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TROUBLEMAKERS IN UNIFORM

By Vera S. Dumhan

Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

THE MOOD

NAS SPRASHIVAUT:

- PRAVDA-LI CHTO KAZHDI SOVETSKII SOLDAT MECHTAET STAT MARSHALOM?

OTVECHAEM:

- SOVETSKIE SOLDATY NE DURAKI. ONI ZNAUT, CHTO IKH MARSHALY PROPADAUT BEZ VESTI DAZHE V MIRNOE VREMYA.

RADIO EREVAN

RODINA

SHE TOUCHES OF THE OCEANS THE THREE GREATEST,
SHE LIES IN ABANDON UNFOLDING HER TOWNS,
ENGAGED IN HOOPS OF BLACK MERIDIANS,
UNVANQUISHED, BROAD AND PROUD.
BUT AT THE TIME WHEN THE LAST EXPLOSIVE
YOU HOLD ALREADY ON THE UPSWING IN YOUR HAND,
WHEN IN THAT INSTANT YOU MUST REMEMBER
ALL THAT REMAINS FOR US SO FAR BEHIND,
THE GIANT COUNTRY THEN YOU DON'T REMEMBER,
THE ONE YOU HAVE CRISS-CROSSED AND LEARNED SO WELL,
YOU WILL REMEMBER YOUR NATIVE LAND

AS SEEN IN CHILDHOOD:

A STRETCH OF LAND SLOPING AGAINST THREE BIRCHES,
A LENGTHY ROAD BEHIND A BRUSH,
A CREAKY FERRY ON THE RIVER AND
SANDY SHORES UNDER SMALL WILLOWS...

KONSTANTIN SIMONOV

1942 (TR. V.S.D.)

1941

THE MOSCOW OF THOSE DAYS ... THE SUDDEN ONSLAUGHT OF
DISASTER ...

UNCOUNTED LOSSES, UNIMAGINABLE GRIEF.
NO, MY CONTEMPORARIES, DO NOT DENY IT:
IT WAS LIKE TORCH FLAME - THAT IMMACULATE YEAR!
PRETENSES CRUMBLLED DOWN LIKE PLASTER,
AND BY THE LIGHT OF CAUSES ALL LAID BARE,
THE YEAR OF CAMOUFLAGE AND BLACKOUT
REVEALED OUR FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS AS THEY WERE.
CASTING AWAY ALL DUBIOUS WEIGHTS AND MEASURES -
QUESTIONNAIRES, LENGTH OF SERVICE, OFFICES AND YEARS -
WITH THE TRUE GAUGE OF FAITH AND COURAGE
WE MEASURED THAT BY WHICH OUR LIVES WERE PURE ...

YULIA NEIMAN, LITERARY MOSCOW,
No.2, 1956 (TR. V. ALEKSANDROVA)

MY VI DELI STOLKO GORYA,
TERPELI STOLKO NEVZGOD,
CHTO GORKIE VOSPOMINANYA
ZA NAMI I DUT V POKHOD.

EVGENII DOLMATOVSKY
1945

" I AM FIFTY-TWO YEARS OLD ... THREE WARS IN ONE LIFETIME. A LITTLE TOO MUCH. TOO RICH. I AM NOT GREEDY. TWO WOULD HAVE BEEN ENOUGH FOR ME ... IF I WERE ASKED, I WOULD SAY: ONE SYSTEM! TWO SYSTEMS! THERE HAVE BEEN ALL SORTS OF SYSTEMS ON EARTH. AND PEOPLE SOMEHOW LIVED, SOMEHOW THEY ARRANGED THEMSELVES, SOMEHOW THEY MANAGED TO AGREE WITH EACH OTHER. THERE MUST BE NO MORE WAR! IT HAS NO RIGHT TO BE! AT NO PRICE! BECAUSE I SAY OUR SYSTEM IS WONDERFUL BUT WHEN I AM DEAD, IT'S NOT MUCH USE TO ME."

KONSTANTIN SIMONOV, DYM OTECHESTVA,
NOVYI MIR, No.11, 1947, p.25

SO MUCH FOR THE SETTING OF THE MOOD - WITH MOTTOS,
POEMS, SNIPLETS, ALL HIGHLY UNQUANTIFIABLE - TO BETTER
REMEMBER. WHAT? ALAS, THERE IS NO SOBER WAY OF PUTTING
IT. TO REMEMBER THAT WHICH WAS NEVER FORGOTTEN : THE BLEND-
ING OF UNSPEAKABLE GRIEF, LOVE OF COUNTRY, AND FEAR.

PURPOSE

TO ASSIST MEDITATION FOR FUTURE RESEARCH OF THE SOVIET
1940'IES AND 1950'IES, I SHALL ASSEMBLE, IN A MANNER OTHER
THAN EXHAUSTIVE OR EVEN HALF-WAY HARMONIOUS, A FEW FLASH-
BACKS FROM LITERATURE WHICH FLEETINGLY SHED LIGHT ON THE
"SEPARATISM" OF THE MILITARY. THAT LIGHT IS NOT VERY BRIGHT.
HOW COULD IT BE OTHERWISE? IT ILLUMINATES ONLY FICTION. YET,
BECAUSE OF SEVERAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE STALINIST LATE ERA,
ONE MIGHT LEARN.

THE INTERESTS, PREFERENCES, AND, IN FACT, VALUES OF
THE MILITARY - AND I HAVE LARGELY OFFICERS IN MIND - HAD
SURFACED DURING THE CURIOUS PERIOD OF LIMITED, YET SIGNIFI-
CANT, LIBERTIES GRANTED POETS DURING THE CRITICAL PHASE OF

THE WAR. MIRABILE DICTU, THIS THEME DID NOT VANISH DURING THE SUBSEQUENT PERIOD OF THE EXCRUCIATING TRANSITION TO PEACE WHEN SUCH FREEDOMS WERE ABROGATED. BOTH STALINIST PERIODS OF WAR AND POST-WAR REVEAL THE OFFICER'S APARTHEID. ALBEIT MURKILY. AT SOME TIMES MORE MURKILY THAN AT OTHERS.

SECONDLY, JUST THERE WHERE THE TWO ^EPERIODS JOIN, ONE MAJOR THEME BEGAN TO SWELL. PARADOXICALLY, PERHAPS, AND MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE MILITARY UZEL, IT WAS TO GROW INTO LARGE SCALE CRITICISM OF PARTY FUNCTIONARIES AND TO VERITABLY EXPLODE IN THE SO-CALLED YEAR OF PROTEST OF 1956. THE POINT HERE IS THAT ONE LEARNS A LOT FROM THE VERY FACT THAT, SEEN BOTH SYNCHRONICALLY AND DIACHRONICALLY, THE "MILITARY" AS OVER THE "PARTY" THEME HAD TAKEN ON A SOMEWHAT SUBDUED, GINGERLY APPEARANCE.

THE LAST CAVEAT. EVEN IF FREQUENTLY OPAQUE, THERE IS SO MUCH LITERARY SOURCE MATERIAL ON THE MATTER ON HAND THAT THIS PAPER, QUA RESEARCH IN ITS EMBRYONIC PHASE, CAN BE PUT TOGETHER ONLY SKOROGOVORKOI. A FEW HINTS WITHOUT CONCLUSION.

SMOLENSK WAS ABANDONED. PANFILOV WAS BARELY HOLDING OUT WITH HIS UZBEKS AT THE APPROACHES TO MOSCOW. TO GATHER PUBLIC OPINION AND TO SHAPE IT - INDEED, TO DO BOTH - THERE EMERGED BOTH THE PRECARIOUS AND THE PRESSING THEME OF THE REGIME'S NEED FOR THE PROFESSIONAL SOLDIER. THE BUDENNY TYPES DID NOT AND COULD NOT MANAGE, TO USE AN EUPHEMISM. THE CADRE OFFICER REPLACED THE VAIN AND IGNORANT CIVIL WAR POTENTATE AND THEREBY BAILED THE COUNTRY OUT, NOT A MINUTE TOO SOON. THAT'S EXACTLY THE WAY THE TRANSFER OF POWER AND RESPONSIBILITY WAS EXPLOSIVELY SHOWN, ON STALIN'S SUGGESTION,

IN ALEXANDER KORNEICHUK'S FAMOUS PLAY THE FRONT; SERIALIZED IN PRAVDA FROM AUGUST 24 TO 27, 1942 ; STAGED IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER IN SEVERAL THEATERS; STUNNING CRITICS AT FIRST INTO PETRIFIED SILENCE; AND THEREAFTER UNLEASHING A LIVELY DEBATE WHICH THE REGIME WAS AFTER IN THE FIRST PLACE FOR CATHARTIC PURPOSES.

THE HYPOTHESIS HEREWITH OFFERED IS UNHINGINGLY SIMPLE. STALIN NEEDED NOT THE RED BUT THE EXPERT. HENCE ÉPAULETTES, GOLD BRAIDING, ADULATION, CAVIAR - COLOGNE - COGNAC, STEEP AND AMPLE HIERARCHICAL SPACE TO CLIMB, ADJUTANTS, MUZZLING OF COMMISSARS ETC. THEN CAME PEACE, IT TURNED OUT TO BE MUCH LESS CLEAR WHO NEEDED WHOM. AT LEAST IN FICTION. THAT MUCH, HOWEVER, WAS CLEAR ALL THE TIME AND THROUGH ALL THE STACCATO PERIODS : THE OFFICER HAD BEEN AN EMERGENCY PARTNER SINE QUA NON. AND THE RELATIONSHIP WITH SUCH A PARTNER HAD BEEN LUCID CLEAR IN ITS EFFECTIVENESS. ACCOMODATION WITH THE APOCALYPSE ALWAYS IS. FOR ONE THING, AVERSION TO RISK TAKING, TO BORROW A PHRASE FROM HERB LEVINE, STOOD ABROGATED. WHEN THE EMERGENCY WAS OVER, HOWEVER, THE RELATIONSHIP LAPSED INTO AMBIGUITY.

