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WARRING WORKS: THE RUSSIAN BOOK OF THE 1960S AND 1970S

Jacobson, Alexander Leaff

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WARRING WORKS: THE RUSSIAN BOOK OF THE 1960S AND 1970S

Alexander Jacobson

A DISSERTATION

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Abstract

My dissertation represents an original approach to Russian literary history by demonstrating the extent that Russian literature has been inflected by bibliographic frames. Though book history is a relatively mature field, it is largely non-existent in Slavic studies; existing Western scholarship, while helpful, is inadequate for comprehending the idiosyncratic nature of the Russian book. To appreciate the complexity of the issues involved, I analyze mid-century Soviet and tamizdat publications (volumes produced in the West intended to be smuggled into the USSR), which, while ideologically opposed, are strikingly similar in their assumptions about a book's structure and function.

I distinguish between a book (the physical object) and a text (the actual words in a book). Tamizdat constitutes an attempt to sever books from texts, to disguise subversive content. Conversely, Soviet publishers, forced by economic pressures to produce editions of classical Russian and even Western literature *en masse*, framed non-Soviet works as communist parables, positioning texts, paratexts, and book forms to create the illusion of Soviet — or proto-Soviet — dogma. Despite these differences, tamizdat and Soviet publishers were bound by a common logic. Both pursued political ends (wooing of elites or indoctrination of the masses) by distorting literature through media manipulation.

Chapter one develops a conception of the "tamizdat-work," the book form that I ascribe to this movement. Chapter two develops a taxonomy of this form and demonstrates the extreme diversity found in tamizdat publications. Chapter three shifts to the Soviet Union, demonstrating that economic and political pressures forced Soviet publishers to frame non-Soviet literature as deeply communist texts. Finally, chapter four describes the means by which Soviet publishers

achieved this goal, through the use of their own elaborate book form combining careful paratexts with elaborate physical forms.

Table of Contents

Abstract		3
Acknowledgements		6
Introduction		9
Chapter I	**Tamizdat as Masquerade**	18
Chapter II	**A Taxonomy of Tamizdat**	67
Chapter III	**The Non-Soviet Landscape of Soviet Publishing**	117
Chapter IV	**The Soviet Book**	158
Conclusion		193
Bibliography		197

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“Don’t judge a book by its cover.”

Introduction

In the spirit of this dissertation, I will keep my introduction brief.

Consider the volume in front of you. Its font is Times New Roman; its text is double-spaced. Its binding is black plasticine, and it was not produced via mass production. This codex – whose form was chosen and codified by Princeton University – broadcasts that you are reading a dissertation, a form fraught with associations and assumptions.

If this text were presented in a different form, you might treat it differently. If you were reading this argument within a bound academic tome, you might regard it with greater solemnity; one would assume that my text had passed the scrutiny of academic gatekeepers and might treat this argument in a higher light. Indeed, depending on the publisher – an entity you may recognize simply by the form of the book – you might approach my text with an immediate presumption of interest or even respect. However, the text in this hypothetical book could be subpar. Even if the dissertation were fantastic and the book were trite, an average reader – at least before consuming each volume – would likely treat the book with higher regard than the dissertation.

These assumptions – divorced from the actual content of a text – gesture towards an important conclusion. One does not merely read the text of this dissertation, or, indeed, any volume. Instead, one approaches texts with a host of presuppositions conjured by the physical form of books.

Similarly, paratexts – Gerard Genette's "threshold" between world and text, which functionally refer to ancillary structures like imprints, title pages, and introductions – play analogous roles.[1] My meta introduction, for example, likely heralds that the following text is an

[1] Genette, Gérard. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997: 2.

unusual approach to Russian literature. If I omitted this commentary, you might proceed to my text with a host of assumptions honed from your experience reading dissertations. Instead, by providing this piece in a privileged place within my volume, intended to be read before confronting my arguments, I have colored your approach to my work. Though, in this case, it may be subtle, you will regard my dissertation in a different light than you would have otherwise.

My thesis is devoted to demonstrating that publishers were not only aware of these dynamics, but that they were skillful practitioners of these arts. I offer the first broad attempt to examine how publishers across the Russian-speaking world employed book forms and paratexts for their own ends.

What is a "Work"?

First and foremost, this dissertation is concerned with the difference between texts and works. This notion, pioneered by Roland Barthes, attempts to separate texts from their physical instantiations. In Barthes' words, the text is "plural"; it is an assemblage of signs that connotes a meaning for a reader, whether they read a text at the moment of its creation or hundreds of years later.[2] The work, on the other hand, is a "*determination* [italics original] of the world"; it is a historical representation of a text for a historically specific audience.[3] In a non-semiotic register, texts are the string of words associated with a given work of literature – for example, everything between "Alexey Fyodorvitch Karamazov was the third son of Fyodor Pavlovitch Karamavov" and "[h]urrah for Karamazov" in Dostoyevsky's *Brothers Karamazov*. A work, on the other

[2] Barthes, Roland. "From Work to Text," 56–68. New York: Hill and Wang, 1986: 59.
[3] Ibid 61.

hand, is the compilation of forms and paratexts which incarnates this text for a reader; for example, the cheap paperbacks which currently peddle Constance Garnett's translation for contemporary readers.

The distinction between work and text represents one of the foundational concepts behind book history, an interdisciplinary methodology which attempts to analyze how the physical form and availability of books effected the ways in which readers had access to and understood texts. This field has many practitioners, ranging from the aforementioned Genette to Jerome McGann, D. F. McKenzie, Robert Darnton, and others.[4] These scholars have tackled the book from a myriad of directions, including its physical composition, footnotes, typeface, production cycle, etc.

For this dissertation, however, the distinction between text and work – and particularly the elaboration on Barthes' schema as provided by Roger Chartier – is by far the most important idea appropriated from book history. In his research, Chartier argues that works are uniquely representative of the needs of an audience, a product of their role as frames providing necessary context for their intended readers. For example, Chartier focuses on editions of the French classics for the working class, showing how the preparation, editing, and cheap form factor of such volumes – i.e. the work overlaid upon their texts – anticipates and compensates for the crude literacy and meager means of their consuming public. In this example – and, indeed, for

[4] See McGann, Jerome J. *The Textual Condition*. Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1991; McKenzie, D. F. *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1999; Darnton, Robert. "What Is the History of Books?" *Daedalus* 111, no. 3 (1982): 65–83.

any book – the structure and preparation of the work is bound to a specific readership and is meant to compensate for their needs (and aid their interpretations) as best as possible.[5]

This idea, which is discussed in depth within the thesis, provides several helpful approaches for analyzing books. First, Chartier suggests that works can be linked with their readerships by looking for hallmark signs, records of the anticipatory labor performed by publishers for their audiences. Second, if works are powerful enough to concretely change whether audiences are capable of apprehending texts, books are consequential forms. They hold a deep capacity for affecting how – and even whether – audiences understand texts.

By demonstrating that publishers devoted great energy to making volumes for their audiences, Chartier exposes the power works hold over readers. This ability represents the single most important dynamic within the Russian bibliographic world.

The Work at War

Nearly all Western book historians devote their work to analyses of European and American book environments. Such research places little importance on mechanisms of control over readers and instead analyzes interplay between publishers, authors, and readers within a market economy. For example, Robert Darnton, who arguably originated the field, focused on what he termed the "book cycle," a schema where various stakeholders collectively determine the creation and character of the book.[6] In this world, profitability and economics determine

[5] Chartier, Roger, and J. A. Gonzalez. "Laborers and Voyagers: From the Text to the Reader." *Diacritics* 22, no. 2 (1992): 49–61, especially 54-58.
[6] Darnton, Robert. "What Is the History of Books?" *Daedalus* 111, no. 3 (1982): 65–83, especially 67-69.

most features of the book; the ability of a text to attract readers and achieve profitability mediated most links in Darnton's cycle.

This focus limits the usefulness of Western book history for Russian literature. While publishers nominally held great control over consumers, their power was placed in service of income. Western works were not meant to manipulate their readers, at least in line with politics; they were meant to maximize the attractiveness of a volume to a potential customer by playing to their interests and competencies.

Russian books, however, were governed by forces more powerful than capital. They were weapons of ideology.

In the Soviet Union, books were power tools of culturation from the inception of Bolshevik rule. Discussed in detail within chapter three, the book was wielded surprisingly consistently throughout Soviet history. Though market considerations became increasingly important over time, the book was always seen first and foremost as a crucial tool of cultural construction and was designed as such.

Tamizdat provides a neat counterpart to these volumes. These books, published in the West for distribution to the USSR, were largely funded by the CIA as means of countering the Soviet ideological hold over the mind. Buoyed by US money and never really meant to be sold, these volumes, too, were insulated from market forces. They were potent weapons of ideology.

Both of these forms find their apex during the 1960s and 1970s. In the Soviet Union, this era bore witness to a general ossification of forms after the tumult of the Lenin and Stalin years, allowing for a coherent discussion of the Soviet book as a nation-wide project. Further, this era bore witness to both the Thaw and the Brezhnev Stagnation; my analysis of the features that

evolved – and those that stayed the same – during these eras help underscore the fundamental patterns of the Soviet book.

Conversely, tamizdat, which can be considered one of the starkest examples of the power of the work in publishing history, was a type of publication localized to the Cold War and pre-perestroika era. Therefore, not only did the 1960s and 1970s bear witness to the form's creation, but they represent its maturation and height of development, allowing for a discussion of this phenomenon in near toto.

Thus, my timeframe is perfect for a top-down analysis of the books. Chartier gestures towards the fact that publishers hold power over readers but restrains this conclusion by analyzing markets. The Russian book, and particularly its heightened ideological tenor during the Cold War, demonstrates the power of the publisher when released from these constraints, crafting works at war.

What this Dissertation Is and Is Not

Accordingly, I am interested in how the ideological state apparatus utilized the book. I look at how, in the Russian context, institutional actors had remarkable power and influence over the creation of works, and how they utilized this capacity during the apex of twentieth-century ideological warfare.

I am not interested in several topics that appear in most standard book history studies. Namely, readers and their receptions are somewhat absent in this work beyond their role as targets for political games. I do not engage with the strategies used by canny readers to evade control over literature; rather, I explore the labyrinths that power constructed to constrain them. I

study how political actors created a media ecosystem, a world in which knowledge was delineated and warped to a regime's ends; I leave the study of dissidence, which has filled many other academic works, to others. I am fascinated by how power anticipated and aimed to shape literary consumers, how they read the reader, and how they aimed to influence the public through the limited tools at their disposal.

Further, this study is limited to works of literature. Different genres of texts were siloed into different publishers within the USSR, and the methods of publishing various texts differed wildly from that of literature. A larger study would risk losing its focus. Further, literature occupied a prestigious place within Soviet culture; in this world, the most important publications in the USSR were literary, and the most important works were those which incarnated these texts.

My method for tackling this subject is through the intersection of micro and macro histories. Fundamentally, I am interested in systems that manifested in hundreds of millions of volumes across decades; however, I believe the best means of tacking such a subject is to pick representative or demonstrative examples and build arguments from there. This is a pandemic and war dissertation – it was written between March 2020 and November 2022 – so the prevalence of primary material is somewhat less than I would have ideally liked. However, I still try to balance these two poles in the pursuit of argumentative clarity and maximum insight.

Chapter Overview

The dissertation is separated into two halves, each of which describes a work archetype: the first two chapters and the latter two.

The first section deals with tamizdat. Chapter one fundamentally pursues a new definition of this form, building its lens through a close study of several of the phenomenon's most famous examples. Rather than treating tamizdat as an agglomeration of texts, as scholars have done for the past few decades, I show that this phenomenon is much better understood as a type of book: what I call the "tamizdat-work." I show that this form was meant to disguise the nature of anti-Soviet texts, allowing their smuggling into the USSR through a coterie of strategies that I term masquerade.

Chapter two is devoted to a taxonomy of the tamizdat-work. I show that the awareness necessary to effect this masquerade was akin to a postmodern revolution within book publishing, and that the response of Soviet border guards to these volumes offers valuable insight into the generic conventions associated with the Soviet book. Consequently, I break examples of tamizdat into their constituent forms, analyzing their poetics and attempting to extract how they tricked their intended targets into allowing passage across Soviet borders.

The latter half of the dissertation is devoted to the Soviet book. Chapter three justifies why the USSR needed to create a book form capable of warping interpretation, exploring why the regime did not simply resort to publishing pro-communist texts. As I show, the intersection of ideological, editorial, and economic considerations created a climate in which the publication of foreign and classical Russian literature was not only possible but necessary. In these circumstances, publishers needed to find a way to justify texts written under the tsarist regime and abroad – i.e. non-Soviet texts – as exemplars of Soviet dogma.

This pressure led to the creation of the "Soviet book," defined and discussed in chapter four. This apparatus interpolated texts and outputted Soviet dogma. As I show, this was a decided unified object, a stark distinction against Western books, and a carefully designed form.

My discussion of the Soviet book includes an analysis of its main two levels, the paratextual *apparat* and the physical *oformlenie*, and demonstrates how this dyadic structure aimed to shape the ideological landscape of Soviet literature and Soviet culture *writ large*.

Chapter 1: Tamizdat as Masquerade

Writing in 1978, Dmitry Pospielovsky argued that contemporaneous Soviet readers consumed three types of books – gosizdat, samizdat, and tamizdat.[1] Of these, the former categories are likely familiar; respectively referring to state-published literature and hand-copied texts, gosizdat and samizdat have been extensively researched over the last half-century. Conversely, the latter category may be less well-known; tamizdat has enjoyed less scholarly attention. A pun on samizdat, tamizdat refers to the Western publication of books deemed impermissible within the Soviet Union. As implied by Pospielovsky, who locates these books within the USSR, such publication was conducted with the intention of smuggling volumes into the Soviet Union. To this end, tamizdat volumes were transmitted *en masse* across the Soviet border, thereby conveying illicit texts to Russian audiences.[2] This practice was surprisingly widespread; the sequence described above corresponds to the trajectory for dozens of prominent twentieth-century texts, including *Doktor Zhivago*, *Arkhipelag Gulag*, and *Vernyi Ruslan* among others. Indeed, by the late 1970s, tamizdat became the predominant means for circulating banned texts to Soviet readers, even overtaking its better-known cousin samizdat. Accordingly, tamizdat was a critical literary practice; it alone served as the major means of dissemination for a generation of anti-Soviet texts.

Since the 1970s, various Slavists have attempted to systematically define this phenomenon. In general, scholars have directly linked tamizdat with texts smuggled out of the

[1] Pospielovsky, D. "From Gosizdat to Samizdat and Tamizdat." *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 20, no. 1 (March 1978): 44.

[2] Tamizdat was a transnational phenomenon, consisting of books transmitted to a variety of audiences across Eastern Europe. Like Pospielovsky, though, I will limit myself to discussing Russian tamizdat within this chapter. This is for a variety of reasons, but two are critical. First, insofar as this dissertation is aimed at understanding the *Russian* book, a discussion of non-Russian tamizdat would be a distraction from our main topic. Secondly, as we will see, Russian tamizdat had to confront unique challenges that engendered a unique form – one more than worthy of study in its own right.

Soviet Union for foreign printing and dissemination. Considering the description provided above, this perspective may seem somewhat intuitive, and, indeed, this formulation – or various permutations upon it – continues to be ubiquitous to this day. Unfortunately, this same schema is also deeply lacking; when used in practice, it quickly betrays clear limitations, lacunae, and logical contradictions. Despite this fact, these same studies are still useful; they implicitly use "tamizdat" to refer to a clear group of books exhibiting a common and distinct structure. As I will show, this heretofore ignored element constitutes the best – and only – means of defining and understanding tamizdat, its most distinctive and meaningful feature. In short, I term this form – a type of book – the "tamizdat-work."

This chapter is devoted to identifying and exploring this class, one of the fundamental archetypes for Russians books of the 1960s and 1970s. The first section is occupied with delineating this form and distinguishing it from other, adjacent types of books. To do so, I use a well-known case study – the early publication history of *Arkhipelag Gulag*. Not only does this example provide a clear illustration of the tamizdat-work, but it also underscores an important conclusion – those features that comprise tamizdat are not always discernible via textual analysis. Rather, the locus of tamizdat resides in the work, an amalgam of linguistic, customary, and physical features. In the end, this observation leads us to our overarching definition of tamizdat – illicit works created in the West for the benefit of a Soviet intended reader.

With this definition in tow, I commence a lengthy apologetic for my novel formulation, demonstrating why it ought to make more sense than previous definitions of tamizdat. Building upon the observation that texts are loosely related to specific reading publics while works are direct reflections of particular readerships, I show that tamizdat - a historical phenomenon bound to a specific, *Soviet* audience – is better described by a group of works than a collection of texts.

To underscore this point, I show that any single, group, or type of text ought not and cannot correspond to any reasonable notion of tamizdat. Instead, I demonstrate that tamizdat *must* be understood as a type of book, a container that draws upon – but does not exhaust – texts.

After making this point, I transition into a more formal enumeration of my definition of tamizdat. Though, by the conclusion of the preceding conversation, we understand that tamizdat constitutes a type of work, we still at this point have no notion of its particular characteristics. To rectify this lacuna, I describe the tamizdat-work's fundamental project – facilitating smuggling during confrontations with Soviet border guards – and show how this interaction catalyzed a particular material form. Specifically, the tamizdat-work aimed to disguise textual content as a means of transmitting books into a hostile polity. This dynamic – which I term *masquerade* – produces a radical split between the reading imparted by the work and the meaning of the text; it alone constitutes the tamizdat-work's basic pattern.

With my definition fully enumerated, I then transition to an exploration of its implications. First, I explain why preexisting scholarship on tamizdat has heretofore been largely deficient; through a detailed survey of work on this subject, I show that tamizdat has universally been conceived of as text, which has had catastrophic implications for the scope and scale of tamizdat studies. To underscore how this axiom lead to argumentative malformation, I explore the specific shortcomings inherent to understanding tamizdat as text and demonstrate how my formulation corrects these issues.

Finally, I end my chapter with a discussion of the implications and insights ripe within our new understanding of tamizdat. I show how tamizdat's relationship between work and text generated, in practice, what may be the movement's greatest distinctiveness – its radical reconsideration of norms undergirding book publishing, resembling a postmodern revolution

within bibliographic practice. In turn, I show how these forms demonstrate that works can be radically distinct from texts, a dynamic potentially present *within any and all books*. I end on this point and use it to segue into my next chapter, where explorations of specific tamizdat-works are used to decode the import of the work broadly construed.

1.1: An Introduction to Tamizdat

Though a pre-history has been proposed, tamizdat is typically interpreted as beginning with the 1957 publication of Boris Pasternak's *Doktor Zhivago*.[3] This novel, Pasternak's magnum opus, had originally been intended for distribution within the USSR; resistance to the text's anti-Soviet themes, however, stymied these plans at the last minute.[4] Believing in the value of his text, the author reacted to this setback by deciding to promulgate *Zhivago* via any means necessary, eventually accepting an offer to secret the text out of the Soviet Union for

[3] Pospielovsky argues that the foreign publication of Pil'niak's *Krasnoe derevo* and Zamiatin's *My* provides an early pre-history for tamizdat. However, this argument is fundamentally misleading. Due to the widespread destruction of Soviet paper mills during the Civil War, foreign publication during the 1920s was a mundane and sanctioned practice; in fact, the first edition of Pil'niak's *Golyi god* was published in Germany by Grzhebin, a firm split between Berlin and Leningrad. In turn, the products of this exchange (i.e. the works generated by this dynamic) were fairly normal, exhibiting none of the vibrancy or oddity characterizing the tamizdat-work. Thus, though the rationale for sending *Krasnoe derevo* and *My* abroad for publication may have been exceptional, the means of doing so were not, lacking the "cloaks and daggers" that defined tamizdat. See Pospielovsky 46.

This being said, Finn and Couvee call attention to the fact that Pasternak lived next-door to Pil'niak during the 1920s, meaning that *Zhivago*'s author was likely aware of – and may have been inspired by – Pil'niak's stratagem. See Finn, Peter, and Petra Couvée. *The Zhivago Affair: The Kremlin, the CIA, and the Battle over a Forbidden Book*. New York: Vintage Books, 2015: 8-10.

For an example of tamizdat's inauguration being conflated with the publication of *Zhivago*, see Kasack, Wolfgang. "Tamizdat." In *Leksikon russkoi literatury XX veka*, 410–14. Moskva: RIK "Kul'tura," 1996:. 410.

[4] Plans for the novel's publication within the USSR were advanced before being abandoned; Radio Moskva announced *Zhivago*'s domestic imminent publication during April 1956. See Mancosu, Paolo. *Inside the "Zhivago" Storm: The Editorial Adventures of Pasternak's Masterpiece*. First edition. Annali / Fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrinelli 47. Milano: Feltrinelli, 2013. 17-18.

printing in Milan.[5] This stratagem turned out to be wildly successful. After its publication in Italy, *Zhivago* became an international sensation, generating dozens of translations, inspiring a film adaptation, and earning Pasternak the Nobel Prize.[6]

Beyond merely earning global renown, however, *Zhivago*'s publication *in absentia* also allowed for the novel to confront its originally-intended – i.e. Soviet – readership. In personal remarks, Pasternak was clear that he had written his text for a Russian audience; publishing abroad was a simple act of necessity.[7] Soon after the novel became available in the West, however, publishers realized that they could exploit newfound access to Pasternak's text to print *Zhivago* within marked volumes – books intended for smuggling into the USSR.[8] Publication of such tomes, and subsequent efforts to transmit these works to the Soviet Union, achieved a fair degree of success; the text soon became accessible within the USSR and eventually enjoyed a wide readership among the Soviet intelligentsia.[9] Thus, while *Zhivago*'s publication in Italy originally represented "publication for publication's sake," it eventually led to an outcome of a vastly different sort. *Doktor Zhivago*'s experience in tamizdat demonstrated that foreign publication could be a powerful tool for granting Russian audiences access to otherwise-unavailable material, a means of allowing banned texts access to the light of day.

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[5] In his own words, Pasternak's rationale was that "[i]deas are born not to be hidden or stifled but in order to be communicated to others," thus necessitating the dissemination of his finished, philosophic text. See Mancosu 2013 208-209.

[6] Of course, Pasternak eventually declined the prize.

[7] Pasternak, Boris Leonidovich. *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii s prilozhenii͡ami: v odinnadt͡sati tomakh*. Edited by Diana Vartkesovna Tevekelian. Vol. 11. 11 vols. Moskva: Slovo, 2003: 285.

[8] Specifically, the CIA believed that allowing Soviet readers to read Pasternak's text could be a powerful tool for undermining faith in the Soviet system. For the volumes in question (the 1958 Mouton and the 1959 Mondiale editions), see Mancosu 2013 126-135, Mancosu, Paolo. *Zhivago's Secret Journey: From Typescript to Book*. Hoover Institution Press Publication, no. 670. Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 2016: 131-132.

[9] Danchenko, Nonna. "'Doctor Zhivago' Revisited - Afterthoughts on the Novel's Publication in Russia." *New Zealand Slavonic Journal*, 1997: 240.

Encouraged by *Zhivago* – alongside similar such examples – numerous authors began to smuggle literature out of the Soviet Union for publication in tamizdat during the 1960s and 1970s. Most of these writers were not deluded by illusions of commercial grandeur, but instead, like with *Zhivago*, believed that publication abroad could help transmit texts to a domestic audience. At a point, this tactic became almost commonplace; one expert estimated that roughly two thousand texts intended for tamizdat reached the West between 1965 and 1975.[10] The actual volume of literature employed in this practice, however, was even greater; the efforts of Soviet authors were complemented by the labors of western publishers, who supplemented the above texts with copies of *1984*, *Lolita*, *L'etranger*, and other works. [11] Eventually, tamizdat achieved a level of ubiquity where the practice threatened to eclipse the other, perhaps better-known stratagem for circulating banned texts within the USSR – samizdat. As opposed to the practice of hand-copying [typing] manuscripts, which both limited textual dissemination and frequently engendered errors (hand-copying was slow, laborious, difficult, and an extremely limited means of replication), tamizdat allowed authors to transmit static texts (i.e. single editions) to wide audiences through identical books printed in relatively large print runs.[12] To this end, Georgii Vladimov, a writer who published in both samizdat and tamizdat, wrote in 1977 that: "ten years

[10] Reddaway, Peter. "The Development of Dissent and Opposition." In *The Soviet Union since the Fall of Khrushchev*, edited by Archie Brown and Michael Kaser. London and Basingstroke: The Macmillian Press, 1975. 122; "HU OSA 300-85 Samizdat Archives," OSA Archive, n.d., https://catalog.osaarchivum.org/catalog/jDen7kVB.
[11] Ivan Tolstoy devotes much of an article to researching the importance and provenance of these books; see Tolstoy, I. N. "Platforma dlia 'tamizdata': k postanovke temy." In *Izdatel'skoe delo rossiiskogo zarubezh'ia: XIX-XX vv.*, edited by P. A. Tribunskii, 46–59. Moskva: Dom russkogo zarubezh'ia im. Aleksandra Solzhenitsyna, 2017.
[12] Kind-Kovács, Friederike. *Written Here, Published There: How Underground Literature Crossed the Iron Curtain*. Budapest ; New York: Central European University Press, 2014: 8.

Also, don't get carried away with the term "relatively large print run;" two thousand volumes was a sizable number for tamizdat, which pales in comparison to any reasonable gosizdat edition.

ago…I spoke of the dawning of an epoch of samizdat – and now it is coming to an end, another, longer-lasting one is breaking – the epoch of tamizdat."[13]

Given the scale of this effort, tamizdat was unsurprisingly supported by a cottage industry based around publishing and printing its books. Geographically, these efforts were mainly centered in Paris, Munich, and New York, though tamizdat was produced as far afield as Argentina or Australia. The firms operating within this industry represented a variety of enterprises, but, generally speaking, they could be partitioned into two overarching groups. On one hand, much of tamizdat was produced by émigré organizations – for example, Posev in Munich, YMCA in Paris, or ILLA in Washington D.C. These firms, which collectively published many of tamizdat's most notable works (e.g. *Shkola dlia durakov*, *Govorit Moskva*, and *Rakovyi korpus*), typically had their origins in right-leaning political groups formed after the Russian Civil and Second World Wars. These bodies (like NTS or TsOPE) generally saw tamizdat as a political tactic; they believed that smuggling literature into the USSR could be a powerful means of undermining the Bolshevik regime.[14]

On the other hand, tamizdat was also produced by more conventional publishers – like Mouton, Praeger, and Harper & Rowe – alongside numerous "boutique" organizations, such as Société d'Edition et d'Impression Mondiale or the Bedford Press. At first glance, this may seem like a scattershot group of unrelated entities; these firms, however, share a crucial quality – they (or particular editions of theirs) were financed by the Central Intelligence Agency. In his monograph *Hot Books in the Cold War*, Alfred A. Reisch, himself a former CIA operative, describes the CIA's efforts to accomplish this goal; beginning with clumsy attempts conducted in

[13] Vladimov, Georgii N. *Sobranie sochinenii: v chetyrekh tomach*. Vol. 4. 4 vols. Moskva: NFQ / 2 Print, 1998: 150.
[14] See, for instance, *NTS: Mysl' i delo*. Vol. 4. Biblioteka Rossievedeniia. Moskva: Posev, 2000. 54.

the wake of World War II to send pamphlets to Czechoslovakia via balloons, the CIA's book smuggling program was professionalized in the 1950s under the auspices of the Free Europe Committee, where it was led by Sam Walker, a Yale-trained intelligence operative, and, later, George Minden, a dapper Romanian expatriate.[15] Describing his efforts in a 1956 memorandum, Walker wrote that the FEC intended:

> "to prevent absorption and preserve essential nationhood [within Eastern Europe]; to reduce reliability by reinforcing links with the West; to decrease economic contribution by increasing consumer goods; to destroy isolation and apathy, stimulate ideas and thinking, and maintain people as an active political factor; and to prevent false hopes and illusions."[16]

In short, the CIA, like the émigré organizations mentioned above, saw tamizdat as a potent tool for propagandizing anti-Soviet ideology.

In practice, the FEC primarily conducted direct mailings of various scientific, artistic, and cultural texts to intellectuals within Eastern Europe. Unfortunately, it soon became clear that this practice was ineffective for the Soviet Union; Soviet postal censors, who were far more diligent than their Warsaw Pact counterparts, intercepted nearly all such volumes sent via the mail. Accordingly, an organization – the "Bedford Press" – was spun off to grapple with the particular challenges inherent in transmitting tamizdat to the USSR. This organization was far more secretive than the FEC; to this day, its archive is unknown, and most knowledge relating to its activities come from a handful of short articles written by its former operatives. Despite this circumstance, however, Ivan Tolstoy has attempted to enumerate those volumes printed by Bedford and its front-organizations. In his estimation, the firm published dozens of prominent

[15] Reisch, Alfred A. Hot Books in the Cold War: The CIA-Funded Secret Book Distribution Program behind the Iron Curtain. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013: 9.
[16] Ibid 16.

works including editions of *1984*, *Dublintsy*, and *Zashchita Luzhina*, rendering it a major player within the tamizdat field.[17]

In addition, the CIA made vast efforts to finance the publication of tamizdat by other, non-CIA firms. American money was ubiquitous across the tamizdat world, underwriting major volumes such as ILLA's *Govorit Moskva, Fantasticheskii mir Abrama Tertsa*, or Mandel'shtam's 1964 *Sobranie sochienii*. Some scholars – such as Ann Komaromi – have attempted to discount this situation, arguing that it had little impact on the literary qualities of the texts published via this practice.[18] This assessment, however, is deeply incorrect. CIA funds allowed for the *existence* of these books; without American money, volumes such as Mandel'shtam's collected works – a crucial scholarly resource– would have never been financially viable and would have consequently never been either compiled or printed. Further, CIA money came with stipulations; generally, the organization required that the books it underwrote be smuggled into the Soviet Union. In other words, the presence of these funds not only brought tamizdat volumes into existence but dictated their physical distribution. In turn, this meant that these books confronted a certain, *Soviet*, audience, readers that potentially never would have had access to these texts without the CIA's mandate.

Thus, CIA money was central to tamizdat – but it is important to emphasize that this practice was broader than an intelligence operation alone. Over the decades, tamizdat produced hundreds of prominent books while simultaneously containing a deeply surreptitious streak, granting Soviet audiences access to clandestine and highly demanded books. Despite its

[17] Tolstoy 57-59.
[18] Komaromi, A. "Ardis Facsimile and Reprint Editions." In *Samizdat, Tamizdat, and Beyond*, Studies in Contemporary European History. New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2013. 39.

importance, however, tamizdat remains ill-understood to this day. Those few studies that have advanced frameworks for the phenomenon either blur its boundaries or conflate it with other practices. Early research, in focusing on the Western printing of Russian texts, confused tamizdat with émigré literature; other studies, tackling the foreign publication of Soviet manuscripts, rendered tamizdat an offshoot of samizdat; and recent scholarship, which emphasizes the practice of secreting manuscripts, tends to minimize those books constituting tamizdat's alpha and omega.[19] In other words, tamizdat scholarship has collectively failed to either clarify the phenomenon or grant us a substantive understanding of its output.

To help fill these lacunae and develop a more productive approach for the field, I will develop a new framework for tamizdat via a famous case-study – the first edition of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *Arkhipelag Gulag*. First issued in Paris on December 28, 1973, Solzhenitsyn repeatedly likened the publication of this book to an explosion of a bomb – an apt metaphor, given the tome's reception.[20] After its publication by the YMCA-Press, *Gulag*, like *Zhivago*, quickly became an international sensation, setting a new global record for multilingual book sales.[21] Indeed, *Gulag* achieved such renown that it transcended its status as a text; YMCA's well-known Russian edition of the work, a weighty volume fronted by a black-and-white image of a prison scene, was contemporaneously treated as a bibliographic icon. In the words of Nikita Struve, YMCA's head during the 1970s, "[*Gulag*] was bought even by those who did not read or practically did not read Russian as an object, as a relic."[22] Further, when the text was broadcast

[19] For an example of these fallacies, see Pospielovsky, Labov, and Kind-Kovacs respectively. This critique will be continued after I have enumerated my definition of tamizdat, given that my framework speaks to the axiomatic deficiency of these studies.
[20] Scammell, Michael. *Solzhenitsyn: A Biography*. New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, 1984: 379; Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. *Invisible Allies*. Washington, D.C.: Counterpoint, 1995. 47, for example.
[21] Malia, Martin. "A War on Two Fronts: Solzhenitsyn and *The Gulag Archipelago*." *The Russian Review* 36, no. 1 (January 1977): 46-47.
[22] Kartashev, A. V., and N. A. Struve. *70 let izdatel'stva "YMCA-Press."* Paris: YMCA-Press, 1990: 31.

via Radio Liberty, the announcer began with a meticulous description of the YMCA *Gulag*, including an account of its cover and a lengthy reading of its imprint.[23]

What is lost in this narrative is that YMCA's iconic paperback constitutes merely one of four books from *Gulag*'s first edition.[24] Alongside the aforementioned book, YMCA issued a separate Russian-language version of *Gulag*, a smaller, svelter tome bound in brown plastic.[25] Further, across the English Channel, a British publisher named Alec Flegon simultaneously issued two versions of the text himself. Both English books were effectively photocopies of the French original but distinguished themselves through their imprints. The first replaced YMCA's imprimatur with that of Flegon's own publishing house, the Flegon Press; the second did away with western colophons altogether, positioning the book as a product of the Soviet publishing house *Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury*.[26]

When these books are subject to a comparative analysis, they quickly subdivide into two groups – volumes meant for western consumption and those intended for a Soviet audience. When we analyze how this orientation differentiates these volumes and explore how these separate audiences manifest within these books, we discern a systematic form, a heretofore ignored feature that distinguishes tamizdat. In short, I hope to use this example in order to demonstrate irrevocably that tamizdat is a type *of work*. Before we can develop this idea, however, we need to spend some time with the saga of the four *Gulag*s – which, as we will see, presents a deeply interesting and valuable case study for developing this idea.

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[23] Vinogradov, Aleksandr. "Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Arkhipelag GULAG, Volume 1. Program 1." Munich: Radio Liberty, January 5, 1974. HSU OSA 297. Open Society Archive.
[24] Describing all of these books as a single edition may be a liberal use of the term, but their identical contents, combined with a near-simultaneous appearance on the market, renders this an apt description.
[25] Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. *Arkhipelag GULag*. Small format. Paris: YMCA-Press, 1973.
[26] Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. *Arkhipelag GULag*. London: Flegon Press, 1973; Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. *Arkhipelag GULag*. Moskva [London]: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury [Flegon Press], 1973.

1.2: The Curious Tale of the Four *Gulag*s

1.2.1: The YMCA *Gulag*s

As with *Doktor Zhivago*, *Arkhipelag Gulag*'s publication in 1973 was an act of desperation. Unlike Pasternak, however, Solzhenitsyn never believed he would be able to print his text within the USSR. Instead, after completing *Gulag* in 1968, the author spent several years vacillating with plans for the work, ultimately deciding to coordinate its publication with that of its translations.[27] Unfortunately, Solzhenitsyn's hand was forced before this plan was able to be put into effect. In September 1973, the KGB arrested Elizaveta Voronyanskaya, one of Solzhenitsyn's typists, and seized one of *Gulag*'s few manuscripts. As a result, Voronyanskaya committed suicide and the KGB gained access to Solzhenitsyn's magnum opus.[28] Fearing that state security would either restrict access to his work or publish a bastardized edition of the text themselves – as they had done with Svetlana Allielueva's memoirs – the author felt compelled to accelerate production of his book. [29] Solzhenitsyn spent the remainder of 1973 engaged in feverish labor, hastily preparing his manuscript for a speedy publication.

As a part of this effort, Solzhenitsyn remained in close contact with his publisher – the YMCA-Press. Since his days as a young writer, Solzhenitsyn had greatly admired YMCA for printing Berdyaev, Shestov, and other religious thinkers during the immediate post-revolutionary period, thereby helping to preserve the intellectual heritage of Russian Christianity. When it became impossible for the author to publish within the USSR, then, Solzhenitsyn quickly thought to turn to this firm, granting them the publication rights to his works.[30] By 1973, he had

[27] Scammell 813-14.
[28] Ibid 815.
[29] Solzhenitsyn *Allies* 237, 245-246.
[30] Kartashev 30; Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. "Ugodilo zernyshko promezh dvukh zhernovov. Ocherki izdnaniia. Chast' pervaia (1974-1978)." *Novyi mir* 881, no. 9: 100.

already issued *Rakovyi korpus*, *Avgust 14*, and several other texts through the publisher, and had even become deeply engaged within their operations. In the case of *Gulag*, Solzhenitsyn's encounter with the KGB shocked him into pushing for sheer speed; at one point, he went as far as to suggest that YMCA simply issue a photocopy of *Gulag*'s typescript.[31] As an attempt to assuage this anxiety, Nikita Struve, Solzhenitsyn's closest contact in Paris, guaranteed that he could produce a fully-adorned work by the end of the year.[32] Presented with this promise, the author acquiesced. Struve was allowed to proceed with his plans for *Gulag* unimpeded.

The publisher eventually fulfilled his pledge with the slimmest of margins to spare. Three days before the end of 1973, YMCA released the first edition of *Arkhipelag Gulag* – Solzhenitsyn's aforementioned "explosion." In fact, Struve had expended the preceding three months more effectively than Solzhenitsyn could have imagined; during those twelve weeks, the publisher managed to manufacture not one, but two separate versions of the work. As recounted by A. L. Gurevich; a historian of YMCA, "[m]any of A. I. Solzhenitsyn's books were published in several versions: in hardcover by subscription, in softcover for retail, and in a pocket format."[33] Though I know of no hardcover edition, the latter categories correspond neatly to the two volumes produced by Struve during late 1973.

The first, iconic incarnation of Solzhenitsyn's text was printed in a large, soft-cover edition meant for commercial sale. Clad in a red, grey, and white cover depicting a prison scene and weighing a hefty six hundred and fifty-three grams, the book constitutes a formidable presence.[34] This is bolstered by the work's physical dimensions, measuring nineteen by fourteen

[31] Solzhenitsyn *Allies* 245.
[32] Solzhenitsyn *Ugodilo* 100; Solzhenitsyn *Allies* 245.
[33] Gurevich, A. L. *Istoriia izdatel'stva "YMCA Press."* Moskva: Kompaniia "Sputnik," 2004. 12
[34] Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. *Arkhipelag GULag*. Paris: YMCA-Press, 1973.; I weighed the volume on my kitchen scale.

by three centimeters. In a word, the book is big – a size which found poetic resonance in the work's print run. Both Solzhenitsyn and Struve recount that the book's first impression ran fifty thousand copies – in Struve's words, an "unprecedented print run within the emigration."[35] In the process of recollection, Struve and Solzhenitsyn may have overstepped reality; a contemporaneous deposition by Ivan Morozov, the director of the YMCA Press, records that the actual run of this version was only fifteen thousand books.[36] However, given the typical print run size of émigré work, this does not substantially detract from Struve's and Solzhenitsyn's point. For its time, *Gulag* had a large footprint in every sense of the word.

Alongside this edition, YMCA simultaneously issued a second version of Solzhenitsyn's text.[37] From an immediate visual inspection, it is obvious that the book differs from the paperback version discussed above. Instead of the white, grey, and red pictorial cover, this work is bound in a brownish plastic, adorned only by Solzhenitsyn's name, the title of the book, and asterisks representing the work's position within *Gulag*'s three-volume sequence.[38] Further, this version is noticeably smaller than the aforementioned edition, measuring 15.2 by 11.2 centimeters and weighing two hundred and twenty grams.[39] This reduction in weight is explained

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[35] Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. *Between Two Millstones*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2018. 95; Kartashev and Struve 31.

[36] Morozov, Ivan. "Deposition of Ivan Morozov in Solzhenitsyn v Flegon," 1974. Box 4. Alec Flegon papers, ca. 1956-2003, Houghton Library, Harvard University. 17.

[37] More accurately, this edition actually constitutes the first impression of the text – Morozov recounts that two thousand copies of the pocket edition were printed as a first run, and the fifteen thousand paperback copies, alongside three thousand additional pocket-books, were only produced after printing errors in the first run had been corrected. See Morozov ibid.

Solzhenitsyn describes receiving a copy of the YMCA text in Moscow and correcting spelling errors in his memoirs (presumably dating to early 1975) – it seems likely that he was referring to these changes. See Solzhenitsyn Millstone 95.

