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Metamorphoses of Sovietism

Belarus is experiencing a difficult period of its development. The consequences of a long-term reign of totalitarianism in this country proved much more serious than initially expected. The prospects of political, economic and social changes also proved more complicated than assumed. Numerous arising difficulties, the problem of democratisation of Belarusian state and social institutions as well as the nature of development of political processes may be to a considerable extent explained by the heavy burden of the communist system legacy. A further development requires not only delineation of goals but also a precise analysis of the totalitarian past. This is not possible without being aware of the basic peculiarities of the Soviet communism as a political, sociological and cultural phenomenon. Neo-communist tendencies resurging recently in Belarusian society increase interest in the analysis of problems connected with the way it is functioning. Part of it is the phenomenon of Sovietism, the Soviet man that revealed itself on a massive scale and developed in the time of USSR but still exists losing, however, its close connection with the „maternal womb." This means it is still alive. Therefore an

understanding of the phenomenon of „Sovietism" itself has not only a cognitive and theoretical, but also a quite practical meaning.

It is necessary to emphasise that as far as the Soviet society is concerned, parallels with other societies, both in historical and social-political respect, often fail. The Soviet society was a new historical type. Therefore its accurate description requires focusing especially on terminology and meaning since the system created by the Bolscheviks differed considerably from previous formations. It was founded on communist ideology and class struggle theory, it introduced state-exclusive property, one party dictatorship, absolute centralisation of power and abolition of distribution of authority. Together with a complex chain of state and party control it constituted a perfectly tailored set of tools for the party dictatorship. The absolute power of the communist party facilitated an effective elimination of nonconformism. At the same time, a careful selection elevated bureaucrats, role models of a perfect Soviet man for millions of its co-citizens, to the top of the party hierarchy. For the Bolsheviks, the justification of the coup d'etat was the power that made the building of utopia possible. They also believed they had on their hands the key to the secret of social development and a magical recipe for a miracle. They needed the man, inhabitant of this utopia, a man-cogwheel of the state machine. The idea of this type of individual was nothing new; it came from the nineteenth-century Russian theories of socialism. Its then-contemporary prototype was the „new man" intended to carry out a revolution in tsar's Russia and to introduce socialism. It is of this kind of man that the Russian „Narodniks" dreamed trying to unite with the people to enlighten them and prepare them for the revolution. Their activity in this direction amounted mainly to attempts at forming the new mentality. Its manifestation was to be a negative attitude towards Christian tradition and its spiritual values. It was an activity of the new type of people that considered every way of fighting for their ideals to be right. This model of the new man found its incarnation in the attitudes of activists and ideologists of the Bolshevik coup. The Soviet man of the post-revolution era took to creating a new social-political order. In reality, it was a struggle with the world of universal values in the name of relative ones subordinate to the idea of socialism-communism. In the mature period of totalitarianism, „Sovietism" spread wider and wider, engulfing greater and greater number of people that did not have any influence on politics, economy or social life. They were characterised by conformism and acquiescence of the existence of the ruling system.

The totalitarian system formed individuals that reasoned in categories detached from reality and closely connected with the ideology. Soviet people constituted a

collective founded on a specific ideology, because the latter had a decisive influence on moulding their outlook on life. It was thanks to this ideology that they possessed a few constant peculiarities. The basic ones were the lack of individualisation of person, which results from the fact of „collectivist" upbringing, and the all-relativising ideologized consciousness. In this consciousness, there is no place for absolute values of a metaphysical-religious dimension, nor is there a place for such freedom that would serve those values. The Soviet man was enslaved spiritually to such an extent that he no longer felt the very need for liberty. A typical manifestation of this enslavement was a total lack of responsibility.

„A Soviet" did not feel responsible for anything or anyone. If he was a part of the state machinery, he justified everything he did in terms of his mission for the society; he thought he understood the meaning of history, calling for creation of a bright future. If, on the contrary, he was an ordinary citizen, he became an obedient executor of decisions of the leaders. That is why a long-term functioning of the communist system was possible only under the condition that „new man," was created. In doctrinal terms, this type arose under circumstances of Bolshevism, i.e. Leninism and its logical continuation, Stalinism, established on the national Russian tradition and on a suitably adapted Marxist doctrine. The whole Soviet history eventually amounts to a history of forming the Soviet man, creating conditions under which an individual loses his or her primary motivation to act, begins to absorb and to accumulate dogmas delivered by the newly created political system, to think and to feel in a new way. Each consecutive generation considered the Soviet conditions to be more normal and the last generation considered them as the only normal ones. Therefore, the new man arose in the specific climate of the communist society and was a carrier of its life principles. One may even speak of a specific psychology of a Soviet type. Obviously, not all inhabitants of the „communist paradise" were Soviet people of the above mentioned meaning. Among them were sparse groups that did not accept the communist model of running a society at all and that declared it openly. Those groups were suppressed by isolating their members in concentration camps, where they most often died, or by sending them abroad. A still more numerous group were those who shared their views but did not have the courage to speak up.

One of the basic traits of the man of the totalitarian era was his isolation and separation from his own roots. Such an isolated person did not see any point in preserving the old traditional values since they were considered useless in the new and changed world in which only one party dictated the will and ideology. The preservation of tradition and the existence of individual opinions different from

the official ones even incurred danger since the ruling clan-party demanded total, unconditional and unchanging loyalty and submission from the society. In order to keep their positions, the party forced everyone to leave any duties not resulting from current tasks of the party. These aims had nothing in common with the previous political and social system and the methods for their achievement were usually based on spiritual, psychological and physical terror. Hence the parting with national and cultural tradition took place very quickly. On the other hand, the ideal of the Soviet system was a machine-man deprived of freedom and free will. That is why setting into the „collective" becomes one of the most important goals and needs of all citizens. Unity achieved in such a way gave every human a sense of recognition of the value of his own existence. In this case it replaced the lost (or not very prestigious under the new circumstances) sense of one's own importance and worth as an individual. The consequences of such identification were very serious. Man was undergoing an absolute submission to authority, losing the instinct of resistance and freedom and was becoming completely plastic, incapable of any independent personal choice, and he accustomed to adjusting his own values to the interests of the ruling party. Conformism and irrationality of actions in such a „collective-society" acquire an increasingly ubiquitous character. They become especially visible during an encounter with normal conditions of life, therefore the totalitarian authority strives for maximum isolation of such a „collective" from the outer world in order to exclude possible confrontation and comparison.

An inevitable consequence of the collective existence and cooperation in a communist society was a tendency to unify personality and to reduce it to a state of commonness. A motto was coined – be like everyone else. This type of society also gave rise to distorted criteria for judging the assets of the individual where mediocrities were elevated and outstanding personalities were exterminated. Citizens thinking independently were persecuted and the most talented ones were levelled to ubiquity. It was not necessarily done by authorities. Other citizens themselves made every effort to deprive any talented individual of his chances to develop individuality. This phenomenon acquired a mass character and spread over every aspect of life. The subdued people were defended by the „collective," the society or, actually, special persons and authorities, while the means of defence were becoming means of suppression. This in turn affected the psychological condition of citizens characterised by boredom, sadness and a constant expectation of something worse to come. Such a society was doomed to stagnation.

What was emphasised before, the Soviet man appeared as a result of adapting to certain social conditions. A situation where any individual activity depended on

authority-forced behaviour typical of an enslaved person. Willingness to fulfil the will of administrators, be it what it might, became the motive behind such behaviour, since as a result of specific upbringing, indoctrination and propaganda combined with compulsion and terror, the authority came to be associated with good. Instead, everyone to oppose it became, in the eyes of the collective, an incarnation of evil. However, the new „collective" man could only exist within the totalitarian system. After its collapse, a few feeble attempts at resuscitating this type of individuals caused a kind of counter-revolution which gave rise to unhealthy ambition, suspiciousness, social amnesia and asocial attitudes that required constant control.

Totalitarian conditions of existence created people deprived of ethics, or, to be more precise, with a specific understanding of ethics, who lost the ability to use traditional criteria for morality. The result was a specific type of personality without decency. Cynical revengefulness and pathological suspiciousness, insincerity and hypocrisy in Soviet surroundings were not perceived as unacceptable or even negative. As a matter of fact, it was all about the relativity of moral principles, based on acknowledging the right of every person to revise them. The authority itself educated its citizens in this way since it always adjusted its theoretical base to its own specific decisions. This relativism was, in the course of time, instilled in the whole population, replacing Christian principles, destroyed together with religion, shaping a relativist understanding of morality in Soviet people. In this respect they are plastic and they possess considerable adaptability while reasoning not in terms of specific moral categories but sets of moral categories. As a result, the worst way of behaviour is not experienced as wrong because it is not experienced per se but as a part of a more complex whole, which, as a whole, is not wrong in the eyes of the Soviet man. Moral principles do not condition his behaviour. In Soviet society, they were replaced by means of controlling people, superiority of the collective, the ideology of the state, absolute dependence on authority, forced or supervised labour. Nonetheless, it had its own operative criteria for assessing its members. Being situational, in many cases they did not correspond to analogous criteria in European societies. One can, therefore, imagine easily what the condition of the post-Soviet society was when the so-called collectivism sunk into oblivion and the state authority ceased to be a totalitarian one.

Under such circumstances, permanent traits of character typical of life in such a society are created. It is a kind of people oriented on passivity, daily affairs and mindless work. There are also other traits present that may be described as making those that possess them seem like beggars (since the Soviet man was accustomed

to life in similar conditions and to a constant expectation of worse things to come) or even thieves. This type is also characterised by a distinctly dominant pretence and demand instinct. Its representatives are usually incapable of any innovatory activity that requires responsible, independent reasoning. Very often this lack of ability is caused not only by psychological factors affecting the person in a closed society, but also by intellectual inefficiency under the conditions of isolation and separation from basic trends of global cultural and scientific development. The consequence of this state is also a situation where man is being deprived of a chance to use the majority of fundamental concepts necessary to understand moral questions and the surrounding reality. At the same time, an instinct of submission to power perceived indiscriminately as an idealised authority is forming in him, and there appears a constant inclination to eliminate the people who breach norms commonly adopted in the totalitarian society. Such a person is always sympathising with the majority of citizens loyal to authority. Incidentally, active and voluntary denunciation, zealous reports of full-time informants and scrupulous accounts of the nomenclature in most cases were dictated not by ideological reasons but a specific understanding of individual participation in the system of authority since the Soviet society simply did not know about other forms of such participation. True, such a man would sometimes express his dissatisfaction with his condition, he could even afford to criticise the existing order, but only within the bounds not endangering significantly the principal interests of the system. Hyperbolic stereotypical thinking was typical of him, a distinctive tendency, and even an inclination to use force in arbitrating discordances and contradictory matters, destructiveness and cynicism of action. Moreover, one always tried to decline responsibility and lay it on others.

Over seventy years of the reign of the Soviet system, over 4 generations, accompanied by a partial physical annihilation of the original population, resulted in hypocrisy and distortion of everything that had always been of values for humanity: religion, faith, tolerance, spiritual ideals, democracy and freedom. In the communist Society, there occurred a delocalisation of man. He was deprived of his roots, social bonds and the meaning of life, he changed into a disinherited individual, a predator who searches for and finds only the same predators in a world built on different morality. Larisa Hieniyush who first encountered the „new man" type in Prague during the Second World War, shares certain interesting remarks on this subject. Emphasising the lack of traditionally understood love of mother country and willingness to sacrifice, lack values in life and the lack of faith, in „Soviets", she wrote: „We were very disappointed by the so-called Soviet Belarusian

people; they went through every lie toward their selfish goals, knowing no ethics. They were smart and cunning, their methods were sometimes terrible. They were wolves. No kindness nor compassion or mercy or any limits for evil. Conversation with them was not inspiring, rather, it caused anxiety by the fact that they humiliated what was the best in people and humanity. It seemed that the harsh conditions of living killed all their ideals long time ago apart from those profitable at a given time."[1] Much later, in his memoirs of the Congress of Writers in Cologne (1983), a classic of Belarusian literature Vasil Bykau would compare his then-contemporary view on moral-ethical and political problems with the counterpart stance of Heinrich Böll: „At that time I already knew from Böll's recollections and his autobiography that we fought on different sides in Moldavia... (...) I approached Böll during a break and reminded him our military ties. Böll laughed and said that even if not at that time, we would later understand that we had been used for a dirty murder case by equally criminal powers. He was possibly right, though at that time I couldn't agree with him completely. To a large extent I still remained a *Soviet* while the Nobel Prize winner Böll reached high and looked at the world of God differently – wide and independent." [2]

Repeating an official lie time after time and knowing it was not true, all the citizens were becoming collaborators of the state in deception. One had to believe and yet not believe, and the Party tried to maintain such a state of mind among its members and, if possible, the whole society so as to lay the responsibility for the existing system on everyone. Since it was assumed that the truth was always „Party's", lie was presented as truth even if it contradicted a most evident experience. Life under double reality was one of the greatest „achievements" of the Soviet system. Lack of open criticism or any possibility to express real opinions led to a situation where independent opinion could not appear even during a casual conversation. A constant, hidden contradiction was being formed between fulfilling the collective will of totalitarian authority and personal thoughts and feelings of individuals. The discrepancy between reality and ideological utopia, between normal word and its meaning distorted by the „Newspeak" was so substantial that one could speak of the existence of two worlds in the consciousness of every man; of two realities which led to a mass social schizophrenia. Hypocrisy was spread on a massive scale. People said one thing, thought another and did yet another. Consequently, there was an ongoing process of splitting of consciousness; one way of behaviour

[1] [1]Геніюш Л. *Споведзь*, „Маладосць", 1990 н-р, s. 122.
[2] Быкаў В., *Доўгая дарога да дому*, Мінск 2002, s. 362-363.

during official meetings and a completely different one in personal relationships. The life of Soviet people was changing into a specific game leading to a disintegration of personality of the individual. Functioning in the two realities, the true one and the utopian one, led inevitably to making a constant choice what type of individuality should be used in order to achieve a given aim. It follows that, under conditions of a disintegrated and internally contradictory system of norms, people should meet different requirements. This situation, in turn, led to a collapse of the system of norms and social bonds, caused disintegration of personality, which asserted itself in lack of mutual respect and of compliance with rules of co-existence. Majority of the nation had to lead a double intellectual and spiritual life. While acting openly and publicly, a man could repeat most grotesque lies and conceal a most plain truth. In the second life, a limited circle of friends and acquaintances, this truth could be pronounced. The state information monopoly together with strict ideological censorship, reinforced by political denunciation practices, gradually led to a decline in intellectual and spiritual life. The factor that enabled people in other societies to form their own opinions on political, social and cultural matters, that is, openness and freedom of discussion, became impossible in USSR. Under these circumstances, the majority of citizens simply did not know what to think and steeped in cynicism and conformism. Ideological dogmas and chants were spoken out loud, but never treated seriously. Gradually, a specific mass guarded terms language was being developed based on a habit of not having personal opinions or on leaving judgements different from the „official" ones unsaid. This was not always a sign of equivocation, but a reflection of a recognition of the „righteousness" of the system and its foundations achieved through long-term persuasion.

A long-term moulding of man under such circumstances endowed him with peculiar features which certainly may be termed as traits of the Soviet type of man. He was characterised by a primitive egalitarianism understood as a manifestation of social justice. It was accompanied by a lack of respect for private property, which cannot seem strange since this property was forbidden and so was individual, not subordinate to the state, work. This in turn brought in the lack of sense of responsibility, a habit of expecting „benefits" from the state, fear of independent initiative. As a result, there spread un-conscientiousness in performing duties that were treated with indifference, not as one's own but as abstractly state's, common, nobody's. This was accompanied by the loss of tradition, civic virtues and misunderstanding of democratic rules of coexistence and political system. There occurred a decline in civic dignity. It is not surprising since a few generations of Soviet people were born and brought up under terror of the state. A fear of the ad-

ministration developed in them as well as a slave-like submission to lawlessness of the regime. It was not by accident that one of the most characteristic features of the Soviet man was approval of everything that the „masters" decided, this approval being quite sincere. This was accompanied by a political double-dealing as well as directed hypocrisy as a means of self-preservation. The man, subject to constant and all-present violence, is forced to lie, since it is his only chance of defense.

The tools used to form the new man were: fear, hate of feigned (indicated by the Party) enemy, control over memory (history) and private life, intended mendacity, „Newspeak," literature and art. All social bonds that created the civic community were attacked: religion, family, memory of history, language. The society was being systematically destroyed according to the plan and its members were being deprived of their chosen unions. Instead, they were to adopt other ones chosen by the state. The creators of the „new man" were aware of the fact that such a treatment should be a versatile one and that it should encompass the entire population. The authority was certain that the most effective way of forcing man to act according to its intentions was fear, hence the direction of fear became a typical property of the Soviet totalitarianism. Encoded in it was a conviction about the plastic nature of man and his submission to outside interference as well as that nothing, be it personal or collective activity, could be a spontaneous act free of an outside impulse. The psychoses of fear and spying mania sped up the atomisation of society, subordinating the latter to a greater and greater extent to the supervision of the state. In its renewed, resuscitated form, this fear has existed in Belarus until the present day. Such traits of the Soviet man as a deep conviction that nothing can be changed, that the system is eternal and that one cannot hide either deed or thought from the authorities, are resurging. The best food for fear was hate, instilled only by the process of upbringing. The threat from „inside" and „outside enemies" became a truly collective mania, an obsessive mass idea concept.[3] This stereotype also survived to

[3] „But to us, the world – meant not world as such, but two „camps" figting each other, we are taught this way," concluded Alexander Solzhenitsyn (Solzhenitsyn A. Badalsia tielienok s dubom<Novyi Mir> No 6, p. 25). Another Russian writer Oleg Volkov wrote: „Where can one find philosophers, experts on human psychology, able to explain how millions of people, despite knowing that they are living poorer and more lawless lives, being more restricted than their counterparts in most other countries, still treat the order of foreign nations with suspicion and distrust? (...) Anyway, in my question – [there is] open rhetoric, (...) ... lies this nation-wide renunciation of the freedom of judgement, criticism and the right of personal opinion as well as the predilection for anxiety, that deadly fear that the Bolsheviks instilled in people since the beginning of their reign. (...) ... Lenin did not make a mistake in one thing: terror, a system of intimidation through mass repression and execution of the innocent, abolition of the very notion of righteousness, bore expected fruit. They frightened, as he expected, for decades, they implanted in the soul an imperishable fear of authority."(Volkov O., Pogruzenie vo tmu, Moscow 2000 pp. 178-179).

a considerable extent until the present day. Post-Soviet citizens treat the West with distrust in spite of being well aware of its civilizational and economic superiority. It concerns, above all, those countries towards which the Soviet indoctrination had an especially aggressive character. The existence of „enemies" helped to justify the doings of the authorities who supposedly defended the country and its citizens from scheming and unfriendly actions, blaming their own failures and crimes con mythical plotting of the enemies. Artificially induced fear of strangers increased a sense of community and further „closing ranks." The regularity that people generally agree to a negative programme – to hate the enemy, to envy those who live in better conditions – than to a positive one was used. „Soviet patriotism," more and more resembling the Russian one, was becoming the unifying factor. And the other one really had authentic roots.

Communist ideology had an important place in the forming of Soviet man. To authorities, its practical reason was the usage of the influence of mythology and it suggested Soviet citizens faith in nonexistent things. As a consequence, it led to the emerging of a distorted picture of reality in their minds. Since the myth in its very notion is an irrational phenomenon, it cannot be refuted with the help of logical reasoning. Those carrying the myth in themselves do not listen to arguments, they are simply convinced that they are right and that they do not need proof. Soviet people did not need to study of the mechanisms of functioning of their society since such understanding, as a result of excluding the citizens from participation in governing the state did not affect their living conditions in any way. The falsely presented reality suited them better because it justified their ignorance as being imposed by the circumstances. Under these conditions, lie or self-deception were becoming the most profitable forms of attitudes and social behaviour. This consequently led to a loss of ability of due consideration of arguments, the so-called thinking against oneself, since such reasoning was, to the Soviet citizen, reprehensible in its very assumption. Hence the control over myths and the right to create them was a powerful weapon if the communist party. Myths were the links of this magical circle in which the Soviet man was born and died. It was, above all, a myth of utopia, a fairy-tale of an unavoidable victory of communism, a specific pseudo-religion. It did not mean that Soviet people believed in communism. Rather, just the opposite. Thorough communists in the Soviet Union were possibly far less numerous than those in the West, and the authorities were well aware of it. What is more, the Soviet leadership knew perfectly well that a communist society is utopian.

What mattered was not faith but the aim to subordinate people to specific rules of the game invented and imposed by the communists. The aim was not to prove

but to hammer ready-made formulae into the heads of citizens. Whether they believed it or not, was of small interest to the Party. However, if these formulae were not accepted, the individual was subject to punishment, the severity of which depended on the degree of „offence." Submission was expected to be manifested. For decades people had been getting accustomed to such a state of affairs and came to consider it natural. Soviet authority used myths on a massive scale, but not as a means of restructuring of the society, which took place in its inception, but in order to strengthen the existing structure of power and to force the population to submit.

With the failure of the communist system the outer protective layer in the shape of illusory world and myths-chimeras fell off. The world of myths lost its formal reason for existence, there opened a horrible reality in every aspect of social and economic life. It caused a shock, on one hand, and mass psychosis on the other hand; the aftermath not only of disillusionment, but also of lack of ability or even willingness to accept the new reality. Vaclav Havel compares this post-communist stage of reasoning with a sense of uncertainty, havoc and frustration caused by the difficulties in adapting to a new type of responsibility under the conditions of freedom. [4] This explains to a certain extent the nostalgia for „the times past," and in the domain of politics, support for movements, parties and persons who represented authority in the past or aimed at its copying or reconstruction.

In every post-Soviet country, Soviet imperialist ideology was replaced by national-state-formative concepts. In Belarus, on the whole society scale, such a concept could not be formed. In Belarussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Sovietism was developing not in parallel with the concept of nationality, the way it was happening (to a various degree) in other Soviet republics, but instead of it. It is through the categories of Soviet ideology, and only through them, that the Soviet Belarussians became aware of the meaning of life under Soviet community, which in turn weakened inevitably the need for forming intra-national bonds.[5] The present-day Belarussian society formed in this way is a specific variant of the proto-nation, since the consolidation of territory and population of Belarus was happening in that period not so much according to a criterion of ethnic-national orientation as

[4] Havel V., „Post-...," „Kultura" (Paris), 1996, No. 1/580-2/581, pp. 3-4

[5] Stanislav Shushkievitch even claims that, at the time of the rise of a free Belarus, the major part of the society did not know what being Belarussian meant. „That part of our society was not aware of the existence of anything called Belarus. They thought there was no such thing as Belarus, that it was only a part of Russia" (*Towards Dictatorship*. Pawel Lekki and Krzysztof Renik talk with Stanislaw Szuszkiewicz, former president of Belarussian High Council, Belarussian oppositionist, „Tygodnik Powszechny," 24.11.1996 [no. 47], p. 6).

according to the criteria of social-economic situation. As a matter of fact, one could say that the Belarussian nation is only being formed now, since Soviet mentality is still dominant in virtually every domain.[6] As a result, Belarussian society was deprived of the chance to specify and formulate collective ideals and, what follows, to create mechanism of achieving them. Especially if the functions of spiritual authority that belong to intelligentsia in other countries, in Belarus, it was the prominent figures who were monopolised. And these do not need the reformist potential of intellectuals. Insignificant influences of the latter on social processes taking place in Belarus conditioned to a considerable extent the weakness of the democratic movement and the slow pace of reforming the old political and economic structures, the result of which was an increasing crisis of the system. Hence, by the law of vacuum, such a distinctive eagerness to restore the state of affairs of before the collapse of the USSR. Thinking in terms of affiliation with the Soviet Union as well as imaginary sustaining of a social bond with no longer existing state is still typical of the majority of Belarussian citizens. The notion of national interest and the raison d'etre of the Belarussian state is still alien to a vast majority of the population of this country still tied sentimentally and emotionally to the former empire, searching for a substitute of the USSR in Russia torn by conflicts, but to no avail.

The Soviet man does not have a sense of historical past. It is as if the world was created yesterday. To the knowledge of the majority of Belarussians, former Soviet citizens, everything that happened before 1917 is considered not only as unimportant, but also as uninteresting. That is why a collective historical memory rarely crosses the borders of existence in Belarus of Soviet system, and even if this

[6] Sokrat Yanovitch claims that in present-day Belarus, people of the Soviet type constitute an absolute majority (he mentions 80%), whereas real Belarussians (aware of their roots and national identity) are a marginal phenomenon. According to Yanovitch, their number does not exceed 20% of the total population of the country. He claims that, in order to become a nation, Belarussians need at least 20 years („Gazeta Wyborcza," 16.07.2003, p. 2; 13.01.2006, p. 4). Vasil Bykau, in a discussion with the famous Belarussian film director Victor Dashuk, expressed even more pessimism on this subject: „...for years we have been dealing with not a Belarussian nation but a Belarussian electorate. The nation, due to various circumstances, has changed into electorate, an election machine... I am going to say certain crucial things, I do not really feel like saying them, but I cannot leave them unsaid... Belarussian nation has disappeared, it is gone. Instead, there is some kind of stratum from which a nation can emerge in the course of time... It is gone, the Belarussian nation: not in the countryside, not in the city, nor between the countryside and the city... Where is it? There are certain social forces... But no people, no nation... Once there was one, yes, but in the end of the 20th century it disappeared, it is gone as a result of the same savage fight with the nation (...) ... I do not see any possibilities for revival... There was a very short period with very faint possibilities – the beginning of the 90s. There were some flashes in 1918. Belarussians were unable to use them and everything ended up like before – wasted..." (Віктар Дашук, *Баль сатаны,* „Народная воля", 17.05.2005 [No. 91 - 92], p. 3)

happens, it usually concerns episodes and persons from Russian history. However, most often, history is perceived by an average Belarussian as autopsy. One lives from one day to the next not referring to one's own cultural traditions, times about which one usually either does not know anything or has a very faint idea. In such a situation, the man loses his foresight ability, and the place of national ideals is taken by Soviet tradition. As Belarussian society scholar Ryszard Radzik rightly observes, „Ideology did not sanction a private time of the individual for growing rich. One lived the present day, here and now. It was and still is different in Belarussians and in Poles and Hungarians, whose time is saturated with categories of national thought, accompanied by a strong historical awareness and activism of elites rooted in tradition. In Russia, it used to be like that, however on the level of elites, not common people. In Belarus, the time of the new ideology did not encounter these barriers." [7]

Solid in its character, Soviet mythical reasoning was transplanted almost unchanged into post-Soviet life. It is visible in Belarus more than anywhere else. All those Lenins, Dzierzynskis and other figures of the communist era on pedestals in the centers of cities and in the names of their streets, feasts of „October's Revolution," other Soviet festivities and anniversaries together with the Soviet way of thinking, „Leninist social deeds," „honour commemorating plates" and Soviet symbolism born into the communist myth. It has one more dimension, since it is with its help that authentic national and patriotic feelings were being derailed. The communist headquarters in Moscow did their very best so that the notion of Russian character would be identified with the notion of Sovietism, and anti-Sovietism with anti-Russianism, in the minds of the people. The Soviet line of national development assumed crushing of particular countries in order to create a mythical, global nation of one common language. This strategy also assumed, with imposing the principle of absolute centralism, which changed union republics into purely geographical names, carrying out such national policy which was conducive to a maximum levelling, or, in fact, Russification. To that end, a course was plotted on introducing Russian language to every state, economic and scientific institutions, universities and schools, limiting partial usage of the Belarussian language with areas of propaganda, literature and art. A policy similar like two peas in a pod, to the one being conducted in Belarus at present, in a formally independent country at the beginning of the 21st century. The revived doctrine of the supporters of the

[7] Radzik R., *Who Are Belarussians*. Torun 2002, p. 118.

great state and Russified state leaders – „bilingualism" – is only a new name of the same Russification.[8]

The model of divestment of nationality that existed in the USSR assumed e.g. leading to such a situation where every manifestation of Belarussianism would amount to cultivating folk traits and regional peculiarities. Today, from a perspective of a few decades of this policy being realized, one may say that this goal has been achieved to a considerable extent. The present-day Belarussian nomenclature, already ruling over its own country, perceives Belarussianism in terms of folk exoticism, and any attempts at arranging authentically Belarussian social and political life are treated by it as a sign of extreme nationalism. The Belarussian language may resound from the stage in the form of songs and folk couplets, but in real everyday life it is perceived as something abnormal, almost as breaching upon generally accepted norms of co-existence. Its speaker is immediately counted among the group of suspect eccentrics or „nationalists," depending on a given situation and circumstances, it is stigmatised in a specific way, eliminated from the primary group of the population and may exist without trouble only in the circle of the co-followers.[9] Reaching such an unnatural state on such a massive scale, in principle, on the scale of the whole country, is an undeniable success of Sovietism facilitating the present restoration of the policy of divestment of nationality. Under independence of state it often takes a grotesque form. One of the former high state officials answered the question what would happen if, during a meeting with the president of the country, one of officials, for example a minister, spoke in Belarussian: „Clearly – apprehension. Not immediately, but after a few weeks this man would be doing time, because Belarussian is identified with disloyalty to

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[8] This may seem paradoxical but is nonetheless true. When, in the times of the USSR, a Russified „native" took charge of the national borderland, he would carry out imperial policy towards his nation. The same habit remained in this type of people until this day, however, at present one can talk of an anti-national policy of these dignitaries and officials, who, as a result of in-depth Russification, dating back to the Soviet times, cannot imagine themselves in any other linguistic and cultural environment than the Russian one.

[9] Belarussian press gives numerous cases of anomalous reactions connected with public use of Belarussian, which are not unusual today. We shall mention only two of them, in our opinion, very meaningful ones. Belarussian film director Victor Dashuk recalls: „I was having lunch once in a cafe in Minsk, my mobile rang, I answered it and began a conversation in Belarussian. People at the tables next to me, as if given an order, suddenly stopped eating and were looking at me in silence as if I were to pee on the floor on the spot... Near the end of lunch the mobile rang again, a call from London. I answered in bad English: no one took any notice!..." (Дашук В., *Бал сатаны*, op. cit., p. 4). A certain Belarussian male living in Moscow asked a female employee of the Belarussian embassy in this town a question in Belarussian. The answer was a characteristic reaction: „The following picture: there is a middle-aged woman standing, her eyes are getting round, her jaw is dropping, a ten-second stupefaction. Afterwards she says: <<I'm sorry. Just a moment>>. And she runs away." (*Банкір з нацыянальным сцягам,* „Наша ніва", 02.12.2005, [No. 45], p. 12.)

the regime, it is a sign of not being „ours," . And every official has some thing for which he can be put behind bars. If they cannot find such things - they will make them up." [10]

The geo-strategic location of Belarus important to Moscow caused both tsarism and Bolshevism to lead a methodical policy of Russification. Belarus was to be inhabited by a Russian-speaking population, not even Russian nation, but a Russian-speaking population. The strategy of creating a „Soviet nation" did not mean a thorough ethnic Russification. Here, always in the foreground, was the logic of totalitarianism, whose main task was divestment of nationality, the breaking of internal coherence of national groups. In communist countries, such a policy was always achieved under the banner of a „cultural revolution," i.e. filling of old forms with new, „internationalist," „socialist" content. The followers of this policy in contemporary Belarus, trying not to allow a real freedom and independence of the country, attempt to destroy, compromise and consign to oblivion every uniting idea of the Belarussian nation. Such an idea used to be the idea of nation, based on the culture of the nation, its customs and traditions, language, historical memory and symbols.

The achievement of seventy-four years of „building socialism and communism" was a human mass deprived of any interest in work, convinced that it is the duty of those who created them to satisfy their needs, a mass adapted to living under the peculiar conditions of the Soviet Union. That society was characterised by mutual distrust inhibiting the growth of civic community that may only exist on the psychological foundation of social trust. People who do not trust others also think that social work and closing ranks to solve common problems is not worthwhile. Nor are they capable of taking their own initiative. A long-term effect of the paternalistic Soviet system caused a common conviction that there always has to be such a leader who, in a magical way and in a short time, will secure a prosperous life. This „slave-like mentality," a longing for a good leader, is still a burden over the contemporary Belarussian society, and causes confusion on every turn. Many people long for the past. This longing is similar to the memories from childhood, that was not necessarily a happy one. It is about a general idealisation of the past. On the one hand, there existed a state of repression, coercion and enslavement. On the other hand, however, in this enslavement there was an element of protection. The wall surrounding the prison also protected from „the evil of the capitalist system." In the USSR, there were no unemployed and no homeless. Everybody

[10] 2006, No. 3 (43), p. 171.

was expected to work even for minimal wages, under the threat of punishment for „parasitism."[11]The state provided basic social and medical care. Everything was on a relatively modest level, but nonetheless guaranteed. Instead, the lack of political and civic rights was not perceived as a flaw in the system at all by the general public, since the absolute majority did not know anything about them and, therefore, did not feel the need for them. It is to those people who preferred such intangible things as liberty and dignity, to whom that system was terrible. The majority of Belarussians preferred, however, only tangible things, definite and material ones. Hence the totalitarian character of the country was not perceived as something negative, something of a nuisance in life. The change of political system meant, to that population, only a deterioration of living conditions, which always takes place in periods of transformation. However, in Belarus, this period was interrupted and the drop in the standard of living took a permanent form. Hence the, almost omnipresent, conviction that one was better-off in the times of the USSR.[12] An improvement in their living conditions is seen by the inhabitants of this country not in achieving democracy, social freedom or free market, about which notions they usually have no idea, but in a renewed distribution of authority, since the question of authority has always had absolute priority in totalitarian societies, and it is under such circumstances that the shaping of personality of members of a quasi-collectivist rural-kolkhoz society was undergoing that had no way of knowing other views. This influenced the conditions of thought of Belarussians. People lost the ability to analyse socially significant facts and events, and to make choices. Discussion ceased to be considered an ordinary phenomenon. Elimination of mechanisms of critical analysis and of public discussion rendered the Belarussians exceptionally prone to all kinds of mistakes and dependent on good or ill will of a narrow circle of persons. Growing crudity of thought, from a historical perspective, leads in turn to growing obscurantism in all its manifestations. It is not by accident that the Belarussian society is underdeveloped in comparison with European ones es-

[11] In the Soviet times, a saying was coined: „*We pretend to work and they pretend to pay us*" (an equivalent of the Polish: „*A fair day's wage for a fair day's work*". This embodies one of the characteristic features of the system. It overwhelms people against their will, and they, in self-defense, „bungled the job," lied and shirked. Andriei Siniawski even claims that the Soviet man has always been a criminal, convicted or not. Because of the simple reason that the goal was „to survive," he has always been somehow connected with breaking the law (Moscow 2001, p. 264).

[12] This phenomenon, described concisely as „a longing for commune," is not unknown to the contemporary Polish society. A survey carried out by Pentor and the Institute of Political Studies of PAS shows that 43% of the randomly selected sample of adult Poles evaluated Polish People's Republic favourably, and 34% unfavourably, (Could One Get Along in PPR? „Gazeta Wyborcza," 07.22.2004, p. 12)

pecially in such fields as self-organising ability and degree of legal awareness of the people, which considerably facilitates manipulation of this collectivity. One of the most prominent Belarussian publicists summarises the contemporary Belarussian mentality in the following way: „It turned out that our yielding is nothing more than conformism; under the guise of spirituality there is cultural dystrophy, social amnesia, savagery and proneness to manipulation, that our historical time is radically different from the general European one, and that cultural pathology is so serious that one should doubt if they will be overcome within the time of a few next generations." [13]

Consequently, there arose the Belarussian Soviet society, difficult to evaluate from the perspective of traditionally understood law and morality. Authority grew in it and consolidated in a natural way, according to principles of functioning of this society. It was not conducive to educating citizens capable of becoming legal political subjects having a specified political attitude to authority. Under these circumstances, e.g. demanding from these people a condemnation of the Soviet system or crimes committed in it is illogical. From the perspective of Sovietism, still in power in post-Soviet society, there is simply no one to be judged and no one to judge since the stance ordering to pronounce an just sentence to offenders loses its rationale in such a state of affairs. The major stimulus of the most active part of the society was, and still is, achieving of a certain level of consumption not through fulfilment of their personal abilities and hard work, but through fight for lucrative posts in society, not having anything to do with talent, skills and diligent work. As a result, there occurred a constant tendency to decrease the creative potential of the society and, at the same time, a diversified system of privileges protected and recreated by the system.

The Soviet way of life met the requirements of a vast part of Belarussian population that inhabited a hermetically sealed area and did not have any possibility to compare their condition with the situation of people in other countries. For not-so-hard work one would get a payment that sufficed to satisfy one's basic needs, having no idea of a different level of consumption and prosperity. Therefore, in an economic sense, this system granted the wishes of the greater part of citizens. Many imagined the communist society as a kind of holiday resort stretched through one's whole life. Political factors and questions of civil rights were not being taken into account partially because of a complete ignorance of the Soviet man in these matters, and partially because of total intra-state terror of secret services.

[13] „ARCHE," 2004, no. 4, p. 45.

Such a condition of minds facilitated to a considerable extent the preservation of whole fragments of the Soviet system. Moreover, during the period of independence of Belarus, there prevailed a massive idealisation of the Soviet past, a tendency to preserve or restore the communist order, to the degree possible in a new situation in history. This tendency found its reflection in the official doctrine of the Belarussian state, which in many cases connects with the communist system and outlook „important achievements" of Belarus in as a part of the USSR, a peak of social-economic development which, to ideologists, dates to the end of 1980s.[14]

Of all nations of former Soviet republics that formed their own states, the Belarussians possessed the least developed national identity, sensing their distinctiveness from the Russians only to a small degree. At the time of dissolution of the USSR, this relative weakness of national identity caused the Belarussians great trouble, since the stronger the sense of national bonds and the drive to independence of the state, the more stimuli the society has to overcome the difficulties connected with becoming independent. A sense of nationality facilitates this process, helps to pay the price of independence in the shape of system transformation and the accompanying deterioration of living conditions. But in Belarus, a weak national awareness inhibited the passage to independent existence. Anti-Soviet attitudes have always been weak there, given the fact that in the USSR their intensity depended to a considerable extent on the development of national awareness in a given nation. Also, given the fact that the Belarussians gained independence not as a result of their fight and manifestation of will,[15]but as a result of outside events, it is no wonder that it came as a shock, an aftermath of actions of certain incomprehensible, if not hostile, forces. On the other hand, weak attempts to introduce democracy and free market relationships caused a sense of discomfort, anxiety and of something imposed from the outside, in the masses. As a matter of fact, this was true in reality as well, since democratisation and reformation being carried out in Belarus until 1994 not in a natural and organic way, on its own ground, but were a reaction to outside changes. The abovementioned factors were undoubtedly conducive to the conservation of the Soviet system in the country.

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[14] (Cf. [...] 2005, p. 153. This edition contains the following passage: „Communist ideas are dear to man because at their foundation there lies the aspiration to equality and social justice" (p. 146).

[15] During the referendum of 17 March 1991, 82.6% of the population of Belarus voted for the preservation of the USSR. Even after gaining independence in 1992, the withdrawal of Belarus from the Soviet Union was evaluated favourably by only 30.7%, and unfavourably by 52.6% of the respondents (Бугрова І., *Ідэнтычнасць Беларусі: З вопыту „разумеючай" паліталёгіі,* „Грамадзянская альтэрнатыва", 1999, No. 1, p. 40)

In the Soviet Union, the Belarussian „verhushka" differed from elites of other Soviet republics in that it was more Soviet, and to a greater degree aimed at a practical realisation of officially declared communist goals and principles. The dissolution of the USSR and the creation of the independent Belarussian state caused a paradoxical situation. The old nomenclature that once fought the supporters of independence took the lead of the sovereign state. The power remained in its hands and that group, resigning from communist ideology, subjugated the mechanism of the market to itself, making it a new means of self-preservation and reproduction. The political class of Belarus, due to deficiency of national awareness and provincial inferiority complex of local officials, fear of competition under new circumstances, overgrowth of ideological and military elements of nomenclature, indeed rejected a policy of reforms, having made a choice to obstruct the modernisation of the market, to preserve numerous components of the Soviet economic and political system. The majority of Belarussian population still existed in the USSR in an ideological and psychological sense. In the eyes of many Belarussians, democracy and liberty led to „disorder" and chaos in the form of numerous countries appearing on the ruins of one „mighty superpower," the USSR, an unnecessary multitude of forms of management, cumbersome choice of possible variants of individual conduct and activity. But the most anomalous changes occured in the minds of people, destroying the entire previous arrangement of philosophy of life. Under system crisis there appeared a specific psychological state composed of several elements: confusion, feeling of loss, disorientation, dispair (caused by incomprehension of causes and meaning of events), apathy and irritation. An average Belarussian almost never reacts (or does react ambiguously or negatively) to such notions as „the market," „privatisation," „reforms," the word „independence" causes surprise. Even those people living hand to mouth are not certain whether or not citizens of neighbouring countries are better-off. In spite of a basic understanding of the situation and even certain signs of protest, there exists a common conviction that nothing can be changed.[16]

All this prepared a fertile ground for a propaganda of „achievements" of the Soviet system and for faith in simple solutions of complex problems. In the statements of state officials as well as in official mass media, the USSR and BSSR, as its „best" and most „flourishing" part, started to be presented almost like a king-

[16] Cf. [...], 02.12.2005 [No. 45], p. 9.

dom of justice and prosperity.[17]If one also takes constant and quite understandable accumulation of economic problems of independent Belarus into account, one may understand why majority of its citizens supported the policy directed not towards the future, towards the market and democracy, but aimed backwards - towards paternalism of the state and restoration of the Soviet system. Appropriate steps were made without delay. For example, in 1995 the bank system was nationalised and the results of the first privatisation tender carried out as a part of the national programme of privatisation were annulled, and the activity of privatisation investment funds was suspended. In the same year, all major investment funds transactions without the approval of the president of the country were banned. In 1996, a new registration of all private enterprises in Belarus was ordered, and the amount of minimal statutory fund necessary for legalisation of private companies was raised. In 1998, the state introduced the so-called golden deed in large enterprises that were almost completely or partially privatised by 1994, which enabled it to interfere freely with the activity of economic entities and which meant their actual re-nationalisation. Restoration of certain elements of central management of economy was crowned by the practice of validating the fundamental directions of social-economic development of the country for a five-year period, a certain similarity to five-year plans existing in the USSR.