AS HEAVY, GNAWING, OOZING GRIEVANCES COMMENCED TO DIVIDE THE PEOPLE, STRANGELY AND PERHAPS UNEXPECTEDLY UNITED BY THE ONSLAUGHT OF WAR, MAKING NOW CIVILIANS FREQUENTLY BICKER WITH SOLDIERS FROM ENVY OF MILITARY PRIVILEGES, RANK WITH HIGHER RANK, WIVES WITH UNFAITHFUL HUSBANDS, THE HINTERLAND WITH THE FRONT, THE PARTY FUNCTIONARIES WITH VARIOUS KINDS OF VETERANS - JUST SO IT BECAME CLEAR IN FICTION THAT THE SOLDIER WAS CAPABLE OF HARBORING RESENTMENT AGAINST THE REGIME. SHUDDERING AT THE DEVASTATION OF THE COUNTRY, THE VETERAN TURNED INTO THE MOST ARTICULATE REPRESENTATIVE OF A VAST

INTEREST GROUP, HIS OWN. IF HE WAS RETURNING HOME FROM THE WEST AFTER LONG ABSENCE AND NOT FINDING EVERYTHING TO HIS LIKING, IT WAS HE WHO MOST FERVENTLY HOPED FOR POST-WAR REWARDS AND RELAXATION WHILE RESISTING AS BEST HE COULD HIS BEING WEDGED BACK FORCIBLY, AND SOMETIMES VINDICTIVELY, INTO CIVILIAN TRAVAILS EXACTLY THE WAY STALIN HAD ORDERED. ALL THIS, GOD KNOWS, SPELLED CONFLICT.² EVEN IN GOSIZDAT FICTION. EVEN IN STALIN PRIZE NOVELS. IN REAL LIFE, THE CONCENTRATION CAMP POPULATION GREW AND GREW.

BY TRYING TO KEEP INFERENCES AT A MINIMUM AND DESISTING FROM PROJECTIONS, I HOPE TO SHOW ONLY A LATENT TENSION BETWEEN REGIME VALUES AND THOSE OF SOME MILITARY MEN. WHILE THIS THEMATIC KNOT WAS TIGHTENING, TWO TYPES AMONG THEM HAD BECOME PROMINENT: THE OFFICER CONSCIOUS OF HIS CASTE AND THE POPULIST. IT IS NOT SUGGESTED THAT IN REGARD TO EACH OTHER THEY FORMED A DICHOTOMIZED PATTERN NECESSARILY. THEY WERE DIFFERENT TYPES: GENTLE MOTHER-HENS WITH A TRADITIONAL POPULIST PROCLIVITY FOR FRETTING AND THE PRICKLY, TOUCHY HEDGE-HOGS.³ IN THE FUTURE IT MIGHT WELL BE WORTHWHILE TO EXAMINE MORE CLOSELY WHETHER, AS I SUSPECT, THE LATTER TENDED TO BE CADRE OFFICERS WHILE THE FORMER WERE WARTIME CONSCRIPTS. IT MIGHT ALSO BE INTERESTING TO DETECT WHAT VARIABLES THE VERY RANK SYSTEM HAD IMPOSED. GENERALS GRACED THE PAGES OF WAR BOOKS LESS THAN FREQUENTLY. WHEN THEY DID, THEY CAME ON AS SAINTS, OF COURSE AND, THEREFORE, HAD TO EITHER ENACT OR DEEPLY UNDERSTAND POPULIST VALUES.⁴

FLASHBACKS

THEMES AND SUBTHEMES ISSUING FROM AND, IN TURN, SURROUNDING THE PROBLEMS OF THE ORIGIN, PLACE, ROLE, AND VALUES OF SOVIET MEN IN UNIFORM HAVE BEEN KNOTTED TOGETHER FOR A LONG TIME. CLEARLY, THE EXPERT WAS THERE AHEAD OF THE RED FOR QUITE A NUMBER OF TSARIST OFFICERS WERE KNOWN TO HAVE FOUGHT ON THE SIDE OF THE BOLSHEVIKS. BUT THERE WERE THOSE UNRULY NATURAL TALENTS AS WELL, LIKE THE LEGENDARY CHAPAEV, IZ NARODA

DIMITRI FURMANOV, AN EARLY MIGHTY POWERFUL PROLETARIAN WRITER, WAS ATTACHED AS POLITICAL COMMISSAR TO CHAPAEV'S HEADQUARTERS. THE SIBERIAN FRONT WAS UNDER FRUNZE'S COMMAND AND IT IS THERE THAT IN SUCCESSFUL CONFRONTATION WITH KOLCHAK, CHAPAEV HAD BECOME THE FIRST TRUE FOLK HERO OF THE RED ARMY. HIS PEASANT ORIGIN AND GUERILLA PROWESS STOOD HIM IN GOOD STEAD, IF NOT ALWAYS HIS INDOMITABLE ANARCHICAL ALLURE. AND IT WAS FURMANOV'S DIFFICULT TASK TO TEACH CHAPAEV A MODICUM OF IDEOLOGY AND DISCIPLINE. WHILE ENDEAVORING TO DO JUST THAT, THE YOUNG COMMISSAR HARBORS SOME DOUBTS:

...IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO TAME CHAPAEV, AS DIFFICULT AS IT IS TO TAME STALLIONS IN THE WILD STEPPE. IN THE END ONE MANAGES TO BREAK THEM IN. BUT SHOULD ONE? WHY NOT LEAVE THIS BEAUTIFUL, UNIQUE, COLORFUL FIGURE TO THE WHIMSY OF FATE? WHY NOT LEAVE HIM ALONE? WHY SHOULD HE NOT SHIMMER, BOAST, AND GLITTER LIKE A BRIGHT STONE?

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A GOOD QUESTION. YET IT SEEMED THAT DURING WAR COMMUNISM THERE WAS NO ALTERNATIVE. FURMANOV'S DOUBTS AT THE TIME WOULD HAVE LED THAT WHICH MIGHT BE CALLED POLITICAL ECOLOGY INTO A DEAD END. THE CHAPAEVS WERE TAMED.

THE ABOVE ECHO OF THE EARLY TROUBLE THE PARTY EXPERIENCED WITH GUERILLA LEADERS AND ONE THAT SEETHED IN A BOTHER-

SOME WAY ALL THROUGH THE SECOND WORLD WAR, SERVES HERE AS REMINDER OF THE SOLID PEASANT LINEAGE AND "CONNECTION" OF SOVIET SOLDIERDOM, HIGH AND LOW.

JUST THESE TROUBLES CAME TO THE FORE IN A SOMEWHAT LATER FASCINATING TALE. ⁶ LIKE FURMANOV, YURI LIBEDINSKY WAS ENGAGED IN POLITICAL WORK IN THE RED ARMY. ACTION IN HIS BOOK THE COMMISSARS IS SET IN A PROVINCIAL TOWN IN 1921, RIGHT AFTER THE CIVIL WAR. THE MOOD OF TRANSITION FROM WAR COMMUNISM TO THE NEP - AND EVEN THE SHOCK WAVES OF THE LATTER - PERMEATES THE BOOK. LIBEDINSKY, A BOLSHEVIK TRUE BELIEVER HIMSELF, VIVIDLY DESCRIBES THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE PARTY AND THE SWAGGERING PROGENY OF TARAS BULBA. THE PLOT REVOLVES AROUND AN ENFORCED REFRESHER COURSE FOR RED ARMY COMMISSARS WHERE SOME OF THESE BUDENNY TYPE HEROES, ACCUSTOMED TO POWER AND IN NO WAY TO RESTRAINT, COMMIT HUBRIS BY COLLIDING WITH THE IDEOLOGISTS. FOR THIS, IN TURN, A NUMBER OF THEM END UP BY BEING EXPELLED FROM THE PARTY.

ONE MORE FLASHBACK COMPLETES THE INTRODUCTORY TRIPTYCH. IT IS AN OBVIOUS ONE: BORIS PILNYAK'S "THE TALE OF THE UNEXTINGUISHED MOON". WEIRD, INDEED, IT WAS PUBLISHED BY ALEXANDER VORONSKY IN THE MAY ISSUE OF NOVYI MIR FOR 1926 AND HAD CREATED A SENSATION. IT SHOULD BE NOTED RIGHT HERE THAT MIKHAIL FRUNZE HAD DIED ON THE OPERATING TABLE IN 1925. NOW, NOT ONLY DID VORONSKY ACCEPT THE PIECE BUT, AS IT TURNED OUT, IT WAS DEDICATED TO HIM BY THE AUTHOR. IN THE NEXT ISSUE (JUNE 1926) VORONSKY REPUDIATED THE DEDICATION BY DECLARING IT TO BE "THE GREATEST INSULT TO ME AS A COMMUNIST... I REJECT IT WITH DISGUST". AND THEREUPON VORONSKY THROWS OUT THE BABY, ONE MIGHT SAY, WITH THE

WATER AS HE INSISTS :

ALTHOUGH THE PREFACE OF THE STORY STATES THAT ITS CONTENTS HAS NO CONNECTION WITH THE DEATH OF COMRADE FRUNZE, ITS SETTING AS A WHOLE, SOME OF ITS DETAILS, AND SO ON, POINT TO THE CONTRARY.