[38] As an aside, when Solzhenitsyn published another pocket edition of *Gulag* in 1989, he retained this asterisk schema.

[39] juri_tallinn. "Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn ARKHIPELAG GULAG. Izd. YMCA-PRESS, Parizh 1973 PERVOE IZDANIE." *eBay* (auction site). Accessed December 2, 2019.

The seller records the weight of the books as four hundred and forty grams. Given that he is selling two volumes, it seems likely that each volume weighs two hundred and twenty grams (I assume he is providing the weight for

both by the book's smaller size and by its use of bible paper, which Morozov notably juxtaposed against the paperback edition's "normal paper."[40]

From mere bibliographic attributes, this second version of the book seems markedly inferior to the first. Its bible paper was fragile; its font difficult to read; and the first version of the book, though large, was still portable, depriving the latter version of that unique utility.[41] Importantly, even its text was identical to that of its larger brother. Beyond a smaller font, the contents of the pocket-book conform in every way to the other work, even replicating YMCA's colophon down to the copyright sign. Simply put, there was no informational benefit to be derived by reading the pocket-book instead of its paperback alternative. Gurevich, however, gestures towards why YMCA chose to produce such a volume. In his text, he writes that the press printed pocket-books "for the facilitation of shipment [*perepravka*] to Russia."[42]

Though it may seem obvious, Gurevich strikes at the heart of the matter. Though unified through a common text, these two volumes differ in terms of *potentiality*; while these works provide identical information, they allow for different sets of agencies. In this vein, the thought of Bruno Latour is particularly helpful. In *Pandora's Hope*, Latour offers a schema for how

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shipping purposes). This is getting ahead of myself, but the fact that this book is being sold from Estonia demonstrates that it was successful in its program. Also, I personally find it wonderful that this seller provides enough photos and information to elevate his listing to the best source of information currently available on this book.

[40] Morozov ibid

[41] A desire for portability, incidentally, was the first impetus towards bibliographic miniaturization. See Febvre, Lucien, and Henri-Jean Martin. "The Book: Its Visual Appearance." In *The Broadview Reader in Book History*, 15–36. Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2015. 25.

[42] Gurevich ibid. Of course, YMCA was not the first organization to have this idea. As early as 1950, D. P. Poremskii, a member of the Russian émigré group NTS, suggested printing pocket-books as a means of smuggling texts into the USSR. In the late fifties, *Doktor Zhivago*, a book frequently framed as inaugurating tamizdat's mature era, was published in miniature by the infamous Societe d'Edition et d'Impression Mondiale (read: CIA). By the late 1960s, even Solzhenitsyn's texts were being subjected to this treatment; Ann Komaromi records that "Possev [a branch of NTS] did a whole series of pocket-size editions, including Solzhenitsyn's *Rakovyi korpus* (*The Cancer Ward*, 1968, 14.5 cm), and an edition of the six-volume collected works of Solzhenitsyn in Russian (*Sobranie sochinenii*, 2nd ed., 1971, 15 centimeters) as part of a targeted campaign to distribute prohibited literature clandestinely within the Soviet Union." See: *NTS: Mysl' i delo* 54; Pospielovsky 48; Komaromi 2013 35.

humans and objects interact; rejecting this very terminology, Latour argues that both "humans" and "nonhumans" can be "actants," or beings capable of various sets of actions. Latour is more interested in complexes of actants rather than individual actants, however. Concentrating on how combinations of actants are greater than the sum of their parts, he writes "[w]ho preforms [an] action? Agent 1 plus Agent 2 plus Agent 3… Action is simply not a property of humans *but of an association of actants* [italics original]…Provisional 'actorial' roles may be attributed to actants only because actants are in the process of exchanging competences, offering one another new possibilities, new goals, new functions."[43]

To unpack this quote, Latour implies that humans and nonhumans combine capacities to achieve goals that would otherwise be individually unobtainable. His example is of a B-52 in flight – a Boeing warplane cannot direct itself, and a human cannot alight themselves without the aid of an aircraft.[44] Conversely, not every actant pairing lends itself to any given action. No matter how much one desires to fly, an energy drink will not actually grant one wings. All of this is to say that, for Latour, a human/nonhuman amalgam has access to a range of actions greater than the sum of their individual potentialities – but, importantly, do not have access to any action whatsoever.

Applying this framework to the matter at hand, the combination of human and pocket-book facilitates a different set of agencies than that of human and paperback book. Due to the status of Solzhenitsyn's text, there was no way for legally importing *Gulag* into the USSR. Given Gurevich's description of the pocket-book, however, YMCA clearly intended to transmit

[43] Latour, Bruno. *Pandora's Hope*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1999. 182.
[44] Latour eventually broadens his lens to the entire set of actants that make flight possible; in his words "B-52s do not fly, the U.S. Air Force flies." See ibid.

Gulag beyond Soviet borders.[45] The eventual – and time-tested – solution for this dilemma was to transport the book via "carrier-pigeons," who assumed personal risk by escorting tomes into the Soviet Union.[46] Given the limited number of such trips, maximizing the number of volumes transported per run was of critical importance; further, for these trips to be made successful, the books under escort – as the main vector for risk – were best if made inconspicuous. The agencies allowed for by the pocket-book clearly speak to both of these priorities. Specifically, this tome was less than half the volume of its larger companion, allowing it to either be transported in large numbers or secreted in small spaces – such as, in one memorable instance, within a baby's diaper.[47] Needless to say, either of these stratagems would be impossible in conjunction with the unwieldy paperback tome.[48]

Thus, the pocket-book presents a distinct set of agencies as compared to its larger brother. It is crucial, though, that these actions were both purposefully chosen and geographically marked. The pocket-edition should not be seen as a curiosity or as an object meant for a generic audience; instead, as Gurevich implies, it was a means of accessing a Soviet intended readership. While a paperback/post hybrid was sufficient for transmitting *Gulag* to the majority of the globe, the pocket-book/courier amalgam was uniquely adept at placing this text into the hands of Soviet readers. In other words, this dynamic underscores that the pocket-book was solely meant for Soviet consumers. The paperback was superior to the pocket-book in terms of facilitating consumption, and the pocket-book's utility is tied to a single action – moving the text from Western Europe to the USSR. Thus, the pocket-book's publication speaks to a particular desire

[45] Other institutions joined in this initiative; not only did Alec Flegon, as will be discussed, work towards similar ends, but others – such as the CIA – attempted similar programs. See Reisch 510.
[46] Kind-Kovacs 220.
[47] Reisch, Alfred A. *Hot Books in the Cold War: The CIA-Funded Secret Book Distribution Program behind the Iron Curtain*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013: 513.
[48] Put simply, the paperback volume would occupy more volume within a diaper than the baby itself.

to confront a Soviet readership. Alternatively stated, its existence is a mark of editorial praxis conducted solely for the benefit of a Soviet intended reader – which, as we will see, broadly distinguishes tamizdat itself.

1.2.2: The Flegon *Gulag*s

Two separate, nearly contemporaneous editions of *Gulag* offer an intriguing parallel to the dynamic traced above. On February 13, 1974, an edition of *Gulag* went on sale in Foyle's Bookshop in London.[49] Beyond a new cover – now a brownish sheet of paper with only title and author – this book was functionally identical to the YMCA edition. In fact, it was a photocopy of the Parisian paperback, even retaining the same dimensions as the original. However, these books differed from each other in one important respect. On the third page of the London edition, instead of YMCA's imprint, the words "Flegon Press" were prominently splayed across the bottom of the page.

Of course, this edition was issued by the inimitable Alec Flegon. This was not Flegon's first instance of photocopying Solzhenitsyn's prose. Writing in his eight-hundred-page autobiography *cum* screed against Solzhenitsyn, Flegon explains why he engaged in such blatant copyright violation.[50] The root of the matter was an agreement between Flegon and Ivan Morozov, head of the YMCA Press; in 1968, the publishers had agreed to divide manuscripts exiting the Soviet Union between their two presses.[51] In fact, as a consequence of this, Flegon

[49] Davies, Stanley. "Deposition of Stanley Davies in Solzhenitsyn v Flegon," 1974. Box 4. Alec Flegon papers, ca. 1956-2003, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
[50] I really cannot stress enough how crazy this book is. Flegon ends his work with a one-hundred-and-fifty-page trial scene against Solzhenitsyn, presided over by Vyshinsky, where he calls Dostoevsky, Camus, Daniel Ellsberg, and Aleksandr Tvardovsky to the stand!
[51] Flegon, Alec. *A. Solzhenitsyn: Myth & Reality*. London: Flegon Press, 1984. 11. Apparently this was a real arrangement – Solzhenitsyn refers to it in his memoirs. See Solzhenitsyn *Millstone* 96. Incidentally, in the same text,

apparently allowed YMCA to publish the first edition of *Master i Margarita*, despite possessing a copy of the text himself.[52] However, Morozov soon violated their arrangement by issuing an edition of Solzhenitsyn's *V kruge pervom* after Flegon had done so. Quoted in Flegon's recollections, Morozov claimed that "Solzhenitsyn is such an author that he does not fit into our agreement. We think it our duty to print his books."[53]

Flegon, out for revenge, decided to violate the agreement on his own accord. When YMCA issued *Avgust 14*, Flegon retaliated by "copy[ing] [the] book photographically, supply[ing] it with good illustrations, improv[ing] it with a remarkable dustjacket and cover and put[ting] it on the market at a lower price than 'YMCA Press.'"[54] When YMCA quashed this effort by using a British court to place an injunction on Flegon's publication, the publisher found himself angry and unsatisfied. Judging himself in the right "from a moral and judicial point of view," he decided on a new plan of attack. Learning that *Gulag* was being published by YMCA, Flegon repeated his stunt by photocopying the work and issuing it on the London market. However, like its predecessor, this initiative came to a sudden end. A Pole employed at Flegon's bindery in Paris alerted Morozov to the pirate edition, and YMCA quickly sued the publisher, ceasing Flegon's sale of *Gulag* altogether.[55]

Interestingly, past pure revenge, Flegon framed his piracy as altruism. Observing that Solzhenitsyn had publicly called to make *Gulag* as accessible as possible, Flegon decried YMCA's sale methods, which required buying *Gulag* direct from the publisher. He saw this

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Solzhenitsyn describes Flegon as resembling a "large bat" – ibid 47. Having seen photos of the publisher, this was a rather uncharitable impression.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid 12.

[54] Ibid 12-13.

[55] Ibid 16.

tactic as violating "world norms of honest trade" and as artificially increasing *Gulag's* scarcity.[56] In harping on this, Flegon was not completely off-base; in fact, he was reacting to a real desire of Solzhenitsyn. In the lead-up to December 1973, the author valiantly attempted to minimize the price of the YMCA edition, once describing this effort as his "brainchild."[57] Unfortunately, in early 1974, Flegon writes that "[n]ot a single British bookshop could obtain [*Gulag*]. Workers in the BBC Russian section and British journalists rang their friends in Paris asking them to run down to the 'YMCA' [sic] and send them one copy of 'Gulag.'"[58] In his view, "[t]his situation was in plain contradiction to Solzhenitsyn's statements."[59]

When Flegon "reprinted [*Gulag*] with extraordinary speed" and began to sell it in England, he saw himself as "carr[ying] out [Solzhenitsyn's] desire" by making the book available to a wider public.[60] Flegon even claims to have sold the book at one third of the YMCA price, fulfilling Solzhenitsyn's plan by making *Gulag* available to "Russian émigrés… [who] cannot permit themselves the luxury of buying the book in soft covers [sic] if one paid ten dollars a copy."[61] However, as seen in this quote, this particular version of the book only

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[56] Ibid 15.
[57] Solzhenitsyn *Allies* 235.
[58] Flegon 15.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid 15, 17.
[61] Ibid 17. This aspect of the Flegon edition was so important to the publisher that it became a crucial part of his legal defense against YMCA. See "In the High Court of Justice Chancery Division Group A BETWEEN: La Societe YMCA-Press S.A.R.L and Alexander Isayevich Solzhenitsyn -and- Alec Flegon (Trading as Flegon Press): DEFENCE," June 4, 1972. Box 4. Alec Flegon papers, ca. 1956-2003, Houghton Library, Harvard University. 5.

Flegon's main line of defense revolved around the issue of copyright. The USSR only acceded to the UCC in 1973, and Flegon claimed that all texts written within the USSR before then were not subject to legal protection beyond Soviet borders. Though the court did not accept this argument in this circumstance, his argument had a degree of merit – this is the rationale behind why Flegon was allowed to publish *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* well into the 1970s without Solzhenitsyn's permission. Further, western publishers frequently took advantage of this situation to publish translations of Soviet literature without official permission throughout the 1960s. See Jones, Polly. "The Thaw Goes International: Soviet Literature in Translation and Transit in the 1960s." In *The Socialist Sixties*, edited by Anne E. Gorsuch and Diane P. Koenker, 121–47. Crossing Borders in the Second World. Indiana University Press, 2013.

achieved distribution among an émigré audience. Given its size, its point of sale in a London bookstore, and an imprint clearly demarcating the volume as an English product, Flegon's *Gulag* was subject to the same transportation difficulties as the YMCA paperback. Aware of this deficiency and absolutely committed to the goal of distribution, Flegon took steps to rectify this conundrum. Like YMCA, he eventually came to the conclusion that he would need to issue a second version of the book. Unlike YMCA, however, he chose not to resort to miniaturization. Instead, in his memoirs, he describes his eventual path of action: "I put [*Gulag*] on the British and international markets in two variants. One under the name 'Flegon Press,' the other under the name of a Soviet publishing house so that this book could be brought into the USSR under the noses of the unsuspecting customs."[62]

This latter book was a copy of *Gulag Archipelago* bearing the imprint of the publishing house *Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury*. Externally identical to the Flegon Press edition, and textually identical to all three other versions of *Gulag*, the book bears the imprint of a Soviet publishing house at the bottom of its title page, notably juxtaposed against the slogan "workers of the world, unite!" at the top of the same leaf. [63] On the verso, where all other editions have western colophons, the "political" *Gulag* provides a Soviet colophon, including information such as print run size, printing press, and date of publication. As part of this, the colophon proclaims that the book was "published by decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," and contains a short description of the text:

> "The documents collected in this book illuminate the history of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics – the first multinational socialist state in the world. A significant part of this material is being

[62] Ibid 15-16.

[63] This is to say that the work presents an unedited version of Solzhenitsyn's text and all of his paratexts. Flegon did reorder two of the paratexts, but this seems to have been an attempt to avoid broadcasting that Solzhenitsyn was publishing the work partially against his will – and breaking the diegetic narrative of a Politizdat *Gulag*.

published for the first time. This book is intended [*raschitana*] for teachers, lecturers, propagandists, and for all those who are interested in the history of [our] motherland."[64]

This paragraph, cribbed from the 1972 *Sovetskoe sodruzhestvo narodov*, is clearly meant to be read as farce.[65] Indeed, this is how Solzhenitsyn, at least, read the entire book. In his deposition for the YMCA trial, Solzhenitsyn describes the volume as diegetically absurd, given that his expulsion from the USSR was precipitated by YMCA's publication of *Gulag*. He even goes as far as to describe the book as "ridiculous" and a "cynical joke."[66] Flegon, on the other hand, clearly did not see the book in the same light. In the same trial, he is quoted as stating that he "was only publishing in the first place because [he] wanted to get the material *to the Russian readers* [italics mine]," a desire described by the prosecution as "a very powerful part of his motive, that he wanted to get his material into Russia, get it read by the otherwise deprived readers, that he wanted to combat the Soviet system."[67] Flegon even seems to have succeeded in his efforts – he remarks that he sent a few hundred copies of the book to dissidents behind the iron curtain "free of charge" before he was stymied by legal action, implying that "unsuspecting [Soviet] customs" were actually fooled by his mystification.[68]

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[64] Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. *Arkhipelag GULag*. Moskva [London]: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury [Flegon Press], 1973. [2], taken from *Sovetskoe sodruzhestvo narodov: sbornik dokumentov*. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1972. [2].

[65] More accurately, this description and the *vykhodnye dannye* are taken from *Sodruzhestvo* – the rest of the colophon page is likely clipped from a *Politizdat* publication, but I am uncertain which one.

[66] Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. "Deposition of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn in Solzhenitsyn v Flegon," 1974. Box 4. Alec Flegon papers, ca. 1956-2003, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

It is possible that Solzhenitsyn was simply in a bad mood when he gave this deposition. Having been informed that he had to meet with a lawyer, he writes that he "balk[ed] at this with his entire soul, given that all [he was] yearning to do at this point [was] to begin writing again." Further, when he actually met with the lawyer, he describes himself as being in a "fog" and describes the process of switching from German to English as "sheer torture." See Solzhenitsyn *Millstone* 47.

[67] "YMCA v Flegon Trial Minutes," n.d. Box 2. Alec Flegon papers, ca. 1956-2003, Houghton Library, Harvard University. 42.

[68] DEFENSE 5.

How should we read the tortured saga of the Flegon *Gulag*s? Like YMCA, Flegon seems to have understood two separate facets of Russian-language publishing during the Cold War. First, he realized that both émigré and Soviet audiences exhibited demand for particular texts – here, *Gulag*. Second, he recognized that typical western books – that is, items exhibiting standard western bibliological genres relating to imprint, volume size, etc. – would be physically and politically incapable of confronting a Soviet audience. His memoir is rather explicit here – the fact that he created one volume for British audiences and another for "international" ones speaks to this fact. Instead, while keeping his text constant, Flegon weaponized non-authorial paratexts to create actants capable of confronting Soviet citizens. In other words, he engaged in editorial praxis to create a volume solely for the benefit of Soviet readers – thus engaging, like YMCA, in tamizdat.

1.2.3: An Understanding of Tamizdat

With this example in hand, we are finally ready to develop a definition of tamizdat. As discussed at length, the four books comprising the first edition of *Arkhipelag Gulag* share an identical text – except for varied imprints, they are direct copies of one another. However, as shown above, textual parity should not be construed as connoting absolute parity. Instead, these four volumes neatly divide into two groups. On one hand, both Flegon and YMCA created "normal" volumes for Western European audiences, readers who encountered few structural difficulties in obtaining given texts. On the other hand, both publishers also created "strange" tomes, books displaying odd paratextual or physical features within works meant for the benefit of Soviet readers. I would argue that this relationship directly speaks to the contours of tamizdat. This is to say that the tamizdat-work represents those works designed in the west for a Soviet

intended reader, and tamizdat (tamizdat-practice) refers to the stratagem of generating and disseminating such volumes – i.e. publishing and printing *works* for a *Soviet audience*.

Let's take a step back and understand what this definition means. At a macroscopic level, nearly all scholars have agreed that tamizdat is aimed at unifying certain types of texts with certain audiences. Obviously, this has taken different forms over time – Pospielovsky with unifying samizdat texts with Soviet readers, Zaslavskaia in unifying samizdat texts with non-samizdat readers, Matich with spatial bi-directionality, etc. – but this concept lies at the heart of most definitions of tamizdat.[69] The definition posed above is a reformulation of this concept with a seemingly slight, but important spin. My definition of tamizdat resembles previous conceptions of this phenomenon, but, while previous scholars have maintained that tamizdat is the unity of text and audience, I argue that it is the unity of work and audience, with texts simply being whatever literature was "along for the ride."

On an immediate level, this definition should (hopefully) be more intuitive than previous frameworks for tamizdat. While texts may originally be written for specific audiences, they are by no means beholden to them. This is to say that understanding the character of a text tells us little about its eventual (i.e. aggregate) readerships – according to Hans Robert Jauss, Greek/Latin classics (texts read millennia after the deaths of their original audiences) are the best examples of this.[70] In the case of tamizdat, then – a practice intimately bound with a specific,

[69] See, respectively, Pospielovsky, Zaslavskaia, Ol'ga. "Samizdat i tamizdat kak kul'turno-kommunikatsionnyi fenomen pozdnego sotsializma v stranakh vostochnoi Evropy (1960-1980 gody)." Sankt-Peterburgskii gosudarstvennyi universitet, 2013; Matich, Olga. *Tamizdat: The Spatial Turn, Textual Embodiment, Individual Stories*. Lecture. Hunter College, 2018.

[70] Jauss, Hans Robert. *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*. Vol. 2. Theory and History of Literature. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981. Of course, Jauss is interested in how initial readings influence future understandings of a given text, but his argument, reciprocally, calls attention to how texts inevitably escape and transcend their first readers.

readership – it makes sense that there would be a lack of correspondence between text and tamizdat. Simply put, one of these classes is bound to a historical audience, while the other is not. Conversely, *works* are meant for extremely specific audiences, being directly designed for their benefit. Indeed, after publication, books are typically subject to exterior forces that unify works with their expected audiences; as creating a work produces an object with *anticipatory* agencies – Latourian actions intended for a given corpus of people – there is a strong incentive to unify the book with its projected audience. If the book does not eventually engage in this unity, the activity of designing and publishing the book – i.e. creating a form that allows for these actions – would be pointless. Accordingly, the forces that generate such works (i.e. publishers) have strong motivations to unite tomes with their audiences. Indeed, these same publishers also possess significant power over this dynamic; part of their purview is sending tomes to particular locations for distribution and sale, meaning that that publishers also possess the capacity to effect such unions. To summarize, then, not only do works possess definite hallmarks of specific audiences but interested forces labor to unify works with their intended audiences, drawing a tight bind between these two entities. This means that a scholarly lens predicated upon works leads us to objects linked with specific audiences, a productive move for a phenomenon – like tamizdat – bound to a single reading population.

Returning to our example, we can see this bind between work and audience in action. When we apply a work-centric lens to the *Gulag*s, we find two broad groups, objects differentiated by type and orientation. That is, on one hand, we see that the two Western *Gulag*s were explicitly meant for western readers – an intention evident within features (such as an attractive cover) meant for such consumers; on the other hand, we find that the two other *Gulag*s possess bibliographic features designed for the benefit of readers confined behind the Iron

Curtain. In other words, our work-centric lens neatly identifies specific objects that uniquely confronted a specific *audience* – thus providing a sharp, neat delineation of a group which corresponds to our notion of tamizdat itself.

On the other hand, all four of these books share an identical text right down to pagination and font. If we were merely to apply a close reading to these texts, they would be construed as absolutely identical, despite the fact that they were clearly meant for different populations and varied uses. To this end, the *Gulags* speak to an important point: tamizdat did not employ unique texts for its specific population. Indeed, this situation underscores a critical observation: *textual lenses are incapable of capturing tamizdat*. In our case, this is not merely a byproduct of our general observation on the flexibility of texts *vis a vis* audiences, though – this is because tamizdat was deeply *preservational*, avoiding interference within the texts published under its auspices.

To understand what I mean by "preservational" - and why this would be so – we need to take a step back. Tamizdat explicitly framed itself as counterweighing Soviet oppression by presenting some sort of anti-Soviet truth to the Russian public; to this point, see Milosz in *Captive Mind*, Ivan Tolstoy on *Lolita*, or, most damningly, Minden in Reisch.[71] The reason tamizdat pursued this goal was in reaction to the unavailability of certain texts within the USSR – that is, these texts were suppressed by the Soviet government and consequently unavailable to the general public. This is not to say, though, that such texts could not be written or read behind

[71] Milosz writes that Eastern Europeans looked to tamizdat to find "*something* [italics original]" outside of "the Method [Marxism]" which hijacked their societies (i.e. truth rendered unspeakable behind the Iron Curtain). Tolstoy draws attention to the fact that the tamizdat edition of *Lolita* writes "They say that this book is forbidden in the Soviet Union. Is this so? And if so, why? What kind of ban is this? Is the work mentioned on some sort of official list of forbidden books?" Minden is quoted above. See: Milosz, Czeslaw. *The Captive Mind*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953. 40; Tolstoy 55-56.

the Iron Curtain; many of the texts eventually featured in tamizdat were originally written "for the drawer," and such texts could be distributed and even read among small groups (i.e. samizdat). However, the scale of such activity was necessarily limited; such texts could not be distributed or widely disseminated, activities which would subject them to public exposure and allow the government to intercede into their publication. In other words, it is not that those texts eventually published in tamizdat were non-existent or even not read within the USSR, but they were essentially *inaccessible*, as the activities that would make them available – i.e. publication and subsequent dissemination – were simply infeasible.[72]

In some cases, this dynamic could perhaps have been defeated if authors were willing to excise large portions of their text. Besides the fact that this would have simply been impossible for many pieces of literature (like *1984*), this accommodation would, in the best of cases, produce a bastardized text lacking anti-Soviet themes. Given that such elements were crucial – writing anti-Soviet literature was a dangerous, marked action within the USSR, and the production of such texts was deliberate, not wanton – this was rarely done. Instead, authors decided to send their manuscripts abroad, where they were capable of being *printed* in their original, unadulterated forms. Once smuggled back into the Soviet Union, these texts would not encounter readers for the first time – in many cases, such texts had originally been circulated and read in samizdat – but would now confront a *wider* audience, given that tamizdat's multiple printed volumes were vastly superior for dissemination than a handful of typescripts or handwritten manuscripts. To this end, publishing texts in the West and secreting books into the Soviet Union – a vastly laborious enterprise – was by no means the easiest way to create a book,

[72] This is the same impulse that samizdat was meant to react to. However, as already discussed, samizdat had numerous drawbacks, leading authors to turn to tamizdat.

but it was a reaction to this status quo, a stratagem meant to avoid editorial appeasement by exploiting the only means of publishing Russian texts while *conserving anti-Soviet themes*. In other words, publication in the West was not a means of allowing certain texts to exist or be read*, but a means to allow certain texts into print*, an attempt to *preserve* the entirety of a text not when written, but when inserted into a *widely accessible form.* Therefore, tamizdat was not a means of reading or writing – it was a ligament that facilitated these practices. It was a stratagem meant to allow interaction between author and reader without the interdiction of Soviet censorship – a dynamic exclusively actualizable via a non-Soviet publisher.[73]

This argument helps explain why textual lenses fail at capturing tamizdat. Since tamizdat's whole point was to allow for the publication of unadulterated texts – its "preservational mission" – it did not systemically edit texts for its population. To do so would defeat the entire purpose of its enterprise, a set of actions solely aimed at presenting anti-Soviet messages in print – i.e. a series of actions aimed at *preventing* the editing and adulteration of texts. This is meaningful insofar as tamizdat's publishing practice, then, does not hold a claim to particular pieces of literature – that is, it lacks a claim to *exhausting the uses/publications* of any given text, which could be (and were) published in other contexts and forms. This might not be overly surprising – as we know, texts are generally not exclusively bound to single populations. However, other types of publishing practice have attempted to defeat this impulse – publishers, those actors tasked with preparing books for concrete audiences and the last agents to interact with texts before they encounter audiences, have occasionally modified texts *post scriptum* for

[73] Samizdat was not necessarily a viable alternative – its limited distribution and constant replication adulterated the link between author and reader.

the benefit of specific readers.[74] Here, a "fork" of a text is created by editors in response to readerly needs, textually differentiating this incarnation from other uses of the same piece of literature. An example of this is bibliothèque bleu, where eighteenth-century French publishers edited literary classics for a mass readership.[75] In such a case, it is analytically appropriate to draw direct links between contemporaneous publishing processes, novel texts, and audiences; as publishers modified texts immediately before sending them along to readers for the benefit of said audience, there are recognizable differences from other uses of this literature. In turn, this distinctiveness means that one could feasibly move from *all* instances of these modified texts forward to audience or backwards to publisher.[76] This is only possible, however, because such modification unifies textual production and editorial praxis; that is, such labor is orchestrated by forces (unlike authors) that have direct control over unifying books and audience, meaning that their labor is conducted from a vantage point where one can feasibly work for and cater to said readership.[77]

As we have seen, though, such editing was anathema in tamizdat. This means that, in distinction against the practices discussed above, tamizdat did not differentiate (i.e. edit) its texts from other, contemporaneous uses of the same piece of literature. And, critically, there were

[74] Even given our previous comments on the classics, this argument is necessary – it's one thing to argue that *post facto* uses of a text diverge from their initial audiences, and a completely separate thing to say that original or contemporaneous publications of a text were the immediate purview of multiple audiences.
[75] Bibliothèque bleue is a favorite topic of Roger Chartier as mentioned in the introduction.
[76] Now, admittedly, these texts, too, could be republished – but, given they're modified for a particular historically-specific audience, there is relatively little incentive to do so. And, at the very least, this would work synchronically – i.e. if we were to look at all those texts from 1780 exhibiting features identified with the bibliothèque bleue, we could identify this phenomenon, as are chronologic lens excludes mere reprints.
[77] Now, these texts, too, could be republished in time. But, for a given edition, the timeliness of this labor allows us to draw a link between text, work, audience, and publishing practice – which is quite rare.

– but the link here is strong enough that one could identify a reading public through a character of a text, which is typically not the case. This is because it is the editor, not the writer producing such structures. So one could work backwards from text to audience – which I argue fails here.

myriad instances where the literature that appeared in tamizdat also arose within other forms – even beyond questions of translation (see Kind-Kovacs on New York Jewish publishers), editions of texts found in tamizdat were almost universally – and contemporaneously – published for émigré audiences. Indeed, two of our *Gulags* fall into this category, and they are by no means exceptions to the rule; many "tamizdat" (read: Russian émigré) publishers catered both to Soviet and Russian émigré markets through multiple editions of single texts for both tamizdat and non-tamizdat audiences.

All of this is to say is that tamizdat's particular audience was not the exclusive consumer of single texts – which consequently means we have virtually zero purchase for wholly and unequivocally equating any text with "tamizdat." Take *Gulag*, for example – if we were merely to apply textual analysis to these books, or consider any instance of *Gulag*'s text "tamizdat," we would construe the Western and tamizdat *Gulag*s as identical, obviating differences within their works and obscuring divergent post-publication trajectories. This approach, too, would invite us to lump together the text's myriad receptions as reactions to "tamizdat" – a fatal flaw, as I will return to. Therefore, to summarize, using text to understand tamizdat would lead us to myriad uses of single texts for multiple audiences, meaning that working backwards from text to tamizdat is, in the end, effectively pointless.

Indeed, to expand upon this point, it barely makes sense to argue that tamizdat worked with a *certain kind of text.* While tamizdat was intended to allow unadulterated anti-Soviet themes into print, such things could take a variety of forms. On one hand, this could apply to the work of human rights activists, like the famous samizdat (and, conveniently for the purposes of this argument, later tamizdat) journal *Khronika tekushchikh sobytii*. On the other, this could refer to modernist literature, like Dombrovskii's *Fakul'tet nenuzhnikh veshchei*. Still further, this

could be deeply religious literature; the criterion "unpublishable within the USSR" was a wide umbrella encompassing myriad and various texts. Indeed, such a point has already been developed for samizdat – anti-Soviet texts encompass a variety of school/viewpoints, meaning that they lack shared internal themes or common literary structures.[78]

To this end, pursuing tamizdat by looking for some school – that is, recognizing that it worked with anti-Soviet texts, and trying to move forward from there – is a dead end. And though the preceding argument may seem meaningful insofar as it pinpoints all of tamizdat's fare as anti-Soviet in orientation, even this conclusion tells us surprisingly little. While all of tamizdat may have shared this orientation, not all texts, exhibiting this stance were published in tamizdat. Many such texts were exclusively disseminated in samizdat; even more egregiously, many were written and published exclusively in the West. If we were to approach tamizdat by looking for instances of "anti-Soviet literature," – i.e. literature with a certain orientation – this, too, would seriously lead us astray.

Thus, at this point, we recognize that no single text, textual theme/structure, or textual orientation is completely metonymic with tamizdat. That is to say that no text, collection of texts, textual element, or textual orientation is capable of delineating the members of this movement. To this end, we *must* acknowledge at this point that tamizdat cannot not defined via collections of text, or through text alone.

This conclusion primes us to return to the other observation gathered from our conversation on tamizdat as preservation; tamizdat, rather, was a *stratagem*, a practice deeply

[78] Komaromi's famous formulation for samizdat, for example, as found in "Samizdat and the Extra-Gutenberg Condition" within Komaromi, Ann. *Uncensored: Samizdat Novels and the Quest for Autonomy in Soviet Dissidence*. Northwestern University Press Studies in Russian Literature and Theory. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2015. 129-152.

intertwined with books. Indeed, others have partially grasped this fact – Kind-Kovacs, for example. However, rather than seeing tamizdat as some group of behaviors somehow bound to texts – as Kind-Kovacs does – we should recognize that tamizdat had a very real – and physical – center. The necessary reification of tamizdat – the nexus and inevitable hallmark of its activity – was a specialized object – the tamizdat-work.

In many senses, this should be unsurprising – we have established that tamizdat was a practice disseminating works to a particular audience, a process invoking nearly all of those forces undergirding works. Beyond this, however, the central role of work for tamizdat makes sense when we consider the problems that tamizdat necessarily and inevitably faced. Tamizdat was a stratagem meant to make available texts deemed unpublishable [this is not the same as anti-Soviet] within the USSR. So, in practice, tamizdat was illicit books from the West plus a Soviet audience. To this end, any book published in tamizdat inevitably had to overcome a dual bind – the combo of space (West to USSR) and political resistance (preconceived Soviet opposition to content of books, without which the texts would have never been subject to tamizdat). In other words, smuggling tamizdat was always the alpha and omega of the practice's problems.

For the Warsaw Pact, there was a simple solution to this issue – directly mailing books across the Iron Curtain. Here, normal volumes could serve the purposes of tamizdat – since these volumes were effectively unobserved from the moment of mailing until their eventual receipt, the object at hand was not a particularly important component of the tamizdat process. For the Soviet Union, however, strict postal censorship precluded this possibility. Though this might seem to be a minor consideration, this, in effect, meant that all tamizdat conveyed into the USSR was done so by hand. To make matters worse, strict border control also meant that any volumes

conveyed into the USSR inevitably had to survive an encounter with a border guard, a meeting where guard and book occupied the same space. Thus, the Russian tamizdat volume necessarily and inevitably had to survive *a direct spatial confrontation* with some representative of Soviet power, an interaction which granted the Soviet government an opportunity to intercept and quash tamizdat.

In strategizing how to survive this encounter, publishers found that altering the content of already illicit texts – i.e. engaging in textual editing – was functionally irrelevant. Authorities had preconceived (read: negative) notions regarding the acceptability of those texts found within tamizdat-works or simply towards foreign Russian-language books; if these texts were not objectionable, there would be no need to publish them abroad in the first place. Changing how such texts were read through editing or interpretive prefaces would not change this dynamic; bluntly, playing to various readings of *1984* would not overcome political resistance. Not only did those tasked with enforcing such strictures – border guards – not actually read the books presented to them, but no amount of editing could ever make something like *1984* palatable to Soviet authorities. Therefore, changing how a text was understood while in the process of reading – or post-reading – would be inconsequential vis-à-vis tamizdat's basic dilemma, meaning that tamizdat's strategies had to play to a different part of the book-object.[79]

Eventually, tamizdat actors landed upon a solution: if a work allowed a volume to be inconspicuous in how it moved through space or allowed it to project an inconspicuous air, it could survive its interaction with a border guard through mere lack of suspicion. In other words, subverting/frustrating those preconceived notions bound to a text by engendering certain

[79] Yet another reason why tamizdat steered clear of texts.

impressions – either the absence of an impression (i.e. pure inconspicuousness, a type of impression itself) or an impression divorced from the character of its text – could help transmit tamizdat into the Soviet Union.[80] Therefore, the fundamental stratagem for tamizdat was to modulate how a holistic book-object struck (or managed not to strike) an observer, to *change how the book-object, in distinction to its text, was read*. That is, to create volume which engendered a disjunct between impressions of a book and the content of its text – i.e. *engage in masquerade*. And, since masquerade necessarily implies a discontinuity between appearances and contents, the basic pattern of the tamizdat-work (the masquerade-mask) was a structure radically distinct from its text.

The *Gulags* offer an example of this dynamic in action. The Flegon *Gulag* is the more explicit example – in trying to make Solzhenitsyn's text look like a bona fide Soviet book, Flegon was attempting to differentiate impressions of the book – that is, a casual reading of the book-object as constituting legitimate Soviet fare – from the blatantly anti-Soviet character of its text. Read as a whole, this object is nonsensical, but when seen as a tamizdat-work appended to an anti-Soviet text – i.e. a work intended to allow a radically anti-communist text to present as acceptable to a representative of Soviet power – it comes into focus. The YMCA volume, too, works along similar, though slightly subtler lines. In miniaturizing its tome, YMCA attempted to ensure that its book was not noticed altogether, allowing it to be hidden away in a pocket or bottom of a suitcase. However, this, too, is a legitimate instance of masquerade – given the book's actual presence within this space, there is still a disjunct between appearance (i.e. an impression of absence) and the actual circumstance (i.e. existence).

[80] Miniaturization, of course, also helped with the logistics of smuggling – but being able to smuggle in the first place was the alpha and omega, and the starting point.

The *Gulag*s, then, provide a concrete example of the tamizdat-work, that object which made tamizdat possible. Though, like all works, the tamizdat-work was simply a collection of bibliographic features aimed at a particular audience, its ability to facilitate masquerade – and thus allow for smuggling – undergirded all of tamizdat and enabled the practice of tamizdat itself. To this end, the tamizdat-work *is* the basic heart of tamizdat, its most distinctive feature, and the inevitable object defining all legitimate instances of tamizdat. *This* is why my definition of tamizdat begins and ends with works, not texts.

Admittedly, it may seem counter-intuitive to begin with a type of book and treat texts as along for the ride, but it makes the most sense within this context. As we have observed, there are no groups of texts that are synecdochal with tamizdat – that is, a focus on texts leads us seriously astray. Meanwhile, all of tamizdat-practice was aimed at only disseminating those texts that were inaccessible within the USSR – i.e. our conventional notion of tamizdat – for a Soviet audience. To this end, all tamizdat-works were paired with such texts, meaning that a focus on such structures leads us to those texts commonly considered tamizdat. From here, one can move backwards to trace how a manuscript was secreted to a publisher and materialized into a book or look forwards to smuggling into the USSR and consequent literary reception if they wish to understand tamizdat as an entire phenomenon. However, if we want to stick with – or simply understand – tamizdat, we must strictly limit ourselves to those actions/behaviors/histories that flow *through* the tamizdat-work; otherwise, we fall victim to ambiguity, overreach, and dissolution.

So, to sum up, looking at literature as a means of identifying tamizdat is futile. While those texts published in tamizdat shared a common anti-Soviet orientation and a shared need to be distributed through non-Soviet means, tamizdat did not encompass every text with such an

orientation and not all uses of the texts found in tamizdat can be construed as tamizdat. The only means of approaching tamizdat is recognizing it as a strategy that used – but did not exhaust – texts. As we've seen, the peculiar character of this practice – both its bond to a particular *audience* and its bond to a *Soviet* audience – meant that practice necessarily reified in a particular structure surrounding the text – the tamizdat-work. Since this work was necessarily ubiquitous within tamizdat, defining tamizdat as those processes involving these works and looking backwards/forwards to their creation and uses gives us the best means of holistically understanding tamizdat. And, given the exceptional needs of such an audience, this mindset allows us to recognize that this particular type of book – the tamizdat-work – had a basic impulse: masquerade.

2.0: Critique of Extant Scholarship

The preceding line of analysis allows us to develop a point introduced earlier in this chapter: an explanation of why tamizdat scholarship has heretofore been so deficient. Nearly everyone – myself included – is of the consensus that tamizdat scholarship is the study of a historical phenomenon dating to the mid/late Cold War. To this end, the methodology adopted by scholars has been to define some group of objects from this period, and then explore how these resulted from and connected with the surrounding world. In other words, the thrust of existing scholarship has been to identify some group synonymous with tamizdat as phenomenon, and then to trace these objects during the 1960s-1980s as a means of depicting a holistic movement. In the context of this chapter, my argument has been to identify the tamizdat-work and then work backwards to the book's publication and sourcing of its text, or forwards to its smuggling, dissemination, and reception.

In practice, this approach has taken myriad forms. At first, early scholars of the phenomenon – Dmitry Pospielovsky and Wolfgang Kasack, for example – tried to understand tamizdat by focusing on the location where certain texts were printed. In their frameworks, tamizdat comprised any publication of certain texts beyond the borders of the Soviet Union.[81] When we take a closer look at these definitions, though, we recognize that tamizdat is construed here as a group of *texts*. These definitions incorporated texts published in *any form* once exiting the Soviet Union; the books they manifested in were unified through the common text located within them. Even when we turn to more recent notions of tamizdat, we find extremely similar notions at work. Take Kind-Kovacs and Labov's definition, for example, that tamizdat "denote[s] all those texts that mirror the samizdat world in the West."[82] They themselves admit that they see tamizdat as a group of texts! (in their own words, "texts published abroad, either officially reprinted samizdat, or texts first appearing in the west.")[83] The other major framework for tamizdat – Zaslavskaia's – falls into the same trap. By focusing on a "samizdat-tamizdat" cycle, where tamizdat comprises the Western publication of texts that originally appeared in samizdat, she, too, defines tamizdat in relation to certain texts.[84] Even if she includes the additional criterion that these texts had to be subject to certain movements, at the end of the day, this represents a group of *texts*. This is to say that the group of objects "text plus criterion" is still a Venn diagram comprised of *texts*.