The campaign that has lasted for many years, whose purpose, at least as declared, is the creation of a united federal state, is also to a great extent a result of the influence of the Soviet system and its ideology. After all, a majority of contemporary Belarussians are still convinced that BSSR as a part of the USSR was the first form of existence of their own country in history, despite its formal character and fictitious sovereignty. Hence the eagerness to form an alliance with Russia is an attempt to return to the mythologized Soviet past. In other words, these are attempts to incorporate dogmas of the Soviet society consolidated in the human mind into the reality of the post-communist world.

Contemporary Belarus remains a relic of Soviet history, preserved in a slightly altered shape after the dissolution of the USSR. During the rough past two decades, Belarussians eventually failed to find national and social points of reference,

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[17] E.g., in his speech devoted to introduction of state ideology in Belarus, Lukashenko emphasised that „it is in the creation of Belarussian Soviet Socialist Republic within the Soviet Union that our statehood has its origin... (...) Years of being part of the Soviet Union are of great value to us. They gave us as much as no other period of existence of Belarussian land as a part of any state could give us" (Лукашенко А., *О состоянии идеологической работы и мерах по её совершенствованию,* w: *Материялы постоянна действую*щего семинара руковадящих работников республиканских и местных государственных органов, Минск 2003, p. 13).

which increased the ideological confusion intensified by re-Sovietising moves of authorities. There coexist, for example, a restored respect for religion and a lasting appreciation of Lenin, praise of Stalin's USSR and approval of independence, fascination with Russia and criticism for its present „bourgeoisie." The group in power could only keep the helm on condition of massive reproduction of its main social support, social classes divested of nationality and under classed to a considerable extent. The ideology of the state, having replaced the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, is placed somewhere between communism and patriotism understood in a very specific way. However, the national factor of this ideology is a very conventional, rather temporary and forced one. In reality, the independent state is considered as a refuge for all the forces willing to restore the Soviet empire in the post-Soviet space. This is why one can bet on the Soviet, not national-Belarussian, populism.

Translated by ***Maciej Stępa*** *and* ***Grzegorz Hoga***

РЭЗЮМЭ

У артыкуле разглядаюцца праявы і прычыны неакамуністычных і таталітарных тэндэнцый, якія ў астатнія гады абазначыліся ў беларускім грамадстве. Перадусім гэта феномен савецкасці, савецкага чалавека, які ў масавым маштабе ўзнік і развіўся ў часы СССР, і працягвае сваё існаванне на сёняшняй Беларусі. Звяртаецца ўвага на гістарычны аспект, які абумоўліваў патрэбу стварэння "новага чалавека" – жыхара камуністычнай Утопіі, а таксама на чыннікі, што спрыялі фармаванню такой асобы. Адзначаецца, што савецкія людзі гэта грамадска-сацыяльная фармацыя, якая нараджалася на базе канкрэтнай ідэалогіі, і менавіта яна мела вырашальнае значэнне для паўстання савецкай супольнасці. Вылучаюцца некаторыя яе сталыя адметнасці, якія спрыялі стварэнню "чалавека новага тыпу". У дактрынальным сэнсе ён сфармаваўся ва ўмовах бальшавізму, г. зн. ленінізму і яго лагічнага працягу – сталінізму, што грунтаваліся на адмаўленні нацыянальнай традыцыі і адаптаванай адпаведным чынам марксісцкай дактрыне. Называюцца асноўныя рысы чалавека таталітарнай эпохі, якія становяцца асабліва заўважальнымі пры сутыкненні з нармальнымі ўмовамі існавання. У артыкуле таксама звяртаецца ўвага на тое, што савецкі чалавек з'явіўся ў выніку прыстасавання да акрэсленых сацыяльных умоў, у якіх кожная індывідуальная дзейнасць залежала ад улады, прымушала да спецыфічных паводзінаў, характэрных для паднявольнай асобы. Таму "новы калектыўны" чалавек мог існаваць толькі ў межах таталітарнай сістэмы. Пры гэтым падкрэсліваецца, што ў савецкім грамадстве існавалі свае крытэрыі ацэнкі чалавечых якасцей і паступкаў, якія шмат у чым не супадаюць з аналагічнымі крытэрыямі ў еўрапейскіх грамадствах, што абумоўлівала трывалыя асаблівасці савецкага соцыуму. Аўтар разглядае асноўныя асаблівыя рысы, уласцівыя савецкаму чалавеку, а таксама супярэчнасці паміж рэалізаванай калектыўнай воляй таталітарнай улады і асабістымі думкамі, пачуццямі і паводзінамі людзей. Асобна разгледжаны сродкі, з дапамогай якіх фармаваўся "новы" чалавек, прычыны недаверу ў яго стаўленні да Захаду.

Асобнае месца прысвечана ролі камуністычнай міфалогіі ў фармаванні савецкага чалавека, паколькі падман і самападман з'яўляліся найбольш выгаднай формай сацыяльных паводзінаў у камуністычным грамадстве. У артыкуле асвятляюцца наступствы гэтага стану ў сённяшнім беларускім жыцці, калі свет міфаў страціў свой фармальны сэнс існавання і адкрылася сапраўдная рэчаіснасць. Адзначаецца, што паколькі міфалагічнае мысленне мае вельмі трывалы характар, яно амаль без змен перайшло ў постсавецкае жыццё. У сувязі з гэтым закрануты і яшчэ адзін важны аспект постсавецкага беларускага жыцця, а менавіта прычыны тугі па былым, масавай ідэалізацыі савецкага мінулага, што знайшло адлюстраванне нават у афіцыйнай дактрыне беларускай дзяржавы.

Аўтар робіць выснову, што з усіх дзяржаваўтваральных народаў былых саюзных рэспублік СССР беларусы мелі найменш развітую нацыянальную свядомасць, толькі ў невялікай ступені адчуваючы сваю нацыянальную адметнасць. У сітуацыі распаду Савецкага Саюза гэтая адносная слабасць нацыянальнга пачуцця поруч з глыбокай саветызацыяй грамадства стварыла для іх вялікія праблемы, якія перашкаджаюць пераадоленню цяжкасцей звязаных з самастойным дзяржаўным існаваннем.

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Ryszard Radzik

Der weißrussische und tschechische nationsschöpferische Prozess im 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts: Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede*

Das 19. Jahrhundert war in Europa eine Zeit, in der sich die Nationen formten. Es verschwand in diesem Jahrhundert keine der früher entstandenen sog. feudalen Nationen (gemeint sind hier Gemeinschaften mit deutlich ausgebildeten nationalen Eliten). Dies hat natürlich nicht zu bedeuten, dass alle europäischen ethnischen Gemeinschaften im Laufe der Zeit „eigene" nationale Bewegungen ins Leben riefen und dass sie sich dann in Anlehnung an eigene kulturelle (sprachlich-ethnische) Besonderheit in Nationen verwandelten. Die Überzeugung, dass eine jede ethnische Gruppe eine gesonderte Nation ins Leben rufen muss (soll), ist wissenschaftlich betrachtet unberechtigt. Moderne Nationen – im Gegensatz zu jenen,

*Dieser Text ist eine erweiterte Form des Referats, das während der Konferenz „Die Wege zur nationalen Erneuerung: weißrussisches und tschechisches Modell" gehalten wurde (Karls-Universität Prag, 4.-6. Juli 2006).

die sich im Feudalismus formten und grundsätzlich die Eliten des Landes erfassten – waren Gemeinschaften, die im Zuge der Geschichte alle sozialen Klassen und Schichten miteinander verbanden. Sie schufen Bindungen, deren Intensität auf der Ebene der gesellschaftlichen Makrostruktur über die anderen (klassenmäßigen, religiösen, beruflichen) Bindungen dominierte. Der Formungsprozess derartiger Gemeinschaften trug einen objektiven Charakter. Seine Ursachen waren: der Zerfall der feudalen Strukturen, die Öffnung der kleinen lokalen Kommunitäten für die Außenwelt, die prompte Intensivierung der Prozesse der gesellschaftlichen Mobilität, die Alphabetisierung, Industrialisierung und Urbanisierung. Die nationalen Ideologien in der neuen gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit umschrieben den Menschen die Welt aufs Neue, nach Maßstäben, die an neue Realien angepaßt waren. In einer Gesellschaft, in der das Individuum von einer großen und zunehmend anonymen Menge umgeben war, galt es, dieses in dieser Gesellschaft Wurzeln fassen zu lassen und Bindungen herzustellen, die in größerem Maße in ideologischen, unpersönlichen als in direkten, persönlichen Kontakten verankert wären. Die Kategorien der Standestrennungen (auch der religiösen Trennungen auf der Makroebene) brachen abrupt zusammen. An ihre Stelle traten die kulturellen und Klassenunterschiede, die schwächer als die Standesunterschiede geartet sind. Andere Kennzeichen als bisher begannen die Grenzen der Zugehörigkeit und der Fremdheit zu bestimmen. Die Grundlage der Entstehung der nationalen Gemeinschaften bildeten jeweils leicht differenzierte Gruppen von Faktoren; anders war ebenfalls in den Einzelfällen die Rangordnung (und die Funktion) eines jeden dieser Faktoren.

Die Objektivität dieses Prozesses bestand nicht darin, dass konkrete Besonderheiten sich in nach ihnen bestimmte neue Gemeinschaftsgrenzen haben umsetzen lassen müssen, sondern darin, dass die Gesellschaften modernen Europas ideologisierte (nicht unbedingt nationale) Umschreibungskategorien annehmen mussten, was einen Anschluss an die neue Wirklichkeit ermöglichte. Diese Kategorien hatten meist kulturellen Charakter und eine ethnische bzw. politische Dimension. Die industrielle Produktion, auf immer größere Absatzmärkte eingestellt, begünstigte gleichzeitig die Entstehung von großen gesellschaftlichen Gemeinschaften, die mit den Erfordernissen des wirtschaftlichen (aber auch des politisch-staatlichen) Lebens übereinstimmten. Wie Liah Greenfeld[1] betont, trug die Nation zur Modernisierung des im Entstehen begriffenen modernen Europa bei. In

[1] L. Greenfeld, Nationalism. Five Roads to Modernity, Cambridge, Mass. – London 1992, S. 18.

der Welt zunehmender gesellschaftlicher Mobilität, in einer immer stärker ideologisierten Wirklichkeit wurde der neue Mensch ein Individuum, das mittels von Zeichen, Werten, Ideen und Ideologien mit einer sehr breiten (ihm persönlich meist unbekannten) sozialen Umgebung kommunizierte. Er lebte in großen *imaginierten Gemeinschaften*,[2] die er mitgestaltete – dies bedeutet nicht, dass er sie willkürlich tauschen konnte und dass sie nur subjektive Dimension besaßen. Die Idee der Nation lieferte einen entsprechenden „Kode", der es erlaubte, neue Gesellschaften, neue Gemeinschaften aufzubauen. Die Nation war nicht die einzige Möglichkeit einer solchen, von Europa „ausgedachten" Gemeinschaft. Die nationale Ideologie siegte auf einem geraumen Gebiet von Europa über die Klassenideologie (dies zeigte sich endgültig in der Zeit des Ersten Weltkrieges). Diese letztere dominierte jedoch nach der bolschewistischen Revolution den Aufbauprozess der Gesellschaften auf zwei Gebieten Europas: in Weißrußland und in der östlichen Ukraine.

Im aufklärerischen Europa um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts war es eine Regel, dass die adelige Elite nach den Kategorien einer politischen, staatlichen, überethnischen Gemeinschaft dachte. Einen Begriff der Nation, die über keine Eliten verfügen und sich ausschließlich aus Volksschichten zusammensetzen würde, gab es damals eigentlich nicht. In beiden Teilen des Kontinents, in West- und Mittelosteuropa, kam es zur Herausbildung politischer Nationen. Die Zerschlagung Ungarns und später, am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts, Polens führte zum Abbruch der Prozesse des Aufbaus großer Gemeinschaften dieser Art in diesem Teil Europas. Der Fall eines Staates in einer Situation der Identifizierung der staatlichen mit der nationalen Gemeinschaft führte wiederholt zur Schwächung des Glaubens an die Möglichkeit eines Überdauerns einer Nation ohne den Staat. Szczęsny Potocki schrieb im Januar 1796 (also bereits nach der dritten und gleichzeitig letzten Teilung Polens) an Seweryn Rzewuski:

„Ich spreche nicht über das ehemalige Polen und über die Polen. Sowohl dieser Staat als auch dieser Name verschwand bereits wie viele andere in der Weltgeschichte. Jeder unter den ehemaligen Polen soll sich eine Heimat wählen. Ich bin bereits ein Russe für immer."[3]

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[2] Vgl. B. Anderson, Imagined Communities. Reflections on Origin and Spread of Nationalism, London – New York 1991.

[3] E. Rostworowski, Korespondencja Szczęsnego Potockiego z Sewerynem Rzewuskim z lat 1788-1796. Przegląd Historyczny, 1954, H. 4, S. 740.

Es zeigte sich jedoch, dass sowohl die Germanisierung als auch – umso mehr – die Russifizierung der *polnischen Adelsnation* in gesellschaftlich bedeutender Dimension nicht möglich war – dasselbe gilt für die Germanisierung der *natio hungarica*. Das Fehlen des eigenen polnischen bzw. ungarischen Staates (im zweiten Fall zumindest bis zur Entstehung von Österreich-Ungarn im Jahr 1867) hat – neben anderen Ursachen – dazu geführt, dass es nicht möglich war, die Prozesse des Werdens einer Nation auf der Ebene der multiethnischen plebejischen Massen im Raum dieser ehemaligen Staatsorganismen zu kontrollieren. Das Bestehen der ausgebauten polnischen und ungarischen Eliten verursachte einen Wettbewerb zwischen ihnen und den russischen bzw. deutschen Eliten (Kulturen). Es entstand eine früher nicht bestehende (und in Westeuropa meist nicht vorkommende) dreistufige Relation: herrschende Nation – dominierende Nation – Volksgemeinschaft[4] [z.B. Russen – Polen – Weißrussen oder (bis 1867) Deutsche – Ungarn – Slowaken]. Die sich für die Welt öffnenden Volksmassen in den Dorfkommunitäten – die sich alphabetisierten, bereits den Boden besaßen, immer häufiger in die Städte eindrangen, der zunehmenden horizontalen und vertikalen sozialen Mobilität unterlagen – waren bei ihrer Wandlung zur Nation vor eine Alternative gestellt, welcher meist zwei Optionen eigen waren: russische oder polnische bzw. deutsche oder ungarische. Diese Optionen hatten in immer größerem Maße einen Kulturcharakter. In dieser Situation begannen – zunächst sehr schwache – Bewegungen der Volksgemeinschaften zu erwachen: die litauische, die ukrainische und sehr spät die weißrussische Bewegung. Die Faktoren, die den Sieg der kulturellen (sprachlich-ethnischen) Idee der Nation begünstigten, waren: der Zusammenbruch der großen politischen Organismen (Polens und Ungarns) in diesem Teil Europas, der lange Fortbestand der Überbleibsel des Feudalismus, das Fehlen von Revolutionen französischen Typs. Wären sie vor dem Erwachen nationaler Bewegungen der Volksgemeinschaften ausgebrochen, hätten sie den Bauern attraktive Freiheiten und den Bodenbesitz geschenkt, was diese sich um den Staat hätte scharen lassen. Erst als es möglich wurde, dass sie den Boden besaßen (in diesem Teil Europas erfolgte dies ziemlich spät), konnten die bäuerlichen Massen einem raschen und breiten Prozess

[4] J. Chlebowczyk, O prawie do bytu małych i młodych narodów. Kwestia narodowa i procesy narodotwórcze we wschodniej Europie środkowej w dobie kapitalizmu (od schyłku XVIII do początków XX w.), Warszawa – Kraków 1983, S. 33, bedient sich der Begriffe „herrschende Gruppe" und „dominierende Gruppe".

der Germanisierung, Russifizierung, Polonisierung bzw. Ungarisierung unterworfen werden. Die aus ihren Reihen stammenden bzw. sich auf sie berufenden nationsschöpferischen Eliten verfügten über genug Zeit, sich zu entwickeln (die Zäsur war in der Habsburgischen Monarchie das Jahr 1849 und im Imperium der Romanow das Jahr 1861). Als es dann in diesem Teil Europas zu einer deutlichen Präsenz der kulturellen Idee der Nation kam, konnten diese Eliten den Bauern vorschlagen, dass sie eine Nation in Anlehnung an eigene ethnische Kultur werden.[5]

Die stufenweise erfolgende Zerschlagung des jahrhundertealten Systems der staatlichen Gemeinschaften in Mittelosteuropa durch die Türken, Deutschen und Russen sowie die zivilisatorische (wirtschaftliche) Rückständigkeit eines bedeutenden Teils dieses Raumes führte dazu, dass die Grenzen des deutschen und italienischen Volkes im Osten letzten Endes nach dem ethnischen Prinzip und im Westen nach dem politischen Prinzip festgelegt wurden (die Elsässer verwenden einen deutschen Dialekt und halten sich für Franzosen und an der französischen Seite der Grenze zu Italien kann man italienisch sprechende Franzosen vernehmen). In Europa bildeten sich zwei Typen von Nationen aus, was allerdings nicht bedeutet, dass der Prozess der Entstehung politischer Nationen im Westen des Kontinents abgeschlossen worden wäre. (Neulich kann man sogar einen gewissen Rückgang dieses Prozesses dort verfolgen, wo die ethnischen Besonderheiten nicht verschwunden sind.) In unserem Teil des Kontinents stärkt sich hingegen die Tendenz, die Idee der Nation mit politischen Werten zu sättigen. Den oben besprochenen Mechanismus der Entstehung der Nationen in Mittelosteuropa kann man für die untersuchte Periode (bis 1914) auf die Weißrussen, aber nicht auf die Tschechen beziehen. Die Relation zwischen den Tschechen und den Deutschen erinnerte bis zum 18. Jahrhundert in gewisser Hinsicht an das Verhältnis zwischen den Schotten und den Engländern. In diesem Fall erschien nicht das dritte Element der oben dargestellten Triade. Die Tschechen waren mit den Deutschen und das weißrussische Volk in Weißrußland mit den Polen und mit den Russen konfrontiert. Die Tschechen überdauerten als Nation und (im Gegensatz zur überwiegenden Mehrheit der Schotten) behielten ihre Sprache. Es bietet sich die Annahme, dass es u.a. daher so kam, weil die Tschechen (so wie in gewissem Grad auch die

[5] Mehr schreibe ich davon in: R. Radzik, Między zbiorowością etniczną a wspólnotą narodową. Białorusini na tle przemian narodowych w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej XIX stulecia, Lublin 2000, S. 49-84.

Deutschen) sich unter dem Einfluss der nationsschöpferischen Prozesse bei anderen Gemeinschaften in diesem Teil Europas befanden. So geschah es auch im Falle der Slowenen. Unter den zwei hier besprochenen Fällen der Entstehung der Nationen zeichneten sich in unserem Teil des Kontinents nicht nur die Tschechen durch eine Besonderheit aus. Kennzeichnend für die Weißrussen ist, verglichen mit Europa, eine ausgesprochene Schwäche des nationsschöpferischen Prozesses und seine Verzögerung im Verhältnis zu anderen Nationen.

Wenn wir annehmen, dass der Zerfall des ständischen Systems, die Alphabetisierung und die Industrialisierung der europäischen Gesellschaften den Aufbau der („imaginierten") ideologischen (darunter vor allem der nationalen) Gemeinschaften zur Folge hatte, und wenn wir nicht versuchen, in die Ursachen und in die eventuelle Notwendigkeit der Entstehung der Nationen (warum sind sie entstanden?) einzudringen, dann soll sich der weitere Verlauf der Erwägungen in diesem Text auf zwei Fragen konzentrieren. Erstens: Warum kam es bei den Tschechen bedeutend früher zum nationsschöpferischen Prozess als bei den Weißrussen? Zweitens: Wodurch und warum unterschieden sich die beiden nationsschöpferischen Prozesse in ihrem Verlauf? Die Erwägungen werden stets von eingehenden Antworten auf die allgemeine Frage begleitet: Warum kam es auf dem Gebiet von Tschechien und Weißrussland nicht zur Entstehung von politischen Nationen (wie es das westeuropäische Muster will), deren Ursprung die elitäre Denkkategorie gewesen wäre: *böhmische Nation (natio Bohemica)* und im weißrussischen Fall – *gente Lithuani (Rutheni), natione Poloni*.

Die nationsschöpferischen Prozesse erschienen im allgemeinen früher und entwickelten sich schneller in diesen Gesellschaften, die zivilisatorisch (Alphabetisierung, Meinungsfreiheit, Bodenbesitz, Mittelstand, Urbanisierung, soziale Mobilität) auf die Aufnahme des modernen Typs des Bewusstseins (der ideologisierten Bindung), das über das Dorf, das Kirchspiel und die heimatliche Gegend hinausschritt, besser vorbereitet waren. In deutlichem Grad waren diese Prozesse allerdings vom (sprachlich-ethnischen) Kulturkontext abhängig. Wesentlich war er insbesondere im Falle von Gemeinschaften mit sog. unvollständiger sozialer Struktur, die der eigenen (besonders adeligen) Eliten beraubt waren. Józef Chlebowczyk verleiht ihnen den Namen plebejischer Gemeinschaften. Beide Gruppen von Faktoren – jene der zivilisatorischen und jene der kulturellen Faktoren – zeichneten vor dem Hintergrund Mittelosteuropas günstig die Tschechen

und ungünstig die Weißrussen aus. Man könnte vermuten, dass die Tschechen und Weißrussen auf einer konstruierten ausgezogenen Linie, die den Grad der Intensität der beiden Gruppen von nationsschöpferischen Faktoren darstellte, sich auf zwei entgegengesetzten Enden befänden.

Letzten Endes entschieden über die Richtung der nationsschöpferischen Prozesse im sich alphabetisierenden und industrialisierenden Europa in hohem Grade die plebejischen Massen, die in der Regel zahlenmäßig die überwiegende Mehrheit der damaligen Gesellschaften bildeten. Bevor noch die provenzalische Bewegung geboren wurde und eine reelle nationale Alternative schuf, beschränkte man sich im revolutionären Frankreich nicht auf verbale Verkündung der Losung „Freiheit, Gleichheit und Brüderlichkeit“, sondern setzte man sie wirklich um, indem man den provenzalischen, bretonischen und anderen Bauern die ersehnte Freiheit, den Boden und das Gefühl der Gleichheit mit anderen verlieh. (Man stärkte gleichzeitig den staatlichen Zentralismus und behandelte das Schulwesen als Instrument zur Verwandlung des Volkes in politische Franzosen.) Dies löste im französischen Volk eine Energie aus, die Napoleon zu nutzen wusste. Das überethnische, politische Franzosentum wurde für die provenzalischen Bauern derartig attraktiv, dass die später erwachte provenzalische Nationalbewegung nicht im Stande war, das so begriffene Franzosentum zu dominieren. Nicht die Sprache wurde jedoch konstitutives Element der französischen Gemeinschaft – konstitutiv wurden die verliehenen Freiheiten. Die Sprache [ähnlich war es im Fall des russischen (weißrussischen) Bojarentums, das die attraktiven adeligen Freiheiten *natione Poloni* annahm] wurde sozusagen „beiläufig“ bei der Erlangung der politischen und Freiheitsrechte angenommen. Sie war nicht der Sinn, nicht das Wesen des Franzosentums, sondern lediglich ein Mittel, das die volle Inanspruchnahme des Franzosentums erleichterte.

Derartige Prozesse erfolgten weder in der Habsburgischen Monarchie noch in der verfallenden polnischen Adelsrepublik noch (umso mehr) im Imperium der Romanow. Das unvergleichbar besser als Weißrussland entwickelte Tschechien war dessen ungeachtet (wie die ganze Habsburgische Monarchie) konservativ. Das hohe Niveau der zivilisatorischen Entwicklung der tschechischen Gesellschaft führte dort zu einem ziemlich frühen Beginn der nationsschöpferischen Prozesse. Anders als bei den Provenzalen fehlte hier aber ein Faktor, der dem tschechischen Volk – nach französischem Muster – entsprechend früh einen Anstoß gegeben hätte, in die

Richtung der Kultur der staatlichen Eliten (hier: der deutschen Kultur) zu tendieren. Die Deutschen lösten in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts keine Revolution aus, deren Folge es gewesen wäre, dass ein deutschsprachiger Staat im Namen der von sich verkündeten Losungen den Bauern den Boden verliehen hätte. Ansonsten haben eben die deutschsprachigen Bewohner des Landes den Prozess der Wiedergeburt der tschechischen Sprache und Kultur initiiert, ohne dabei die Absicht gehabt zu haben, eine gegenüber dem Deutschtum separatistische tschechische Nation ins Leben zu rufen. Einerseits lehnte sich der örtliche deutschsprachige Adel gegen die zentralistischen Neigungen der Wiener Behörden auf und war somit an der Aufrechterhaltung eines besonderen Status des Königreiches Böhmen interessiert. Die Vertreter dieses Adels hielten sich für heimatliche Patrioten, indem sie die Besonderheit ihres Landes betonten. Es war dies aber ein überethnischer, politischer, territorialer Patriotismus. Der den tschechischen Boden bewohnende, praktisch ganz eingedeutschte Adel dachte einerseits nach den Kategorien einer feudalen, politisch-ständischen Nation und andererseits hat ein Teil dieses Adels die Ideen der Aufklärung auf sich einwirken lassen – darunter die Idee der Volksaufklärung und das Volk sprach in Böhmen meist tschechisch. Bei der Akzeptanz des Tschechischunterrichts in den Elementarschulen war sich der Adel darüber nicht im Klaren, dass der Begriff der Nation in einigen Jahrzehnten einen so fundamentalen Wandel erfahren wird. Ebenfalls unter dem Einfluss der Aufklärung begannen andererseits die ausschließlich in der deutschsprachigen Kultur erzogenen Wissenschaftler mit ethnisch tschechischen Wurzeln an der Wiedergeburt der tschechischen Sprache zu arbeiten, die sie für einen wesentlichen Bestandteil der Geschichte und der Kultur des Landes hielten. Dies war plausibel in Anbetracht dessen, das 60% der Bevölkerung des Landes im Alltag weiterhin die tschechische Sprache verwendete (es waren vor allem die Bauern, häufig auch Bewohner kleiner Städte und ein Teil der Bevölkerung – meist untere Schichten – der größeren Städte).[6] Noch bis zur Revolution des Jahres 1848 hielten sich viele deutschsprachige Kulturaktivisten für tschechische Patrioten im Sinne einer territorialen Auffassung dieses Begriffes.[7] Der Unterschied zwischen Frankreich und Österreich (Böhmen) bestand also nicht nur darin, dass Paris im Gegensatz

[6] M. Hroch, Małe narody Europy. Perspektywa historyczna. Übers. Grażyna Pańko. Wrocław 2003, S. 15.
[7] H. Wereszycki, Pod berłem Habsburgów. Zagadnienia narodowościowe, Kraków 1986, S. 38.

zu Wien eine Revolution entfesselte und rund um sie den Begriff der Nation aufbaute. Er bestand auch darin, dass man im Namen des staatlichen Zentralismus, der die Werte der Revolution schützte, im staatlichen Schulwesen Frankreichs ausschließlich den französischen Sprachunterricht einführte. Die Behörden wollten auf diese Weise antirevolutionäre separatistische Bestrebungen der Regionen vernichten (diese trugen damals keinen ethnisch-nationalen Charakter).

Die obigen Prozesse konnten sich entwickeln, solange die politisch-ständischen und zugleich dynastisch-territorialen Kategorien im Bewusstsein der Eliten einen Vorrang über die kulturellen Kategorien insgesamt und namentlich über die sprachlich-ethnischen hatten. Die im Land herrschenden adeligen Eliten waren sich ziemlich lange Zeit nicht im Klaren bzw. nahmen es auf die leichte Schulter, dass die aus dem Volksmilieu hervorgehende Intelligenz eine reelle Bedrohung für ihre Welt bedeute. Der allmähliche Zerfall des ständischen Systems hatte die Zunahme der Bedeutung der Kultur in der Gesellschaft (die Grenzen der Kulturen begannen die sozialen Grenzen zu markieren)[8] und die Erscheinung moderner Klassenstruktur zur Folge. Die mitteleuropäische Intelligenz baute ihr Ethos nicht in Anlehnung an ständische politische Rechte und an den um eine Dynastie gruppierten Staat, wie es im Falle des Adels war, sondern in Anlehnung an die Kultur: die tschechische bei der tschechischen Intelligenz, die slowakische bei der slowakischen, die ukrainische bei der ukrainischen und die litauische bei der litauischen Intelligenz. Jahrzehntelang waren dies zahlenmäßig relativ geringe Gruppen. Sie provozierten also keine radikalen Maßnahmen seitens der politisch-territorial denkenden adeligen Eliten. „In einer Ansprache bei der Grundsteinlegung unter den Bau des Nationaltheaters in Prag“ – berichtet Józef Chlebowczyk – „stellte F. Palacký im Mai 1868 nicht ohne bitteren Sarkasmus Folgendes fest: Noch vor einem halben Jahrhundert war die Zahl der aktiven und sich ihrer nationalen Besonderheit bewussten Tschechen so gering, dass es ein Ende nationaler Bestrebungen bedeutet hätte, wenn die Decke des Raumes, in dem sie sich versammelten, über sie zusammengestürzt wäre.“[9]

Nicht ohne Bedeutung war für die im Entstehen begriffene Intelligenz der Volksgemeinschaften (jener mit unvollständiger sozialer Struktur) der soziale

[8] Vgl. E. Gellner, Narody i nacjonalizm, Warszawa 1991.

[9] F. Palacký, Spisy drobné, Díl I, Spisy a řeči z oboru politiky, Praha 1898, S. 289, zit. nach: J. Chlebowczyk, O prawie do bytu, S. 178.

Aspekt der neuen nationalen Bewegungen. Die tschechische Sprache (ähnlich war es im Falle anderer „kleiner und junger Völker“) öffnete einen besonderen Pfad des sozialen Aufstiegs. Er war ziemlich lange Zeit schneller (und im Zeitverlauf immer attraktiver) als jener im Rahmen der deutschen Kultur, wo es längst gefestigte Eliten und einen starken Wettbewerb in ihrem Rahmen gab. Wie man urteilen kann, begann sich diese Erscheinung bei den Weißrussen erst zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts deutlich abzuzeichnen. 1848 konnten die Deutschen zu ihrer Überraschung erfahren, wie fortgeschritten die tschechische Bewegung ist – in einem Brief an das Frankfurter Vorparlament lieferte Palacký eine eindeutige Auslegung des kulturellen Verständnisses der tschechischen Nation, die andersartig als die Deutschen sei. Ein Jahr darauf konnten die tschechischen Bauern, denen man den Boden verlieh, den Prozess der Erlangung des nationalen Bewusstseins dynamisieren, indem sie sich auf eine Ideologie beriefen, die auf ihrer ethnischen, in ihrer Sprache verankerten Kultur fußte. Die letzten Dezennien des 18. Jahrhunderts eröffneten also Möglichkeiten, die man in den nachfolgenden Jahrzehnten nutzte: Unter dem Einfluss der Aufklärung entwickelte man einerseits in massenhafter Dimension das Schulwesen für Bauernkinder in tschechischer Sprache (damals bedeutete dies noch nicht, dass man in ihnen ein nationales Bewusstsein erweckt). Andererseits wurden die tschechischen Eliten gebaut – zunächst nur die wissenschaftlich-literarischen und erst im Laufe der Zeit die im vollen Sinne des Wortes nationalen Eliten. Es war verständlich, dass die sich für die Welt öffnenden bäuerlichen Massen in einem zwar ziemlich liberalen, doch bei weitem nicht revolutionär-freiheitlichen Staat sich nicht auf das Deutschtum berufen werden, das in ihrem dörflichen tschechischen Alltag fehlte, sondern auf nationale Kreise und auf eine Ideologie, die sich auf ihre Kultur stützt. In der damaligen Wirklichkeit war es nicht mehr möglich, diesen Prozess radikal zu stoppen, geschweige denn rückgängig zu machen.

Eine solche Entwicklung der nationalen Situation im besprochenen Raum der Monarchie wurde durch den kulturellen Kontext des Erscheinens der Tschechen als moderner Nation begünstigt. Unter Berufung auf die Terminologie von Józef Chlebowczyk kann man feststellen, dass Böhmen ein „Berührungsgrenzland“ war,[10] also – im Gegensatz zu Weißrussland – ein Gebiet, auf dem die Hauptgemeinschaften (Tschechen und Deutsche) zu zwei verschiedenen Sprachgruppen gehörten. Die sie trennende Grenze war scharf, was die

[10] J. Chlebowczyk, O prawie do bytu, S. 30.

Entwicklung des Bewusstseins in der Opposition zur anderen Gruppe erleichterte. Dieses Bewusstsein hatte nicht nur einen ständischen (vorwiegend so war es in Weißrussland), sondern ebenfalls einen deutlichen sprachlich-kulturellen Charakter. Wenn man – im Prozess des sozialen Aufstiegs – in das Deutschtum einschritt, passierte man zwei wesentliche Schranken: Es war dies neben der ständisch-kulturellen Schranke, die in der hierarchisch aufgebauten Struktur der damaligen Gesellschaft traditionell vor dem Tschechentum rangierte, ebenfalls die grammatisch-lexikalische Schranke, welche durch die scharfe Grenze zwischen den beiden Sprachen verursacht war. Im ersten Fall gelang es den Tschechen eine Erscheinung hervorzurufen, die in Weißrussland in dieser Form nie vorgekommen ist. Der Massenzustrom der tschechischen Bauern in die Städte in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts beschleunigte radikal den Prozess der Entstehung der tschechischen – d.h. tschechischsprachigen – Intelligenz und des tschechischen Bürgertums. „Im Gegensatz zu vielen anderen slawischen Nationen – stellen Roman Heck und Marian Orzechowski fest – besaßen die Tschechen eigene technische Intelligenz, die Landwirtschaft, Verkehr und Postwesen bediente, eigene Wirtschaftswissenschaftler, Rechtsanwälte und Ärzte. Im Zusammenhang mit dem allgemeinen politischen und Systemwandel der Habsburger Monarchie begann sich Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts die tschechische Beamtenschicht zu entwickeln. Die Tschechen besetzten viele Stellen in der kommunalen und staatlichen Verwaltung, in der Justiz und im Militär.“[11] Ende der 1860er Jahre bildeten die Tschechen die Mehrheit in den Stadträten fast aller tschechischen Städte und in Mähren erlangten sie diesen Stand am Ende des Jahrhunderts.[12] Die erste legale weißrussische Zeitung erschien im Jahr 1906; in Tschechien erschienen hingegen bereits im Jahr 1861 30 tschechischsprachige Pressetitel, am Ende des Jahrhunderts – fast 450 und im Jahr 1905 über 750.[13] Den Tschechen ist es gelungen, ziemlich schnell eine für die Volksmassen attraktive elitäre Kultur zu schaffen. Die moderne tschechische Kultur, insbesondere die Literatur, begann sich damit auszuzeichnen, dass „sie das Plebejertum

[11] R. Heck, M. Orzechowski, Historia Czechosłowacji, Wrocław 1969, S. 235.
[12] M. Hroch, Małe narody Europy, S. 17.
[13] M. Waldenberg, Narody zależne i mniejszości narodowe w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej. Dzieje konfliktów i idei, Warszawa 2000, S. 60.

akzeptierte und nach ihm strebte und das ‚herrschaftliche Gebaren' einem Spott preisgab".[14]

Das plebejische Gepräge[15] ihrer Kultur verwandelten die Tschechen in ihre Stärke. Die Identifizierung des Weißrussentums mit dem Bauerntum wurde hingegen für die weißrussischen Volksmassen, die im 20. Jahrhundert in die Städte strömten, ein Grund für die Aufgabe der weißrussischen Sprache. In dem sich stark industrialisierenden und urbanisierenden Land gelang es den Tschechen, industrielle, bürgerliche und intellektuelle Eliten zu schaffen und in den Städten die Mehrheit zu erlangen. In ihrem nicht nur im Verhältnis zu anderen Provinzen der Habsburger Monarchie, sondern auch im Vergleich zu Europa reichen Land war ihre soziale Stellung vor 1914 fast mit jener der deutschen Bevölkerung vergleichbar.[16] Das Eindringen in die tschechische Elite bedeutete einen sozialen Aufstieg und war ansonsten leichter als ein Aufstieg durch Germanisierung. Die eigene Kultur war bereits dermaßen entwickelt, dass ihre plebejische Beschaffenheit, die mit dem „hochherrschaftlichen" Deutschtum kontrastierte, als ein zu fördernder Vorzug behandelt wurde. Den Weißrussen ist es nie gelungen, dieses Muster nachzuahmen, obgleich das Plebejertum in der Sowjetzeit aus ideologischen Gründen bis zu einem gewissen Grad autotelischer Wert war. Die sowjetische Ideologie richtete sich gegen das Hochherrschaftliche, das Großbürgerliche. Das Ergebnis war ein sowjetisches Plebejertum, das sich auf die russische Sprache stützte. Der Mechanismus seines Entstehens war also anders als im tschechischen Fall. Die Berufung auf die tschechische Sprache schenkte den Tschechen das Gefühl eines sozialen Aufstiegs und machte gleichzeitig möglich, dass sie eine Nation wurden. In Anbetracht des Fehlens oder eher der großen Schwäche der weißrussischsprachigen überbäuerlichen, städtischen Schichten wurde bei den Weißrussen die weißrussische Sprache mit dem Bauerntum, dem Land und der Folklore identifiziert. Im allgemeinen wurde sie als ein Zeugnis des Fehlens des sozialen Aufstiegs oder des Fehlens eines einschlägigen Ehrgeizes empfangen. Später hielten die sowjetisierten Massen die literarischen Äußerungen in

[14] Z. Tarajło-Lipowska, „Prawdziwy" charakter czeskiego Odrodzenia narodowego, in: Odrodzenie narodowe w Czechach i na Słowacji. Księga ku czci Profesora Zdzisława Niedzieli. Red. von Halina Mieczkowska u. Teresa Z. Orłoś, Kraków 1999, S. 97.

[15] Dem Begriff des Plebejertums verleihe ich hier (ähnlich wie J. Chlebowczyk) keinen wertenden Charakter, sondern behandle ihn ausschließlich umschreibend; er ist eine Entsprechung des Volkshaften.

[16] Vgl. M. Waldenberg, Narody zależne, S. 61.

dieser Sprache für eine Erscheinungsform des von ihnen abgelehnten Nationalismus.

Im Weißrussland des 19. Jahrhunderts hätte sich aber kaum von der Existenz von wesentlichen sprachlichen Schranken zwischen Weißrussisch, Polnisch und Russisch sprechen lassen. Die Polen und die Russen nahmen das Weißrussische häufig als einen polnisch-russischen Mischdialekt bzw. als eine zwischen Polnisch und Russisch vermittelnde Sprache wahr. Der weißrussische Bauer hat über die ganze Zeit der Teilung Polens (also bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg) für natürlich gehalten, dass er beim Umzug in die Stadt und in Anbetracht des sozialen Aufstiegs sich die „städtische" Sprache aneignen soll – zunächst war es Polnisch, dann in immer größerem Grade Russisch. Nach dem empfinden der Mehrheit des weißrussischen Volkes gab dieser Bauer die bäuerliche Sprache zugunsten der städtischen preis, so wie man in vielen anderen Ländern Europas sich von den bäuerlichen Dialekten abwandte und sich die literarische Sprache aneignete. Der sprachliche Unterschied wurde nicht als empfindliche Schranke empfunden. Noch im 20. Jahrhundert, in den Grenzen Polens vor 1939, nannten die weißrussischen Bauern ihre Sprache häufig nicht Weißrussisch, da sie meinten, auch westlich vom Bug sprächen die Bauern ebenso wie sie *simpel* und nur in den Städten spreche man überall polnisch. Zu Beginn der 1890er Jahre beschrieb Emma Jeleńska die ländliche Provinz des Kreises Mosyr in Polesien und charakterisierte folgendermaßen die dortigen Bauern: „Nach ihrer Überzeugung sind die Bauern in der ganzen Welt ganz so wie sie selbst, alle sie sprechen weißrussisch, einfach, und bekennen sich zu demselben, orthodoxen Glauben".[17] Für das weißrussische Volk im Zarenreich besaß die Sprache keine nationale, sondern ständische und klassenmäßige Dimension. Wenn man in eine andere Klasse einging, was man häufig mit der Migration aus dem Land in die Stadt assoziierte, wechselte man von einer Sprache in die andere um. Der Hintergrund davon war nicht nur die Verwandtschaft der slawischen Sprachen, sondern auch die zivilisatorische Rückständigkeit des Landes.

