ia.

    1973 *Tvorchestvo E. Khemingueia* (*The Work of E. Hemingway*) (Kiev: Naukova dumka).

Mandel'shtam, Nadezhda

    1970 *Hope against Hope: A Memoir*, translated by Max Hayward, introduction by Clarence Brown (New York: Atheneum).

Mandel'shtam, Osip

    1967 *Sobranie sochinenii v trekh tomakh* (*Collected Works in Three Volumes*), edited by G. P. Struve and B. A. Filippov (Washington, DC: Inter-Language Literary Associates).

Mauss, Marcel

    1990 [1923–24] *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, translated by W. D. Halls (New York: Norton).

McGann, Jerome J.

    1991 *The Textual Condition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).

McKenzie, D. F.

    1999 *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Meyer, Priscilla

    1971 "Hoist by the Socialist-Realist Petard: American Interpretations of Soviet Literature," *Russian Literature Triquarterly* 1: 420–24.

Mitrokhin, L. N.

    1966 *Baptizm* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury).

NTS. Mysl' i delo. 1930–2000

    2000 Bibliotechka rossievedeniia series, vol. 4 (Moscow: Posev).

O'Keeffe, Dennis, and Helen Szamuely

    2004 *Samizdat, Based on a Discussion at the CRCE led by Dennis O'Keeffe and Helen Szamuely* (London: Centre for Research into Post-Communist Economies).

Open Society Archives

    1956–94 "Archival History." Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Insti-

tute (RFE/RL RI), HU OSA 300–85, Samizdat Archives, Open Society Archives at Central European University, www.osa.ceu.hu/db/fa/300–85.htm (accessed March 28, 2008).

Oushakine, Serguei Alex.
   2001 "The Terrifying Mimicry of Samizdat," *Public Culture* 13: 191–214.
Peretz, Pauline
   2006 *Le combat pour les Juifs soviétiques. Washington-Moscou-Jérusalem. 1953-1989* (Paris: Arman Colin).
Pimenov, Revol't
   1979 "Vospominaniia" ("Memoirs"), part 1, "Odin politicheskii protsess (1956–1958)" ("One Political Case [1956–1958])," in *Pamiat'. Istoricheskii sbornik* (*Memory: A Historical Collection*), 2:160–262 (Paris).
Pospielovsky, D.
   1978 "From Gosizdat to Samizdat and Tamizdat," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 20 (1): 44–62.
"Predislovie 'Ot redaktsii' k sb. 'Pamiat'" ("Foreword 'From the Editors' to the Coll. 'Memory'")
   1977 *Russkaia mysl'*, April 14, 5.
Proffer, Ellendea
   1996 "Ardis," in the catalog *Ardis, 25 let russkoi literatury. Biblioteka inostrannoi literatury/Ardis: 25 Years of Russian Literature*, 2–10. Library of Foreign Literature, Moscow, Russia, May 28, 1996–June 18, 1996.
Radio Liberty
   1973 "Basic Information about Arkhiv Samizdata," *Arkhiv Samizdata: Register of Documents*, enlarged and revised (Munich: Samizdat Archive Association).
Ratmirov, Igor'
   1975 "RePatria," *Materialy samizdata* 25: 63–65.
Reddaway, Peter, ed.
   1972 Uncensored Russia: The Human Rights Movement in the Soviet Union; the Annotated Text of the Unofficial Moscow Journal, a Chronicle of Current Events (Nos. 1–11), translated by Peter Reddaway (London: Cape).
Roginskii, Arsenii
   2008 Interview with author, April 3.
Rubinstein, Lev
   1990 "Chto tut mozhno skazat' . . ." ("What Can One Say . . ."), in *Indeks (po materialom rukopisnykh zhurnalov)* (*Index [Based on Materials of Handwritten Journals]*), compiled by Mikhail Romm, edited by E. Bogatykh, 343–46 (Moscow: "Efa").
Salova, Galina
   2008 Interview with author, March 28.
Samizdat 1. La voix de l'opposition communiste en U.R.S.S.
   1970 Combats series (Paris: Seuil).
Saunders, George, ed.
   1974 *Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition* (New York: Monad).
Savitskii, Stanislav
   2002 *Andegraund. Istoriia i mify Leningradskoi neofitsial'noi literatury* (*Underground: History and Myths of Leningrad Unofficial Literature*) (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie).
Schroeter, Leonard
   1979 *The Last Exodus* (Seattle: University of Washington Press).
Solzhenitsyn, Alexander
   1972 *Nobel lecture*, in English and Russian; English translation by F. D. Reeve (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux).
Sosin, Gene
   1999 *Sparks of Liberty: An Insider's Memoir of Radio Liberty* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press).

Strukov, Vladimir
  2004 "*Masiania*, or Reimagining the Self in the Cyberspace of Rusnet," *Slavic and East European Journal* 48 (3): 438–61.
Tanselle, Thomas
  1989 *A Rationale of Textual Criticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).
Terts, Abram
  1978 "Anekdot v anekdote," *Sintaksis* 1: 77–95.
Tosunian, Irina
  1990 "Ot Moskvy do samykh Petushkov" ("From Moscow All the Way to Petushki"), *Literaturnaia gazeta*, January 3, 5.
Trauberg, Natal'ia
  2000 "Vsegda li pobezhdaet pobezhdennyi? Natal'ia Trauberg o khristianskom samizdate" ("Does the Defeated Always Win? Natal'ia Trauberg on Christian Samizdat"), *Literaturnaia gazeta*, April 27 – May 2, 11.
Voinovich, Vladimir
  1969 *The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of Private Ivan Chonkin*, translated by Richard Lourie (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux).
Voronel', Aleksandr
  2007 Interview with author, July 1.
Weber, Florence
  2007 "Préface à l'édition Quadrige," in Marcel Mauss, *Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques*, 1–62 (Paris: Quadrige).
Wurmbrand, Richard
  1967 *Tortured for Christ: Today's Martyr Church* (London: Hodder and Stoughton).
Yurchak, Alexei
  1997 "The Cynical Reason of Late Socialism: Power, Pretense, and the Anekdot," *Public Culture* 9: 161–88.