[81] In Pospielovsky's words, tamizdat is "works" – which he uses a synonym for literature, and therefore texts – "denied approval by the official censor but published abroad (either with or without their author's consent) and then smuggled back into the Soviet Union." For Kasack, tamizdat constitutes the "publikatsi[ia] za predelami Sovetskogo soiuza proizvedenii pisatelei, zhivushkhikh v SSSR." See Pospielovsky 44; Kasack 410.
[82] Labov, Jessie, and Frederike Kind-Kovacs. "Introduction." In *Samizdat, Tamizdat, and Beyond*, 1–26. Studies in Contemporary European History. New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2013: 3.
[83] Ibid.
[84] For Zaslavskaia's definition, see Zaslavskaia, especially 220-221, where she discusses tamizdat as a means of communication between east and west.

Given the analysis presented above, this was a fatal error. But, if you will indulge me, I would like to spend some time exploring how this previously undiscussed axiom has distorted scholarship and deluded a generation of scholars. To do so, let us decompose the above definitions into their common formula (text + winnowing condition), and take each of these in stride; I will begin with the problems involved with working with texts, and then move to the limitations bound in those criteria used to delineate tamizdat within previous scholarship.

To begin with the worse of these two fallacies: to beat on a broken drum, texts are malleable. They can be republished, reanalyzed, reread, reintroduced, translated, transmitted, and, in doing so, become the collective property of myriad reading publics. Indeed, as we saw above, this was the case with those texts featured in tamizdat; the tamizdat-work avoided imprinting on texts, meaning that the fare contained therein was the exact same texts read in separate volumes by other publics around the world. Unfortunately, past scholarship has failed to appreciate this dynamic. Once academics had pinpointed some text as belonging to their definition of tamizdat, they felt emboldened to chase every manifestation of said text during the Cold War. Such an approach, however, brings one into contact with myriad separate phenomena, starkly devaluing this approach.

Let us return to *Gulag* to show how this methodology can easily go awry. For the purposes of this argument, we can even take the strongest possible case (which no scholar has ever done) – say we merely consider all instances of *Gulag* with identical chains of words in the same font and identical pagination as constituting a singular text. In this case, using this text to approach "tamizdat" – that is, following this text to outside phenomena – would admittedly lead us to *Gulag*'s smuggling into the USSR, but it would also bring us to its deification in Paris and its hording by non-Russian-speaking individuals. Simply put, what do these actions have to do

with a Soviet audience? For that matter, what does it have to do with a Soviet audience receiving a certain kind of book? The very name "tam+izdat" primes us to look at *publication* at some *there*; this is the dynamic traced above, but, when we merely look at the usages of the *text* published over *there*, we quickly ourselves tumbling into unsteady territory, completely losing the implicit "here" – i.e. USSR.

Further, let us adopt the actual approach used by scholars – that is, once identifying a text as tamizdat, they have felt emboldened to look at anything directly linked to contemporaneous uses of said text. Given that a stricter definition quickly proves to be deeply problematic, it should not be terribly surprising that this heuristic proves disastrous. *Gulag* renders this abundantly clear; as I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, *Gulag* set a new record for multinational book sales and consequently catalyzed myriad reactions. As a quick snapshot, the text was lauded in the United States for its anti-Soviet critique; deified by the Russian émigré community; and, most interestingly, vilified in France, where Solzhenitsyn was critiqued by the *Parti communiste français*.[85] In other words, embracing *Gulag* in its myriad manifestations leads us to dozens, if not hundreds of separate receptions and dynamics, distracting us from the specific phenomenon of tamizdat. Indeed, if we even constrain ourselves to looking at the text in France – the country of origin for the YMCA volumes – we find this problematic in strides, given the *anti-Solzhenitsyn* reaction to *Gulag*! This extreme response was a reaction to the status of the communist movement in France, the timing of this text, and widespread interest in its contents. This is to say that this reaction was a uniquely French phenomenon where *Gulag* was

[85] See, for example Christofferson, Michael Scott. *French Intellectuals Against the Left: The Antitotalitarian Moment of the 1970s*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2004: 89-112.

used as fodder within larger debates, a dynamic which has next to no relation with either of tamizdat *Gulag*s discussed above.

At this point, let us transition from an analysis of how a textual lens *could* be disastrous to a discussion of how it *has* been deleterious. This conversation could merit a chapter on its own but let us look at the single monograph on tamizdat – and incidentally, one of the most recent studies of the phenomenon – Frederike Kind-Kovac's *Written Here, Published There*. Vast portions of her work are devoted to the most disparate uses of texts, a dynamic most evident within a fifty-page section devoted to the republication of tamizdat by Manhattan Jewish publishers during the 1970s. Past this, Kind-Kovacs also gets lost in translations; émigré literature; Philip Roth; etc.[86] In other words, her monograph is a potent example of how, in chasing the myriad manifestations of texts linked to tamizdat, one can lose oneself in a loose constellation of correlated – but not causatively-linked – phenomena. This is not to say that these other phenomena lack interest, though; Andrew Wachtel is entirely correct in his review of Kind-Kovacs' book, where he argues that each of these confused topics would be worthy of a "rewarding study" of their own.[87] And, indeed, each of these subjects are clearly deserving of their own detailed, independent investigations. But Wachtel's fundamental critique is also correct; calling all of them tamizdat – that is, simply linking everything bound together through a common text – renders tamizdat scholarship useless by virtue of sheer overriding scale. In some senses, this would be like calling all Anglophone literature "English lit" and attempting to analyze it as such – not only is such an approach hyperbolically titanic, but it overrides the various specificities of the phenomena grouped therein.

[86] Most of this critique pertains to the information from Kind-Kovács 217-330.
[87] Wachtel, Andrew. "Review: Written Here, Published There." *The Slavic and East European Journal* 59, no. 3 (2015): 456.

At this point, then, we have a fairly good grasp of the immediate downsides resulting from understanding tamizdat as text. The consequences of this mistake, however, do not end here; "tamizdat as text" disfigures the very form of tamizdat scholarship itself. As no group of texts could ever be representative of tamizdat, working with such objects necessarily defeated scholars' attempts to define this phenomenon. Implicitly understanding this fact, such scholars attempted to impose conditions on their definitions in an attempt to correct their heuristics. Their axiomatic error, however, inevitably precluded them from fully accomplishing this goal. In effect, this means that the conditions employed by scholars ended up further distorting tamizdat scholarship, creating a field with cavernous gaps and clear lacunae.

Let us begin, then, with the first of these problematics – overly broad definitions. This was primarily a sin of early studies; recognizing that tamizdat was the only means of publishing *certain* Russian texts in the West, scholars like Pospielovsky suggested that *all* publications of such texts in the West comprised tamizdat. For these scholars, this definition had a certain logic; most instances of émigré literature would be unpublishable within the USSR, meaning that nearly all Western Russian books share some anti-Soviet commonality with tamizdat. However, such a perspective misses tamizdat's deep bind to Soviet readers. For example, Pospielovsky's definition would incorporate Argentine publishers issuing monarchist texts for Russian émigré readers in Buenos Ares. How on Earth would this relate to Soviet readers? To this end, how on Earth would this relate to any sensible notion of tamizdat?

On the other hand, most recent scholarship has suffered from the converse problem – such studies have narrowed in on texts of Soviet origin that could not be published within the USSR. In other words, these studies have identified those texts which *sui generis* needed to

resort to the stratagem of publishing abroad – simply put, *Soviet* texts in the West.[88] Unfortunately, this approach, too, fails to appreciate the fundamental neutrality of texts. Literature can be written for one purpose – indeed, even used for that purpose – but later encounter new interactions and new dynamics. In simpler, more specific language, a text could originally be written – and published – for a Western audience, but later be subject to publication in tamizdat. An example of this would be *1984*; of course, the book was originally published in England, but was eventually translated into Russian and published in tamizdat due to a perceived demand on the part of Soviet readers. A more interesting example would be the "secret series" – Joyce, Camus, etc. All of these books – and many other examples of western literature – are clearly tamizdat; they display its characteristic masquerade, were smuggled into the Soviet Union, were widely read, etc. But, if one gets purely hung up on Soviet texts, these books would be ignored altogether – and, instead, one would find oneself discussing *Gulag*'s reception in France, falling victim to an entirely different type of nonsense.

In recent years, a few isolated voices have attempted to push back against the flawed consensus discussed above. While these studies have been largely ignored within mainstream tamizdat scholarship, I include them here due to their superficial resemblance to my own argumentation. On one hand, Ivan Tolstoy has written that tamizdat has been understood "far too broadly," incorporating myriad volumes that he construes as outside the phenomenon's boundaries.[89] In reaction, he calls attention merely to those books intended for smuggling into the USSR – a similar framework to my own. Being a historian by trade, however, Tolstoy fails to identify the tamizdat work, instead becoming obsessed with stories of CIA subversion. Indeed,

[88] For example, Labov and Kind-Kovacs as cited above.
[89] Tolstoy 46.

beyond advancing this point, Tolstoy fails to provide analysis of those books he terms tamizdat, leaving us with a sterile, unproductive study of this phenomenon. On the other hand, Aleksandr Fedin, a Russian graduate student, has also attempted to push tamizdat studies towards a book-centric perspective. In a handful of cursory articles, he, too, has identified tamizdat with books intended for smuggling into the USSR.[90] However, Fedin's argumentation is short and scant; he fails to systemically differentiate texts from works or tamizdat from émigré publishing, and his scholarship tells us nothing about the idiosyncrasies of the tamizdat-work, let alone its impulse towards masquerade. In other words, these studies may be superficially correct, but their lack of understanding of the work severely limits their insightfulness. In both cases, they fail to identify the tamizdat-work as distinct from text and tell us nothing about the insights that this form provides – a deep interrogation of bibliographic norms, as we will see in my next section. Therefore, the scant studies that have transcended tamizdat scholarship's flaws have failed to provide much insight into this phenomenon.

So, we can see that extant tamizdat scholarship is deeply lacking for a variety of reasons. If we take a step back, however, we can see that this tension was forecast far before I began writing this thesis. Tamizdat scholars have committed one of the basic missteps identified by formalists in the 1920s; Tynianov himself cautioned scholars to cease conflating text and history, arguing that literature developed along and obeyed its own laws.[91] Tamizdat scholarship, on the other hand, has fallen victim to this very fallacy. Tamizdat was clearly a reaction to the outer world, a historical movement conducted in reaction to political circumstances. Scholars have identified this dynamic, but then circumscribed it via the *internal world of text*. That is, they have

[90] Fedin, Aleksandr. "Tamizdat v kontekste knigovedcheskikh issledovanii." *Sotsial'no-gumanitarnye znaniia*, 2019, 331–37.
[91] By this, of course, I am referring to *O literaturnoi evolutsii*.

attempted to identify a historical phenomenon by defining and working through literature, objects that obey their own laws. The tamizdat-work, on the other hand, is a historical object, a direct manifestation of lived reality and a product of its laws. Therefore, only the tamizdat-work allows us to rigorously delineate tamizdat and allows us to escape the morass of tamizdat scholarship as illustrated above.

3.0: Towards a Conclusion: The Tamizdat-Work in Action

With this discussion completed, we now understand why tamizdat scholarship has heretofore been anemic. However, this is not the conclusion of this chapter; it is merely a byproduct of its general argument. As I showed, this meta-scholarly observation followed from the realization that tamizdat cannot be understood without pinpointing the tamizdat-work. However, I am not primarily interested in exploring tamizdat *writ large*; instead, I am interested in exploring its heart, the object that heretofore has ignored within scholarly literature. That is, I want to explore the tamizdat-work, one of the fundamental archetypes for Russian books of the 1960s and 1970s.

Most immediately, the tamizdat-work's importance stems from the importance of tamizdat itself. As I showed above, the tamizdat-work was the both the means and product of tamizdat, omnipresent in its interactions across the Iron Curtain. And, given that tamizdat was a major means of publishing during the mid-Cold War, generating numerous – and important – volumes, the tamizdat-work consequently functioned as one of the fundamental generic forms for Russian books of this period. Indeed, the argument advanced thus far in this chapter has

essentially been occupied with proving this point, demonstrating the form's existence and speaking to its prevalence.

This thrust, however, has left several questions unanswered. Beyond a single case study, what did the tamizdat-work look like? And, most crucially, why should we care about this form? We began to strike at this theme above, when I defined the tamizdat-work's fundamental impulse. As we saw, the tamizdat-work, as an illicit object meant to delude, engaged in masquerade as its basic program, attempting to create discordant readings between work and text. However, to engage in masquerade, *one must recognize the presence of a mask*. In other words, to create a discordant reading between work and text, one must realize that the work engenders readings on its own accord, that people truly do "read books by their covers."

Let's take a step back to understand how this played out in practice. Like most human endeavors, book publishing was traditionally governed by a deep set of conventions dictating everything from the configuration and shape of the codex to the ordering of its paratexts. Indeed, these customs are older than many might appreciate; the codex is a Roman invention, and the presence and ordering of bibliographic paratexts (imprint, colophon, etc.) began to be codified in the seventeenth century.[92] In their early days, these conventions, as novel impositions, were subject to a great degree of flux. English publishers, for instance, used Italian imprints to eschew their nation's reputation for shoddy books, and Dutch printers used Spanish imprints to slander political opponents during the Seventy Years War.[93] However, as time went on, these norms became conventions and gradually ossified; some of them were even enshrined in law, such as

[92] Borsuk, Amaranth. *The Book*. The MIT Press Essential Knowledge Series. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2018. 36-47; Febvre, Lucien, and Henri-Jean Martin. "The Book: Its Visual Appearance." In *The Broadview Reader in Book History*, 15–36. Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2015.
[93] Woodfield, Denis B. *Surreptitious printing in England, 1550-1640*. New York: Bibliogr. Soc. of America, 1973: 9, 24, 27.

the mandate to include printer imprints within books published in the United Kingdom.[94] By the twentieth century, some began to push back on these systems – book artists, those individuals who produced art playing upon the form of the codex, manipulated bibliographic form to artistic effect.[95] But for mainstream (i.e. literary) publishers, such experimentation was anathema. Certain books required certain sizes (coffee-table books versus Penguin pocket-volumes, for example), and every book required a series of bibliographic paratexts that neatly delineated their identities in conformance with law and custom.

In some senses, this can be seen as a parallel to generic conventions within art. For centuries, artists were bound to the sundry expectations of custom and customer, dictating that certain pieces of art were created in certain ways. By the twentieth century, however, postmodernism flung these conventions upon their heads. Reacting against perceptions that norms were inevitable, artists began to expose and exploit systems to their benefit, creating novel and inventive pieces of art. I would argue that the tamizdat-work operated along similar lines, providing a postmodern turn within the world of publishing. By attempting to alter the readings generated by works – i.e. by trying to produce works capable of masquerade, tamizdat practitioners realized that *works had imports and readings*, that those norms which generally dictated the appearance and form of books were deeply meaningful. These publishers then manipulated these systems to their benefit, creating works that engendered vastly different readings than those of their texts. As discussed above, this disjunct enabled tamizdat; simultaneously, however, this deliberate bibliographic manipulation produced a slew of

[94] "Printer's Imprint Act 1961," 1961 CHAPTER 31 9 and 10 Eliz 2 § (1961).
[95] Drucker, Johanna. *The Century of Artists' Books*. New York City: Granary Books, 1995. In her words, these artists created works that displayed "some conviction, some soul, some reason to be and to be a book in order to succeed." [10-11].

inventive volumes, books that display a conscious understanding of the import conveyed by the work.

In some examples, this intervention could be fairly minor; indeed, the YMCA tamizdat *Gulag* is an example of this. Typically, book sizes were surprisingly standardized; during the incunable era, for example, differentiation between sizes (folio versus quarto etc.) was a generic marker unto itself, signaling the importance of a text. Similarly, in the modern era, book sizes are still used to signal various genres or uses, such as the large folio size for dictionaries or small pocket format for pulp novels. Along these lines, small form-factors are extremely unusual for important works of literature (especially in the case of first editions), but YMCA bucked convention to use a small-scale format for their volume, embracing miniaturization to enhance the smugglability of their tome. *Gulag*'s size, then, is an example of a publisher bucking typical publishing practice – an example of selecting size not for generic reasons but to alter how a text existed in space. In other words, it is an example of a publisher realizing that the work is not a neutral object, but a form that affects how a text exists within and interacts with our world.

Another similarly minor example comes from the 1975 reprint of Trotsky's *Istoriia russkoi revoliutsii*, published by Monad Press. This book is bound in completely blank wrappers; until the tome is actually opened, its identity remains unknown. Covers were surprisingly important within the Russian publishing tradition; as Brigette Pristed has shown, these objects were used to signal the generic identity, use, and prestige level of various texts.[96] However, all of these expectations were merely conventions, and could be discarded at a moment's notice. Consequently, a book lacking a cover, while novel, was an easy intervention for someone aware

[96] Pristed, Birgitte Beck. *The New Russian Book: A Graphic Cultural History*. 2017. New Directions in Book History. Cham: Springer International Publishing: Imprint: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, especially 1-10.

of bibliographic convention, a play on the belief that a book ought to identify itself. And, of course, the reason Monad was spurred to produce such a work was as a means to camouflage its book – that is, engage in masquerade.

On the other hand, these interventions could be quite complex, bordering on book art. An example of this is an undated 1960s edition of *1984*. This book possesses two paratexts – a title (black text on dark green paper, rendering it nearly unreadable) and an imprint connoting that it was published in Italy.[97] Beyond this, the book is devoid of context, lacking an imprint, introduction, or even an author. This "deparatextualized" book breaks four hundred years of convention and is quite radical in doing so – even the YMCA *Gulag* retains its imprint, author, and other paratexts. To this end, this is a remarkable object, one that even challenges our notion of what constitutes a book. But, again, the reason for inducing this intervention – for shedding hundreds of years of publishing practice – was to camouflage this book, to create a divergence between the reading of this work as a completely neutral object and the import of its virulently anti-Soviet text. In other words, this book was created to engender masquerade.

Similarly, Flegon was notorious for these baroque, inventive interventions within the work. During the 1960s and 1970s, he issued a serious of books with false imprints, culminating in a run of tomes satirizing Soviet publishing conventions. This was a surprisingly complex act; by the 1960s, imprints were crucial markers, legal structures that acted to taxonomize texts. In other words, though this was never explicitly stated, imprints acted to locate texts both spatially and temporally. In fact, as we will see, a Soviet imprint was strong enough on its own accord to render any text believably Soviet in character. In Flegon's case, realizing that these paratexts

[97] The font of the work renders this locale fairly suspect – it is identical to texts printed by Baschkitsev in Munich.

acted to locate texts was an insight on its own; weaponizing these structures for purposes of masquerade was sheer inspiration. And, as we saw, the publisher came to this conclusion to as a means of getting his books "into the hands of Soviet readers." Flegon's early publishing work was quite conventional, consisting of several pamphlets and monographs which conform to standard publishing practice; only when the publisher started publishing for Soviet audiences – that is, engaging in tamizdat – did he begin to interrogate bibliographic norms and create a series of remarkable objects. In other words, publishing for tamizdat opened Flegon's eyes to the potentialities latent within the work.

This is an important conclusion. We must remember that, while the above volumes share a common inventiveness and insight, they were all engendered by a singular impulse – a shared desire to publish for a Soviet audience. To this end, they all display the singular marker that distinguishes tamizdat – the tamizdat-work. They, too, demonstrate how the tamizdat-work's basic pattern – masquerade – produces forms that reveal the meaning contained within those norms that undergird book publishing. Therefore, the tamizdat-work is a remarkable form. It is a potent, practical demonstration of the significance of the work. In the next chapter, we will expand upon this observation; there, we will use specific examples of tamizdat-works to decode the codex itself, prepping us for our eventual analysis of the comparatively complex – though obviously critical – Soviet-work.

Chapter Two: A Taxonomy of Tamizdat

In the previous chapter, I described a new book-form – masquerade – that I positioned as the fundamental hallmark of tamizdat. At the end of the chapter, I alluded to tamizdat's variability – its tendency to make masquerade out of myriad parts of the book-object – and suggested that it might be thought of as a post-modern moment in mid-century publishing, an instance where publishers recognized the presence of bibliographic norms and manipulated them for their own ends. This chapter builds upon this conclusion, offering a historical taxonomy of tamizdat; I provide an overview of its distinctive stratagems alongside a history of its reception.

This chapter follows two separate lines. First, I argue that my taxonomy offers an unprecedentedly complete overview of tamizdat. In the first chapter, I show that masquerade is the sole common denominator within tamizdat; to this end, a description of masquerade helps establish both the scope of this practice and the forms that it tended to assume. I believe that a taxonomy is the best means of accomplishing this goal. Though it was certainly variegated, tamizdat's masquerade is easily systematized. Although tamizdat publishers were decentralized, they confronted a common problem – smuggling books into the USSR – and gravitated towards similar tactics. In effect, the masquerade produced by disparate publishers tended towards a limited number of common themes, each of which capitalized upon the same portions of the work. This tendency allows tamizdat to be grouped according to which portion of the work masquerade utilized, meaning that a taxonomy of tamizdat is an efficient means of describing this phenomenon and establishing the scope of this practice.

Second, I argue that a reception history of tamizdat is uniquely well-suited for isolating the *import and meaning of the book* for Soviet readers. Recall that masquerade was solely created with the aim of transmitting books to the USSR and, consequently, that examples of

tamizdat definitionally confronted Soviet citizens – border guards, readers, etc. When we trace how these individuals received such books, we observe a common dynamic – Soviet citizens (and especially border guards) treated tamizdat in ways that would be unexpected given the content of their text. Specifically, we find that tamizdat was frequently perceived as innocuous and repeatedly allowed into the Soviet Union. Given the reception otherwise afforded to their texts within the USSR, tamizdat's content was not to credit for this permeation – if their texts had been recognized, tamizdat would have never been allowed into the country. Instead, we can solely credit the masquerade-work with catalyzing these penetrations, tricking authorities into allowing tamizdat into the USSR. In other words, when we observe how Soviet individuals reacted to tamizdat – especially in comparison to the reaction otherwise afforded to their texts – we find literary receptions that we can isolate as being in reaction to the exterior appearance of books as opposed to their actual content. In this sense, tamizdat presents an ideal opportunity to determine how Soviet citizens "read" works, how they "judged books by their covers"; a history of the phenomenon provides examples of reception where texts were clearly not in play.

Furthermore, tamizdat allows for an unprecedentedly deep investigation of the work; its form allows for an almost experimental exploration of the import belonging to individual paratexts. As my taxonomy will show, masquerade-works typically resembled "normal" books but for the alteration of one facet of the work – for instance, a false imprint, miniaturizing an otherwise normal volume, or a missing title page. Naturally, all tamizdat eventually penetrated the Soviet Union – otherwise it would fail to be tamizdat – but the paths it employed to do so greatly differed based upon these formal differences. Accordingly, when we group tamizdat by tactic and trace the commonalities and differences in the ways such books penetrated the Soviet border, we can observe how the alteration of singular paratexts – shifts in one independent

variable! – affects the readings of works described above – that is, how individual paratexts contribute to systemic readings of works.

To unpack this argument, I begin this chapter with a discussion of genre – the theoretical framework for my claims – and an explanation of how it relates to masquerade. I follow this with the taxonomy itself – the heart of the chapter. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of how this chapter predicates the remainder of this thesis – an analysis of the Soviet book.

1: Genre Theory

In English, the adage "don't judge a book by its cover" is a well-known statement. This cautions readers from generating impressions of objects by their exterior, asking them to read a text and understand its contents on its own merit. The existence of this saying – not to mention its ubiquity – alludes, however, to a widespread tendency to anticipate the character of objects from their facades, and particularly their texts, from the appearance of books. Though this is typically seen as an intellectual failing, we should be less harsh towards readers engaging in this behavior. Given that publishers typically pair specific types of cover illustrations – or even book formats – with particular classes of narratives (think of the smaller size of an airport novel, or images of sword and sorcery with fantasy epics), readers "judging books by their covers" are engaging in perfectly reasonable behavior.[1] Fundamentally, they are attempting to use the appearance of books to ascertain the *genre* of ensuing texts.

[1] See, for example, how one publisher describes the particularly small format of the airport novel: "Helpful Tips - Trim Size," n.d., http://www.whitehallprinting.com/trim-size.htm.

Given the nature of genre – a means of agglomerating similar objects – the above represents a perfectly logical deduction. Indeed, this effectively represents a classical understanding of genre, one which groups narratives based upon formal similarities. In this instance, readers peruse the exterior of books – a formal feature – in search of clues to the generic identity of the associated texts. However, the behavior of reading a "book by its cover" is better accounted for by a modern conception of genre – a framework that underlies the remainder of this chapter. Beginning in the early twentieth century, theorists began to argue for an expansive notion of genre – one that greatly surpassed the concept's traditional relationship with artistic expression. They proposed that genre should not merely be used to group similar works of art but also to group similar experiences – interactions, like morning greetings, which occur thousands of times per day among millions of people but simultaneously represent a single, identifiable phenomenon drawing upon discrete rules.

A productive shorthand for exploring this position lies in the thought of Mikhail Bakhtin, who developed this framework while describing a concept he called "speech genre."[2] For Bakhtin, a speech genre was a means of conveying the intent of an utterance, a term he uses to describe a fundamental subunit of speech. In Bakhtin's framework, an utterance is a building block of dialogue, the language provided by a speaker between the moment they begin speaking

[2] Why do I rely upon Bakhtin? Three reasons:

1. This is a chapter on books, not genre. Accordingly, a lengthy discussion of genre theory is beside my argument, though a notion of genre is crucial to my thought. Therefore, I feel that employing the thought of some single scholar who speaks to the positions I am interested in is a convenient means of developing my thesis.
2. Bakhtin is a well-known figure in Slavic circles; his thought has more cache in our field than that advanced by modern genre scholars, who mainly work in comp lit and English.
3. Most modern genre theorists owe either an explicit or implicit debt to Bakhtin's work: Anne Freedman's "tennis" theory of genre, for example, places the core of genre in the multistep interchange between interlocutors, a dialogic notion at its core. To this end, I believe that Bakhtin gets at enough of the core of (modern!) genre theory to render him an acceptable interlocutor on a pure theoretical level.

and when they cease to do so.[3] Bakhtin was fascinated by the semantic role of utterances; he believed that the exchange of these structures characterizes all communication. However, Bakhtin did not see utterances as a passive component of speech, meant to simply transmit meaning from one speaker to another; instead, he wrote that utterances must provoke "response, agreement, sympathy, objection, execution, and so forth."[4] Bakhtin believed that this was a necessary quality of the utterance; he argued that this reaction provoked listeners into continuing dialogue, subsequently adding their own utterance to the fray by ways of a response to the initial utterance.[5] To this end, Bakhtin writes that "the first and foremost criterion for the finalization of the utterance is *the possibility of responding to* it." That is, the utterance does not only need to convey the meaning of the speaker but has a supplementary aim; it must help facilitate the creation of a responsive utterance on the part of its recipient.

Bakhtin describes two aspects of the utterance that help accomplish this goal. First, he argues that the utterance needs to signal its content – that is, convey its subject, allowing a listener to understand the context of the conversation it occurs within.[6] Second, the utterance needs to broadcast a "speech plan;" it must allow the responder to "quickly grasp" a rough notion of what the speaker is attempting to convey "[a]nd from the very beginning of [the speaker's] words…sense the developing whole of the utterance."[7] In other words, the utterance needs to allow interlocutors to portend the speaker's intent, *to identify the content of an utterance before it is actually uttered*, in order to allow for the production of a timely response.

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[3] Bakhtin, M. M., Michael Holquist, and Caryl Emerson. *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*. University of Texas Press Slavic Series, no. 8. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986. 71.
[4] Ibid 69.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid 77.
[7] Ibid 77-78; This is a paraphrase of Bakhtin's concept of the "speech will."

The above paragraph begs an important question, however – how does the utterance convey this information? Bakhtin argues that speakers pair utterances with *speech genres* to do so. A speech genre is a sort of "compositional structure" for an utterance, a *certain discursive form* that signals the "speech plan" of the speaker and consequently the intent and scope of the utterance that they wish to convey.[8] Speech genres are a way of framing a statement – for instance, telling someone to stand to attention within the form of a military revue, transmitting research through the form of an academic lecture, etc. – that provides clues as to the meaning and extent of their associated utterances. Intuitively, there are a vast number of speech genres, corresponding to the vast scope of human communication. In Bakhtin's words, "These genres are so diverse because they differ depending on the situation, social position, and personal interrelations of the participants in the communication."[9] However, despite their near innumerability, speech genres need to remain mutually comprehensible to be understood – their entire function lies in an instance of mutual understanding, a moment where the genre signals the type and scope of speech being proffered. Without this moment of reciprocal understanding, communication would be greatly impeded – interlocutors would find it difficult to understand the meaning and scope of others' utterances, greatly impeding the formation of responses and the continuation of dialogue. To this end, Bakhtin writes "If speech genres did not exist and we had not mastered them, if we had to originate them during the speech process and construct each utterance at will for the first time, speech communication would be almost impossible"[10]

[8] Ibid 60; Bakhtin, for instance, states that the scope/length of an utterance is fundamentally signaled by the speaker's choice of genre: see 78.
[9] Ibid 79.
[10] Ibid.

The above argument leaves an important question on the table, though – what is the source of speech genres? Indeed, how do genres become known – even become understood? Bakhtin writes:

> "[w]e are given these speech genres in almost the same way that we are given our native language, which we master fluently long before we begin to study grammar… a speaker is given not only mandatory forms of the national language (lexical composition and grammatical structure), but also forms of utterances that are mandatory, that is, speech genres… Speech genres are much more changeable, flexible, and plastic than language forms are, but they have a normative significance for the speaking individuum, and they are not created by him but are given to him."[11]

To paraphrase, speech genres are cultural constructs; they are nothing but norms prevalent within a society at a certain moment in time. A genre only holds weight insofar as interlocutors are familiar with its conventions; if the genre is not known, it cannot be used to determine information as to its associated utterance. However, it is important to note that genres are not self-evident; that is, the "forms" that concretely constitute genres do not contain the information that the genre attempts to signal. Instead, genres are reliant on interlocutors being able to associate generic forms with assumptions regarding utterances, ideas that are not present within the linguistic form of the genre itself. The notions invoked by genres are codified by social convention but are not determinate, then; they rely upon people being able to understand what genres are meant to signify and to superimpose a notion sourced from elsewhere onto the utterance at hand.

To wrap up, Bakhtin's theories offer two deep – and crucial – insights into the nature of genre. First, insofar as genres are social constructs solely meant to invoke assumptions learned from elsewhere within a culture, genres do not provide clues as to their own meaning. In other words, the power of the genre is in how certain forms work to *invoke* certain assumptions; as

[11] Ibid 77, 80-81.

these forms do not contain these assumptions but simply draw upon them, one cannot simply conduct a close reading of the genre in order to ascertain its function. This makes an analysis of genre an extremely daunting task, one exacerbated by the fact that, as cultures shift over time, the means by which members of that culture communicate are also liable to change. This, in turn, changes the import of genres, meaning that diachronic – or, for that matter, retroactive – studies of genre are deeply difficult.

Second, as Bakhtin alludes to in his notion of the "speech plan," a genre cannot be used to precisely determine the content of its associated utterance: a single genre can be paired with multiple different meanings, and a single sentence can occur within multiple genres. For example, the genre of the morning greeting could contain the phrases "hello," "good morning," "good day," "howdy," etc., and the sentence "hello" could occur within speech genres belonging to reunions, casual meetings, attempts to gain attention, etc. However, when a given speech genre becomes intelligible to a listener, it does allow for an interlocutor to *concretely predict* the range of whatever content eventually follows. For example, a listener who recognizes the speech genre of an informal morning greeting – perhaps after hearing "good morning" – knows to expect a limited range of questions to follow ("how are you doing," for example) and can conclude that they will likely not be asked to discuss anything outside that band of possibilities – like a conversation on nuclear war, for instance. Accordingly, an analysis of genre is a poor means of analyzing similar utterances; instead, it is a means of figuring out how frames produce *assumptions* as to the content of utterances.

1.1: The Work as Genre

I include the preceding discussion on genre in order to suggest that the work ought to be thought of as a genre unto itself. In other words, books neatly follow the generic conventions outlined above; they serve to provide clues to the "speech plan" of their accompanied text, allowing a potential interlocutor (i.e. reader) to make educated guesses as to the content of the book's utterance. For example, if modern American readers encounter a trade paperback with images of spaceships on the cover and a title along the lines of *The Foundation Trilogy*, they can use this information to anticipate the remaining content of that utterance – that is, they can predict that the text will contain certain subjects (space warfare as opposed to something like a steamy romance), and that the arc of the plot will follow certain lines (being a sci-fi thriller as opposed to a Dostoyevskian interrogation of the meaning of life). Like with Bakhtin's speech genre, the reader does not need to encounter the entirety of the utterance (i.e. read the entire text) to make this determination; too, as with Bakhtin's conception of the speech plan, the reader's ability to make this determination is reflective of an understanding of a cultural norm, rather than a heightened ability to "read" the work on hand. The association of this cover and title with certain kinds of narratives – that is, the ability to exclude certain types of narrative arcs due to a knowledge that such developments are foreign to the genre signaled by the cover – is not reliant upon information contained within the genre itself. Instead, it shows that the reader is conversant with the types of utterances signaled by the work's genre – that is, that they possess a knowledge of the cultural conventions involved and thus approach the text with distinct notions as to how they will understand its content.

Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to ascertain the precise role of the work in producing assumptions and modulating how readers understand associated texts. As alluded to in

the previous argument, genres are nothing but cultural conventions, uncodified in any way, shape, or form. Determining the character of such conventions is a daunting task even if they are still active; retroactively fixing these norms, as I wish to do with the genre of the Soviet work of the 1960s and 1970s, is a historical conundrum.

Moreover, the most obvious means of approaching this problem – studying the reception of books – presents its own slate of issues. When one confronts the reception of an utterance – that is, how people responded to the speech genre and its content – it seems nearly impossible to separate the role of the genre from the nature of the ensuing content. Returning to the above example, if the exterior of our book signals that its text would be a sci-fi saga, and the text eventually fulfills this expectation, how would one manage to deconstruct the reception of the book – that is, of both its genre and its content – into portions conditioned by the genre and those fulfilled by the text? If works set up a genre and the texts fulfill them, how do we discern what portion of the reception follows from the generic framing as opposed to the texts themselves?

Further, if we choose to tackle this subject through a reception history, another problem presents itself. If one is interested in discerning the way in which a book (or text) was understood, one is not concerned with how a single reader apprehended a book, but rather with how *readerships* understood books, how the *collective public* apprehended a text. However, insufficient historical evidence is left to literary scholars; reviews in newspapers reveal the opinions of individual critics, not the average reader; marginalia reflects a single reading, not a multitude; and, in either (or pretty much any other) case, the receptions that most easily present themselves are those of elite readers, those who are most likely to have possessed the cultural purchase to leave their thoughts and impressions for posterity. In short, then, how does one uncover how a public received a book or define how an object was received *systemically*?

1.2: Tamizdat: Bibliographic Manna

I propose that a close study of tamizdat presents a means for cutting through this gordian knot. In short, tamizdat isolates the reception of the work from that of the text; renders the genre of the Soviet work abundantly visible; and provides millions of individual instances of reception in doing so.

1.2.1: Isolation of reception

Let's take these claims in turn. First, the defining characteristic of tamizdat – its disconnect between work and text – allows us to isolate the reception afforded to works within the Soviet Union. This follows from the disparity between the official opinion of "tamizdat texts" within the USSR and the reception actually afforded to tamizdat books. Unsurprisingly, most texts published in tamizdat were greeted with automatic opprobrium by Soviet authorities; indeed, in prominent cases, we can pinpoint the official reception afforded to such texts. For example, *Pravda* published an eighteen-hundred-word denunciation of *Arkhipelag Gulag* three weeks after the YMCA edition's publication, including attacks such as "*The Gulag Archipelago* was clearly intended to fool and deceive gullible people with all sorts of fabrications about the USSR." [12] In these circumstances, it is logical that the Soviet government would attempt to limit the incursion of such texts into the USSR.

[12] Solov'ev, I. "Put' predatel'stva." *Pravda*. January 14, 1974.

The first indirect attacks on *Gulag* appeared in *Pravda* on January 6th and 8th, but these were quotations of criticisms published in Unsere Zeit and Rude Pravo respectively; the above quote comes from the first original denunciation of Solzhenitsyn's text printed in a Soviet newspaper. See "The First Attacks on Solzhenitsyn," *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, January 30, 1974. 4.

When tamizdat volumes were actually transmitted to the Soviet Union, however, they received an unexpected reception given the above; during the Cold War, over one million tamizdat books successfully penetrated Soviet borders.[13] Anyone reading this dissertation will have no doubts as to why this occurred, of course; the masquerade-work tricked Soviet border guards into overlooking these volumes, facilitating their entry into the USSR. When we decompose this dynamic, though, we are left with a significant observation, one similar to that underpinning our discussion of the masquerade work but subtly different. If border guards understood the nature of the texts within these books – i.e. formed a reception of these texts – they would have intercepted and confiscated these volumes in line with government policy. Instead, the fact that these books were allowed into the USSR speaks to another dynamic at play: either border guards missed the presence of these books (something we will return to shortly), or they formed a reception of these volumes independent of their texts. In short, when tamizdat volumes were noticed, they engendered receptions based purely on their *works* in order to *annihilate* any reception based upon their texts.

Therefore, tamizdat presents a unique phenomenon: it represents an instance of individuals generating pure, undisputed receptions of works.[14] To this end, a study of tamizdat

[13] Richmond, Yale. *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003: 137. We will return to this topic – and will analyze the primary source utilized by Richmond – when discussing the "millions of individual instances of reception" at the end of this subsection.

[14] Further, tamizdat presents an additional boon – this phenomenon allows us to analyze the work semi-experimentally, helping us identify the role of its myriad components in constructing the genre of the work. As referred to in chapter one, tamizdat publishers created masquerade through the alteration of myriad paratexts – striking out a preface, blanking a title page, etc. All in all, these efforts create a broad spectrum of masquerade works, the differences between which frequently come down to alterations or absences in single paratexts. When we produce a taxonomy of masquerade, then, and search for commonalities in the reception of each class (that is, similarities among the reception of miniature books, or books with false imprints, etc.), we discover how these individual facets morph to the generic understanding of the work. In other words, tamizdat presents a phenomenon where we can isolate the importance of individual paratexts and analyze how they affect reception of works as a whole.

allows us to analyze the reception of the work within the USSR without any interference from texts.

1.2.2: The Uncovering of Genre

The above, of course, raises an important question – what was the nature of these works, and how do they relate to Soviet books? This train of thought leads to my second claim – a reception history of tamizdat provides an extensive interrogation and illumination of the Soviet work.

To fully explain this idea, we must return to the generic framework from the head of this chapter. The core mechanism behind Bakhtin's theory suggests that genre comprises a social expectation bound to a particular object – in our example, an expectation of sci-fi plots generated by viewing a sci-fi trade paperback.[15] In other words, a genre operates when a particular object triggers specific assumptions. Thus far, we have mostly focused on the specificity of these assumptions; however, it is crucial to appreciate that these assumptions are only bound to *certain objects*. For instance, one would not invoke the assumptions bound to our sci-fi genre after viewing a banana – or, more pertinently, when holding a trade sword and sorcery paperback.

The importance of elaborating this dynamic lies in the fact that the masquerade-work exploits both halves of this equation. Tamizdat both exploits the expectations bound with the work within the Soviet Union and assumes forms that fail to invoke the assumptions linked with the work – i.e. creates objects not even recognized as books in the first place.

[15] This is basically Caroline Miller's seminal conception of genre advanced in Miller, Carolyn. "Genre as Social Action." *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, no. 70 (1984): 151–67.