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THE REPUDIATION WAS ACCOMPANIED RIGHT THERE AND THEN BY THE EDITORIAL BOARD INTONING CULPA NOSTRA IN UNISON. AFTER QUITE A NUMBER OF COPIES HAD ALREADY BEEN SHIPPED TO SUBSCRIBERS, THE ISSUE CONTAINING THE STORY WAS WITHDRAWN AND A NEW SUBSTITUTE ISSUE WAS PRINTED WITH ANOTHER INSERTED STORY REPLACING THAT BY PILNYAK. THE SCANDAL ALMOST DESTROYED PILNYAK. THAT IT DID NOT IS AS INCOMPREHENSIBLE AS SO MANY HAPPENINGS OF THE TWENTIES. PILNYAK WAS ARRESTED AND SHOT IN 1937

AS TO THE TALE, ARMY COMMANDER GAVRILOV IS SUMMONED TO MOSCOW BY "NUMBER ONE" ALSO CALLED "THE MAN WHO NEVER STOOPS". GAVRILOV IS ORDERED TO UNDERGO AN OPERATION FOR STOMACH ULCERS. NEITHER HE HIMSELF NOR, IN FACT, HIS DOCTORS THINK THE OPERATION NECESSARY. AN AIR OF DOOM ENVELOPS THE STORY FROM THE FIRST WORD. THE COMMANDER IS PERPLEXED AND FRIGHTENED. BUT NEVERMIND. ORDERS ARE ORDERS. AND THIS POWERFUL MAN IN UNIFORM YIELDS. HE DOES SO WITH THE DEEPEST OF APPREHENSION YET IN A STATE OF PARADOXICALLY COURAGEOUS STUPOR. THE CLIMAX OCCURS JUST BEFORE THE NIGHT OF THE FATAL OPERATION. IN "THE HOUSE NUMBER ONE" GAVRILOV IS INVITED TO FACE "NUMBER ONE". IT IS ALWAYS A PITY TO BE CRAMPED AND NOT TO BE ABLE TO QUOTE AS AMPLY AS POSSIBLE FROM THIS UNIQUE DIALOGUE. "NUMBER ONE" ENGAGES IN DIDACTIC REMINISCING AS WAS APPARENTLY HIS STYLE:

"GAVRILOV, FOR US THERE IS NO NEED TO TALK ABOUT THE GRINDING STONE OF THE REVOLUTION. THE WHEEL

OF HISTORY, IT SEEMS, IS TURNED, UNFORTUNATELY, BY BLOOD AND DEATH. ESPECIALLY THE WHEEL OF THE REVOLUTION. DO YOU REMEMBER HOW WE HAD TOGETHER LED THE RED ARMY UNITS, ALL IN TATTERS, AGAINST EKATERINOSLAV? YOU CARRIED A RIFLE. AND I CARRIED A RIFLE. RED ARMY SOLDIERS TOOK TO FLIGHT. AND YOU SHOT A MAN WITH YOUR REVOLVERTO STOP THE OTHERS. COMMANDER, HAD I SHOWN FEAR, YOU WOULD HAVE SHOT ME TOO. AND YOU WOULD HAVE BEEN RIGHT, IT SEEMS TO ME. "

THE IMPLICIT MEANING OF THE CONFRONTATION MIGHT WELL ATTACH TO THE SUDENNESS WITH WHICH GAVRILOV "STERNLY" ASKS: "SPEAK WITHOUT INTRODUCTIONS : WHY WAS I SUMMONED HERE? THERE IS NO NEED TO BE DIPLOMATIC. GIVE IT TO ME STRAIGHT." WHEN "NUMBER ONE" PROFFERS THAT HE HAD ORDERED THE OPEARATION BECAUSE THE REVOLUTION NEEDED GAVRILOV, THE LATTER RETORTS : " THERE IS NO NEED FOR AN OPERATION AND I DON'T WANT IT". IN TURN, "NUMBER ONE" ALLOWS CRYPTICALLY:

"COMRADE COMMANDER, DO YOU REMEMBER THE INCIDENT WHEN WE CONSIDERED WHTER FOUR THOUSAND SOLDIERS WERE TO BE SENT TO CERTAIN DEATH? YOU ORDERED THEM TO GO. AND YOU DID THE RIGHT THING."

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AND THAT'S THAT IN MORE WAYS THAN ONE. OBVIOUSLY, CHTO-TO ME PODELILI. THE CONFLICT IS DEEPLY SEATED. AND IT IS DARK.

POPULIST MOTHER- HENS

FROM CAPTAIN SABUROV'S SEETHING FURY ("ZLO BERET")

"AGAINST MYSELF, AGAINST YOU, AGAINST OTHERS. DEVIL KNOWS."

OVER FIRE AND ASHES SWEEPING ACROSS RUSSIA, FROM HIS EXPLICIT ANGER OVER THE REGIME'S UNPREPARADNESS TO THE REALISTIC

AND MOVING CHRONICLE OF THE ORDEAL OF STALINGRAD INSCRIBED

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BY VICTOR NEKRASOV THROUGH HUNDREDS OF WAR TALES AND UN-

COUNTABLE POEMS - UNENCOMPASSABLE AND UNWIELDY AND YET

PRESSING TO THIS DAY ON THOSE WHO CARE AND ARE BURDENED BY

QUESTICNS - , THERE RISES FROM THIS ENORMOUS BODY OF WAR

LITERATURE THE THEME, THE MOTHER-THEME AS IT WERE, OF COMPASSION AND ANGUISH OVER THE PEOPLE'S AGONY. ZHDANOV, GOD KNOWS, IN HIS DUE TIME TRIED TO CRUSH IT AS SUBVERSIVE DEFEATISM. BUT DID HE MANAGE? MEANWHILE, OF COURSE, OUT OF THAT AGONY WERE BORN THE WAR HEROES, ALIVE TO THIS DAY : VASSYA TYORKIN, THE BEST OF THE BEST AND ALL BY HIMSELF AND OF THE THE COMPOSITE IMAGE / BATTLE FRONT OFFICER, NEVER QUITE SO GOOD BUT GOOD ENOUGH.

WE SHALL NOW LEAVE ASIDE SPECULATIONS - INCREASINGLY MORE TEMPTING WITH THE PASSAGE OF TIME - AS TO WHEN EXACTLY, HOW, AND TO WHAT END CERTAIN LIBERTIES WERE GIVEN THE WARTIME WRITER. THEY WERE UNTHINKABLE BEFORE AND ABROGATED THEREAFTER. IN THAT MASSIVE LITERARY OUTPUT, AS ALREADY SUGGESTED, A DOLEFUL, GUILTY KIND OF POPULISM WAS CHARGED TO EXPRESS THE SURVIVOR'S AWE IN FRONT OF THE MASSACRE OF THE PEOPLE. AND FREQUENTLY THE MOST OUTSPOKEN CARRIER OF THAT POPULISM WAS THE BATTLEFRONT OFFICER HIMSELF, HIS MOOD TURNING TO CHALLENGE THE REGIME WHEN IT VOICED URGENT DEMANDS FOR A BETTER LIFE, FOR ATONEMENT, FOR CORPORATE SALVATION. IT IS IN THIS SENSE, BOTH PRACTICAL AND MYTHMAKING, THAT POPULISM AND PATRIOTISM BECAME SYNONYMOUS.

DO YOU REMEMBER VALENTIN OVECHKIN'S CAPTAIN SPIVAK? HE IS IN A SLOW MOVING TRAIN, THAT ETERNAL RUSSIAN TRAIN, EVEN IF IN THIS INSTANCE UKRAINIAN. IT SEEMS TO HAVE ALWAYS BEEN THERE, A SPECIAL PLACE OF INDETERMINACY, CONFESSION, AND TRUTH, INSPIRING TOLSTOY AS WELL AS PILNYAK AND PASTERNAK AND TVARDOVSKY, A PLACE OF ESCAPE AND CONFIDENCES. CAPTAIN SPIVAK IS TRAVELLING WEST, TO THE FRONT IN ^{THE} LAST YEAR OF WAR FROM

HOME LEAVE IN HIS KOLKHOZ AFTER HAVING BEEN SEVERELY WOUNDED. HE LISTENS, AS ONLY NOCTURNAL RUSSIAN PASSENGERS CAN, WITH ALL HIS HEART AND MIND, TO THE CROWDED STRANGERS CONVERSING AROUND HIM, THE SIMPLE CITIZENS. HE IS ONE OF THEM. THEY ARE ALL ANXIOUS. AND HE IS ALREADY FULL OF HIS OWN IMPRESSIONS OF THE TERRIBLE HARDSHIPS PEASANT WOMEN ENDURE IN THE HINTERLAND. WHEN BACK AT THE FRONT, HE EAGERLY SHARES HIS THOUGHTS WITH HIS BATTALION COMMANDER WHO CHANCES TO BE FROM THE SAME VILLAGE. AND THEY FRET TOGETHER. AMONG MANY CONCERNS, THEY REALIZE THAT IT IS NOT GOING TO BE EASY TO RESTORE COLLECTIVIZATION IN THE VAST WESTERN REGIONS UNDER GERMAN OCCUPATION. OR ANYWHERE ELSE.

"YOU HAVE A SIMPLE SOUL OF A SOLDIER. YOU HAVE SPENT THREE YEARS IN HONEST BATTLE. ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS TO SHED YOUR ARMY COAT... BUT THERE IN A COLLECTIVE FARM, AFTER WHAT PEOPLE WENT THROUGH, ONE MUST FIND A SPECIAL APPROACH TO EVERY PERSON... NOW, PERHAPS, THAT HARD WORKING WOMAN HAS LOST HER HUSBAND. AND HER SON AND DAUGHTER ARE IN GERMANY. AND SHE HERSELF TURNED TEN YEARS OLDER THROUGH THE WAR."