Die Aufhebung der Leibeigenschaft und die Gewährung der persönlichen Freiheit den Bauern erfolgte auf dem tschechischen Gebiet 80 Jahre früher als auf dem weißrussischen Gebiet (1781 und 1861) und die Über-

[17] E. Jeleńska, Wieś Komarowicze w powiecie mozyrskim, Sonderexemplar aus dem Vol. 5 der „Wisła", Warszawa 1892, S. 51.

gabe des Bodenbesitzes an die Bauern zwölf Jahre früher (1849 und 1861). 1796 bildete in Weißrussland die städtische Bevölkerung 3,5 % der Gesamtheit der Bewohner, 1913 – 11 %.[18] 97,7 % der Bevölkerung, die 1897 bei der Volkszählung als weißrussischsprachige eingestuft wurden, lebten auf dem Lande, in den schwach entwickelten Städten bildeten sie mit 17 % eine Minderheit.[19] Sage und schreibe 86,5 % der Weißrussen waren in demselben Jahr Analphabeten.[20] Im Jahre 1900 waren es hingegen nur 4,26 % der Tschechen im Alter von über sechs Jahren, die weder lesen noch schreiben konnten.[21] In Tschechien „waren es bereits 1791 2600 Schulen, die von 185 000 Schülern, also mehr als der Hälfte der Kinder im Schulalter, besucht wurden. Die tschechischen Kinder – fügt Henryk Wereszycki hinzu – wurden in diesen Schulen auf Tschechisch unterrichtet. In tschechischer Sprache edierte man ebenfalls die Bücher, die die Bauern über die moderne Zucht und Landwirtschaft informierten.“[22] Im Hinblick auf die Entwicklung des Bildungswesens gehörten die Tschechen zu der europäischen Spitze; zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts gab es bei ihnen sogar etwas weniger Analphabeten als unter den in Österreich wohnenden Deutschen. Die Weißrussen befanden sich unter den Völkern Europas am entgegengesetzten Pol der Analphabetismusskala. In der ganzen untersuchten Periode unterschieden sich die Tschechen von den Weißrussen bedeutend durch größeren Anteil der städtischen Bevölkerung, geringeren Grad des Analphabetismus, größere Industrialisierung und – im Zusammenhang damit – größeren Wohlstand. Bereits in den 1870er Jahren arbeitete die Mehrheit der tschechischen Bevölkerung außerhalb der Landwirtschaft. Im Jahre 1900 war die Zahl der Bevölkerung in Tschechien (nicht aber in Mähren) und in Schlesien, die in der Industrie und im Verkehrswesen beschäftigt war, größer als die Zahl jener, die in der Landwirtschaft tätig waren.[23] Zwischen dem Ende der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts und der Zeit kurz vor dem Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges stieg die Zahl der Bewohner von Prag von 125 Tsd. Auf

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[18] Гісторыя Беларусі: У 6 т. Т. 4. Беларусь у складзе Расійскай імперыі (канец XVIII - пачатак XX ст.), Мінск 2005, с. 58 (Tabelle 1), с. 369 (Tabelle 12).

[19] R. Radzik, Między zbiorowością, S. 140.

[20] П.В. Терешкович, Этническая история Беларуси XIX - начала XX в. в контексте Центрально-Восточной Европы, Минск 2004, с. 115.

[21] M. Waldenberg, Narody zależnei, S. 60.

[22] H. Wereszycki, Pod berłem Habsburgów, S. 37.

[23] R. Heck, M. Orzechowski, Historia Czechosłowacji, S. 231.

617 Tsd. (einschließlich der Vorstädte). 1861 erlangten die Tschechen eine Überlegenheit in dieser bis dahin meist deutschsprachigen Stadt und 1910 bildeten die Deutschen in Prag nur noch 6 % der Bevölkerung.[24] Tschechien wurde im Laufe der Zeit das Hauptindustriezentrum des Habsburger Staates und die Tschechen entwickelten in den letzten Jahrzehnten des Bestehens der Monarchie zum großen Teil neue, moderne Industriezweige. Minsk zählte hingegen im Jahr 1909 knapp 100 Tsd. Einwohner, sechsfach weniger also als Prag. Es lebte dort proportionsmäßig wenig weißrussische Bevölkerung – nur 8,2 %,[25] Weißrussisch verwendete dabei hauptsächlich die Bevölkerung der armen Vorstädte (die Elite sprach russisch oder polnisch).

Die Liquidierung des Analphabetismus erlebten die Weißrussen erst in der Zwischenkriegszeit, die Industrialisierung und Urbanisierung des Landes – nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, also Jahrzehnte später als die Tschechen. Die Analphabeten denken im allgemeinen in Kategorien einer vorindustriellen ethnischen Gruppe, nicht einer nationalen. Damit eine Nation entsteht, müssen sich ansonsten Eliten ausbilden, die eine nationale Ideologie in der Sprache des jeweiligen Volkes schaffen und – wenn nicht sofort, so im Laufe der Zeit – sich in dieser Sprache im Alltag verständigen. Sie müssen eine Kultur und soziale Umgebungen bilden, die für das in die Städte strömende und neuen Typ der Bindungen und der Ideologie annehmende Volk attraktiv sind. Der nationsschöpferische Prozess verläuft im verlangsamten Tempo und nicht selten zugunsten einer Nation mit anderen ethnischen Wurzeln, wenn das Volk nicht lesen kann, die städtische Bevölkerung nicht zahlreich ist und sehr langsam zunimmt, wenn die nationalen Eliten nicht existieren, sehr schwach und kaum konkurrenzfähig gegenüber den Eliten mit anderem ethnischem und nationalem Hintergrund sind und wenn die kulturellen Schranken dabei sehr schwach sind. Ein redlicher Vergleich des weißrussischen und tschechischen nationsschöpferischen Prozesses erfordert auch im Falle der Weißrussen eine Berufung auf die Wirklichkeit vom Ende des 18. und vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts.

Genau so, wie es in Tschechien der Fall war, dachten auch in Weißrussland die adeligen Eliten *gente Lithuani (Rutheni), natione Polonii* in den Kategorien einer politischen Nation mit deutlicher Färbung einer regiona-

[24] H. Wereszycki, Pod berłem Habsburgów, S. 164.

[25] З.В. Шибеко, Минск в конце XIX – начале XX в. Очерк социально-экономического развития, Минск 1985, с. 117.

len Besonderheit. Sie hielten sich für national polnisch, obwohl es in ihnen das starke Gefühl eines regionalen, politisch aufgefassten Litauentums gab, begriffen als Zugehörigkeit zum – nach dem Fall der Adelsrepublik Polen nicht mehr existierenden – Großherzogtums Litauen. Manchmal waren sie sich ihrer ruthenischen Wurzeln bewusst: daher der relativ schwach vertretene Fall von *gente Rutheni*. Ihr Bewusstsein war also vielstufig.[26] Im Gegensatz zum tschechischen Adel, der sich hat germanisieren lassen, blieb der weißrussische Adel im Alltag meist weißrussisch. Der wohlhabende Landadel sprach polnisch, der mittlere Adel wurde vermutlich erst in den ersten drei Jahrzehnten des 19. Jahrhunderts, also in der Zeit der Wirksamkeit der Wilnaer Universität, gänzlich polonisiert. Der ländliche Kleinadel, der die entscheidende Mehrheit bildete, sprach in der ganzen hier besprochenen Periode grundsätzlich weißrussisch, bei Kontakten mit der Außenwelt bediente er sich im Laufe der Zeit zunehmend des (oft weithin unvollkommenen) Polnischen. Sein Weißrussisch, das man häufig als einfache Sprache bezeichnete, wurde aber im allgemeinen nicht dem Polnischen entgegengesetzt, denn die Schranken zwischen den beiden Sprachen waren nicht nur objektiv schwach, sondern sie wurden auch subjektiv von beiden Seiten als unwesentlich wahrgenommen. Ähnlich wie in Tschechien die tschechische Literatur wurde auch die weißrussische Literatur vom Adel initiiert. Im Alltag sprach er polnisch, aber (meist) im Rahmen der aufklärerischen Tendenzen strebte er nach der Entfaltung des folkloristisch-literarischen Weißrussentums als Bestandteil des breit aufgefassten, überethnischen Polentums. In seiner Masse ließ er über das ganze 19. Jahrhundert den Gedanken nicht zu, dass sich eine weißrussische, von der polnischen separate Nation ausbilden kann. Als soziale Gruppe war der Adel in Mittelosteuropa kein bewusster Initiator der plebejischen nationalen Bewegungen, denn dies stand im Widerspruch zu seinem Standesethos. Die nationalen Bewegungen schuf die Intelligenz, das Bürgertum, die Bourgeoisie: neue Schichten (Klassen), die aus verschiedenen Gründen an einer Neugliederung der Gemeinschaften interessiert waren.

Der Adel des Königreiches Polen formierte sich als Stand um die besessenen politischen Rechte und Freiheiten herum. Dem Adel gehörte ein bedeutender Teil der Bauern, aber auch der Staat, in dem er den Monarchen

[26] Vgl. J. Bardach, Polacy a narody Litwy historycznej – próba analizy systemowej, „Kultura i Społeczeństwo“ 1994, Nr. 2, S. 40.

wählte. Das Konzept einer Adelsnation resultierte – indirekt – aus den besessenen Rechten und Freiheiten und direkt aus dem (unterschiedlich begriffenen und realisierten) Verantwortungsbewusstsein eines privilegierten Standes für den Staat. Es war sozusagen eine ideologische Umkleidung einer Ethosgemeinschaft, also kein den Adel konstituierendes Urelement, was im 19. Jahrhundert auch seine gesellschaftlichen Folgen hatte (der Adel verteidigte vor allem diese Rechte und Werte, die ihn aufbauten, d.h. seine Standesinteressen). Die adelige, politische Idee der Nation verband diesen Stand über die ethnischen Trennlinien hinweg. Die Bauern galten – plausiblerweise – ziemlich lange Zeit als keine Mitglieder sei es der Adels- oder einer beliebigen anderen Nation. Man behandelte sie außernational. Zwischen dem Adel und dem Bauerntum bestand also kein nationaler Konflikt. Anders war es im Falle der im 19. Jahrhundert erwachten Idee der kulturellen Nation. Wesentlich war hier, dass der Adel als Ganzheit sich nicht für die plebejischen nationalen Bewegungen aussprechen konnte, denn er hätte dann seiner standesgemäßen Stellung in der Gesellschaft widersprochen. Seine bisherige Idee der Nation platzierte ihn nicht nur standesgemäß aber auch national über der Mehrheit der Gesellschaft. Eine Parteinahme für die Bauern nach den sie kennzeichnenden kulturell-ethnischen Faktoren (abgesehen vom Kleinadel in Weißrussland waren es keine Kennzeichen des Adels) zerschlug sein Standesethos, entfremdete außerdem die betreffenden Adeligen den sonstigen Angehörigen ihres Standes und trennte die Gesellschaft der ehemaligen Adelsrepublik in Teile. Es war auch mit einer grundsätzlichen Umformung des Wertesystems verbunden, das diesen Stand bisher fest miteinander verband. Auf dem weißrussischen Gebiet wehrte sich der wohlhabende Adel vor der Umgestaltung der politischen in die kulturelle Nation, denn er war zum einen nicht zu einer dermaßen radikalen Umwandlung des Inhalts des ihn bisher bestimmenden Standes fähig, als dass man im Zuge davon eine Aufhebung der ihn vom Bauerntum trennenden ständisch-kulturellen Schranken hätte zulassen wollen, und zum anderen hätte die Entstehung der kulturellen Nationen (also getrennt einer polnischen und einer weißrussischen) die bisherige höfische Gemeinschaft (mit wirtschaftlichem Charakter) zerschlagen und dabei wäre der bisherige Klassenkonflikt um zusätzliche – nationale – Motive bereichert worden.

Der Adel – sowohl der polnische in Weißrussland als auch der deutsche in Tschechien – hat sich also nicht an die Seite des Volkes geschlagen, denn dies hätte einen Verzicht auf einen bedeutenden Teil seiner Kultur, auf seine Sprache und auf

die Werte bedeutet, auf denen bisher seine standesmäßige Hoheit und gleichzeitig sein überregionaler (überländlicher) Zusammenhalt gründete. Indem er sich für die politische Nation einsetzte, setzte er sich (und das war für ihn am wichtigsten) für die Beibehaltung der Position seines Standes ein. Der ungarische Klein- und Mitteladel sprach sich in den Tagen der Revolution 1848 (indem er die Gefahr einer Teilung der Krone Ungarn nach ethnischen Grenzen sah) mit dem Mund von Lajos Kossuth für eine Berufung einer (dem französischen Muster entsprechenden) politischen ungarischen Nation aus – im offiziellen Bereich sollte die ungarische Sprache gelten, im Bereich des häuslichen Lebens wollte man allerdings die ethnischen Sprachen zulassen.[27] Der Adel verzögerte also im allgemeinen die Entstehung der kulturellen Nationen, indem er in seiner Mehrheit sich zu den Werten der in die Ferne rückenden Welt bekannte. Ausnahme bildeten nur Individuen bzw. (und dies war eine Massenerscheinung) jene, die aus dem Adel stammten und sich in die Intelligenz verwandelten. Sie bildeten also nunmehr eine Schicht, die in Mittelosteuropa kulturelle Nationen konstruierte (die Intelligenz war mit dem Bauerntum wirtschaftlich nicht verbunden und als kulturschöpferische Schicht behandelte sie die Sprache als Träger eines Komplexes der sie konstituierenden Werte). Manche Gutsbesitzer, wenn sie merkten, dass die sie umgebende Welt in einen für sie ungünstigen fundamentalen Wandel zu geraten droht, wurden zu Fürsprechern nationalistischer Gruppierungen. Sie strebten nach einer erzwungenen Assimilierung der Bauern an die Kultur, die dem Landadel nahe stand (so wollte man den anschwellenden Konflikt hinwegschaffen). Es waren dies aber keine Aktivitäten, die den Prozess der Formung eines kulturellen Nationalismus initiiert hätten, sondern lediglich eine Nebenerscheinung des Einsatzes für die Behauptung eigener Positionen. Auf den litauisch-weißrussischen Gebieten baute man in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 19. Jahrhunderts die sog. Landes-Ideologie. Sie sollte u.a. die dortigen polnischen (polnischsprachigen) Eliten vor dem für sie ungünstigen Zerfall der alten Welt verteidigen, vor dem Zerfall entlang der sprachlich-ethnischen Grenzen (in – abgesehen von den Polen – zwei Teile, den weißrussischen und den litauischen).

Das weißrussische Volk, d.h. vor allem die Bauern, sprach praktisch ausschließlich weißrussisch. Den Polen ist es praktisch niemals gelungen, in Weißrussland territorial bedeutende polnischsprachige Enklaven zu bilden. In der Zeit der

[27] W. Felczak, Węgierska polityka narodowościowa przed wybuchem powstania 1848 roku, Wrocław 1964, S. 69.

Adelsrepublik haben sie übrigens niemals danach gestrebt (die Sprache der Bauern interessierte den Adel wenig). Über die ganze Periode der Teilungen Polens (also bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg) besaßen die Bauern kein Nationalbewusstsein, sie dachten in Kategorien einer vorindustriellen ethnischen Gruppe, waren empfänglich für Klassenparolen. Die Besetzung dieses Teiles der Adelsrepublik durch die Russen führte für lange Jahrzehnte zu einer Einschließung des Bauerntums in der Kategorie der Ethnizität. Ihre Polonisierung wurde praktisch unmöglich (das polnische Schulwesen wurde im Laufe der Zeit beseitigt). Eine Russifizierung konnte hingegen erst nach einer langen Übergangszeit erfolgen, der man für eine Einimpfung der russischen Kultur in der unterworfenen Gesellschaft bedurfte. Dieser Prozess ging schrittweise voran, seine Begleiterscheinungen waren die Liquidierung der unierten Kirche 1839 und ihre Ersetzung durch die orthodoxe Kirche, die beiden verlorenen Aufstände: Novemberaufstand des Jahres 1831 und Januaraufstand des Jahres 1863. Die zaristischen Behörden liquidierten 1832 die Wilnaer Universität (die größte im Zarenimperium) und beseitigten das sie begleitende Schulsystem. Bedeutender Teil des Kleinadels verwandelte sich in Bauern (sog. Einhöfige) und trug somit zur Verlangsamung der zivilisatorischen Entwicklung des Landes bei, das sich nur sehr zögernd industrialisierte und sich im Hinblick auf das Entwicklungstempo im europäischen Teil des Imperiums negativ auszeichnete.

Das Aufschlingen der weißrussischen Gebiete durch Russland führte zur Entstehung einer ungünstigen Situation für die Entwicklung einer potentiellen weißrussischen nationalen Bewegung – in Tschechien hat es eine solche Situation nie gegeben. Die Russen riefen eine Polarisierung der weißrussischen Gesellschaft nach religiös-kulturellen Grenzen hervor. Die Einteilung der Bevölkerung in rechtgläubige Mehrheit und katholische Minderheit war zugleich eine Einteilung in zwei sich deutlich unterscheidende Kulturkreise. Ihre Grenzen waren emotional dermaßen bedeutend und die Kraft des elitaristischen Polentums und Russentums dermaßen groß, dass die Chancen auf eine Entstehung eines gegenüber dem Polentum und Russentum separaten, von beiden Kulturkreisen gebildeten nationalen Weißrussentums radikal sanken. Aus Angst vor dem Druck der orthodoxen Kirche bekannten sich die katholischen Bauern – trotz ihrer weißrussischen Sprache – zum Polentum und hoben dabei hervor, sie seien Menschen „polnischen Glaubens“. Die Rechtgläubigen hielten sich für Personen „russischen Glaubens“. Nicht vorhanden war die unierte Kirche, welche die Weißrussen von den römisch-katholischen Polen und den orthodoxen Russen hätte trennen können. Durch Einwirkung der russischen Schulen verwandelten sich die rechtgläubigen Bauern und die ländlichen Geistlichen bei ihrem sozialen Aufstieg in Russen mit örtlicher

weißrussischer Färbung (sog. Westrussen). Die Katholiken öffneten sich für die polnische Kultur, auch wenn es eine Tatsache ist, dass eben aus ihren Reihen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert die Schöpfer des literarischen und anschließend zum großen Teil auch nationalen Weißrussentums stammten. Es war eine der Ursachen des Unwillens der orthodoxen Mehrheit gegenüber der von den Katholiken gebauten nationalen Ideologie. Man kann sagen, das die Orthodoxie die Weißrussen auf der Stufe der Ethnizität konservierte. Der Katholizismus – insbesondere auf der Ebene der Eliten – führte schneller dazu, dass sie ein nationales, in der Mehrheit polnisches Bewusstsein zu empfinden begannen. Die durch das Russentum bedrohten, katholischen adeligen Eliten lockerten die Bindung mit dem terminologischen Litauentum als einem Erbe nach dem Großherzogtum Litauen zugunsten eines engeren Zusammenhanges mit der reellen Kraft, dem Polentum, auf. Der im 19. Jahrhundert einzige Versuch der Errichtung einer weißrussischen nationalen Ideologie erfolgte daher außerhalb Weißrusslands als eines Gebietes des Zusammenstoßes zweier Kulturen. 1884 gab man in Petersburg zwei russischsprachige Nummern der illegalen *Narodniki*-Zeitschrift „Homon“ heraus, die sich über den national-religiösen Streit zu erheben verstand.[28]

Der in der zaristischen Zeit in Weißrussland bestehende polnisch-russische Konflikt (neben anderen Ursachen für das Auftauchen derartiger Identität) führte dazu, dass die in diesem Raum lebenden Bauern sich davor in die *Hiesigkeit* flüchteten, also in eine Denkkategorie der vorindustriellen Epoche. Natürlich: Wäre das damalige Russland so liberal wie Österreich oder (besser noch) sich so schnell industrialisierend gewesen, so wäre es wohl früher zur Entstehung einer weißrussischen nationalen Bewegung gekommen. In der Zeit ihrer Herrschaft erkannten aber die zaristischen Behörden die Weißrussen nicht als eine gesonderte Nation an, sie verhinderten die Entstehung eines weißrussischen Schulwesens, verboten seit dem Ende der 1850er Jahre weißrussische Publikationen mit dem lateinischen Alphabet und seit den 1860er (bis 1905) ebenfalls weißrussische Veröffentlichungen mit kyrillischer Schrift. Die nationalen Auseinandersetzungen im Weißrussland des 19. Jahrhunderts betrafen die Eliten, die Bauern blieben davon eher nicht erfasst. In derselben Zeit strömte das tschechische Volk massenhaft in die Städte, besuchte tschechischsprachige Schulen, las die tschechische Presse und trat in die Welt der tschechischen – allerdings aus dem Volk stammenden – Eliten ein. An

[28] Р. Радзик, Петербургские народники – творцы современной белорусской национальной идеи, „Белорусский сборник. Статьи и материалы по истории и культуре Белоруссии”. Выпуск 3, Санкт-Петербург 2005, с. 75-86.

den tschechischen Volksversammlungen (*tábory*) waren in den Jahren 1868-1871 sogar bis ca. 1,5 Mill. Tschechen beteiligt, was eine große Bedeutung für die Verbreitung des tschechischen nationalen Bewusstseins hatte. Der spätere unter der Parole „jeder zu dem Seinigen" geführte Handelskrieg mit den Deutschen förderte die Besonderheit der Tschechen gegenüber den Deutschen und verlieh ihr ein starkes emotionales Gepräge. Die Tschechen schufen eine der deutschen gegenüber getrennte und mit ihr konkurrierende Welt von Institutionen: Schulen, Universitäten, Theater, Museen, Geschäfte. Eine solche Konkurrenz und solche Konflikte bestanden niemals zwischen den Weißrussen einerseits und den Russen und Polen andererseits. Dabei ist zu vermerken, dass derartige Konflikte in bedeutendem Grad zur Errichtung eines nationalen Bewusstseins beitrugen.

Auf der Grundlage der Daten der Volkszählung von 1897 berechnet Steven L. Guthier, dass die weißrussische Intelligenz, die sich zum Weißrussischen als Muttersprache bekannte, aus ca. 8,5 Tsd. Personen bestand.[29] Im Gegensatz zu ihrem tschechischen Pendant bildeten aber diese Leute keine weißrussische nationale Intelligenz. Intentional und bewusst engagierten sie sich für keine proweißrussische Wirksamkeit. Beim Schreiben verwendeten sie die russische bzw. polnische Sprache. Diese Sprachen verwendeten sie auch täglich am Arbeitsplatz. Im Prozess des sozialen Aufstiegs schritten sie in die Welt der russischen oder polnischen Kultur ein (was nicht heißt, dass sie sich dann zu den entsprechenden Nationen bekannten) und das Sichberufen auf ihr Weißrussentum behandelten sie zum Teil so wie heute, wenn in den Städten die im Alltag russisch sprechenden Weißrussen das Weißrussische massenhaft als Muttersprache anerkennen, obwohl sie sich dieser Sprache nicht bedienen. Die weißrussische Nationalbewegung entstand zwar gleich zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts und binnen von 9 Jahren vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg erschienen einige weißrussische Periodika, aber sie erfasste lediglich einen relativ engen Kreis von Personen und trug nicht zur Verbreitung des nationalen Bewusstseins unter den Bauern bei, die meist Analphabeten waren, die Welt klassenmäßig betrachteten und gegen die nationalen Parolen unempfindlich blieben. Was die Weißrussen und die Tschechen bis zum Ausbruch des Weltkrieges verband, war das grundsätzliche Fehlen der Artikulierung von Parolen der Berufung einer eigenen Staatlichkeit. Die Tschechen vermieden dies aus taktischer Überlegung, aus Befürchtung vor einer Konfrontation mit den Deutschen und vor dem Verlust der Gebiete mit überwiegend deutscher Bevölkerung. Die Weißrussen

[29] S.L. Guthier, The Belorussians: National Identification and Assimilation. 1897-1970, part 1: 1897-1939, Soviet Studies, Vol. XXIX, January 1977, Nr. 1, S. 46 (Tabelle 5).

taten dasselbe wegen der außerordentlichen Schwäche der nationalen Bewegung und der Voraussicht, dass das Volk derartige Postulate nicht unterstützen wird und dass sie einen sofortigen Konflikt mit Russland herbeiführen werden. Der Umstand, dass es den Weißrussen nicht gelang, im russischen Staat eine elitäre und für das Volk attraktive weißrussische Kultur aufzubauen, hatte für sie gewichtige Konsequenzen in der Sowjetzeit. Die weißrussischen Bauernmassen, die verglichen mit den Tschechen mit einigen Jahrzehnten Verspätung in die Städte emigrierten, stießen dort einerseits auf keine völlig entfaltete und reiche weißrussische Kultur und wurden andererseits gezwungen, die sowjetische Ideologie in der russischen Sprachform anzunehmen. Wie die nationale Ideologie es den Bauern im Tschechien des 19. Jahrhunderts tat, umschrieb ihnen diese Ideologie eine neue industriell-urbanisierte Welt, strebte an, dass sie in dieser Welt Wurzeln schlagen, indem sie einen modernen Typ ideologischer Bindungen konstruierte. Um die Welt der nationalen Werte gruppierten sich enge Kreise am Rande des Sowjetismus. Von der Klassengesellschaft der Periode nach der Übernahme des Bodenbesitzes und nach dem Erwachen des Frühkapitalismus wechselte der weißrussische Bauer wiederum in ein völlig ideologisiertes Klassensystem der Sowjets um. Manchmal hatte er nicht einmal die Gelegenheit, auch nur mit einem Hauch der nationalen Ideologie konfrontiert zu werden.

Das Weißrussentum – in einer Form, von der man die Entstehung einer Nation hätte „befürchten“ können – war (im Gegensatz zum analogen tschechischen Prozess) dermaßen spät eine Tatsache geworden, dass die Russen imstande waren, sich dagegen zu wehren: im zaristischen Russland widersetzte man sich der Bildung weißrussischer Eliten und in der UdSSR machte man aus dem Weißrussentum eine sowjetisch-folkloristische Attrappe der nationalen Kultur und die nationale Ideologie identifizierte man mit dem sowjetfeindlichen Nationalismus. Das elitäre nationale Weißrussentum (auch wenn es heute nur geringe Kreise der Weißrussen gruppiert) ist im Gegensatz zum russischsprachigen Sowjettum schöpferisch, denn es hat einen nonkonformistischen Charakter. Den Tschechen und den Polen baute man in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts eine Welt der sowjetischen Werte und Bindungen neben der Welt starker nationaler Bezüge auf und sie konnten im Laufe der Zeit auf das Sowjettum zu verzichten beginnen. Statt einer nationalen baute man den Weißrussen eine sowjetische Gemeinschaftlichkeit auf. Trotz aller Unterschiede zeitigte die bolschewistische Revolution zu einem gewissen Grad analoge Folgen als die französische. Bevor die weißrussischen Bauern eine Nation zu werden vermochten, zwang man ihnen – mit einer größeren Überredungskraft als in Frankreich – die Welt der sowjetischen Werte auf. Den adeligen *gente*

Lithuani gelang es nicht, eine politische Gemeinschaft zu schaffen, weil sie den Staat verloren. Den Russen gelang es nicht, im 19. Jahrhundert die Weißrussen in Russen zu verwandeln, weil sie in der zaristischen Zeit ihre Anwesenheit in Weißrussland erst festigten. Ein Surrogat einer solchen politischen Gemeinschaft errichteten sie erst im Rahmen der UdSSR. So wie die Provenzalen im revolutionären Frankreich der „Freiheit, Gleichheit und Brüderlichkeit" beim Empfang des Bodens die politische Idee der Nation annahmen und im Laufe der Zeit die provenzalische nationale, auf die Ethnizität gestützte Ideologie ablehnten, so zwang man ebenfalls den weißrussischen Bauern (bevor unter ihnen die weißrussische nationale Ideologie zu wirken begann) die sowjetische Gemeinschaftlichkeit auf, welche sie in die moderne, ideologisierte Welt einführte. Ihr Bedarf nach sozialem Aufstieg wurde im Prozess des Umzugs in die Städte befriedigt. Etwas Anderes ist die erstmalige Annahme des ideologisierten Typs von sozialen Bindungen (wenn ein solches gesellschaftliches Bedürfnis besteht) und etwas Anderes Ersetzung dieses Typs durch andere Bindungen. Die Konsequenzen dieses Dilemmas sind im heutigen Weißrussland sichtbar.[30]

Der Vergleich der nationsschöpferischen Prozesse unter den „kleinen und jungen Völkern" Mittelosteuropas deutet darauf hin, dass dieselben Elemente der Kultur, der Wirtschaft und der Politik im Falle einzelner Völker verschiedene nationsschöpferische Funktionen ausübten. Im Falle der Litauer war ein starker nationsschöpferischer Faktor die Sprache (die sie von den Polen und von den Russen trennte) und der Katholizismus (der sie von den Russen trennte). Diese Faktoren hatten (wie bereits erklärt) keine derartig große Bedeutung für die Weißrussen. Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklungsstufe war in beiden Ländern niedrig und nicht sie trug dazu bei, dass die litauische Nationalbewegung bedeutend stärker als die weißrussische war. Eine schnelle Entwicklung des tschechischen nationsschöpferischen Prozesses war hingegen eine Folge der Verbindung eines schnellen wirtschaftlichen Zuwachses mit deutlicher Besonderheit der tschechischen Sprache gegenüber der deutschen Sprache, bei gleichzeitigem Fehlen einer frühen Revolution, die mit einer Übernahme des Bodenbesitzes durch die Bauern verbunden gewesen wäre und ihnen einen bedeutenden Freiheitsbereich geschenkt hätte (dabei herrschten in der Habsburger Monarchie nur schwache Zentralisierungstendenzen und eine liberale Einstellung zur Entwicklung der Kultur und Sprache der Minderheiten). Dies bildete einen Gegensatz zu Frankreich, wo einem Prozess der Entstehung der

[30] Vgl. R. Radzik, Belarus Between the East and the West. The Soviet-Russian Option Versus the Nationalist Option in Belarusian Society, „International Journal of Sociology" vol. 31, no. 3, New York, Fall 2001, S. 11-45.

plebejischen Nationalbewegungen die Revolution zuvorkam, welche den Volksmassen ein für sie attraktives Verständnis des politischen Franzosentums bot. Sehr viel hing also nicht nur von der Kraft der einzelnen Faktoren ab, sondern auch von der Schnelligkeit (Reihenfolge) ihres Auftretens und vom (kulturellen, wirtschaftlichen, politischen) Kontext. Die Frage, was mit den Tschechen geschehen wäre, wenn die österreichischen Deutschen eine Revolution französischen Typs in derselben Zeit wie die Einwohner von Paris durchgeführt hätten, könnte zu einer interessanten gedanklichen Spekulation führen.

Zusammenfassend kann man festhalten, dass sich die Vermutung nicht erfüllt, wonach es um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts auf dem Gebiet Tschechiens und Weißrusslands in Anlehnung an die dort dominierenden Eliten zu einer Entwicklung von politischen nationalen Gemeinschaften gekommen wäre, nach westlichem Muster und gleichzeitig unter dem Einfluss der aufklärerischen Vision der Nation. Die beiden separatistischen (wenn auch sich durch ihre Kraft und die endgültigen Resultate grundsätzlich unterscheidenden) Prozesse wurden durch aufklärerische Strömungen ausgelöst, teilweise durch die Romantik, also durch den Wunsch einer Hinwendung zum Volk, dessen Kultur die überethnische Gemeinschaftlichkeit bereichern sollte. Der deutschsprachige Adel in Tschechien trug mehrere Jahrzehnte zur Entwicklung der tschechischen Sprache und Kultur bei und exponierte dadurch die Besonderheit des Landes und seinen Widerstand gegen die zentralistische Politik Wiens. Der polnische Adel Weißrusslands wiederum unterstützte das literarisch-sprachliche Weißrussentum nicht nur aus aufklärerisch-romantischen Motiven, wie die Eliten Tschechiens, sondern auch in der Hoffnung, dass dieses Weißrussentum eine Schranke für die russischen Einflüsse im Lande bilden wird. Beide Eliten – die deutsche manchmal bis 1848 und die polnische sogar bis zum Ende des Jahrhunderts – waren sich nicht über die nationalen Konsequenzen ihrer protschechischen und proweißrussischen Aktivität im Klaren. Die Situation in Weißrussland war jedoch grundsätzlich anders als in Tschechien, wo eine schnelle Industrialisierung einen massenhaften Zustrom des tschechischsprachigen (im Laufe der Zeit in entschiedener Mehrheit alphabetisierten) Volkes in die Städte, seinen sozialen Aufstieg und das Bewusstsein eigener Andersartigkeit gegenüber den Deutschen und in der Folge auch das Bewusstsein der Attraktivität der eigenen Kultur verursachte. In Weißrussland, einem sehr wenig urbanisierten und industrialisierten Land mit ländlicher Bevölkerung, die in massiv überwiegendem Grad nicht alphabetisiert war, kam es zum Zusammenstoß von zwei völlig entfalteten elitären nationalen Parteien: der polnischen und der russischen. Die nationalen Trennungen deckten sich mit den religiösen, was auf dem Lande aller-

dings zum Aufbau von oppositionellen ethnischen (nicht nationalen) Identitäten um die Religion herum führte. Die Verwandtschaft der weißrussischen Sprache mit der russischen und polnischen Sprache erschwerte die Möglichkeit eines Aufbaus der Identität um die Sprache herum. Der soziale Aufstieg erfolge nicht nach dem Kriterium der sprachlichen, sonder der religiösen Zugehörigkeit. Es entstanden begriffliche Zusammensetzungen: Pole-Katholik und orthodoxer Russe. Im Gegensatz zur liberalen Habsburger Monarchie gaben die zaristischen Behörden nie eine Erlaubnis für die Bildung des weißrussischen Schulwesens und sie verhinderten ca. 40 Jahre lang (bis 1905) die Publikation literarischer weißrussischer Werke. Die weißrussische Nationalbewegung entstand zu spät, als dass sie unter weißrussischen Bedingungen einen Erfolg vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg hätte erlangen können. Nur etliche zehn Prozent weißrussischer Bauern konnten lesen und schreiben. Empfänglich waren sie lediglich für die Klassenparolen. Das Weißrussentum hat bis 1914 weder zahlreiche nationale Eliten erbaut, die (nach dem tschechischen Muster) über eine reiche, für das Volk attraktive Kultur verfügt hätten, noch hat es eine nationale Existenz auf der Ebene des Volkes verzeichnet, denn unter den bestehenden Bedingungen gab es eine solche Möglichkeit im Prinzip nicht. Den Prozess massenhafter Alphabetisierung und des Umzugs der Bauern in die Städte lösten erst die Behörden der UdSSR aus. Sie führten die Bauern in die moderne Welt mittels der sowjetischen und nicht der nationalen Ideologie ein.

Aus dem Polnischen übertragen von
Wieńczysław Niemirowski

STRESZCZENIE

Na ogół procesy narodotwórcze wcześniej pojawiały się i szybciej rozwijały w tych społeczeństwach, które były lepiej przygotowane cywilizacyjnie (alfabetyzacja, wolność osobista, własność ziemi, klasa średnia, urbanizacja, mobilność społeczna) na przyjmowanie nowoczesnego typu świadomości wykraczającej poza wieś, parafię, okolicę. Procesy te w bardzo wyraźnym stopniu uzależnione były jednak od kontekstu kulturowego (językowo-etnicznego), istotnego zwłaszcza w przypadkach społeczności o tzw. niepełnej strukturze społecznej, czyli pozbawionych własnych (zwłaszcza szlacheckich) elit. Obie grupy uwarunkowań - cywilizacyjnych i kulturowych – wyróżniały na tle Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej korzystnie Czechów a niekorzystnie Białorusinów.

Oba separatyzmy - czeski i białoruski - wywołane zostały przez miejscową szlachtę będącą pod wpływem idei oświecenia i romantyzmu. Odwoływała się ona do ludu, którego kultura wzbogacać miała ponadetniczną, polityczną wspólnotowość. Przedstawiciele obu elit - niemieckiej niekiedy do 1848 roku, a polskiej nawet aż do końca stulecia, nie zdawały sobie sprawy z narodowych konsekwencji swej proczeskiej i probiałoruskiej aktywności. O ile jednak w przypadku Czechów szybka industrializacja kraju wywołała masowy napływ czeskojęzycznego (z czasem w zdecydowanej większości już piśmiennego) ludu do miast, jego awans społeczny i poczucie własnej odmienności

w stosunku do Niemców, a w konsekwencji i atrakcyjności własnej kultury, to sytuacja na Białorusi była zasadniczo inna.

Zniesienie poddaństwa i przyznanie wolności osobistej chłopom nastąpiło na ziemiach czeskich 80 lat wcześniej niż na białoruskich (1781 i 1861), a uwłaszczenie chłopów - 12 lat wcześniej (1849 i 1861). Ludność miejska na Białorusi stanowiła w 1796 r. - 3,5 % mieszkańców kraju, a w 1913 r. -11%. W 1897 roku 97,7% ludności ujętej w spisie jako białoruskojęzyczna mieszkało na wsi, a w słabo rozwiniętych miastach tworzyła ona 17% mniejszość. W tym samym roku aż 86,5% Białorusinów było analfabetami. Natomiast jedynie 4,26% Czechów powyżej 6 lat nie potrafiło w 1900 roku czytać i pisać. Przed pierwszą wojną światową Praga liczyła ponad 600 tysięcy mieszkańców (razem z przedmieściami) a Czesi stanowili w niej około 90% ludności miasta. W tym samym czasie Mińsk liczył 100 tysięcy ludności, a Białorusinów było w nim około 8%. Pierwsza legalna gazeta białoruska ukazała się w 1906 roku; natomiast w Czechach w 1861 roku wychodziło już 30 tytułów prasy czeskojęzycznej, w końcu stulecia - prawie 450, a w 1905 roku ponad 750. Czechom dość szybko udało się stworzyć atrakcyjną dla mas ludowych kulturę elitarną.

Bliskość języka białoruskiego do rosyjskiego i polszczyzny osłabiała możliwość kształtowania się własnej tożsamości wokół języka. Awans społeczny dokonywał się na Białorusi według kryterium przynależności religijnej, a nie językowej. Powstawały zbitki pojęciowe: Polak-katolik i prawosławny-ruski(Rosjanin). Władze carskie, w przeciwieństwie do liberalnej monarchii Habsburgów, nigdy nie wydały zgody na powstanie szkolnictwa białoruskiego i przez około 40 lat (aż do 1905 r.) uniemożliwiały druk literackich wydawnictw białoruskojęzycznych. Białorusini w rządzonym despotycznie i zacofanym gospodarczo kraju nie mieli szans na – wzorem Czechów – masowy awans społeczny i wykształcenie własnych, licznych, miejskich zamożnych elit narodowych.

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Belarusian National Idea in the Early Twentieth Century

The process of forming the present Belarusian nation can be considered in the context of similar processes in the nations of Central and Eastern Europe which entered the „epoch of nationalism" (late 18th – 20th c.c.) without having their own statehood. The formation of nations took place in national movements that strove for cultural, social and political emancipation. After the disintegration of polyethnic communities and the collapse of empires, appeared ethno-cultural nations which are called „little nations of Europe" by Miroslav Hroch.[1] In the majority of cases they were formed as cultural and centrist communities. But the „Belarusian case" was a specific one. The fact that Belarusians did not have their own state during nearly the whole 20th century and the thing that the present Belarusian state

[1]Miroslaw Hroch. Male narody Europy. Wroclaw – Kraków, 2003.

cannot be defined as „national" are not able to explain the reason. The events of Belarusian political history in the 20th century arouse doubts that the present Belarusian nation was formed as a cultural and centrist community.

While explaining the Belarusian specific features many historians speak of the tragic past of the people that appeared to be on the border of various civilizations; they also mention the assimilating processes of Polonilization and Russification that led to the loss of cultural and political elite, and, finally, they speak of the consequences in the religious split (Orthodoxy and Catholicism), etc. Those are, no doubt, important factors. But are they the most determinative? The positive answer gives a feeling of predetermination of political failures in the national movement at the beginning of the 20th century and the absence of prospects in the efforts of its participants.

The research into the history of national movements in Poland and Lithuania makes us give up the method of historical determinism. The search for „Belarusian failures" requires a thorough analysis of the national and cultural Renaissance in the early 20th century and the activities of its leaders Ivan Lutskevich and Anton Lutskevich, Vatslau Lastouski, Aliaksandar Ulasau, Vatslau Ivanouski, Raman Skirmunt and others. It is very important to understand the specific features of Belarusian movement by taking into account its inner state.[2]

The aim of the present investigation is the analysis of the Belarusian national idea in the early 20th century and the method of its **translation**. In this case we understand the Belarusian idea as an idea of the existing BELARUSIAN nation.[3] **What were the basic components of the Belarusian national idea? Was there any effective way of its translation?**

The first attempt to define the Belarusian national idea was made by some active members of the Belarusian socialist Hramada/Society (BSH), which appeared in the winter of 1902-1903 as a political club, and during the revolution of 1905-1907 turned into a political party. It was a socialist party of populist orientation. In the programme of 1903 Hramada was defined as „a socio-political organization of Belarusian working people" without distinguishing workers and peasants. It demanded „the greatest freedom" for all the nations of Russia.[4] At the second

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[2]Such researchers as V. Rudovich, S. Tokt, P. Tserashkovich, O. Latyshonak, Ya. Miranovich, R. Radzik and others try to do it successfully.

[3]Oleg Latyshonak suggested the definition (Aleh Latyshonak. Belarusian National Idea. Grodna, 1994. N2, p. 30).

[4]Bich M.,Yanouskaya V., Rudovich S., et al: History of Belarus. Vol. 4. Belarus in the Russian Empire. Minsk, 2005, p. 311.

congress (1906) the BSH was defined as the party of „working poor people of Belarusian land without differentiating any nationalities". The necessity of political independence with Seim in Vilnia and full cultural and national rights for all the peoples was proclaimed. It was the BSH that recommended the first variant of the Belarusian national idea which was presented in the paper „Nasha Dolia" (Our Fate). In the programme article of the first number (September 1, 1906) the journalists promised to fight for the revival of Belarus. The revival was understood in the frame of the socialist populist doctrine as a struggle for social and national freedoms, etc. The class struggle was its priority. In fact, the Belarusian idea was born as an idea of social liberation of Belarusian poor people from the yoke of Russian tsarism and landowners. The chief demand was that for social equality. The national component of the idea was considered as a means of mobilizing Belarusian peasants for the political struggle.