In the former case, much of tamizdat took advantage of preexisting genres in the Soviet Union. For instance, the Flegon *Gulag* from chapter one falls into this category, evading scrutiny by exploiting the assumption that a Soviet imprint connoted the acceptability of its associated text. Given that such objects exploit the associations bound with Soviet works – and, for that matter, render their import easily identifiable, given the discrepancy between these notions and the character of their texts – tamizdat consequently represents an unusually clear enunciation of the Soviet work. Returning to our example, the fact that the addition of a Soviet imprint to a contraband text was sufficient to provide for masquerade – a reception that by no means was generated by the book's text – serves to isolate the import of this form and to demonstrate the generic meaning of the Soviet imprint.

In the latter case, many examples of tamizdat function by morphing aspects of their form to avoid detection as a book altogether, assuming forms that avoid invoking generic notions associated with the Soviet work. For instance, the miniature YMCA *Gulag* from chapter one works along these lines – by being small enough to hide in a baby's diaper, the book fits in spaces construed as impossible for such objects, thereby evading the attention of Soviet border guards. In this case, the volume altered its physical form to a degree where the object – and the space in which it was contained – was no longer recognized as being appropriate for books at all. These examples help us understand what collection of features was necessary for invoking the generic expectations bound to the work - that is, what were the minimum requirements for an object to be understood as a book within the USSR.

1.2.3: A Systematic Reception Theory

Of course, the above argumentation would be purely theoretical in the absence of evidence. Happily, the masquerade-work provides a final fillip – tamizdat represents a unique opportunity within reception history, constituting a phenomenon with millions of identifiable receptions. As mentioned, at least one million tamizdat volumes were sent to the USSR; indeed, the figure quoted above may be a low estimate for the total breadth of tamizdat. George Minden, the head of the CIA's book program for Eastern Europe, once estimated that the Soviet bloc received over ten million volumes during the Cold War, a substantial portion of which were intended for the USSR. In the last years of the program, 55% of CIA volumes were sent to the Soviet Union, implying that a substantial proportion of the above represents Russian volumes.[16] These figures do not include volumes published by non-governmental actors like YMCA or NTS, which is a significant omission: NTS alone claims to have distributed seven hundred and ninety thousand publications to Soviet citizens visiting Western Europe between 1968 and 1988, suggesting that the above figures are far from complete.[17]

Other estimates for the number of tamizdat volumes smuggled into the USSR also exist but vary widely. Ivan Tolstoy claims that "[i]n fourteen years of activity, over one million books, brochures, and journals were transmitted into the USSR," and S. A. Zezin estimates that NTS created *one hundred million* publications (including paraphernalia such as pamphlets) for export to the USSR. [18] On the other side of the spectrum, Petr Bazanov ascribes a print run of ten to fifteen thousand volumes per Posev pocket-book, placing the total number of such volumes in

[16] George Minden as quoted in Zaslavskaia 249.
[17] Bazanov, P. N. *Izdatel'skaia deiatel'nost' politicheskikh organizatsii russkoi emigratsii: 1917-1988*. Saint Petersburg: Sankt-Peterburgskii gosudarstvennyi univ. kul′tury i iskusstv, 2004: 330.
[18] Ivan Tolstoy, Richmond 137, Bazanov 335.

the hundreds of thousands.[19] In any case, however, we can comfortably state that the total number of canonically tamizdat works – i.e. books exhibiting masquerade – that were smuggled to the Soviet Union was at least in the hundreds of thousands, if not in the millions.

Further, it is fair to say that most of these books made it to the hands of Soviet readers. Isaac Patch, the head of Bedford Publishing, which oversaw the CIA's effort to publish tamizdat volumes for Soviet readers, wrote to this point in his memoirs: "[w]e believed that most of the books reached their destinations, as evidenced by the acknowledgements which Bedford and our European offices received."[20] There is no reason to expect that Bedford constitutes an exceptional case; if anything, one would expect that the Soviet Union would have been especially vigilant of Bedford's output, given that the organization considered Patch's firm sufficiently dangerous to have apparently embedded a KGB agent in their Rome office. [21] Therefore, the fact that the vast majority of Bedford's output still reached the USSR speaks to the broad success of the tamizdat program.

At this point, we must return to the route of entry for these books into the USSR. As stated in chapter one, the vast majority of these volumes was smuggled by hand given the difficulty of transmitting books by post.[22] As a consequence of this fact – and as already stated in

[19] Bazanov ibid. For information on the character of Minden's books, see Reisch.
[20] Patch, Isaac. *Closing the Circle: A Buckalino Journey Around Our Time*. Wellesley, Mass.: Wellesley College Printing Services, c1996: 261.
[21] This claim comes from the Mitrokhin dossier, comprising information provided by Vasili Mitrokhin to Mi6. British secret service shared summaries of these files with Italy's SISMI, which subsequently made this information public. According to the dossier, the KGB recruited Valentina Vladimirovna Shutrovich-Yastzhomb-Marcone in 1966 to inform on Bedford's Rome office (the ALI, as discussed above). [see "RAGGRUPPAMENTO OPERATIVO SPECIALE CARABINIERI REPARTO ANTI EVERSIONE N. 556/6 di prot. OGGETTO: Acquisizione delegata presso il SISMI Proc. pen. N. 4340/99N," n.d., https://www.heliosmag.it/old/99/5/dossierkgb.pdf.] That being said, this dossier is subject to a great deal of controversy, having served as the catalyst for a political scandal in Italy, so the veracity of this information is subject to some doubt. For more context, and for the background on these files, see Drake, Richard. "The Italian Parliamentary Reports on the Mitrokhin Archive." *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* 20, no. 2 (February 19, 2007): 344–56.
[22] This fact, incidentally, also comes from Patch: see Patch 261.

chapter one – these volumes had to survive an encounter with a border guard, one where they needed to effect masquerade in order to transit into the nation. To this end, the entry of a tamizdat book into the USSR is itself evidence of a certain kind of reception; it is a marker that the volume in question either convinced a border guard of its innocuousness or managed to evade the attention of the guard altogether. The fact that we can locate, at the very least, hundreds of thousands of tamizdat volumes within the USSR, then, is evidence of *hundreds of thousands of such receptions*.

Accordingly, the presence of myriad tamizdat volumes within the USSR bears tribute to a vast number of successful instances of masquerade. Tamizdat was not merely capable of tricking individual observers, but, as evidenced by the scale of the phenomenon, managed to deceive a wide spectrum of Soviet citizens. To this end, I claim that it is appropriate to argue that masquerade was successful on a systemic scale, given the variety of individuals who would have to be tricked in order to allow millions of books into the country. An investigation of how tamizdat effected masquerade is not the demonstration of a singular, idiosyncratic reception but rather a statement on how vast numbers of individuals understood books – i.e. an uncovering of the genre of the Soviet work.

In sum, tamizdat allows us to isolate the reception of the work, link this reception to the genre of the Soviet work, and work with a large enough dataset to treat these receptions as representative of a broad understanding of genre, rather than the reception of an individual or small group of readers. All that is left is to turn to tangible examples of tamizdat.

2: Books that Demonstrate the Soviet Form of the Work

At this point, we can transition to our first major tranche of books: works that play upon Soviet notions of the book, rendering themselves invisible by evading the attention of border guards. These books were meant to deviate from the expectations of Soviet citizens regarding books, thereby escaping notice by assuming forms that failed to be registered as volumes altogether. Thus, as we will see, these objects help us ascertain what kind of forms were considered to constitute works within the Soviet Union.

2.1: The Miniature Book

We will begin with perhaps constitutes tamizdat's most famous form – miniaturization, or the "pocket-book."[23] This strategy, as implied by its name, consists of minimizing the physical dimensions of the work itself, a move made to maximize transportability. In fact, we have already seen an example of this strategy in action; the pocket *Gulag* from chapter one falls under this umbrella.

Tamizdat, of course, was not the first instance of miniature book production. Indeed, miniature tomes are roughly as old as books themselves, dating back to ancient Sumeria and constituting an important component of both pre-modern and modern bibliographic production.[24]

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[23] To the extent that Bazanov literally just defines smuggled books as miniatures or books with bible paper – see Bazanov 367.

[24] Bromer, Anne, and Julian I. Edison. *Miniature Books: 4,000 Years of Tiny Treasures*. New York: Abrams in association with Grolier Club, 2007. 11-12.

Rather than being curiosities, miniature tomes were an important component of pre-modern bibliographic production. During the Middle Ages, one of the most prevalent book-forms (indeed, the most prevalent book from the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries) was the book of hours, an object kept small enough to remain "on one's person and transported in purses, sacks, and other contained or fine fabrics or leather." This remained true after the advent of printing - the earliest antecedent to paperbacks, conspicuously small books for their time, comes from

Traditionally, many of these volumes were designed in order to showcase craftsmanship, given the great difficulty in creating such books. On the other hand, as alluded to above, many of these books were miniaturized in order to facilitate their portability. The Sumerian tablets, in fact, fall along these lines; according to a librarian at the British Library, the tablets contained useful trading knowledge that could aid merchants dealing in barley, bran, and animals.[25]

For at least a millennium, however, miniature books have occupied an additional niche – they have been used to harbor surreptitious content. This was for fairly obvious reasons – in the words of a British librarian, "smugglers of ideas could easily hide tiny booklets."[26] To this end, miniature books ("kerchief-box editions") were smuggled by Chinese students in the eleventh century in order to cheat on civil service exams.[27] During the wars of Reformation, anti-Catholic tracts were published in small-sized formats, though this was partially done because such production was cheap.[28] The world's first book on birth control, a nineteenth-century creation,

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Aldus Manutius, who published small-form works with the intention of making them portable for scholars. With the advent of the modern industrial era, the above bibliographic production flowed into the modern paperback as we know it, an inexpensive form meant for the masses. However, conspicuously small books were still manufactured during this period. While some were simply meant to represent instances of craftmanship, others had definite purposes in mind. For example, the twentieth century in the US – Armed Service Editions, which were designed to be "flat, wide, and easily pocketable," in the words of a LOC librarian. Further, to this day, books with small form-factors are published for distribution in airports, railway stations, and other transit intermediaries. See Wieck, Roger S, Lawrence R Poos, Virginia Reinburg, John Plummer, and Md.) Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore. *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours*. New York: George Braziller, in association with the Walters Art Gallery, 1988. 27; Don C. Skemer. "The De Maridort Hours." *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 66, no. 1 (2004): 191. *The Paperbound Book in America; The History of Paperbacks and Their European Background*. New York: R. R. Bowker Co., 1958. 4. Machiavelli famously praised these volumes for their portability, stating that he liked to take Aldus' editions with him as he trapsed through the woods. See Borsuk 94. Cole, John Young, and Library of Congress, eds. *Books in Action: The Armed Services Editions*. Washington: Library of Congress, 1984. 3. The difference between "a-format" and "b-format" books; see Honor Wilson-Fletcher, "Getting Published: Why Size Matters," *The Guardian*, August 10, 2001, https://www.theguardian.com/books/2001/aug/11/gettingpublished.

[25] Ricciardi, Annalisa. "Miniature Books: A Lilliputian World - Part One." *American Collections Blog: British Library* (blog), August 9, 2017. https://blogs.bl.uk/americas/2017/08/miniature-books-a-lilliputian-world-part-one.html.
[26] Ricciardi ibid.
[27] Cherniack, Susan. "Book Culture and Textual Transmission in Sung China." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 54, no. 1 (June 1994): 45.
[28] Schick 8.

was printed in extremely small sizes.[29] And, during the Holocaust, prisoners kept miniature journals as a means of concealing their reminiscences from Nazi guards.[30]

The above gives us several suggestions as to the potential utility of miniature books. However, these case studies are both temporally and culturally specific; they grant us a notion of how miniature books operated within Sumeria, for example, but provide no concrete conclusions as to how they would be interpreted by a Soviet citizen.

The best case for uncovering this dynamic might be the very first instance of this phenomenon – *Doktor Zhivago*. The first Russian edition of *Zhivago*, a Mouton hardback, is arguably the earliest example of tamizdat; published by the CIA in 1958, this book was meant to be gifted to Soviet tourists who would subsequently return to the USSR with *Zhivago* in tow. The CIA soon found, however, that distribution of the large and unwieldy Mouton books was difficult and relatively unsuccessful.[31] In fact, importation into the USSR – due to increasingly vigilant and well-trained border guards – soon became nearly impossible; by the end of that year, CIA agents reported that Soviet customs officials had likely "been instructed to search travelers' baggage for this particularly hot item."[32]

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[29] Green, James. "A Few of Our Favorite Things, Part One: Charles Knowlton's Fruits of Philosophy." *The Library Company of Philadelphia* (blog), September 18, 2013. https://librarycompany.org/2013/09/18/a-few-of-our-favorite-things-part-one-charles-knowltons-fruits-of-philosophy/.

[30] Rothberg, and Stark. "After the Witness: A Report from the Twentieth Anniversary Conference of the Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies at Yale." *History and Memory* 15, no. 1 (2003): 94.

[31] In the words of a CIA agent, there were "problems circulating normal edition [ibid]." See "19581118 CABLE AEDINOSAUR," October 18, 1958, 0005796323, CIA FOIA Library.

[32] "REDWOOD/PSYCH: Distribution of Russian Copies of Dr. Zhivago," December 17, 1958, 0005796349, Central Intelligence Agency FOIA Library.

The CIA also offers several other recommendations for smuggling the book into the USSR. On one hand, the communique instructs travelers to claim that "[t]he book was bought from a Russian émigré in a city where the traveler had been before he went to the Soviet Union," "[t]he book was obtained from someone who got it at the Brussels Fair," or "[i]t was bought at a Russian book store;" on the other, it recommends that the book be smuggled by air, given that importation by train was seen as especially difficult.

Eventually, the CIA decided to shift to a different stratagem. On August 9, 1958, a CIA operative wrote the following:

> "[W]e would like to consider publishing a miniature light weight edition of [*Doktor Zhivago*] which could be mailed or carried into the Soviet Union more easily than the regular size book… Printing consultants at Headquarters advise us that such an edition could be printed on bible stock (or similar light weight paper) and would look something like a small 'pocketbook'. Since the miniature edition would not be intended for the Brussels Fair but for long range dissemination within the Soviet Union, there would not be such a time factor as there has been with the regular edition."[33]

The agency laid out its logic more clearly later that year:

> "Assumptions:
>
> a. There appears to be no prospect that [*Doktor Zhivago*] will be published in the USSR.
> b. It is believed that there is a tremendous demand on the part of Soviet students and intellectuals to obtain copies of this book.
> c. Soviet customs officers *may become increasingly alert to efforts to introduce copies of 'Dr. Zhivago' into the USSR.*
> d. A miniature edition, *more easily concealed and infiltrated into the USSR, would receive wide internal circulation*. [formatting original, but all italics mine]"[34]

Persuaded by these arguments, the CIA soon orchestrated the publication of nine thousand copies of a miniature *Doktor Zhivago*.[35] Textually, this edition is identical to other *Zhivago*s of its era. The only difference lies in its size and within other formal features of its work; beyond its false imprint, as already referred to, this edition also displayed a fake price meant to fallaciously indicate that the volume was intended for sale. [36] This, too, was a means of

[33] Chief, SR via Chief, WE, "Arrangements for Publication of Dr. Zhivago," August 9, 1958, Central Intelligence Agency FOIA Library.
[34] "Miniature Edition of 'Dr. Zhivago,'" November 19, 1958, 0005796328, Central Intelligence Agency FOIA Library.

This source also explains why the CIA set up the fictitious moniker "Societie d'Mondiale" – they were worried about "legal problems that might result from using the name of one of the bona fide publishers."
[35] "Publication of the Miniature Edition of Dr. Zhivago," July 16, 1959. 0005796413. Central Intelligence Agency FOIA Library.
[36] Mancosu 2013 191. Mancosu notes that there are some minor spelling differences versus other editions of the work, so the book was typeset again before printing. Further, Mancosu shows that Boris Filippov wrote an introduction for this edition, though it was evidently never printed. See ibid 192.

deception; the CIA wrote that "[i]n passing the miniature edition, travelers can say that they purchased it [redacted] or obtained it from some who in turn bought it."[37]

However, carriers of the miniature *Zhivago* rarely had to resort to this justification: in practice, the volume's form factor made it relatively easy to transmit into the USSR. This was expected; CIA operatives wrote that the book was "designed so that it could be easily concealed and fits inside a man's suit or trouser pocket."[38] This concealability was meant to facilitate smuggling – in a different document, they noted that the volume "intended exclusively for clandestine distribution" and that "[w]e believe that because of its small size and ease of concealment this will be the best edition to give travelers going to the Soviet Union. We also intend to use this edition in contacts with Soviet abroad."[39] To the agency's credit, this plan was a great success. The miniature *Zhivago* was far more easily transmitted to the USSR than the larger editions of the text. Indeed, the CIA was so pleased by the success of *Zhivago* that it soon published two additional books as pocket editions to be transmitted to the USSR.[40]

As the success of *Zhivago* spread, other tamizdat publishers were inspired to issue their own miniature books. In fact, we have already seen an example of this phenomenon – the YMCA pocket editions of Solzhenitsyn discussed in chapter one. YMCA, however, was by no

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[37] "Distribution and Exploitation of Various Russian Editions of Dr. Zhivago," April 1, 1958, 0005796370, Central Intelligence Agency FOIA Library.
[38] "Publication of the Miniature Edition of Dr. Zhivago" ibid.
[39] Ibid.

Interestingly enough, the CIA was explicit that this edition was not to be sold/transmitted to Western readers. In fact, the CIA tried to ensure that this book would *only* confront a Soviet audience; in response to concerns that this edition could siphon market share from émigré (i.e. for Western European Russian-speakers) audiences, the CIA wrote: "[i]f [redacted] should raise the question of the miniature books cutting into the sale of the regular books, [redacted] could assure [redacted] that the new books will not be sold on the Western European market." This serves to bolster the argument developed in chapter 1: tamizdat represents those books solely intended for a Soviet audience, and books meant to be consumed in the West constituted a different class of book. See ibid.
[40] As evidenced by CIA funding granted for FY 1960: see "19590925 NOTIFICATION OF PROJECT APPROVAL: AEDINOSAUR - RENEWAL FY 1960," September 25, 1959. 0005796420. CIA FOIA Library: 5. Unfortunately, the identities of these books are redacted within the document.

means the most prominent émigré publisher of pocket-books; instead, that honor arguably belonged to Posev, the publishing arm of the Narodno-trudovoi soiuz (NTS). NTS was a major Russian émigré organization based in West Germany; founded in 1930 by young Whites who perceived their elders in the emigration to be overly resigned to Bolshevik control of Russia, NTS aimed to combat Bolshevism from abroad. Eventually, one of their major stratagems for doing so became the publication of anti-Soviet texts. NTS was well known for publishing several journals, many of which (like "Posev" and "Grani") became keystones of the emigration. In addition, Posev issued myriad first Russian-language editions of anti-Soviet texts, including *1984*, *Animal Farm*, *Krutoi marshrut*, and others.

In 1958, D. P. Poremskii, a member of NTS, suggested that the organization print pocket-books as a means of smuggling texts into the USSR.[41] Eventually, Posev elected to follow Poremskii's recommendation, issuing numerous such books. In the words of Ann Komaromi: "Posev did a whole series of pocket-size editions, including Solzhenitsyn's *Rakovyi korpus* (*Cancer Ward*, 1968, 14.5 cm), and an edition of the six-volume collected works of Solzhenitsyn in Russian (*Sobranie sochinenii*, 2nd ed., 1971, 15 centimeters) as part of a targeted campaign to distribute prohibited literature clandestinely within the Soviet Union."[42] Indeed, NTS even miniaturized *entire journals*, publishing special editions of, among others, "Vol'noe slovo." and "Posev."[43]

[41] *NTS: Mysl' i delo* 54.
[42] Komaromi 2013 35.
[43] Baibatyrova, N. M. "Rostki 'Poseva': Izdatel'skie initsiativy russkikh emigrantov 'tret'ei volny.'" *Vestnik Novosibirskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriia: Istoriia. Filologiia.* 14, no. 6 (2015): 64; Tsurganov, Iu. S. "Narodno-trudovoi soiuz (NTS). Stupenchatyi snos diktatury." *Russkoe zarubezh'e*, 2015: 43.

In practice, Posev's project was a great success. Aided by their small form-factor and demure covers, Posev's books were relatively easily imported into the USSR. For example, see one recollection of a Posev *Master i Margarita* encountered in Moscow during the late 1960s:

> "The Posev editions were considered criminal. But Diupiun [a friend of the memoirist] had already learned enough about our reality to know not to place such a book in his luggage or bags. He simply slipped it into the inner pocket of his jacker – and voila! This is likely why Posev crafted small books.
>
> Indeed, one encountered books that displayed an even greater degree of miniaturized sophistication. For example, an edition of the Gospel for the imprisoned which was printed in microscopic (but still legible) font on five incredibly thin pages (though not translucent, in order to allow print on both sides of the page), without any sort of cover or title page. This made the text easier to hide."[44]

Most immediately, this anecdote speaks to a basic fact – as evidenced by the book's presence in Moscow, Posev's books were clearly capable of transiting into the USSR. However, the parallel drawn between the gospel and Bulgakov's novel is arguably the more interesting portion of this quote. The memoirist focuses on the gospel's lack of a cover page, a formal trait which renders the text "easier to hide." One might argue that the omission of the boards was meant to make this object physically concealable, but the lack of a title page – considering it constitutes one sheet of paper – does no such thing. Instead, this omission obscures the nature of the text, making it difficult to pinpoint as a gospel or even as a published text.

If we were to describe this object with the terms developed in the theoretical discussion from the head of this chapter, the lack of title page and board was a *generic tactic*. Given that a title page (and other aspects of the work) serves to evoke an expectation that the object at hand contains some sort of published text, the lack of these features produces an object that stymies

[44] Krotov, Viktor. *Navstrechu svoemu luchu. Vospominaniia i mysli*, n.d.

these expectations. In other words, the lack of title page and boards inhibits the interpretation of this gospel as a book and leads it to instead be "read" as nothing but a collection of papers.

I would argue that this dynamic is analogous to the choice of miniature form for the pocket-books described above. For a pocket-book containing a clandestine text to enter the Soviet Union, it necessarily had to escape notice. That is, when guards searched the luggage of individuals entering the Soviet Union, they had to miss any miniature volumes contained therein. If guards were on the lookout for books – as the CIA communique shows – they logically looked for books in places where they expected the possibility of finding books. This search, in fact, was the very dynamic that defeated attempts to import the large Mouton *Zhivago* into the USSR. The fact these border guards did not investigate smaller spaces – like the jacket pocket referred to above – shows that they did not think of books as possibly existing in such cramped borders. Conversely stated, Soviet border guards – representatives of Soviet culture, and individuals familiar with Soviet genres – were of the assumption that physical books possessed a certain size, and that spaces smaller than the volume belonging to that assumption could not hold books – i.e. that *books generically conceived were not of that scale*. And, of course, an implicit understanding of this notion was why tamizdat publishers selected this form; by possessing attributes seen as uncharacteristic of books generically construed, these volumes were able to completely avoid the attention of border guards. Therefore, the ability of the pocket-book to escape attention – that is, the choice of tamizdat publishers to produce masquerade by miniaturizing their books – is a commentary on what kinds of objects were generically perceived as books within the Soviet Union: in short, books were considered to be of a certain size and certainly larger than a pocket.

In fact, the annals of underground Soviet publishing provide an anecdote that punctuates this conclusion. In the 1970s, some of the largest names of in the Soviet underground – Aksenov, Iskander, Bitov, etc. – banded together to create a compilation entitled *Metropol'*, a famous volume eventually published by Ardis. Instead of the normal pocket-book, however, *Metropol'* was a massive object; in Aksenov's words, the book was "intended to be more than a stack of papers secretly circulated among the 'right' readers. We wanted it to be an attractive public object."[45] Indeed, as Sophie Pinkham, who worked closely with Aksenov to write a history of the Metropol' affair, argues, "The creation of a bulky, designed object, almost impossible to hide (and not very easy to read), was a slap in the face of the authorities, and a rejection of traditional dissident identity, which relied on subterfuge and surreptitious copying."[46] This is all to say that the creation of a large volume was meant to be an assertion of some sort of faux normalcy, rejecting the unnatural smallness seen as being characteristic of tamizdat.[47] In short, then, this anecdote helps underscore that pocket books were considered to be unusual objects, that such forms were outside of those expectations of characterizing books in the USSR.

2.2: Deparatextualized Books

Our second major class in this category is what I refer to as "outwardly deparatextualizated" books. By this, I have in mind books that lack paratexts that typically belong to the exterior of the book-object – names, titles on spines, covers, etc.

[45] Pinkham, Sophie. "Zdesizdat and Discursive Rebellion." *Ulbandus Review* 17 (2016): 136.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Indeed, when Ardis produced an edition of *Metropol'* for export to the USSR, it eschewed this form, presenting the text within a dramatically smaller package – i.e. resorting to the characteristic form of tamizdat.

In practice, the degree to which individual tamizdat volumes employed this tactic falls along a broad spectrum. In their most conservative manifestation, deparatextualized volumes can simply refer to books that look rather "bland" – that is, volumes lacking exterior visual flourishes. These volumes are typically clad in monochromatic wrappers (their exterior covers resemble a single piece of folded paper, typically beige) and present minimal information regarding the nature of their contents. An example of this form would be Boris Filippov's book *Sovetskaia potaennaia muza*. This book displays three pieces of information on its exterior: its title, located on both its front cover and spine, and a place of publication on the bottom of the cover. Together, these features occupy a small percentage of the exterior of the book, leaving the tome primarily bare. Many other tamizdat volumes fit this description; the Posev pocket-books from the previous section, for example, largely follow this dynamic, typically lacking exterior paratexts beyond small titles and the names of authors.[48]

The next step along our scale belongs to "spineless" books – volumes that look like the above but fail to include a title or imprint along their spine. This might seem like a minor deviation, but a spine is an important component of identifying a book; Gerard Genette describes the spine as a "site… [of] obvious strategic importance" given that it "generally bears the name of the author, the colophon of the publisher, and the title of the work."[49] Without such information, books become unidentifiable when place on their sides or within a stack, possibly interpreted as a neutral object or even as something other than a book itself.

[48] An example of such a book would be Posev's *7 dnei tvoreniia* – though the volume displays the name of the book and its author on both its cover and spine, these features are quite small, and the remainder of the volume's exterior is blank green faux leather paper.
[49] Genette 26.

An example of a volume of this form would be *Povesti i rasskazy*, a volume of Evgenii Zamiatin's texts published in 1963 by the Tsentral'noe ob"edinenie politicheskikh emigrantov iz SSSR (TsOPE). Based in Munich, TsOPE was founded by Russian emigrés for the purpose of publishing, in the words of Petr Bazanov, "political-revelatory [*razoblachitel'nyi*]" literature.[50] To this end, the publication of Zamiatin's work was well within their purview, given the official status of the author within the Soviet Union. Indeed, TsOPE made no secret of their motivation in publishing this work; the first text within the book – even before the title page! – is a small paratext on the verso of the title spread, contextualizing the nature of the work:

> "By 1962, 25 years have elapsed since the death of *Evgenii Zamiatin* [italics original]. Interest in this author has always been and continues to be substantial. This publisher knows of many questions regarding the works of Evgenii Zamiatin which have emanated from the "otherworldly [*potustoronnyi*] world," from that world which the author abandoned six years before his death. In order to address these questions and to commemorate this tragic anniversary, the publisher issues the present volume."[51]

Accordingly, this volume was explicitly intended for promulgation to the USSR, a goal enabled by the exterior design of TsOPE's book. Similar to *Muza*, the front of this volume contains the work's title, author, and place of publication; the spine, on the other hand, remains blank. This format, too, can be observed on many other tamizdat works, including YMCA's pocket-books and the Anti-Bolshevik Committee's edition of *Arkhipelag Gulag*.

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[50] Bazanov 325.

TsOPE was a major tamizdat publisher; they claimed to have published 12.5 million copies of books/miniature Mosty. [ibid 124] and had "dokazatel'stvo" of penetration and success of books [ibid 126].

[51] Zamiatin, Evgenii. *Povesti i rasskazy*. Munich: TsOPE, 1963: [0].

TsOPE generally seems to have been quite forward in declaring the intended audience of their publications; the first line in the first issue of their periodical *Mosty* states "*Mosty* is primarily intended for the Soviet reader." "Mission statement," *Mosty*, no. 1 (1958): 7.

Finally, the most extreme manifestation of deparatextualization represents completely featureless books – volumes that, externally, are completely bare. In some cases, these books were originally provided with dust jackets that could provide some sort of ornamentation, but these could easily be removed for complete camouflage. Examples include an undated edition of *1984* and a 1974 edition of Robert Conquest's *Bol'shoi terror*, both of which were published by the Associazione Letteraria Internazionale. The Associazione, also known as ALI, seems to have been the Rome office of Bedford Publishing, the CIA's aforementioned front in the book wars.[52] ALI published several dozen books for surreptitious smuggling into the USSR during the Cold War, but their version of *1984* might be their most striking production. The numbers "1984" are nominally printed on the front cover of this volume, but they are done so in black ink on dark green paper, rendering them functionally unreadable. In addition, the interior of the volume echoes this arrangement; other than identifying the title of the book, its author, and the Italian printing press that physically produced the book, the volume possesses no other information, lacking an imprint, colophon, introduction, and more. Together, the absence of these paratextual features means that, upon casual investigation, *1984* is barely recognizable as a book at all.

[52] This claim takes some piecing together – Isaac Patch writes that Bob Shankland, stationed in Rome, "head[ed] the translation and publishing aspect of the Book Program." [260] Later, when listing books published by Bedford, Patch lists Joyce's *Dubliners* and *Portret*, effectively linking these editions to Shankland. In correspondence between Liudmilla Torn, E. Bonner, A. Gibanovii, and Sasha Gribanov meant to uncover the translator of *Pamiat' Katalonii*, Liudmilla Torn writes, as quoted below, that the *Associazione Letteraria Internazionale* – the ALI – was funded by the CIA. Finally, in a separate email, Vladimir Pribylovskii writes that "I already tried calling our chief *ALI* editor, Robert Shankland, in San Francisco, but wasn't able to reach him." See "Dzhorzh Oruell 'Pamiati Katalonii,'" n.d., https://orwell.ru/library/books/htm_file/021.

This is all to say that Robert Shankland – the same Robert Shankland who published the hyperparatextualized books discussed above – was also in charge of ALI, which issued *Bol'shoi terror*, one of the most famous examples of deparatextualized books.

ALI's 1974 edition of *Bol'shoi terror* presents a similar form.[53] Though the book seems to have been originally published with a dustcover listing the work's title and author in large letters, this wrapper could be removed to create a completely featureless book, a small volume bound in blank red paper.[54] These features help render the book externally unidentifiable, a dynamic which strongly synergizes with the publisher's explicit intention that this book be smuggled into the USSR. In the words of Conquest's translator, "[n]o wonder that the Russian translation was issued in a pocket format, on the thinnest waterproof paper (so-called "Indian" or "Bible" paper) – the book was intended for secret transmission into the Soviet Union. [55]

As we can see, various books employed exterior deparatextualization to different degrees. Regardless of their commitment to this strategy, though, the rationale behind why publishers would create such volumes is relatively straightforward. To return to Genette, the function of paratexts is "to *make* [texts] *present* [italics original], to ensure the text's presence in the world" – that is, they render the text accessible to and recognizable by outside reality. [56] This is particularly true of the cover and spine, features that directly produce one's initial identification

[53] The book nominally states that it was published by the Italian publisher "Aurora," but this was a deception: in the words of the text's translator: "There is one more aspect about which Leonid Vladimirovich [the work's translator] and I did not discuss, but which, in my opinion, is not devoid of historical interest – the aspect of the publishing house. Leonid Vladimirovich mentioned the head of the Radio Liberty Committee, Howland Sargent, that is the boss over all the other bosses. What does he have to do with this, considering the book was issued by an Italian publisher. In actuality, everything is very simple: there was no Italian publisher in actuality, the publishing house "Aurora" was made-up, Conquest's book was issued by Radio Liberty itself, more specifically, the division of special projects which existed under the leadership of the Radio." See Tolstoy, I. N. "Britanskii rakurs." *Radio Svoboda*, August 5, 2015. https://www.svoboda.org/a/27172545.html.
[54] Vtoraya literatura's copy of *Bol'shoi terror*, for example, displays this dustcover, but my personal copy of the book is completely blank. See https://vtoraya-literatura.com/publ_2040.html.
[55] Svododa ibid.
[56] Genette 1.

of a book; in Genette's words, the exterior of a book is meant "to attract attention" and announce the text's physical existence.[57]

Though Genette's study is limited to French publications, this conclusion is equally applicable to Soviet books of the 1960s and 1970s. Brigette Pristed, who discusses the exterior appearance of the Soviet book in her work on post-Soviet book covers, writes "[i]n the Thaw years, Soviet book artists began rediscovering the past and themselves… New annual exhibitions… contributed to the institutionalization of the book as an art form. The exhibitions were intended to display the progress of Soviet book design in producing mass editions, with the goal of artistic improvement."[58] In line with this shift in bibliographic priorities, Soviet publishers began to celebrate the exterior of the book. One theorist of the period, for example, described the book as "a most beautiful flower of human culture," writing that "[i]t has its own architecture: the solid geometry of volume and size, the façades of the binding, the window of the title pages, and the suites of the pages."[59] This is all to say that Soviet publishers, too, acknowledged the importance of the exterior of the book in presenting a text to the world.

At this point, let us return to our generic framework. I claim that, like miniature books, deparatextualized volumes attempt to evade notice by subverting the typical conventions expected of books. By severing the links between world and book, deparatextualized volumes hope to become functionally unrecognizable as books, at least when subject to quick

[57] Ibid 28. This quotation is in reference to the dustjacket of a book, but Genette writes that the ubiquity of the dustjacket meant that this feature had come to supplant the cover as the exterior of the book, meaning that this quote ought to be understood in reference to the exterior of the book as a whole. See ibid 27.
[58] Pristed 50.
[59] A. Kamenskii as quoted in Pristed 51. Admittedly, this quotation comes from a liberal figure in the debates over book design. As Pristed later writes, books were largely more drab and homogenous that that described above; according to her, two standardized designs were used for "up to 85% of the total book production in 1971." (Pristed 56) However, these forms had exterior paratexts; insofar as they constitute the default form of the Soviet book, deviations – such as the lack of such features – continues to be conspicuous.

investigations. Of course, this illusion would not hold if one actually investigated the book at hand – once opening the volume, deparatextualized tomes are easily recognized and are frequently identifiable as anti-Soviet. However, deparatextualization was not concerned with how border guards understood texts or whether they were capable of identifying the fare at hand as anti-Soviet in character; instead, it attempts to prevent the association of anti-Soviet texts with contraband by preventing the identification of such texts in the first place.[60]

Therefore, deparatextualization is best understood as an attempt to sever the connection between text and world by obscuring the nature of the book. In other words, this strategy attempted to avoid the primary means through which texts announced their existence in a space, aiming to omit those features expected of a book and thereby defusing the genre of the work itself.

By way of a conclusion, I will end this theoretical discussion with a tangible anecdote. In 1960, Iurii Pismennyi, an employee of TsOPE, recalled distributing tamizdat literature in Vienna during an address given at the organization's yearly conference. During an international conference held in the city, Pismennyi made the acquaintance of several Soviet students attending the function and convinced them over the course of several meetings to return to the USSR with several books in tow.[61] During the last of these meetings, Pismennyi gifted a copy of Abdurakhman Avtorkhanov's *Tekhnologiia vlasti* to one of the students, who summarily ripped the covers off the book. By ways of explanation, Pismennyi quotes the student as saying, "thus it will be more certain".[62]

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[60] In fact, we have already seen an example of such a book – the gospel discussed above.
[61] Incidentally, this included a pocket edition of *Zhivago* – presumably the CIA edition discussed within the next subsection of this chapter.
[62] Avtorkhanov, A., and et al.. *Litsom k litsu: materialy vtoroi politicheskoi konferentsii TSOPE: 3-4 noiabria 1960 goda*. Munich: TsOPE, 1961: 87.

TsOPE's 1959 edition of *Tekhnologiia vlasti* featured two blank sheets of paper immediately following and preceding the front and rear covers of the book respectively. In other words, when the student removed the covers from this book, he functionally created a completely deparatextualized work. To this end, the student's actions are demonstrative of the theoretical point established above; by obscuring the nature of Avtokhanov's book, the student increased his chances of smuggling the volume into the USSR. Indeed, this parallels ALI's experience with their own books; Liudmilla Torn writes that ALI "published roughly twenty four books in Russian. Our most "popular" work was Robert Conquest's book, *Bol'shoi terror*." The prominence of Conquest's volume indicates that ALI's deparatextualized edition of the text was certainly successful in penetrating Soviet borders.[63]

In sum, this anecdote underscores my general conclusion; deparatextualization was an effective strategy relying upon the ability of an externally featureless volume to fail to be recognized as a book. When we invert this statement, however, we come to a more useful conclusion. These volumes' omission of titles, authors, and spines were the means through which they managed to create the above dynamic; this implies that Soviets believed that generic books possessed these features. Therefore, within the USSR, books were expected to possess some combination of spine, author, or title in order to be recognized as books at all.

3: Non-Soviet books

At this point, we can move to our second major tranche of books – what I term "foreign" tamizdat. These volumes employ paratextual forms that attempt to highlight their provenance as

[63] Oruell ibid.

the products of western publishing houses. As we will see, such books attempted to frame themselves as the innocuous products of unpolitical organizations, thereby attempting to obscure any association with anti-Soviet actors. To this end, these volumes tell us little about the character of the Soviet work itself – their desire to be noticed as a certain kind of publication precludes strategies based around not being noticed altogether. However, they do exploit how various paratexts were "read" within the USSR, thereby illuminating the generic nature of some paratexts for Soviet readers.

3.1: Academicization

The first subgroup in this category is what I tern "academicized" books – works that attempted to appear as the output of American universities. This might seem like an obscure tactic with unclear goals but was in fact was a clever exploit of a highly specific means of book distribution – library exchanges. To quote Yale Richmond:

> "The Library of Congress and several American university libraries had for many years an active exchange of publications with Soviet libraries… Collections in both countries were enriched, but many of the publications sent by American libraries ended up in Soviet *spetskhrany*…where access was restricted. Nevertheless, American and other Western publications were available to individuals who had the proper connections, as well as university students who had authorization from their professors. Moreover, many of the exchange arrangements were with provincial Soviet libraries, where control was not so strict as in Moscow, and consequently, more Western publications were placed in open collections."[64]

[64] Richmond 146.

Accordingly, books that were understood as the output of American universities could take advantage of an unusually easy pipeline to the USSR, avoiding confrontations with border guards and gaining access to, at the least, a limited subset of the country's readership.[65]

I know of several examples of this tactic, most of which appropriated university imprints to frame themselves as academic publications. Specifically, Boris Filippov implies that the choice of Oxford as publisher for Vyacheslav Ivanov's *Svet vechernii* was a tactic meant to increase availability of Ivanov's poetry within the USSR, and Filippov and Gleb Struve's publication of Pasternak's *Sobranie sochinenii* through the University of Michigan explicitly took advantage of this stratagem. As Filippov notes in correspondence with Struve, the university's imprint was used to mask the CIA's role in financing the publication, thereby increasing the political acceptability of these volumes in the USSR.[66]

The best example for analyzing this phenomenon, though, is another of Filippov's and Struve's works – their publication of Mandel'shtam's *sobranie sochienenii*. Filippov was strongly convinced of the need to disguise this collection as an academic publication; to wit, he wrote Gleb Struve on the desirability of sourcing Yale University Press' imprint for their project. However, he proposed to Struve that, when negotiating with the university, they should advance one condition:

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[65] On the other hand, such books were only available in *spetskhrany*, frustrating tamizdat's goal to transmit texts to a relatively broad group of Soviet readers – possibly explaining why this was a relatively obscure stratagem.

[66] Filippov, Boris. "Letter to Gleb Struve," March 18, 1964, Box 7, Folder 234, Beinecke Library, Yale University.; Filippov, Boris. "Letter to Gleb Struve," April 22, 1963, Box 7, Folder 223, Beinecke Library, Yale University. The latter letter states that Michigan's imprint made "everything clear – who the editors were, and where the money came from" – a useful deception when, as Filippov later notes, the CIA fronted funds for the publication of the volumes. See Filippov, Boris. "Letter to Gleb Struve," June 19, 1963, Box 7, Folder 223, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

It should be mentioned that Michael Wachtel has told me that he is unaware of any Soviet readers ever encountering a copy of this Oxford publication, but that may have been a product of the work's placement within spetskhrany.