EXTRAPOLATING PERCEPTIVELY, CAPTAIN SPIVAK ARRIVES AT THE QUESTION OF QUESTIONS:

" I DON'T KNOW OF WHAT THERE IS NOW MORE AMONG THE PEOPLE ... MORE BITTER GRIEF ... OR MORE HUNGER FOR A GOOD LIFE." (p.14)

RIGHT ON. IN TUNE WITH SUCH TOLSTOYAN PROBING INTO THE MORALE OF THE PEOPLE, THE COMMANDING OFFICER WANTS TO KNOW WHETHER

"...THE GIRLS BACK HOME SING SONGS AGAIN WHEN THEY COME HOME FROM THE FIELDS AT NIGHT?"
 " YES, THEY DO - SPIVAK ANSWERED - THEY SING AGAIN. I HEARD THEM MYSELF SEVERAL TIMES...IN THE BEGINNING, PEOPLE SAY, THERE WAS NO SINGING." (p.37)

NEVERMIND SINGING! THESE TWO MOTHER-HENS IN UNIFORM MANAGE THE TO RAISE QUESTION, JUST ABOUT TO BECOME UNDER ZHDANOVISM PRECARIOUSLY TABOOED, OF FREQUENT INJUSTICE DONE TO SOVIET

CITIZENS WHOM THE GERMANS HAD FORCED TO WORK FOR THEM! CAPTAIN SPIVAK PLEADS FOR FAIR INVESTIGATION OF ALL THE ACCUSED. SOON THEREAFTER, IN REAL LIFE, THE FALSELY ACCUSED HAD TURNED LEGION. BARBED WIRES AWAITED THEM. BUT THE WAR WAS NOT QUITE OVER YET WHEN IN AUGUST OF 1944 OVECHKIN WAS FINISHING HIS UNPRETENTIOUS SHORT TALE.

AT SOME POINT, CAPTAIN SPIVAK PONDERS FOR A WHILE OVER HIS LIFE AND "WHAT NEXT" AFTER THE WAR. HIS BRIEFLY STATED ASPIRATIONS MAKE HIS EARTHY POPULISM CONCRETE. HE, FOR ONE, HAD NEVER FORGOTTEN HIS PEASANT ROOTS AND WHAT THEY IMPLIED.

HE WILL PROBABLY BE DEMOBILIZED AFTER THE WAR. HE IS NOT A CADRE OFFICER. HE COMES FROM THE RESERVES. AND HIS AGE IS NEAR FOURTY. THERE ARE ENOUGH YOUNG PEOPLE TO FILL THE RANKS FOR PEACE TIME. BUT, PERHAPS, HE WILL BE TOLD TO SERVE LONGER. WELL, FINE. WHAT ALL HE HAD NOT DONE IN HIS LIFE! HE HAD BEEN A SHEPHERD, HAD WORKED AS TRACTOR DRIVER, AS KOLKHOZ PARTY ORGANIZER, AS AN INSTRUCTOR IN A DISTRICT COMMITTEE. AND NOW SHOULD THEY KEEP HIM IN THE ARMY, HE MIGHT SERVE LONG ENOUGH TO BECOME A GENERAL ...- SPIVAK SMILED. - NO, NOT LIKELY. HE IS VERY FAR FROM THE RANK OF A GENERAL. IN PEACE TIME HE MIGHT NOT BE PROMOTED TILL THE AGE OF SIXTY... FOR PROMOTION ONE NEEDS A WAR SUCH AS THIS FOR THREE MORE YEARS. WELL, THE DEVIL WITH IT, WITH THE WAR. HE DOES NOT NEED A GENERAL'S RANK. BETTER THEY SHOULD LET HIM RETURN TO THE KOLKHOZ. ...

(P.7)

THERE WERE AND ARE DIFFERENCES IN MILITARY CAREERS, INDEED. JUST AS THE SURPLUS OF PRIMA BALLERINAS WAS CONTROLLED FROM THEIR INFANCY, SO THAT OF GENERALS. AND THE CHANCES OF RESERVISTS SUCH AS CAPTAIN SPIVAK WERE NOT TOO GOOD. YET IT IS CLEAR THAT EVEN BY MEANS OF CONSCRIPTION, LET ALONE BY PREFIGURED CADRE TRAINING, THE ARMY WAS PULLING THOUSANDS AND THOUSANDS OF PEASANTS UP THE SOCIAL SCALE. GENUINE POPULISM IS, IN FACT, UNTHINKABLE WITHOUT ALL SORTS OF PULLING UP MECHANISMS IN THE SOCIAL ORDER. FOR IT IS THOSE WHO HAD BEEN PULLED UP WHO SPLIT UP DRASTICALLY INTO THOSE WHO

FORGET AND THOSE WHO MAKE IT A POINT TO REMEMBER. MOTHER-
HENS REMEMBER.

WITHOUT VIOLENCE, I HOPE, TO THE TEXT AND CONTEXT, I EM-
PHASIZE THE MOOD OF GENUINE POPULISM IN THE LITERARY IDEA-
LIZED PORTRAITURE OF THE MILITARY IN CONTRAST WITH THE PRAG-
MATIC PSEUDO-POPULISM (TO BETTER SHOVE THE FOLKS DOWN INTO
THE POSTWAR SOCIAL HIERARCHY) PROPAGATED BY STALIN. (THE
LATTER THEME WILL HAVE TO WAIT FOR ANOTHER PAPER).

LET US TAKE A QUICK LOOK AT A GENERAL, A REAL ONE, AND
A CADRE OFFICER TO BOOT. IVAN VASILIEVICH PANFILOV HAD DE-
FENDED MOSCOW DURING THE CITY'S MOST DIFFICULT DAYS. HIS
PORTRAIT APPEARS IN A BRIEF CLOSE-UP IN ONE OF THE BEST EARLY
WAR BOOKS, A DOCUMENT ROMANCE WITHOUT BEING TOO MUCH ROMANCE.
ALEKSANDER BEK'S VOLOKOLAMSKOE CHAUSSEE OF 1942. FULLY
AWARE THAT DISASTER IS IMPENDING FOR IT IS JUST ABOUT IMPOS-
SIBLE TO STOP THE GERMANS, THE GOOD GENERAL CRAWLS ABOUT THE
DUGOUTS OF THE FAMOUS UZBEK BATALLION UNDER HIS COMMAND. HE
VISITS A YOUNG OFFICER, THE NARRATOR, AND TALKS AND TALKS
SOOTHINGLY BUT NO MORE THAN HE LISTENS AND LISTENS TO THE
MEN, ALL OF THEM AND NO MATTER HOW LOW OF RANK, ENACTING
THAT INDISPENSIBLE "TRUST IN THE PEOPLE." AND WHAT DO YOU ^{THINK} HE
DOES TO STRENGTHEN HIS VITAL LINK WITH THE MEN AND TO HONOR
HIS OWN POPULIST LEADERSHIP? WITH THE GERMANS JUST ABOUT TO
PIERCE THROUGH THE LAST DEFENSES, HE SLOWLY, DELIBERATELY PRE-
PARES TEA. WHEN GIVEN BY THE ATTENDING MESS SOLDIER A
PACKET OF TEA WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN BROKEN AND USED

PANFILOV LOOKED AT THE WRAPPER, SMELLED IT.
"NOT BAD... BUT IT IS NOT ANY TOO FRESH. IT
SHOULD BE KEPT IN A TIN BOX, COMRADE. WELL,
HAND ME THE TEA-POT. I'LL BUSY MYSELF WITH
IT". HAVING TWICE RINSED THE SMALL WHITE TEA-
POT WITH BOILING WATER, HE THREW A PINCH OF TEA

INTO IT, PEEKED INSIDE THE POT, SQUINTED HIS EYES AND ADDED A BIT MORE. THEN HE PUT THE POT WITHOUT WATER ON TOP OF THE SAMOVAR. "LET IT WARM UP. IT WILL REVIVE A BIT", HE EXPLAINED. IN FRONT OF US WERE THE GERMANS, BEHIND US - MOSCOW. AND PANFILOV IN THE VERY FRONT LINE WAS BREWING TEA.

12

NOW THAT'S MILITARY SANG-FROID AND APARTHEID AT ITS BEST. BUT POPULIST GENERALS ARE MASTERS, GREAT MASTERS AT FRETTING AS WELL. MAY I NOW REMIND YOU OF THE PIECE DE RESISTENCE, OF LEONID LEONOV'S GENERAL LITOVCHENKO UNLIKE PANFILOV HE IS A FICTIONAL CHARACTER.

EXPLICITLY A ZHUKOV TYPE PROFESSIONAL, HE COMMANDS A TANK DIVISION IN THE SMOLENSK REGION DURING THE VICTORIOUS COUNTER ATTACK. OFF HAND, HE SEEMS A MODEL OF MILITARY STALINISM. BUT NOT ALL IS WELL UNDER THE SURFACE.

IN THE CRUCIAL EPISODE OF THE STORY, HE PREPARES THE LIBERATION OF ONE SMALL TOWN. HE DOES THIS WITH A DEEP PERSONAL COMMITMENT. IT HAPPENS TO BE HIS NATIVE TOWN. AND IN IT HE CRAVES TO FIND THE DEAREST PERSON TO HIM IN THE ENTIRE WORLD, HIS OLD SCHOOL TEACHER, A CHIP OF THE OLD WORLD. THE GENERAL REFERS TO HIM AS HIS WISE AND KIND "SILVER-HEAD". AN OLD-FASHIONED INTELLIGENT, THE OLD TEACHER HAD BEEN SUCCESSFULLY TRANSFERRED INTO THE SOVIET AMBIANCE AND HAD BECOME, WITH MANY SIMILAR CHARACTERS, AN IMPORTANT TYPE OF NATIONAL HERO IN WARTIME FICTION.