But the attempt to formulate a social variant of the national idea was not to be continued. The social radical views of the „Nasha Dolia" caused the confiscation of four from six numbers and its closure in January 1907. Gradually, the activities of the BSH became less noticeable. Actually, in the spring of 1907 the Hramada party disappeared from the political arena. The end of the BHS led to the loss of political contacts with people. Thus, the attempt to combine the national idea with the doctrine of socialism remained only as the possession of some political elite.

It was before the closure of the „Nasha Dolia" when its staff split. Some of them (the Lutskevich brothers) took up more liberal views with hope of using political changes which had been brought by the revolution in 1905-1907. The brothers initiated the weekly „Nasha Niva" (Our Cornfield), which was the centre of Belarusian national movement for nine years (1906-1915). In the editors' column they promised their readers „to serve all Belarusian oppressed people", they called it „the paper of all Belarusians and all their sympathizers"; they announced the aim „to make all Belarusians who do not know who they are, realize that they are Belarusians".

In the „Nasha Niva" variant of the Belarusian idea it was the cultural component, with the mother tongue being in the centre, that came first. One of the readers, Mechyslau Babrovich suggested the following definition of the nation: „The nation is made up of the people who speak one language in their communication, they acknowledge their language or culture".[5]

[5]Liavon Hmyrak [Mieczysaw Bobrowicz]. Works. Minsk, 1992, p.133.

The paper tried to improve the image of the Belarusian language, constantly reminding its readers that in the Great Duchy of Lithuania (GDL) the Belarusian language was the language of official documents and negotiations.[6] The authors developed the idea that the native language was a solemn thing for every Belarusian, they called to respect and defend the language. They were optimistic in their belief. The „Nasha Niva" demanded that the Holy Writ should be taught in Belarusian, and the mother tongue should be used in Orthodox and Catholic churches as a second language at services.[7] The paper regularly informed its readers of Belarusian new books and textbooks. Its articles discussed lexical and grammatical standards of literary Belarusian. That is why the historian Zakhar Shybeka called the „Nasha Niva" an academy of linguists.[8]

National memory as a component of national idea was also in the sphere of the paper's attention. The ideologists of Belarusian movement realized that understanding the specific historic way of Belarusians was a certain guarantee for the nation to become a subject of political and cultural life in present Europe. In 1910 the paper published „A Short History of Belarus" by V. Lastouski. First of all, it was a history of Belarusian statehood. The Polatsak Principality, „the most ancient and powerful of all Belarusian lands",was considered to be its beginner.

V. Lastouski underlined the democratic tendencies of political life in Polatsak. In his opinion, the „Veche" in ancient Belarusian principalities meant that „the principality was ruled by its people, not by the Prince.[9]" The end of the people's rule came together with the birth of the GDL.

The later history was described in the frame of the concept of „two enemies" – Polish and „Muscovites". Poland and „Moscow", in his view, united to defeat the GDL, though they were enemies. The military aggression of „Moscow" roused the expansionist desires of Poland. In this respect, the author spoke about the Union of Lublin (1569), which he considered to be the political end of the Duchy.[10]

The political death was speeded up by polonizing the upper circles of the Belarusian society in the 16th-18th centuries. But the process was sooner regarded as self-Polonization by V. Lastouski than the result of the Polish national policy. He disapproved of shlakhta (Polish and Belarusian gentry) who„give up all native

[6]Nasha Niva, 1908 N20.
[7]For instance, Nasha Niva, 1906 NN1,7; 1914 N7; 1908 N 17, 1914 N20.
[8]Zakhar Shybeka. Essays on Belarusian History, 1975-2002. Minsk, 2003, p.160
[9]ib. p.8.
[10]ib. p.30.

Belarusian, forget about national interests".[11] In the last chapter of the book V. Lastouski revealed the anti-Belarusian essence of Russian policy. He wrote that after the defeat of the Rebellion in 1863 all that did not adapt to the Russian way of life was destroyed.

In fact, „A Short History…" was the first attempt of ideologists to persuade Belarusians in the common character of Belarusian fate. In spite of the domineering concept of „two enemies", V. Lastouski was the first researcher who showed the contribution of Belarusians to history. For the first time Belarusians were characterized as people who defined the fate of Belarusian land.

Thus, the „Nasha Niva" spread the ethno-cultural variant of national ideology, the ideas of presenting and developing the native language, the idea of forming Belarusian historical memory being in the centre of attention. In addition, the typical feature of articles in the paper was disapproval of all kinds of chauvinism, Belarusian included. The articles said, for instance, that to hate Poles for being Polish, or Russians for being Russian means that only a person, who suffers from psychic diseases or is blind with false patriotic feelings, can do that.[12] The future of Belarus was seen only in its cultural and national autonomy.

In comparison with „Nasha Dolia" the paper „Nasha Niva" was more widespread. The paper's circulation was 4500 copies. There was no money to publish more. Its readers passed it from hand to hand, as a rule. Till October 1912 it was published in two alphabets – Cyrillic and Latin – to make it easy to read for both Orthodox and Catholic Belarusians. Later, only the Cyrillic alphabet was used. The „Nasha Niva" had more than three thousand correspondents in towns and villages. It played a great role in spreading the national idea. All that took place in spite of the fact that all state officials and teachers were not allowed to subscribe to the paper and read it.[13]

The national and cultural propaganda of the „Nasha Niva" was limited by the low level of literacy in the country. According to the data of Pavel Tserashokovich, in 1897 the number of literate Belarusians among Orthodox believers was only 11, 18%, and among Catholic believers it was a little higher – 29, 91%. Belarusian women were even more illiterate.[14] But in evaluating the education situation it is important to understand that the official education in Belarus was an important part of Russification policy. That is why there were few easterners among the cor-

[11]ib. p.64.
[12]Nasha Niva, 1911 N5.
[13]Zakhar Shybeka. Essays on Belarusian History, 1975-2002. Minsk, 2003, p.163.
[14]Pavel Tserashkovich. Ethnic History of Belarus in the 19th – early 20th c.c. Minsk, 2004 p.172.

respondents of the „Nasha Niva" (12.1%). Most easterners used their educational potential for integrating into social institutions of the Empire, and regarded the programme of the „Nasha Niva" as something too radical.[15]

The high level of tolerance among the paper's supporters may have been caused by the fact that another variant of ideology had spread among the Belarusian elite, the appearance of which was connected with the political activity of Lithuanian and Belarusian Poles. It was among them that during the revolution of 1905-1907 the basic ideas of the so-called „Krayova" ideology were formed. Its creators were that part of the Polish society who had presented the traditions of political and cultural independence of the GDL. They considered themselves its citizens, and the Belarusian and Lithuanian Lands (not Poland) – their Motherland. Two trends of „Krayova" movement – democratic with Mikhal Romer (1880-1945) in the lead, and conservative-liberal, connected with Raman Skirmunt (1868-1939).

The basis of the „Krayova" ideology was the idea of a civilian nation, according to which everyone who considered himself a citizen of Belarusian and Lithuanian Lands, belonged to the „Krayova" nation and was a „Krayovets". The ethno-cultural features and social background, as criteria for national identity were, in their view, of less importance.

The contacts between the Polish democrats and the active members of Belarusian movement promoted the propaganda of the „Krayova" idea by Belarusian politicians. First of all those were the Lutskevich brothers who initiated the unusual for the „epoch of nationalism" project – the Belarusian daily in Russian („Vecherniaya Gazeta"/Evening Paper, 1912-1915) and the Belarusian weekly in Polish („Krayovy Kuryer"/Regional Courier, 1913-1914).[16]

The information about the Belarusian editors of the paper was kept in secret.

The contents of both the papers fully corresponded to the ideology of the Krai (Region). For instance, an article in „Vecherniaya Gazeta" stated: „We should never consider interests of only one group. Having various nationalities, we should always mind the interests of our Krai as the entire. Only this gives real chances for the normal development of every ethnic group. To realize that we all are citizens of the Krai is the primary view in writings about the needs and demands of different groups that inhabit the Krai". The „Krayovy Kuryer" had a similar point of view.

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[15] i.b. p.178-179.

[16] Ales Smalianchuk. Between "Krayovasts" and the National Idea. The Polish Movement on Belarusian and Lithuanian Lands. 1864 – Feb.1917. St. Petersburgh, 2004, p.p.269, etc.

Both the papers, in fact, propagated the democratic variant of ideology of a civilian nation.

At first sight it was a situation of paradoxes. The same people (the Lutskevich brothers, V. Lastouski, etc.) developed the Belarusian national idea as its ethno-cultural variant on the pages of the „Nasha Niva", and on the pages of the Russian and Polish papers they wrote of „Krayovasts" as an ideology of a civilian nation. But it was not a paradox at all. Belarusian politicians' attitude towards the ideology „Krayovasts" was quite pragmatic. They actively used the concept of the common historical Motherland, propagated cooperation and tolerance, at the same time ignoring the idea of common historic roots of Belarusians, Lithuanians and Poles. Propagating some components of the „Krayova" ideology, they remained BELARUSIANS. „Krayovasts" gave them an opportunity to widen their social and ethno-cultural space of the idea of Belarusian Renaissance, a chance to establish contacts with active members of other national movements.

But the conservative-liberal variant of the „Krayova" idea became one of the theories, developing the conservative variant of the Belarusian idea. Raman Skirmunt played a great role in it. Being liberal towards political life and making attempts to be distant from Polishness, he differed from the majority of conservative „Krayova" movement members.

It was already in 1907, when Raman Skirmunt initiated the formation of the inter-ethnic Union of Krai as a conservative-liberal party, part of which being the independent Belarusian political organization (alongside with Polish and Lithuanian). They failed to form the party, because most land-owners from Lithuanian and Belarusian Poles, who supported the initiative of Raman Skirmunt, understood „Krayovasts" as a means of protecting their own estates in the situation of quick radical changes in social relations and worsening national relations.

But Raman Skirmunt's views and the post-revolution liberalization of the former socialists' views together with their good attitude to „Krayovasts" promoted the contacts between them. In historical literature we can find information about negotiations between Raman Skirmunt and the Lutskevich brothers, V. Yanouski and A. Ulasau.[17] They came to an agreement which gave a financial support to the cultural projects of the „Nasha Niva". The „Krayova" idea helped Belarusians improve the relations with democratic members of Polish and Lithuanian movements, overcome some social contradictions. It also promoted the propaganda of

[17]Oleg Latyshonak, A. Zięba. Radzivillova z Zawiszów in Polski slownik biograficzny. T.30. Warszawa – Kraków, s.398-399.

the concept of Belarusian and Lithuanian independence, and this, in its turn, prepared the minds of the „Krai" citizens to accept the idea of state independence.

The translation of „Krayovasts" took place owing to the legal press and the secret activities of Vilnia free masons in 1911-1915 (Unity, Lithuania and Belarus). The latter tried to influence the local (and Russian) political and cultural elite. But it was not only the elite that spread „Krayovasts".

In 1913 another variant of Belarusian idea appeared. It was called „clerical and patriotic" by Anton Lutskevich.[18] The weekly „Belarusian" (the editors and publishers were A. Bychkouski and B. Pachopka) presented the idea on its pages. In the programme article of the first number the editor stated that „he would keep to the Catholic ideas and defend Christian and Belarusian values".[19]

The paper propagated the development of national consciousness among Catholic Belarusians, called on the Catholic clergymen to use the Belarusian language in their services, oriented themselves on social harmony and evolutionary way of development. That was the subject of B. Pachopca's article: „A real Belarusian is the one who says: I am Belarusian, I love my Fatherland and my native language, and I work for them as hard as I can".[20] In another article he tried to prove the necessity of using the Belarusian language in Catholic churches and publishing clerical literature in Belarusian.[21] The editors called on Belarusians to creative activities, defended the idea of national unity among Orthodox and Catholic believers, protested against Russification and Polonization.

The publishing of the „Belarusian" was an attempt to unite Christian-democratic ideology, the Belarusian movement and the ethno-cultural variant of the Belarusian idea. As to social and political aspects, the paper continued to work out the Belarusian conservative idea, and that was the reaction to spreading socialism. But later political and war events interrupted the work.

The beginning of World War I changed the political situation. Russia began an active propaganda of „Great Russian" patriotism. At the same time the possibilities of legal activities in non-Russian societies were limited. A censure of periodicals was introduced. In August1915, on the eve of the fascist attack of Vilnia, the „Nasha Niva" was closed. But later, the war and political events, the defeat of Russia at the Eastern front, the occupation of Poland and the bigger part of Belarus, Ukraine and the Baltic Region, in particular, the liberal policy of German

[18]Anton Lutskevich about Belarusian Renaissance in the early 20th c. / Historical Almanac. 1998, Vol.1, p. 72.
[19]Bielarus, 1913 N1.
[20]i.b. 1914 N7.
[21]i.b. 1914 N7, N13; 1915 N23-24, N 29-30.

authorities towards the cultural life of non-Russian peoples promoted the revival of the Belarusian movement and its politization. At first the activity was connected with the „Krayova" idea. In December 1915, the Temporary Body of the GDL Confederation appeared as a block of Belarusian, Lithuanian, Polish and Jewish politicians who sympathized with „Krayovasts" (there are grounds to think that one of the chief initiators of the project was Ivan Lutskevich).[22] The Body stood for the political revival of the former GDL on Belarusian and Lithuanian Lands, and it guaranteed equal rights to all the nationalities. In February 1916, the idea was made more accurate. The main task was to create an independent state with the Seim in Vilnia and to give a guarantee for full national equality on Belarusian and Lithuanian Lands.[23] But the Temporary Body did not manage to preserve the equality in the situation when German authorities began the policy „divide and hold sway". Contradictions among different nationalities led to the disintegration of the Body.

The political defeat of „Krayovasts" showed Belarusians that the most realistic was the way to their own state. The evolution of the ideas in the Belarusian paper "Homan" (Hubbub), which was published in Vilnia in February 1916 at the permission of German occupants (ed. V. Lastouski), was very significant in this respect. In the first number the paper promised to continue the traditions of the „Nasha Niva" and to encourage „uniting Belarusians" on the national and cultural basis. At the same time, the paper propagated „Krayovasts" in the form of cooperation of all the peoples in the Krai for the sake of their common Motherland's future. And that „Krayovasts" was mixed with mere socialist rhetorics.[24] Later (in the spring of 1916) the „Homan" stopped propagating „Krayovasts" and paid more attention to the problems of the Belarusian language, to the improvement of national consciousness, to the development of education in the Belarusian language and to using it in Catholic services, etc.

The article of V. Lastouski („Our Sin") was like a programme.[25] In the author's view, the major trouble of the Belarusian history was the fact that „our forefathers had their traditional way", but failed to pass „the Belarusian national idea" to the future generations. As a result, Belarusians split according to class and religions principles („brothers stood one against the other and waged wars"). The sin costs

[22]i.b.
[23]Ales Smalianchuk. Between "Krayovasts" and the National Idea. The Polish Movement on Belarusian and Lithuanian Lands. 1864 – Feb.1917. St. Petersburgh, 2004, p.p.312-313.
[24]Homan, 1916. N6,7.
[25]W.L. [V. Lastouski]. Our Sin in Homan, 1916 N10.

them a lot („…our land has grown bitter with tears of people and with blood of its better sons who shed it for their ideals in search of the truth, lost by their ancestors"). **For the first time the Belarusian idea was connected with the problem of statehood**, and it was characterized as an idea of national and state unity. In another article the same author stated that spreading the idea of unity, understanding that „we all are brothers and sons of one Land – Belarus" was the basis of „national consciousness".[26] The term often appeared on the pages of the paper „Homan".

It was not accidental that in June 1916 A. Lutskevich and V. Lastouski distributed the Memorandum at the international conference in Lozanna. In the Memorandum they defended the idea of Belarusian democratic republic as part of the Federation with neighbouring nations („United States of Europe" from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea"). The same document said that the idea of „extracting Belarus from the Russia body" and returning the lost independence ran all through the ten-year period of the evolution of the Belarusian political thought.[27]

In Summer 1917, the underground society „Independence and Unity of Belarus", headed by V. Lastouski, was formed in Vilnia. As its major political task, it proclaimed the uniting of Belarus which was divided by the front: „Only independent Belarus can meet all the requirements".[28] Thus, the Belarusian idea, as it was regarded by the members of Vilnia's centre, was enriched with the concept of independent statehood. And probably that idea promoted the unity of various trends in the Belarusian movement on the occupied territories. At the end of the 1917 the Belarusian conference in Vilnia was arranged by the former socialists together with Prince Sviatopolk-Mirski, Baron Shafnagel and some representatives of Catholic and Orthodox clergy. But the possibility of **translating** the Belarusian idea during the German occupation was limited. The German authorities were solving the task of culture and education (from September 1916 the „Homan" was published in the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets), but political activities were forbidden.

While Belarusian politicians in Vilnia paid more attention to the problem of state self-determination, their Minsk colleagues kept to social priorities. In March 1917 the Congress of Belarusian parties and organizations was held in Minsk, and the unity of all the national movement trends was reached, and a decision to gain independence in the democratic Federation of Russia was taken. They elected the Belarusian National Committee with R. Skirmunt as the leader. The socialists, who

[26]For instance, Ivan Mialeszka, Let Us Recognize Our Name / Homan. 1916 N23.
[27]The department of manuscripts of CLAS in Lithuania. F.21-276, a.4.
[28]The situation in: History of Belarus. T.4, p.455.

were the majority in the Committee, agreed to accept his candidature as the leader. But very soon, the unity was destroyed. There were two reasons for that - the unsuccessful negotiations in Petersburgh about independent Belarus and the rapid radicalization of political thoughts, the latter being accompanied by the growing influence of the revived Belarusian socialist Hramada.

The BSH revived in the spring of 1917. The Minsk Bureau of the Party was headed by Arkadz Smolich. He was also the editor of the weekly „Hramada", which again tried to combine the national idea with the socialist doctrine. The difference between the „Nasha Dolia" and the „Hramada' was in the fact, that the latter paid more attention to the cultural component of the national idea, the Belarusian language being part of it.[29] The socialists saw the future of Belarus in the form of autonomy or wide local self-government.

The socialists accepted the attempt of R. Skirmunt to form the Belarusian party of landowners and to attract the former magnates with great displeasure.[30] The conflict was solved during the July Congress of Belarusian organizations in Minsk. The Belarusian national Committee was done away with, and instead the Cultural Soviet of Belarusian organizations, controlled by socialists, was formed. At the same time the Congress confirmed the demand for state, political, national and cultural independence of Belarus. Unlike Belarusians of Vilnia, Minskers had broad opportunities for propaganda in the summer of 1917. The only trouble was their financial situation. But they had to act under tough conditions of competition with Russian political parties and Jewish societies. Many of them treated Belarusian demands with hostility and defended the idea of „inseparable Russia".

The Belarusian national movement of the early 20th century showed the feature, typical of the majority of states in Central and Eastern Europe. The ethno-cultural variant of the national idea was domineering, and it was regularly defended and developed by the „Nasha Niva" and later (1916) by the „Homan". Such values as culture, the native language, historical memory as the idea of the common historical fate for all Belarusians, became the key components of the national idea.

But Belarusians failed to create an effective means of translating the national idea. In the early 20th century the Belarusian national school could have fulfilled the task. But Russian authorities did not permit to create an alternative system of education in the Belarusian language. Creating a net of secretly organized schools was not in the habit of Belarusians. The official system of education included a small part of Belarusians, besides it was a strong instrument for Russification.

[29]Hramada, 1917, N2.

Another factor that prevented the propaganda of the ethno-cultural variant of the national idea was the absence of the Belarusian language in Orthodox churches. The language did not possess the function *sacrum*, and for the masses of rural Belarusians it remained a plain peasant dialect.

It should be admitted that the Russian policy towards the Belarusian national movement was more tolerable in comparison with that towards Poles and Lithuanians. The national elite of Belarus were in the situation of isolation which they could not overcome. The example of the revolution in 1905-1907 is a bright evidence - in Poland and Lithuania it looked more like a national liberation movement.[31] But in Belarus it was a social revolution with some signs of national revival.

Feeling the weak social base of the national movement, Belarusian politicians made attempts to widen the concept of the national idea. So they used the possibilities of the civilian variant of national ideology ('Krayovasts") for the social and national mobilization of people; they tried to unite the Belarusian idea with socialist, Christian, democratic and conservative ideologies. But the attempts had no effect. There was no state which could unite all the peoples of the land into one Belarusian nation of civilian type. Most of Catholic and Orthodox clergymen, involved in the struggle between Russia and Poland for Belarusian lands, and the representatives of Belarusian Protestants and bougeoise[32] did not exist as an organized political power. At the critical moment the concept of social and political equality of all national representatives in the understanding of Belarusian socialists turned into the instrument of fighting against those who were „socially alien" (R. Skirmunt and others). The idea of independent territorial or state organization began to be propagated relatively late, actually only after the Russian revolution in February.

All that influenced the fate of the Belarusian People's Republic (BPR), proclaimed in March 1918. It could not gain international acknowledgement and could not turn from the declaration of intentions into a real subject of European policy and legal rights. As a result, the BPR appeared to be the greatest success and the biggest failure of the Belarusian national movement.

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[30]Wincent Hadlewski, From Belarusian Political Life of Minsk in 1917-1918 / Spadchyna, Minsk, 1997, N5, p.22.

[31]See Stanislaw Kalabinski, Feliks Jych, Czwarte powstanie czy pierwsza rewolucja. Lata 1905-1907 na ziemiach polskich. Warszawa 1969; Michal Römer, Litwa. Studium odrodzenia narodu litewskiego. Lwów, 1908.

[32]According to the Belarusian politician Yausei Kuchar, people from social lower classes will not follow Skirmunt, but among rich classes there are few organized people who consider themselves Belarusians (Historical Almanac, 1999. Vol. 2, p. 51).

РЭЗЮМЭ

У беларускім нацыянальным руху пачатку ХХст.існавала заканамернасць,характэрная для большасці нацый Цэнтральна-Усходняй Еўропы. Дамінуючым варыянтам ідэі стаў этнакультурны варыянт. Асноўнымі кампанентамі нацыянальнай ідэі былі ўсведамленне каштоўнасці ўласнай культуры і, у першую чаргу, мовы, фармаванне гістарычнай памяці як ўяўлення пра агульнасць беларускага гістарычнага лёсу.

Аднак лідэры беларускага руху не здолелі стварыць эфектыўны механізм трансляцыі нацыянальнай ідэі. Напачатку ХХ ст. гэтую ролю магла адыграць беларуская нацыянальная школа, але расейскія ўлады не дапусцілі стварэння альтэрнатыўнай сістэмы адукацыі на беларускай мове, а стварэнне сеткі патаемных школ не было прыярытэтам беларускага руху. Афіцыйная сістэма адукацыі, якая ахоплівала нязначную частку насельніцтва, была ператворана ў інструмент русіфікацыі. Іншым фактарам была адсутнасць беларускай мовы ў касцёле і царкве. Беларуская мова не набыла функцыі sacrum, і для масы насельніцтва была простай мужыцкай мовай.

Расейскія ўлады здолелі ізаляваць беларускую эліту ад масы насельніцтва.Адчуванне вузкасці сацыяльнай базы прымушала беларускіх палітыкаў выходзіць па-за межы этнакультурнага варыянту ідэі. Для мабілізацыі народу яны выкарыстоўвалі магчымасці палітычнага варыянту нацыянальнай ідэалогіі і імкнуліся таксама спалучаць з іншымі ідэалогіямі – сацыялістычнай, хрысціянска-дэмакратычнай і кансерватыўнай. Але іх намаганні па розных прычынах былі малаэфектыўнымі. Спалучэнне беларускай ідэі з ідэяй уласнай дзяржаўнасці адбылося толькі ў 1916 – 1917 гг.

Усё гэта абумовіла паразу беларускай нацыянальнай дзяржаўнасці (БНР) у 1918 г. і адрозненне „беларускай мадэлі” нацыяналізму ад іншых мадэлей у Цэнтральна-Усходняй Еўропе.

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Social Preconditions of National Revival of the Peoples in the East of Central Eastern Europe in the 19th – early 20th Centuries

(Belarusians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians)

The true aim of historical research is casual analysis. This is the opinion of a well-known researcher of national movements Miraslau Hroch. According to him, regarding the history of nationalism in Europe it means to answer the question why some national movements succeeded during the Epoch of Versailles and the rest of them had failed. Why were Belarusians almost the last nation among those who revived in the 19th century, which was named the Century of Peoples in Europe? The answer to this question is the aim of the proposed article. For this purpose the

ethnic history of Belarus was considered in the broad context of national revival of peoples of Central Eastern Europe, chiefly its Eastern part (Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Belarusians).

Historiography of the Issue

Although not new, historical comparativistics is a relatively rare area of research, considering also the field of study of Belarusian ethnic history. Historiography of the issue comes to very few publications. With a certain degree of conditional character they can be divided into two parts: those where Belarus is considered only as one of the objects of comparison, and those where Belarus is placed in the center of comparative analysis (which exactly corresponds with the topic of this article).

Perhaps the earliest attempt of the research into the origin of the Belarusian nation in the comparative context is the treatise of L. Vasileuski „Lithuania and Belarus. Past, Present, Tendencies of Development" [39]. Even though comparative analysis was not the aim of this work, it contains sufficient material to conduct it. In fact, L. Vasileuski created one of the first outlines of the development of Belarusian and Lithuanian national movements. Often he drew parallels with the Ukrainian movement, the history of which he also knew very well. According to Vasileuski, the Belarusian movement had been developing under very adverse conditions and it could not be compared to the Lithuanian and Ukrainian ones [39, c.287]. Among such obstacles he considered weak ethnic source of Belarusians regarding the assimilation on the part of Poles and Russians. It should be emphasized that even with certain bias which is completely understandable, the treatise of L. Vasileuski is distinguished for benevolence towards Belarusians, and many of the observations and points of view of the author are marked by the interest in the source study.

Among the studies in the first group special attention should be paid to the monograph of M. Valdenberg „National Issue in Central Eastern Europe. The History of the Idea" [37]. The object of comparative analysis came to be the thirteen peoples and ethnic groups that populated the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the west of the Russian Empire. The author used a number of criteria for comparison of both development conditions and, namely, the national movements. They include soil fertility, level of industrial advancement, and existence of state system in the past, ethnodemographical, ethnosocial and ethnocultural parameters of a people and so on. As the criteria determining the level of development of national move-

ments there were distinguished the activities of national, political and cultural organizations, the number of their members, the number and circulations of editions in national languages, results of taking part in election campaigns. M. Valdenberg makes a completely justified conclusion that out of all peoples of Central Eastern Europe the processes of creating the national community were going on most rapidly for the Czech people and the slowest ones for Belarusians. He explains the lag of Belarusians through the absence of their own state system in the past, lack of mineral resources and low soil fertility, low level of urbanization and literacy, limited number of intelligentsia. While comparing Belarusians and Lithuanians M.Valdenberg draws attention to the fact that Lithuanians, being at approximately the same low level of modernization, had a significantly greater rate of the Lithuanian movement which was due to a large number of middle class people among peasantry, clear difference between the Lithuanian and Russian languages and national activity of Catholic clergy. It is difficult not to agree to the general conclusion of M.Valdenberg, but interpretation of the Belarusian phenomenon is hard to consider as flawless and exhaustive. Among Belarusian peasantry the middle class group was also quite significant. The difference of Lithuanian from German language was no smaller than from Russian, but Germanization of Lithuanians in Western Prussia was advancing very fast. Regarding the activity of the Lithuanian clergy this should be considered not as a cause but rather as the form of activity of national movement, which requires somewhat different interpretation.

Several aspects of formation of the Belarusian nation in the context of Central Eastern Europe were touched upon in the renowned monograph by M.Hroch „Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe" [26]. In spite of the fact that he did not single out the study of the Belarusian national movement into a separate aim, and used only few publications by L. Vasileuski [38], Garetski [3] and M. Dounar-Zapolski [5], his remarks look very accurate and useful. M.Hroch comes to the conclusion that the Belarusian national movement among those that lagged behind, and those similar to Serbs of Luzhica and Bretons who did not manage to create a nation of a modern kind. This was the effect of mostly rural social structure (as it was with the Irish, Estonians and Lithuanians), absence of any significant group of petty bourgeoisie. M.Hroch emphasizes that similar to Macedonians and Estonians, Belarusian intelligentsia mostly consisted of teachers. He explains that teachers were the highest social group which peasants could join as a mass group.

According to M.Hroch's idea, many peculiarities make Belarusian national movement similar to the Lithuanian. He makes a specific point that the cities had practically played no role of any importance in the development of both

movements not only because there was no native population in the cities but also because there could not be found a single city-born activist. Naturally, it is hard to accept such conclusions. Among the factors that caused the lag of Belarusian movement M.Hroch names the low level of development of social mobility and communication, absence of regular contacts of peasants with the market. At the same time he considers the territory of Palessie and the border region between Lithuania and Belarus (along with the Lower Luzhica region, Mozvia and certain areas in the Balkans) as the examples of the lowest level of development in Europe. It was the low level of modernization that M.Hroch refers to as the cause of wide spread use of ethnonym „the locals", recorded in Palessie during the population census of 1919 and 1931. M.Hroch often compares particularly the Belarusian and Lithuanian movements. Similar to a number of other scholars he points to the outstanding importance of the Catholic clergy, but he makes it accountable only for the fact that in the given case religion played the part of a certain substitute for the system of social relations. Not at all acceptable is the interpretation of the Lithuanian specifics as having been determined by the exceptional symbolism of ethnosocial situation when language differences completely coincided with the border of social antagonism. Similar situations had existed in many places around Europe, but the effects were different.

Among the comparativistic studies there should be noted the unpublished dissertation by S.Gutsier „The Sources of Ukrainian People's Nationalism: Demographic, Social and Political Study of Ukrainian Nationality before 1917", the contents of which were quite comprehensively presented in the monograph by J.Grytsak [2]. According to S.Gutsier, Ukrainian and Belarusian movements were extremely alike structurally, which was the natural effect of similarity of socioethnic and sociocultural characteristic features of societies (social identity of a Ukrainian/ a Belarusian as a peasant, low literacy level). Similar was the structure of ethnosocial hierarchy of society: the land ownership mostly belonged to Polish or Russian landlords, the trade to the Jews, administrative system to the Russians. Relatively greater advancement of the Ukrainian movement S.Gutsier explains by the comparative multiplicity of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, who, unlike the Belarusian one, was able to create the national communities at least in two major cities, i.e. Kiev and Poltava. Naturally, this approach is somewhat schematic. A mere exaggeration would be to consider that all the posts in the administrative system in the Ukraine and Belarus were occupied by the Russians. In reality at the end of 19th century among the officialdom in Belarus the Russians constituted as much as 46.3 % (Belarusians - 38.7%), in Ukraine – 53.95 (Ukrainians – 40.8%).

It was true that concentration of intelligentsia among Belarusians was relatively low, but such statistics for the Lithuanians looked even worse. Apparently it was due to the schematic approach of S.Gutsier that J.Grytsak added to his arguments the thesis about the motivating role of historical memory of Hetmanshchyna in the development of Ukrainian movement (with the absence of analogical factor for Belarusians) which is, of course, difficult to disagree with.

The article by S. Yekelchik „Nationalism of Ukrainians, Belarusians and Slovaks" [6, p. 30-41] is of a certain historical interest. The author proposes to compare nationalism of the three peoples not only from the point of view of approaches of their political and social history but also of the contemporary cultural studies. He points out the „rural" character of social structure, low level of urbanization and codification of literary languages. S. Yekelchik expresses solidarity with the characteristic „the lag" and regarding the national movements of Belarusians, Ukrainians and Slovaks, makes the point that it was the effect of national pressure, active assimilation, weakness of national bourgeoisie and the absence of working class. What is of the greatest interest here is the criticism of the M. Hroch's concept (incidentally, not completely grounded) and quite a productive author's concept of „discursive strategies" of the development of national movements. One can hardly agree with every conclusion in this article. For instance, the differences between the level of modernization in Ukraine and Belarus, on the one hand, and Slovakia, on the other, were dramatic. This also concerns urbanization and working class, which was not exactly so small in Slovakia.

Considering the other group of publications, dedicated solely to Belarus, perhaps the most significant place among them, and also within historiography of the issue, belongs to the series of substantial works by R. Radzik, and especially to his monograph „Between the Ethnic Whole and National Community. Belarusians against the Background of National Changes in Central Eastern Europe of 19th Century" [30]. The development of national processes in Belarus is demonstrated not only in the context of Central Eastern Europe, but also wider against the background of all-European processes. A separate chapter is dedicated to the analysis of reasons of the lag in the formation of the Belarusian nation in comparison to Lithuanians, Ukrainians of Galicia and Slovaks. According to R. Radzik, the most significant of these reasons comprised the content peculiarities of the Belarusian national culture and social structure of the population, and also the policy of the Russian administration. The author claims that the traditional Belarusian culture was characterized by the remarkably low level of historical awareness. Undoubtedly, such inference has the right to exist, but as far as I think, it should

be grounded by concrete comparative studies. R. Radzik quotes only a few ideas concerning historical awareness of Belarusians, which are quite interesting, but, what is absolutely certain, are not identical to the actual perception of the people [30, p. 174 - 175]. Traditional historical awareness of Belarusians has not yet been thoroughly studied, but even the first attempts in this area indicate that it was too far from being poor. Typical of this issue are the legends about Rahvalod and Rahneda, S.Batura, St. Paniatouski, Katherine II and other [9, p. 76 - 78]. It should be added in this respect that when the content of traditional culture insufficiently articulates historical awareness, it can be corrected (as it was done with „Kalevipoeg" by Estonians), or simply elaborated (Latvian „Lachplesis"). However, this is possible only in a certain social situation.

R. Radzik often emphasizes extremely negative consequences of the liquidation of the Uniate Church. As a result, Belarusians, unlike the western Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Slovaks and Slovenians, were deprived of a social group which had the ability to define national ideas in the best manner at the early stage of the development of their national movement. Undoubtedly, the liquidation of the Uniate Church had hardly been beneficial to the formation of Belarusian national identity. However, there is not much sense in exaggerating this factor. The development of numerous movements in the region had been going on without any significant participation on the part of clergy (it was so for Latvians, Estonians, Finns, and also in the Dnepr region of Ukraine). It should be noted that far from everyone in the Uniate priesthood was unambiguously nationally oriented. On the contrary, a substantial part was pro-Russian. In this connection quite revealing is the life and evolution of views of a founder of the „Russian Trinity", J.Galavatsky. Among the factors which account for the lag of the formation of the Belarusian nation R. Radzik considers the absence of their own „Piedmont", whose part for the Ukrainians was played by Eastern Galicia, and for the Lithuanians it was Eastern Prussia. This is a significant factor indeed, but again, a similar example of Estonians and Latvians demonstrates that it could be dispensed with.

Perhaps the most elaborate analysis of the Belarusian and Lithuanian situation was done by an American historian Timothy Snider in the monograph „The Reconstruction of Nations. Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569 - 1999" [33]. According to his opinion, the main factors of success for Lithuanians were social background of national activists, character of the language and location of the borders of the Empire. Snider thinks that Lithuanian activists, village children, had advantage over the Belarusian (the Polish speaking Catholic nobility) [33, p.47]. It is hard to disagree with. However, the problem is in his comparing the Lithuanian

activists of the epoch of „Aushra" journal (phase 'B' according to M. Hroch) with the Belarusian before the edition of „Nasha Niva" (phase 'A'), which is hardly concrete. Similar to a number of other scholars, Snider points out that during the time when the Lithuanian language was completely different from the Slavic, Belarusian language was uncodified, socially inferior dialect, morphologically placed between Polish and Russian languages" [33, p.48]. He also emphasizes that Belarusians were entirely incorporated into the Russian Empire. At the same time the presence of 100 000 Lithuanians in Germany (Eastern Prussia) enabled J. Basanavicus to publish his journal there [33, p.48].

Regarding the comparison of conditions of development of the Belarusian and Ukrainian Movements, T.Snider notes the possibility of turning the Uniate Church into a Belarusian national institution if it had continued its existence. At the same time he emphasizes, that success of the Uniate Church in Eastern Galicia had required more than a hundred years of state support and international competition with Russia [33, p. 46].

Within entirely Belarusian historiography, surprisingly, there is only a single treatise dedicated to national comparativistics. This is the article by S.Tokts "Belarusian National Movement in the 19th - 20th Centuries in the Context of National Movements of Central Eastern Europe" [15]. Belarusian national movement is compared to Lithuanian and Ukrainian, Slovakian situation is also touched upon, and a number of other instances are considered. The stages of development of national movements, their chronology and socially important results were proposed as the parameters for comparison. Although periodization of Belarusian national movement looks excessively optimistic, it is hard not to accept the general conclusion of S.Tokts about the lag in national processes in Belarus. Among the factors there are situational ethnic peculiarities of Belarusians (linguistic proximity to the Polish and the Russians), absence of such moments as the memory of Hetmanshchyna or Eastern Galicia as „Piedmont". The general conclusion that „nation-creating process in Belarus had been going on in the most adverse conditions in comparison to the rest of the peoples of Central Eastern Europe" [15, p. 75] seems quite adequate but, unfortunately, not proved by the content of the article itself.

Summarizing the result of studying the ethnic history of Belarus in the context of Central Eastern Europe it should be observed, first of all, that this topic has not yet become the subject of systematic scholarly research. We are only entitled to talk about a mere number of treatises but not the existence of a shaped line of research. Second of all, these plots were touched upon by the foreign, mostly Polish, scholars. And, third of all, they are far from resolving this issue. The main

question, dealing with the preconditions of the belated formation of the Belarusian nation, remains unclear.

Pertinent sources and their critical evaluation

Analysis of historiography of the issue gives birth to one more problem, i.e. how can we carry out comparative evaluation if we have not received an answer to the main question. In other words, what and how will we evaluate? In my opinion comparative evaluation of the development of national movements will be the least productive work. Such an approach definitely foresees application of national historiography. This idea is supported by experience of almost all the above mentioned researchers. However, isn't each of the national historiographies mythological in its nature? Much has been written on this issue and there is no sense to go ahead with this discussion [4, 13, 18]. In any way, each national historiography attempts to present history of its own movement as the most ancient one. Lack of coincidence in the starting point of the Belarusian national movement in the eyes of the Belarusian and western (Polish, German, American) scholars that ranges from 50 to 90 years is far from being unique. Similar situation can be observed in evaluation of national movements in Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia and other countries. It is clear that the alternative way to ascertain national movements, based on studies of the original sources, can be fulfilled only with involvement of large groups of researchers who would unite their forces under such project. Therefore, the approach, based on evaluation of statistic materials, comprising information on ethnic, religious and social parameters of the population, can serve as the most productive approach in this case. Neutral language of figures hardly needs any translation that is extremely important in cases of evaluation of the processes in the regions with the complicated ethnic relations among its population. It is clear that statistical source require application of critical approach as well. The information on the ethnic composition of the population needs it to the greatest degree. As for such indices like the level of urbanization and literacy they seem to be quite objective. The major requirement to the statistical data deals with the fact that they should be gathered in a synchronized way and in compliance with some general principles applied in such cases.

Census of the population of 1897 tends to serve as almost the most important statistical source, application of which requires additional commentary. The fact is that the attitude of the Polish and Belarusian historiography towards this Census is known to be completely different. The number of Poles, residing in Belarus re-

mains to be the stumbling-block of this Census, i.e. the Polish historians consider this figure (156 000 or 2.4% of the total number of population) to be too small. Based on this assumption the Polish historiographical tradition considers the Census of 1897 to be nothing more than pure falsification. The Belarusian side is of the different opinion. This approach has been registered in the Polish tradition both on the academic level (e.g. publications from W. Wakar to P. Ebegardt) and on the level of school text-books (e.g. a fundamental text-book in History by A. Hwalba) [35, 20, 24]. Materials of the Census have not been properly discussed in Belarusian historiography and, therefore, they are treated as something a priori adequate to the reality.

The key reason why the Polish demographers proclaimed the Census of the Population of 1897 to be a pure falsification is that its findings did not match similar data obtained from other censuses of population. It is worth reminding that in compliance with the materials of the „Parochial Lists of Population" of the middle of 1850s the total number of the Polish population within the frame of modern Belarus comprised up to 8% while according to the recent census it equaled only 3.9%. Results of the censuses of population, conducted by the Polish authorities in 1919, 1921 and 1931 tend to also be strikingly different. Fore example, according to the census of 1897 percentage of Poles residing in the Vileiski pavet was 2.5% while in 1919 it comprised already 30.3%, in 1921 – 42.1% and in 1931 – 45.4%. However, this time these figures are considered by the Belarusian historiographers, to be have been falsified.

According to the opinion of modern researchers (e.g. P. Ebegardt) the falsified nature of the Census of 1897 has been proven long time ago by the Polish scholars who carried out a „scrupulous statistical and demographic analysis". However, in reality neither L. Vasileuski, nor E. Romer or Ya. Chekanouski have specified any methods for computation and evaluation of the materials of the Census of 1897; it appears that they have simply confirmed their disagreement with its results. Even W. Wakar, whose work was fairly considered by P. Eberhardt to be the „most fundamental work" [20, p.18], simply stated that the „so-called Catholic Belarusians" … and „Russians of other religions" could be easily attributed to the Polish nationality" [36, p. 17]. It should be mentioned that it is not clear W. Wakar did not include on the list of Poles mainly about 40 thousand of Catholics, neither more nor less. Evaluation of the materials of the Census by the Polish historiographers of the beginning of the 19th century dealt with mere comparison of the tables, specifying linguistic and religious structure of the population and failed to have touched upon the other very valuable data (e.g. class and professional division of

population, the level of their literacy and education). In this respect the conclusion of L. Malisheuski, that only the largest land owners with their families as well as not numerous representatives of the Polish inteligentsia in town an settlements have been attributed to the Polish population, seems to be absolutely groundless [27, p. 18]. According to the Census of 1897 at least 28.6% of Poles in Belarus and 15.6% in Lithuania turned out to be peasants.