> "We stipulate one condition – that the university sends around two hundred copies of every book it publishes (really, that we publish under the university's imprint) to Soviet academic libraries and Soviet universities and institutions of higher learning, and even some Soviet journals… It will be easy to explain to the university publisher that we are highly interested in the most free and most successful infiltration of our books into academic circles within the USSR, and that a university imprint is more useful than anything else for this goal." [67]

In the end, Filippov was unable to entice Yale into sponsoring his project. However, the publisher was able to accomplish his goal via different means. On March 18, 1964, Filippov proposed to Struve that they invite Clarence Brown to write the introduction to the first volume of their Mandel'shtam collection.[68] Struve was unsure of the wisdom of this move, believing Brown to be a mediocre scholar, and countered that Aleksis Rannit would be a better candidate.[69] In his next letter, though, Filippov explained that the choice of Brown was based more on the nature of his name than the quality of his work:

> "About the English preface… I directly admit that the ENGLISH [all capitalization and italics original] articles are not needed for the reader HERE [*tutoshnyi*], but for the reader THERE [*tamoshnyi*]: the volume will be far more "successful" if it is interpreted as intended for readers HERE… and not for the SOVIET reader, and the Soviet reader will find it FAR EASIER to receive such a book – it won't have the veneer of a book that was purposely published for *that* side. Therefore it is unimportant WHO [writes the preface], but we must not use a RUSSIAN name or someone who is well known as an anti-communist over there…[F]or transmitting the book over there, we need someone with a neutral last name – Brown or Smith, for example." [70]

In other words, in the absence of a suitable imprint, the inclusion of a preface written by someone *with the proper name* was considered sufficient to color this book as an innocuous academic publication. This dynamic implies that Filippov was barely interested in the content of his preface; instead, he seems to believe that a certain kind of name would grant the preface an academic valence sufficient for his purposes. In turn, this belief implies that such a preface – that is, an essay attached to the proper name – was sufficient to completely influence Soviet

[67] Filippov, Boris. "Letter to Gleb Struve," April 12, 1964, Box 7, Folder 234, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
[68] Filippov March 18 ibid.
[69] Struve, Gleb. "Letter to Boris Filippov," March 24, 1964, Box 7, Folder 226, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
[70] Filippov, Boris. "Letter to Gleb Struve," April 1, 1964, Box 7, Folder 234, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

impressions of the entire volume; if this were not true, Filippov would have not placed such importance on securing Brown's cooperation.

Together, this example speaks to three conclusions involving academicized tamizdat. First, volumes understood as academic publications were considered innocuous enough to be allowed into the Soviet Union – a dynamic that could be manipulated through clever design of a masquerade-work. Second, as seen with Filippov's efforts to source Yale's support, academic imprints were seen as capable of permitting volumes to take advantage of this pipeline. This suggests that Soviet readers interpreted imprints as powerful tools for establishing bibliographic provenance – a theme that we will return to later in this chapter. Finally, Brown's introduction shows that the presence of a preface in a volume – and particularly the identity of its author – was interpreted within the USSR as a significant comment on the nature and character of texts. Further, Filippov's lack of interest in the actual content of the piece shows that the political positioning of the preface was more important than actual content for Soviet readers. This conclusion suggests that the role of the preface in the USSR was not necessarily to be read but rather to establish a text's political position – an idea we will return to in the next chapter.

3.2: Price

Our next subgroup constitutes a minor feature, but one that widespread enough to merit mention – the assignation of fictitious prices to tamizdat books. This tactic was meant to frame these volumes as objects for purchase, rather than pure propaganda fodder. In fact, this stratagem represents one of the first means of crafting tamizdat; the first modern example of the masquerade work, the CIA's *Zhivago*, lists a price its outside cover. Over the year, myriad

tamizdat publishers seem to have also employed this tactic; an edition of *Arkhipelag Gulag* published by the Anti-Bolshevik Committee, for example, lists a price on its rear cover, and Brian Boyd recounts that several CIA editions of Nabokov novels listed prices "just for show."[71]

A related strategy was to craftily price books, convincing consumers that they were purchasing a legitimate volume and not American propagandistic pablum. For instance, while publishing *Sovetskaia potaennaia muza* for the American government, Boris Filippov sent his printer extremely specific pricing guidelines:

> "We now come to the question of at what price and under what conditions you will distribute your thousand copies of "Secret Muse." Here, in the USA, it will be sold for $1.50. But in Germany and in other European countries and in South America and in other countries it will be sold for far cheaper. Not so cheap that the book will cost practically nothing – that also has a psychologically deleterious effect upon readers – but such that it will be extremely ACCESSIBLE in terms of price, and that it will disseminate as widely as possible." [72]

The reason for this strategy, in Fillipov's words, was because "[f]or those who gave me money for this book, it is crucial that the book SPREADS – and that the volume spreads as easily and as fast as possible" – a goal potentially impeded by the "psychological" blocks created by overly cheap books.[73]

The similarity between these strategies seems to lie in a belief that distributing books via markets – or even just suggesting that books were intended for sale – was sufficient to deflect suspicions that the volumes at hand were propaganda tools. The fact that this notion was created by suggesting that these volumes were the products of market forces is interesting; it could be an attempt to take advantage of the general Soviet notion that western books were commodities

[71] Boyd, Brian. *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016: 504.
[72] Filippov, Boris. "Letter to Ivan Baschkirzew," November 20, 1961. Box 1, Folder 23. Beinecke Library, Yale University.
[73] Ibid.

created for profit, while Soviet volumes were repositories of information meant to stand above the petty concerns of profit and demand.[74] In the absence of archival material, though, I will avoid any further speculation.

3.3: Hyperparatextualization

Our final subgroup of foreign tamizdat comprises what I term "hyperparatextualized" books, a small but influential group of volumes: Nabokov's *Priglashenie na kazn'* and *Zashchita Luzhina*, Joyce's *Dublintsy* and *Portret khudozhnika v iunosti*, and Camus' *Neznakomets*. Nominally, these books were published by three different publishers: Paris' Editions Victor for *Neznakomets* and *Priglashenie na kazn'*; the same city's Editions de la Seine for *Zashchita Luzhina*; and Naples' Edizioni scientifiche italiane for *Dublintsy and Portret*.[75] However, when these books are placed side by side, it becomes obvious that they were ordered by a single entity; the volumes are physically identical. Though several of the books vary in typefaces, testament to the fact that they were likely printed by different printing presses, their layouts are the same: they are of one size, all feature titles and authorial names in the same places on their front covers, present the same formatted title page followed by two prefaces, one by a translator and one contextualizing the ensuing text; and conclude with a list of the author's works on the inside of the rear cover followed by a picture of the author and a bio snippet on the rear cover.

The identical format of these books results from the fact that, despite their different printing presses, they were all published by Bedford Publishing. In his memoir, Patch singles out

[74] For a lengthy discussion of this dynamic, see Pristed 16-23.
[75] Note that *Luzhina* uses the same fictitious publisher employed by the CIA for the pocket *Zhivago*, alongside many other tamizdat works. See Tolstoy 57-59 for a list of such volumes.

several of these volumes as representative products of his program, certifying their provenance.[76] Patch's autobiography even explains why the books were printed in different locations; he states that Bedford had branches in London, Paris, Munich, and Rome, meaning that these volumes were likely contracted out to different departments of his organization.[77] He also describes why the CIA would sponsor the publication of such books; in his words, the book program attempted to "provide [Soviet readers] with books – on politics, economics, philosophy, art, and some technology – all denied them by the Soviet dictatorship. The Soviet public, who had been subjected to tedious Communist propaganda… was starved for Western books. Through our Book Program, we hoped to help fill the void and open the door to the fresh air of liberty and freedom."[78]

Even apart from this context, though, these volumes are conspicuous due to their notable form. As implied by "hyperparatextualized," the books feature unusually developed paratextual apparatuses. For example, the edition of *Portret khudozhnika v iunosti* – the first appearance of the text in Russian – begins with a short biography of James Joyce; follows with a biographical sketch of the text's translator, Viktor Frank; proceeds to a short bio of James Farrell, the author of the preface; provides a list of Joyce's works; presents a one-page preface by Frank explaining the difficulty of his translation; and concludes with a twenty-three page essay devoted to the historical, artistic, and thematic context of the novel. This is not to mention the list of works and

[76] Patch 260-261. He even provides the background to the translation of "*The Dubliners*," stating that it took "a literary Irishman and an English translator working together to produce the work in Russian;" curious, given the work had already been translated into Russian within the Soviet Union during the 1930s and published by Khudozhestvennaia literatura. See Patch 260, Joyce, James. *Dublintsy*. Moskva: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1937.
[77] Patch 258.
[78] Ibid 256-257.

biography in the rear of the book as mentioned above; in the case of *Portret*, these features were literally duplicated from the paratexts at the head of the volume.

Past sheer volume, the content of these prefaces is also notable. The largest preface in each volume assumes complete ignorance on the part of readers, offering extensive keys to authors and their texts. For instance, *Dublintsy* struggles to establish Joyce's stature in the west, eventually comparing him with "Andrei Bely (1880-1934), who many fail to appreciate," while the introduction to *Priglashenie na kazn'* begins with the statement: "What can or must be said about Nabokov?" before proceeding onto a lengthy description of the author's life, work, and literary style.[79] As a shorthand, most of these prefaces eventually resort to linking these authors with titans of 19th century literature. *Dublintsy* describes Joyce's short stories as almost "Chekhovian;" Georgii Adamovich, the translator of *L'etranger*, links Camus' text with themes in Tolstoy and Dostoevsky; and the preface of *Priglashenie na kazn'* concludes by likening Nabokov to Gogol.[80] When it comes to text, too, these prefaces make similar assumptions; *Dublintsy*, for instance, laboriously explains the ordering of Joyce's short stories, and *Portret*'s twenty-three page preface compares Steven Dedalus' journey to that of Pierre Bezukhov, Konstantin Levin, Evgenii Bazarov, Rodion Raskholnikov, and Ivan Karamazov.[81]

Together, the above suggests that hyperparatextualization was a comment by tamizdat producers on the assumed capacities of their audience, a reading public presumed to be

[79] Joyce, James. *Dublintsy*. Neapol': Edizioni scientifice italiane, 1966: VI – VII; Nabokov, Vladimir. *Priglashenie na kazn'*. Paris: Editions Victor, 1964: 9.
[80] Joyce IX; Camus, Albert. *Neznakomets*. Paris: Editions Victor, 1964: 13, Nabokov 24 respectively. Adamovich goes farther than the other two prefaces, including a lengthy explanation of how Camus plays with several of Russian literature's favorite bugbears.
[81] Joyce, James. *Portret khuzdozhnika v iunosti* (Neapol': Edizioni scientifice italiane, 1966). VIII- IX ; XXI. Interesting, the preface to *Portret* seems to be the only paratext not written for its volume; the essay was written by James Farrell, the author of *Studs Lonigan*, in 1945. However, its selection is notable, and the piece certainly shares commonalities with features found in other hyperparatextualized prefaces.

completely ignorant of modern literature. Indeed, we can see this mentality reflected in the opinions of Vladimir Nabokov, who held similar reservations regarding this project. According to Ann Komaromi, Nabokov harbored "doubts about the political orientation and literary preparation of his unfamiliar Soviet readers" after the publication of *Zashchita Luzhina* and *Priglashenie na kazn'*.[82] When the author received one particularly "articulate" letter from a Soviet reader, Nabokov's wife writes that "We really did not know that readers in this age bracket, nurtured on Sholokhov and his likes, could judge literature from the purely aesthetic point of view."[83] A similar opinion on the part of Bedford Publishing is reflected within small details throughout these books, such as the decision to include the lifespan of Andrei Bely, implying that he was believed to be unfamiliar, and the decision to liken these authors to famous Russian literary figures, providing a reference point for readers well acquainted with classical literature taught in Soviet schools. More importantly, this stance is also reflected in the macro identity of these volumes; these books hold enough information to easily serve as a self-standing introduction to these authors and their texts, a helpful form for readers presumed ignorant of modernism.

Beyond this conclusion, hyperparatextualization also reflects the types of books that tamizdat publishers believed as capable of penetrating Soviet borders. Crucially, Bedford published other, non-hyperparatextualized volumes – as we have seen, this organization issued some of the most "deparatextualized" books of the Cold War, *1984* and *Bol'shoi terror*. Accordingly, hyperparatextualization was a conscious choice – and one, we should note, that was not intended to impede the smugglability of these volumes. Viktor Frank, the translator of

[82] Komaromi, Ann. "Samizdat and Tamizdat." In *Vladimir Nabokov in Context*, edited by David M. Bethea and Siggy Frank, 166–73. Literature in Context. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018: 168.
[83] Ibid.

Portret, unabashedly admitted that his book was explicitly meant for Soviet readers, and Patch writes that the motive of his publishing program publishing program was to "communicate Western ideas to Soviet citizens by providing them with books."[84] In addition, we know that these books were successfully smuggled into the USSR. Ivan Tolstoy provides an anecdote in one of his articles describing attempts to hide a copy of *Zashchita Luzhina* from his father in the 1970s, only to find out that this book was ubiquitous enough within certain Soviet circles for his father to independently possess a copy; a 1979 study of Soviet defectors investigating familiarity with Camus within the USSR found that "*The Stranger* and *The Plague* were the works most widely read before official publication," and several individuals reported having seen Adamovich's translation of the novel.[85]

Therefore, deparatextualization was undoubtably a conscious – and successful – tamizdat strategy. Unfortunately, given the unknown location of Bedford's archive – not to mention the unwillingness of former participants to speak with me – I cannot give a concrete answer as to why this strategy was paired with these particular texts. However, a comparative analysis of Bedford's publications provides some insight into these questions. When Bedford published books that were obviously and overtly anti-Soviet, they chose to create deparatextualized books, a strategy aimed at allowing volumes to evade the attention of border guards. Hyperparatextualization, on the other hand, provides no such cover – these volumes are clearly books and given the preponderance of their paratexts, make no disguise of their contents.

This differentiation is likely explained by the radically separate character in the content of these volumes. Deparatextualized books typically contain strongly anti-Soviet texts, books

[84] Frank, Viktor. *Po suti dela*. Munich: I. Baschkirzew Verlag, 1977: 43; Patch 256.
[85] Tolstoy 46-47; Tall, Emily. "Camus in the Soviet Union: Some Recent Emigrés Speak." *Comparative Literature Studies* 16, no. 3 (1979): 240-241.

that were likely to have grave consequences if recognized. Hyperparatextualized books, on the other hand, were exclusively works of literature; therefore, Bedford may have believed that these books were of less danger to porters if discovered. Further, these volumes make no effort to disguise their imprints – in the case of the Italian volumes, in fact, Edizioni scientifiche italiane transliterated Naples, the location of the books' publication, into Cyrillic, ensuring that the imprint could be understood within the USSR. If I were to guess, it seems probable that, like the false prices discussed above, the mere suggestion that these volumes were products of the western market was seen as sufficient to allow their entry into the USSR. Again, though, an absence of documentation makes it impossible to prove this point, and I will avoid further speculation.

Thus, hyperparatextualization may have played two separate roles. First, it helped contextualize unfamiliar Western authors and texts for ignorant Soviet readers. Second, it helped render these texts anodyne. As Boris Filippov wrote, books were more successful when they were seen as being published for international audiences and not explicitly intended for tamizdat. The multiple publishers, combined with the extensive literary context in these volumes, may have helped create this perception.

For the purposes of this thesis, however, hyperparatextualization leads us to one major conclusion. Though these books were created at separate printers, their form is remarkably identical – without extremely detailed instructions as to how these books were to be formatted, it is impossible to think that these books would have resembled each other to such a significant degree. Therefore, the existence of these volumes speaks to the fact that Bedford must have placed an extreme onus on the design of their work, a fact which speaks to the centrality of bibliographic form for tamizdat.

4: Generic tamizdat

At this point, we can progress to the final section of this chapter: books that exploit the generic assumptions bound to Soviet books. In other words, the following volumes recognize how Soviet interlocutors understand certain bibliographic forms – imprints, for instance – and exploit these dynamics to render illicit texts as acceptable. To this end, these books do not tell us much about how Soviet individuals understood the form of the book, but rather lay bare the generic connotations that Soviet citizens superimposed upon bibliographic structures.

4.1: Complete deceptions

Our first subcategory represents the whole-scale emulation of Soviet forms, objects identical to Soviet publications but for their texts. NTS and Grani seem to have been the primary source for such volumes; Petr Bazanov recounts that these publishers would go as far as to encase anti-Soviet texts within books published within the USSR, using thick, well-known tomes (such as *Kak zakalialas' stal'*) to disguise their texts. [86] For example, Bazanov describes an edition of A. Artemov's *Solidarizm: novaia ideia revolutsionnogo rossiiskogo dvizheniia* encased within an edition of Tolstoy's *Rasskazy* (Khudlit, 1953) as an example of this form.[87]

Similarly, NTS employing a related strategy with Soviet newspapers, duplicating the form of these periodicals while swapping out their texts for anti-Soviet propaganda. These publications seem to have been relatively successful; Bazanov quotes one Soviet sailor from 1955 as stating: "[the counterfeit] 'Komsomolskaia Pravda' was well written, its disguise was

[86] Bazanov 334. Bazanov argues that this tradition follows in the footsteps of the narodniks of the 19th century and the White movement, which apparently did the same thing. See ibid.
[87] Ibid.

tricky, you don't immediately notice that it's not a Soviet newspaper."[88] Another Soviet reader stated in 1960 that "[a]t first glance, the edition was like any other edition. But, once you begin reading the text, the most unbridled hostile propaganda hits your head like dope. It turns out that the greasy hands of traitors concealed a false edition within a journal popular among our youth in order to spread their vile thought…"[89]

Though the latter quote indicates that NTS' deception was exposed as soon as one began to read the publication's text, it shares an important commonality with the first anecdote – in both cases, these individuals were lured into a false complacency by the form of the newspapers before reading their articles. Indeed, the latter quote renders this dynamic especially visible – the reader's judgement of "edition like any other edition," followed by his surprise at the content of the text, illustrates this dynamic at work. To this end, these examples neatly illustrate how the masquerade-work functioned in practice.

Unfortunately, this example does not lend itself to further conclusions. In a sense, it simply underscores that Soviet readers, like their western counterparts, read books "by their covers" – that is, that they used works as genres to form assumptions about texts. Any attempt to generalize further is frustrated by this example's small sample size – by ways of refuting a grander claim, one could argue that these readers reacted against what they expected to find within *Komsomol'skaia pravda*, rather that providing a window into how they understood generic Soviet publications. [90] To this end, this example is best used to underscore how the work functioned as a genre.

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[88] Ibid 335.
[89] Ibid.
[90] One might try to argue that the fact that anti-Soviet texts were received as incongruous when presented within a Soviet form indicates that these readers firmly expected that Soviet publications would contain pro-Soviet context – or, at the very least, content compatible with Soviet ideology. This, in turn, implies that the mere fact that an object

4.2: Titles

Our next category is books that employed false titles – that is, they only replaced their titles in their editions. This seems to be a rare class of books, and I know little about them. To wit, the primary example I am aware of is a book referred to in an article by Aleksandr Fedin, where he describes a tamizdat publication that appropriated a title belonging to an edition of Shakespeare's sonnets.[91] It is entirely possible, though, that this is simply a subclass of the books referred to above and that Fedin did not think to describe the work's imprint. For this reason, and due to a lack of evidence, I will leave things here.

4.3: Imprints

This takes us to our third category, the most productive strain of generic tamizdat – books that exploit the Soviet notion of the imprint. More than anything else, tamizdat underscores the crucial role of the imprint in coloring how books were perceived within the USSR.

This statement should not come as a tremendous surprise – we have already seen an example of this form in chapter one when we analyzed Flegon's edition of *Gulag*. However, the best example for analyzing this dynamic is not this volume but rather another example of Flegon's work. In 1966, the publisher issued an edition of *Doktor Zhivago* with the imprint of Zemlia i fabrika, a defunct Russian publisher that had been closed by the Soviet government in 1930.[92] Like *Gulag*, this volume was intended for distribution to the USSR; unlike *Gulag*,

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was published within a Soviet work is a comment on its content – which we will return to. However, this argument is frustrated by the counterargument provided above.

[91] Fedin 335.

[92] "Zemlia i Fabrika." In *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, 17:13. Moskva: Gos. nauchnoe izd-vo "Bol'shaia Sovetskaia entsiklopediia," 1952.

however, this volume had a direct impact on Eastern European literary politics. In the late 1960s, a copy of this volume was brought to a Slovakian publishing house, where it was argued that, since the book had clearly been printed within the USSR, it should be allowed for domestic publication. Accordingly, the Czechoslovakian government summarily authorized the publication of a translation of *Zhivago* in 1969, the first authorized version of the work in the Warsaw Pact and an edition predating the first official Soviet version by twenty years.[93]

When issued, the above book contained the following attribution: "Doctor ZIVAGO: From the Russian original *Doktor Zivago*, Zeml'a i fabrika, Moskva, Kuznetskij most 1964."[94] This statement – alongside the example of *Gulag* discussed at length within the first chapter – demonstrates that imprints invoked powerful generic associations for Soviet readers, assumptions that even the most famous anti-Soviet texts of the day were acceptable when accompanied by an appropriate provenance. [95] In short, the genre of the Soviet imprint connoted that any associated text – regardless of its nature – was doctrinally Soviet in content.

However, a closer analysis of Flegon's *Zhivago* offers deeper insight into the nature of this assumption. As mentioned above, Zemlia i fabrika was long defunct by 1969, a casualty of the Stalinist drive to reform book production within the USSR.[96] Anyone familiar with this imprint, then, would have quickly realized the farcical nature of Flegon's volume. The success of *Zhivago* implies that those who encountered the book – border guards, Czechoslovakian publishers, etc. – were deeply unfamiliar with the supposed publisher of this volume. Instead,

[93] Mancosu 2013 193.; "'Doctor Zhivago' Finally Published in Russia." UPI. Accessed May 16, 2019. https://www.upi.com/Archives/1988/01/12/Doctor-Zhivago-finally-published-in-Russia/1989568962000/.
[94] Pasternak, Boris. *Doctor Zivago*. Bratislava: Tatran, 1969.
[95] This argument synergizes with several points elaborated earlier in this chapter – most notably, the importance of imprints for academicized tamizdat, which too demonstrates the role of imprints in evoking provenance.
[96] Fomin, D. B. "Graficheskoe oformlenie knig izdatel'stva 'Zemlia i fabrika.'" *Bibliotekovedenie* 66, no. 2 (2017): 167.

these actors seem to have judged the book from the only other information present within the imprint – the *location* of the publisher (Moscow, as seen in the above quote from the Slovakian volume). This is to say that the meaning derived from this imprint was merely an *association with a given* ***place*** *of* publication, a denotation of the book as a Soviet product.

Therefore, *Zhivago* makes clear that, for communist readers, the assumption that a text was politically acceptable was not the product of an association with a given publisher but rather a recognition of geographic provenance – the same dynamic that allowed *Gulag* to fool Soviet border guards several years later. Accordingly, the reception of this book suggests that the implication that a book was merely published within the USSR was enough to establish that its content was doctrinally Soviet. In turn, this implies that, in the eyes of Soviet readers, any and all books published within the USSR contained doctrinally acceptable content. Otherwise, the mere suggestion that a book was published within the USSR would not be a particular meaningful claim, and certainly not one powerful enough to catalyze the publication of a text as notorious as *Doktor Zhivago* or allow for the importation of *Arkhipelag Gulag*.

To this end, the genre of the Soviet imprint was a particularly powerful and flexible declaration, representing a statement that the geographic location of a text's publication within the USSR was enough to ascertain the nature of its content.

Conclusion

In sum, the taxonomy of tamizdat found in this chapter lends itself to two separate conclusions. First, the breadth of this taxonomy and the variety of its forms speaks to the creative

energy of tamizdat, demonstrating the nearly postmodern understanding held by tamizdat publishers of bibliographic genres and their import.

Second, due to the unique nature of tamizdat, this taxonomy offers several conclusions regarding the Soviet book. In sum, we have learned that the imprint was a powerful marker of location for Soviet readers and that books published within the USSR were expected to contain doctrinally Soviet texts; that books were expected to exist outside of market forces; that prefaces were meant to serve as political positions regardless of their contents; and that books were objects of a certain size, with a set of features (titles, spine, etc.) necessarily inscribed on their exteriors. Together, these observations both illuminate the vast number of facets belonging to the Soviet work and begin to illustrate how this object functioned in practice. In the next chapter, we will use these observations to create a baseline for attacking our next question – a holistic investigation of the Soviet book.

Chapter 3: The Non–Soviet Landscape of Soviet Publishing

During the twentieth century, the USSR engaged in an unprecedented aesthetic program, a wide–scale attempt to instrumentalize art as a tool for political ends. Overriding the specificities of literature, a means of expression with its own history and poetics, Soviet authorities imposed socialist realism upon all facets of artistic expression, aiming no less than to "'remak[e]', 'reforge,' and ultimately creat[e] a new man."[1] In western scholarship, the fodder for this project has generally been understood to be socialist realist texts. Katerina Clark has written that socialist realist novels were a "sender…of signals," a "constitutive element" in Soviet history that served to create and shape the myths and rituals of Soviet culture itself.[2] Though this opinion represents the dominant understanding of Soviet literature, it abuts an uncomfortable truth. Between 1918 and 1975, the most widely published author within the USSR was not Gorky or Mayakovsky – it was Lev Tolstoy.[3] Over those fifty–seven years, Soviet publishers created one hundred and eighty–eight million volumes of Tolstoy's works – forty million more books than Gorky, the most widely–published Soviet author. This was not some sort of exception – Pushkin was published in greater quantities than any Soviet author. Chekhov was published more than Mayakovsky. Turgenev was more present on Soviet shelves than Sholokhov. Humble Mamin–Sibiriak – now largely forgotten – was more widely published than Konstantin Simonov or Aleksandr Fadeev.[4] And – to add insult to injury – Mark Twain,

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[1] Dobrenko, Evgeny. *The Making of the State Reader*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1997: viii.
[2] Clark, Katerina. *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981: 253. Though some have suggested that socialist realism ended with the death of Stalin, Clark writes that this is incorrect; indeed, she writes that "[a] closer look at the actual substance of the changes reflected in fiction under Khrushchev reveals that they were often not as radical as the rhetoric suggests." To wit, she shows how Soviet literature of this era continued to participate in a sort of *zhiznitvorchestvo*, an attempt to define Soviet reality well into the 1960s and 1970s.
[3] Mil'chin, A. E and Vsesoiuznoe dobrovol'noe obshchestvo liubitelei knigi (Soviet Union). *Kratkii spravochnik knigoliuba*. Moskva: Kniga, 1978: 11.
[4] For example, a quick JSTOR search for "Mamin Sibiriak" returns seventy results for over one hundred and twenty–five years of scholarship. See https://www.jstor.org/action/doBasicSearch?Query=mamin+sibiriak&so=rel.

Jack London, Victor Hugo, and Charles Dickens were published in greater quantities than Nikolai Tikhonov or Anton Makarenko.[5]

If socialist realism was the centerpiece of Soviet cultural policy – if we are to follow in the footsteps of Clark – how could this have happened? Even if we accept that the influence of socialist realism waned after the death of Stalin, how can we reconcile the role of Soviet literature in shaping culture with the preponderant behavior of publishing non–Soviet texts? If socialist realism was the means of creating the New Soviet Man, why would Soviet authorities have not merely allowed, but – as a result of the government monopoly over publishing within the USSR – actively condoned a bibliographic landscape where socialist realist writers were drowned out by other authors?

As we will see, the aim of Soviet aesthetic policy was not necessarily to craft socialist realist texts. Rather, Soviet authorities attempted to create the aesthetic conditions of a new reality through the use of the *socialist realist book*, a bibliographic frame that interpolated texts into the Soviet episteme through a combination of prefaces, postfaces, and physical forms (such as dustjackets and covers).

Such an approach explains how "foreign" texts were published in the USSR. The larger question remains – *why* were they published? How could a highly ideological and carefully controlled regime seemingly allow this aberration to occur? Why did the world of Soviet publishing deviate so strongly from our expectations?

This chapter is devoted to answering these questions through an analysis of the Soviet publishing industry, a highly idiosyncratic enterprise with unusual pressures and goals. A close

[5] Ibid.

examination reveals that various stressors upon this system created cracks in the Soviet publishing landscape, circumstances where both publishing houses and individual editors had opportunities and incentives to publish non–Soviet texts while nominally executing ideological work.

After a short overview of Soviet discourse on the book, I begin with a historical analysis of the Soviet publishing industry, highlighting the contours of its landscape from 1917 through the beginnings of the Thaw. I then transition to a granular analysis of publishing during the 1960s and 1970s, using primary sources to illustrate shifting circumstances within the industry. Finally, I conclude with a case study that depicts the intersection of the forces that defined publishing in the USSR, and I highlight continuities between earlier eras of Soviet publishing and the mid–century Soviet world.

1.0: The Soviet Book in its own Words

By the 1960s, the Soviet publishing industry was the largest such enterprise on the planet. In the fifty years between 1917 and 1967, the USSR issued two million separate titles, including seven billion copies of two hundred and thirteen thousand separate works of literature.[6] On a global scale, the Soviet Union produced one fourth of the world's books, titles compiled by over two hundred publishing houses.[7] This circumstance was not merely repeated in trade journals; it was a point of public pride, leading to the "proud, frequently repeated slogan" that the USSR was

[6] Chuvikov, P. A., ed. *Pechat' SSSR za 50 let*. Moskva: Kniga, 1967. 6–7.
[7] Ibid 6, 9. Soviet theoreticians seem to have been exceptionally excited by the global aspect of this figure, considering their frequency in citing UNESCO to substantiate this claim. See, for instance, ibid 7, or, for a monograph–length example, Unesco Symposium on Books in the Service of Peace, Humanism and Progress. *Kniga na sluzhbe mira, gumanizma i progressa.* Moskva: Izd–vo "Progress", 1975.

the "country that reads the most in the world."[8] In this environment, the Soviet book was no neutral object. Instead, it was an explicit tool of ideology.

Fundamentally, the Soviet book was construed as a tool of culturation, a means of elevating an uneducated populace to the intellectual heights of Marxism–Leninism. In fact, this perspective was formulated *in utero* decades before the October Revolution. In 1901, Lenin wrote in his article "How to Start?" that "[i]n our opinion, the starting point of activity, the first practical step towards the creation of the desired organization…should be the foundation of a Russia-wide political newspaper… A newspaper is not merely a collective propagandist or collective agitator, but also a collective organizer."[9] This concept of the printed word as an agent of change would become a constant within Soviet discourse around the book.

After the revolution, this leitmotif could be found in full force. Phrases such as "The Soviet press is a weapon of ideological edification and the education of the broad masses"; "the main goal [of publishing houses] is to issue that printed material which will facilitate the development of a scientific worldview among readers, which will widen their cultural blinders"; and "the book is a manifestation of spiritual culture. Its ideological, scientific, and artistic worth determines its value for the reader" were ubiquitous throughout Soviet literature.[10] At times, this rhetoric could become hyperbolic; the first Soviet textbook on editorial practice – a source I will return to – went as far as to write "[o]ur party considers the press to be its sharpest, its most

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[8] As recounted by Iurii Poliakov in Poliakov, Iurii. *Rossiia v otkate*. Saint Petersburg: Astrel', 2021. Russia, of course, still holds on to this claim; see, for example, Bykov, Dmitrii. "Dostoevskii i psikhologiia russkogo literaturnogo Interneta." *Oktiabr'*, no. 3 (2002). https://magazines.gorky.media/october/2002/3/dostoevskij-i-psihologiya-russkogo-literaturnogo-interneta.html.

According to a widely repeated Russian joke that has a certain relevance to the arguments presented in this chapter, the Soviet Union was "the country that reads the most — between the lines — in the world."

[9] Lenin, quoted in Chuvikov 5.

[10] Pechat' 6; Markus, V. A. *Organizatsiia i ekonomika izdatel'skogo dela*. Moskva: Kniga, 1964: 7; Dobkin, Semen. *Oformlenie knigi redaktoru i avtoru*. Moskva: Kniga, 1985: 4.

powerful and most wide-ranging weapon in the communist edification of the working class, considers the publishing house to be a fortress of Marxist-Leninist ideology, and [considers] the editor to be a vigilant guard of this fortress." [11] In these circumstances, the book was not an incidental part of Soviet culture. It was a concrete force of cultural construction.

This language was not limited to technical and specialized literature; similar phrases were echoed by the highest levels of Soviet society. Beyond Lenin's comments above – and his myriad other writings on the press – Gorky described the book as "the most complex and wondrous miracles of all miracles created by humanity on its path to happiness and the might of the future." [12] In 1963, Khrushchev wrote "[t]he press is our main ideological weapon… As an army cannot fight without weapons, the party cannot successfully pursue its ideological work without such as a sharp and combative weapon as the press." [13] And in 1971, Brezhnev argued "[i]n the complex and mighty task of the formation of the new man, in the ideological battle with the world of capitalism, the most powerful instrument of the party is its means of mass information and propaganda – newspapers, journals…"[14]

In this world, one would expect Soviet publishers to issue the texts described by Clark. But, as we have seen, they did not. Why did publishers diverge from this program? Why did they publish non–Soviet texts? To pick a particularly confounding example, why did Progress

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[11] Ibid 6.
[12] Quoted in Likhtenshtein, E. S, Nikolai Mikhailovich Sikorskii, and M. V Urnov. *Teoriia i praktika redaktirovaniia*. 2nd ed. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Moskva: Izd-vo "Vysshaia shkola," 1964: 5.
[13] Ibid 12.
[14] Sikorskii, Nikolai Mikhailovich. *Teoriia i praktika redaktirovaniia*. Moskva: Izd-vo "Vysshaia shkola," 1971: 58.

Western scholarship conducted on the Soviet book echoes these lines; Brigette Pristed has argued that "[t]he Soviet hardback was not a neutral packaging of literature but a material expression of certain Soviet cultural values," and Anne Fisher describes how Soviet ideologues imagined the ideal book as a "mechanical transfer of information from the book to the mind." See Pristed 57; Fisher 254.

Publishers issue a collection of Kafka's works, including both *The Trial* and *The Metamorphosis*, in 1965, a year after the end of the Thaw?

To answer these questions, we must turn from the rhetoric surrounding books to the entities that actually created them – the Soviet publishing industry.

2.0: The Beginnings of the Soviet Publishing Industry

Considering the hyper–ideological framing of the book in the USSR, one might imagine Soviet publishers to be a mere pipeline for texts, a frictionless conduit for socialist realism from author to reader. However, to borrow a page from Tynianov, the Soviet publishing industry was its own system. It was an enterprise beholden to idiosyncratic dynamics and emergent from its own evolutionary process.

In this section, I provide an overview of literary publishing within the USSR from 1917 through 1960. Through its multi–decadal existence, Soviet publishers were formed by three major forces that served as throughlines for the industry, conditions that explain the messy, at times contradictory character of book publishing by the time of the 1960s and 1970s. Below I trace the sinusoidal waxing and waning of institutional and ideological control over the industry; the presence of uneconomical, and, at times, anti–market behavior to satisfy "official" literary policy; and, finally, a surprisingly consistent imperative to meet economic markers or even achieve profitability.

2.1: The RSFSR and NEP

Though pre–revolutionary Russia was one of the largest book–publishing nations in the world, issuing more titles in 1913 than any other country besides Germany, the Soviet publishing industry was born in chaotic circumstances.[15] The first decree relating to the Soviet book publishing industry, "*O gosudarstvennom izdatel'stve*," was issued on January 11, 1918 – three months before the Treaty of Brest–Litovsk and well before the Bolshevik regime had consolidated power over the RSFSR.[16] This decree established a state press, the "literaturno–izdatel'skii otdel," as a department of Narkompros under the leadership of Pavel Lebedev–Polianskii.[17] In the decree, the organization was tasked with issuing basic Marxist–Leninist texts, textbooks, and "cheap folk editions of Russian classics," editions to be equipped with paratexts that could contextualize these works for the largely uneducated readership of the time.[18]

This organization by no means monopolized the early Soviet publishing landscape. Not only was this state press a subordinate organ, but it was forced to coexist alongside myriad publishing houses, both state-sponsored and private. On one hand, other official entities, such as the *izdatel'stvo Vserossiiskii tsentral'nyi ispolnitel'nyi komitet* and the publishing arm of the

[15] Remnek, Miranda Beaven. *Books in Russia and the Soviet Union: Past and Present*. Publishing, Bibliography, Libraries and Archives in Russia and Eastern Europe 3. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1991. 61.
[16] Note that I refer to the origins of the Soviet *book* publishing industry – which is why I ignore the *dekret o pechati* of November 10, 1917, which exclusively relates to periodicals – a drastically different kind of production with a drastically different role in Soviet culture.
[17] Malykhin, N. G. *Ocherki po istorii knigoizdatel'skogo dela v SSSR*. Moskva: Kniga, 1965: 304–305; "Dekret o gosudarstvennom izdatel'stve" (1917), http://www.consultant.ru/cons/cgi/online.cgi?req=doc&base=ESU&n=4343#TSoWqNTMrF7Ov1Bn.
[18] *Sovetskaia pechat' v dokumentakh. Moskva: Gos. izd-vo politicheskoi literatury,* 1961: 326. Stephen Lovell has noted that the intelligentsia called upon to write these introductions rebelled due to their "objection to the highly politicized commentaries that were invariably appended to the works of the classics." See Lovell, Stephen. *The Russian Reading Revolution: Print Culture in the Soviet and Post-Soviet Eras*. Studies in Russia and East Europe. New York: St. Martin's Press, in association with the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, 2000: 27.

Petrograd Soviet, occupied themselves with republications of political works from both the immediate revolutionary period and the 1905 revolution, eating into the LIO's role as both state organ and publisher of political literature.[19] On the other hand, more exotic programs, such as Gorky's *Vsemirnaia literatura,* attracted state funds for less political publications, offering, as Sheila Fitzpatrick wrote, a "refuge for the Petrograd literary intelligentsia" by translating and publishing foreign texts.[20]

However, even in this era of extreme chaos, one can begin to discern the dynamics that would characterize the Soviet publishing industry until the era of perestroika. First and foremost, the Bolshevik government embarked upon a broad, though incomplete, attempt to consolidate and control the politics and organization of book production. Between 1917 and 1920, the Bolshevik government nationalized over one thousand printing enterprises and unified them under VSNKh within the *glavnoe upravlenie poligraficheskoi promyshlennosti*.[21] In addition, realizing that the literaturno–izdatel'skii otdel was far too meagre for the state's literary plans, the government consolidated all of its disparate publishing enterprises into one entity, *Gosizdat*, which was spun off from Narkompros and established as an independent firm. This new organization was vested with extraordinary power – all publishing houses across the USSR (by this point, mostly comprising private enterprises) were mandated to send financial plans, thematic plans, and manuscripts to Gosizdat for review and ratification before their enactment or publication.[22]

[19] Ibid 305. Gregory Walker also refers to several other state publishing houses founded during this era, including Gostekhizdat and Kommunist – see Remnek 61.
[20] Fitzpatrick, quoted in Remnek 61.
[21] Malykhin 306.
[22] Ibid 307.