UPON THE SUCCESSFUL OCCUPATION OF HIS NATIVE TOWN, THE GENERAL THEREIN FINDS ONLY DEATH AND DESTRUCTION. HIS "SILVER-HEAD" HAD BEEN KILLED. BUT THE MEETING TAKES PLACE JUST THE SAME. IT TAKES PLACE IN A FEVERISH DREAM. DARTING ABOUT THE FRONT, THE GENERAL CATCHES A BAD COLD. WHILE THE CHAUFFEUR

SPEEDS HIM THROUGH THE NIGHT, HE EXPERIENCES IN THE DISTORTING CONFINES OF HIS DELIRIUM, A FAVORITE RUSSIAN LITERARY SHORTCUT SINCE DOSTOYEVSKY'S DAYS, THE REALIZATION OF HIS DESIRE TO CONFESS TO HIS TEACHER. THE DREAM BETRAYS, INDEED, THAT THE DEEPER RECESSES OF HIS MIND ARE TROUBLED. IN FACT, THE ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH THE TWO MEET IS SOMBER.

THERE WERE NO TALES OF BYGONE DAYS, NO PROMISED WATERMELONS. AND THERE WAS NOTHING TO BE SEEN THROUGH THE SMALL WINDOW. IT WAS AS IF THE TEACHER'S SMALL HOUSE WAS SUSPENDED IN A VOID. THEY SAT IN SILENCE. A GRAVE QUESTION COULD BE READ IN THE SILENCE OF THE OLD MAN. "HOW WILL HISTORY REPAY FOR THE UNREDEEMABLE HUMAN SUFFERING CAUSED BY WAR? WHAT WILL BE THE REWARD FOR THE TOIL OF OUR CONTEMPORARIES DRESSED IN ARMY COATS WHICH HAVE BEEN TORN BY DEATH?"

AND THE GENERAL SETS FORTH TO ANSWER. WITH TREPIDATION. HE GROPEs WITH THE ANSWER AS IF THE WEIGHT OF AN UNFINISHED TASK WERE PRESSING ON HIM, AS IF, YEARS AGO, THE OLD MAN HAD GIVEN HIM AN IMPOSSIBLE ASSIGNMENT. HE ALSO KNOWS THAT NOW

THE OLD MAN WOULD NOT BE CONTENT WITH A LONG-WINDED ACCOUNT OF MATERIAL BENEFACTIONS OR WITH AN ENUMERATION OF PARAGRAPHS IN A PROGRAM NOT YET FULFILLED.

YET, HE ENGAGES IN ORATORY. HE EVOKES NO LESS THAN ALL THE HISTORY OF THE WESTERN WORLD, COLUMBUS, GALILEO, AND WHAT NOT; THE PROGRESS FROM MAN CRAWLING TO MAN SOARING. HE USES ALL THIS TO LEAD UP TO HIS CLIMAX:

"... TODAY THE SAGE FROM GORI STANDS AT THE OCEAN OF MAN'S RENAISSANCE. AND MAN WILL NOT FORSWEAR HIS WORD AS MAN CANNOT FORGET THE WHEEL, THE LEVER, OR THE WATER SCREW OF ARCHIMEDES WHICH HELPED HIM RISE FROM HIS CRAWLING POSITION."

THE TEACHER RESPONDS TERSELY AND ASTONISHINGLY: "I HAVE HEARD THIS BEFORE." IN THIS STRANGE DIALOGUE, HE CUTS THE GENERAL DOWN TO SIZE THREE TIMES. HIS FIRST INJUNCTION DOES NOT STOP THE GENERAL'S RHETORIC, NOT WITHOUT INTEREST PER SE.

"LIFE WAS DIFFICULT FOR OUR FATHERS. WHEN ONCE IN A WHILE UNDER THE IMPACT OF ALCOHOL, MY GRANDFATHER USED

TO DANCE, IT SEEMED TO ME THAT HE WAS STUMPING ON SORROW WITH HIS HEAVY BOOTS. BUT FAITH IN JUSTICE NEVER ABANDONS THE PEOPLE. THEY KNEW THAT JUSTICE WOULD SOMEDAY KNOCK AT THE WINDOW OF THE WORLD. AND WE HAVE DECIDED TO HELP HISTORY BY SHORTENING THE TIME OF THE FAIRYTALE... AND HANDS ARE ALREADY REACHING FOR THE KEY TO THE INNERMOST SECRETS OF MATTER AND LIFE. AND WE MUST HURRY LEST THEY FALL PREY TO THE EVIL ONES WHO ARE READY TO TRANSFORM A CREATIVE POTENTIAL INTO DESTRUCTION. WE HOLD THE DESTINY OF PROGRESS LIKE A YOUNG BIRD IN OUR LEATHERY PALMS. TO NO ONE IS PROGRESS AS DEAR AS IT IS TO US. DEVOTION TO AN IDEA IS MEASURED IN READINESS TO WORK AND TO SACRIFICE."

FOR THE SECOND TIME THE TEACHER CUTS IN : "THE PRICE MUST CORRESPOND TO THE MERCHANDISE."

THE GENERAL, HOWEVER, GOES ON. HE NOW CONVERTS SUFFERING, PATIENCE, ENDURANCE INTO FORCES THAT MAKE HOMO SOVIETICUS INTO A VISIONARY:

"...WHEN MY TANK SOLDIER SMOKES HIS BLACK TOBACCO JUST BEFORE AN ATTACK, HE LOOKS AHEAD. AND IT SEEMS THAT HE HOLDS THE NEWSPAPER OF THE TWENTY SECOND CENTURY IN HIS HANDS. IT IS FULL OF GREAT EVENTS. THEREIN PRECISELY LIES THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOVIET SOLDIER."

THE LAST IN THE TRIADE OF THE TEACHER'S REPORTEES IS, PERHAPS, THE MOST PERTINENT: "TO SEARCH FOR FRIENDS IN THE FUTURE IS THE DOOM OF LONELINESS."¹³

A FEARSOME PRICE, THE OLD TEACHER SUGGESTS, MUST BE PAID FOR LOFTY VERBIAGE. HIS ICY INTERPOLATIONS ARE EFFECTIVE ENOUGH. YET, THE POIGNANCY OF HIS LACONIC ARGUMENT OBTAINS NOT SO MUCH FROM ITS OWN LOGIC AS IT DOES FROM THE LITERARY DEVICE USED TO ASSIST HIM. THE DEBATE IS A TROMPE L'OEUIL WHICH PERMITS THE GENERAL TO EXPLORE HIS OWN FEVERISH MIND. HE IS TORN. HE ARGUES WITH HIMSELF. THE "TEACHER" SELF STANDS FOR TRIM, HONED HONESTY. THE ORNATE AND MANNERED "GENERAL" SELF IS GIVEN TO GRANDIOSE RATIONALIZATIONS. BUT, IN FACT, THEY FRET TOGETHER ABOUT THE POSTWAR

FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY - "THEY" BEING THE TWO SIDES OF THE CONCERNED MILITARY ETHOS. BY HAVING SPLIT IT INTO TWO PARTS, THE AUTHOR SUCCEEDED, IF ONLY FOR A MOMENT, TO LAY BARE THE CONFLICT BETWEEN CANT AND CONSCIENCE.

HEDGEHOG IN UNIFORM

IN A TALE TO WHICH I HAVE FREQUENTLY REFERRED FOR VARIOUS PURPOSES, A LITTLE KNOWN TALE AND A VERITABLE TROUVAILLE, AN ADROIT ADVENTURER AND CONMAN WHO PASSES FOR A HIGHLY SPECIALIZED CONSULTING (!) ENGINEER, ADVISES A YOUNG AND INNOCENT PROTEGE, WHOM HE IS ABOUT TO EXPLOIT MERCILESSLY, IN THE WAYS OF THE WORLD. HE TRIES TO TEACH HIM TO ALWAYS PLAY POSSUM, TO REFRAIN FROM VOICING WHAT'S ON HIS MIND, TO BOW LOW TO AUTHORITY ESPECIALLY IN THE NAVAL ACADEMY, AND TO DO THE REAL LIVING IN PRIVACY. HE SEES NO POINT WHATSOEVER IN "BRUISING ONESELF ON SHARP CORNERS" AS HE PUTS IT. ¹⁴ SUCH CAUTION WAS VERY WELL ADVISED IN JUST THE PERIOD WE ARE DISCUSSING. AND A MULTITUDE LIVED BY IT, WHAT'S MORE, SURVIVED. YET, ALL SORTS OF PEOPLE OF A DIFFERENT BREED, ESPECIALLY AMONG THE RETURNING VETERANS IN GENERAL AND THE CADRE OFFICERS IN PARTICULAR, BRUISED THEMSELVES A LOT DURING THE BITTER TIMES RIGHT AFTER THE WAR. AND FICTION FOR A WHILE REPORTED ON SOME DRASTIC COLLISIONS RATHER OPENLY.

IN ONE EARLY CANONIZED POSTWAR NOVEL THE HERO IS A DEMOBILIZED COLONEL, AN AMPUTEE. HE STARTS HIS NEW POSTWAR LIFE AGAINST ENORMOUS ODDS. TO BEGIN WITH, DESTINY DEPOSITS HIM IN A BAD SPOT, IN RAVISHED CRIMEA. AND EVEN IF THERE WERE NO GOOD SPOTS, THIS ONE IS REALLY BAD. YET, HE IS NOT A QUETSCH. AND THAT'S JUST THE POINT. THE NOVEL FETCHED THE

STALIN PRIZE NOT FOR NOTHING. IT INSTRUCTS THAT A STALINIST HERO, ESPECIALLY IN MILITARY UNIFORM, DIFFERS FROM OTHER PEOPLE. HE, FOR ONE, FORGETS HIS OWN CONCERNS TOTALLY EVEN IF ALONE AND TERRIBLY MAIMED IN THE WAR. HE SUBMERGES INTO THE COLLECTIVE LIKE IN THE OLDEN DAYS. HE ACCEPTS THE LOWLY (FOR A COLONEL) AND GRINDING JOB OF A PARTY PROPAGANDIST IN A DEVASTATED DISTRICT AND HE DOES SO WITH ZEAL AND FERVOR, DEMONSTRATING THAT HIS BRAND OF POPULISM IS THE ONE THE REGIME FAVORS. HE PLACES NO DEMANDS; HE MAKES NO TROUBLE; AND HE WORKS "FOR THE PEOPLE" WHEREVER THE PARTY WISHES HIM TO BE. BUT NOT EVERYBODY COMPLIES QUITE SO GRACEFULLY.