I would like to add that in spite of the fact that the materials of the „principal: Vilenski voulme had been published already in 1899, the official response to the materials of the Census of 1899 on th ePolish side happened to appear only in 1906 (publication by K. Nedzialkouski) and later on during the World War I when, according to P. Ebegardt himslef, i.e. „Poland had a real chance to gain its freedom„ and, therefore, the issue became more of a political (but not the scientifc) importance [20, p. 18]. We agree that P. Ebegardt was right in his conclusion that „it was typical for Central Eastern Europe of the beginning of the 20th century when the „oponents„„ who sharply critized the biassed nature of the official censuses of the polutaion, would present their version of the the situation being too far away from the objective reality„ [19, p. 52]. It is clear that mutual inevitable national and political involvement of Polish and Belarusian researchers leaves and will continue to leave much ground for mutual suspicion and accusations dealing with evaliation of the Census of 1897. In this case that point of view, which is too far away from being biassed, is of major importance, i.e. the real fundamental study of the results of the Census of 1897 by the modern German scholars who leave no doubt that it is accurate and not false [21].

I do emphasize that the Census of 1897 occipies a very special position among the statistical sources of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century. As for the richness of its materials it exceeds the rest of the previosuly conducted censuses of population. The Census comprises really huge factual material on ethnic, class, religious, professional etc. composition of the population. The presence of a large number of correlation tables enables us to create a detailed picture of the society. It goes withouth saying that both organization and methods of accumulation of data would have some drawbacks. Most of the comments on these methods, on analogy with the Polish historiography, deal with estimation of ethnicity of people based on what their „native„ language is. It should be stressed that that kind of approach was preconditioned not only by the realities of the Russian empire, within the frame of which the processes of formation of a stable national identy were far from their completion, but also by the reuirements of the national organizations, in general, and by the International Statistical Congress, in particular. Similar approach was applied in other countries of Europe.

While interpreting the materials of the Census of 1897 one should take into account specific nature of its conducting. That Census of 1897 was carried out within one day that differes it from the modern censuses of population.To do it a great number of tellers was reuired. Those became the representatives of the local clerks and intellectuals. For example, in the city of Vitsebsk and the Vitsebski pavet 152 tellers were involved in the Census in the capacity of tellers; 53% of them comprised governmental clersk, 20% - school teachers and 13% - peasants [10, p. 32-37]. Such a nature of tellers (i.e. when they were authority-dependent) could enable, of course, to influence upon the final results of the Census. However, we should keep in mind that the Census questionnaires had been filled out several weeks prior to the day of the census and were verified/checked only on that official day. Plus, the litterate respondents would fill out the questionnaire forms themselves, and, therefore, would independently ascertain what their native language was. It should be also taken into account that the questions abot the native language and the one a person is literate in followed each other. Therefore, such cases when an individual would know Russian (or Polish or any other literary languages) but at the same time would specify Belarusian as his/her native language, could serve as expamples of a deliberate realization of his/her ethic orientation and those cases could be qualified as the facts of ethnic identity. As for the illiterate part of the population, the tellers were supposed to register in questionnaires that language, which was „considered by the respondents to be their native one„. It is not difficult to figure out that there was some sort of prgrammed nature of responses which would depend upon each definite guberniya (region). Thus, for example in the Vilenskaya and Minskaya guberniyas, in contrast to the rest of the regions, were Belarusians would resdie, no Belarusians were registered to be literate in any other language but Russian (primarily, it went about Polish, of course). It means that all the Polish-leiterate individuals attributed themselves or were attributed to the category of Poles. Ethnic identification of the population of the Palessie region can serve as another example of this sort. It is a well-known fact that the wester-Palessie dialects comprise the Pinshchyna and the Kobrynshchyna as well as Berastseishchyna while in the Pinski pavet the predominant number of the population was attributed to Belarusians. At the same time the citizens of the Kobrynski and Beraststeiski pavets were considered to be Ukrainians. Obviosuly, a definite ethnic and statistical tradition worked in that case because similar approach had been developed already in the middle of the 19th century when the so-called „Parochial lists„ were compiled.

As for the interpretation of the materials of the Census, one should stress again

and again, that the Census supplies us with the information about the *native* language, and in case of the illeterate part of the population *only* about the native language. In most of the cases it would depend upon the judgement of the tellers on what kind of „native„ language that was. The Census describes predominantly the linguistic situation in the regions. This is the principal aspect of the Census. And when they accuse the Russian authorities in their biassed nature, they mean interpretation of the notion of the native language and its comparisson with the national attribution which was formulated as „nationality based on what native language one speaks„. In this respect the official interpretation would obviously show the official expectations (from socialogical point of view) of the fact on what the population should become, based on their linguistic status. Therefore, the Census (to be more precise, publication of its materials) should be treated as a social project, as a form of social engineering, which could actually worked. However, the linguistic attribution at that time did not equal the national one on the mass scale.

Similar situation could be observed in cases of evaluation of the religious background of the population. We consider the statement by P. Eberhardt (similar to the one of the majority of his predecessors) that „ a Catholic peasant, who speaks the Slavonic dialects and who resides on the border between Belarus and Lithuania, finally becomes a Pole„ and that „those processes at the end of the 19th century had been clearly finalized according to their nature„ to be a vivid and obvious overstatement of the real status quo [20, p. 31]. Again, it is nothing more that a pure wish, expectations, projection (retrospective, as of today) but not only reflection of the real state of things. And mainly because of the fact that for the peasants of not only Eastern Estern Europe, but Western as well, it was typical to have no clearly defined national self-consciousness. Such a situation was characteristic even for France of the 19th century in spite of the existence of a more than century-old „model„ national state [40]. In case we believe in the statement by P. Ebehardt concerning the „clearly finalized form„„ then we have to admit that the process of formation of the Polish national identy within the Vilenshchyna regiona turned to be faster as compared to similar processes current in Poland at that time! This is due to the fact that fundamental monographic works by H. Bradouska and Ya. Malenda prove the fact that a more or less definite articulation of the national identity among the peasants with the authentic Polish territories happened only during the times of revolution of 1905-1907 and, to a greater degree, during the World War I [23, 28]. As for the end of the 19th century, Ya. Malenda is of the opinion that both the rural population of Polish Kingdom and the one of Galiciya were charcaterized by their low level of civilization and literacy as well as the

degree of their national and political self-consciousness [28, p. 95]. I would like to also contribute to this discussion the point of view of R. Radzik who considers that even among the Polish intellectuals residing in the Belarusian and Lithuanian lands spread of the notions of nation (cultural, but not ideological), ideological motherland was adavancing at a much lower pace as compared to the Congress Poland [30, p. 136-137].

We do believe (and it seems to be the real way to achieve mutual understanding on this issue) that while evaluating the materials of the Census of 1897 as well as materials of other censuses of population, conducted the second half of the 19th through the beginning of the 20th century one should focus not on the national attribution of the people (which, in principle, could not exist on the mass level at that time) but on the variations in the political and ethnic identity, to be more precise – its manifestations, im compliance with the definte political situation.

For evaluation of the degree of economic development ofvarious parts of Central Eastern Europe they used the results of the fundamental economic and statistical research named „Trade and Industry of European parts of Russia„ which was conducted almost simultaneously with the Census of 1897 [16]. In fact, that was the pioneer systemic research in the history of Russia, which covered all aspects of ecenomic development of the country. Registers of tax payments of trade and industrial exnterprises served as the basis for that research (total up 600 000) in which the information on the annual turn-over of capital was specified. That information was summed up in tables for separate regions, settlements and volasts. Base on the findings obtained they specified the economic districts and larger regions with a similar level of „degree of commercial-and-inductrial activities„; that l;evel was defined as an absolute omount (in roubles) of turn-over per capita. Authors of the book would emphasize that this amount of money served as an index of the „consumer power„ of a definite region. In our understanding it clearly illustartes the degree of economic activity of the population and serves as one of the most obvious proofs of the general level of modernization of the society.

Combination of those two sources enables to pretty thoroughly evaluate the modernization characteristic of the peoples, i.e. the object of comparisson. However, they are known to be not the only factors that would influence upon the tempo of development of the national movements. Among them the „factor of hictorical memory„ abot the state/state system/political autonomy etc., i.e. which existed in the past and, therefore, would inspire first generations of the national activists to undertake decisive steps on the way to rebirth, is the most frequently referred to by the researchers.

Why the notion of the historical memory does not always work and sometimes it is not even necessary at all.

Some of the researchers, who study the history of nationalism, consider that serfdom and national movement are the two imcompatible phenomena and the initial signs of the national activity become evident only in one generation after abolishment of serfdom. Serfdom obviously tends to exclude the possibility of vertical social mobility of peasants, which is known to serve as one of the pre-conditions of the rise of the national movement. If that is true, then Estonians and Latvians were supposed to have significantly left behind Lithuanians, Belarusians and Ukrainians (of the upper-Dneper Ukraine); hwever, the latter three peoples tend to enjoy similar level of development. Although there is no such a reliable instrument of comparison of intensity rate of development of the national movements on the level of „phase „A„ by Hroch„, I still do believe that Ukrainians happened to be more active as compared to Latvians or Estonians, though social conditions of the latter were more favorable and left Lithuanians and Belarusians significantly behind.

The overall picture of development of national and cultural movements in the eastern part of Central Eastern Europe in the first half of the 19th century looks as follows. It was already in 1797-1798 when edition of the „Latviska gada gramata„ magazine in the Latvian language was initiated. In 1824 the Latvian literary society was founded while in 1822 publications of the „Latviesu avizes„ weekly began. Those projects were brought into being under the control and financial support of the representtaives of the local German elite. But they demonstrated that the Latvian language could serve as the language of periodical press. And only in 1856 the real Latvian newspaper „Majas viesis„ was founded. K. Valdemaras, collector and publisher of the Latvian songs, K. Barons, Yu. Alunus were the leading figures of the Latvian movement. It had been proclaimed in 1860s that „Latvains woke up„, however, it concerned only a definite part of inteligentsia, but not the whole people.

Almost until the middle of the 19th century Estonians (among which peasants comprised the prevalining part) would call themselves „maarahvas„, which served as a complete equivalent to the Belarusian *tuteishyia* (locals). At the same time we can not say that the Eastonian language had been completely excluded from the sphere of printed word. Estonian newspapers would sporadically be published already from 1760s. In the 18th – first half of the 19th century various calendars, didactic religious materials were published in Estonian; there were also attempts to create the Estonian literature. During the second half of the 18th century A. Hu-

peliam started thorough studies of the Estonian language and ethnography. In 1838 the Estonian Scientific Society was founded at the Tartu University. The highest point in the activities of the society was the publication of the „Kalevipoeg„ epos (compiled and edited by F. Kreuzwald) which created the foundation for further development of the Estonian national self-consciousness. Since 1857 they had begun to publish the first regular newspaper „Perno postimees„ that was processed in Estonian. One of the peculiar things was that even the leaders of the movent (e.g. F. Felman, the founder of the Estonian Scientific Society) did not believe that creation of an independent Estonian nation could become possible; their considered Germanization of the nation to be an inevitable historical outcome. [31, p. 295].

During the first half of the 19th century in the upper-Dneeper Ukraine there appeared a large number of publications that would to a different degree stress the positive „Ukrainian„ phenomenon. Those were the works by D. Bantysh-Kamenski („*Historiya Malai Rusi*„ (History of Russia Minor), 1822), M. Markevich (*„Historiya Malarosii"* (History of Russia Minor), 1842), V. Badzianski (*„Historiya Rusau„* (History of Rusians), 1828), A. Paulouski (*„Hramatyka malarasiiskai havorki„* (Grammar of the Russian Minor Accent), 1818) collections of ethnographic materials compiled by N.Tsereteli (1819), M.Maksimovich (1827), V.Zaleski (1833), Y. Lazinski (1835). Development of the Ukrainian litearture through creative works by I. Katliareuski, T. Shauchenka, P. Kulish also coontributed to that cause. Rather early they began to form the national ideology, i.e. V. Badzianski published his (*„Historiya Rusau„* (History of Rusians), which was of an open anti-Polish and anti-Russian orientation. National ideology became the essential part of the program of the Kiryl-and-Mefodziy Brotherhood (1845-1847), created by M. Kastamarau. One of the peculiar features of the Ukrainian movement was the phenomenon of continuity, which could be observed on the ideological (formation of national consciousness of young T. Shaucheka was under the influence of the *„Historiya Rusau„*) and the academic level (P. Kulish and M.Kastamarau were the students of I.Srazneuski and M.Maksimovich).

Development of the Polish national movement was primarily characterized by appearance of a large number of publications in the Lithuanian language. The poem *Seasons of the Year* by K. Donelaitis (1818) was probably the most important one among them. L.Reza, who published the work by Donelaitis in 1825, published the first collection of the Lithuanian songs (dainos). Activities of the Kauno bishop was also of great importance, i.e. he united numerous literary workers who originated from the layers of the petty Zemaitijos gentry. That was mainly there where the elements of the ethno-linguistically-determined idea of the

Lithuanian nation haad been crystallized [34, p. 319]. Similar role was played by another Kauno bishop, M. Valanchius, though the motives of his activities could hardly be defined as the national rebirth ones. One interesting peculiar feature of the Lithuanian movement dealt with the intention to expand their activities over the boundaries of the circle of intellectuals. In this respect, publishing activities of V. Ivinskis present a great deal of interest, i.e. 1846 through 1864 he published 17 calendars designed for the regular readers [29, p. 213].

It is worth mentioning that in Lithuania, in contratst to the Ukraine, Lithuania-articulated historiography developed to a smaller degree and it was represented almost exclusively by works of Sh. Daukantas. And that in spite of the fact that Lithuanians tended to obviously possess the biggest resources as compared to the rest of peoples of the region. Partially, it can be explained by the fact that it was written in general by the Polish-speaking historians and literary workers, supporters of the „Lithuanian„ and/or „the local„ idea (i.e. I. Danilovich, Yu. Krasheuski, T. Narbut, I. Yarashevich, A. Mitskevich etc.). To be honest, their works aimed primarily at creation of mainly the Lithuanian positively-colred historical myth.

At the background of the national and cultural activity of the peoples of eastern part of East Central Europe articulation of the Belarusian image within the first half of the 19th century seemed to be belated and rather conservative. Regular folklore works were published at the end of 1830s-1850s (Yan Chachot, I. Nasovich) while literary (V. Dunin-Martsinkevich) and the historical ones – in 1850s.

Peculiarities of the intensity rate of manifestation of national and cultural movements to a certain degree can be explained by significant modernization-related differences, some which could be estimated statistically, i.e. share of the serfs within the structure of the population, number of people involved in educational activities, share of peasants among the urban population as an index of level of social mobility.

Table 1. *Serf populationin provinces of eastern part of Central Eastern Europe in 1858*

##	*Province (guberniya)*	*Total population*	*Including serfs*	*Ratio of serfs vs. total population, %*
1.	Estlandskaya	303.478	--	0,0
2.	Lifliandskaya	883.682	--	0,0
3.	Kurliandskaya	567.078	--	0,0

4.	Kovenskaya	988.287	364.646	36,90
5.	Vilenskaya	876.116	401.530	45,95
6.	Hrodzenskaya	881.881	353.158	40,97
7.	Minskaya	986.471	597.894	60,74
8.	Vitsebskaya	781.741	444.998	57,08
9.	Mahiliouskaya	884.640	571.480	64,69
10.	Padolskaya	1.748.466	1.040.300	59,54
11.	Valynskaya	1.528.328	864.017	56,54
12.	Kiyeuskaya	1.974.324	1.121.062	57,66
13.	Charnihauskaya	1.471.866	553.622	37,61
14.	Paltauskaya	1.819.110	681.611	37,47
15.	Katsiarynaslauskaya	1.042.681	328.530	31,51
16.	Hersonskaya	1.027.459	321.250	31,27
17.	Harkauskaya	1.582.571	471.042	29,74

Development of the Latvian and Estonian national movements was definitely favored by the fact that in the Lifliandskaya, Estlandskaya and Kurliandskaya provinces personal dependence of peasants was abolished in 1816-1819 while in 1850s- beginning of 1960s they were granted the right to own land. Obviously, it was also due to the fact that Belarus and the Pravabiarezhnaya (Right-bank) Ukraine were considered to be the most „serfed" regions of Central Eastern Europe while the general index in Russia comprised 37.51%. Percentage of serfs in the Mahiliouskaya province was so high that it won the second place in the empire after the Smalenskaya province (69.07%), the latter having been populated mostly by Belarusians. The central provinces of Russia tended to have similar situation (on average – 69.07%) to the one in Belarus; however, percentage of serfs among the Russian population did not exceed 34.89%.

It should be also added, that within the first half of the 19th century both in Belarus, on the one side, and in Lithuania and Ukraine, on the other side, one could observe different tendencies in percentage of the serfed population.

At the beginning of the century that index tended to be almost similar in all the three ethnic territories, i.e. 57% in Belarus, 53.4% in Lithuania and 55.6% in Ukraine. In 1817 in the Right-Bank Ukraine it ranged from 86.9% in the Kiyeuskaya province to 61.4% in the Padolskaya province, 47% in the Left-Bank Ukraine and 41% in the Katsiarynskaya province. However, it was already in 1834 there existed significant differences between Lithuania, Ukraine and Belarus. At the time when percentage of serfs in the Ukraine had almost not changed (i.e. 56.8% of the tax-payers), in Lithuania it reduced down to 49.6% and in Belarus it increased up to 64.8%. In 1858 percentage of serfs in the Ukraine comprised 44.2% of the

total population, in Lithuania – about 37% and in Belarus – 61.3%. Thus, we can conclude that in the first half of 19th century development of the social processes in the Ukraine, Lithuania and Belarus was going on in different directions.

The degree of spread of education tends to even better illustrate peculiar features of modernization.

Table 2. *Populationin and number of schoolchildren in eastern part of Central Eastern Europe in 1856*

##	Province (guberniya)	Total population	Schoolchildren	Number of schoolchildren per 1 000c.
1.	Estlandskaya	293.599	9.578	32,62
2.	Lifliandskaya	863.035	39.874	46, 20
3.	Kurliandskaya	537.855	14.461	26,88
4.	Kovenskaya	982.595	4.848	4,93
5.	Vilenskaya	840.379	4.409	5,24
6.	Hrodzenskaya	827.200	3.082	3,72
7.	Minskaya	983.138	3.212	3,26
8.	Vitsebskaya	748.524	2.747	3,66
9.	Mahiliouskaya	873.888	4.309	4,93
10.	Padolskaya	1.730.547	4.432	2,56
11.	Valynskaya	1.498.487	3.558	2,37
12.	Kiyeuskaya	1.804.970	9.144	5,06
13.	Charnihauskaya	1.401.879	7.709	5,49
14.	Paltauskaya	1.753.144	7.866	4.48
15.	Katsiarynaslauskaya	1.039.597	9.652	9,28
16.	Hersonskaya	1.083.852	8.704	8,03
	Harkauskaya			

The difference in ratio of schoolchildren within the structure of the population of the Lifliandskaya province (the most advanced one) and the Valynskaya one (the least developed province) turned out to be 20 times higher. It is also obvious that Belarus and the Right-Bank Ukraine turned out to be the least developed ones.

It goes without saying that migration of peasants to the cities served as one of the necessary factors in appearance of the national movements. However, there was no direct correlation between those indices (see Table 3.).

Table 3. *Number of paesants in cities of eastern part of Central Eastern Europe in 1858*

##	Province (guberniya)	Total urban population	Including peasants	Ratio of peasants vs. total population, %
1.	Estlandskaya	25.383	2.602	10,25
2.	Lifliandskaya	106.935	16.875	15,78
3.	Kurliandskaya	59.344	4.663	7,85
4.	Kovenskaya	67.867	410	0,6
5.	Vilenskaya	72.746	1.319	1,8
6.	Hrodzenskaya	101.594	2.660	2,61
7.	Minskaya	90.225	837	0,92
8.	Vitsebskaya	95.520	2.278	2,38
9.	Mahiliouskaya	67.847	4.719	6,95
10.	Padolskaya	120.822	1.951	1,61
11.	Valynskaya	110.245	6.873	6,23
12.	Kiyeuskaya	203.612	18.560	9,11
13.	Charnihauskaya	139.965	32.365	23,12
14.	Paltauskaya	143.917	45,178	31,39
15.	Katsiarynaslauskaya	113.847	21.881	19,21
16.	Hersonskaya	275.998	16.554	5,99
17.	Harkauskaya	179.096	101.162	56,48

At the same time, it was obviously mainly the unusual ratio of peasants vs. the urban population of the Slabazhanshchyna and the Left-bank Ukraine (even in comparison with the Baltic regions) that turned out to be the essential condition in development of the national and cultural movement.

It should be also added that there existed other conditions, which statistically were less significant. Primarily it goes about the condition of „historicity" that was totally absent in cases of Estonians and Latvians. Among the Ukrainians there existed at least three social groups for the representatives of whom the memory about the Hetmanshchyna possessed not a mythological but a definite social sense. First of all, that was the part of the former area of the Cossacks, whose nobility rights had not been confirmed by the imperial bureaucracy. Mainly in that environment the circle of „autonomists„ had been formed, the members of which pretty early began to work out the national ideology, specified in the „Historiya Rusau„ [2, p.26]. Second of all, that was a pretty numerous group of free population, i.e. the „minor Russian Cossacks„ who in 1817 comprised 13.86% of the text-paying

population (496 000 males) residing in the upper-Dneper Ukraine. At the same time percentage of the Cossaks in the Paltauskaya province reached 42% of the tax-paying population, in the Charnikauskaya province – 30%, in the Katsiarynaslauskaya province – 16.3%, in the Hersonskaya one – 8.3%. In compliance with the data, specified in the Tax Register of 1834 the number of minor Russian Cossacks remained almost unchanged, but their percentage rate tended to reduce down to 12.3% (calculated by 12). Before 1858 almost all the Cossacks had been turned into the state peasants. And, although their living standard had almost remained unchanged, their social status significantly dropped, that, in its turn, under the conditions of preservation of the hierarchical feudal structure of the population and class-oriented relations, aggraveted severely their social prestige. Third of all, that was more than a million of peasants, residing in the left-bank area, for whom liquidation of the Hetmanshchyna turned out to be the real serfdom. Development of the national movement in the Ukraine was also favored by the relative ethnic homogeneity of the population, especially in the eastern part of the country. According to the reconstructions by V. Kabuzan and H. Mahnova, at the end of the 18th century percantage of the Ukrainians in the left-bank Ukraine comprised 98.1% of the total population, in the Slabazhanshchyna – 85.9% [7, p.31, 32]. In case we consider religious orientation to be closely connected with the ethnic one in Catholics and Jews (coorespondingly, Poles and Jews) in the Ukraine, percentage of those groups was much lower (4.24% and 6.25%) as compared to the one in Belarus (17.9% and 10.4%). At the same time, in the Charnihauskaya province it did not exceed 0.1% and 2.15%, in the Paltauskaya province – 0.06% and 1.46%, in the Katsiarynaslauskaya – 0.68% and 2.22%, in the Harkauskaya – 0.07% and 0.02% upon the whole. Significant differences in ratio of the „Jewish„ and „Christian„ population existed in the structure of the main urban classes as well. According to the Tax Register of 1817, Jews comprised 13.9% of merchants and 55.1% (in Belarus -- 72.8% and 78.9%, correspondingly). Again, situation in the Valynskaya and Padolskaya provinces resembled the Belarusian one, i.e. Jews comprised 63.8% of merchants and 87.3% of petty bourgeois while in the Paltauskaya, Charnihauskaya and Katsiarynaslauskaya provinces – only 5.0% and 17.6%, correpsondingly [calculated by 12].

Ethnosocial situation in Lithuania was partially similar to the one in the Ukraine and Belarus. At the end of the 1850s percentage of Lithuanians in the Kovenskaya province comprized 80.4% of the total population, Jews – 11.1%, Poles – 2.78%. The presence of an especially numerous group of the free population served as a specific peculiarity of Lithuania at the end of the 18th – the first half of the 19th

century. It should be emphasized that it was not the gentry but the free population with a corresponding social status. In compliance with the results of the 5th Census in the Kovenskaya province and the Lithuanian districts (pavets) of the Vilenskaya province it equaled to more than 100 000 people and comprised 22% of the total number of the population. During the first half of the 19th century the number of free population tended to steadily go down, i.e. according to the 7th Census its percentage comprised only 14.4%, the 8th – 12.8%, the 9th – 7.6% and the 10th – 5.6% of the total number of the population [17, p.77]. The free people would usually be turned into the state peasants; but some of the landowners succeded to have made them serfs. In any way, their conditions would significantly aggravate. Potentially that group could become (an that actually happened when it turned into the middle range mass) the mass resource of the national movement, but the movement itself during the first half of the 19th century could not simply use that protest-oriented human potential.It was also important for Lithuania that the significant group of Lithuanians (more than 253 thousand people in the middle of the 19th century) resided in the Suvalkiyskaya province, the latter being the part of the Polish Kingdom. Personal bondage of peasant was abolished there in 1807. It was not by chance that mainly there the earliest case of participation in the national movement of peasants, i.e. of M. Akelaitis (who published the first Lithuanian primer and planned to organize publication of Lithuanian and Belarusian fcition works) was registered [29, p. 213; 1, p. 21].

A significant role was definitely played by the fact that the numerous group of Lithuanians resided within the territory of Eastern Prussia, i.e at the beginning of 1830s – about 200 000 people, in 1840s – 250 000 Lithunians. Protestants comprised the significant part of them ; the founder of the new Lithuanian literature K. Donelaitis was one of them.Local conditions were more favorable for development of Lithuanian book printing. However, there is no sense in overestimating the liberal nature of the regime. Lithuanians of the Eastern Prussia were exposed to severe Germanization.

In Belarus, in contrast to the Ukraine and Lithuania, besides gentry, categories of free and independent population (on analogy with the Cossacks or free people) were almost absent. Thus, the group of free people (similar to the Lithuanian free population) comprised only 9 000 people 3% of the total population) residing in the Hrodzenskaya and Vilenskaya provinces while in the Mahiliouskaya province such category of people did not exist at all. Annexation of Belarus by Russia did not generally change the social status of peasantry, although it had aggravated its material comditions due to increase in taxation rates. Petty bourgeois of the

privately-owned towns and settlements was another story, i.e. at the expense of turning them into serfs the social structure of the population of Belarus changed as well. However, in both cases the historical myth about Grand Duchy of Litwa could hardly be applied to the same extent as the one as memory about the Hetmanshchyna in articulation of mass protest activities. For the gentry of Lithuania and Belarus memories about the real Recz Pospolita made more sense as compared to the myth-like Duchy.

It is worth mentioning that the historical memory is capable of mobilization of the social group of the population, which is bigger than a narrow circle of historiographers and romantic dreamers, in case it is connected with something more important than simple historical memory, mainly – the social status, prestige, wealth and power. One has to also admit that the gap in the development of the Belarusian national and cultural movement was caused primarily by the low level of modernization (i.e. expansion of education, migration of peasants into towns and cities etc.).

Modernization conditions for development of the national movements in the eastern part of Central Eastern Europe at the border of 19th and 20th centuries.

In the second half of the 19th century the differences in intensity rate of the development of national movements in the region had increased to a greater extent. With a definite degree of certainty one can state that the Estonians became the leaders in that process. That was basically them who first developed and implemented into life the number of national and cultural projects which were later on adopted by (or at least attempts were made to adopt) by other peoples. Thanks to F. Kreuzwald, Estonians managed to have successfully interpreted the folklore material for the benefits of the national life in the form of the „Kelvipoeg„ epos (1857 – 1861). The Latvian analog, i.e. the work by A. Pumpurs, which had been stylistically adopted to the said epos, was published only in 1888. Estonians were the first ones to start organizing the all-national song festivals (1869) while Latvians did that four years later. In 1900 the first volume of the Estonian encyclopedia while Estonias had just started that work. At the same time it should be stressed that the overall range of the Latvian national movement impressed very much. Only in 1880s the annual number of works, published in the Latvian language, comprised up to 200 with the average circulation of 3 000 copies each. National movements in the Ukraine and Lithuania experienced administrative pressure and, of course,

could hardly develop as fast as the ones in Estonia and Latvia. But even there the range of the socially important events was much broader as compared to the one in Belarus. If not the activities of the „Kryvitski Union„ and the „Homanautsy„„ publications by F. Bahushevich at the very end of the 19th century had actually signified the beginning of the real national movement in Belarus. All that was going on at the background of a much lower pressure on the Belarusian movement on the part of the authorities as compared to the one in Lithuania, and especially in the Ukraine [32].

In my opinion, that was mainly the modernization backwardness of Belarus that played an adverse role.Let us begin with analysis of the level of economic activities, specified in the book „Commerce and Industry...„ on the basis of evaluation reference sources. The latter had been enumerated in such a way that their territorial distribution would match territories of modern countries of the region. I do emphasize that this match in territories is of an approximate nature and the data obtained illustrate mainly the tendencies in development of the national movements but do not specify absolutely accurate parameters.

Table 4. ***Commercial and industrial turnover per capita in eastern part of Central Eastern Europe at the end of the 19th century.***

Territories	Commercial turnover per capita (rubles)
Estonia	85,54
Latvia	204,87
Lithuania	39,07
Belarus	25,79
Ukraine (Russian part)	70,26

Low (to be more precise, the lowest) indices that stand for Belarus cause natural surprise. The range of economic activity in Belarus was 8 times lower as compared to Latvia, the leader of that epoch. In addition, lag in range of economic development as compared to the most developed region of that time Russia, i.e. the Moscow industrial strip; 303.2 rub. Per capita) was even bigger – 12 times. Compilers of the „Commerce and Industry…" guide pointed out that the so-called Palesskaya strip (the part of which was Belarus as well, but for the Hrodna and Biarestsie), Lithuania and part of Vilnia with the index of 22.3 rub. turned out to be the weakest one in the European part of Russia and was even lower in comparison with the North forest strip (the Arhanhelskaya and Alanetskaya provinces; 32.4 rubles). Similar contrast can be observed when evaluating gross volumes of

trade and industrial turnovers. In the whole of Belarus with its population of 6.6 mln people it equaled 172 380 thousand rubles; at the same time only in the Riga district with the population of 377 it comprised 252 967 rubles.

I do realize that for some of the readers it will be simply painful to read the above lines. All specialist, and not only, do clearly realize that Belarus was not the most advanced region of the Russian empire. One has to admit that it was the most backward region and that degree of that backwardness was simply fatal. Apart from this context it will hardly be possible to interpret other modernization indices and evaluate peculiarities of ethic and national development. As for application of emotions, the modern Polish historiography clearly illustrates on what potential attitude towards such moments could be. As a reminder, from the point of view of the „Commerce and Industry…" guide Poland, or to be more precise – the part of which was called the „Pryvislinski district", did not look so pessimistic, i.e. annually it equaled 100.6 rubles per capita. However, evaluation of peculiar features of its economic development, presented by A. Hvalba, sounds like this: „Almost all the volume of industry was located within the territory which comprised 7% of the surface of the Kingdom. However, without those two provinces (the Warshauskaya and the Petrkouskaya one) industry of the Kingdom would be as developed as the one in the poorest Balkan states" [24, p. 366, 367].

Along with the level of economic development of provinces under study the level of literacy/education turned out to be one of the most important modernization indices. Data, specified in Table 5, enable us to judge about the absolute level of development of literacy, i.e. the ratio of literate and the population that could potentially become literate (all the below data were borrowed from the materials of the Census of 1897 and treated by the author on 11). Such approach differs a bit as compared to the traditionally accepted one in demographic studies, i.e. when they bring the literate part of the population into correlation with the people who can potentially become literate (at the age of more than 9-10 years). In this respect the findings specified in this paper (as well as the ones specified in my previous works) seem to be understated as compared to the findings of other authors; that was the fact, which R. Radzik also draw our attention to [30, p. 191]. At the same time application of absolute figures corresponds to the methods of the Census of 1897 and, therefore, simplifies the procedure of the use of its findings.

Table 5. ***Literacy rate among the peoples of the eastern part of Central Eastern Europe based on the materials of Census of 1897.***

Peoples	Literate (percentage vs. the whole group)	Literate in Russian (percentage vs. all literate people)
Estonians	80,00	28,71
Latvians	70,93	42,13
Lithuanians	36,80	16, 46
Belarusians	13,50	94,02
Ukrainians	12,93	97,31

The level of literacy did not directly correlate with the level of economic development. Among Latvians it turned out to be lower as compared to Estonians while among Ukrainians it was lower as compared to Belarusians. In spite of the level of economic develop, being almost similar in Belarus and Lithuania, indices of literacy among Belarusians and Lithuanians tended to be significantly different. Correlation of literacy level with the religious background of the population is quiet obvious. The highest level literacy was noted among Protestants and the lowest one – among Orthodox believers; Catholics stood somewhere in the middle. It has been noted that the percentage of literate people among the Latvian Protestants comprised 79.8% while among Latvian Catholics it equaled 44.3%. As for the Catholic and Orthodox traditions, their attitude towards education of females could serve as a marker that could be illustrated on the example of Belarusians. Indices of the four provinces (the Minskaya, the Mahiliouskaya, the Vitsebskaya and the Hrodzenskaya one) speak in favor of the fact that the level of literate population among Catholics (29.9%) was 2.6 times higher as compared to similar findings among the Orthodox believers (11.1%). At the same time, when the level of literacy of Catholic men (33.5%) 1.7 times exceeded the one among the Orthodox males (19.5%), the difference in education level of Catholic women (24.9%) and the Orthodox ones (3.0%) turned out to equal 8 times.

At the same time, in the Baltic countries the level of literacy among women was higher as compared to one in men. The level of education among the Lithuanians of the Kovenskaya province comprised 44.8% in women and 37.0% in men; among Estonians of the Estlandskaya province it equaled 81.5% and 79.9%; among Latvians of the Kurliandskaya province it was equal to 79.3% and 79.0%, correspondingly. It should be stressed that even changes of the Protestant religion for the Orthodox one did not drastically change the situation. Thus, among Orthodox Estonian women (75.0%) and Latvian female Orthodox believers (74.1%)

the level literacy was higher as compared to the one in males (70.8% and 72.8%, corre4spondingly).

Female literacy, in my opinion, was one of the most important indices that preconditioned the rate of development of the national processes. One can hardly disagree with the conclusion of S. Walbi who stated that „woman does not only renew representatives of the ethnic communities but also plays the key role in ideological rebirth of the collective identity and translation of culture" [35, p. 236]. To my mind, under the conditions of the national rebirth in Central Eastern Europe the role of woman was especially high and important. In case when the official system of education would treat the process of formation of the national identity in a hostile way, the only possible institution for its translation remained to a home-organized tuition/education, within the frame of which woman would really play the decisive role.

Data, specified in Table 5, speaks in favor of the fact that Lithuanians to the greatest extent would avoid learning the Russian language. Partially, it could be attributed to the low level of development of the official system of education within the Lithuanian lands, but to the greatest extent it had become the outcome of creation of the alternative system of the mobile and secret schools with the languages of study being Lithuanian or Polish.

Materials of the Census of 1897 enable to conduct comparative evaluation of potential social resources of the national movements. Primarily it goes about the individuals with high level of education and various groups of population, involved in intellectual activities, i.e. teachers, doctors, clerks etc. Due to the relative fewness, numbers of representatives of all those groups were specified not in percentage but in number of them per ten or hundred thousand of populations. Table 6 enables to conclude about the total number of people who can possibly be attributed to the category of intellectuals; in terms of the Census of 1897 they are specified as individuals „with education higher than the primary one".

Table 6. ***Individuals „with education higher than the primary one" among peoples of the eastern part of Central Eastern Europe based on materials of the Census of 1897.***

Ethnic groups	Individuals „with education higher than the primary one"		
	Total, people	Per 10 thousand of ethnic group	Percentage vs. the whole group
Estonians	3442	38,6	15,5*
Latvians	6148	46,6	23,2**
Lithuanians	2726	17,3	9,8
Belarusians	8320	17,8	18,5
Ukrainians	44721	27,2	19,0

* - stands for the example from the Estlandskaya province;
** - stands for the example from the Kurliandskaya province.

The above data speak in favor of the fact that the presence of critical mass of educated people can not serve as the decisive factor. Absolute number of representatives of this group was higher among Belarusians as compared to Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians and even the relative findings tended to be a bit higher as compared to Lithuanians. In their own social environment educated representatives of the local ethnos happened to live under the conditions of discrimination. However, the fact that this index was the lowest one among Lithuanians and twice as low as compared to Belarusians, did not effect the intensity rate of national activity of intellectuals.

The number of scholars who study the history of nationalism (J. Broili, Ya. Grytsak, T. Raun, M. Hroch) [22, 2, 31, 26] emphasize the peculiar role, played in development of the national movements by the representatives of such professions like lawyers, literary workers, scholars and lecturers of universities. Mainly this category of population recruits political leaders and generators of national programs. Materials of the Census of 1897 enable to make detailed analysis of these groups of population as well. Special line in questionnaire of the Census is dedicated to the individuals „involved in private practice" and deal with „science, literature and art". However, in the latter case criteria for attribution of people to that category remain to be clearly unknown, especially whether those kinds of activities would be the only source for their existence or not.

Table 7. Individuals involved in private legal practice, research, literary work and art as specified in the Census of 1897.

Ethnic groups	*Individuals involved in private legal practice*			*Individuals involved in research, literary work and art*		
	Total (individuals)	*Per 100 000 people in ethnic group*	*Percentage vs. rofessio-nal group*	*Total (indivi-duals)*	*Per 100 000 people in ethnic group*	*Percentage vs. professio-nal group*
Estonians	57	6,4	37,9*	69	7,7	19,3*
Latvians	98	7,4	36,0**	251	19,0	30,0**
Lithuanians	32	2,0	7,7	43	2,7	5,5
Belarusians	60	1,2	9,9	89	1,9	9,7
Ukrainians	442	2,7	17,0	467	2,8	11,5

* - stands for the example from the Estlandskaya province;
**- stands for the example from the Kurliandskaya province.

Development lag of Belarusians in this respect is pretty obvious; however, the situation could hardly look worse as compared to the one among Lithuanians. Comparison of these indices with the ones among Latvians, and especially Estonians, proves the fact that absolute number of representatives in each group does not play a major role. From this point of view Belarusians had a sufficient social resource. At the same time the large number of these groups in the Ukraine prevented the Ukrainian movement from development at the same pace as the one in Estonia. The role of these groups turned out to be more important within the structure of the society within the borders of their professional groups. It is obvious that those indices tended to be significantly higher among Estonians and Latvians.

Based on the example of J. Basanavicius and F. Kreuzwald, doctors were considered to be a definite resource and potential for the national movements. Evaluation of this professional group enables to conclude about the relative levels of vertical social mobility as that profession required high degree of education.

Table 8. Individuals involved in medical and sanitary activities as specified in the Census of 1897.

Ethnic groups	*Individuals involved in medical and sanitary activities*		
	Total (individuals)	*Per 100 000 people in ethnic group*	*Percentage vs. professional group*
Estonians	435	48,9	34,5*
Latvians	895	67,8	30,6**
Lithuanians	473	30,1	16,3
Belarusians	1175	24,7	24,5
Ukrainians	3338	20,3	16,1

* - stands for the example from the Estlandskaya province;
** - stands for the example from the Kurliandskaya province.

The groups of priests and teachers turned out to be more numerous and high-scale resources. Mainly those groups served as the real chance for the growing social mobility of the people originating from the peasants' families. Mass activists of national movements would be recruited from that environment. More than that, it is a well-known fact that mainly the families of priests and teachers would give birth to future lawyers, journalists, literary workers and professors who in some time would become the leaders of those movements. It should be stressed that the wording of the Census of 1897 as „involved in teaching and educational activities" would sound broader as compared to only teachers. Individually-employed tutors and governesses etc. were also included onto that list. Also, in Belarus, Lithuania and Ukraine a significant part of the people involved in that sphere belonged to the Jewish teachers who represented their autonomous educational system. In some of previously published works I did not include that category into the study groups. Because of that my previous findings differed from calculations of other authors (e.g. S. Gutier [25]), which was basically paid attention to by R. Radzik [30, p. 143]. To my mind, that was not a crucial mistake. However, in this particular case comparative context makes us compare mainly the whole number of professional groups.

Table 9. Individuals involved in teaching and educational activities as specified in the Census of 1897.

Ethnic groups	*Individuals involved in teaching and educational activities*		
	Total (individuals)	*Per 100 000 people in ethnic group*	*Percentage vs. professional group*
Estonians	1740	195,6	46,6*
Latvians	1942	147,2	38,7**
Lithuanians	684	43,6	15,5
Belarusians	3207	67,4	20,5
Ukrainians	9459	57,6	22,5

* - stands for the example from the Estlandskaya province;
** - stands for the example from the Kurliandskaya province.

The data specified in Table 9 hardly require any commentaries. Significant lag in development of those indices among Lithuanians can easily be explained. As for the scale of development of the official system of education, the Vilenskaya and the Kovenskaya provinces occupied one the final places in the European part of Russia.

It is more difficult to evaluate the situations concerning priests. In materials of the Census of 1897 all of the representatives of Christian religions are divided into the Orthodox ones and representatives of other religions (i.e. Old Believers, Catholics, Protestants united into one category together). Among Estonians and Latvians one could find the great number of Orthodox clergy (66 and 150 priests, correspondingly), which could be quantitatively be compared with the number of Lutheran priests (117 and 143, correspondingly).At the same time they were insufficiently represented within the structure of the professional religious groups (within the range of 20-30%) that can be explained by dominance of Russians among the Orthodox priests and Germans among the Lutheran ones. The latter is closely connected with inheritance of the priest position and the necessity to get university education. It was pretty hard for Latvians and Estonians to break that tradition. Special attention should be paid to the great number of Lithuanians among the Catholic clergy, i.e. total 958 priests. Plus, they dominated within the structure of their professional religious group (55%) while there were only 37.5% of Poles in it. That explains an exclusively high role of Catholic priests in the course of development of the Lithuanian national movement. However, the great number of priests would not mean everything, of course. Among Ukrainians and Belarusians the number of Orthodox priests was numerous as well (18 144 and

2 363, correspondingly); plus, within the structure of the professional religious groups they were also represented not less that Lithuanians were, i.e. 53% and 47%. However, the role of the Ukrainian and Belarusian Orthodox clergy was much lower as compared to the Catholic Lithuanian one. One should also pay attention to a large number of Belarusian Catholic priests – 100 people who comprised 21.6% of the total number of representatives of that group. In general we can conclude that from the point of view of social mobility, Lithuanians, Belarusians and Ukrainians would have more chances to become priests as compared to Latvians and Estonians.