In addition, the government created the *glavnoe upravlenie po delam literatury* (Glavlit) in 1922 to buttress Gosizdat's censorial function. In the words of the decree behind its establishment, this organ was entrusted with "the preliminary review of all works destined for publication or distribution, either as manuscripts or printed product, including manuscripts, printed editions, periodicals and non–periodicals, photographs, drawings, illustrations, etc."[23] Glavlit remained the primary organ of Soviet censorship until the dissolution of the USSR and had its jurisdiction expanded throughout the 1920s; in 1926, it was instructed to take over Gosizdat's censorial role and preside over the censorship of literature both pre– and post–publication.[24] Given Glavlit's close connections with the upper echelons of Soviet governance – it was forced to report regularly to the Sovnarkom and was instructed to frequently review its censorial instructions with "the highest Party authorities" – this constituted substantial political control over literature.[25]

This period also introduced another theme in Soviet publishing – the distortion of literary policy by economic concerns. During the early Soviet period, the official instrumentalization of art that would characterize much of Soviet history was absent in the shuffle between fratricidal arguments over the role and nature of art and culture; Michael S. Fox has written that "in retrospect, 'NEP in culture' seems less an official endorsement of compromise or moderation

[23] Gori͡aeva, T. M., Z. K. Vodop′ianova, and Assotsiatsiia "Rossiiskaia politicheskaia entsiklopediia.," eds. "P͡olozhenie o glavnom upravlenii po delam literatury i izdatel'stva (glavlit)." In *Istori͡ia sovetskoi politicheskou tsenzury: dokumenty i kommentarii*, 35–36. Moskva: ROSSPEN, 1997.
[24] Ermolaev, Herman. *Censorship in Soviet Literature, 1917-1991*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997: xiii. We will return to the interplay between glavlit and other organizations in much greater detail, but, for now, see Ermolaev 144–45, 182–83 for the periods covered in this dissertation.
[25] Ermolaev 14. This dynamic has been observed in practice: Herman Ermolaev tracked roughly one hundred and seventy edits mandated in Artem Veselyi's works during this period and found that "[f]or political reasons [editors and censors] had to tone down Veselyi's representations of the Revolution as a violent display of elemental forces." See ibid.

than a contest between differing approaches."[26] However, the Soviet government did have one well known literary policy – the elimination of illiteracy. Krupskaia called for a campaign against illiteracy in 1918, an initiative that expanded into a national program during the 1920s.[27] As part of this, the Bolshevik regime attempted to abolish all costs for printed materials on March 23, 1921 – a welcome relief after the inflation of previous years, during which textbooks could fetch prices of three to five thousand rubles.[28]

However, an inevitable (if partial) surrender to market forces trumped this attempt. By May 5, Narkompros was already trying to limit the scope of this resolution to books intended for libraries, and the decree was repealed altogether in November 1921.[29] Indeed, as part of the November decree, the pendulum swung in the opposite direction – Gosizdat was instructed to begin operating on *khozraschet*, a financial system where individual industries or industrial concerns were tasked with managing a profit–loss margin.[30] For the rest of the 1920s, market dynamics prevailed in the publication of Soviet books; by the middle of the decade, over 600 private publishing houses had been founded, and a wholesale "crisis of overproduction in publishing" afflicted the Soviet economy between 1925 and 1927.[31]

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[26] Fox, Michael S. "Glavlit, Censorship and the Problem of Party Policy in Cultural Affairs, 1922-28." *Soviet Studies* 44, no. 6 (1992): 1046-1047.
[27] Kenez, Peter. "Liquidating Illiteracy in Revolutionary Russia." *Russian History* 9, no. 2/3 (1982): 178–179. The efficacy and devotion to this program, of course, has been questioned: see Fitzpatrick, Sheila, *Education and Social Mobility in the Soviet Union 1921-1934* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), most notably pages 168–176.
[28] Rettner 63; "Postavolenie SNK ob otmene denezhnykh raschetov za proizvedeniia pechati." In *Dekrety Sovetskoi vlasti*. Moskva: Izd-vo "Politicheskoi literatury," 1989.
[29] Rettner 64.
[30] Markus, V. A. *Organizatsiia i ekonomika izdatel'skogo dela*. Moskva: Kniga, 1964. 32. Newspapers in the USSR followed a similar trajectory, shifting from free distribution to a (somewhat subsidized) version of khozraschet; see Lenoe, Matthew. "NEP Newspapers and the Origins of Soviet Information Rationing." *The Russian Review* 62, no. 4 (2003): 616–617.
[31] Lovell 27; Lovell, Stephen. "Publishing and the Book Trade in the Post–Stalin Era: A Case–Study of the Commodification of Culture." *Europe–Asia Studies* 50, no. 4 (1998): 681. Specifically, independent publishing houses duplicated each other's work, issuing identical titles that failed to find readers. This glut helped drive theoreticians towards the position that nationalizing the book industry would increase efficiency. See ibid.

The presence of private publishers was not specific to NEP; the Soviet government capitulated to market forces as early as the immediate post–revolutionary period. The Soviet government allowed private firms to operate printing presses during War Communism, including pre–revolutionary stalwarts such as M. V. Sabashnikov and I. D. Sytin but also unexpected firms, such as *Alkonost* (publisher of symbolists such as Aleksandr Blok, Vyacheslav Ivanov and Andrei Bely) and *Vestnik teosofii*, the eponymous publishing house for the theosophists' in–house organ.[32] Some of these – such as the cooperative *Zemlia i fabrika* – even managed to stay afloat until 1930.[33]

An extreme paper shortage further warped the publishing landscape in the early RSFSR, leading to even more desperate measures. One–third of the former Russian Empire's paper industry was ceded to foreign powers as part of the Treaty of Brest–Litovsk and the later Treaty of Riga, and, at its nadir in 1921, paper production fell to ten percent of its pre–war levels.[34] This situation led the Soviet government to take an extraordinary step; in 1920, the Bolshevik regime set up a joint enterprise with the private publisher Z. I. Grzhebin, contributing £50,000 for the publication of textbooks and literature in Berlin. This capitalist enterprise was no minor player on the Soviet literary scene. Grzhebin issued first editions of major Soviet texts, including, for example, Boris Pilnyak's *Golyi god*.[35]

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[32] For the theosophists, see their post–1917 issues of *Vestnik teosofii*, all printed in Petrograd. For Alkonost, see Gleizer, M. M. *Izdatel'stvo "Alkonost": 1918-1923*. Sankt-Peterburg: Renome, 2015.
[33] Zemlia i fabrika ibid. The firm was nationalized in 1930, at which time it was transformed into the *Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury*. See ibid.
[34] Mashkina, Olga. "The Pulp and Paper Industry Evolution in Russia: A Road of Many Transitions." In *The Evolution of Global Paper Industry, 1800–2050: A Comparative Analysis*, edited by Juha–Antti Lamberg, 289, 292. New York: Springer, 2012.
[35] Browning, Gary. *Boris Pilniak: Scythian at a Typewriter*. Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1985: 21; Rettner 63. This plan was extremely unpopular among Soviet publishers – they were unable to compete with German industry – which led to its curtailment in 1922. See ibid.

In short, even though the Bolshevik regime recognized in the *dekret o pechati* – a decree issued only two days into Soviet governance – that the press could be "one of the most powerful weapons of the bourgeoisie," this industry diverged from formal ideological policy during the first decade of Bolshevik rule.[36] Though administrative reorganizations and the introduction of Glavlit placed a political watchdog over the press, the combined pressures of the paper shortage and NEP hyper–capitalism led publishers to diverge from Lenin's view of the book as "agitator" and "organizer." Instead, private – and even foreign – publishers dominated the early Soviet bibliographic scene, a capitulation largely attributable to economic forces.

2.2: The Stalinist Period

As in all sectors of Soviet culture, the advent of Stalinism and the beginning of the five–year plans provoked seismic change within the Soviet publishing world. This era bore witness to a transformation in the role and production of literature within the Soviet Union. This period is one of the most–studied eras of Soviet history, including a thorough documentation of contemporary literary policy. Even in this moment of chaos, though, one can find continuation of the dynamics discussed above, particularly moments of explosive administrative reorganization and a subtle, though definite gap between literary and publishing policy.

During Stalin's rule, the government continued to meddle with the organizational and censorial structure of publishing. The Stalinist era was most notable for the formalization and strengthening of control over literature; though the emergence of other bodies – such as Glaviskusstvo in 1928 – nominally reduced Glavlit's power over literary and artistic censorship,

[36] "Dekret o pechati" (1917), http://www.hist.msu.ru/ER/Etext/DEKRET/press.htm.

no such shift seems to have taken place in practice.[37] Instead, decrees in 1930 and 1931 specified that Glavlit "plenipotentiaries" were to be attached to all sites in need of censorship – publishing houses included – and that directors of literary publishing houses were to be deputized as these envoys.[38] Indeed, Herman Ermolaev writes that Soviet literature experienced significantly more censorship between 1932 and 1945 than in preceding years; for example, Ermolaev notes in a case study of Gladkov's magnum opus that "[t]wo–thirds of all corrections ever made in *Cement* fell into the 1932–45 period," and that "[t]he original version of *Cement*" – supposedly a foundational text of socialist realist literature – "virtually ceased to exist [after] 1941."[39]

However, this censorship was still incomplete. Though Soviet publishing was massively restructured during the first five–year plan, this administrative shuffling failed to produce adequately ideological works of literature.

Gosizdat's monopoly was deemed inefficient in 1930. After merging with 27 entities, the firm was split into 13 (later 16) different publishers under the umbrella of OGIZ. This reorganization, in the words of its decree, was meant to achieve the "utmost typification of publishers [and] the elimination of parallelism and doubling in their labors."[40] However, as both Soviet and Western scholars have noted, this reorganization led to increased confusion over the content and organization of publishing.[41] For example, in 1931, the Central Committee excoriated the publishing industry for "insufficient print runs," poor quality books, laggard distribution, and distant relations between publishers and authors.[42] And, later that year, nearly

[37] Ermolaev 9.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ermolaev 10, 58.
[40] Malykhin 345; Rettner 68.
[41] Malykhin 346; Rettner 68.
[42] Sovetskaia pechat' v dokumentakh 330.

twenty–five percent of literary works published in the USSR were deemed "not recommended" by the Bibliographical Institute – a serious rebuke.[43]

To rectify these deviations, a 1931 decree created Partizdat (the future Politizdat) and Gostekhizdat and issued instructions to other publishing houses to strictly define their domains. In particular, the new *Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennaia literatura* (the inheritor of *Zemlia i fabrika* and the future *Izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennaia literatura*) was directed to publish "[a]rtistic literature, [possessing] an enormous pedagogical value, [which] *deeply and completely* depicts the heroism of socialist construction and class warfare, the alteration of social relations and the growth of new people – the heroes of socialist construction."[44] To this end, the publisher was asked to stratify its labors much like the broader industry: "The publication of artistic literature should be specialized to a certain extent within GIKhL by delineated sectors (for example…artistic–historical literature, artistic–collectivization literature, [and] classical literature – Russian and translated)."[45]

This directive reflects Soviet literary policy of the era, most evocatively described by Evgeny Dobrenko in *The Making of the State Reader*. In this work, Dobrenko discusses the creation of the Soviet reader and socialist realism in the 1930s, a melding of mass taste and political necessity.[46] He frames the authorities as "author" and the reader, by analogy, "[as] *a*

[43] Rettner 68.
[44] Sovetskaia pechat' v dokumentakh 333.
[45] Ibid.
[46] In his own study of Russian reading habits, Stephen Lovell comes to similar conclusions: "In the 1930s, on the other hand, [Soviet readers] were accommodated within a single model of 'directed reading' (*rukovodstvo chteniem*). Despite its name, this model required not only that readers be suitably 'directed', but also that they produce and give voice to their own readings in an ideologically acceptable way… [by the 1930s] *all* public discussion of the reader had become overlaid with such cultural myth–making. And the myths in question were generated not by a single critic, or even by a single literary grouping or movement, but by the whole system of cultural production." See Lovell 2000 42, 44.

product of the joint creative work of the authorities and the masses [italics original]."[47] In this framework, Soviet authority was cunning – "theirs was the pragmatics of *pure power* [italics original]" – and pursued a unity between the government and the people which "forced the government to be egalitarian…. demanding obedience in return from the masses, particularly the obedient observation of ritual."[48] In practice, this compromise led to the creation of a new state aesthetic – socialist realism – where mass taste and official dogma met in the proverbial middle.

In his monograph, Dobrenko draws a sharp line between the ideology of literature and the production of books. He deemphasizes the role of the book market in transferring titles to readers, writing "[t]he Soviet model of the book market was from the very beginning conceived of as State–monopolistic. More than anything else, this meant a sharp predominance of State–controlled supply over demand."[49] More directly, he writes "publishers had practically no connection with the consumer, since neither the sizes of editions, nor prices, nor the nomenclature of the editions in practice depended on the consumer – according to the well–known principle of Soviet publishing: 'books are not published to be read.'"[50]

This quote speaks to an important dynamic – even in this era of heightened ideology, literary publishing and literary policy were not interchangeable. Instead, the Soviet publishing industry was still an industry, a field beholden to forces beyond pure cultural politics. Most important during this era was the appearance of industrial growth, i.e., increases in the number of books published in the USSR. Soviet decrees regularly called for increased production of books, though this mandate resulted in the mass printing of volumes desired neither by the government

[47] Dobrenko 282–283.
[48] Ibid 141-142.
[49] Ibid 168.
[50] Ibid 144–145.

nor consumers.[51] Dobrenko notes that this dynamic actually produced fewer titles in demand by Soviet readers – a counterproductive result for an aesthetic meant to satiate mass tastes.[52]

Even under Stalin, though, economic profitability was still of some importance to book production. A mid–1960s textbook on the organization of Soviet publishing economics prominently brags about the profitability of publishing during the five–year plans, a claim reiterated in revised editions through the 1970s (though obviously a statement subject to serious doubt).[53] In addition, publishers during this period began to append socialist prefaces to otherwise unpublishable texts to justify the publication of either aesthetically interesting or profitable titles in an attempt to garner sales – a dynamic I will later revisit in detail.[54]

That being said, publishing houses were also asked to engage in unprofitable behavior to increase the dissemination of texts. For example, book–sellers were framed as ideological workers, more concerned with guiding readers towards helpful literature than earning either sales or profit.[55] Some even argued for a renewal of the early RSFSR's plan to distribute books free of charge.[56] Stephen Lovell, the author of the most authoritative study of Soviet readers during the entire sweep of Soviet history, writes "in practice any ideologically sound periodicals were allowed to be loss–making" – a situation that by no means would have been any different for book publishers.[57]

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[51] For example, see Sovetskaia pechat' v dokumentakh 329–330.
[52] Dobrenko 168–169.
[53] Markus 40; Markus, V. A. *Organizatsiia i ekonomika izdatel'skogo dela*. Moskva: Kniga, 1976: 33.
[54] See Kagarlitskii, Iulii. "O predisloviiakh." In *Redaktor i perevod*, 117–43. Moskva: Kniga, 1965:117–43.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Lovell Asia 682. This is not an altogether different role than the one Dobrenko assigns to librarians in his own work.
[57] Ibid 45. This was a large shift in the Soviet bibliographic world. While private book holdings were always seen as suspect in the USSR – in December 1918, Narkompros confiscated all book collections numbering over five hundred volumes in size – book collecting was a tolerated pastime during the early Soviet period. Secondhand book stalls operated by the walls of the Kremlin in the 1920s, and, in 1918, someone went as far as to order "one hundred *feet* [italics original]" of finely bound books from a bookstore. This, of course, came to an abrupt halt by the 1930s;

Thus, while one might expect complete harmony between publishing and literary policy during Stalin's experiments with totality, no such unity seems to have occurred. Instead, the unwieldy publishing industry repeatedly failed Soviet ideologues and censors and, even after subjugating its output to uneconomical ideology, found itself partially beholden to the economic realities of national industry.

2.3: Post–1953

At one point in his argumentation, Dobrenko writes that "[i]n the majority of the forms and methods we do not find, it seems, the main 'tool for the propaganda of the book' – the book itself."[58] This changed drastically after the death of Stalin. Like the rest of the country, the Soviet publishing industry was forced to liberalize and shift as the nation lurched through destalinization and the Thaw. As Stephen Lovell has written, "[t]he rediscovery of private (that is, non–collective) life in the post–Stalin period was reflected in the area that most concerns us here: the circulation and consumption of print culture. The state monopoly of publishing and the book trade was able to conceal, but not to prevent, the growth and differentiation of the reading public."[59]

Due to the growth of this reading public and the dissolution of the Stalinist form of totalitarianism, the general notion of literary policy during the 1960s and 1970s is difficult to pin down. Though lacking the cleanly–delineated contours of the Stalinist period, literature clearly

by the beginning of that decade, all second–hand bookstores had been ordered to close, and all remaining stores were nationalized. See Friedberg, Maurice. "Soviet Russia's Bibliophiles and Their Foes: A Review Article." *Slavic Review* 35, no. 4 (1976): 702–704.

[58] Dobrenko 265.

[59] Lovell 2000 55.

played an important role in Soviet society. As Denis Kozlov has written, Thaw–era literature "became the principal medium" for reflections on the violence of the Stalinist era, and "politics, viewed as history, was debated via established literary channels."[60] However, this was already a far more fragmented landscape than Dobrenko's grand notions of socialist realism; Kozlov's dynamic, for example, was an attitude specific to the Thaw and a discourse that was primarily waged in journals rather than in books.

Briefly stated, the post–Stalinist publishing world was an ill–defined morass. Responsibilities for censorship flickered between various entities; publishers were asked to, at the very least, fulfill some ideological tasks; but, as an industry, they were simultaneously required to remain profitable. These forces have their roots in the grand sweep of Soviet history, but the murky devolution of censorial control to publishing houses and the intense drive towards profitability, coupled with an intermittent, half–hearted toleration for demand–side economics, produced a particularly acute situation by the early 1970s.

To discuss this period, I will shift from a macro–level survey of Soviet publishing to a far more granular analysis of the industry. An attention to the minutiae of publishing during this era will help illuminate the particular dynamics and pressures placed upon publishers. Fortunately, there is a wealth of material for this analysis; the first textbook on editorial practice to be published in the USSR, *Teoriia i praktika redaktirovaniia*, was issued in 1961 and was followed by two revised editions in the next decade. Further, other primary sources appeared during this period; most pertinently, *Organizatsiia i ekonomika izdatel'skogo dela*, editions of which were issued in both 1964 and 1976. These textbooks collectively allow us to unpack the character of

[60] Kozlov, Denis. *The Readers of Novyi Mir: Coming to Terms with the Stalinist Past*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013: 7.

the Soviet publishing industry during the 1960s and 1970s, revealing a surprisingly dynamic landscape and exposing concrete avenues for the issuance of unorthodox books.

3.0: The Structure of the Soviet Publishing House

Before turning to this material, we need a final point of contextualization: a description of the structure of the mid–century Soviet publishing house, whose organization was crucial in the choice of literature for mass publication. While the 1961, 1964, and 1971 editorial textbooks describe the same basic schema, the best source for unpacking the publishing house can be found in Gregory Walker's *Soviet Book Publishing Policy*.[61] Walker – a librarian at the Bodleian – published widely on the Soviet book industry from the 1970s through the 1990s. Though his works are descriptive rather than analytical, and his descriptions comprehensive to the point of convolution, his book still offers the best description of the Brezhnev–era publishing house heretofore published.

As Walker shows, like the Soviet publishing landscape itself, the Soviet publishing house was a complex beast. Separated into three layers – the executive board, editorial councils, and working editors, the publishing house allowed for (and forced) myriad complex interrelationships between individual actors in the publishing world.

To add another level of complexity, Soviet publishing houses were not independent entities; rather, they were explicitly subordinate to political bodies. Most often, publishers were beholden to the State Committee for Publishing, but they could be subject to more complex relations. Some publishers were subjugated to both the Committee and another organ (like a

[61] Likhtenshtein, E. S, Nikolai Mikhailovich Sikorskii, and M. V Urnov. *Teoriia i praktika redaktirovaniia*. Moskva: Izd-vo "Vysshaia shkola," 1961: 80; Likhtenshtein et al. 1964 78; Sikorskii 1971 147–148.

SSR's writer's union), and still others were simply conjoined with a single entity altogether (Politizdat, for example, was directed by the Central Committee of the CPSU).[62] Further, these superior organs were not neutral bystanders; they set the control figures for the publishing house, which defined both the funds available to a publisher and – at an extremely abstract level – the texts they were to produce.[63]

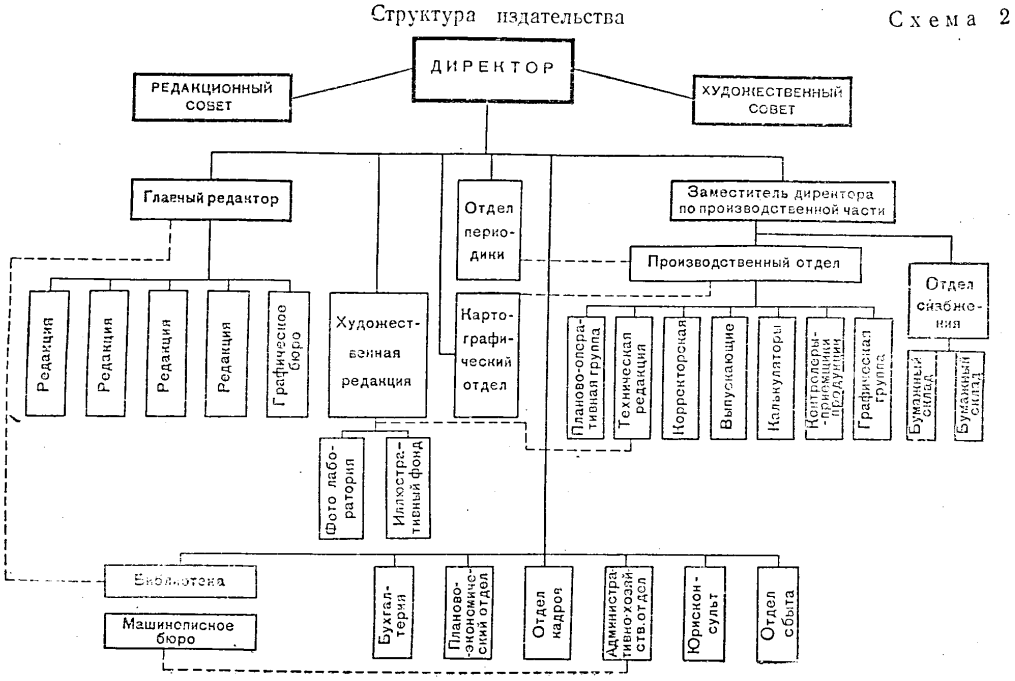


Figure 1: The Soviet Publishing House (Markus 1964 78)

The superior organ was also responsible for appointing the director of the publishing house and, on the recommendation of the director, approving the appointment of other senior figures, including deputy directors and senior editorial staff.[64] These political appointments set the tenor of the publishing house's executive council – the first layer of its tripartite structure. These individuals – the director and head editors – largely presided over staffing and planning, though they could be invoked to weigh in on particularly important or controversial

[62] Walker, Gregory. *Soviet Book Publishing Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978: 48–49.
[63] Ibid 49.
[64] Ibid.

manuscripts.[65] Given the importance of a publishing house's plan, not merely pertaining to the economic organization of the publishing house, but also decisions on "the annual and longer–term plans of titles to be issued," this was a major force in the selection of literature for publication.[66]

The second layer – the various editorial councils – was somewhat more variegated. These councils were comprised of experts in a given topic, typically constituting members of the intelligentsia, and both aided the upper management in forming long–term publishing plans and in identifying specific manuscripts (or topics) for publication.[67] By virtue of their professional affiliations, these individuals were far more representative of the Soviet literary world than the house's upper management; in Walker's words, these councils were "a vital link between the publishing–house and the readership which it serves."[68] However, the members of these councils were decided by the director in conjunction with the superior organ, and "[t]he publishing house [had] an obligation to be guided by (*opirat'sya na*) the recommendations of its editorial council."[69] Though these councils offered access to the publishing house for professors, intellectuals, and other members of the educated elite, they were by no means apolitical entities.

Finally, at the lowest level, the tangible, direct work of the publishing house was carried out by an army of editors – workers who, in the 1961 edition of *Redaktirovaniia*, were likened to miners in a mine, typographers at a printing press, or weavers in a textile factory.[70] Walker writes that every manuscript was handled by a given editor, who served as the main liaison between a publishing house and an author. Above all, these were the fundamental constituents of

[65] Ibid 50.
[66] Ibid 62.
[67] Ibid 52.
[68] Ibid 51.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid 83.

the publishing house – they had the greatest amount of interaction with a single manuscript, and, as we will see, had varying amounts of power to push through projects for publication.[71] Like the members of other tiers of the publishing house, Walker argues that these, too, were political figures; in his words,"[the editor's] duties are explicitly regarded as political, as well as literary and administrative, and he is expected to 'consider each work from the point of view of the Party's and the people's interests.'"[72]

While the publishing house had further appendages – artistic editors and editorial boards, printing facilities, accounting offices, etc., the preceding three categories describe the forces responsible for the acceptance or rejection of manuscripts.[73] In Walker's monograph, these strata are painted as highly ideological collectives. While this may have been accurate in the abstract, the material conditions of Soviet publishing during the 1960s and 1970s blunt his arguments. To gain a finer understanding of the Soviet editor and their purview, I will finally turn to our primary sources, which provide a more nuanced perspective on the transformation of manuscripts into texts within the USSR.

4.0: Editing during the Thaw

The first and second editions of *Redaktirovaniia* provide our first window into the Soviet publishing world – and paint a perhaps unexpected picture of Soviet publishing. Dating to 1961 and 1964, these textbooks are functionally identical; while the 1964 edition includes a second volume describing the editing of particular types of literature, the first volume is a republication

[71] Ibid 50.
[72] Ibid 50.
[73] Markus 1964 78.

of the 1961 text.[74] Thus, these textbooks reflect a mentality formed a year before the apex of the Thaw – and describe an intriguingly dynamic publishing scene, one where individual editors were able to advocate for (and execute) projects on their own accords.

The best place to observe this power dynamic is within one of the most important sections of *Redaktirovaniia*, a subchapter entitled "the editing stage of the publishing process." *Redaktirovaniia* frames this step as the crucial threshold for any publishing project, the first moment where editorial work shifts from organizational (i.e. formulating plans) to creative (i.e. evaluating specific manuscripts for publication). Here, editors created *otsenki* [evaluations] of publishing proposals, deciding to accept or reject manuscripts for publication.[75] This was a critical step; in the words of the textbook, "[t]he decisive element of the editorial process is the assessment of a work and, linked with this determination, the question of whether to accept or reject a manuscript. Everything concerning the future fate of a work depends on this."[76]

In 1961, low–level editors were the arbiters of this process, and they were empowered to use numerous criteria to determine whether manuscripts were worthy of publication. This included checking the "choice of theme" and the "implementation of the theme;" evaluating the quality of a work's literary language; and avoiding books "estranged from life."[77] They were even allowed to determine whether topics were worthy of publication in a book (they were reminded that texts could always be published in journals or *sborniki*), or even whether a given subject deserved publication at all.[78]

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[74] As far as I can tell, the only difference between these two volumes is minor formatting differences, leading to slightly different paginations.
[75] Likhtenshtein et al. 1961 98.
[76] Ibid 98.
[77] Ibid 99–103.
[78] Ibid 100, 105. This determination was framed as an economic question – editors are reminded that shorter books (reducing a book by one signature [*list*]) would allow for the publication of 100 million additional books per year. See ibid.

This process received further attention in a lengthy chapter entitled *Retsenziia*, a term the book (at times) conflates with *otsenki*. Once an editor performed their initial assessment as described above, a mid–level (or, occasionally, the head) editor had to approve the low-level editor's assessment of the book. While this was supposed to take the form of a written approval, it could even be a verbal agreement.[79] The book was then afforded a more complete review, a process nominally described by a 1955 decree entitled "The Preparation of Manuscripts for Print." However, due to the brusque nature of these instructions, different publishing houses conducted internal reviews via different processes.[80] For example, superior editors at Gospolitizdat assigned "non–plan" manuscripts – i.e., manuscripts not included in the publisher's long–term plans – to subordinate editors, who were personally entrusted with the acceptance or rejection of the work.[81] MGU's publishing house, on the other hand, operated under a far more baroque process. For textbooks, MGU only accepted manuscripts accompanied by two prior reviews; assigned manuscripts to professors in the faculty in which the textbook was to be used; mandated that the head editor alongside senior editors review the manuscript; and then sent the textbook for an additional round of reviews conducted by a team of reviewers and "one additional specialist."[82]

In sum, 1961 Soviet editors generally held great power within an ill–defined system. They were entrusted with establishing the suitability of a manuscript, considered competent

[79] Likhtenshtein et al. 1961 124.
[80] Ibid 125.
[81] Ibid 127.
[82] Ibid. External reviews were not completely unknown during this era; an external reviewer was occasionally consulted to evaluate the manuscript. In some cases, this was due to an inability to decide on the suitability of a monograph; in others, it was in service of the more complete review described above. In describing the choice of external reviewers for this latter process, *Redaktirovanie* cautions that external reviewers "by no means" were neutral actors, but actively agitated for good texts and attempted to suppress those by "unscrupulous" authors. Finally, the book explains that some publishing houses had begun to experiment with "collective" reviews, conducted by panels of scholars, practitioners, and even readers, but describes them as helpful rather than binding. See ibid 124, 132–136.

enough to consider questions ranging from literary style to the acceptability of a given topic for publication, and then were asked to gain the approval of their publishing house through a shockingly loose process, differing from institution to institution and occasionally not even requiring written approval.

Editors were further empowered by the general laxity of censorship during this period. Glavlit – or censorship, for that matter – is not described in *Redaktirovaniia*; while Glavlit's powers were initially preserved after Stalin's death, responsibility shifted from Glavlit onto other bodies during the early 1960s. Specifically, censorship devolved to editorial councils or even senior editors themselves, who were able to confer with Party officials in particularly difficult cases.[83] In fact, Ermolaev employs a "textbook for prospective editors" – i.e. *Redaktirovaniia* – to demonstrate Glavlit's weakness during this era by pointing to the absence of mentions of censorship within the text.[84]

However, to control this leeway, *Redaktirovaniia* emphasizes that editors were to be model ideological agents. Not only was this textbook the source of the quote on publishers as "fortresses" and editors as "guardians" from the head of this chapter, but this theme is often repeated throughout its text. Take, for example, the description of editorship as "one of the most difficult, complex, and multifaceted [professions]. This is explained by the fact that the work is demands – editing – is not merely the technical process of preparing a manuscript for publication, but before anything else, an important realm of ideological work." [85]

This system expected editors (and senior editorial staff, alongside editorial boards) to act as self-censors. As experts of Marxist–Leninist ideology, they were entrusted with screening for

[83] Ermolaev 143-144.
[84] Ibid 144–145.
[85] Ibid 82–83.

ideologically deleterious works. Indeed, in describing how to craft an *otsenka* during the editorial stage of publishing, the text emphasizes above all that "[i]t is crucial to check a manuscript from an ideological perspective" – a sentence granted an entire paragraph.[86]

This publishing system echoed the zeal of Thaw-era ideology and the systematic retreat from Stalinist social structures. The devolution of ideology to the person of the editor – and the empowerment of publishing houses by the ability to partially ignore the economics of their output – created a system where individuals could stymie manuscripts on their own accord. However, it also allowed individual editors to shepherd unorthodox manuscripts through the publishing process.

This subtle resistance is chronicled in the scant secondary material that has been written on the Soviet publishing industry. While few have tackled this subject directly, an adjacent field – translation studies – peripherally touches upon the editorial process. In articles and monographs on the creation and publication of translated literature in the USSR, scholars have described the particular niches that allowed for the issuance of "pernicious" works of non–Soviet literature.

For the early 1960s, the most comprehensive work conducted within this field constitutes Samantha Sherry's study of translation during the Thaw, and particularly her close study of the journal *Inostrannaia literatura.* Sherry builds on Matthew Philpott's conception of East German editors as "multiple personage[s]," balancing ideology and taste to publish the highest quality literature under the conditions of communism, and she argues that this framework was broadly applicable to the Thaw era. [87] In her words, "editors' multiple habitus resulted in a complex

[86] Likhtenshtein et al. 1961 99.
[87] Philpotts, Matthew. "The Role of the Periodical Editor: Literary Journals and Editorial Habitus." *The Modern Language Review* 107, no. 1 (2012): 61.

challenge to the work they carried out, as they sought to balance the political and literary aspects of their work and were compelled to negotiate between their attachment to the Western context and their position in the Soviet cultural hierarchy, seeking to produce texts that were suitable for publication and that also adequately reflected the Western culture they sought to disseminate."[88]

In her article, Sherry traces how Thaw-era editors successfully navigated this balancing act; her work offers tangible examples of triumphs by individual editors over the burdens of censorship during this period. For example, she quotes Boris Zaks, an editor at *Novyi mir* during the early 1960s, as celebrating an explicit "victory" over censorship by managing to issue radical texts.[89] Further, in her close analysis of *Inostrannaia literatura,* she describes several specific instances when editors "were, to a sometimes striking extent, able to prioritize their literary preferences in their work," leading to the publication of such authors as Jack Kerouac, J. D. Salinger, and Kafka.[90]

For a further illustration of this dynamic, let us return to the example from the start of the chapter. In 1965, shortly after the end of the Thaw, a strange volume appeared in the USSR – a luxurious edition of Kafka's stories, including *The Metamorphosis* and *The Trial*. This project (the result of a 1964 push, and thus a consequence of the Thaw) was largely due to the influence

[88] Samantha Sherry. "Better Something Than Nothing: The Editors and Translators of Inostrannaia Literatura as Censorial Agents." *The Slavonic and East European Review* 91, no. 4 (2013): 741.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Sherry 745–746. It is difficult to dispute Sherry's overall conclusion: "While it can be posited that the transfer of censorial responsibility led to the acceptance, although perhaps reluctant, of censorial norms, this examination of Inostrannaia literatura's practices shows that the reality is more complicated. The examples of the dispersed censorial responsibility in practice as examined in these case studies demonstrate the paradox that is at the heart of censorship. When embedded in the actions of agents outside the formal governmental apparatus, censorship can no longer be completely reliable as a means of control; censorial agents below the level of government or party combine both censorial action and resistance against this very action. Thus, this discussion of the practices of the censorial agents in Inostrannaia literatura highlights the need to be alert to the specific contexts of censorial action, treating censorship as a set of variable practices that reflect the struggle of agents in the cultural field, even in a seemingly 'closed' system." See Sherry 757-758.

of a singular personality – Boris Suchkov, the head editor of *Znamia*.[91] Suchkov typifies the Janus–faced editor described by Sherry; though he was famous for conservative stances and even a specific condemnation of Kafka in his public remarks, his private proclivities and behavior belied this reputation.[92] The Kafka volume exemplifies this dichotomy; though the volume begins with a sixty–page invective by Suchkov, excoriating Kafka for his regressive politics and style, the book presents the author's texts (most notably *The Trial*, perhaps the least likely text besides *1984* to be published in the USSR) in their entirety.

Emily Tall, who studied Kafka's promulgation and reception in the USSR, described Suchkov's "instrumental" role in publishing this volume in a series of articles during the 1970s and 1990s. In the latter piece, she interviews Marlen Korallov, a close associate of Suchkov, who recounts:

> In short, when we came to the 1960s, we realized that we did not know the twentieth century... This was a personal thirst and at the same time it coincided with a social thirst, with society's need. This is how I explain Vitka's – everyone called him that, not Viktor – choice of the most difficult authors, which he took upon himself, by this general feeling that his work was necessary. He quickly gained a reputation among his fellow translators… Suchkov was broad–minded and from the 1960s until his death he opposed the narrow view of foreign literature. Today he can be reproached for writing such a hardline foreword to the Kafka volume, but I know what it cost him to publish Kafka and that foreword was its passport, the step that cleared the way for Kafka.[93]

Thus, Suchkov's invectives were a feint. His championship of the Kafka project allowed for the publication of this exceptional tome at the end of the Thaw.

One final example helps to punctuate (and parallel) Suchkov's work: a single low-level editor was largely responsible for the publication of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the*

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[91] Suchkov would later become head of the Gorky Institute for World Literature. See Narpir"er, F. S. "Suchkov, Boris Leont'evich." In *Kratkaia Literaturnaia Entsiklopediia*, 7:284–85. Moskva: Izd-vo "Sovetskaia entsiklopediia," 1972.

[92] Tall, Emily. "Who's Afraid of Franz Kafka?: Kafka Criticism in the Soviet Union." *Slavic Review* 35, no. 3 (1976): 495. Tall even castigates Suchkov for his conservative rhetoric in this article, though she admits in the footnote quoted above that this was likely an unfair characterization. See ibid.

[93] Tall, Emily. "Behind the Scenes: How Ulysses Was Finally Published in the Soviet Union." *Slavic Review* 49, no. 2 (1990): 197–198. In earlier articles, Tall alluded to this reality; though she castigates Suchkov for his conservative rhetoric regarding Kafka, she admits that "negative criticism of an author is, after all, a means of popularizing him." See Tall 1976 495.

Life of Ivan Denisovich. While Aleksandr Tvardovsky is typically credited with spearheading the publication of the novella, Solzhenitsyn recounts in his memoir *Bodalsia telenok s dubom* that the real hero of *Denisovich*'s publication was Anna Berzer, a staff editor at *Novyi mir*. Berzer, who was initially assigned Solzhenitsyn's manuscript, took great care in protecting Solzhenitsyn's work; beyond editing the text at home, where it would be hidden from less sympathetic editors, she shepherded the manuscript through the publishing house, explicitly detouring the manuscript around conservative editors and other obstacles which could have stymied publication.[94]

Berzer's act of courage, alongside Suchkov's idiosyncratic act, exemplifies publishing during the Thaw. Though Soviet publishing remained a highly ideological enterprise, a situation seen in the hyper-ideological discourse in *Redaktirovaniia*, individual editors were empowered to work with some independence from the upper tiers of the publishing house. This dynamic represents the dominant of Thaw–era publishing, the distinctive characteristic that explains its more bizarre editions of non–Soviet works.

5.0: Editing under Brezhnev

Like many aspects of Soviet society, Soviet publishing ossified after Khrushchev's fall. Accordingly, it is no surprise that the 1971 edition of *Redaktirovaniia* describes a vastly different publishing landscape than the earlier textbooks. During the era of stagnation, individual editors lost much of their agency, becoming minor actors in collective processes, and Glavlit was reintroduced into the publishing process, placing a bureaucratic chill on publishing projects. However, the introduction of a new dynamic – a renewed focus on economic metrics – created a

[94] Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. *Bodalsia telenok s dubom*. Paris: YMCA-Press, 1975: 23–25. This narrative is also recounted in Frankel, Edith Rogovin. "The Tvardovsky Controversy." *Soviet Studies* 34, no. 4 (1982): 603.

fresh distortion within Soviet publishing, opening new windows and new opportunities for publishing non–Soviet texts.

The majority of this shift is described in a parallel section to the 1961 subchapter analyzed above – a newly rewritten "editorial stage of the publishing process." The majority of this text, like before, describes how the publishing house decided on the acceptance or rejection of manuscripts.[95] In 1971, however, the textbook describes a drastically different workflow by which this process occurred, predicated on a far more formal *otsenka* of a manuscript than in the previous decade.[96]

After 1964, the publication process was codified in the "Model Regulation of the Preparation of a Manuscript for Publication," a decree which formalized details as minor as the format in which manuscripts were to be transmitted to publishers and the timeframe allotted to a publishing house for reviewing submissions. [97] More importantly, however, this decree unified and expanded the manuscript review process for all Soviet publishers, wrenching evaluations out of editors' hands and delegating them to myriad actors. This group, comprised of editors alongside external experts – in the case of literature, writers, poets, publicists, critics, and scholars – was tasked with collectively writing reviews.[98] Senior staff was also liable to become roped into this process: in disputes, the head editor would evaluate problematic manuscripts. In the words of *Redaktirovaniia*, "in essence, the *otsenka* of a work is always the result of the work of a more or less significant group of people."[99] Finally, once this review had been completed,

[95] The book, again, describes this step as the "центральн[ый] момент всей работы по выпуску изданий:" see ibid 172.
[96] The 1971 textbook reiterates the thematic and literary evaluations expected of the editor in 1961. described in the earlier editions. However, this takes place in a chapter on editorial "*analyzy*" – post–facto evaluations of texts meant to correct insufficiencies, rather than establish worthiness for publication. See ibid 210, and 218–235 for the entire section.
[97] Sikorskii 1971 171–172.
[98] Ibid 174.
[99] Ibid 173.

the group's assessment was to be transmitted to the author of the manuscript, who was given the right to disagree with it as long as his arguments "are scholarly sound and do not contradict the interests of the socialist state, the principle of the *partiinost'* of literature, or the goal of the protection of state secrets within print." [100]

Bluntly stated, this landscape limited the ability for solitary editors to bludgeon through idiosyncratic projects. Admittedly, the book still emphasizes the ideological role of editors – though the rhetoric of fortresses is long gone, the book includes phrases such as "[b]efore anything else, editing in our country always possesses an ideological and political aspect" and "[e]diting, before anything else, represents a domain of cultural-literary and ideological work."[101] However, the placement of the editor at the bottom of the proverbial totem pole depowered their positions and made gambits like Suchkov's or Berzer's projects far less tenable.