TO START DOING ANYTHING AT ALL, THE COLONEL MUST MOBILIZE ALL AVAILABLE HUMAN RESOURCES. HE FINDS ONE COLLECTIVE FARM IN AN ESPECIALLY BAD SHAPE. AT A MEETING THERE, HE NOTICES THE ABSENCE OF A DEMOBILIZED LIEUTENANT WHO HAD BEEN WEDGED INTO THIS SORRY ENTERPRISE ("ATTACHED" IS THE WORD) AND SHOULD CERTAINLY HAVE SHOWN UP. EARLY NEXT MORNING, THEREFORE, THE COLONEL PAYS THE LIEUTENANT A CALL. THE COLONEL HOBBLER ON A CRUDE ARTIFICIAL LIMB WHILE NOTHING OF A PHYSICAL NATURE SEEMS TO CRAMP THE LIEUTENANT'S STYLE. THIS POINTS UP HIS TEMERITY.

"WHO IS THERE?" - SHOUTED THE LIEUTENANT FROM BEHIND THE DOOR.

"MAY I?" - ASKED VOROPAEV AS HE ENTERED.

"WHY NOT? TRY IT, - AN UNFRIENDLY VOICE WAS HEARD FROM WITHIN. - WELL, WELL, THAT'S YOU, COMRADE. WHAT IS IT?"

"MAYBE YOU WILL ALLOW ME TO SIT DOWN?"

"WHY NOT? SIT DOWN. ONLY, YOU KNOW, I DON'T PLAY ANY ROLE AROUND HERE WHATSOEVER..."

"I ALREADY KNOW THAT YOU DON'T PLAY ANY ROLE HERE AND THIS IS VERY BAD. YOU SHOULD PLAY A ROLE. WHERE DID YOU FIGHT?"

BOYARYSHNIKOV FROWNED AND LET HIS HAND FLY THROUGH THE AIR SHARPLY. "THIS TRICK, YOU KNOW, WILL NOT SUCCEED WITH ME. I HAVE A GREAT DEAL OF EXPERIENCE WITH DEMAGOGUES SUCH AS YOU."

BUT VOROPAEV'S STARE FORCED AN ANSWER FROM HIM.
"THERE WHERE THE COMMAND HAD PLACED ME, THAT'S WHERE
I DID MY FIGHTING. AND I AM UNDER NO OBLIGATION TO
ANSWER SUCH A QUESTION TO ANYONE. WHY SHOULD I GO
AROUND AND TELL EVERYBODY? YOU DON'T KNOW THE
ARTICLES OF WAR TOO WELL, COMRADE COLONEL... I WAS
BUSY PROTECTING THE ENEMIES OF THE FATHERLAND. WHAT?
YOU DON'T LIKE THIS? WELL, THEN, I DID NOT FIGHT.
I AM NOT WOUNDED. I AM SIMPLY SICK. AND THERE IS
NO POINT IN STUDYING ME, COMRADE COLONEL. AND I
HAVE NO BIG DECORATIONS EITHER. THAT'S THE WAY IT
IS. BUT MY CONSCIENCE IS CLEAR."

15

THE ABRASIVE, BITTER SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS OF THIS YOUNG
OFFICER CONNECTS WITH THE MOOD OF THE LAST PROTAGONIST IN
THIS PAPER. I SHALL DEAL WITH HIM IN UNHURRIED DETAIL BE-
CAUSE THE OVERTONES OF HIS OWN LANGUAGE ARE FASCINATING, AND
IF REVELATORY OF A TYPE, OF A GROUP, OF A CASTE, THIS FICTIO-
NAL CHARACTER IS WORTH EVERY MINUTE SPENT ON HIM.

HIS NAME IS GORBUNOV. HE BRUISES HIMSELF A LOT ON VERY
SHARP CORNERS. AND EVEN THOUGH FOR THE SAKE OF BEING DRAMA-
TIC, I SHOULD SAVE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT FOR THE END, I
SHALL MAKE IT HERE TO INTRODUCE THIS YOUNG MAN PROPERLY. SOME-
HOW HE MANAGES TO ECHO THE SPIRIT OF THE DECEMBRISTS, THAT
SPIRIT WHICH HAD COMBINED THE ETHOS OF OFIZERSTVO WITH THAT
OF THE EARLY "FREEDOM FIGHTERS".

16

AS A SUBMARINE COMMANDER GORBUNOV PARTICIPATES IN THE
DEFENSE OF LENINGRAD AND MUST NOW DOCK HIS BADLY DAMAGED
VESSEL FOR REPAIR. AND THAT'S WHERE TROUBLE ENSUES. HE
STRAINS TO MAKE HIS BELOVED SUBMARINE SEAWORTHY AGAIN CONTRA-
RY TO THE DECISION OF SUPERIORS WHO ARE ABOUT TO SCRAP IT
AND REDISTRIBUTE THE CREW. IN A QUIXOTIC MANNER HE HURLS
HIMSELF AGAINST THE BUREAUCRATS THEREBY RUNNING INTO ONE PAR-
TICULARLY NASTY OFFICIAL WHO, QUOTING THE BOOKS, REFUSES
TO SUPPLY HIM WITH REPAIR MATERIALS. GORBUNOV LOSES SELF-CON-
TROL. CALLING HIM A TRAITOR, HE THREATENS TO KILL THE

OBSTRUCTIONIST. (FORTUNATELY, AT THE TIME OF THE BRAWL, GORBUNOV DOES NOT KNOW THAT THE VILLAIN HAD SEDUCED HIS WIFE, LATER KILLED BY THE GERMANS. I WILL NOT GO INTO THE SUBPLOT HERE OF THIS ACCIDENTAL LINKAGE OF DESTINIES, INTERESTING AS IT IS IN REGARD TO WARTIME MORES AND WHAT THE WAR WAS DOING TO MARRIAGE AND FAMILY). THE VILLAIN DENOUNCES GORBUNOV FOR BANDITISM. NO LESS. BUT EVEN WITHOUT THIS, GORBUNOV'S DOSSIER BULGES AND HIS SUPERIORS BEGIN TO LOOK AT HIS PECULIARITIES WITH A JAUNDICED EYE.

ARTICULATE AND OLDFASHIONED, HIS SENSE OF HONOR MAKES HIM A RUNAWAY OF THE PUSHKINIAN ERA. IMBUED WITH THE CASTE CODE OF MILITARY ETHICS, HE, FOR ONE, FULLY APPRECIATES THE ÉPAULETTES. IN FACT, HE BEMOANS THE UNTIMELY PASSAGE OF DUELS AS THE MOST EFFICIENT METHOD OF RESOLVING HONOR CONFLICTS.

THE ANACHRONISM - OR IS IT? AND THAT IS THE KEY QUESTION - GORBUNOV STANDS FOR SURPRISES ONE LESS THAN THE FACT THAT HE HAD CREATED IT ALL BY HIMSELF AWAY FROM THE PARTY OF WHICH, SIGNIFICANTLY, HE IS MEMBER. BUT, THEN, HE IS A VERY CAPABLE AND COMPETENT PROFESSIONAL, A MODEL EMERGENCY PARTNER.

A RATHER IMPOSSIBLE FELLOW, GORBUNOV TAKES PRIDE IN WHAT HE HIMSELF CALLS HIS "DIFFICULT CHARACTER". HE HINTS THAT HE SEES WAR AS A GOAL IN ITSELF BE IT ALONE BECAUSE IT UNFOLDS HIS POTENTIALITIES. (I FEEL THAT FOR THIS ALONE IT WAS WORTH TO GET GORBUNOV OUT OF MOTHS BALLS AS A REMINDER THAT HIS MILITARY VALUES, IN NO WAY SOLELY RUSSIAN OR SOVIET, ARE SUBJECT FOR CONTINUOUS RESEARCH). HE PUTS IT SUCCINCTLY ENOUGH. NAVAL OFFICERS "MUST BECOME A GUARD, THE BEST OF THE BEST! AND UNTIL THIS HAPPENS, I SHALL REMAIN

PEDANTIC, STUBBORN, SUSPICIOUS WITH SUBORDINATES, HE PROUDLY STANDS UP TO SUPERIORS. HIS MEN HAVE A HARD TIME FINDING A MODUS VIVENDI WITH HIM. HE DEMANDS MUCH OF THEM. YET HE COMMANDS THEIR RESPECT. WHEN THEY DISCOVER HIS FAIRNESS, THEY GIVE HIM LOYALTY. BUT HIS CREW CANNOT SAVE HIM FROM THE DARK CLOUDS GATHERING OVER HIS HEAD.

GORBUNOV'S DECORUM, PUNCTILIOUSNESS, RIGIDITY STAND OUT IN CLEAR RELIEF AGAINST THE CHARACTER OF HIS FOIL, THE COMMANDER OF THE SUBMARINE DIVISION IN WHICH HE SERVES.