The presence of representatives of the non-dominant groups of the population within the structure of governmental management (i.e. administration, courts, police) would serve as one of the indices of social mobility of nations. In the materials of the Census of 1897 that group occupied a separate line in the questionnaire.

Table 10. Individuals involved in administration, court and police as specified in the Census of 1897.

Ethnic groups	*Individuals involved in administration, court and police*		
	Total (individuals)	*Per 100 000 people in ethnic group*	*Percentage vs. professional group*
Estonians	1173	131,8	52,4*
Latvians	1564	118,6	45,1**
Lithuanians	1095	69,8	18,7
Belarusians	3486	73,2	38,7
Ukrainians	12728	77,5	40,8

*- stands for the example from the Estlandskaya province;
**- stands for the example from the Kurliandskaya province.

Although Estonians and Latvians are represented in this category of the population in the best way, positions of Belarusians and Ukrainians were also pretty significant. A relatively low representation of Lithuanians in this group is explained exclusively by discrimination of the Catholic population, i.e. 24.3% of the administrative positions in Lithuania were occupied by Poles. In general, it should be noted that this index should almost exclusively serve as the indicator of social mobility of the population. Administration clerks are known to be a very weak social resource of the national movements. A clerk is known to greatly depend upon the authorities and is interested in preservation of the existing regime. A clerk will

join the national movement only in case he/she sees his/her perspectives clearly enough.

The most problematic form of the growing mobility for the non-dominant ethnic group was to become the part of the group of powerful businessmen, i.e. the merchant class.

Table 11. Representatives of class of merchants as specified in the Census of 1897.

Ethnic groups	*Representatives of class of merchants*		
	Total (individuals)	*Per 100 000 people in ethnic group*	*Percentage vs. professional group*
Estonians	156	17,5	15,5*
Latvians	865	65,6	10,4**
Lithuanians	67	4,2	1,4
Belarusians	225	4,7	1,9
Ukrainians	4434	27,0	7,4

* - stands for the example from the Estlandskaya province;
**- stands for the example from the Kurliandskaya province.

It is quite obvious that none of the non-dominant groups could achieve dominance within the frame of that class; the presence of Belarusians and Lithuanians in it was real miserable. It can be primarily explained by a low level of development of market economy in those areas of Russia. And the traditional dominance of Jews in that sphere of activities could serve as the secondary cause. In support of this idea we can say that in the Ukraine Jews comprised only 58.3% of all merchants in the country while in Lithuania they comprised 83.1% and 91.5% in Belarus. The great number of Latvians in this group proves the level of modernization to be the decisive one in this case. The issue of equality of merchants and bourgeoisie in the social context deserves special discussion. But even in case it was absolute, one should not overestimate its role. According to J. Broily, interests of bourgeoisie do not always coincide with the interests of national movements. It is for sure, that in Cases of the Ukraine and, especially, Latvia, bourgeoisie had definitely played a certain role; however, although in case of Lithuania that role was miserable and it failed to effect the intensity rate of development of the national movement in that area.

Migration of the rural population served as the most typical form of horizontal social mobility of people. Materials of the Census of 1897 enable to thoroughly evaluate this issue.

Table 12. Representation of native ethnic groups within the structure of urban population as specified in the Census of 1897.

Ethnic groups	*Population*		
	Total (individuals)	*Per 100 000 people in ethnic group*	*Percentage vs. total urban population*
Estonians	100.265	10,4	67,4
Latvians	210.230	15,9	38,1
Lithuanians	26.645	1,7	7,7
Belarusians	107.127	2,2	16,5
Ukrainians	904.340	5,5	32,2

It is easy to figure out that Lithuanians, based on their indices, tended to be the least urbanized population of the eastern part of Eastern Central Europe; even Belarusians would have higher rates of urbanization process in their towns and cities. The level of urbanization among other peoples remained to be rather low as well. In spite of the fact that among Latvians that level turned out to be thrice as high as compared to Ukrainians, Latvians predominantly remained the rural inhabitants. Special attention should be paid to the fact that only Estonians remained to be the only people in the region with the predominance of the urban population among them.

Materials of the Census of 1897 enable to conduct comparative evaluation of a social-class structure of the population. It is clear that at the end of the 19th century class division did not often match the social one; especially in the regions where intensity rate of development of the market and capitalist relations was higher the level of social mobility was high as well. At the same time, the class structure, even in spite of a definite degree of formality, would significantly influence upon the character of development of national mobilization.

Table 13. Social and class structure of ethnic groups of eastern part of Central Eastern Europe as specified in the Census of 1897.

Ethnic groups	Classes, number of people				
	Nobles	Clergy	Merchants	Petty bourgeois	Peasants
Estonians	583	321	156	23.649	856.924
Latvians	1.235	294	865	52.919	1.265.415
Lithuanians	40.188	548	67	61.308	1.463.627
Belarusians	83.857	7.849	225	272.364	4.382.550
Ukrainians	88.834	51.724	4.434	935.667	15.239.343

Table 14. Social and class structure of ethnic groups of eastern part of Central Eastern Europe as specified in the Census of 1897.

Ethnic groups	Classes, percentage of the whole group				
	Nobles	Clergy	Merchants	Petty bourgeois	Peasants
Estonians	0,06	0,03	0,01	2,65	96,30
Latvians	0,09	0,02	0,06	4,01	95,96
Lithuanians	2,56	0,03	0,00	3,90	93,30
Belarusians	1,77	0,17	0,00	5,73	92,14
Ukrainians	0,54	0,31	0,02	5,69	92,80

It is clearly seen from the tables that from the point of view of class attribution all peoples of the region were the „peasant" ones. In this case Estonians turned out to be the most „peasant" ones while Belarusians happened to be of a „peasant" nature to the lowest degree. Again, this fact adds to the idea of relativity of class division in the region. The great share of nobles within the social structure among Lithuanians and Belarusians deserves special attention. The role of that group in the development of national movements is based pretty much on a love-hate principle. Victory of the egalitarian national movements means for the nobility a pretty painful loss of social status and identity in the „primary" understanding of this word. In cases where development of modernization itself devalued their significance, that situation would be treated in a less painful way; on the contrary (like in case of Belarus) – no! „Primary" nature of attributes of class identity, to be more precise – social distance in the relationship with peasantry, tended to have significantly limited participations of the nobles in the national movement. On the other hand, multiplicity of the nobility who had the privileged access to education and, correspondingly, to social position that would require the latter, created an additional obstacle, a filter, on the way to the increasing social mobility of petty bourgeois and peasants; the latter significantly limited creation of mass potential resources for national movements.

Conclusions

Belarusians seem to be one of the last peoples in Europe who joined the process of their national rebirth. It was caused by numerous reasons, the essence of which can be most clearly seen upon the bilateral comparison.

Development lag of Estonians was preconditioned by the following reasons. First of all, the level of modernization in Estonia turned out to be much higher.

High level of literacy of the population happened to play almost the most crucial role; it comprised 99% among the adult population of Estonians. Development of horizontal and vertical social mobility also played an important role. Estonians, as no one other nation in the region, managed to have created stable multi-generation communities which quantitatively dominated in the urban environment. At the same time, it should be stressed that the level of urbanization was comparatively not so high, i.e. there were no big cities or major industrial centers in the region. Development of social mobility preconditioned development of not only intellectuals of mass professions (primarily, teachers) but also highly educated intellectuals who were capable of developing the national ideology. Their circle was not so numerous, by the way. We can conclude based on this fact that the critical mass of intelligentsia is not supposed to be high for it to become national.

Second of all, rapid development of the Estonian national movement was favored by a specific for the region pronounced prostate of ethno-social structure of the population. Social contradictions among the absolute majority, represented by Estonians and the German minority were so obvious that it would not require special efforts to formulate its ethnic terminology.

Third of all, the fact that most of the Estonians worshipped Protestantism, the latter having the biggest potential for symbiosis with nationalism (as compared to any other nations), played a very important role as well.

Fourth of all, successful process of rebirth of Finns (especially at the initial stages of the development of the movement) definitely influenced upon the intellectuals of Estonia.

And, finally, peculiar ethnolinguistic nature of Estonians, which to a definite degree secured them from Russification and Germanization, definitely contributed very much to the success of the nation.

All the above mentioned enabled Estonians to successfully overcome the influence of those factors, which could question even potential creation of their national community, including the so-called „non-historical aspect", i.e. the absence of whatever phenomenon, which could be treated as former State organization; absence of uniform self-consciousness and even the proper ethnonym; division based on the religion worshipped; absence of the „Piedmont" factor. Nevertheless, historical development of the Estonian nation speak in favor of the fact that all these obstacles could be easily removed and the new nation could be easily created on the basis of the traditional culture of peasantry.

The Latvian situation has much in common, i.e. high level of education/literacy, social mobility, and religious orientation as well as ethnic and lingual originality

of Latvians played their favorable role. However, the number of circumstances made realization of the Latvian project more complicated as compared to the Estonian one. It was not only history but folklore as well would give insufficient amount of „resources" for reconstruction of the myth about the „heroic past" of the nation. Serious religious, cultural and linguistic differences, fixed on the level of self-consciousness, turned out to be the most serious obstacle on that way. Religious differences, which were much stronger as compared to the ones among Belarusians, should also be added to the list of the obstacles. In combination with the pronounced regionalism of the people (as in case of Latgalia) they tended to significantly aggravate formation of all-nation consciousness. The Latvian ethno-social structure of the population happened to be much more complicated as compared to the one in Estonia. However, all the above obstacles had been successfully removed, primarily, due to the highest in the region level of economic development, and, second of all, because of the large scale development of social mobility and creation of comparatively numerous and nationally-conscious bourgeoisie and, third of all, due to high level of urbanization and the presence of such a large city like Riga.

Comparative evaluation of the above situation with the Ukrainian one requires a more detailed analysis. Here, besides the existence of the modernization differences, the „historical consciousness" and „Piedmont" factors played their important role. The factor of the Eastern Galicia tended to significantly influence upon the development of the all-Ukranian movement. But, in my opinion, the national movement in the upper-Dnepr Ukraine had bigger chances for development as compared to the one in Belarus, even if the Eastern Galicia would never exist in reality.

It was, primarily, favored by the presence of the „historical consciousness" which had a definite social voice among those groups of the society which suffered from the liquidation of the Hetmanshchyna, i.e. the representatives of the nobility, in the environment of which the idea of „autonomism" was developed, the numerous „minor Russian Cossacks" who lost their social status and good name, and, finally, the multi-million peasantry that lost their individual freedom. Multiplicity in ways of social development in the first half of the 19th century played a significant role as well. That was the time when the number of serf peasants tended to reduce in the Ukraine while in Belarus, on the contrary.

Expedited development of the Ukrainian movement (as compared to the Belarusian one) was favored by a significantly bigger (twice as much) presence of Ukrainians among the urban population of the region. The phenomenon of Poltava

can serve as a good example, i.e. at the end of the 19th century Ukrainians comprised 57% of its population. Even close situation could hardly be found in the towns and cities of Belarus. In spite of the fact that Ukrainians and Belarusians (as any other peoples of the region) were known to be predominantly the rural people, percentage of the Ukrainian urban population was two times higher than among Belarusians. Belarusians demonstrated significantly lower degree in development of social resources of their national movements. Absence of university centers not only prevented from formation of the nationally-oriented team of professors; it also significantly limited possibilities of social mobility. The number of peasants with university education in the Ukraine at the end of the 19th century was 20 times higher as compared to Belarus.

Besides the significant social resources, more favorable development of the Ukrainian movement was favored by the higher (twice as much) level of market activities and much earlier emergence of the local self-government system, the latter contributing much to the creation of local infrastructure of the movement. The factors, aggravating development of the Ukrainian nation, comprised, primarily, a very low educational level of the population; it was even lower as compared to Belarus. That was one of the main reasons that resulted in the significant decrease of the audience of the national movement. A definite role was also played by a significantly higher level of migration of the Russian population into the Ukrainian cities and villages (that could hardly be observed in Belarus).

Comparative evaluation of the Lithuanian and Belarusian variants is considered to be the most interesting and important. Both ethnic territories belonged to the economically most underdeveloped ones in the European part of the Russian empire. Lithuanians, on analogy with Belarusians, were known to be the rural people. Percentage of the urban population in Lithuania turned out to be lower as compared to Belarus. Both peoples were deprived of having university centers within their territories in the second half of the 19th century- beginning of the 20th century. Percentage of the Lithuanian population with the education „higher than the primary one" was lower than in Belarus. At the same time, in spite of the belated beginning of the Lithuanian national movement, that latter tended to develop in a very dynamic way. It is significant that Lithuanians were the second nation (after Poles) in the Empire who demanded formation of their national state. Factors of expedited development of the Lithuanian movements were different. First of all, at the background of general low level of economic development, Lithuania managed to have achieved the minimal necessary level of economic activity, which was absent within the significant part of the territory of Belarus. Second of all,

peculiarities of social history of Lithuania also contributed to that process. Among them was a relatively early abolishment of serfdom in Suwalki, the loss of social status by a great number of free population and decrease in percentage of serf population in the first half of the 19th century. All the above factors contributed to the formation of a rather large group of a middle-class peasantry who became the key support in the national movement. Third of all, a significantly higher level of literacy in Lithuania significantly differed the latter from Belarus and secured mass audience for the national movement. Especially it could be vividly seen among the Lithuanian women. It should be stressed that Lithuanians (to the greatest degree as compared to other peoples and ethnic groups) avoided studies of Russian; actually, they created the alternative official system of education. Fourth of all, Eastern Prussia played a significant role; that was the area where more favorable conditions for Lithuanian book printing and periodicals existed as compared to Russia. Fifth of all, activities of the Lithuanian emigrants (including the ones in the USA) were of great importance for recognition of legitimacy of Lithuanian historical rights for their State system.

However, all the above can hardly explain the main phenomenon of the Lithuanian national movement, i.e. the unbelievable activity of a small number of exclusively energetic intelligentsia who were deprived of natural consolidation centers. Behavior of the intelligentsia was, obviously, preconditioned by the following factors. First of all, it was due to the stimulating role of the „historical memory". Lithuanians were almost the only people in the region, the „historical background" of whom did not arise any significant doubt. More than that, activists of the Lithuanian movement did not need to apply their efforts in order to articulate their historical myth. That had already been accomplished by the generation of the Polish-speaking romantics-„krayoutsy". Second of all, that was the successful movement of Latvians which served both as a good example and as an article of envy. And, third of all, last but not least, that was the factor of ethnic mentality. Modern ethnopsychology, unfortunately, can not evaluate or properly explain this phenomenon. This is the very subtle aspect of the national character that was mentioned about by G. Shpat at the beginning of the 19th century. However, that was mainly that „intangibility", which secured phenomenal national consolidation of Lithuanians, especially at the time and under the conditions when even theoretically it could hardly be achieved. And, obviously, that was the same „intangibility", which, in contrast to Latvians, helped to withstand the assault of the German expansion in the 13th century and to create a powerful state – Grand Duchy of Litwa.

Comparative evaluation of the process of formation of national communities in the eastern part of Central Eastern Europe enables to treat the basic postulates of the modern theoretical discourse in a critical way. It explains the casual nature of definite manifestations of nationalism. Apart from the Lithuanian case, the rest of the regions under study would easily fall into the context of modernist vision of genesis of nations.

In each definite case one or two factors would become the decisive one(s), e.g. high level of modernization of Latvia, simplicity and obvious conflict-generating ethnosocial situation in Estonia, „historical" nature of Lithuanians and social significance of the „historical memory" among Ukrainians. From the point of view of social preconditions and resources Belarusians happened to obviously be in the worst situation possible among all the peoples of the region. The majority of factors, necessary for successful development of a national movement tended to be either underdeveloped (e.g. general level of modernization, market activity, level of urbanization of population, social mobility, literacy/education, religious and ethnolinguistic isolation as a means of protection from potential danger of assimilation) or to be absent at all (university centers, „historical" aspect, the factor of „Piedmont"). Therefore, evident lag in development of national consolidation of Belarusians in the 19th – beginning of the 20th century was of an objectively preconditioned nature.

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РЭЗЮМЭ

Беларусы сталі адным з апошніх народаў ў Цэнтральна-Усходняй Еўропе, які ўступіў на шлях нацыянальнага адраджэння. Гэта было выклікана шматлікімі чыннікамі. Сярод іх часцей за ўсё згадваюць асаблівасці мовы і культуры, якія рабілі беларусаў найменш абароненымі ад асіміляцыйных уплываў Польшчы і Расіі, адсутнасць уласнага „П'емонту", негатыўныя наступствы ліквідацыі ўніяцкай царквы. На падставе параўнальнага аналізу сацыяльных прадумоваў нацыянальнага адраджэння ў эстонцаў, латышоў, літоўцаў, украінцаў і беларусаў аўтар прыходзіць да высновы, што адставанне нацыянальнай мабілізацыі беларусаў было выклікана не толькі гэтымі, але і шэрагам іншых чыннікаў. У тым ліку сваю ролю адыгралі асаблівасці сацыяльнай гісторыі, мадэрнізацыі ў XIX пач. XX ст., пашырэння пісьменнасці. У першай палове XIX ст. сацыяльную структуру насельніцтва Беларусі істотна адрознівала надзвычай высокая вага прыгонных сялян. На мяжы XIX і XX ст. Беларусь займала адно з апошніх месцаў ў рэгіёне па узроўні развіцця рынкавай актыўнасці і сацыяльнай мабільнасці. Падкрэсліваецца асаблівая роля жаночай пісьменнасці, параўнальна нізкі ўзровень якой быў абумоўлены як агульнай мадэрнізацыйнай адсталасцю, так і спецыфічнымі канфесіянальна-рэгіянальнымі асаблівасцямі.

Маштабы нацыянальнай мабілізацыі народаў рэгіёна, у кожным канкрэтным выпадку былі абумоўлены ўнікальным спалучэннем фактараў. Вызначальнымі станавіліся адзін, ці некалькі чыннікаў, такі як, напрыклад, высокі ўзровень мадэрнізаванасці Латвіі, прастата і відавочная канфліктагеннасць этнасацыяльнай сітуацыі ў Эстоніі, „гістарычнасць" літоўцаў і сацыяльнае значэнне „гістарычнай памяці" украінцаў.

З пункту гледжання сацыяльных прадумоваў і рэсурсаў беларусы знаходзіліся ў найгоршай сітуацыі сярод усіх народаў рэгіёна. Пераважная большасць чыннікаў неабходных дзеля паспяховага развіцця нацыянальнага руху былі альбо слаба выяўленымі, альбо цалкам адсутнічалі. Відавочнае адставанне нацыянальнай кансалідацыі беларусаў ў XIX – пачатку XX ст. мела аб'ектыўна абумоўлены характар.

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Nation as a Product of Social Communication?

(Report on the issue of comparison of the Czech and Belarusian „models")

When comparing processes of formation of nations in Czech Republic and in Belarus we should avoid superficial comparison. We would definitely not need to apply monumental efforts to prove the fact that somewhere around 1900, i.e. at the time of the beginning of the formation of the Belarusian „phase B", the Czech national life was developed to a greater extent and the Czech nation was considered to be an almost completely formed community with its academic elite, bourgeoisie etc., i.e. the elements that were not present in case of Belarus. Nobody can feel any doubt about this fact. However, to use it as a tool for explanation of reasons and interrelations, and especially the phenomenon of the Belarusian movement, one can hardly rely upon its low self-descriptiveness.

If it goes about comparison that can eventually result in something, we should select the different time frame and compare these two processes not using a synchronous absolute chronology but the principle of coincidence of analogous situa-

tions. In our case the period of the initial national propaganda campaign can serve as the analogous situation; this is the period of transference from the scientific and romantic interest, typical for „phase A", to the nation-involved „phase B". Only based on selection of the time axis we can try to answer the question on why, actually, a group of people decided to unleash its patriotic propaganda campaign, i.e. to come up with the name of the national identity that could be applied to their „own" ethnic group. Applying the term of „rebirth" we need to keep in mind that we do it in a metaphoric way, i.e. realization of the idea about the existence of some kind of original nation that had kept „sleeping" through all this time and which has to be woken up and restored, belongs to the ballast that we have inherited from the 19th century and which we have to say good bye to. Before emergence of the national movement we can hardly say about the existence of the Czech and the Belarusian nation. Prior to that time there existed the ethnic groups (sometimes they apply the terms of „ethnos" and ethnie"), representatives of which would have a more or less high degree of understanding their own identity. Anthony Smith, the British sociologist, using this definition recognizes the two opposite types of „ethnie", i.e. a group could be the ethnic category which could be identified as the original one and different from the rest of similar categories. At the same time representatives of that group did not recognize that difference and sometimes that did not even have the generally-accepted identification of themselves. On the other hand, the ethnic society was formed by people who had their own name and shared common understanding about their origin and definite elements of their collective memory. They also realized what their relationship to a definite, although not clearly identified, territory was. Even at this stage one could see the difference, i.e. at the time before the start of the national movement the Czech community presented itself as a definite ethnic community, the Belarusian people were somewhere on the border of the stage of transition from ethnic category to ethnic community.

That difference turned out to be significant for the ability of the said population to percept the exterior impulses, in cases of which social communication served as a middle-man. We will pay the main attention mainly to this factor not only because the problem of social communication has not been sufficiently analyzed in the reference materials under study. Primarily, this emphasis is due to the fact that mainly in this sphere of social activities one should search for the explanation of the reasons of „delay" of the Belarusian national propaganda.

More than half a century ago Karl Deutsch, an American political scientist of a Bohemian-and-Jewish origin published the book entitled „Nationalism and Social Communication". In this material he characterizes a modern nation as

a community of people who are united by „complementary nature of social communication" that leads to „complementary nature of adopted social and economical preferences". According to the author, the sign of such complementary phenomenon deals with capability to more efficiently communicate with representatives of one large group (in this case the one of their own) as compared to the external ones. K. Deutsch was sure that intensity and complementary nature of communication could be evaluated on the basis of quantitative findings of its constituent elements, which, according to the author, comprised primarily the horizontal social mobility (migration in search of jobs), the vertical social mobility (social growth) as well as the level of education and involvement in public life.

The concept of K. Deutsch remained unknown for one decade and only during 1960s it evoked interest among researchers. I belonged to those historians who were the first ones to have applied social communication as the foundation for explanation of the phenomenon of a social basis and territorial structure of national movements; nevertheless, I was aware of at least three weak points in that theory.

First , the said theory could be applied only to the period of time prior to appearance of modern mass media, i.e. television and radio as the latter introduced an absolutely different way of dissemination of information. It differed not only in its higher intensity rate but it also opened the way to manipulation of the choice and treatment of the information obtained.

Second , both success and failure of national movement can not be directly explained only from the point of view of the difference in rate of intensity of social communication as for the national identity the essence and the lingual form of the information offered play a very important, if not the most crucial role. In this case social communication acts as a middle man of this kind of information. For example, the information itself on how to better plough land, or to breed bees, or to esteem saints is far from being significant as it is. But this information can acquire a nation-mobilizing meaning if a saint is represented as a national saint or the information is addressed in „their own native" language.

Third , communication is not an abstract notion, which exists without taking into account social division of labor, and, therefore, its influence is socially predetermined. The flow of information comprising the conditions of production distribution is of importance for the industrialists, but it can not be used as a basis for live communication among the workers or peasants. It is also of great importance on *WHO* is the carrier of this or that piece of information. Live information exchange among the bureaucracy can not possibly effect communication among vast circles of the population in the country.

This article does not aim to fundamentally explain the essence of the formation of nation under the Belarusian conditions; let us leave this issue for the more qualified specialists. We aim to attract attention to some other research potential and ascertain to what extent the role of social communication can be applied in justification of the national movement in general, and its „Belarusian model" as compared to other European national movements, in particular. Especially it is of interest to compare it to the Czech national movement, which, figuratively speaking, is situated on the „opposite pole" of typology of processes of nation- formation. I will attempt to verify and to prove the postulate that the main difference between the Czech and Belarusian national movements (as of their periodization, intensity rate and character) lies in the principle difference in intensity and complementary nature of social communication in these two countries. This assumption arises out of my previous works and is based on the fact that the Czech national movement, having been developing under the conditions of a well-developed social communication, can serve as one (but not the only) of the examples of a rather successful and early formation of the modern nation, emerging from the situation of a non-predominant ethnic group.

It was on the verge of the 19th century when almost simultaneously the national propaganda campaign started and which aimed at purposeful spread of the new national identity only in cases of Hungary, Norway and Greece. The Belarusian national movement, as compared to other similar European movements, on analogy with the Macedonian and the Albanian one, was considered to be one of most retarded due to a very low level of development of social communication. Can we speak about an accidental correlation in this case?

For better illustration of further explanation it would be useful to specify the major components of social communication. Upon comparative evaluation of national movements we can treat them as various types of criteria of comparison. They are as follows:

1. Simple personal relations within the frame of regular division of labor under the same roof served as the elementary form of communication. Therefore, higher intensity rate of communication turns out to exist in the cities and places with higher degree of social division of labor;
2. Communication, conducted and controlled by the traditional Church that was exercised within the course of public worship and regular everyday life of the congregation;
3. Communication/relations with the institutions of local administration (landowners) or the governmental bodies;

4. Military service, although being a rather specific but nevertheless a very effective constituent in relationship with the government from the point of view of formation of identity;
5. Spread of primary education that would lead to literacy among the population, i.e. their ability to read and/or to write;
6. Interpersonal relations on the level of the local market, the efficacy of which would definitely depend upon the frequency of visits to the market;
7. Independent (especially trade) business activities and the mobility of an individual, arising out of it, which exceed the bounds of the estate or the market;
8. The presence of periodical publications and other printed materials published in the language spoken by the participants of the national movement;
9. Higher education (gymnasia, universities);
10. Regular travel in search for a job (in case possibility for finding a part-time or seasonal job could exist);

In case we apply the above ten criteria as the criteria for comparison of the role of social communication in Czech and Belarusian national movement, we can obtain a rather contrasting picture, the latter could be successfully used in typology of both movements within the European context.

Seemingly, criterion # 1 would not demonstrate significant difference between the two situations. But, in case we can not treat communication of people within the course of their professional activities as interpersonal relations, we can face the problem on what the actual incidence of such kind of meetings could be. If we neglect meetings of people in church, in such a case the only public spheres of communication in the old time villages would only be visits to the locals taverns and attendance of folk festivals of predominantly religious nature. In this case I can only specify the issues for further research or formulate the question on what the network of local taverns in Belarus was and what their functions could be. Or, what was the frequency and character of the folk festivals (the ones that are known in the Czech medium as pilgrimage, village fairs, religious procession)? The nature of the rural construction, the network of settlements as well as the different type of family would play even more important role. The essence of the Czech twin families would also foresee the higher incidence rate of regular contacts among relatives, especially on the days of family celebrations (i.e. baptizing of children or wedding ceremonies). While considering the issue of personal communication we should also take into account the natural conditions and density of populated areas. Interpersonal communication in the densely populated areas with the transient roads would definitely favor regular and frequent contacts as compared to the

places with low level of density of population (in the mountainous or marshland areas).

2. Communication, mediated by clergy, was known to be a regular thing in the Czech culture and regularity/irregularity of attendance of religious services at the time of the onset of the national movement was known to be still informally controlled by the priest and the „public opinion" of the rural inhabitants. The Czech Church organization was known to be of the regional nature and each of the regions would have their own „national" festivals and holidays; most of the clergy would belong to the Czech ethnos and in spite of Latin being the official language of Church, religious services were conducted in the Czech language. As for the Belarusian rural areas, Church was always Orthodox there, i.e. the Russian one. Therefore, the question remains like this: Is it possible to verify the origin of clergy of the Orthodox Church and what language did they apply in their activities? Or, how significant was the sermon, delivered by an Orthodox priest vs. the Catholic one? I do believe that the generally recognized assumption about lower education level of the Orthodox clergy as compared to the Catholic one can be applied to the Belarusian environment as well. It could obviously affect the quality level of the information disseminated among the parishioners. Taking into account that part of the Belarusian population was Catholic-oriented, what role did that play in the Belarusian national movement?

3. No quantification is required to prove the fact that that the administrative system, and, consequently, bureaucracy in the Habsburg empire tended to be more developed in the pre-revolutionary period as compared to the one in tsarist Russia; that was the reason why the regular people would contact the administrative bodies more often than in Russia. A very important social factor should be taken into account in this case that while the Czech ethnos would comprise also middle and lower levels of the urban population, i.e. localities, where communication with the administrative bodies was more frequent, the Belarusian one would consist of only rural inhabitants.

4. The role of military service in Russia cannot be compared to the service in the army of the Habsburg empire at the end of the 19th century, since the military service system significantly differed as compared to the one in Russia. Nevertheless, we can assume that a soldier of the Austrian army would receive much more information about his native land vs. the Russian one. The linguistic aspect of communication in the army was of a definite significance as well. Beginning with the times of ruling of Maria-Theresia, an Austrian officer would do his best to find the common language with a non-German speaking soldier while in the Russian

army it was a belief that the soldiers of the Belarusian origin were supposed to understand Russian.

5. The difference in the level of literacy in Russia vs. the western part of the Habsburg Empire was known to be much lower, i.e. at that time an illiterate Czech person was an exception from the rule while in the rural areas of Belarus the predominant number of the population was illiterate. The absence of the urban medium played its adverse role as well. With a definite degree of certainty we can assume that at the beginning of the national movement within the territory of Belarus the level of literacy approximately equaled the level of literacy in the Czech regions prior to the reforms organized by Maria-Theresia; the number of Czech people who could read and write during the times of the national movement in their area tended to be significantly higher as compared to the one among Belarusians. As for the increase of the level of literacy, we should take into account the idea that within the course of the formation of the ethnic identity they key role was played by literacy, acquired in primary schools where teaching was conducted in the native language (as in the Czech environment) and in the foreign language (Russian) as it happened to be among Belarusians.

6. Regular market relations were considered to be the natural element of the urban life. For the above specified reasons that fact was definitely more important for Czechia. The Czech rural people would come to the local or city markets on the regular basis beginning with the 18th century, if not earlier. Visiting those market places would not be limited down to elementary exchange of goods; it also comprised personal communication among the people, residing in the remote areas, plus, not only at the market but at the taverns as well. The Czech language was spoken predominantly in the majority of the cities of the Czech speaking core territory of Bohemia by the craftsmen and small traders. In such an indirect way the rural people would learn about some events, which happened in the remote settlements; they could not learn about those events sitting in their own villages in cases their priest would not have told about them. As far as I know, regular attendance of market places was not a common picture within the territory of Belarus (such market places almost did not even exist there). Exchange of goods would be done on the level of middle-men who would personally come to the villages and bring their own goods in exchange for the local ones. In the majority of cases those middlemen were of Jewish origin and it is not likely that the latter would become the informal carriers of information. Plus, the majority of the urban population in cities and towns did not belong to the Belarusian ethnos and in the majority of cases did not even belong to the Orthodox creed. However, it was not typical exclusively

for Belarus. Such situation could be observed in Lithuania and the Galician part of Ukraine.

7. Commercial business, exceeding the bounds of the local market, was not typical for the Czech peasants (if not to take into account the „long distance transport"services). However, among traders from the Czech cities and towns we can come across the cases of businessmen at the end of the 18th century, especially in the area where local textile industry was developed on a high scale. That business was organized on the principle of the so-called „scattered manufacturing".

Those Czech traders, who in the majority of cases were far from being rich, could easily transfer to their rural buyers at least some elements of knowledge about the environment, i.e. life abroad and the „foreigners".

8. Ability to read was not so significant for national activation until the time when the potential readers had gotten the periodical press and other editions published in the language which they clearly understood and containing the information that would present interest for them. It was already in the 17th century when they began publishing popular and religious literature in the Czech language; in the 18th century they began publishing the enlightening literature while at the end of the 18th century the newspapers began to be published and from 19920s on the cultural, family and literary journals were printed. In Belarus such a phenomenon could not simply be possible until the revolution of 1905. The „Nasha Niva" turned out to be the first periodical which addressed vast circles of Belarusian-speaking readers. It was only at the beginning of the Soviet period in development of Belarus when mass publishing and dissemination of literature in Belarusian began.

9. Within the Habsburg lands from the times of reforms of Maria-Theresia access to higher education was not limited either by the origin or, to some extent, by the financial status of students. Any gifted young man could enter any school or university providing that he could speak German and his parents could finance his studies, be it from their own pockets or that could be the church-paid (and later on – the state one) stipend. Poor students could also make extra money by means of giving their private lessons. The probable psychological barrier which could prevent parents with no higher education from sending their children to the university had been overcome long time ago as the peasants started sending one of their sons to the theological seminary. Thus, sending children from the rural areas to study in towns and cities became the natural thing. As for the Belarusian population, this issue looked absolutely different. Access to higher education in the first half of the 19th century was granted only to the children originating from the families of nobles. Plus, it was not so easy to get rid of bondage. Even after abolition of

serfdom in Russia only in exceptional cases Belarusians were granted a chance to get higher education. They were destined to only get teachers or religious training, both of them being conducted on a very low level. More than that, I an inclined to think that some of the students, originating from the ethnic Belarusian medium, had automatically adopted the Russian ethnicity having entered the universities of Moscow and St. Petersburg. In addition it is worth mentioning that a relative „democracy" within the system of the Habsburg monarchy was not a trivial thing in that time Europe. Even during the 19th century sons from the lower layers of the society did not have an access to higher education in the developed and liberal lands, such as England or France. In Scandinavian countries the number of students from the peasant and craftsman families was significantly lower as compared to the countries of Central Europe; although here the psychological barrier played the decisive role.

Along with the commencement of the industrial era travel in search of a job became a burning social phenomenon and its role in formation of national consciousness is often underestimated. This very phenomenon should become the issue of a definite historical research both in the Czech and Belarusian contexts.

The aspect of the social composition should be added to all the above indices, i.e. at the time when the Belarusian ethnos would reside primarily in the rural areas, the Czech ethnos was favorably represented by the middle and lower layers of urban populations of Bohemia, to be more precise, very close to the Czech-speaking villages. Due to the fact that the urban medium had already developed communication relations among the people, it becomes obvious that the social composition of the population itself created preconditions for a more rapid dissemination of information in Czechia at the beginning of the 19th century while in Belarus it happened only one hundred years later.

Significance of the above findings of levels of communication should be attributed to one more context. As it has been mentioned in the introduction of the article, communication should not be treated as an abstract force. Communication would exercise transfer of information which could be accepted and become significant for the national identification only in that case if, first of all, that information would concern the nation and national arguments, and, second of all, if its addressees were capable of understanding it. In general, national mobilizing effect of the patriotic information would depend upon how the addressees could locate the information within the context of their cognition, symbols, and their scope of mind. In other words the information could influence only in case when it could at least partially present the information about the common experience, about the

commonly shared knowledge and stereotypes. Thus, it was of importance how structurally consciousness of addresses was organized and to what extent it had been „prepared" by the previously disseminated information. Again, in this respect the Czech national propaganda turns out to be in a more favorable initial situation .. A regular Czech man in the street, residing either in the city or in the village, had already digested the information about his being a inhabitant of the Kingdom, that he lives either in Bohemia or Moravia and that „his" land, besides other saints, enjoys having its own „patrons" (St. Vaclav, St, Kirill and Mephodiy and others). Basic level of education, which was promoted thanks to the reforms by Maria-Theresia, at that time already contained the basic information about „Motherland" which could also comprise some facts about the „national" history. When the Czech patriots would come up with the new national identity, in such a case their national propaganda could serve as a mutual exchange of information about the common experience, common feelings and life postures. Under the conditions of the Russian tsarist autocratic state everything looked completely different.

All the above data speak in favor of significance of social communication as an indirect factor in formation of the nation, i.e. such an element, which, although not being of a nature of the national propaganda, could increase the probability of the real propaganda to be a success. Consequently, we can not conclude that formation of a modern nation (and to be more precise – success of the national movement) served as the result of high intensity rate of the social communication. Such a conclusion would be nothing more than a mere simplification of the reality. Interrelation between communication and recognition of national identity could not be a

linear relationship of cause and effect. This thesis can be verified in case we cast a glance at the territory of Europe and try to evaluate similarities and differences in some of the above specified criteria.

In case we choose the urban medium as an index of our comparison, we can see that the national movements which had entered the stage of national propaganda earlier, tended to be the movements which were predominantly joined by the urban population of the country, i.e. the Czechs, Norwegians, Greeks, Hungarians. In contrast to that the majority of the lagging national movements would find support primarily in the rural areas, i.e. Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, Ukrainians and, of course, Belarusians. In both cases one could come up with the set of opposite examples (could that be an exception from the rule?), e.g. early Serbian national liberation movement was known to originally be a rural movement; at the same time the Catalonian belated movement turned to be the predominantly urban one.

The movements, occupying the borderline position between the towns and rural settlements, would enter phase"B" staying between the two extremes, i.e. approximately in 1830s-40s it could be attributed to Croatians, Slovenians, Fins, Bulgarians and Flemings.

Results of comparison based on the index of literacy turned out to be ambivalent as well. Along with the Czechs the Norwegians (but not Poles or Hungarians) demonstrated in their early national movements high level of their elementary education. A pretty high level of education was characteristic for the Fins and Slovenians; nevertheless, national movements began and achieved success at the same time with less educated Croatians. The level of education in early movement of the Serbs turned out to be higher as compared to the one in late movements of the Irishmen, Ukrainians and Belarusians. In this case we need to also take into account the social composition of ethnos. The ethnos, comprising medium, high as well as urban layers of the society, demonstrated high level of their education but it did not necessarily mean that literacy had to significantly deal with the majority of the rural population. In particular, this idea can be attributed to Poland, Hungary, Catalonia, Ireland.

It would be a mistake to associate the phenomenon of school education and national consciousness only with the issue of literacy. Recognition and acceptance of national identity depended not only on the technical skills in the form of ability to read. The text to read, which would offer such an identity, on analogy with the oral word, was supposed to be understood as well. For anyone to be able to equally accept identity together with a large group of people, i.e. the nation, was necessary for him/her to realize that he/she belonged to the community of people, the majority of whom he would never meet and known in person. More than twenty years ago Benedict Anderson characterized a nation as an „imagined community", i.e. as the community, the representatives of which were capable of presenting the given community if the form of an abstract notion. However, such capability can not be inherited by man. Education is known to grant this capacity to a young man, i.e. only people, who attended school at the age when they could think in an abstract way (roughly at the age of 11-12), turned out to be able to accept identity similar to the one of a nation. In case of application of this general notion to our comparison we can see that the role of school education in achieving success within the course of national propaganda is getting more and more important (however, it is not only limited to trivial literacy of man). Ability to absorb the abstract notion of a "nation" and authentication of it with the image of a large social group was associated with another inevitable precondition for the beginning of the national

mobilizing campaign (phase „B"), which turned out to be the ability to percept and learn the ideological impulses, coming from outside. In other words, only at a definite level of education at least some of the representatives of the ethnic group could participate in the cultural shift, supplying them with the information on what is or should be the phenomenon of a nation. Nevertheless, we can not conclude that the idea of a nation, „nationalism" became the key reasons for the emergence of the modern nation (as it was supposed by Hans Kohn). Thus, for example, in the Czech consciousness the term of a "nation" was known to have existed since the late Middle Ages; in the 17th century at least two more Czech definitions of a nation were known to exist. They defined the notion of a nation based on its common past, common destiny and common language. Such a notional and verbal tradition did not exist in case of Belarus. Therefore, in case we consider the cultural transpher to be an important element of the national movement, it should not mean that the already accepted ideas of a nation could unconditionally lead to the mass phase in the national movement.

In contrast to our belief, traditional communication, mediated by the religious life happened to be of bigger importance as compared to other preconditions. Strong religious ties would definitely compensate the low level of urbanization and low level of literacy of the non-ruling ethnos (as in case of the Serbs, Bulgarians and Irishmen), i.e. in cases when identification with their own religion would simultaneously differ from members of that ethnic group from the ruling elite (the Ottomans or the Englishmen). Important role, played by religion in spread of literacy (that would to a smaller degree influence upon the direct national mobilization) can be traced in cases of Finland and Norway. In this case another statement of ours remains to be true, i.e. not only written but also oral dissemination of the idea of the nation could be successful only in case the representatives of the ethnic group could become sure in the existence of „other" ethnic groups. Or, when education of at least a definite part of the representatives of that group enabled them to percept that abstract notion which was associated perception of the existence of the nation.

Nevertheless, high degree of social communication did not only serve as a precondition of national mobilization; under certain circumstances it could also cause the assimilative effect. Assimilation can be easily illustrated based on the examples of development of Southern Wales (we could also use an example of Scotland or Lusatian Sorbs). Beginning with end of the 18th century development of industry in that area required labor force and attracted capital investments. In the predominantly Celtic-spoken region with the low level of density of population they

experienced lack of labor force and, therefore, workers (predominantly unqualified ones) from England and Ireland would come to work there. Celtic workers from Wales happened to live in the social environment where only the knowledge of English could secure the possibility for career making and, therefore, they had step by step assimilated with the local population. Nevertheless, even at the beginning of 1840s the parliamentary committee, which was in charge of verification of causes of poverty in that region, stated that poor command of English was one of the reason of poverty and strongly recommended to introduce strictly English-based education at each Welsh school. Did not such a form of development resemble assimilative results of industrialization within the territory of Belarus, in general, and in Minsk, in particular?