The partial reemergence of Glavlit further complicated publishing projects, a dynamic alluded to above. The "protection of state secrets within print" from the above quote describes the nominal purview of Glavlit, which accords with Ermolaev's assessment that Glavlit was empowered after the end of the Thaw.[102] However, even in this period, coverage remained somewhat spotty; Glavlit was forced to cooperate with the Committee for the Press as a way of "double–checking" its work, and some degree of censorial power was still ceded to the directors of publishing houses.[103]

Even considering the above, it is clear that the Soviet publishing world was far more institutionalized – and controlled – during the 1970s than in the 1960s. While one would expect this shift to lead to a blander, more orthodox Soviet literary sphere, this did not occur. Instead,

[100] Ibid 175.
[101] Sikorskii 1971 18–19.
[102] Ermolaev 182.
[103] Ibid.

classical literature and works of translation continued to be issued in spades. The dominant reason for this circumstance comes from a new dynamic described in the 1971 textbook, one largely absent from the 1960s – a renewed focus on economic concerns.

Within *Redaktirovaniia*, this shift is most apparent in one of the textbook's largest changes: the addition of an entirely new chapter on reader demand and demand–side economics. The textbook emphasized that it was the purview of the publisher to ensure that books ended up in the hands of readers, which it frames as a nearly existential task. In its words, "[a] book – a cultural phenomenon – exists by its nature in order to be read, studied, mastered, and for the ideas, experience, and knowledge contained within it to be used. In this sense a printed work which, after its departure from the printing press, does not attract any attention and remains, as they say, a 'thing in itself,' cannot be considered a proper book."[104] In order to achieve this goal, the textbook instructs editors to review carefully letters sent to publishing houses: "[b]y studying letters, an editor can place before themselves a specific goal: to generalize the judgement of readers in connection with the preparation of a particular book for republication."[105]

This partial acknowledgement of market forces – a major break from the ideological framing of publishing during the 1960s – is largely attributable to a reemergence of economic concerns in publishing after the end of the Thaw. As Stephen Lovell explains, an increasingly literate Soviet Union turned to books as a form of entertainment during the 1970s, and, in turn, the Soviet public embraced the role of books as commodities. After the 1950s, the role of libraries in Soviet reading significantly waned in favor of private collections, and books began to

[104] Ibid 198.
[105] Ibid 203. This call to pay attention to reader demand was part of a broader shift during this period to evaluate the demands of Soviet readers, the first attempt to do so after the 1920s. For more, see Walker 15–17, and Dobrenko's work on early Soviet studies of the reader, Dobrenko 42–81.

be prized as one of the few consumer products available on the Soviet market.[106] Strikingly, by the mid–1980s, the median Soviet household owned over five hundred books.[107]

This so–called "book boom" led to the notorious "book hunger" of the stagnation years, an era when desired titles were intermittently available, only purchasable though the official *makulatura* program, where scrap paper could be traded for books in high demand, or via payment of high prices on the black market, typically for adventure or detective novels.[108] This failure to completely satisfy demand demonstrates an aversion to satiating the book market, a position forcefully advanced by party theoreticians. For example, one writer warned publishing houses against satisfying demand for books in popular demand, such as historical novels, war novels, and detective tales, by writing that such policy would fulfill "commercial interest on an unhealthy basis."[109] Other theoreticians believed that hewing to pure market forces would inhibit the publication of texts in minority languages,, inhibiting the Soviet Union's longstanding nationality policy and "highly specialized works" necessary for scientific and technical progress.[110]

The ideologues' perspective is visible within *Redaktirovaniia*; after the section on letters quoted above, the text states that "the main goal is to find an answer to the question of whether books issued by a publishing house satisfy readers, whether they answer the high expectations for printed materials in our country, and, finally, what kind of concrete use does the book present to readers and whether it aids in the goals of communist construction."[111] In other words, letters were not to be merely used as proxies for demand; instead, they were to be used in conjunction

[106] Lovell Asia 683.
[107] Ibid 685. Obviously, this statistic falls outside the period in question, but it is still demonstrative.
[108] Lovell 2000 56.
[109] Lovell 2000 54; V. Z. Marshak, quoted in Walker 7.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Sikorskii 1971 203.

with the constant knowledge that "communist construction" was the primary task of the publishing house.

As Walker chronicles, in 1976, a quarter of Soviet publishing houses were operating at a loss. However, these publishers only represented ten percent of Soviet book production by volume.[112] The need for profits overwhelmed ideological concerns in most corners of Soviet publishing; most Soviet publishers were heavily beholden to profit markers.

The beginnings of this economic turn can be found in 1964, shortly after the publication of the second edition of *Redaktirovaniia*. That year, the Council of Ministers passed a resolution entitled "On Measure to Improve Publishing Activities and Eliminate Shortcomings in the Book Trade" a decree which chastised publishing houses for their lack of interest in the sales of their books. Further, the decree split the profits – or losses – from book sales between publishers and bookstores, concretely binding publishers to the fates of their books.[113] Several years later, the Council of Ministers strengthened these measures, interpolating Soviet publishers into Aleksei Kosygin's economic reforms and reiterating that publishers were to solely operate on khozraschet.[114]

This shift is highly noticeable in a peer to *Redaktirovaniia* – V. A. Markus' *Organizatsiia i ekonomika izdatel'skogo dela*. This textbook, published in myriad editions between 1949 through 1983, was fortuitously issued in both 1964 and 1976. Consequently, the content of these books grants us a parallel view to *Redaktirovaniia*, contextualizing the economic circumstances that publishers labored under during these periods.

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[112] Walker 11-12.
[113] "Postanovlenie o merakh po uluchsheniiu izdatel'skoi deiatel'nosti i ustraneniiu nedostatkov v knizkhnoi torgovle" (1964), http://www.libussr.ru/doc_ussr/usr_6104.htm.
[114] Ibid. These measures were further buttressed by several moves taken by the State Committee on Publishing, including the creation of set prices for certain types of literature, a program which eventually encompassed 191 genres by the late 1970s. See Jones, Polly. *Revolution Rekindled: The Writers and Readers of Late Soviet Biography*. First edition. Oxford; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2019: 43; Walker 10.

In the 1964 edition of *Organizatsiia*, the majority of the work is devoted to the fulfillment of economic plans. For example, in a chapter entitled "publishing planning," Markus writes that the "[t]he goal of publishing planning is to satisfy the demand of Soviet citizens for printed materials as effectively as possible, thereby aiding the construction of communism… Planning encompasses both ideological work and labor, material, industrial, and financial resources of the publishing house." [115] In these circumstances, fulfilling a plan – whether efficiently or catastrophically – was effectively the sole consideration for publishing houses. This orientation is further evident in the book's penultimate chapter, where *Organizatsiia* finally tackles khozraschet. Insofar as all Soviet publishers nominally operated on this system from 1921 onwards, such a chapter was mandatory for a textbook on the economics of publishing; however, even this section manages to minimize the pursuit of profitability to emphasize the importance of fulfilling plans. Markus emphasizes that a publisher operating on khozraschet should work towards its plan above all else, notions of profit are completely absent from the chapter, and the section on minimizing costs (*sebestoimosti*) occupies but a single page in the entire textbook.[116]

The 1976 edition of *Organizatsiia*, on the other hand, minimizes planning to emphasize concrete economic concerns. In its chapter on khozraschet – situated far earlier in the volume – the textbook emphasizes khozraschet's flexibility, and, glossing over plans, introduces "independent income" as the lodestar for publishing policy in the first paragraph of the chapter.[117] Indeed, the textbook even chastises Thaw–era publishers for their lack of attention towards financial concerns: "[b]efore the transfer of publishing houses to the new system of

[115] Markus 136.
[116] Ibid 284, 291–292.
[117] Markus 1976 303.

planning and economic incentives, they did not fully conform to the principles of khozraschet… [I]n the management of economic activities of the publishing house, economic methods did not take their due place, etc. Only with the shift of publishing houses over to the new system of planning and economic incentives were conditions which strengthened khozraschet finally implemented." [118]

Unsurprisingly, *Redaktirovaniia* echoes these conclusions. Beyond its rejoinder to attend to reader demand, the textbook repeats the 1964 decree of profitability, reminding prospective editors that the balance sheets of their employers rested on the fate of their books. The text even goes as far as to repeat Markus' critique of earlier publishers as being uninterested in demand and profit.[119]

Therefore, though *Redaktirovaniia* echoes the skepticism shown towards demand – as seen in the warning on the danger of blindly following the content of letters – it, like Markus' textbook, speaks to the increased attention paid to profitability during the 1970s.[120] This change exemplifies the major shift in the Soviet publishing world between the 1960s and 1970s. Though individual editorial agency may have diminished, the need for profitability created a new stressor, yet another circumstance where ideological concerns were overwhelmed by external forces.

[118] Ibid 189.
[119] Ibid 206.
[120] Further secondary literature echoes this conclusion. In her study of translation under Brezhnev, Emily Lygo argues that translations published within *Novyi mir* were not subject to increased censorship during the 1970s as compared to the 1960s. As her study is largely numerical – she traces the number of translations published within the journal without delving into *Novyi mir*'s archives – her article fails to provide a window into the journal's operations. However, her final conclusion echoes the argument relayed above; in her words, "It appears that the pragmatic considerations of selling journals and the strategies of editors and translators were instrumental in making a good variety of published literature in translation available to the Soviet reading public." See Lygo, Emily. "Between Ideology and Literature: Translation in the USSR during the Brezhnev Period." *Perspectives* 24, no. 1 (January 2, 2016): 57.

4.0: Conclusion: Soviet Publishing in Practice

To date, our best window into the world of stagnation–era publishing comes from Polly Jones' 2019 monograph *Revolution Rekindled,* a remarkable account of Politizdat's inner workings during the 1970s. Jones, who focuses on Politizdat's notable series *Fiery Revolutionaries*, analyzes the bizarre circumstances that led to its creation; though Politizdat was directly subordinate to the CPSU and represented the most doctrinal of Soviet publishers, various *Fiery Revolutionary* volumes were written by unorthodox and counterculture authors such as Yurii Trifonov, Yurii Davydov, Natan Eidel'man, and Bulat Okudzhava.[121]

Jones explains that this extraordinary circumstance resulted from intersecting forces within Politizdat, the pressure of which eventually formed, in her words, of a remarkable literary "niche." She explains that, after being chastised in a 1953 resolution for purple prose and a general alienation from the reading public, Politizdat became desperate for literary and commercial successes. In response, *Fiery Revolutionaries* was pitched as an opportunity to create a line of popular, well–written publications that would recapture the attention of the Soviet reader.[122] Jones explains that this series was meant to garner sales for Politizdat; as a result of the 1953 rebuke, Politizdat was concerned with its finances well before other Soviet publishers and became hyperattentive to profit after the 1964 resolutions from the Council of Ministers.[123] Accordingly, Politizdat was desperate to publish literate, easily sellable texts, and condoned the recruitment of potentially disreputable authors who editors, through their literary training, perceived as highly skilled and liable to write commercially successful books.[124]

[121] Jones 4.
[122] Ibid 47.
[123] Ibid 43.
[124] Ibid 89.

Given the intersection of doctrinal publisher and free-thinking authors, *Fiery Revolutionaries* was constantly on the brink of disaster. As Jones recounts,

> For a large part of its history… editors had to make active efforts to recruit authors, since many feared Politizdat precisely because they could not imagine how any niches of aesthetic quality of freedom could exist or survive within it. Once recruited, authors had to be handled with care, since their trust in Politizdat was fragile, apt to crumble faced with evidence of typical Soviet publishing behaviour. The *redaktsiia* could not impose its definition of the literary field—as primarily prizing literary excellence and cultural capital—on Politizdat's management, any more than the management could on the party leadership, concerned both for ideological and commercial profit, or on the censors, whose objections they had constantly to foresee and forestall. The autonomy of any "niche" within late Soviet publishing was highly "fettered", especially one so embedded within a still largely traditional hierarchy of management and party–state oversight.[125]

The fact that *Fiery Revolutionaries* was able to exist, let alone survive throughout the "long 1970s," is a remarkable feature of Soviet publishing.[126] It is also a potent example of the argument advanced within this chapter. As seen above, the publication of texts by counter–culture writers was a horrifying prospect to Politizdat's political upper management and their allies within censorial bodies. However, in Jones' words, "[t]he *redaktsiia*'s maintenance of a community and an ethos… required constant negotiation and effort;" their advocacy for this series – not to mention their ability to highlight that the very purpose of *Fiery Revolutionaries* was to gain profits through the sale of desirable texts – protected their project from destruction.[127]

This anecdote is metonymic for Soviet publishing throughout the 1970s. The intersection of economic realities, combined with the wielding of what little power remained within the position of the editor, allowed for the publication of highly unusual texts. Though the accomplishment of this balancing act meant appeasing the upper echelons of the publishing

[125] Ibid 71.
[126] Ibid 7.
[127] Ibid 89.

house and censorial agents, Jones' anecdote demonstrates how recourse to profitability could allow such literature to be published within the USSR.

Indeed, identical pressures manifested themselves on a far grander level, defining the field of stagnation-era Soviet publishing as a whole. In a 1972 pamphlet devoted to the republication of literature, E. A. Dinershtein and F. S. Sonkina advocate for the centralization of the publication of classical literature, arguing that paper – and money – could be saved if such publications were to be handled by a single organization. Specifically, they point to the waste of labor and supplies due to duplication of works, such as several contemporaneous publications of Esenin's texts conducted by separate publishing houses.[128] However, the author of a subsequent chapter in the pamphlet – the same V. A. Markus from *Organizatsiia* – immediately dismisses this plan. He explains that the republication of readied works (i.e., definitive texts crafted by textologists) of Russian classics was quick and easily profitable, and that the profit obtained by the publication of such books helped publishing houses subsidize the costs of loss–leading books – the "highly specialized works" prized by party theoreticians.[129]

Jones and Markus buttress the two extremes of Soviet publishing under Brezhnev. They demonstrate that economic need – or the ability to rhetorically play to that need – catalyzed the publication of non–Soviet texts on both micro and macro scales during this era.

Their examples demonstrate a clear break from the editorial conditions of the Thaw. Suchkov's or Berzer's gambits would have been impossible in the more heavily policed era of the 1970s, a conclusion underscored by the constant fragility of *Fiery Revolutionaries*'

[128] Dinershtein, E. A., L. A. Belaia, and F. S. Sonkina, eds. *Sovremennaia praktika pereizdaniia literatury v SSSR*. Moskva: Kniga, 1972: 26.
[129] Ibid 42.

precarious niche. The disappearance of the individual and ideological agency that these editors had employed to great effect made their projects impossible.

Like with Jones and Markus, Suchkov's and Berzer's actions were also metonymic of publishing practices during the Thaw. During the cultural openness of the 1960s and the waning influence of official censorship, entire editorial staffs became havens for unorthodox views, issuing non-Soviet texts on a mass scale. For example, Samantha Sherry reminds us that the formation of *Inostrannaia literatura* in 1955 was the first time in a decade that international literature had been available in a journal and notes that its texts were far more contemporary than earlier publications, which had focused on western classics. Even though the journal was headed by Aleksandr Chakovskii, a highly conservative literary figure, Sherry writes that "under his leadership the journal was closely aligned with liberal 'Thaw' values of literary freedom, and published some of the most interesting and surprising new works of foreign literature, due in no small part to the influence of the broader editorial collective."[130] In other words, an entire editorial collective – like an individual editor – could take advantage of the laxity of this period to issue non-Soviet texts.

In the end, however, all of these anecdotes – and this chapter as a whole – underscore that the dominant features of the Soviet publishing landscape during the 1960s and 1970s were reiterations of the same forces seen in earlier eras. The 1970s emphasis on profitability is reminiscent of the push behind private publishers during NEP; the loose control over publishing in the 1960s harks back to the longstanding divorce between literary and publishing policy throughout Soviet history; and both eras were subject to the waxing and waning of organizational

[130] Sherry, Samantha. "Censorship in the Khrushchev Era: Inostrannaia Literatura." In *Discourses of Regulation and Resistance*, 102–40. Censoring Translation in the Stalin and Khrushchev Era Soviet Union. Edinburgh University Press, 2015: 103.

and censorial control, perhaps the singular dominant trend in Soviet publishing. Even as these individual forces churned in turn, at each and every point there was either an opportunity or an incentive to publishing non–Soviet texts, whether to prop up smaller publishing houses or to satisfy individual or collective aesthetic beliefs.

However, one could not simply issue these texts into the Soviet market; Soviet publishing, after all, was always an ideological enterprise. To take two of the most prominent examples in this chapter, both Kafka and *Denisovich* were only published with the accompaniment of carefully composed prefaces, paratextual justifications that allowed for their content to appear acceptable within the framework of official Soviet dogma. In short, though myriad non–Soviet texts were published in the USSR, they were not merely pumped out of pliant publishing houses. Instead, they were carefully packaged in an extremely intricate form – the Soviet book.

Chapter 4: The Soviet Book

In the previous chapter, we discussed the systemic incentives for Soviet publishers to issue non-Soviet texts. As we touched upon at the end of the section, despite the necessity of these books, their nature precluded simple publication through the Soviet publishing industry, the veritable "fortress" of communism and the "weapon" of communist edification. This chapter explains how this massive endeavor was carried out: through the use of an archetype that I call the *Soviet book.*

Like the tamizdat-book, the rationale behind this form was to repackage texts for political ends. However, the Soviet book was more pernicious. Rather than creating a complete rift between book and text, the Soviet book obviated this distinction, creating a world where any text was simply a reiteration of Soviet thought. As in chapter one, this chapter explains the form and function of a work; it shows, in contrast to western books, that Soviet bibliographic frames were surprisingly unified objects. Further, building on the conclusions from chapter two, this section dissects the Soviet book, defining its two dominant characteristics – the *apparat* and the *oformlenie*. Together, I show that the Soviet Union employed this work to great effect, subjugating a disparate world of texts to a single ideological project.

1.0 The Soviet Paratext as Unified Front

In introducing the topic of study on the first page of *Paratexts*, Gérard Genette remarks that the paratext – the "accompanying productions to texts," the prefaces, postfaces, imprints, title pages, etc. present within a book – is a vestibule that "ensure[s] the text's presence in the

world."[1] Separated from the text by differences in authorship, heterochronic times of creation, placement within a book, or a combination of the above, the paratext is structurally, temporally, and functionally distinct from the realm of the text.

This distinction follows from the peculiar relationship between texts and readerships. Literature is often epistemically separate from the world in which it is read; for example, something like the *Aeneid*, an epic apparently intended to legitimize a Roman emperor's rule, can become a formative text for millennia, read by myriad readers and interpreted in myriad ways. Indeed, insofar as any text can be – and most great texts are – reprinted after their creation, it is impossible to designate a given text as the property of any given audience. The question of how to approach this dynamic has beguiled entire academic disciplines; most famously, Wolfgang Iser and Hans Robert Jauss developed reception theory as the most systematic means of tracing reader reception. Even with this corpus of research in tow, scholars have converged on a single, basic conclusion: texts, and particularly literature, cannot be bound to single readerships. As the Russian scholar Mikhail Gasparov has put it: "When we open up a classic, we avoid asking ourselves the most basic question — for whom was this book written? — because we know the most basic answer: not for us. No one knows how Horace imagined his readers in future centuries, but one thing is certain: he did not imagine us."[2]

The paratext, on the other hand, is a much humbler creation. In Genette's words, the paratext aims to "offer" a text to "its readers;" it facilitates an individual's passage into the space of the text by operating as a "*threshold* [italics original]… between the inside and the outside, a zone without any hard and fast boundary on either the inward side (turned towards the text) or

[1] Genette 1-2.
[2] Gasparov, M. L. "On Bakhtin, Philosophy, and Philology: Two Essays." *PMLA* 130, no. 1 (2015): 137.

the outward side (turned towards the world's discourse about the text)."[3] In short, it is a utilitarian object, a guide included within a book to bridge the divide between a diachronic text and a synchronic moment of publication. Unlike texts, paratexts *are* reflective of and bound to single readerships.[4]

The fact that paratexts have a common status, however, does not mean that they possess a common origin or character. Those paratexts which, in Genette's formulation, are pointed "outward" – i.e. which situate the text in the world – are mainly meant to broadcast the identity of a text and allow for its retrieval. These elements – title pages, external titles, colophons, bibliographic references, *annotatsii* (summaries) in Russian publications – are products of the publishing process and are reflections of the socioeconomic conditions that generated the book (i.e., national reference standards and bibliographic conventions, whether titles and authorial names are commonly placed on a book's spine, etc.). The other set of paratexts – those focused inward, the prefaces meant to explain a text to the world – are of a vastly higher level of complexity. Genette spends much of his work exploring this point, categorizing prefaces as "authorial," "allographic," or "actorial," based on whether they were written in the voice of an author, a non-authorial human, or a fictional character.[5] Each type of preface can present different voices from different perspectives, socio-ideological contexts, or even epochs, rendering these paratexts particularly complex and variegated.

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[3] Genette 2.
[4] See McKenzie, D. F. *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Roger Chartier, as previously discussed, offers the more cogent argument along these lines. To reiterate, in an analysis of early modern French classics published for working-class readers, he shows how the form of the book anticipates the needs of its audience, rendering the publisher's portion of the book – i.e., its paratexts – a reflection of a specific, synchronic audience. See Chartier 49-61, especially 54.
[5] Genette 181.

Accordingly, books – the amalgamation of these elements – are polyphonic objects. For example, the New York Review edition of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* includes a cover page modeled after the publisher's standard format; bibliographic information designed by the Library of Congress' Cataloging-in-Publication program; a 2001 introduction by the American novelist William Gass; a 1932 introduction for an Everyman's Library volume written by the British journalist Holbrook Jackson; and a copy of Robert Burton's text compiled in 1893.[6] *The Anatomy of Melancholy* is by no means an exception; most books exhibit similar complexity. They are cacophonous beings.

Soviet books, on the other hand, radically deviate from this pattern. Unlike its western counterparts, the Soviet book did not allow for discursive dissension, either between paratexts or between paratext and text. Instead, it presented a *united front*: a singular enunciation of Soviet ideology as construed at a given point in time.

The roots of this dynamic stem from the theoretical and practical realities of the Soviet publishing landscape as discussed in the last chapter. To summarize, Soviet publishers were caught in a bind. They were required by ideology to publish books that would develop positive socialist attitudes (*vospitatel'nye knigi)* but found themselves functionally obligated – or simply inclined – to print classical, translated, or unorthodox texts.

The solution to this conundrum fell upon humble paratexts. In practice, Soviet publishers used prefaces to justify the communist character of their texts, thereby allowing an immense variety of literature to enter into print. Soviet scholars were not ignorant of this dynamic; perhaps most bluntly, Yulii Kagarlitskii, a Soviet literary critic and translator, describes this paratextual

[6] Burton, Robert, and Holbrook Jackson. *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. New York: New York Review of Books, 2001. vii-xxx.

role in a 1965 article entitled "O predisloviakh."[7] In this piece, Kagarlitskii writes that editors under Stalin felt constrained by the paucity of texts deemed acceptable for publication and were desperate for workarounds. In turn, he writes that "the author of the preface gave a justification [*opravdyvalsia*] for the publishing house. [The author] produced a certain seal of approval [*spravka o blagonadezhnosti*] for the book," thereby allowing for its publication.[8]

On a more abstract level, Soviet book theorists described this dynamic through the lens of materialist philosophy. These frameworks can be surprisingly helpful for formulating the function of the Soviet book as a whole; the work of Nikolai Kodak, a late-Soviet book historian, provides a particularly insightful window into the world of the Soviet book. In an article entitled "The book as a form of socialization of poetic ideas," Kodak frames book publishing as meeting the demand for artistic literature among a population that he views as desirous of works reflecting a particular political idea – in effect, Marxist-Leninist thought.[9] Kodak cautions against uncritically publishing along these lines, though; he remarks that preparing such books involves myriad issues rooted in the incompatibility of texts with this political landscape. To square this circle, Kodak writes that book publishing "demands the reconciliation of the reality which gave birth to an artistic work and the reality in which book publishing proposes to include it," a task that he delegates to publishers.[10]

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[7] Kagarlitskii was a literary scholar who specialized in H. G. Wells while translating other works of English literature. Given the fraught politics of translation, not to mention Anglophilia in the USSR, this may have rendered him unusually alert to the dynamics of the Soviet preface – his obituary even mentions that a British double-agent translated his work on Welles into English. See Nezavisimaia. "Umer Iulii Kagarlitskii." May 16, 2000. http://www.ng.ru/style/2000-05-16/16_kagarlitsky.html.

[8] Kagarlitskii, Iulii. "O predisloviikh." In *Redaktor i perevod*, 117–43. Moskva: Kniga, 1965. 118-119.

[9] Kodak, N. F. "Kniga kak forma sotsializatsii poeticheskikh idei." In *Sotsial'naia rol' knigi*, 21–28. Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1987: 23.

[10] Ibid 25, 28.

Accordingly, Kodak describes publishing in the USSR as the act of reconciling subjective art with objective social reality, effected through annotations and prefaces curated by publishers. In this context, the preface perfectly fulfills Genette's definition, serving as a real gateway between text and world. However, the world at hand here is far more demanding than Genette's France. Unlike the western preface, the Soviet preface was a singular argumentative tool. Rather than reflecting many voices, the Soviet preface was meant to place an ideological imprimatur upon texts through the application of Marxist-Leninist vocabulary. And insofar as Soviet ideology was, at least philosophically, monadic, whether an introduction was written by an author or an editor, or if multiple separate prefaces were included in a single volume, the source of their argumentation had to be the same – a singular invocation of communist thought.[11]

This drive towards discursive unity subjugates all Soviet prefaces to a unitary perspective, clearly distinguishing Soviet paratexts from their noisy western counterparts. However, the structure of the Soviet book reveals a still higher level of harmony, surpassing a mere argumentative stance among prefaces. Genette describes paratexts, and implicitly the preface, as "provid[ing] a kind of canal lock between the ideal and relatively immutable identity of the text and the empirical (sociohistorical) reality of the text's public."[12] If we return to our understanding of the Soviet preface, the role of this paratext was not to translate some "immutable identity" of a text for a contemporary reader; it was to illustrate and underscore how

[11] As Evgeny Dobrenko has written, "Soviet society was never, of course, the 'monolith' that both Soviet official doctrine and Western doctrine asserted it to be." However, I also agree with his contention that Soviet criticism was "one of many tools of political impact," and, more pertinently, that "instrumentalism of literary criticism was [a] specific feature of Soviet culture." In this regard, the above argument is meant to underscore that the paratext – a vehicle for criticism – was a political tool, and that it shared necessary philosophical commonalities – i.e. a necessity for *partiinost'* – with Soviet politics itself. See Dobrenko 1997: 142; Dobrenko, Evgeny, and Galin Tihanov. "Introduction: Toward a History of Soviet and Post-Soviet Literary Theory and Criticism." In *A History of Russian Literary Theory and Criticism: The Soviet Age and Beyond*, edited by Evgeny Dobrenko and Galin Tihanov, ix–xviii. University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011. xi-xii.
[12] Genette 408.

the content of the text conformed to the Soviet episteme. In other words, Soviet books possess no "canal lock" – their paratexts showed how sociohistorical reality was present both in the world and in the text. In a radical deviation from western paradigms, Soviet books obviate the boundary between paratext and text.

This framework for the Soviet book should not be construed as saying, diachronically, that Soviet paratexts present a singular discourse. In the most robust investigation of Soviet paratexts heretofore conducted, Anne Fisher uses over one hundred and fifty prefaces and postfaces to Il'ia Il'f and Evgenii Petrov's Ostap Bender novels to show how interpretations tacked onto texts varied with shifts in the Soviet political landscape.[13] Fisher takes this evolution as a marker that the Soviet book was not a "unified space," an interpretation she substantiates by a survey of reader praxis in the USSR.[14] She argues, insofar as this variation shows that "a peritext [i.e. a paratext within a book] and its text can be at odds with each other," unanimity was impossible within Soviet publishing practice.[15]

However, this argument completely ignores the internal structure and diegetic narrative of the Soviet book. When taken on its own accord, every element of the Soviet book reiterates the same argument from a variety of directions; sometimes obliquely, as with the imprimatur of a solitary imprint; sometimes directly, as with a bespoke preface for a text; and sometimes indirectly though texts themselves. As the interpretation of Soviet ideology shifted along with the winds of Soviet politics, or as cultural camps coalesced within Soviet literary circles, the content

[13] Fisher, Anne O. "Adapting Paratextual Theory to the Soviet Context: Publishing Practices and the Readers of Il'f and Petrov's Ostap Bender Novels." In *The Space of the Book: Print Culture in the Russian Social Imagination*, edited by Miranda Remnek, 252–80. University of Toronto Press, 2011.
[14] Ibid 271, 267.
[15] Ibid 271.

of books twisted in turn, but any single Soviet book was meant to be a monad, a reflection of ideology as understood – or interpreted – at a given point in time.

In short, the Soviet book is not the cacophonous object that Genette struggles to describe. It is a monolith, a highly tuned apparatus meant to effect Kodak's "reconciliation" between text and world. Fundamentally, the Soviet book is a mechanism that interpolates texts and outputs a single idea through different voices, texts, and paratexts.[16]

2.0 Textual Editing

Before understanding how this schema worked in practice, we need to address an important issue: textual editing. If a text were properly edited before publication, there would theoretically be no need for a paratextual apparatus; the text would need no alteration to fit into the Soviet world.

This style of editing is widely described within Soviet literature. As mentioned in chapter three, editors – explicit political actors in both the 1960s and 1970s editions of *Redaktirovaniia* – were advised to modify manuscripts until they were ready for summary publication. For example, in the 1961/1964 *Redaktirovaniia*, editors were instructed to unify "political, scholarly, and literary editing [into a] singular process," whereby they were to approach texts from the proper "ideological-aesthetic position"[17] Further, Soviet authors were consequently asked to revise their texts when the political winds shifted under their feet; we have already discussed

[16] We can find antecedents of this dynamic in earlier periods of Soviet history. In *The Making of the State Reader*, Evgeny Dobrenko describes how peasants understood Pushkin's poetry in the 1920s, writing "the interpretation becomes an end in itself, absorbing and replacing the text itself." In the Soviet book, the necessity to reconcile world, paratext, and text also creates a circumstance where interpretations overwhelm texts. See Dobrenko 1997 105.
[17] Likhtenshtein et al. 1961 152-155, 173.

Ermolaev's analysis of Gladkov and Veselyi, and Katerina Clark considers the fate of Aleksandr Fadeev in *The Soviet Novel*; the author was forced to completely rewrite *The Young Guard* two years after its publication. [18] These were not exceptions. Other examples abound within Soviet history.[19]

However, editing was impossible for the vast majority of Soviet books. Soviet publishers – even under Stalin – were reticent to alter texts by deceased authors. Instead, as Anne Fisher meticulously shows, publishers would wait for an opportune time to publish unaltered texts. In the case of classical literature (the preponderance of Soviet output), Soviet textologists and philologists strived to unearth ur-texts, placing only the most authoritative versions of classical literature into print. This fidelity was present within popular editions of the classics as well; their texts were sourced from immaculate academic editions.

Therefore, while it may seem like editing would be the simplest means of ensuring ideological conformity, textual alteration was unacceptable for the majority of Soviet bibliographic output. Ideological adulteration had to fall to another mechanism, a conclusion well-evident to Soviet observers. In a 1966 manual on textology, Soviet philologists were reminded that "[a]fter all, dozens of years have passed since the publication of the works of many classic writers… [s]ome of what they wrote about is now simply incomprehensible to readers, some of their views and assessments are directly rejected by us, much requires clarification and correction. Without interfering with the author's text, the textologist explains [in the preface] the main directions of the writer's work, focuses the reader's attention on the basic

[18] Clark 160-161.
[19] See, for example, Friedberg, Maurice. "New Editions of Soviet Belles-Lettres: A Study in Politics and Palimpsests." *American Slavic and East European Review* 13, no. 1 (1954): 72–88.

ideas of the work, and helps him better understand its artistic features."[20] In other words, the task of altering a text was left to the Soviet book and particularly its paratextual apparatus.

3.0 *Apparat* of the Book

This leads us to our first major component of the Soviet book – the *apparat*.[21] In Soviet bibliographic parlance, all non-publisher paratexts – prefaces, postfaces, footnotes, endnotes, tables of contents, etc. – were lumped under this term.

The *apparat* was a significant but not overwhelming portion of the book – in the estimation of one editor, the *apparat* typically consumed between five and seven percent of the Soviet codex. [22] However, this size belies its importance. If the Soviet book was a mechanism that distorted texts into conformity with the Soviet world, the *apparat* was its engine. These paratexts – and particularly prefaces and postfaces – were the elements by which texts were torturously reinterpreted for Soviet readers.

The notion of *apparat* was well-developed within Soviet bibliographic theory. As described in the 1957 *Apparat knigi,* the first monograph-length text devoted to the apparatus within the USSR, the *apparat* represents the "preface, introductory article, commentary and notes, indices, bibliography, annexes, calendar of events (primarily in books on history), an

[20] Prokhorov, E. I. *Tekstologiia; printsipy izdaniia klassicheskoi literatury*. Moskva: Vysshaia shkola, 1966. 142. It might seem odd that the work refers to a textologist while discussing prefaces, but the first half of the volume is devoted to the preparation of classical texts for publication; apparently, textologists were also tasked with creating the rest of the scholarly apparatus as well.
[21] For some reason, Soviet books were wont to remind readers that this term was derived from the Latin word apparatus. See, for example, Tiapkin, B. G. *Apparat proizvedeniia pechati*. Moskva: Kniga, 1977: 5 or Zapadov, Aleksandr V. *Ot rukopisi k pechatnoi stranitse*. Moskva: Sovetskii pisatel', 1978: 252.
[22] Zapadov 253.

author's bibliography, annotations, and the table of contents of the book." [23] More generally, the 1977 *Apparat proizvedeniia pechati* – a work explicitly written to replace the 1957 textbook – describes this complex as the "totality of the elements of the book which illuminate and interpret the contents of the literary work, facilitate the reader in using the book or study it in depth, or enunciate the book's place in accounting, statistic, bookselling, bibliographic, informational or scientific institutions and organizations." [24] In other words, the *apparat* represents the conglomeration of paratexts described by Genette, including the preface, postface, title page, publisher's paratexts, etc.

While early modern scholarship acknowledged the existence of scholarly apparatuses – Western academics developed the critical apparatus in the 17th century, and philologists and classisists devoted themselves to the formalization and typologization of these schemata long before Genette – these features were seen as specific to scholarly tomes.[25] Western literature failed to consider the full implication of the paratextual apparatus until the publication of *Paratexts* in 1987. Soviet literature, on the other hand, long acknowledged the existence of apparatuses and even argued for their ubiquity. For example, the 1957 *Apparat* writes that "not every edition necessitates an entire *apparat*… [but] elements of it can be found in nearly every book." [26]

These complexes were described as crucial elements of Soviet bibliographic production. The 1977 *Apparat* argues that "a publication with a carefully prepared *apparat* is distinguished by its markedly higher degree of **informational completeness** [emphasis original] as compared

[23] Alekhina, E. M., and A. V. Zapadov. *Apparat knigi*. Moskva: Izd-vo "Iskusstvo," 1957. 3, 4.
[24] Tiapkin 5.
[25] Fischer, Franz. "Digital Classical Philology and the Critical Apparatus." In *Digital Classical Philology and the Critical Apparatus*, 203–20. De Gruyter Saur, 2019: 204-205.
[26] Alekhina 4.

to editions with a poorly thought-out *apparat*," a strong claim given the Soviet book's role as edifying tool.[27] Similarly, for mass editions of literature, the textbook argues that the raison d'etre for the *apparat* was that it "aids the reader to correctly understand an author's work and their place within the literary process," a crucial task given our understanding of the Soviet book and its poetics.[28]

Therefore, Soviet bibliographers long understood that texts were mediated by an interlocutor between text and reader and recognized the importance of this object. However, as Genette amply demonstrates, a discussion of this multifaceted system begs for a piecemeal approach. Accordingly, I will dissect the *apparat* into its constituent parts, beginning with an analysis of its most important components – prefaces, postfaces, and publisher's paratexts.

3.1 Prefaces and Postfaces

3.1.1 Theory

While the *apparat* encompassed many minor paratexts, most of these baroque features were specific to elaborate Soviet editions. As Aleksandr Zapadov, editor of *Molodaia gvardiia*, wrote in 1978: "the simpler the book, the smaller the volume, the less it requires an *apparat*… But the more serious and important a book, the greater the need to supply it with an apparat that helps to deepen the understanding of a text."[29] However, prefaces and postfaces deviate from Zapadov's assessment. They were ubiquitous within Soviet books. The 1977 *Apparat proizvedeniia pechati* writes that "[i]n our opinion, a necessary component of the *apparat* of any

[27] Tiapkin 6.
[28] Ibid 10.
[29] Zapadov 253.

book should be a preface," and there seems to be no reason to doubt this evaluation.[30] A detailed search of the Russian National Library shows that sixty-three percent of books published by *Khudozhestvennaia literatura* between 1960 and 1982 contain some version of a preface, and considering that paratexts are easily overlooked while cataloguing books, there is every reason to expect that the true proportion of volumes with prefaces or postfaces is higher.[31] Further, many texts published by *Khudozhestvennaia literatura* were contemporary works of fiction, and thus, as discussed in the previous section, were automatically brought into conformance with Soviet dogma through the editorial process. Consequently, the above figure suggests that a large mass of classical Russian literature, translated works, and early Soviet prose were accompanied by prefaces.

This, of course, aligns with the expectations built by Kagarlitskii and Kodak. Footnotes and indexes are useful tools for scholars and engaged readers, but they are not the primary (or strongest) means of altering reading. Instead, as Genette himself argues, the preface occupies a privileged place within the codex; it positions itself directly before the consumption of a text and thus immediately weighs upon a reader's mind while beginning a book.[32]

Soviet publishers were well aware of this fact. They devoted a great deal of research to describing and codifying the different types of prefaces within works. The aforementioned Zapadov wrote that "the preparation of the *apparat* of the book to this day remains an assailable part of many of our editions," and Soviet publishers were eager to adopt best practices in

[30] Tiapkin 46.
[31] 2380 books out of 3749, to be exact.
[32] In Genette's words, "[T]he preface, in its very message, postulates that its reader is poised for an imminent reading of the text (or, in the case of a postface, has just concluded a reading), without which its preparatory or retrospective comments would be largely meaningless and, naturally, useless." See Genette 194.

creating these texts. [33] In the pursuit of this goal, publishers extensively investigated what they termed "means for supplementing and accompanying texts," typologizing prefaces into two forms: *predisloviia* and *vstupitel'nie stat'i*.[34]

The *predislovie* represented the simpler, but more common type of preface.[35] It was characterized as a text "*apropros* [*po povodu*] the publication of this work [italics original]," justifying why the publishing house issued the text at hand.[36] The *predislovie* could be written from a variety of perspectives, including that of the author, the publishing house, the editor, etc. and was meant to serve a litany of roles.[37] The 1977 *Apparat* describes no less than ten functions assigned to the *predislovie*, including an "general description or assessment of the particularities of the work and its structure" and a necessity to express the "agreement or disagreement of the publisher with the conceptions of the author."[38] *Predisloviia* in literary and translated works were assigned particularly specialized responsibilities; here, they were also meant to identify the aims of the author and the "usefulness of the book for some reader or another." In books of translated works, the *predislovie* was even more pronounced; it defined insufficiencies and evaluated the "ideological conception of the author."[39]

The *predislovie* was a pragmatic text. It was not meant to provide a deep dive into the nature of an artistic movement or the character of an author; it defined in practical terms how a text could exist within the Soviet semiosphere. In justifying the text, in characterizing the nature

[33] Zapadov 253.
[34] Tiapkin 46.
[35] Of course, *predislovie* translates directly to "preface" in English, but, as I show, this term does not encompass all paratexts that would be considered prefaces in an anglophonic context.
[36] Tiapkin 46-47.
[37] Ibid 48.
[38] Ibid 47. The 1971 *Teorii* largely agrees with this assessment; it states that the purpose of the *predislovie* is to describe the choice of text. See Sikorskii 1971: 285.
[39] Tiapkin 52.

and worth of a text, in explaining literary worth and political insufficiencies, the *predislovie* provided a direct, terse explanation of how Soviet books reflected the Soviet world – and, given their ubiquity, represented the major means by which Soviet publishers reframed their products.