OF ONE AGE, THEY HAD BEEN FRIENDS AND HAD GONE THROUGH TRAINING AND FIRST BATTLE BAPTISM TOGETHER. BUT ONE OUTDISTANCES THE OTHER BY MAKING A RAPID CAREER. UNLIKE THE OVER-PRINCIPLED GORBUNOV FOREVER IN TROUBLE AS THE STOCKLER THAT HE IS, SUCCESSFUL KONDRATIEV ADHERES TO HARDLY ANY PRINCIPLES. NOT THOSE, AT ANY RATE, GORBUNOV HOLDS TIGHT. (GLORY TO THE NOCTURNAL SOLITARY DIALOGUES! EVEN IN THE MOST SERVILE STALINIST SOC-REALISTIC LITERATURE ASTONISHING REVELATIONS SURFACED SOMETIMES WHEN THE AUTHOR LEFT HIS CHARACTERS ALONE AT NIGHT TO TALK AND TALK. WHAT CAME OUT ONCE IN A WHILE COULD NOT HAVE POSSIBLY BEEN INTENDED BY THE AUTHORS. THUS, GLORY TO THE MYSTIQUE AND MYSTERIES OF CONTROLLED FICTION! IN THE PIECE HERE CONSIDERED, ^{however,} THE PLAY-WRIGHT SEEMS TO INTEND ALL OF IT). DEBATES BETWEEN THE TWO MAKE THE PLAY.

GORBUNOV: ...SINCE YOU HAVE BECOME A BIG BOSS, SOMETHING HAS GONE WRONG IN OUR FRIENDSHIP IT'S THE SAME AND IT ISN'T THE SAME.

KONDRATIEV: THIS IS ALL NONSENSE. IT'S YOUR SUSPICIOUSNESS. YOU KNOW HOW WELL DISPOSED I AM TOWARD YOU.

GORBUNOV: "WELL DISPOSED". THAT'S JUST IT. YOU SPEAK WITH ME QUITE DIFFERENTLY NOW. DON'T YOU NOTICE IT? YOU SPEAK WITH SUCH BENEVOLENCE,

WITH SUCH CONDESCENSION. BUT I DON'T LIKE IT. HAVE I BECOME MORE STUPID IN THESE LAST TWO MONTHS? OR ARE YOU AFRAID THAT I MIGHT SIT ON YOUR NECK OR THAT I MIGHT ALLOW MYSELF TO ADVERTISE ...

KONDRATIEV: I AM NOT AFRAID OF ANYTHING. AND REGARDING SERVICE AND ALL SORTS OF RULES AND REGULATIONS, YOU ARE PEDANTIC. WE KNOW THAT. IT'S ALL YOUR IMAGINATION, VICTOR. AND I HATE ALL THESE COMPLICATIONS. I AM A SIMPLE STRAIGHTFORWARD PERSON.

GORBUNOV: YOU ARE NOT AT ALL SIMPLE. LITTLE BY LITTLE YOU HAVE BECOME A DIPLOMAT ... DO YOU REMEMBER SOMEBODY SENDING YOU A BOTTLE OF TROPHEE BRANDY FROM THE MAINLAND? WHEN YOU WANT TO POUR OUT YOUR SOUL, THEN GORBUNOV IS GOOD ENOUGH, BUT WHEN YOU WANT TO DRINK BRANDY, YOU SHARE IT WITH THE CHIEF OF STAFF. I CAN'T STAND BRANDY AND I AM NOT SPEAKING ABOUT BRANDY. IF YOU WANT TO BE FRIENDS WITH ME ON BARGAIN TERMS, I DON'T WANT YOUR FRIENDSHIP.

KONDRATIEV: (LAUGHING) THAT'S RIGHT. THERE IS NOTHING I CAN SAY. SOM^EHOW IT SO HAPPENED... (P.25)

THE CAREERIST, IN TURN, DEPLORES WHAT TO HIM IS BIGOTRY. THE BONE OF CONTENTION IS THEIR JOINT BATTLE MISSION. GORBUNOV IS CRITICAL OF IT. HE ACCUSES KONDRATIEV OF WASTING VALUABLE TORPEDOES ON UNDESERVING OBJECTIVES ONLY TO REPORT SUCCESSFUL ACTION. HE KNOWS THAT KONDRATIEV CRAVES ONE THING ALONE : DECORATIONS. THUS, IN THE ^NEXT FRAGMENT, THE TENSION BETWEEN THE TWO UNCOVERS KONDRATIEV'S CALCULATING SERVILITY FOR BETTER ^OR FOR WORSE BUT MOSTLY FOR BETTER IN CONTRAST WITH GORBUNOV'S STRUGGLE FOR PLENIPOTENTIARY JUDGMENT, IF NOT OF COURSE, THE RIGHT OF ACTION AND DECISION.

GORBUNOV: ...YOU AND I DID NOT DESERVE MENTION.

KONDRATIEV: LET ME TELL YOU THAT WE CAN PASS NO JUDGMENT ON THIS. THE GOVERNMENT GIVES DECORATIONS AND KNOWS WHAT IT IS DOING. O, HOW I DISLIKE IT WHEN PEOPLE ARE HYPOCRITICAL. SO, YOU ARE NOT INTERESTED IN MEDALS? TELL IT TO SOMEONE WHO DOES NOT KNOW YOU. YOU ARE AS AMBITIOUS AS THE DEVIL.

GORBUNOV: I AM NOT SAYING THAT I AM NOT AMBITIOUS. ONLY HOW DO YOU KNOW THAT I DON'T EVEN MORE?

KONDRATIEV: YOU ARE A DIFFICULT PERSON. LIKE A PRICKLY HEDGEHOG. AND YOU ALWAYS GO OFF ON A TANGENT. I, FOR ONE, DEFEND YOU BUT MANY OTHERS ARE SHARPENING THEIR TEETH AGAINST YOU. YOU QUARREL WITH DIVISIONAL SPECIALISTS. YOU CONSTRUCT A PRINCIPLE OUT OF A TRIFLE. YOU CONSTANTLY WRITE REPORTS. (p.26)

IT WOULD SEEM THAT FOR OFFICERS OF GORBUNOV'S SENSE OF CASTE AND VALOR, MOTIVATION FOR TOTAL SELF-EXPENDITURE DURING THE APOCALYPTIC PERIOD OF THE WAR LAY FAR DEEPER THAN GREED FOR MEDALS. THE REGIME DECORATED THEM LAVISHLY ANYWAY. BUT AFTER THE WAR WERE THEY RELOCATED, ABSORBED, USED, RECYCLED - WHATEVER YOU WISH TO CALL IT - TO ANY SATISFACTORY DEGREE, - SELF-GENERATED TRADITIONAL PRINCIPLES (NOT A CONTRADICTION IN TERMS HERE) , PRICKLES, EGO AND ALL? AND THEIR VERY CURIOUS BLEND OF PRIVATE AND PUBLIC VALUES? (THIS IS NOT A RHETORICAL QUESTION BUT A MODEST RESEARCH PROPOSAL). AS TO JUST THAT BLEND OF VALUES, GORBUNOV'S ADVERSARY MIMICKS HIS DICTION ANGRILY WHEN GORBUNOV VOWS TO CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE FOR HIS SUBMARINE.

" I TAKE IT UPON MYSELF! I AM THE COMMANDER! I SHALL HOLD MY FLAG!" EVERYTHING YOU SAY IS "I". LOOK AT THIS STANDARD BEARER! YOU SHOULD DISPLAY MORE MODESTY, COMRADE LIEUTENANT CAPTAIN!" (p.28)

THE MORE RESPONSIBILITY THE HEDGEHOGS TAKE UPON THEMSELVES AND THE MORE PRINCIPLES THEY DEFEND, THE MORE SUSPICIOUS THE PARTY GETS, NOT ONLY THEIR RIVALS. WHEN THE PARTY, INDEED, STARTS TO INVESTIGATE, ADROIT KONDRATIEV OFFERS THE BEST ADVISE HE CAN:

KONDRATIEV: IF YOUR CHARACTER IS SUCH THAT YOU LOVE TO QUARREL WITH PEOPLE, YOU YOURSELF SHOULD BE COMPLETELY PURE. BUT NOW THAT YOU WERE IMPRUDENT, THE WHOLE TROUBLE CAME UP TO THE SURFACE.

GORBUNOV: I KNOW, I KNOW. I AM ACCUSED OF SEVEN MORTAL SINS. DEVIOUS IDEAS, MANIA TO CRITICIZE OTHERS, DEMORALIZATION, DISORIENTATION, EVEN MORAL DECAY. A LEARNED COMRADE PAYED ME A VISIT TODAY. HE ADMINISTERED AN INTERROGATION

WITH A BIAS.

KONDRATIEV: DID YOU SWEAR AT HIM?
 GORBUNOV: YES, I DID.
 KONDRATIEV: ALL RIGHT. GIVE ME YOUR DOCUMENTS. THAT'S ONE THING. AND SECONDLY, WRITE A STATEMENT FOR ME.

GORBUNOV: WHAT ABOUT?
 KONDRATIEV: CONFESS.
 GORBUNOV: CONFESS WHAT?
 KONDRATIEV: WELL, ALL YOUR TRANSGRESSIONS. YOU KNOW BEST. CONFESS WHAT YOU CONSIDER NECESSARY MAYBE IF YOU DO IT, YOU WILL NOT BE DEMOTED. MAYBE IT ALL WILL SOMEHOW BLOW OVER. BUT AS FAR AS THE PARTY LINE IS CONCERNED, THEY WILL, OF COURSE, FLOG YOU.

GORBUNOV: PARDON ME. I RESPECT A PARTY MEETING AND I DON'T HAVE THE SLIGHTEST INTENTION TO PLAY A FOOL. A BEAUTIFUL SIGHT IT COULD BE INDEED: "COMRADES, THE CHAIR RECOGNIZES COMRADE GORBUNOV. COMRADE GORBUNOV, BE BRIEF." AT THIS POINT GORBUNOV CRAWLS OUT WITH A SILLY FACE: "COMRADES, I HAVE COMMITTED AN ERROR." VOICE FROM THE FLOOR "A VERY GRAVE ERROR!" - "THAT'S RIGHT, COMRADES, SOMEBODY HERE IS PROMPTING ME: A GRAVE ERROR! I DON'T MEAN TO WHITEWASH MYSELF ..." WHEREUPON I PROCEED TO DO JUST THAT. AND HONEST PEOPLE, MY FRIENDS AND COMRADES, COMMUNISTS WHO ARE PRESENT UNDERSTAND AT ONCE THAT I AM LYING AND THEY DESPISE ME. BUT I WILL BE THE FIRST ONE TO DESPISE MYSELF. ONE CANNOT COMMAND A SHIP WITHOUT SELF-RESPECT. ONE CANNOT.