This assimilating effect of social communication can be also applied in the „reverse direction", i.e. low level of social communication serves as some sort of filter, preventing from assimilation. Mainly situation in Belarus can serve as a good example of this phenomenon. Low level of social communication had obviously saved the Belarusian rural regions from assimilation, be it Polonization or Russification. It is also worth mentioning that the urban medium, which would serve as the main assimilating factor in other European areas, happened to possess minimal assimilative effect in Belarus as well as in Lithuania and western territories of the Ukraine. It was due to the fact that the nucleus of the urban population comprised the Jewish population which did not have any ambitions or capabilities to assimilate any other nation.

In this respect the following question arises: What role did similarity or difference in the languages, spoken by the neighboring ethnic groups, play in their national consciousness? Those ethnic groups whose native language or dialects completely differ(s) from the one of the neighbors seem to obviously easier realize their language difference. This can serve as the main difference between the situation of the Czech ethnos, whose main foreign neighbor and partner was the German ethnos (i.e. speakers of a totally different language), and the status of the Belarusian ethnos, neighboring predominantly on the areas the residents of which speak not completely different languages but the ones that are easy to understand, i.e. Russian and Ukrainian, and may be, also Polish. Plus, on the borderline there always existed transitional dialects.

This difference is known to play the decisive role in modifying the model of development of the lingual situation from diglossia to bilinguism, which in combination with the ratio between the H(igh) and L(ow) languages were constructed by a famous sociolinguist Josua Fishman. This model characterizes the situation in

a polyethnic state of pre-modernization period in the following way: in polyethnic states speakers of various languages or dialects would live; only one language was treated like the literary or a more or less codified language (H-language) while the rest of the languages were treated like local dialects (L-language). Under the conditions of the existence of the society of pre-modernization period, which was characterized by low level of communication, simultaneous application diglossie would cause no significant problems. Along with intensification of social communication, which comprised interrelations not only on horizontal plane, but also the relations with the administrative bodies and landowners, speakers of L-language began to percept their linguistic difference as some kind of handicap, a severe drawback. That feeling could be aggravated by the fact that speakers of the L-language would stop accepting their underdeveloped linguistic situation as the necessary and the only result of their social situation with deprived civil rights as well as start treating their situation as the social degradation. It is obvious that the difference of one's own linguistic situation, and as the result of it their linguistic handicap, was more clearly perceived by those whose L-language was not a dialect or the variant of the domineering H-language. Theoretical possibility to overcome this handicap could appear under the condition that those speakers would also master the official H-language, i.e. that instead of diglossia bilinguism can arise. Another option (which is known to have been exercised in real life) could comprise creation of one's own literary language (H-language) and equalization of its rights with the ones, which the domineering language of the society enjoys. Thus, another option could occur that could serve as an indirect product of the growing social communication and grading into the beginning of the national movement.

Application of this model to our national movements highlights one significant difference. The Czech ethnic group or, to be more precise, the young highly educated people who represented the latter, tended to understand too early the condition of diglossia and their linguistic inferiority as some kind of unfairness and handicap. Therefore, at the border of the 18th and the 19th centuries they decided to cling to the Czech linguistic emancipation, i.e. creation of Czech literary language – H-Czech language. Struggle for the Czech linguistic program became the logical outcome of that situation. In comparison to this situation, representatives of the Belarusian ethnos did not have any problem about their native language treated as a secondary one for a long time, i.e. they treated it as an integral part of their serfdom or dependent position. The process of intensification of contacts with the Russian administrative bodies was known to be very slow and because of similarity of the two languages no communication barriers would appear (like the ones in

the Habsburg monarchy). Taking into account social and political situation, intellectuals as representatives of that ethnos were known to emerge at the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century. Thus, in contrast to the Czech situation, it was bilingualism which reacted to modernization in Byelorussia more efficiently as compared to emancipation of the native H-language.

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This article did not aim to attempt to carry out the all-European comparative evaluation of the role of social communication. Under definite condition its intensity definitely served as the main precondition of successful national propaganda and formation of the modern nation. Nevertheless, it can not be considered as the only precondition and, at no rate, the cause of the processes of the formation of the nation. One can hardly establish unambiguously and prove direct correlation between intensification of social communication and rapidness of success of national propaganda. On the contrary, in some cases intensive communication would favor assimilation processes.

If we want to explain the beginning of the national movement and keep looking for the motives which have led pioneers of these movements to the national engagement, we can hardly cope with evaluation of the only phenomenon of social communication. Based on the comparative study of the onset of the propaganda campaign in some other European movements, we should also take into account some other factors that briefly comprise as follows:

1. Primarily, such a factor comprised ideological heritage of Christianity and Enlightenment, the idea of a ”Chosen People”, history of the Babylon Tower, struggle of the Jewish „nation” with their enemies.
2. The second factor dealt with the educational idea of regional patriotism that would mean responsibility of an educated person for living conditions of people residing in his motherland, and as one of the consequences of that idea he/she would need to apply efforts to improve educational and living standard of the regular native people.
3. One of even more significant aspects of heritage of the Enlightenment was, firstly, the belief that all people are equal and, second of all, rejection of feudal privileges and advantages which could initially seen in the sphere of legal norms and codes and later on in demand of equal opportunities.
4. The Enlightenment itself, however, served only as an integral part of a broader modernization movement which resulted in casting doubt on the old values

as well legitimacy of their existence; also, it shattered and liquidated the old patrimonial and patriarchal ties and dependencies that would clearly specify identity and place of each man within the society. Partial and sometimes even complete decay of the old system of values could also be attributed to that; it all resulted in crisis of the old identities.

5. That destabilization was recognized primarily by the people with academic education. In case some non-assimilated representatives of the plebeian layer of the Czech or Belarusian ethnos would happen to achieve the level of the educated strata, conditions, favoring search for their new identity would arise. The essence of the search for new identity would mean that they realized the fact that their ethnic group has already formed or is about to form a NATION. The latter, according to their belief, is an asset itself and this asset is of an eternal nature. For its sake they intended to form the new or reform the old system of values. From the stage of realization of that idea there was only step left to make, i.e. it was necessary to convince the rest of the populaltion, belonging to the national community, of the fact that such an attribution adds much to their significance and at the same time obliges them to work hard for the benefit of the rest of the society.

Nevertheless, adoption of the decision to begin the propaganda campaign could not serve as a guarantee of successful national movement. The idea of national identity should penetrate masses of people and in this case social communication is supposed to play the decisive role. It should also be taken into account that to receive signals from the patriotic centers it is of importance to have one more precondition, i.e. the existence of a nationally significant contradiction, i.e. the contradiction of interests which divided the two ethnos and could be „translated" into the language of the national interest. Mainly this kind of nationally expressed contradiction, or to be more precise< combination of several national contradictions in interests, served as an important factor for the Czech national mobilization, i.e. the success of the Czech national agitation. It appears that even at the end of the 20th century intensity rate of nationally significant social contradictions in interests within the territory of Belarus happens to be much weaker.

However, the growing intensity of social communication along with the existing significant national contradictions turned out to be insufficient for the way to the national unity. Another precondition dealt with the existing possibility of social growth for the representatives of the ethnic group. At the beginning of the 19th century Czechs had obviously had a much better possibility as compared to

Belarusians at the beginning of the 20th century. Each concept of the nation was supposed to have been formulated clearly and distinct. It was an easier task to accomplish in those cases where the preceding scientific activities of phase „A" had clearly coded a definite linguistic standard/pattern that would stand for the „national" one, had also supplied with a definite information to be used as the basis for construction of the national past, had limited a definite territory down the notion of the „national" one or had created a definite pattern for the literary tradition. The Czech phase „A" met all those requirements not only thanks to the high level of expertise of the educated scholars, but, primarily, because of the past and present life of the Czech ethnos having supplied sufficient amount of materials (literary works in the Czech language, leftovers of the Czech state, the capital etc.). I do not feel qualified enough to say the same words about the Belarusian phase „A" and its role in self-determination of the nation.

The final, but very important precondition of success or failure of the national propaganda deals with the existence of the „external" factor, i.e. political conditions of the empire in which the national movement was going on or the external influence, inspiration and examples. Political oppression is characteristic for the beginning of phase „B" for both national movements. However, the significant difference lies in the fact that the Austrian empire did not reject the idea of the existence of the Czech ethnos and was tolerant towards the language and culture-related activities within the Czech movement, although it did not support its politization and institutionalization. In case of the Belarus the story look absolutely different. External inspiration, „relay" of the idea in both cases presented definite problems. Nevertheless, one could hypothetically suggest that in this case the situation in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century was more favorable for cultural relay as compared to the one in Austria at the beginning of the 19th century. This context definitely comprises inspiration and moral support, which the Belarusian patriots could get not only from the Czech environment. However, this issue could serve as the prerogative of another research.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

As it has been specified before, this article aims not to establish the new facts, relating to the Czech or Belarusian national movements. The essence of the article deals with formulating the issues and search for their solutions as well as with application of comparative approach. Therefore, I will skip the bibliographical notes and at the end of the paper will specify only names of the authors and their works which I have based my conclusions on. Theoretical concept is based on approaches which I have already published before (See „Das Europa der Nationen. Die moderne Nationsbildung im Europaischen Vergleich. Gottingen, 2005) and „Male narody Europy", Wroclaw, Ossolineum,

2002). In those works, I give quotations and refer to earlier scientific publications on the issue of formation of nations and nationalism, which I have mentioned about in the text.

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STRESZCZENIE

Autor próbuje wyjaśnić specyfikę (mało skutecznego) białoruskiego ruchu narodowego poprzez porównanie z (bardziej skutecznym) czeskim ruchem narodowym. Chodzi o porównanie analogicznych sytuacji historycznych, tzn. białoruska „faza B" porównywana jest z czeską, która rozpoczęła się około sto lat wcześniej. Uwzględniane są przede wszystkim następujące kryteria: sytuacja polityczna, czynniki kryzysu tożsamości, socjalna struktura ludności i związane z tym różnice interesów, komponenty historyczne (pamięć zbiorowa). Podkreśla się, że różnice czasowe i różnice skuteczności wynikły w pierwszym rzędzie nie z subiektywnych życzeń i aktywności, lecz były konsekwencją obiektywnej, uwarunkowanej historycznie sytuacji politycznej, kulturalnej i socjalnej.

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his books were published in Western languages, above all: Die Vorkampfer der nationalen Bewegung bei den kleinen Volkern Europas, Praha 1968, Handel und Politik an der Ostsee wahrend des Dreissigjahrigen Krieges, Praha 1977, 17. Jahrhundert. Krise des Feudalismus ?, Hamburg 1980, Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe, Cambridge 1985, 2nd ed. Columbia Press 2000, In the National Interest, Prague 2000, Das Europa der Nationen, Gottingen 2005.

Miloš Řezník

Historische Staatlichkeit und Nationalbewegung: ein weißrussisch-tschechischer Vergleich[1]

Die Existenz einer historischen Staatlichkeit im Sinne eines benutzbaren Bezugspunktes der historischen Tradition sowie die ununterbrochene, wenn auch in verschiedenem Maße begrenzte Erhaltung einer politischen Einheit werden häufig als bedeutender Faktor betrachtet, der den Verlauf der Nationalbewegungen einschließlich deren Programme, Dynamik und Chancen für die erfolgreiche Entwicklung zu einer modernen Nationsbildung beeinflusste. Wie allgemein bekannt

[1] Der vorliegende Text ist eine leicht überarbeitete Fassung eines Referats, das bei der internationalen Fachtagung „Wege zur Nationalbewegung" in Prag am 04.07.2006 vorgetragen wurde. Es handelt sich um keine monographische Analyse des tschechischen und belarussischen Geschichtsgedächtnisses oder sogar der Geschichtsschreibung, sondern um eine essayistisch angelegte Überlegung über die allgemeinen Voraussetzungen zur Bedeutung der historischen Staatlichkeitsformen in Bezug zur tschechischen und belarussischen Nationalbewegung. Aus diesem Grund wird hier auf einen Fußnotenapparat verzichtet, denn die Argumentation bezieht sich hier vornehmlich auf grundsätzliche oder allgemein reflektierte Fakten und Probleme, die mit der politischen und kulturellen Entwicklung beider Länder im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert verbunden sind. Unter zentralen Arbeiten zum weißrussischen Thema s. vor allem Rainer LINDNER: *Historiker und Herrschaft. Nationsbildung und Geschichtspolitik in Weißrußland im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, München 1999; DERS.: *Weißrußland im Geschichtsbild seiner Historiker*. In: Handbuch der Geschichte Weißrußlands. Edd. D. Beyrau, R. Lindner, Göttingen 2001, S. 25-48; Jakub ZEJMIS: *Belorussian National Historiography and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as a Belorussian State*. Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung 48 (1999), S. 383-396. Der Autor dieses Aufsatzes beschäftigte sich selbst mit dieser Thematik sehr kurz u.a. in seinem Aufsatz *Běloruská státnost – novum nebo tradice?* [Die weißrussische Staatlichkeit – Novum oder Tradition?]. Historický obzor 8 (1997), S. 118-120.

ist, hat dies letzten Endes in solchen Fällen, in denen es nicht zum gänzlichen Untergang von Überresten solcher Staatlichkeiten kam, eine bedeutende Rolle auch bei der Etablierung moderner Nationalstaaten des 20. Jahrhunderts gespielt.

Aus der Sicht des Verlaufs von Nationalbewegungen und Nationsbildungsprozessen war die Möglichkeit, auf solche Traditionen hinzuweisen, insbesondere mit Hinsicht auf folgende Umstände wichtig:

1. Eine staatshistorische Tradition konnte bei der Propagierung, Verbreitung und Erklärung des Nationalbewusstseins und der ethnisch-nationalen Identität benutzt werden; sie konnte eine der Kategorien sein, mittels derer es möglich war, die Existenz der Nation und die Nation selbst auf relativ abstrakter Ebene darzustellen – als Gemeinschaft von Menschen, die mehrheitlich nicht im alltäglichen Kontakt miteinander stehen.
2. Diese Tradition konnte dann im inneren Rahmen der nationalen Gruppe oder zumindest – in der Agitationsphase der Bewegung – im Rahmen der Gruppe von nationalen Aktivisten als moralische Unterstützung benutzt werden, als eine der wichtigsten Möglichkeiten zur Darstellung der ehemals glänzenden Nationalvergangenheit und damit auch als ein besonders geeignetes Argument für die Vorstellung von der „schlafenden“ Nation, die zu neuem Leben, Kraft und Ruhm erweckt werden müsse. Damit hat die staatshistorische Tradition auch eine spezifische, allerdings je nach Umständen manchmal sehr anschauliche und überzeugende Symbolik des nationalen Kollektivs angeboten und die Konstruktion der Nationalgeschichte leichter gemacht. Sie hat also zur Darstellung einer gemeinsamen historischen Erfahrung des kollektiven Subjekts „Nation“ und in diesem Zusammenhang auch zur Vorstellung eines gemeinsamen nationalen Schicksals, d. h. auch der nationalen Zukunft beigetragen. Außerdem konnte eine solche Tradition die Nation als Solidargemeinschaft von Menschen nicht nur im Raum, sondern auch in der Zeit besser vorstellbar machen.
3. Zugleich war diese Tradition auch eine gute Basis für die Argumentation nach außen, denn sie ermöglichte das Programm der nationalen Autonomie oder sogar Eigenständigkeit als Autonomieprogramm für ein Land oder einen Staat zu formulieren, als Wiederherstellung seiner Existenz oder – im Idealfall – als eine mehr oder weniger umfangreiche Neubestimmung der Rechte und der Autonomie eines immer noch existenten politischen Landessubjektes, wie es etwa im Falle der Königreiche Böhmen, Kroatien-Slawonien-Dalmatien, Norwegen oder Polen im 19. Jahrhundert war. Sie schuf also Voraussetzungen für die Entwicklung einer gut argumentierten, historisch- und staatsrechtlichen Legitimierung des nationalen Programms.

Diese Umstände waren so wichtig, dass in Arbeiten über Nationalbewegungen und Nationalismus typologisch zwischen sog. historischen und nichthistorischen Nationen oft unterschieden wird, ohne dieser Unterscheidung und Bezeichnung wertgebundene Bedeutung beizumessen. Zur ersten Gruppe werden solche Völker gezählt, die in der Phase ihrer Nationalbewegungen auf staatliche Traditionen hinweisen konnten, die als Staatstradition der eigenen Nation interpretierbar waren: so war das eindeutig bei den Tschechen, Norwegern, Kroaten, Litauern, Bretonen, Schotten und anderen der Fall. Zur anderen Gruppe werden dann Völker ohne solche Tradition gerechnet, wie bspw. Slowenen, Slowaken oder Galizier.

Diese Unterscheidung bezieht sich jedoch auf die Nationalbewegungen der sog. „kleinen" Völker, d. h. der nichtdominanten ethnischen Gruppen (*non dominant ethnic groups*), die in der Zeit der modernen Nationsbildung über keine solche Staatlichkeit verfügten, die als unabhängig bezeichnet werden könnte, in deren Rahmen sie dominant wären und ihre Sprache die Staatsprache wäre. Es betrifft also vor allem die Völker Mittel- und Osteuropas, die in der Neuzeit keine dominanten ethnischen Gruppen im Rahmen von multiethnischen Staaten (Habsburgermonarchie, Russland, Osmanisches Reich, bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts auch *Rzeczpospolita*) waren und bei denen sich im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts eine Neuformierung aufgrund der kulturellen (ethnisch-sprachlichen) Nationsauffassung durchsetzte. Abseits der Aufmerksamkeit bleiben in diesem Kontext jene Länder, in denen die dominanten Kulturen Basis zur staatlich-politischen Nationsbildung wurden, wie es bei mehreren westeuropäischen Nationen der Fall war (Franzosen, Spanier, Engländer, Niederländer). Übrigens ist es bemerkenswert, dass ähnliche Tendenzen zur Persistenz oder Durchsetzung der politisch-staatlichen Nationsauffassung auch im polnischen und ungarisch-magyarischen Fall relativ lange zu beobachten waren, bei zwei Völkern also, die (im polnischen Fall bis 1795 und in den Zukunftskonzepten danach) auf die Position einer dominierenden „Staatsnation" aspirieren konnten.

Allerdings müssten auch zur erwähnten Gliederung der nichtdominanten ethnischen Gruppen in die sog. historischen und nichthistorischen Nationen folgende drei Anmerkungen hervorgehoben werden:

1. In der Gruppe der sog. historischen Nationen müsste man zwischen Nationen unterscheiden, derer „historische Staatlichkeit" einst in der tiefen Vergangenheit untergegangen war (bspw. Griechen, Bulgaren, Serben) und bei denen solche Staatlichkeitsprojizierung vor allem eine moralische Stütze und Ideal waren, und Nationen mit einer mehr oder weniger kontinuierlichen Existenz einer politischen Einheit, mit der auch in der zeitgenössischen politischen

Überlegungen argumentiert werden konnte. Während sich im ersten Fall die historische Argumentation letzten Endes hauptsächlich naturrechtlich orientierte, konnte im zweiten Fall die Potentialität einer starken positivrechtlichen Legitimation des nationalen Interesses genutzt werden.

2. Es müsste eine Zwischengruppe von Nationalbewegungen Rücksicht finden, in denen sich keine relativ eindeutige und problemlose Beziehung zu historischen Staatstraditionen anbot, es aber dennoch möglich war, in historischen Herrschaftsgebieten in der betroffenen Region solche Traditionen zu finden. Mit anderen Worten handelte es sich um solche Nationen, die als „nichthistorisch" erscheinen könnten, aus deren Positionen es jedoch möglich war, bestimmte historische Staatstraditionen zu adoptieren und als eigene zu sehen. Im übertragenen Sinne würde es hier um eine gewisse „staatliche Selbsthistorisierung" dieser Nationalbewegungen gehen. Hierher könnten Weißrussen, Ukrainer, Griechen, aber im gewissen Sinne auch etwa Kaschuben, Mazedonier und andere gezählt werden. Andererseits zeigt jedoch das Beispiel der Finnen und des Großfürstentums Finnland, dass dieser Übergangstyp auch eine geänderte Variante haben könnte: die Nichtexistenz einer historischen Staatstradition wurde von der Entstehung einer teilweise autonomen politischen Einheit erst in der Zeit der beginnenden Nationalbewegungen „ersetzt".
3. Daraus resultiert, dass ein wichtiger Faktor für die Position einer historischen oder nichthistorischen Nation in vielen Situationen vor allem die nationale Interpretation von staatlichen Traditionen historischer Herrschaftsgebiete war: die Annahme der Staatlichkeit des Großfürstentums Litauen als weißrussischer Staat in der Vergangenheit aus der Sicht der weißrussischen nationalhistorischen Geschichtskultur ist ein klassisches Beispiel dafür. Allerdings könnte schließlich in ähnlichem Kontext auch der tschechische Fall gesehen werden, in dem die historische Staatlichkeit des Königreichs Böhmen bzw. der Böhmischen Krone als Staatlichkeit des tschechischen Volkes dargestellt werden musste. Es geht hier also nicht um irgendeine objektive Existenz einer historischen Staatlichkeitsform, an die die Nationalbewegung natürlich und kontinuierlich anknüpfen könnte, sondern um die Frage, ob eine konkrete historische Staatsform vom Standpunkt der Nationalbewegungen als solche akzeptiert, beansprucht und (re)interpretiert werden konnte. Symptomatisch kann hier an den Unterschied im Titel der deutschen und tschechischen Fassung des Zentralwerkes von František Palacký hingewiesen werden, das den Grundstein für die tschechische nationale Geschichtstradition legte: während die deutschsprachige *Geschichte von Böhmen* sich in die Tradition der böhmischen Landes-

geschichte einzuordnen scheint, nimmt die *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a v Moravě* (Geschichte der tschechischen Nation in Böhmen und Mähren) auf ethnische Nationalgeschichte Bezug, in einem Rahmen, der über die Landesgrenzen hinaus geht.

Vor diesem Hintergrund erscheint ein weißrussisch-tschechischer Vergleich als eines der Mittel zum besseren Verständnis der Unterschiede in der Ausgangslage, dem Verlauf, der Argumentation und den Ergebnissen zwischen beiden Nationalbewegungen. Das Problem der historisch-staatlichen Tradition weist dabei vor allem auf die Ebene des Programms, der Argumentation, der Legitimation sowie des nationalen historischen Gedächtnisses hin. Dennoch ist der tschechisch-belarussische Vergleich in diesem Beitrag auf einige folgende Aspekte begrenzt: die historischen Staatsformen auf dem proklamierten nationalen Territorium und deren Charakter in Bezug auf die zukünftigen ethnisch-nationalen Bewegungen; der Umfang der staatsrechtlichen Kontinuität dieser Tradition bis in die Zeit der einsetzenden Nationalbewegung; die Benutzungsmöglichkeiten und Benutzung dieser Traditionen als historische Tradition der Nation; das Problem der historischen und nationalen (Selbst-)Bezeichnung.

Historische Staatsformen, zu denen sich die Nationalbewegung proklamatorisch bekennen konnte, sind in beiden späteren Nationalgebieten seit dem Mittelalter zu finden. Im böhmischen Fall war diese Staatsform schon vom Namen böhmisch/tschechisch (zu diesem Begriffspaar s. unten) – die in die moderne Kategorie „übersetzte“ Staatlichkeit des Přemysliden-Herzogtums und später des Königreichs Böhmen bzw. im erweiterten Sinne der Böhmischen Krone, die sich als historische Kontinuität im Prinzip seit dem Mittelalter bis in die Zeit der modernen Nationswerdung erhielt, trotz der Einbindung in die entstehende und sich zentralisierende Habsburgermonarchie, also trotz der staatsrechtlichen Änderungen des 18. Jahrhunderts, in deren Rahmen es zu einer tieferen Integration der böhmischen und österreichischen Länder (d.h. der sog. deutschen Erbländer der Habsburger) und damit auch zur partiellen Beschränkung der Merkmale der böhmischen (aber auch der österreichischen usw.) Landeseigenständigkeit kam. Gleichzeitig war es möglich, zum Großmährischen Reich (9. Jh.) oder zum mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Markgrafentum Mähren Bezug zu nehmen. Im belarussischen Fall gab es keine solche relativ klare Lage, schon deswegen, dass die historischen staatlichen bzw. quasistaatlichen Formen auf dem weißrussischen Gebiet keinen Namen trugen, der identisch wäre mit der Bezeichnung der sich formierenden modernen Nation und seinem engeren Sprachgebiet. Trotzdem haben sich einige

Möglichkeiten angeboten, die auch mit unterschiedlicher Intensität benutzt wurden, um die geschichtlichen Formen der weißrussischen nationalen Staatlichkeit zu suchen: einerseits waren das slawische Stammgebiete und die späteren mittelalterlichen Fürstentümer in der Region, wie z. B. das Land der Kriwitschen und Dregowitschen oder die Fürstentümer von Polozk und andere. Andererseits sollte jedoch der Bezug auf das spätmittelalterliche Großfürstentum Litauen eine mehr gravierende Rolle in der Geschichtstradition spielen: die weißrussischen Länder waren seine Bestandteile, die Herrscherdynastie hat sich im 14. Jahrhundert mit den dortigen Familienlinien der ruthenischen Fürsten mehrmals durch Heiraten verbunden (und in Folge dessen haben sich zahlreiche Mitglieder der Gedyminas-Dynastie auch nach dem orthodoxen Ritus christianisiert sowie sprachlich slavisiert), und schließlich gehörte zum Machtzentrum des immer größer werdenden litauischen Staates auch das sog. Schwarzrussland im Nordwesten des heutigen Weißrusslands mit Zentrum in Navahradak (poln. Nowogródek, lit. Naugardukas), ein seit Jahrhunderten gemischtes slawisch-baltisches Sprachgebiet. Die Kontinuität dieser litauischen Staatlichkeit konnte dann zumindest potentiell, trotz all der Peripetien der staatsrechtlichen und kulturellen Entwicklung, bis in die 90er Jahre des 18. Jahrhunderts beobachtet werden, also bis in die Schlussphase der Existenz der *Rzeczpospolita*.

Hier bestand auch der grundsätzliche Unterschied im Maße der Erhaltung dieser kontinuierlichen „Staatlichkeiten“ bis in die Zeit der Nationalbewegungen: während die Tschechen auf sie immer hinweisen und über sie „verfügen“ konnten in der Gestalt des existenten Königreichs Böhmen mit seinen Institutionen und Symbolen (Landesämter, Landtag, Prager Burg als offizielle königliche Residenz, St.-Veits-Kathedrale, königliche Krönungen in den Jahren 1791, 1792 und 1836 bzw. als Forderung und Verhandlungsthema noch in der Regierungszeit Franz Joseph I., königliche Insignien, Landesindigenat bzw. Landeszugehörigkeit, Landeswappen u.a.), fehlte im belarussischen Fall ein kontinuierliches staatsrechtliches Subjekt mit ähnlichem Argumentationspotential, um so mehr, als das weißrussische Geschichtsbewusstsein – allem Anschein nach – sich viel stärker auf die mittelalterliche als auf die neuzeitliche Staatlichkeit des Großfürstentums Litauen bezog, und darüber hinaus entfaltete sich die ausdrücklich weißrussische Nationalbewegung mit einem relativ stärkeren zeitlichen Abstand vom politischen und rechtlichen Untergang dieses Staates.

Hinsichtlich dieser Umstände, aber auch hinsichtlich der allgemeinen Unterschiede in der politischen Entwicklung der Habsburgermonarchie einerseits und des Russischen Reiches andererseits verfügten die Tschechen über solche Vor-

aussetzungen für die Entfaltung ihrer Nationalbewegung und der Formulierung des nationalpolitischen Programms, die aus der Perspektive der erfolgreichen Nationsbildung als günstig bezeichnet werden können. Erstens konnten sie auf die formal existierende politische Eigenständigkeit und das zum Teil eigene Rechtssystem des Königreichs Böhmen, eventuell auch anderer Länder (Mähren) im Rahmen des Kaisertums hinweisen, sie konnten die historischen Umstände und rechtlichen Quellen von dessen Stellung betonen – mit anderen Worten konnten sie nicht nur eine naturrechtliche, sondern auch eine wirksame und legitimistisch orientierte historisch- und staatsrechtliche Argumentation formulieren, die sich auf das geltende positive Recht und die innere Struktur des Habsburgerreiches stützte. Zum wichtigen Umstand für die nationale Agitation, Artikulierung des nationalen Interesses sowie später auch für die Massenmobilisierung der nationalen Gemeinschaft wurde damit das politische System der Donaumonarchie. So konnten die tschechischen Nationalaktivisten schon im Vormärz mit der ständischen Opposition im böhmischen Landtag zusammenarbeiten, die seit den frühen 1840er Jahren eine Wiederbelebung durchmachte. Eben hinsichtlich der Potentialität des staats- und historischrechtlichen Programms konnten die nationalen Aktivisten, die sich zur tschechischen ethnisch-nationalen Bewegung bekannten, und die aristokratischen Repräsentanten der böhmischen Stände, die die Werte des böhmischen Landespatriotismus vertraten, eine gemeinsame Basis finden, nicht nur in der Landtagspolitik, sondern auch im kulturellen und wissenschaftlichen Bereich. Von der tschechischen Nationalbewegung konnte so Einfluß auf die ständischen Vertreter ausgehen, bspw. bei der Erarbeitung der historischen Argumentation der ständischen Opposition (der ständische Landeshistoriograph František Palacký) oder bei der Profilierung des Böhmischen Museums und anderer Institutionen. Obwohl sich der Adel in der Regel nicht nationalisierte (im ethnischen Sinne), konnte er in vielen Richtungen die tschechische Bewegung unterstützen. Im Vormärz kann also von der teilweisen Unterstützung der Nationalbewegung von der Seite der Stände gesprochen werden. In Folge dessen hatte diese Bewegung ihre Befürworter auch in den höchsten Kreisen der Monarchie, wie etwa der Staats- und Konferenzminister Graf Franz Anton Kolowrat-Liebsteinsky (František Antonín Kolovrat-Libštejnský) ein markantes Beispiel dafür ist. Das alles waren gesellschaftliche Voraussetzungen für die Entfaltung der Bewegung, über welche die weißrussischen Nationalagitatoren in sehr begrenztem Maße oder überhaupt nicht verfügten.

Vielleicht noch stärker zeigten sich die Unterschiede in dieser Richtung, nachdem sich in den Jahren 1848-1849 und wieder seit Februar 1861 der konstitutio-

nelle Charakter der Habsburgermonarchie durchsetzte, in dem der tschechischen Bewegung die Tribüne des österreichischen Reichstages (1848–1849) und seit dem Anfang der 1860er Jahre des österreichischen Reichsrates in Wien sowie des böhmischen und mährischen Landtags in Prag und Brünn (Brno) zur Verfügung stand. Darüber hinaus kam es in den 60er Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts unter neuen Bedingungen wieder zur Anknüpfung der politischen Kooperation zwischen der nationalliberalen Elite und dem sog. historischen Adel. Die tschechische nationalpolitische Repräsentation gehörte dabei zu den bedeutenden Gewichts- und Kraftfaktoren in der Landes- und Reichspolitik und gelangte zu bestimmten Zeiten zu mitentscheidendem Einfluß, wodurch sich auch die Möglichkeit einer legislativen und vertragsmäßigen Regelung der grundsätzlichen Fragen der Stellung des Landes und der Nation optisch näherte. Eine solche, obwohl sehr begrenzte und gewiß eher theoretische Potentialität konnte sich der weißrussischen Bewegung erst in der russischen Duma seit 1905 anbieten, jedoch hinsichtlich der unterschiedlichen staatsrechtlichen Voraussetzungen nie auf einer Landesebene im Rahmen einer Einheit, die dem nationalen oder als national beanspruchten Territorium entsprechen würde. Falls jedoch die ganze zweite Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts die Föderalisierung Österreichs auf dem historischterritorialen und nationalen Prinzip, mit Hinweis auf das existente Königreich Böhmen, die Achse des tschechischen staatsrechtlichen Programms war, so sind ähnliche Erwägungen doch relativ früh (eigentlich schon fast gleichzeitig mit dem tschechischen staatsrechtlichen Programm) auch in der weißrussischen Bewegung aufgetaucht, sie bezogen sich jedoch auf die Perspektive der künftigen Wiederherstellung des Großfürstentums Litauen und förderten dessen föderalistische Gliederung auf der ethnisch-nationalen Basis. Eine solche Vorstellung formulierte schon in den Jahren 1862-1863 auf den Seiten seines Blattes *Mužyckaja prauda* K. Kalinouski (Kalinowski, Kalinauskas), der Spitzenvertreter des radikalen Flügels des polnischen Januaraufstandes in Litauen und Weißrußland.

Eine Darstellung der historischen, eventuell in begrenztem Maße immer noch andauernden Formen einer Staatlichkeit als nationale Staatlichkeit war verständlicherweise vor allem eine Frage der Geschichtskultur, des historischen Gedächtnisses und des gesellschaftlichen Bewusstseins. Dies bedeutet, dass die Geschichte des jeweiligen Staates oder Herrschaftsgebiets zuerst als Staatsgeschichte der Nation ausgelegt und interpretiert werden musste. Während im tschechischen Fall diese Voraussetzung im Bezug auf die Geschichte des böhmischen Staates durch das Werk von František Palacký und teilweise durch wissenschaftliche und belletristische Schriften anderer Autoren geschaffen war, fehlte bei den Weißrussen

lange Zeit eine solch eindeutige Deutung der Geschichte des Großfürstentums Litauen als im Grunde exklusive Staatsgeschichte der Weißrussen, die ein ähnliches Maß an Akzeptanz und Kanonisierung aufweisen könnte. Erst mit der *Kurzgefassten Geschichte Weißrußlands* (Karotkaja historyja Belarusi) von Vaclau Lastouski wurde im Jahre 1910 der Versuch unternommen, einen ähnlichen Grundstein zu legen, der jedoch, wie es scheint, nie die Normativität der Werkes von Palacký für die Formierung der nationalhistorischen Tradition erlangte. Lastouski hat seine nationale Interpretation der Geschichte mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert nach Palacký vorgelegt, dennoch sollte bei der Betrachtung dieses Zeitgefälles vor allem die Frage Rücksicht finden, in welcher Phase der Nationalbewegung dies erfolgte: Palacký begann seine böhmische/tschechische Geschichte tief in der Agitationsphase der tschechischen Bewegung zu veröffentlichen, jedoch sind wichtige Bände davon erst in der Zeit der sich entfaltenden Massenphase erschienen, während Lastouskis Arbeit in der Zeit der ersten großen Kulminierung der Nationalagitation aufgelegt wurde.

Es sei übrigens am Rande daran erinnert, dass die programmatische Bekennung zum Großfürstentum Litauen als historische weißrussische Staatlichkeit sich gerade in dieser Zeit kurz nach der Jahrhundertwende durchzusetzen begann: nach dem Sprachwissenschaftler J. Karski und seinem repräsentativen ethnologischen Werk über Weißrussen (*Belorussy*) aus dem Jahre 1902 vertrat ähnliche Gedanken vehement und mit exklusivem nationalem Anspruch Usevalad Ihnatouski in seinem *Kurzen Abriß der Geschichte Weißrußlands* (Karotki narys historyi Belarusi, 1919), M. Dounar-Zapolski und danach weitere Autoren.

Ich weißrussischen Fall komplizierte sich die „Adoption“ des litauischen Staates im Vergleich mit der tschechischen Entwicklung gleich in mehrfacher Hinsicht. Erstens hat sich dieser Staat noch weniger mit dem ethnischen Gebiet der entstehenden Nation überdeckt, als es im tschechisch-böhmischen Fall war. Zweitens hat der Name des Staates mit der Bezeichnung der ethnischen Nation selbst in der slawischen Sprache nicht übereingestimmt, was größere Anforderungen stellte an die abstrakte Interpretation dieses Herrschaftsgebiets im Sinne einer weißrussischen Staatstradition. Drittens hat die Darstellung der Geschichte des litauischen Staates als weißrussische historische Staatlichkeit gewissermaßen konveniert, zugleich aber auch kollidiert mit der offiziellen russischen staatlichen Doktrin des Westrussismus, die im alten litauischen Staat einen slawischen (und also russischen) sah, der im Kampf um die Vereinigung der russischen Länder dem stärkeren, moskauischen Gegner unterlag und dann in den teleologisch ausgelegten Formierungsprozeß des russischen Reiches („Sammlung der Länder der Rus“)

einbezogen wurde. Die Betonung des slawischen Charakters und die Ablehnung des alten Litauen als historischen Staates der Litauer waren gemeinsame Punkte beider Perspektiven – der russischen staatlichen sowie der weißrussischen nationalen, sie gingen jedoch auseinander in ihrer Prägung – der russisch-etatistischen einerseits und weißrussisch-nationalistischen andererseits. Viertens schließlich kann die Tatsache nicht unberücksichtigt bleiben, daß das historische Erbe des Großherzogtums Litauen dauerhaft von den Litauern beansprucht wurde, deren Nationalbewegung mit allen Begleiterscheinungen einschließlich des nationalgeschichtlichen Gedächtnisses sich mit zeitlichem Vorsprung und vor allem schneller und mit größerer Rasanz als die weißrussische entfaltete. Die Litauer konnten „natürlicherweise" das historische Erbe des litauischen Staates mit dem Hinweis auf die ethnischen und territorialen Zusammenhänge, dessen Entstehung und Formierung, auf seinen Namen usw. symbolisch besetzen, und in diesem Sinne es als ihr Erbe auch sehen; sie konnten also aus der Perspektive der sich formierenden nationalhistorischen Tradition selbstsicher als „historische Nation" auftreten. Darüber hinaus bezog sich auf die litauische politische Landestradition auch das polnische Geschichtsbewusstsein, insbesondere in den östlichen Gebieten (den sog. *kresy*), wo der Landes- und regionale Patriotismus im Rahmen der polnischen Nationalidentität eine Basis zu solcher Beziehung bildete. Dennoch müsste erinnert werden, dass schon im tiefen 19. Jahrhundert diese Tradition auf der Schwelle zwischen dem polnischen Nationalbewusstsein, dem Regionalismus und der litauischen oder belarussischen Ethnizität (repräsentiert durch J. Čačot/Czeczot, T. Zan, A. Mickiewicz, S. Moniuszko, Z. Dolenha-Chodakouski/Dołęga-Chodakowski, T. Narbutt/Narbutas, S. Dowkont/Daukantas und viele andere) zur Basis wurde, an die sowohl die weißrussische als auch die litauische Geschichtskultur anknüpfen konnte.

Die Kompliziertheit dieses Problems zeigte sich schließlich auch in Fragen, in denen sich die uneindeutigen Verknüpfungen zwischen der Benennung der Nation einerseits und der Bezeichnung des historischen Staates andererseits, mit dem sich ihre Geschichtstradition identifizierte, widerspiegelten. Es ist bekannt, dass die Vertreter der Frühphasen der belarussischen nationalkulturellen Bewegung den Namen für die Nation erst suchten, und daß sie sich auch auf die slawischen Stämme auf den weißrussischen Gebieten beriefen, für dessen kontinuierlichen Erben sie sich hielten. Es zeigten sich deshalb Tendenzen, die zur Wiedergeburt kommende Nation als Krivitschen zu benennen (bspw. Jan Čačot/Czeczot). Weil sich damals wie auch später der Name der Nation und des historischen politischen Gebildes, das durch das Nationalbewusstsein adoptiert werden sollte, unterschied,

und weil die Benennung dieses Gebildes mit der des litauischen Nachbarnvolkes übereinstimmte, bot sich hier die Möglichkeit, das für das Litauische Großherzogtum benutzte Adjektiv entsprechend den nationalen Bedürfnissen zu modifizieren. Auch darin korrespondierte die weißrussische Nationalbewegung teilweise mit der russischen offiziellen Doktrin des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, in der lieber über einen litauisch-russischen Staat als über das Großfürstentum Litauen gesprochen wurde. Ähnlich hat die weißrussische Geschichtstradition die Bezeichnung „litauisch" zwar nicht konsequent abgelehnt, sie verknüpfte oder ersetzte sie manchmal jedoch durch das Adjektiv „weißrussisch". Übrigens kann man bis heute in der weißrussischen Geschichtsschreibung, wenn sie sich mit dem Mittelalter oder der Frühneuzeit beschäftigt, sehen, dass sie den Begriff „Litauen" oder „Litauisches Großfürstentum" auffallend selten benutzt und sich bei den meisten direkten Erwähnungen lieber mit dem bloßen Substantiv „Großfürstentum" zufrieden gibt. Dies ist ein Ausdruck der Tatsache, dass dessen Tradition ein Gegenstand von Ansprüchen sowohl von der belarussischen nationalen als auch von der litauischen Seite ist. Anzeichen dafür waren übrigens im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert auch parallele Ansprüche auf einige symbolische Zentren und Erinnerungsorte im breiteren Sinne des Begriffs: Beispiele dafür wären Wilna als geistiges Zentrum oder etwa die Versuche, Tadeusz Kościuszko, die Schlacht bei Orša und andere Phänomene zum integralen Bestandteil des belarussischen nationalhistorischen Gedächtnisses zu machen. Hier jedoch kollidierte die projizierte weißrussische Tradition nicht nur mit der litauischen, sondern auch mit der polnischen, und gleichzeitig geriet sie in Konflikt mit der Geschichtspolitik des Westrussismus.

