

*Samizdat* offered a possible alternative to writers whose works were persistently barred from publication. It was not, however, one to be utilized lightly. Resorting to *samizdat* channels opened one to the criminal charge of "disseminating materials defaming the Soviet state and social system." It also meant losing control over one's text, which might be sent abroad even against one's will, published there in possibly defective form and without copyright protection, and then used as a pretext for reprisals by the political authorities at home.

This was the fate of Solzhenitsyn. Even after losing the struggle over the Lenin Prize, Tvardovsky continued to champion his cause, attempting to have both *The First Circle* and *Cancer Ward* published in his journal. The first was rejected while Khrushchev was still in power, but the second was the subject of an intense debate in September 1967 in the Secretariat of the Writers' Union, where it received a largely positive response. Set up in press for *New World*, it was finally barred by the personal decision of Konstantin Fedin, first secretary of the Writers' Union. Shortly afterwards Russian texts of both novels began to appear in the west, with various publishing houses, and manifesting significant textual discrepancies.

At the same time the KGB had intervened. As early as 1961, even at the height of Khrushchev's anti-Stalin campaign, they had "arrested" a work of literature, the second part of Vasily Grossman's novel *Stalingrad*, which they had accomplished by searching his home and editorial offices with which he had dealt. Now, in 1965, the KGB confiscated *The First Circle* as well as an archive of earlier writings from Solzhenitsyn. The latter tried to retrieve his texts by private representations before taking the battle to the fourth Writers' Union congress of 1967, to which he submitted a letter charging the Union with neglecting its principal function of protecting the interests of writers. He raised not only the matter of confiscation of his own works, but also attacked the institution of censorship, and recalled the Union's silence, indeed complicity, in the suppression and arrest of numerous writers during the Stalin period. He was supported by



Georgy Vladimov and a number of other writers, but his letter was not publicly read and no mention of the matter appeared in the published record of the congress. The Union's answer to Solzhenitsyn in effect came two years later, in the autumn of 1969, when it expelled him for «joining hands with those who speak out against the Soviet social system».) Tvardovsky suffered with him. The appearance in the west of his banned poem *By Right of Memory* served as the final pretext for a campaign against him by editors of rival journals. His most independent colleagues were dismissed from the editorial board of *New World*, creating conditions under which he himself felt obliged to resign.

The final stage in Solzhenitsyn's relations with the Soviet authorities began when the KGB discovered his huge history of the prisons and labor camps, *The Gulag Archipelago*. Solzhenitsyn had by this time concluded that in existing conditions *samizdat* and foreign publication were a powerful weapon, if skillfully and resolutely handled. He accordingly empowered a Swiss lawyer to protect his international copyright, and prepared copies of *The Gulag Archipelago*, which he sent by underground channels to the west, with instructions that it was to be published only on his direct instructions or in the event of his sudden death. Late in 1973 the KGB discovered and confiscated a copy of *The Gulag Archipelago*, whereupon Solzhenitsyn authorized its western publication. Shortly afterwards, he was arrested and deported from the USSR.

The possibilities and dangers exemplified in Solzhenitsyn's career set the scene for the characteristic literary drama of the 1970s. Sometimes the decision to ban a writer seems to be made not for purely literary reasons, but because he is involved in the civil rights movement or even formotives of personal enmity. Squeezed out of official Soviet literature, the banned writer resorts to *samizdat*, and then, voluntarily or involuntarily, to *tamizdat*, as foreign publication came to be known. This makes him a celebrity abroad and an object of scandal at home, as a result of which he attracts increasing attention from the procuracy and KGB and ends up either being arrested on a trumped up criminal charge, or else being exiled from the country. Some writers chose the latter fate under the threat of the former.



## Текст на пересказ

Among the writers who left the country after such developments were Andrey Sinyavsky (after his imprisonment), Joseph Brodsky, Naum Korzhavin, Vladimir Maksimov, Victor Nekrasov, Alexander Zinovev, Vladimir Voynovich, Georgy Vladimov and Vasily Aksyonov. 1.200

or 5 Their arrival in the west engendered a whole «third wave» of Russian «émigré» literature. The focus of much of their activity was in literary journals. The principal ones were *Continent*, founded in 1974 by Vladimir Maksimov in Frankfurt am Main, which adopted a neo-Slavophile political line but was broad-minded in its choice of authors; *We and Our Epoch*, founded in Tel Aviv by Victor Perelman in 1976 to give a voice to the rich Russian Jewish tradition; and *Syntax*, founded in 1978 in Paris as a largely critical journal by Sinyavsky. To these should be added a number of journals which began to appear in the late 1970s to publish young (or even not so young) writers who had emigrated before finding a niche in the Soviet literary world. Bearing titles like *Echo*, *The Ark*, *Third Wave* and *Twenty Two*, these journals rejected the political commitments of their elders and espoused "art for art's sake." We may in future see them as harbingers of an epoch when Stalinism and its consequences would cease to obsess writers.

90 Inside the Soviet Union the problem of young writers was taken up by Aksyonov. One result of the increasingly restrictive publishing policy adopted by the Writers' Union during the late 1960s and 1970s was that new young authors found it extremely difficult to publish. Literary professionals began to age to such an extent that at the seventh Writers' Union congress in 1981 only three per cent of delegates were under forty. Aksyonov, as one of the principal figures of the youth movement of twenty years earlier, sponsored in 1978 a symposium, *Metropol*, to bring out works by young authors along with a few by more established figures.]

At the last moment the Writers' Union blocked publication. Thereupon Aksyonov resigned from the Union in protest, and shortly afterwards emigrated from the USSR, declaring that he could see no future for himself as a writer there.

Boris Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago*, the first serious literary attempt in the post-Stalin period to grapple with the problems of man in Soviet society, drew its