(PP. 40-41)

ANTICIPATION OF THE CONFSSIONAL RITUAL STIFFENS THE HEDGEHOG IN HIS RESOLVE. HE WITHDRAWS. BUT NOT FOR LONG. A SUMMONS FORCES HIM TO APPEAR BEFORE THE REAR-ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET.

THIS ELDERLY MAN IS A HERO OF THE REVOLUTION, A JOVIAL AND INFORMAL OLD BOLSHEVIK. THE SNAPPY SCENE BETWEEN THE TWO - THE NEW AND THE OBSOLETE OFFICER - MARKS THE CLIMAX OF THE TALE.

THE REAR-ADMIRAL BAWLS GORBUNOV OUT. IN A GRUFFLY PATER-
 NALISTIC MANNER, HE SHOUTS AT THE CULPRIT AND ADDRESSES HIM
 HALF FIRCELY AND HALF BENEVOLENTLY WITH THE INFORMAL "THOU".

REAR-ADMIRAL: FOR A LONG TIME I WANTED TO TAKE A LOOK AT THE SCANDALOUS TROUBLE-MAKER IN OUR DIVISION. WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH YOU, YOUNG MAN? DID YOUR HEAD GET INFLATED? YOU FOUGHT THREE PENNIES WORTH AND YOU THINK THAT TO YOU ALL IS PERMITTED? DID YOU ALREADY START TO BITE PEOPLE? YOU WALK AROUND IN A UNIFORM, YOUR SLEEVES ARE COVERED WITH GOLD, BUT YOU ORGANIZE RAIDS LIKE SOME SORT OF CIVIL WAR BANDIT? WHERE DID THEY TEACH YOU THIS STUFF? THAT'S INSUBORDINATION! BUT WE CAN VERY EASILY CLIP YOUR WINGS. I WILL GIVE YOUR SOFT PARTS SUCH A SPANKING THAT YOUR HEAD WILL VERY QUICKLY CLEAR UP. WELL? EXPLAIN YOUR ACTIONS. SPEAK UP, IF YOU HAVE ANYTHING TO SAY. WHAT ARE YOU STARING AT ME FOR?

GORBUNOV HAS SOMETHING TO SAY. SO MUCH SO THAT HE TURNS WHITE AND THE WORDS COME OUT ALMOST IN A WHISPER:

"COMRADE REAR-ADMIRAL! YOU ARE GIVEN ENORMOUS RIGHTS IN RESPECT TO ME. YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO ARREST ME, TO COURT-MARTIAL ME, AND TO DEMOTE ME BUT NOBODY GAVE YOU THE RIGHT TO SPEAK TO ME IN A DISRESPECTFUL TONE."

THIS LEAVES THE REAR-ADMIRAL WITH HIS MOUTH AGAPE. HOWEVER, HE SWITCHES AT ONCE TO THE FORMAL "YOU". AND HAVING COOLED OFF, HE ASKS GORBUNOV WHAT HE WOULD PROPOSE TO DO WITH THE MAN HE HAD THREATENED TO KILL. GORBUNOV'S ANSWERS STAND ALWAYS READY, PARTICULARLY THIS ONE.

GORBUNOV: WHO AM I TO TELL YOU? BUT IN THE OLD DAYS, AN OFFICER WHEN INSULTED WAS OBLIGATED EITHER TO RESTORE HIS HONOR OR TO LEAVE THE REGIMENT. LET HIM GO AWAY. THE NAVY WILL NOT LOSE MUCH.

REAR-ADMIRAL: VERY INTERESTING! THE OLD DAYS! PEOPLE SAY THAT YOU ARE UNDULY INTERESTED IN THE PAST.

GORBUNOV: NO. I AM INTERESTED IN THE FUTURE. IN THE FUTURE OF OUR NAVY. THAT'S WHY I AM FASCINATED WITH THE PAST, WITH HISTORY, WITH TRADITIONS. I AM CONSTANTLY THINKING ABOUT THE GROWTH OF OUR NAVY. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT SOMETIMES I MAKE MISTAKES. BUT I ALWAYS HAVE MY OWN OPION. I ALSO EDUCATE MY SUBORDINATES THAT WAY. I PREFER TO COMMAND STRONG MEN WHO OBEY ME BECAUSE POWER IS ON MY SIDE AND BECAUSE I HAVE KNOWLEDGE AND AUTHORITY AND NOT BECAUSE THEY ARE INCAPABLE TO THINK FOR THEMSELVES. I TRUST THEM. AND I WANT THEM TO TRUST ME.

I AM WILLING TO OBEY ANY ORDER. BUT IF I AM ASKED TO EXPRESS MY OPINION, I DON'T WANT TO GUESS AND WORRY WHETHER I SAY THE RIGHT THING. I AM A SOLDIER AND MY FIRST DUTY IS TO SAY THE TRUTH AS I SEE IT. THIS IS MY BALTIC SEA, MY NAVY, THIS IS MY LIFE, THIS IS WHAT I AM READY TO DIE FOR. (pp. 44-46)

AS AN INSTITUTION, AND IN A PLAY AT THAT, THE NAVY SEEMS TO REACT TO THE DILEMMA OF INITIATIVE VERSUS DOCILITY IN A CURIOUS WAY. UNDER STRESS, IT PREFERS INITIATIVE. THE REAR-ADMIRAL CAPITULATES. HE ACCEPTS THE HEDGEHOG, INCLUDING HIS ARROGANCE. NOT ONLY DOES HE NOT INSIST ON PUNISHMENT BUT HE ENTRUSTS THE HEDGEHOG WITH A DANGEROUS MISSION FOR WHICH THE YOUNG MAN CRAVES. THEY PART AS FRIENDS. AND THE REAR-ADMIRAL'S LAST WORDS SOUND APOLOGETIC: "DON'T MIND THE NOISE I MAKE. I AM OLD. AN OLD SAILOR. PEOPLE OF YOUR GENERATION ARE MORE POLISHED, MORE BRILLIANT THAN WE." (p.51)

THERE IS THAT CLUSTER OF PROBLEMS SPELLING DOCILITY, INITIATIVE, SENSE OF SELF, INSTRUMENTAL GRATIFICATION, AND ABOVE ALL THAT OF TRUST IN PEOPLE. I WISH I COULD HAVE ADDED - IN CONNECTION WITH THE ABOVE - THE DISCUSSION OF TWO "MILITARY" NOVELS OF THE LATE 1950'S WHICH SEEM TO MIRROR EACH OTHER IN AN INFORMATIVE WAY. ALAS. . . .

NOTES

1. VERA ALEKSANDROVA PERCEPTIVELY EXAMINES THE SENSATIONAL EFFECT OF THE PLAY AND OF THE DEBATE AMONG CRITICS IN LITERATURA I ZHIZN, N.Y., 169, pp.421-433
2. THERE IS SO MUCH LITERARY MATERIAL FOR IT THAT THE CHOICE OF EXAMPLES AND EVIDENCE, SUCH AS IN THIS PAPER, SEEMS ARBITRARY.
3. I SHOULD THINK THAT THE STUDY OF POPULIST VALUES IN THE EARLY POSTWAR PERIOD EXAMINED TOGETHER WITH THE VALUES OF THE MILITARY, WHETHER CONFLUING OR INCOMPATIBLE OR BOTH, IS OF IMPORTANCE.
4. I SHALL, ALAS, ONLY BRIEFLY MENTION LATER A. BEK'S PORTRAIT OF GENERAL PANFILOV AS AN ILLUSTRATION OF JUST SUCH UNDERSTANDING.
5. DIMITRI FURMANOV, CHAPAEV, MOSCOW, 1929, p.122
6. FOR INCOMPREHENSIBLE REASONS YURII LIBEDINSKY'S THE COMMISSARS, 1926, WAS NEVER FULLY STUDIED AND "USED" BY ANYONE AS FAR AS I KNOW.
7. NOVYI MIR, No.6, 1926, p.184 FOR LITTLE KNOWN DETAILS OF VORONSKY'S ACTUAL INVOLVEMENT WITH PILNYAK SEE MAGUIRE R.A. VIRGIN SOIL, PRINCETON, 1968, pp.125-129
8. BORIS PILNYAK, "POVEST O NEPOGASHONNOI LUNE", PETROPOLIS, BERLIN, 1928, p.31
9. KONSTANTIN SIMONOV, DNI I NOCHI, MOSCOW, 1944, p.28
10. VOKOPAKH STALINGRADA, 1946
11. VALENTIN OVECHKIN, S FRONTOVYM PRIVETOM (1944), MOSCOW 1946, p.18
(1942)
12. ALEKSANDER BEK, VOLOKOLAMSKOE CHAUSEE, MOSCOW, 1965, pp. 42-43
13. LEONID LEONOV, VZYATIE VELIKOSHUMSKA, MOSCOW, 1944, pp. 64-66
14. SOLOMON MARVICH, "PERVYI I POSLEDNII", ZVEZDA No.7, 1949 p.87
15. PYOTR PAVLENKO, SCHATIE, ZNAMYA, No.7, 1947, pp.40-41
16. UNUSUAL, PERHAPS, FOR 1944, THAT SPIRIT SEEMS TO HAVE GROWN INTO A PALPABLE AND EVEN CHERISHED THEME IN THE WORK OF MANY POETS, ESPECIALLY IN THE 1960'S AND ESPECIALLY IN THE LENINGRAD BROTHERHOOD.
17. ALEXANDER KRON, ORTZER FLOTA, ZNAMYA, No.4, 1944, p.23