The *vstupietel'naia stat'ia* provided a similar function, but vastly differed from the *predislovie* in content and scope. In the 1977 *Apparat*, this paratext was described as "original literary material" printed before the text of collected works or singular texts to "help the reader understand content more deeply, to assimilate it correctly, to master necessary preliminary information."[40] Unlike the *predislovie*, the *vstupitel'naia stat'ia* was a work of philological or scholarly research and thus attracted far more attention by academics than its humbler sibling. For example, the aforementioned 1966 work on the textology of classical literature brusquely treats *predisloviia*, while defining the *vstupitel'naia stat'ia* in far nobler terms. It bestowed the task of reinterpreting classical literature for contemporary readers to this – and only this – paratext.[41]

Soviet theoreticians considered the *vstupitel'naia stat'ia* to be the most opportune tool for inflecting the ideological assessment of a text. For example, both the 1971 and 1980 editions of *Teoriia i praktika redaktirovaniia* argue that the goal of the *vstupitel'naia stat'ia* was to "to help the contemporary reader comprehend works of the classics from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist ideology" – a definition more rooted in interpretation than its smaller cousin.[42] For translated works of literature, this paratext was tasked with providing the "the correct political assessment of the work of an artist" – a similar dynamic.[43]

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[40] Ibid 53.
[41] Prokhorov 142-143. This notion of leaving the text intact should be reminiscent of our treatment of tamizdat in chapter one and will be revisited in the conclusion to this thesis.
[42] Sikorskii 1971 286.
[43] Ibid 286-287.

In short, the *predislovie* and *vstupitel'naia stat'ia* were complementary. The 1977 text explicitly states that these can coexist within the same volume, and many *predisloviia* could be present within a given book – the author of the *Apparat* cites an example (K. A. Timiriazev's *Zhivn' rastenii*), where thirteen prefaces were printed in a single volume.[44] Ultimately, though, both paratexts worked towards the same goal. The *predislovie* was meant to provide "preliminary clarifications" of a text; the *vstupitel'naia stat'ia* explained how to read a text from the proper ideological perspective.[45] Whether succinctly or verbosely, these prefaces worked in the service of the Soviet book.

3.1.2 Practice

We have already seen examples of Soviet prefaces in action. In chapter three, we discussed Boris Suchkov's introduction to Kafka and Aleksandr Tvardovsky's introduction to Solzhenitsyn; our reception analysis of tamizdat in chapter two suggests the same conclusion. The fact that Clarence Brown's introduction to Filippov's and Struve's Mandel'shtam was influential enough to allow the work – and its anti-Stalinist paean – to enter the USSR is a powerful statement of the influence of prefaces within the Soviet Union.

Average Soviet books punctuate this point. Soviet prefaces reflected the politics of their day, a dynamic – for the period covered by this dissertation – especially apparent during the Khrushchev Thaw.

[44] Tiapkin 47-48.
[45] Zapadov 252.

Scholars have long recognized the critical influence of literature within Soviet society between 1956 and 1964. In the 2011 *Cambridge Companion to Twentieth-Century Russian Literature*, for example, Marina Balina accords a special role to Soviet texts written during the Thaw; Balina frames Soviet literature as crucial in reconstructing Soviet memory, writing that Thaw texts "resurrect[ed] – however partially, as it constantly looked round for the censor – the complex experience of the Soviet *homo historicus*."[46] Similarly, Denis Kozlov has written in his 2013 study of *Novyi mir* that Thaw literature "became the principal medium" for reflections on the violence of the Stalinist era, and "politics, viewed as history, was debated via established literary channels," granting literature a nearly existential role within the USSR.[47]

However, a close reading of Soviet paratexts offers another perspective on this dynamic, one with broader conclusions. For example, a 1963 *vstupitel'naia stat'ia* to Tolstoy's *Kazaki* praises Olenin for his individuality, writing "[o]ut of all of Tolstoy's heroes who strive for moral self-improvement, Olenin is the most ardent, recklessly surrendering to his youthful spiritual impulse, and thus particularly charming."[48] A 1962 *posleslovie* to a collection of Aleksandr Herzen's works writes that "[t]he wondrous and remarkably rich world of Herzen's literature, imbued by passionate dreams of humane [*gumannyi*] and noble human relations, is particularly close to the Soviet people, who created the humane [*chelovechnyi*] and wondrous culture of communism."[49] And, perhaps most strikingly, a 1962 *predislovie* to a collection of Andrei

[46] Balina, Marina. "Prose after Stalin." In *The Cambridge Companion to Twentieth-Century Russian Literature*, edited by Evgeny Dobrenko and Marina Balina, 153–74. 172.
[47] Kozlov 7.
[48] Opul'skaia, L. D. "Povest' L. N. Tolstovo 'Kazaki.'" In *Kazaki* by Lev Tolstoy. Moskva: Izd-vo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1963. 346-347.
[49] Dorofeev, V. "Khudozhestvennaia proza Gertsena." In *Povesti i rasskazy*, by Aleksandr Herzen, 503–30. Moskva: Gos. izd-vo khudozhestvennoĭ literatury, 1962. 530.

Platonov's short stories – incidentally, written by the same author as the Herzen piece – praises Platonov's affecting description of collectivization and World War II, concluding by arguing:

> The characteristic feature of Platonov's mastery was his ability to depict precisely and properly the psychology of people and convey the direction of their complex feelings and thoughts. This explains both the emotional freshness of Platonov's works which captivates the reader and the fullness and diversity of human existence which was revealed to him. Bright joy and great human woe, laughter and tears, tender verse and fine irony, sharp humor and tragedy which seizes the soul – all of this is merged into one in Platonov's short stories, as in real life.[50]

All of these paratexts echo our understanding of Thaw literature. Beyond the aforementioned arguments by Kozlov and Balina, Evgeny Dobrenko and Ilya Kalinin have directly explored literary criticism during the Thaw; they describe how cultural disputes, pursued through new literary texts and the publication of articles in "thick" journals, were generally fought by three camps – liberals, conservatives, and national-patriots. During the early 1960s, when the above prefaces were written, Dobrenko and Kalinin depict the liberal coalition at the height of their power, writing that 1962 represents the "apogee" of their influence.[51] During this liberal ascendency, they argue that *Novyi mir*, the heart of the movement, agitated for "the humanization of Soviet reality, the 'increase of initiative from the masses,' and the 'inner freedom of Soviet man'."[52]

Returning to our prefaces, the postface to *Kazaki* explicitly sanctions an individual's search for morality. Within the Herzen volume, the postface links the author's "humane" depiction of human relations to the creation of a "humane" communist culture. And Platonov's

[50] Dorofeev, V. "Andrei Platonov." In *Rasskazy*, by Andrei Platonovich Platonov, 3–18. Moskva: Gos. izd-vo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1962. 17-18.
[51] Dobrenko, Evgeny, and Ilya Kalinin. "Literary Criticism during the Thaw." In *A History of Russian Literary Theory and Criticism: The Soviet Age and Beyond*, edited by Evgeny Dobrenko and Galin Tihanov, 184–206. University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011. 185.
[52] Ibid 193.

preface implicitly argues that "real life" under Stalin was a vastly more emotive – and chaotic – experience than that expressed in canonical socialist realist texts.

In short, these paratexts echo the content of Tvardovskii's *Novyi mir*. As Balina and Kozlov write, they re-explore the ethical and historical roots of Soviet culture; as Dobrenko and Kalinin argue, they provide an opening for individual morality, humanity, and "inner freedom." However, the authors of these books died long before the advent of the Thaw. These arguments were advanced neither through new literature nor journal articles. Rather, these books participated in Thaw literary discourse by virtue of their *predisloviia* and their *vstupitel'nie stat'i*.

The above examples demonstrate the interpretive role of the preface. One final example, focusing on the creation of a particularly difficult book, helps buttress the importance of the paratext. Viacheslav Ogryzko's painstaking account of the genesis of Mandel'shtam's entry within *Biblioteka poeta* places the importance of the Soviet preface into high relief.

As Ogryzko chronicles, Vladimir Orlov and Aleksei Surkov attempted to first publish Mandel'shtam under the auspices of *Biblioteka poeta* in 1960.[53] The preface immediately became a sticking point; Orlov attempted to recruit Tvardovsky to write the piece, but he was rebuffed and was forced to resort to Adrian Makedonov, a friend of Tvardovsky's who worked with Akhmatova to prepare an adequate preface.[54] Unfortunately, this labor was in vain. In 1963, the Ideological Department of the CPSU criticized *Biblioteka poeta* for its lax ideological rigor, and referred to the series' intention to publish Mandel'shtam, Tsvetaeva, and Khlebnikov as

[53] Ogryzko, Viacheslav. "Vosslavim, brattsy, sumerki svobody." *Literaturnaia Rossiia internet-portal*, 2016. https://litrossia.ru/item/8721-vosslavim-brattsy-sumerki-svobody/.

Given Surkov's involvement in Pasternak's persecution, his support for Mandel'shtam is somewhat surprising, to say the least, and reminiscent of the Janus framework advanced for communist literary figures in the previous chapter.

[54] Ibid.

particularly egregious faults. As a result of this report, the Mandel'shtam volume was placed on hold.[55]

Another attempt was made to publish the work in 1967, but the introduction to the volume proved to be a major impediment. Several years wiser, Orlov enlisted Lidia Ginzburg to write the introduction, but was stymied by Ginzburg's overly philological essay. Tvardovsky grumbled that Ginzburg's preface "is written complexly and incomprehensibly from the very beginning as if we already know everything about Mandel'shtam, although we actually know nothing. He is a completely unknown poet in the eyes of readers. And this was done deliberately, in order to deceive the censor. But one cannot deceive at the expense of readers."[56]

Ginzburg's attempt to defuse Mandel'shtam by academicizing his work – a remarkable echo of Filippov's and Struve's strategy for the same poems – failed. *Biblioteka poeta* did not want a robust analysis of the poet's work; they required a deft reinterpretation of his oeuvre. As a result, Ginzburg was removed from the project, and responsibility for the introduction was transferred from Orlov to Aleksandr Dymshits, a literary critic who was considered politically reliable. Dymshits, secretly a longtime admirer of Mandel'shtam, authored a new, politically astute preface. He provided warped readings of many of the poet's works to appease the censor; indeed, when a portion of the preface was published in *Voprosy literatury*, Dymshits was excoriated by liberals for his distortions. However, in private, Dymshits defended his work; in a conversation recounted by Efim Etkind, he argued "[e]ach of these democrats would write an article fretting over the cleanliness of their snow-white robes. Their articles would never be seen by anyone. This is great for anyone interested in their reasoning! The trouble is no one would

[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.

have ever seen Mandel'shtam's poems wither. And I printed them. Russian literature owes me a lot." [57]

Even with these efforts, it still took several years until the Mandel'shtam volume was finally published. During that time, Dymshits had to defend his work repeatedly; pass a contentious internal review conducted by the State Committee for Publishing; assemble positive reviews from Soviet ideologues to overwhelm his opposition; and even frame his book as a communist reclamation of the poet after Struve's and Filippov's American publications. Happily, the combined weight of these actions eventually prevailed over Dymshits' opponents. The Mandel'shtam book was published in 1973.[58]

As Ogryzko demonstrates, the fate of the Mandel'shtam project was almost incidental to the content of the poet's work. Instead, gaining the approval of the authorities through the preface was the compilers' major concern. As with Suchkov, the "passport" that facilitated the publication of this text deviated from Dymshits' impression of the work itself; Dymshits, an admirer of Mandel'shtam, flattened the poet's output to achieve publication.

This extended anecdote confirms what we have already shown. In the USSR, the preface was a tactical object; it warped literary meaning in the regime's ultimate interests.

3.2 Publisher's paratexts

In Soviet works, the publisher's paratexts – most notably, the imprint and *vykhodnye dannye* – were largely ignored. In the 1978 *Apparat*, these are briefly addressed in a chapter

[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.

titled *Distinctive elements of the edition*, the majority of which is devoted to a discussion of formatting standards.[59] When *Apparat* reluctantly tackles these topics, it covers them in a perfunctory way. The latter is described as a list of information "which characterize the work of print from an industrial and technical-economic side. They contain information which is necessary for the processing of the printed work within accounting and planning organs of publishing activities and in book statistics." [60] The former is described far more tersely, lacking any sort of description beyond its placement within the book.[61] Even this treatment outshines earlier Soviet discussions of the publisher's paratexts, however; in the 1957 *Apparat*, these features were not discussed at all.

Of course, as we saw in chapter two, this oversight was a fundamental error. The publisher's paratexts were highly influential pieces, crucial markers of a book's genesis within the USSR. Imprints and colophons were not merely publishers' marks; they were true imprimaturs of ideological approval, representing that a book had been completed, and that the publisher and censor had signed off on their text and paratext.

Given the extensive discussion of the Soviet imprint in chapters one and two, I will not repeat my argumentation here. However, I want to mention these small but crucial texts within our larger conversation on the Soviet book. Though not as flashy as the preface or, as we will soon see, as intricate as the *oformlenie*, they too reiterated the claims of the Soviet codex. They ratified that the volume represents a final draft, and that everything found therein followed the dictums described above.

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[59] See, for example, the discussion of GOST standards on Tiapkin 33, 35, and 38, not to mention myriad other examples.
[60] Ibid 37. That being said, the book does brag that this paratext vastly outstrips western standards, providing a vastly superior vantage for analyzing book statistics than analogous paratexts abroad. See ibid.
[61] Ibid 17.

4.0: Oformlenie

4.1: Theory

With our discussion of paratexts complete, we are left with the other fundamental component of the Soviet book – the *oformlenie*. Compared to the *apparat*, one would think that the form of the Soviet book would be an afterthought. This was by no means the case. Instead, the *oformlenie* was meant to extend the argument of the Soviet book; it aimed to reinforce further socialist interpretations of literature. The *oformlenie* was a highly refined apparatus developed by a coterie of serious book theorists, and the product of carefully formulated frameworks for how physical form should aid Soviet readers.

In its most basic sense, the *oformlenie* represents the material construction of the book. As in the West, this surpassed mere dimensions and cover images and encompassed everything from margin space to fonts, blocking, and physical material. However, in distinction from their Western counterparts, Soviet theorists used the term "*oformlenie*" in both an aesthetic and ideological sense. For them, the *oformlenie* was not merely a means of broadcasting the identity of a book or enhancing its usability, but rather a multifaceted tool intended to guide readers towards proper readings; in the words of a practical handbook, an attempt to "reveal the content of the book [with the aid of artistic and publishing resources] and help the reader better understand and assimilate the work." [62]

The first attempts to develop a Soviet theory of the *oformlenie* appear surprisingly early in post-revolutionary history. Artists, primarily constructivists such as El Lissitsky, were sympathetic to the idea that books were objects worthy of artistic construction.[63] Most notably,

[62] Dobkin, Semen. *Redaktoru i avtoru ob oformlenii knigi*. Moskva: Kniga, 1971: 5.
[63] Pristed 40.

Vladimir Favorskii, a fellow traveler of the avant-garde and one of the preeminent (not to mention earliest) Soviet book illustrators, argued that the form of the book was intractably an expression of its text. In his thought, book and text were inextricable from one another: "the book, on one hand, is a technical aid for reading a literary text; on the other, it is a spatial representation of a literary work… even if an artist is, as it were, primarily interested in the internal organization of their work, the *oformlenie* of the work as a connection or transition from the work as a thing to the work as an inner world is no less important or necessary for him [than for authors otherwise interested in bibliographic form]."[64] In short, Genette's description of physical form as a choice made by the publisher, a commercial evaluation of prestige based on lowbrow softcovers versus highbrow hardcovers, would have been unthinkable to Favorskii. The *oformlenie* was not an "ambiguous…message," as Genette writes; it was a necessary – indeed, immutable – expression of a text.[65]

Favorskii's thought was unusually influential for an early Soviet artist. His arguments became the bedrock for Soviet book theory well into the 1980s. In particular, his notion of "unity" would come to dominate nearly every formulation of the Soviet book. The vast majority of work on Soviet book design centered on this idea, and many authors explicitly cited Favorskii to substantiate their own ideas. For example, L. I. Gessen, the author of an influential early Soviet manual on book design, wrote that "the basic element of a work represents its contents which, in combination with its *oformlenie* should represent a single unified organism."[66] The 1956 *Osnovy oformleniia Sovetskoi knigi* defined the *oformlenie* of a book as the "*expression of its literary contents by artistic and printing means in a single unified and specific composition*

[64] Favorskii, V. A. *Literaturno-teoreticheskoe nasledie*. Moskva: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1988. 319-320.
[65] Genette 17-22, 22.
[66] Gessen, L. I. *Oformlenie knigi*. 2nd ed. Leningrad: OGIZ, 1935: 106.

[italics original]."[67] And N. A. Goncharova, a mid-century book artist, wrote in 1977 that "the theory of the composition of the book is a system of principles of harmonistic and structural unity," repeatedly quoting Favorskii in support of her work.[68]

However, unity was not a catchall for Soviet book design. By the mid-Soviet period, book artists began to surpass the theoretical position of their progenitors. The origins of this movement can be found in the work of Volia Liakhov, a scholar considered the founder of modern Soviet book design theory.[69] Liakhov – mainly active during the 1960s and 1970s – framed the book artist as a paramount force during publication, a close second to the authors themselves. The debut of this idea can be found in the first issue of *Kniga: issledovaniia i materialy*, a journal that served as the USSR's preeminent forum for bibliographic discourse. The first piece in the collection, entitled "Puti oformleniia Sovetskoi knigi za minuvshie sorok let," was written by Liakhov and offers a rousing defense of the Soviet book on both theoretical and practical levels. The article attempts to define the dominant of Soviet book design by arguing Soviet books (in distinction against pre-revolutionary or capitalist publications) exhibited a "development of a system for expressing ideas in book design."[70] Liakhov contends that many book artists helped develop this bibliographic reification, most notably including Favorskii, who

[67] Sidorov, A. A., and V. A. Istrin, eds. *Osnovy oformleniia sovetskoi knigi*. Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1956: 9.
[68] Goncharova, N. A. "Kompozitsiia i arkhitektonika knigi." In *Kniga kak khudozhestvennyi predmet*, 2:291–395. Moskva: Kniga, 1990: 293.
[69] Liakhov's sobriquet comes from a conference held at MGU's museum in 2015 to commemorate the ninetieth anniversary of the scholar's birth; see "Nauchno-prakticheskaia konferentsiia, posviashchennaia 90-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia Voli Nikolaevicha Liakhova." Rossiiskii knizhnyi soiuz, September 15, 2015.
[70] *Kniga*, published until the dissolution of the USSR, was devoted to questions of book history, book design, librarianship, early Russian incunables, economics of publishing, etc. In its first issue, its preface, published in both English, described the publication as an attempt to "enliven and stimulate the study of questions concerning books, to draw the attention of scientists and other people studying theoretical problems of the science of books…to this extremely interesting sphere of knowledge." The journal clearly succeeded in this regard; *Kniga* attracted many of the USSR's most important publishing and bibliographic figure, including most of the authors cited in this chapter, V. A. Markus from chapter 3, and Favorskii himself. See *Kniga: issledovaniia i materialy*, no. 1 (1959): 9; Liakhov, Volia Nikolaevich. "Puti oformleniia Sovetskoi knigi za minuvshie sorok let." *Kniga: issledovaniia i materialy*, no. 1 (1959): 17.

he describes as the most consistent practitioner and theoretician within early Soviet book circles. However, Liakhov's interpretation of his predecessors' work was undeniably his own. For him, book form was not merely a mirror of its text – it was to be a representation of the "*ideinost'*" of a text, an attempt to "*find* the most important *idea within the work* and from this comprehension *represent* it within a developed artistic form [all italics original." [71]

This argument clearly exceeds that of Favorskii and his students. For Liakhov, unity was merely a byproduct of a larger effort; books should effectively function as an additional paratext, shaping interpretation before and during reading through judicious use of cover art, fonts, pagination, and other formal elements. This notion was further explicated within Liakhov's 1964 *Obraznoe otrazhenie soderzhaniia knigi vo vneshnem oformlenii*, perhaps the most direct enunciation of his thought. In the work, Liakhov cautions against providing shallow representations of texts; for example, he excoriates an edition of Ostrovskii's *Groza* with a thundercloud on its cover, writing that weather had little relation to Katerina's torture or the play's criticism of the mercantile class. Instead, he argues that artists ought to:

> "search and find the most consonant ideas with the contemporary world within the work and, based upon them, craft one's *oformlenie*. As society puts forward new tasks, ideas, and tendencies in the process of development, it frequently reevaluates ideas even of classic Russian and world literature, finding within them newer and newer aspects. However, not only ideas of the work can become an object of figurative reflection. They can also become the theme of the book. By revealing them, the artist can give the reader an idea of the content of the work." [72]

Soon, this belief came to predominate amongst Soviet book artists. The best demonstration of this consensus can be found in a small but intriguing series – *Biblioteka oformitelia knigi*. This collection, comprising seven texts issued by Izdatel'stvo "Kniga" between 1974 and 1982, published treatises by a variety of active practitioners of book art. These works

[71] Ibid 37-38.
[72] Ibid 6.

offer a time capsule of book design theory during the late 1970s, and their argumentation underscores the ascendency of Liakhov's influence. [73]

The three theoretical volumes from this collection illustrate book artists' coalescence around Liakhov's arguments. The first of these texts echoes this accord from a surprising direction; E. B. Adamov's *Ritmicheskaia struktura knigi* argues that books are intrinsically rhythmical objects, where color, shape, texture, etc. could repeat and accentuate one another during a reader's progression through a codex.[74] Adamov argues that a properly calibrated rhythm could – and should – refine the content of texts; likening the conventions of book form to the rules of a game, he contends that book artists should strive to present texts with maximal clarity and minimal difficulty to its readers.[75] For example, Adamov praises El Lissitsky's edition of Mayakovsky's *Dlia golosa*, the form of which he argues aids oral recitation by clearly delineating the beginning and end of individual poems. On the other hand, he condemns F. Tagirovyi's edition of Kazmir Edshmid's *Baski. Byki. Araby*, which, though extensive underscoring and typographical isolation of particular paragraphs, he believed overdetermined the flow of the author's work.[76]

The second theoretical work from the series, N. A. Goncharova's *Kompozitsiia i arkhitektonika knigi*, advances less radical arguments. Her text is not particularly innovative; she advances a simultaneously multipartite and unified framework for the book, where physical form and typography could help reinforce and shape reading. For example, she argues that book artists need to understand the fabula of a text and utilize a "*rubrikatsiia*" – i.e. a hierarchical system of

[73] Two more volumes were published in 1988 and 1991, but they were simply compilations of all of the earlier books in the series.
[74] Adamov, Efim Borisovich. *Ritmicheskaia struktura knigi*. Biblioteka oformitelia knigi. Moskva: Kniga, 1974: 13.
[75] Ibid 17-18.
[76] Ibid 20-21, 26-28.

headings – to reflect the content of a work. However, this framework merely echoes Liakhov and Adamov before her; her conclusion that the "the goal of the *oformlenie* is to maximally correspond to the ideological content of the book" is merely a restatement of their thought. [77]

The final theoretical text in this series was authored by none other than Liakhov himself. The volume, titled *O khudozhestvennom konstruirovanii knigi*, is perhaps his broadest (and most chaotic) work. It develops a framework titled "a systemic design of the book" which considers the book to be a multifaceted but ultimately monadic structure. Liakhov argues that everything surrounding the text (the organization of a text, the book's graphic design, etc. – i.e. the *oformlenie*) ought to provide an "orientation" for its readers, and that physical aesthetics are crucial for clarifying meaning.[78]

In sum, by the 1970s, the most prominent bibliographic thinkers in the USSR were in consensus: book form was effectively coequal with paratexts. Indeed, Liakhov, Adamov, and Goncharova explicitly acknowledged this harmony; in a 1971 volume, the three book artists co-authored an article on the *oformlenie*, collapsing their positions into a common argument:

> "[T]he artist is not a passive copyist, but an active reader and interpreter of the images of a literary work. Excited by the images of this literature and previously engaged by other images close to him, the artist, if it were, once again goes through the path of creating an image and work that the writer once did, but proceeds along this path in their own fashion, on the basis of their own personal artistic impressions, differing to some degree from the impressions of the author, but certainly aimed at a deep expression of the content of the book. Often he is a co-author, widening and supplementing the author's narration…The evaluation of the ideas and the social orientation of a literary work is the first step towards the most complete recreation of its images and plot. This evaluation can be conducted successfully if the provisions of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics are applied to this work, if it is carefully personalized on the basis of contemporary theories of literature, and if it is connected to the life of contemporary society." [79]

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[77] Goncharova 371, 373-374. 382, 386-389. Much of Goncharova's work is based on Liakhov; she extensively quotes from his monograph and even highlights correspondences between her conclusions and his own. She also cribs from Adamov; in the latter pages, she uses the exact same example from Mayakovsky to punctuate her argumentation.

[78] Liakhov, Volia Nikolaevich. *O khudozhestvennom konstruirovanii knigi*. Biblioteka oformitelia knigi. Moskva: Kniga, 1975: 26.

[79] Goncharov, A. D., ed. *Khudozhestvennoe konstruirovanie i oformlenie knigi*. Moskva: Kniga, 1971: 240.

In a sense, this quote represents a reiteration of design theory dating back to the 1920s; Favorskii astutely realized that a monadic nation would require monadic books. However, it took a later generation of artists to develop this notion into a coherent form. Soviet books were never meant to present their texts transparently; Liakhov's generation realized that, in the pursuit of true unity, designers needed to acknowledge implicitly the framework of the Soviet book as privileging paratext over text. Instead, insofar as the true statement of a book's meaning was found in its paratexts, complete unity combined *oformlenie* and *apparat* into a single frame for interpolating texts into the Soviet world.

4.2: Practice

Many Soviet books aspired to the above dictums. Book design became a prestigious endeavor in the USSR; beginning in 1960, the government ran contests to ascertain the best-designed book published within the previous year, recorded in the series *Iskusstvo knigi*, *Luchshie knigi* and *Luchshie izdaniia*.[80] This discourse was not confined to elite circles; *Knizhnaia torgovlia* and its successor *V mire knig*, the organ of the Komitet po pechati and by far the most popular journal devoted to books in the Soviet Union (the BSE describes the journal as "addressed to publishing house workers, book sellers, librarians, and also a wide circle of book lovers," and the publication featured an unusually large print run of seventy five thousand copies), frequently included articles on book art and design echoing Liakhov's strictures.[81] For example, a 1968 article on Elena Los', a Belarusian artist, praises the designer for her ability to

[80] Pristed has a helpful footnote regarding these competitions; see Pristed 30. The contests eventually ended in 1987; see ibid.
[81] "V mire knig." In *Knigovedenie: entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, 98–99. Moskva: Sovetskaia entsiklopediia, 1982.

pair contemporary imagery with traditional Belarusian folklore, for her novel means of illustrating ancient tales for Soviet readers, and for her success in aiding the "aesthetic edification of future buidlers of new life." [82]

However, most of the thousands of Soviet titles published per year were less refined than these volumes; the USSR's best book artists could only work on so many books. The average Soviet volume was relatively demure.[83] Soviet books were standardized industrial products manufactured in factories and, accordingly, they were the agglomeration of parts defined by industrial (GOST) standards. These limited the number of covers, fonts, bindings, and even dimensions that Soviet books could employ to a shocking degree; by the early 1970s, two sizes accounted for around eighty-five percent of book production.[84]

Even in these circumstances, the rank and file of Soviet publishers attempted to follow Liakhov's guidance, creating books that influenced readings of text and paratext. This effort is best documented in *Redaktoru i avtoru ob oformlenii knigi*, a practical manual written in 1971 by Semen Dobkin.[85] This volume, far less theoretical than those discussed above, aimed to educate authors and editors with the state of Soviet bibliographic art. To this end, rather than representing an argumentative piece, the work provides a descriptive account of the median Soviet book.[86]

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[82] Bolashenko, G. "Talant i trudoliubie." *Knizhnaia torgovlia*, no. 5 (May 15, 1968): 46–47.
[83] Pristed 50.
[84] Pristed 56.

Indeed, the 1977 *Apparat* was specifically written to address this revolution in publishing; its major corrections to the 1957 textbook was to describe GOST standards implemented under Khrushchev and Brezhnev and to demonstrate how these regulations defined the various portions of the Soviet book.
[85] Incidentally, Dobkin was a childhood friend of Vygotskii and wrote a memoir on their youth after emigrating to Israel. See Dobkin, Semen. *L. S. Vygotskii: nachalo puti: vospominaniia S. F. Dobkina o L've Vygotskom*. Ierusalimskii izdatel'skii tsentr, 1996.
[86] Dobkin 1971 3-4. One could also argue that this volume was potentially more influential than the work of Liakhov et al. in a practical sense; Dobkin's book enjoyed a print run of five thousand copies and a second edition of eleven thousand further copies, higher than any of the other books discussed in this section. In other words, his text was simply more accessible to the average Soviet publishing worker.

Accordingly, Dobkin's account of the means by which publishers carefully crafted the *oformlenie* is useful – and, for that matter, remarkable. Though less explicitly than Liakhov, Dobkin shows that publishers attempted to create books that influenced readers.

This influence can be found throughout the volume, encompassing chapters on fonts, pagination, and exterior layout. For example, Dobkin argues that exterior form ought to "reflect the particularities of the contents [of the book] and – this is very important – attract the reader, invoke his interests, attention, and respect towards the book."[87] Unlike Liakhov, however, Dobkin advances this argument from a practical standpoint. He argues that the exterior of the book is a necessary component for attracting readers' attention, and that judicious choice of design separates commercially successful volumes from financial failures.[88] Given the fiscal pressures discussed in chapter 3 and the timing of this publication (shortly after the extension of the Kosygin reforms to the publishing industry), such a focus is to be expected. That being said, in concluding, Dobkin hews back to ideological concerns. By writing "in order to correctly select and evaluate the external *oformlenie* of the book, it is necessary to know its content well and deeply understand its basic ideas," Dobkin reinforces that considerations of exterior form extend beyond economics alone.[89]

Other portions of the volume repeat this balance between practicality and theory. For example, in the chapter on the internal formatting of the book, Dobkin argues, as Liakhov might, that the position of the opening line of a piece of literature is a crucial primer for the reader, that it represents a "signal" for the beginning of a text.[90] Unlike Liakhov, however, Dobkin

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[87] Dobkin 1971 207.
[88] Ibid 215-218, 225.
[89] Ibid 224-225.
[90] Ibid 153.

approaches this topic from the perspective of convention, describing how readers expect the first line to be placed somewhere between one-fourth and one-third of the way down a page – and advocating that publishers ought to follow this norm.[91] Similarly, he underscores that the role of the title page is to "familiarize the reader with a book, "bring" them into it," but again guides publishers towards one of the two standard formats for Soviet books.[92] Further, in a discussion of book formats, Dobkin writes that the "the question of format is one of the key issues of book design," but advocates that publishers should select smaller sizes to save paper and ink.[93]

While much of the book hews to this balance, perhaps the most interesting part of Dobkin's volume is a subchapter on the intersection of the *apparat* and the *oformlenie*. Much of this chapter focuses on font, but the fundamental argument is clear – the role of the *oformlenie* is to highlight the importance of the preface. For Dobkin, the font is not merely a generic gesture, but a concrete means of emphasizing the argument of the book:

> "The *introduction* [italics original] and similar [paratexts], placed under the headings 'From the Author,' 'From the Compiler,' 'From the Publishing House,' and so forth, are frequently printed in the same font as the main text of the book, and are generally not distinguished by their form. This likely emerges from the presumption that the preface does not differ from the main text in terms of importance for the reader. One ought not to agree with this conception in many instances. The preface frequently contains observations that are important for the reader – it conveys the principal characteristics of the book, demarcates its concrete particularities, and states the main attitudes of the author. Such a preface defines the orientation of the entirety of the reader's work on the book, and it should be granted particular attention. It is appropriate to highlight such a preface… It can be distinguished from the typical form of the book via different ways, for example by italics… in this regard the preface will read well and will noticeably differ from the main text." [94]

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[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid 194, 195-205.
[93] Ibid 137-138.

This discussion also formalizes one of the observations from chapter 2. Dobkin writes that Soviet books were required to adhere to a number of standard sizes, rendering tamizdat's small form factor a deviation from typical volumes – and thus unexpected of a book in the USSR. See 141-144.
[94] Ibid 80. Dobkin also remarks that, depending on the relationship of the vstupitel'naia stat'ia to the literary text, one can either use the same font as the work or a different font, echoing this logic. See ibid.

In short, Dobkin's text and the above example reveal the influence of Liakhov's work. While practical factors were clearly of critical importance, the political role of the *oformlenie* was deeply influential, counterbalancing or even outweighing economic considerations. The *oformlenie* – even for generic Soviet books – was considered yet another moderator of the presentation of texts.

Practical examples demonstrate omnipresence of this belief. Returning to the early 1960s – again, due to its cultural exceptionalism, a remarkably helpful era for unpacking books – "normal" Soviet publications demonstrate the careful preparation of form in tandem with political and philological trends. These unremarkable volumes portend the nature of a text and provide visual guidance for their content.

For example, take a 1962 volume written by the Thaw's quintessential poet: Evgenii Evtushenko's *Vzmakh ruki*. Upon first impression, one can observe that the book measures 16.5 by 13 centimeters (in Soviet parlance, 70x108/32) – an odd, almost square shape. According to Dobkin, this was an unusual format; unlike other small books, its width inhibited easy transport, and its weight prevented comfortable reading. As he explains, these dimensions were reserved for special editions of poetry and art books. Further, the volume employs an unusual font; both the title and the text are set in "Journals Sans New," a relatively rare design. While the font was developed in the 1930s, it was not widely used until the mid-century and, according to Dobkin, was used to grant texts a "contemporary look" through the 1970s.

In addition, consider roughly contemporaneous editions of *Kapitanskaia dochka* – a 1964 book published as part of *Literaturnie pamiatniki* and a mass edition from 1963. The former presents formal elements that position Pushkin within the Soviet canon. By employing the same square green format as other books within the series and by using the same fonts and even the

same headpieces, the book broadcasts its academic character and Pushkin's position within the Soviet philological canon. However, the book also works to highlight the 1830s origins of the text, a natural move given its philological goals. The font of the book title and other section breaks are printed in a style belonging to the French romantic movement, characteristic of Russian publications of the 1830s thanks to widespread use by Adol'f. Pliushar and Zhorzh Revil'on.[95]

The popular edition, on the other hand, treats the text quite differently. The volume, presenting *Kapitanskaia dochka* alongside the "revolutionary" *Dubrovskii* (both prepared from the 1960 Tomashevskii *sobranie sochinenii*), uses a standard book size and font, though, being a paperback, it strives to enhance readability. The book nevertheless displays attention to form. The volume includes illustrations by Alexandre Benois, a founding member of Mir isskustvo who left the USSR in 1927, an unusual choice in the grand sweep of Soviet history.

The *oformlenie* in these three books aims towards the same goals. They forecast the nature of the text and provide primers as to how to understand its content. In the case of Evtushenko, *Vzmakh ruki*'s size signals its nature as a book of poetry and, through its font, informs readers to expect modern verse. The *Literaturnie pamiatniki* work displays its scholarly character while situating Pushkin's text as a product of the 1830s. And the mass *Kapitanskaia dochka* helps cement a Thaw-era reinvigoration of the novel, echoing the revisionist content of its preface in its illustrations.

Thus, all three books use form to transmit both generic and interpretive meaning. While they may not have been as well-developed as the heights of Soviet bibliographic production, they

[95] Shitsgal, A. G. *Russkii grazhdanskii shrift 1708-1958*. Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1959: 176.

underscore that cooperation between the *oformlenie* and the *apparat* was typical for the median Soviet work.

Conclusion

As we have seen, the Russian book was a strikingly unified object. Whether it hawked Evtushenko or Pushkin, whether it was of the highest cachet or belonging to the most obtainable of mass editions, the Soviet book employed every aspect of its construction in pursuit of politics. Combining *oformlenie* and *apparat* to great effect, Russian publishers aimed to advance arguments divorced from text. They attempted to override the meaning of literature to produce monads of ideology.

On face, this object may seem like the exact antithesis of the tamizdat-work. As seen in the first half of the dissertation, this archetype was one of the most disjoint book forms imaginable; not only did tamizdat not unify text, paratext, and form, but it actively worked to separate these bibliographic elements from one another. Indeed, as we observed in Alec Flegon's more ornate works, tamizdat could attempt to place *oformlenie*, *apparat*, and text into contradiction; a more disruptive tome is difficult to imagine.

However, the tamizdat-work and the Soviet book share a deep affinity. Fundamentally, both forms were deeply disconnected from the content of their texts. If tamizdat deliberately ignored literature to aid American foreign policy, Soviet books performed the same dance in the name of domestic ideology. Both manufactured books that were first and foremost political weapons, and both archetypes overrode literature in the pursuit of advancing their goals.

The first half of the dissertation explored the manifestation of this program within the world of tamizdat. As chapter one establishes, the need to secret books across Soviet borders forced publishers into a proverbial corner; they were compelled to find creative ways for

transmitting anti-Soviet texts into the USSR. To achieve this goal, publishers manipulated their works into elaborate masquerades, books which concealed the content of their texts.

This divorce between work and literature was explored at length within chapter two. This section, which provided a taxonomy of the myriad ways in which publishers created these masks, explores specific editions in detail. In toto, the variegated nature of these book reveals the diversity of tamizdat, and the probing of every corner of the book in service of tamizdat's program illustrates the extent and capacities of the work.

The latter half of the dissertation explores parallel dynamics within the Soviet context. As chapter three argues, the intersection of economic pressures with the pedagogical role foisted upon literature within the USSR compelled publishers to print non-Soviet literature to buoy their financial stability. Though these texts were not emblematic of Soviet doctrine, or the program of cultural construction codified in socialist realism, these texts were issued *en masse* within the USSR.

Chapter four discusses how publishers recast these texts to serve the politics of the Soviet Union through the use of an elaborate work-archetype that I term the Soviet book. This form unified the goal of the Soviet publishing industry and the realities of its praxis to restate non-Soviet texts within a Soviet register. Through the conglomeration of meticulous physical forms, interpretive prefaces, and publishers' paratexts, these frames overwhelmed texts in the pursuit of Marxist-Leninist dogma.

None of these forms accord with theoretical descriptions of the book as found in Western scholarship. Western book history has predominantly described the work in benevolent or anodyne terms; as discussed in the introduction, books are frequently cast as objects produced by

publishers but determined by numerous stakeholders in a market environment. Even when works are analyzed in their own right, scholars largely succumb to these pressures – like Chartier – or downplay the agency of publishers.

However, this dissertation has illustrated a vastly different landscape. Under the unique pressures of the mid-twentieth century, a world where literature was not an object of consumption but a tool in ideological battles, publishers were able to shed themselves of typical concerns regarding codices and wield the work to extreme effect. Asked to use every tool at their disposal in the service of Cold War, Russian publishers created forms unrecognizable within the neutral lens described by Western theorists. They crafted books where works, whether nominally in the case of tamizdat, or functionally in the case of the Soviet book, supplanted texts.

This is the fundamental pattern of the Russian book.

In advancing this argument, my dissertation has attempted to construct a new theoretical lens for Russian books. I hope that scholars will begin to pay attention to the frames encapsulating texts, to understand the care placed in their creation and the manipulations encoded in their paratexts and forms. Further, I hope that this analysis might be of use for book historians broadly construed. Russian publishers created far more muscular works than those found in the West, objects which highlight the power latent within the work. Through an analysis of this object, I hope that book history-minded academics may begin to recognize activist forces encoded within the subjects of their studies as well.

Above all, though, I hope that this thesis exposes a new facet of books for Slavists, professionals whose lives are inundates by these objects. We may want to consider our texts as divorced from history, but the forces that delivered literature to us were not of the same mind.

They imagined political action upon audiences as the purpose of their works, and they consequently created deeply historical objects.

As academics, we are crafty readers; we are implicitly knowledgeable of the nature of these books. However, by explicating this history and these dynamics, I hope I have shown that the poetics of these volumes are far more baroque than many have imagined. Even if we were to believe that Russian readers across the globe were as knowledgeable as we, a dubious suggestion, even if we believe we are immune from the effects of these works, a similarly uncertain proposition, we must acknowledge that contemporaneous publishers were of a drastically different opinion. We may jump over the labyrinths set in these tomes, but many others were lost along the way, and the traps that ensnared millions are on our shelves to this day.

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