Allerdings war diese Entwicklung nicht einmal im tschechischen Fall ganz einfach, was die Wahrnehmung der *böhmischen* Staatlichkeit als eine *tschechisch* nationale anbelangt. Zwar wird oft auf die Tatsache hingewiesen, dass die tschechische Sprache anders als die andere Landessprache – die deutsche – keinen Unterschied kennt zwischen dem ethnisch *tschechischen* und dem territorial *böhmischen*, dass sie beides mit identischem Adjektiv *český* bezeichnet. Doch werden dabei zwei wichtige Umstände übersehen: erstens ist die deutschsprachige Unterscheidung erst Ergebnis der kulturellen und sprachlichen Entwicklung des 19. Jahrhunderts und in diesem Kontext eigentlich auch Ergebnis von beiden Nationsbildungsprozessen, des tschechischen und des deutschen. Bis ins 19. Jahrhundert hat die deutsche Sprache bis auf Ausnahmen ebenso ein einziges Adjektiv benutzt, und der Begriff *böhmisch* bezog sich auch auf die tschechischen ethnischen Merkmale einschließlich der Sprache (es wurde *böhmisch* gesprochen und ins *Böhmische* übersetzt). Zweitens waren es dann die Vertreter der tschechi-

schen Kulturbewegung, die die neue deutschsprachige Unterscheidung *böhmisch – tschechisch* ablehnten und die Bezeichnung *čechisch*, *czechisch*, *tschechisch* für ihre eigene Ethnie lange nicht akzeptierten – einerseits weil sie darin eher einen Ausdruck vom Despekt sahen („Ultraczechen“ wurden die nationalen Aktivisten von der deutschen Seite um 1848 genannt), andererseits weil sie vielleicht die potentiell drohende Scheidung zwischen der Nation und der politischen Einheit vermuteten, die eine solche Unterscheidung in der Alltagssprache eventuell zuführen könnte.

Die politische Entwicklung des 19. Jahrhunderts, das Bündnis des autonomistischen „historischen“ Adels von Böhmen mit der tschechischen nationalen „Partei“ sowie die rasante Benutzung des böhmischen Staatsrechts als politischem Mittel dieser Partei führte jedoch spätestens in den 60er bis 70er Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts dazu, dass die deutschböhmische Politik auf diese Landestradition gewissermaßen verzichtete, denn deren Sprecher spürten zurecht, dass die Hervorhebung dieser Traditionen ein Mittel zur Realisierung des tschechischen Nationalprogramms ist. Deshalb hat sich zwar auch die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung in Böhmen und Mähren der Landesgeschichte weiterhin intensiv gewidmet und in vieler Hinsicht auch Streits geführt mit der tschechischen Geschichtsschreibung über die national konnotierte Auslegung einiger Probleme (Prager Universität, Grünberger und Königinhofer Handschrift, Christianisierung, Hussitismus usw.), machte jedoch aus der böhmischen Staatlichkeit keineswegs das Objekt der kultivierten nationalen Geschichtstradition und Identifizierung oder sogar ein Mittel der politischen Legitimation in dem Sinne und Maße, wie es in dem auf der tschechischen Seite war. Die Gleichsetzung des nationalen Tschechentums mit dem historischen Erbe sowie mit der andauernden politischen Kontinuität des böhmischen Staates erschien so aus der Perspektive des tschechischen Nationalbewusstseins als evident und zweifellos, und sie sollte schließlich auch für die Legitimierung des modernen (tschechoslowakischen) Nationalstaates benutzt werden.

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Die belarussische und tschechische Nationalbewegung stellen also zwei Modellbeispiele der Benutzung der historischen Staatstradition des jeweiligen Territoriums im Kontext moderner Nationsbildung dar, konkret insbesondere im Zusammenhang mit der Formierung des nationalen Geschichtsgedächtnisses einerseits und der Formulierung der Argumentation zugunsten der nationalen Interessen andererseits. Die Unterschiede zwischen dem tschechischen und dem weißrussischen Fall bestanden gewiß auch in verschiedenen Benutzungsmöglichkeiten dieser Traditionen aus der Sicht der nationalen Agitation, in diversen Mög-

lichkeiten, die historischen staatlichen, quasi- oder vorstaatlichen Formen in der Perspektive der Nationalgeschichte neu zu interpretieren, sie in diesem Sinne als eines der Leitmotive des nationalhistorischen Bewusstseins anzunehmen, und auf sie den exklusiven Anspruch der jeweiligen Nation als ihr „historischer Erbe" zu erheben. Es wäre jedoch wieder notwendig zu betonen, dass nicht eine faktische Durchsetzung und Respektierung dieser Exklusivität, sondern eine im nationalen Rahmen allgemeine Überzeugung von ihrer Selbstverständlichkeit, Natürlichkeit und Evidenz die entscheidende Rolle spielte.

Vor diesem Hintergrund muss festgehalten werden, dass die Differenzen zwischen der belarussischen und tschechischen Situation nicht als einfacher Unterschied zwischen der Bewegung einer „historischen" und einer „nichthistorischen" Nation zu erklären sind. Wie bekannt, berief sich die weißrussische Bewegung trotz ihrer eventuell scheinbaren „Ahistorizität" auf das Großfürstentum Litauen als alten weißrussischen Staat, und sie macht das in den national orientierten Teilen der weißrussischen historischen Reflektion einschließlich der Historiographie auch heutzutage. Dabei wird nicht nur mit der Territorialität des Großfürstentums, sondern auch mit dem sprachlichen und ethnischen Charakter der Bojareneliten, der Sprache der großfürstlichen Urkunden sowie der Kanzlei, der Entwicklung der slawischen Kultur und der Integration zwischen der großfürstlichen Dynastie und den ruthenischen Fürstengeschlechtern argumentiert. Die weißrussische nationale und staatliche bzw. nationalstaatliche Symbolik im Jahre 1918 und danach, in der Emigration der Zwischen- und Nachkriegszeit sowie seit 1991 ist voll von Hinweisen auf das alte Litauen; damit ist sie ähnlich oder sogar identisch mit der modernen litauischen Symbolik. Darin, und in einigen anderen Umständen bestanden bestimmte Grenzen für die Bezugnahme auf die altlitauische Staatstradition: es ist eine bewusste Kollision mit der litauischen nationalhistorischen Tradition, aber auch – im Vergleich mit dem tschechischen Fall – eine relativ schwächere Bedeutung dieser Tradition in dem Sinne, dass sie keine vergleichende Basis für langfristige politische Argumentation und ein nationalpolitisches Programm in Gestalt einer staatsrechtlichen Doktrin lieferte. Es ist sicher zum Teil eine Frage von Eindruck und Vereinfachung, doch scheint es, dass der weißrussische Anspruch auf Kontinuität zum historischen Litauen immer mit zumindest stillschweigendem Bewusstsein gestellt wurde, dass er mit den Nachbarn geteilt wird (es wäre ein interessantes geschichtskulturelles Thema für sich zu zeigen, wie gerade solche Grenzfälle in der gegenwärtigen Geschichtspolitik Ostmitteleuropas zur Legitimation durch betonte Multikulturalität, Vielsprachigkeit, Mehrkonfessionalität und historische Interferenzen benutzt werden können). Aus vergleichender Sicht der

Geschichtstradition der sich formierenden modernen Nationen könnte man also die weißrussische Bewegung als ein Übergangsmodell zwischen den sog. historischen und nichthistorischen Nationen charakterisieren. Eben das macht sie zu einem komparatistisch sehr gravierend und anziehend erscheinendem Fall.

РЭЗЮМЭ

Аўтар, на прыкладзе падабенстваў і розьніцаў паміж нацыянальнымі рухамі беларускім і чэскім, праводзіць шырокі агляд нацыяставральных працэсаў у Эўропе мінулага стагодзьдзя. Узьнікненню беларускай нацыі прыдае ён кантэкст параўнальных зьявішчаў ад Атлянтыкі да ўсходнеэўрапейскага Міжземнамора, запыняючыся таксама на балканскіх паралелях.

Канцэнтрацыя дасьледніцкай увагі на беларуска-чэскіх аналёгіях невыпадковая. Гэтыя два этнасы маюць падобную сацыяльную гісторыю – сялянскія карані і адсутнасьць арыстакратычнага слою грамадзтва: анямеччанага ў Чэхіі і палянізаванага ў Беларусі. Адной з галоўных прычынаў нядужасьці беларускага адраджэньня трэба лічыць антыбеларускую накіраванасьць уладаў Расейскай Імпэрыі, якая не дапускала этнічнага разьвіцьця сваіх нерасейскіх тэрыторыяў. У самой Эўропе такі шавінізм або і расізм знаодзіўся ўжо на этапе загасаньня, перш за ўсё ў сувязі з разгортваннем капіталістычных рынкаў і зьвязанай з тым вытворчасьцяй таварнай масы.

Чэхія ўяўляла сабою разьвіты капіталізм, у якім магчымы культурны лібэралізм; адваротным да чэскага становішчам характарызавалася Беларусь, эканамічна адсталая і непісьменная ў рамках Расеі. Таму беларускі нацыянальны рух быў элітным, інтэлігенцкім, незапатрабаваным масамі непісьменных мужыкоў.

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Ewa Bacia

Entstehung des Sozialkapitals als Folge der historisch-kulturellen Bedingungen (am Beispiel einer Vergleichsuntersuchung zwischen zwei Ortschaften: Krynki/Ostpolen und Letschin/Ostdeutschland)

1. Das Thema und die Hauptfragen der Untersuchung

Der Artikel befasst sich mit der vergleichenden Analyse von zwei lokalen Gemeinschaften: Krynki und Letschin. Krynki liegt in Podlasie und grenzt an Weißrussland. Letschin liegt in Ostdeutschland, in Brandenburg, 18 Kilometer von der Grenze zu Polen. Die Selbstverwaltungsträger dieser zwei Dörfer haben einen Vertrag über Partnerschaft unterschrieben. Die Untersuchung wurde auf der Basis der Theorie des Sozialkapitals durchgeführt. Ziel der Untersuchung war es, die existierenden Unterschiede zu beschreiben und die möglichen und wahrscheinlichen Bedingungen des vorhandenen Sozialkapitals in den beiden Gemeinden zu analysieren.

Der Begriff des Sozialkapitals verknüpft soziologischen und ökonomischen Faktor der sozialen Realität. Das Sozialkapital ist eine der im Sozialraum zugänglichen Formen des Kapitals. Es ist eine Art akkumulierter Arbeit, die man in andere Kapitalarten umwandeln kann. Im Gegensatz zu anderen Kapital-Formen - zum Beispiel dem ökonomischen oder auch dem Humankapital - wird das Sozialkapital nicht durch Individuen produziert. Niemand kann über das Sozialkapital alleine verfügen, es willkürlich in andere Kapitalarten umwandeln. Diese Kapitalart gehört nämlich nicht dem Individuum. Es steckt in sozialen Bindungen und wird nur im Rahmen von Gemeinschaften, sozialen Gruppen produziert und vermehrt. Es wird durch Individuen gebildet, die durch soziale Bindungen verbunden sind. Je stärker die Bindungen sind, je stärker sich die Individuen mit der eigenen Gemeinschaft identifizieren, je deutlicher die für die Mitglieder der Gemeinschaft gemeinsamen Normen und Werte ausgeprägt sind, desto höher ist das Sozialkapital im Rahmen der Gemeinschaft und desto intensiver wird das Sozialkapital in der Gemeinschaft vermehrt. Aus Rücksicht auf die oben beschriebenen Eigenschaften des Sozialkapitals scheint es eine geeignete Kategorie für die Untersuchungen auf der Mezoebene zu sein, wo die Bindungen, die es zwischen Individuen gibt und die eine Gemeinschaft fest zusammenschließen, von sehr großer Bedeutung sind. In der in diesem Artikel vorzustellenden Untersuchung ist die Kategorie des Sozialkapitals als theoretischer Hintergrund einer Vergleichanalyse zwischen Krynki und Letschin benutzt worden.

Letschin und Krynki sind sich in vieler Hinsicht ähnlich. Einwohnerzahl und Größe unterscheiden sich nicht sehr. Beide Orte liegen in Grenzregionen, wo seit Jahrhunderten Einflüsse von verschiedenen Kulturen, Sprachen und Religionen wirksam sind. Beide Dörfer haben eine spezifische Geschichte, in der sie sowohl Jahre der Entwicklung und des Aufschwungs, als auch Jahre der Stagnation und des Niederganges erlebt haben. Die Einwohner beider Orte haben in einer sozialistischen Gesellschaft gelebt. Heutzutage – nach den ersten hoffnungsvollen Jahren nach der Wende – kämpfen sie mit ähnlichen Problemen: große Arbeitslosigkeit und ökonomische Stagnation, die viele zur beruflichen Umschulung zwingt. In beiden Dörfern gehört die Mehrheit zur älteren Generation. Die Jugendlichen verlassen auf der Suche nach Arbeit die Heimat. Krynki und Letschin erleben Probleme einer ökonomischen Instabilität, sie weisen ein negatives Wanderungssaldo auf und blicken einer unsicheren Zukunft entgegen.

Es gibt aber auch bedeutende Unterschiede zwischen Krynki und Letschin. In Letschin beobachtet man ein großes soziales Engagement der Einwohner. Hier gibt es viele Vereine, wo sich Leute treffen und gemeinsam zugunsten der eigenen

Gemeinschaft handeln. Viele verbringen und gestalten ihre Freizeit zusammen mit den Nachbarn. In Krynki dagegen beobachtet man eher Apathie und Passivität. Die Mehrheit verbringt ihre Freizeit im eigenen Familienkreis, man beobachtet kaum ein Handeln der Individuen zugunsten der Gemeinschaft.

2. Die Methodologie und der Verlauf der Untersuchung

Um die Ähnlichkeiten und die Unterschiede in den untersuchten Ortschaften zu diagnostizieren und zu analysieren, wurde von November 2003 bis April 2005 eine umfangreiche soziologische Untersuchung durchgeführt. Das Analyse-Material entstand aus in beiden Dörfern durchgeführten Umfragen und Interviews. Es wurden auch Materialen über die Geschichte, Kultur, Natur und Sehenswürdigkeiten in Krynki, Letschin und deren Umgebung analysiert, ebenso wie die lokale Presse. Dazu gab es Teilnehmerbeobachtungen während lokaler Feste und kultureller Ereignisse.

In jedem Dorf wurden 20 Interviews durchgeführt. Die Interviewpartner gehörten verschiedenen Gruppen an. Unter ihnen waren Funktionäre der Selbstverwaltung, Vertreter der lokalen Medien, Schul- und Kindergartenlehrer, Personen mit sozialem Prestige in den lokalen Gemeinschaften, Vertreter der lokalen Institutionen und Vereine und „normale“ Einwohner in unterschiedlichem Alter (Jugendliche, Personen im Alter der Berufstätigkeit, Rentner). Die andere wichtige Forschungsmethode war eine Umfrage mit den Schülern der neunten Klassen der Schulen vor Ort (eine dritte Klasse des Gymnasiums in Krynki und eine dritte Klasse der Gesamtschule in Letschin). Die Forschungsgegenstände wurden unter Berücksichtigung zweier Faktoren ausgewählt. Inhaltlich ging es darum, ein Bild von den Einstellungen der jüngeren Generationen in beiden Dörfern zu gewinnen. Die Einstellung der Jugendlichen prägt in hohem Maße die Perspektiven des Sozialkapitals in der Zukunft. Es war auch von Bedeutung, die Ähnlichkeiten und die Unterschiede der Einstellungen der älteren und der jüngeren Generation in beiden Dörfern zu erforschen. Um das zu erreichen, waren Quantitativmethoden besonders geeignet, um viel Material in kurzer Zeit zu sammeln.

Die Haupthypothese der Untersuchung ist, dass es zwischen den Gemeinschaften von Krynki und von Letschin bedeutende Unterschiede der Art und des Niveaus des Sozialkapitals gibt. Die Unterschiede werden durch verschiedene Faktoren (wie zum Beispiel: Kultur, Politik und Verwaltung der Staaten, zu denen die Ortschaften gehören, Geschichte, religiöse Einflüsse usw.) geprägt und beeinflussen die jetzige Realität der untersuchten Ortschaften.

Die abhängige Variable war in der Untersuchung das Sozialkapital, die unabhängigen Variablen waren die das Sozialkapitalniveau bestimmenden Faktoren. Besonders wichtig waren hier die Zusammenhänge zwischen der abhängigen Variable des Sozialkapitals und den unabhängigen Variablen des Heimatgefühls. Die Hypothese lautete: Je stärker das Heimatgefühl in einer Gemeinschaft ist, desto höher ist dort das Sozialkapital.

3. Operationalisierung der Kategorie des Sozialkapitals

In der in Krynki und in Letschin durchgeführten Untersuchung wurden für die Operationalisierung Kategorien benutzt, die eine US-amerikanische Forscherin Pamela Paxton in ihren Studien vorgeschlagen hat[1].

Paxton unterscheidet zwei Komponenten des Sozialkapitals: das objektiv existierende Netz der Verbindungen zwischen Individuen und subjektive Verbindungen, zu denen Reziprozität, Vertrauen und positive Emotionen gehören. In Paxtons Modell gibt es zwei Sorten der Verbindungen zwischen Individuen – formale und informale. Beim „Vertrauen“ unterscheidet die Forscherin das Vertrauen zu Individuen und das Vertrauen zu Institutionen. Paxton berücksichtigt in ihrem Modell des Sozialkapitals weder eine politische Partizipation noch freiwillige Arbeit als eigenständige Bestandteile. Sie nimmt an, dass das Sozialkapital die Phänomene verstärkt, sie seien jedoch seine Folgen und nicht seine Bestandteile.

Paxton stellt das Modell des Sozialkapitals graphisch vor und formuliert die Indikatorfragen dazu.

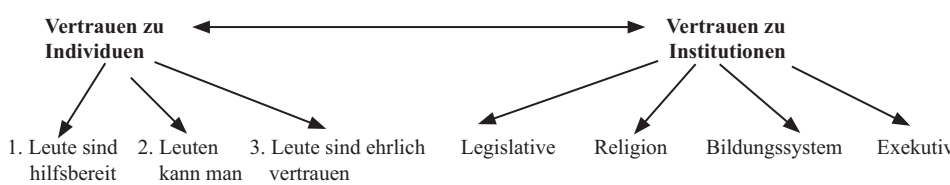

Bild 1.1 — Modell der Komponente „Vertrauen“[2]

Als Indikatorfragen bezüglich einzelner Elemente der ersten Komponente schlägt Paxton vor:

[1] Siehe: P. Paxton, Is Social Capital Declining in the United States? A Multiple Indicator Assessment, w: American Journal of Sociology, Volume 105, Number 1 (July 1999), s. 88-127.

[2] Ibidem, S. 105.

– Würdest du sagen, dass die Leute normalerweise hilfsbereit sind, oder eher, dass sie nur beobachten, wenn es jemandem schlecht geht?
– Findest du, dass die Mehrheit der Leute dich ausnutzen würden, wenn sie die Möglichkeit hätten, oder eher, dass sie ehrlich wären?
– Würdest du im Allgemeinen sagen, dass man der Mehrheit der Leute vertrauen kann, oder eher, dass man im Kontakt mit Menschen nie vorsichtig genug sein kann?

Das Vertrauen zu Institutionen berücksichtigt drei Gruppen von Institutionen: die kirchlichen Institutionen, das Bildungssystem, die Institutionen der Legislative und der Exekutive. Die Fragen, die damit verbunden sind, lauten:
– Würdest du sagen, dass du zu den genannten Institutionen volles Vertrauen, begrenztes Vertrauen oder kein Vertrauen hast?

Im Folgenden wird die zweite Komponente des Sozialkapitals nach Paxton graphisch dargestellt.

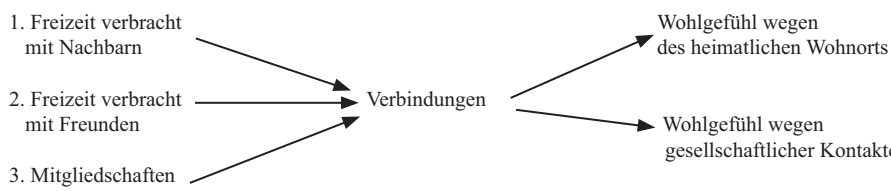

Bild. 1.2 — Modell der Komponente der Verbindungen[3]

Die Indikatorenfragen für die zweite Komponente lauten:
– Wie oft verbringst du deine Freizeit mit deinen Nachbarn?
– Wie oft verbringst du deine Freizeit mit deinen Freunden?
– Wie viele Mitgliedschaften in verschiedenen Organisationen hast du?

4. Krynki und Letschin – eine Vergleichsanalyse im Hinblick auf das Sozialkapital

Krynki und Letschin sind sich in vieler Hinsicht ähnlich. Zu den wichtigsten Ähnlichkeiten gehören:

- Dorfgröße und Einwohnerzahl,
- die Lage nahe der Staatsgrenze,

[3] Ibidem, S. 106.

- eine spezifische Geschichte, deren Akteure Vertreter von verschiedenen Nationen, Religionen, Kultur- und Sprachkreisen waren,
- eine Tradition der kulturellen Toleranz und des friedlichen Zusammenlebens,
- eine touristische Attraktivität der Gegend (kulturelle, historische und natürliche Attraktivität),
- eine kleinstädtische Architektur, obwohl beide Ortschaften heute Dörfer sind,
- Erfahrung des Lebens im sozialistischen System und Erfahrungen mit der Systemtransformation,
- eine Altersstruktur, die mehrheitlich durch ältere Menschen geprägt ist,
- ein bedeutsamer Prozentsatz von Einwohnern, die seit ihrer Geburt in der Gemeinde wohnen,
- eine negatives Wanderungssaldo (Jugendliche, die auf der Arbeitssuche das Heimatdorf verlassen),
- eine Dominanz der Landwirtschaft vor der Transformation,
- große Arbeitslosigkeit: vor allem strukturelle Arbeitslosigkeit mit einer hohen Zahl Langzeitarbeitsloser.

Obwohl es viele Ähnlichkeiten zwischen Krynki und Letschin gibt, ist das Sozialkapitalniveau jeweils sehr unterschiedlich. In Krynki ist es bedeutend niedriger. Die größten Unterschiede gibt es bei der zweiten Komponente des Sozialkapitals – bei den Verbindungen. In Krynki funktioniert praktisch nur ein Verein. Er hat dazu einen elitären Charakter. Fast niemand in Krynki weiß, dass es so diesen Verein gibt, und fast niemand interessiert sich dafür, was dieser Verein veranstaltet. Die Einwohner Krynkis haben kein Bedürfnis, Vereine zu gründen. Sie beklagen sich gerne und sind passiv. Sie finden es nicht wichtig, zugunsten der eigenen Gemeinschaft gemeinsam zu handeln. In Letschin ist die Situation ganz anders – hier sind 37 Vereine registriert, die meisten sind sehr aktiv. Fast jeder Einwohner Letschins gehört einem Verein an. Die Leute sind sehr aktiv, sie veranstalten stets etwas zusammen und sie tun viel, um gemeinsame Ideen eines besseren Lebens innerhalb der Gemeinschaft zu verwirklichen.

Die Einwohner Krynkis verbringen ihre Freizeit meistens zu Hause in der eigenen Familie. Sie treffen sich selten mit ihren Nachbarn und veranstalten sehr selten etwas zusammen. Sie äußern solche Bedürfnisse auch nicht. Wegen der schwierigen Arbeitssituation sind sie zumeist mit der Arbeit oder mit der Arbeitssuche voll beschäftigt. Nach der Arbeit haben sie keine Lust, etwas gemeinschaftlich

zu unternehmen. Deshalb kennen sich die Leute nur sehr oberflächlich und haben wenige Freunde am Ort. Obwohl die ökonomische Situation Letschins genauso schwierig ist, floriert hier das Gemeinschaftsleben. Die Nachbarn verbringen ihre Freizeit zusammen und treffen sich in den lokalen Vereinen. Als Folge kennen sie sich gut. Die Einwohner Letschins stellen fest, dass sie viele Freunde im Heimatort haben.

Die Einwohner beider Ortschaften sagen, dass sie zufrieden und stolz darauf seien, in ihrem Dorf zu wohnen. Der Unterschied zwischen beiden besteht darin, dass die meisten Interviewpartner in Krynki ihre Aussagen kaum begründen konnten, wohingegen die Letschiner viele Argumente anführten, um ihre Antworten zu erklären.

Auch bei der Komponente des Vertrauens sind Unterschiede zwischen Krynki und Letschin sichtbar. In Letschin sind mehr Leute einverstanden mit Feststellungen wie: die meisten Leute sind ehrlich, den meisten Leuten kann man vertrauen. Das Vertrauen zu den lokalen Institutionen hat aber einen anderen Charakter. In Krynki stützt sich das Vertrauen auf eine hierarchische Wahrnehmung der sozialen Netzwerke. Die Einwohner Krynkis interessieren sich für das Handeln der lokalen Institutionen nicht. Sie nehmen sie als Ämter wahr, die weit entfernt sind vom eigenen Leben: Ämter, die es immer gab und die es geben muss. Sie kritisieren manchmal das Handeln der lokalen Institutionen, sie benutzen aber keine rechtlichen Möglichkeiten, um auf die Institutionen und von ihnen getroffene Entscheidungen Einfuß zu nehmen. Die lokalen Institutionen in Krynki sind den Leuten gleichgültig. In Letschin sind die lokalen Institutionen ein integraler Teil der Gemeinschaft. Die Leute interessieren sich für ihr Funktionieren und engagieren sich selber in den Institutionen. Sie nehmen sie nicht als eine hierarchische Struktur wahr.

Eine besondere Stellung in beiden Gemeinschaften hat die Kirche. In Krynki ist die Bedeutung der Religion groß, die Kirche wird von den meisten Einwohnern als eine vertrauenswürdige und fast unfehlbare Institution betrachtet. Viele nehmen auch an den durch die Kirche organisierten Veranstaltungen teil. Die Teilnahme an den Pfarrgruppen verstärkt jedoch die Gemeinschaft gerade nicht hochgradig. Hier dominieren die vertikalen Verbindungen, während Zusammenarbeit und Innovation eine geringere Bedeutung haben. Die Priester nehmen die lokale Struktur auch hierarchisch wahr. Sie heben gerne ihre hohe Stellung in der Gemeinschaft hervor. Zu beobachten ist eine Konkurrenz zwischen der katholischen und der orthodoxen Kirche, die besonders von der Seite des katholischen Priesters betont wird. In Letschin ist die Mehrheit der Einwohner nicht religiös. Trotzdem ist der evangelische

Pfarrer eine Person von großem Prestige. Die Mehrheit der Gemeindeeinwohner hat kein Vertrauen zur Kirche als Institution, spricht aber über die Kirche in Letschin – aus Rücksicht auf den Pfarrer – positiv. Zu den Gemeindegruppen gehören auch ungläubige Leute. Die Arbeit der Gruppen basiert mehr als in Krynki auf horizontalen Verbindungen. Sie verstärkt die lokale Gemeinschaft. Der Letschiner Pfarrer beschreibt die Gemeinde als eine Gemeinschaft, die man unterstützen sollte. Er selber identifiziert sich stark mit dieser Gemeinschaft.

Die Komponente der Verbindungen und die Komponente des Vertrauens bleiben im engen Zusammenhang miteinander. Das entwickelte Gemeinschaftsleben in Letschin verstärkt das Vertrauen zwischen Einwohnern des Dorfes, die sich gut kennen und wissen, was sie voneinander erwarten können. Das Sozialkapital vermehrt sich umso stärker, je höher es am Ausgangspunkt ist. Die Einwohner machen von der Möglichkeit Gebrauch, andere Bürger besser kennen zu lernen und ihnen besser zu vertrauen, indem sie sich nicht nur im Privatleben einschließen.

Die Unterschiede im Niveau des Sozialkapitals haben mehrere Gründe. Um genaue Zusammenhänge festzustellen, wäre eine gründlichere Untersuchung nötig. Aber schon auf der Basis der hier durchgeführten Untersuchung lassen sich interessante Zusammenhänge zwischen der abhängigen Variablen des Sozialkapitals und den unten genannten unabhängigen Variablen beobachten:

● **Das Ausbildungsniveau.** Die Mehrheit der Einwohner Krynkis hat nur die Grundschule absolviert. Einen Hochschulabschluss haben nur 4% der Einwohner. In Letschin hat die Mehrheit eine mittlere Ausbildung, einen Hochschulabschluss haben 18% der Letschiner. Die höhere Ausbildung beeinflusst positiv die Herausbildung der sozialen Fähigkeiten, u.a. die organisatorischen, die planerischen und koordinatorischen Fähigkeiten. Sie verstärkt oft die Selbstsicherheit und den Glauben daran, dass man mithilfe des eigenen Handelns die Lebenssituation verbessern kann. Das Ausbildungsniveau beeinflusst ein Bürgerbewusstsein der lokalen Gemeinschaft und eine Herausbildung konstruktiver Formen des Handelns in der Gemeinschaft.[4]

● **Die Traditionen bürgerlichen Sozialhandelns in den untersuchten Gemeinden.** Letschin liegt im bürgerlichen Kulturkreis. Seit Jahrhunderten haben sich die Bürger in Vereinen und Verbänden organisiert und gemeinsam zugunsten

[4] Siehe: B. Lewenstein, Wspólnota społeczna a uczestnictwo lokalne, Instytut Stosowanych Nauk Społecznych, Warszawa 1999, S. 41.

ihrer Gemeinschaft gehandelt. Krynki dagegen liegt im bäuerlichen Kulturkreis. Es gab einmal eine Zeit mit bürgerlichen Einflüssen in Krynki – als Krynki vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg eine jüdische Stadt war – doch das ist vorbei. Jetzt herrscht hier eine bäuerliche Mentalität. In dieser Mentalität hat die Welt eine hierarchische Struktur. Ein landwirtschaftlicher Arbeiter hat nur einen geringen Einfluss auf sein Leben. Ein Bauer hangt im hohen Maß von der Natur, den Wetterbedingungen, sowie von den Anforderungen ferner Verwaltungsstellen. Er muss die Entscheidungen seines Herrn akzeptieren und sich ihnen unterordnen (auch wenn er sie verwünscht). Die dadurch geprägte Mentalität spiegelt sich in der Wahrnehmung der lokalen Behörde durch die Einwohner wider. Viele Leute beschweren sich über die Behörde, sie versuchen jedoch nicht (obwohl sie das könnten), deren Entscheidungen zu beeinflussen. Die Einwohner Krynkis benutzen solche Möglichkeiten nicht, obwohl sie leicht zugänglich wären. Dagegen kann man in Letschin den Einfluss der bürgerlichen Kultur auf die Mentalität der Einwohner gut beobachten. Hier scheint alles von den Bürgern, von ihren organisatorischen Fähigkeiten, ihrer Arbeitsdisziplin und Beharrlichkeit ihres Handelns abhängig zu sein. Die lokalen Behörden werden als Selbstverwaltungsbehörden betrachtet, die von der lokalen Gemeinschaft abhängig sind und ihr dienen sollen. Die Vertreter der lokalen Behörde verstehen ihre Aufgaben auch so. Dank dieser Tatsache sieht die Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Behörden und den Bürgern gut aus.

● **Die Traditionen der Sozialsolidarität.** Für die neuen Bundesländer sind ein starkes Gemeinschaftsgefühl und eine ausgeprägte Sozialsolidarität charakteristisch. Besonders stark sind diese in der Oderbruchregion ausgeprägt, wo die Leute beim steten Kampf gegen die Oder seit Jahrhunderten zusammenarbeiten mussten, was zu einer starken Integration in den lokalen Gemeinschaften geführt hat. In Krynki dagegen ist eine Denkweise des Misstrauens und einer übertriebenen Vorsicht ausgeprägt. Das lässt sich vielleicht durch den Einfluss der polnischen Geschichte erklären, in der Misstrauen und Vorsicht oft angebracht waren. Es gab in der polnischen Geschichte Perioden, in denen es sinnvoller war, im geschlossenen Familienkreis zu leben und die Privatsphären nicht zu verlassen, als sich mit der „gefährlichen“ Sphäre der Öffentlichkeit einzulassen.

● **Die soziale Homogenität.** Letschins ethnische- und religiöse Struktur ist homogener als die in Krynki. In Krynki leben gleichzeitig Polen und Weißrussen, Katholiken, Orthodoxen und Muslime. Dies bildet einerseits ein interessantes kulturelles Mosaik, es ist andererseits verbunden mit einer Aufteilung der Gemein-

schaft in sehr anders geartete Gruppen, die miteinander nur begrenzt kooperieren. Ein Beispiel dafür sind der katholische und der orthodoxe Priester, die keinerlei Kontakte miteinander haben wollen. Zusätzlich ist hier die Geschichte Krynkis von Bedeutung, in der einmal die jüdische Bevölkerung dominiert hat. Bei der Beschäftigung damit stößt man auf einen weit verbreiteten Antisemitismus. Diese Einstellung schwächt die Entwicklung der lokalen Gemeinschaft, indem sie die gemeinsamen Erinnerungen an die Vergangenheit behindert bzw. verfälscht. Barbara Lewenstein stellt, unter Berufung auf eine osteuropäische Untersuchung von T. Clark, folgenden Zusammenhang fest: „Die soziale Homogenität einer Gemeinschaft (…) begünstigt die Integrationsprozesse im Rahmen der Gemeinschaft und ermöglicht bestimmte Formen der sozialen Teilnahme, die einer sozialen Kooperation bedürfen.“[5] Weil das Sozialkapital als Folge einer Kooperation im Rahmen der sozialen Gruppen entsteht, ist der Mangel an Homogenität ein Faktor, der seine Entstehung behindert.

● **Das Verhältnis der Zuwandererzahl zur Zahl der Stammbevölkerung.** Die Bevölkerung Krynkis wurde im Zweiten Weltkrieg dezimiert. Die heutigen Einwohner des Dorfes sind vor allem Nachkommen der Familien, die nach dem Krieg hier angesiedelt wurden. Viele kamen erst in den 70er und 80er Jahren, als die lokale Landwirtschaftliche Produktionsgemeinschaft (LPG) mehr Arbeiter brauchte. Die Leute sind nicht tief in der lokalen Gemeinschaft verwurzelt. In Letschin wohnen die meisten Familien seit mehreren Generationen. Ihre Identität wurde durch Letschin und seine Umgebung geprägt. Die Geschichte der Region ist mit den Geschichten der hier seit Generationen lebenden Familien eng verknüpft. Wir finden mehrere Anzeichen dafür in der Letschiner Chronik, die die Geschichte Letschins erzählt durch die Geschichten der hier lebenden Familien. Im Gegensatz zur Stammbevölkerung identifizieren sich die Zuwanderer nicht so stark mit ihrer neuen Heimat.

● **Die lokalen Autoritäten und die lokalen Leader.** In Krynki fehlen allgemein anerkannte Autoritäten. Eine Autorität „von Amts wegen“ haben nur die Priester. Sie sind jedoch weitgehend passiv in Hinsicht auf die Entwicklung der weltlichen Gemeinschaft. In den Augen der Bewohner verstärken sie ein hierarchisches Bild der Gemeinschaft. In Letschin dagegen gibt es viele lokale Leader. Sie wollen die Lebensqualität in ihrer Gemeinschaft verbessern und

[5] B. Lewenstein, Wspólnota społeczna…, op. cit., S. 43 (eigene Übersetzung).

verwirklichen ihre Ideen zugunsten der Gemeinschaft mit Hilfe der anderen. Der Pfarrer ist eine Autorität, weil er sich um die Gemeinde kümmert, zu der er gehört.

● **Die Staatsverwaltung.** Die polnische Verwaltung ist immer noch stark zentralisiert. Die wichtigsten Entscheidungen werden auf staatlicher Ebene getroffen. Die Aufgaben der lokalen Behörden sind vor allem auf die Verwirklichung der Beschlüsse begrenzt, die von oben kommen. Es gibt hier wenig Platz für Innovationen und eine echte Selbstverwaltung. Deutschland ist eine Föderation, in der die einzelnen Bundesländer und Regionen eine relativ große Autonomie haben. Viele Entscheidungen werden auf der regionalen und auf der lokalen Ebene getroffen. Die Menschen sind hier an die Selbstverwaltung gewöhnt, was die Verwaltungseffektivität vergrößert und die Handlungsfähigkeiten verbessert. Letztendlich beeinflusst das die Entwicklung des Sozialkapitals in den lokalen Gemeinschaften positiv.

● **Der Wohlstand.** Obwohl die ökonomische Situation und die Situation auf dem Arbeitsmarkt in beiden Dörfern gleich schwierig sind, ist das Lebensniveau der Letschiner im Durchschnitt höher als in Krynki. Arbeitslose und Rentner haben in Deutschland ein höheres Einkommen als in Polen. Ein durchschnittlich höherer Lebensstandard bedeutet mehr Freizeit und gibt den Menschen ein besseres Gefühl, jedenfalls mehr Chancen auf eigene Aktivitäten, was letztendlich auch das Sozialkapital positiv beeinflusst.

● **Das ausgeprägte Heimatgefühl.** Die Einwohner Letschins identifizieren sich stark und emotional mit ihrer Heimat. Es ist für sie der Oderbruch. Sie interessieren sich für die Region in verschiedenen Bereichen: historisch, kulturell, politisch und gesellschaftlich. Die lokale Identität und ein damit verbundenes Gefühl des Stolzes sind bei ihnen stark ausgeprägt. Deswegen handeln sie gerne zugunsten ihrer Gemeinschaft. Sie fühlen sich mit den anderen Mitgliedern der Gemeinschaft verbunden. Sie wollen die gemeinsamen Werte verwirklichen. In Krynki ist die lokale Identität nicht so stark ausgeprägt. Die Einwohner Krynkis sagen zwar, dass sie sich mit Krynki identifizieren und dass sie stolz sind, weil sie hier wohnen, aber sie können ihre Meinung in der Regel kaum begründen. Sie interessieren sich auch in keinem der oben genannten Bereiche für ihre Region. Sie haben kein ausgeprägtes Gefühl einer Zugehörigkeit zur Gemeinschaft und keine Motivation zum Handeln zugunsten der Gemeinschaft.

Die Unterschiede im Heimatgefühl zwischen den Einwohnern von Krynki und von Letschin ergeben sich aus einer je anderen Geschichte und Tradition dieser Dörfer und auch aus den Definitionsunterschieden in der polnischen und in der deutschen Sprache. Das Wort *Heimat* wird im Deutschen eindeutig positiv verstanden Die deutschen Interviewpartner haben nur positive Assoziationen mit dem Begriff. *Ojczyzna lokalna* ist ein neuer Begriff in der polnischen Sprache, er hat noch keine eindeutige Bedeutung und er wird nicht immer positiv verstanden. Die Tatsache, dass es einen eindeutig positiven Begriff der lokalen Gemeinschaft im Deutschen gibt, zeigt einerseits, dass das lokale Leben eine große Bedeutung für die Deutschen hat, andererseits – wird dadurch die Hochschätzung der lokalen Gemeinschaften unterstützt.

Die unabhängige Variable des Heimatgefühls scheint besonders wichtig in den Untersuchungen des Sozialkapitalniveaus auf der lokalen Ebene zu sein. Die anderen oben genannten unabhängigen Variablen haben eher einen universellen Charakter und können in gleichem Maße das Sozialkapital auf der lokalen, regionalen und staatlichen Ebene beeinflussen. Der Heimatbegriff dagegen bezieht sich direkt auf die lokale Ebene, und das Heimatgefühl kommt zum Ausdruck durch ein Handeln, welches das Sozialkapital positiv beeinflusst. Das Heimatgefühl schafft ein Gemeinschaftsgefühl. Leute mit einem ausgeprägten Heimatgefühl glauben an gemeinsame Werte und wollen sie verwirklichen. Eine starke, kraftvolle und dynamische Gemeinschaft ist eine Gemeinschaft mit hohem Sozialkapitalniveau. Eine Verifizierung der Hypothese der Zusammenhänge zwischen dem „Heimatgefühl“ und dem Sozialkapital erfordert eine größere repräsentative Untersuchung. Die hier durchgeführte Untersuchung hatte keinen repräsentativen Charakter. Sie erlaubt nur, einleitend die Hypothese zu bestätigen.

5. Perspektiven einer Entwicklung des Sozialkapitals in Krynki und in Letschin

Nachdem wir die Unterschiede im Sozialkapitalniveau zwischen Krynki und Letschin diagnostiziert haben, wollen wir über die Zukunftsperspektiven nachdenken. In welche Richtung sich die untersuchten Gemeinden fortentwickeln werden, ist vom jetzigen Zustand und den Entwicklungstendenzen abhängig. Die Tendenzen lassen sich durch eine Analyse der Gegenwart erkennen. Das Sozialkapital wird durch Menschen geschaffen. Es scheint also sinnvoll zu sein, bei der Erforschung der Perspektiven der beiden Orte besonders die Einstellungen der Jugendlichen zu untersuchen.

Diese Frage ist schwer zu beantworten, da man die zukünftigen Einstellungen der Jugendlichen schwer vorhersehen kann. Ihre Haltung zu bestimmten Themen kann sich schnell ändern und schon bei Publizierung der Forschungsergebnisse nicht mehr aktuell sein. Umso schwieriger ist es, die zukünftigen Einstellungen der Jugendliche zu prognostizieren. Der Jugendliche erzählt manche Dinge provokativ und neckisch, meuternd gegen die Elterngeneration. Für junge Leute ist es wichtig, ein bestimmtes Bild von sich selber zu kreieren. Aus diesem Grund sind sie nicht immer ehrlich im Gespräch, oder sie äußern sich unüberlegt und wechseln ihre Einstellungen ganz schnell.

Unter diesen Umständen stellt die begrenzte Zahl der Einzel-Interviews mit den Jugendlichen in Krynki und Letschin eine gewisse Schwäche der Untersuchung dar. Die befragten Schüler haben auf die ihnen gestellten Fragen häufig nicht geantwortet, also keine Begründung der angekreuzten Antworten gegeben. Manche gegebenen Antworten lassen dann auch eine mangelnde Logik erkennen. Man kann vermuten, dass einige Befragte die Fragen gar nicht gelesen oder sie absichtlich aufs Geratewohl beantwortet haben. Die Ergebnisse zeigen im Vergleich mit den qualitativen Erforschungen der älteren Generation, dass es große Unterschiede zwischen den Einstellungen der älteren und der jungen Leuten in beiden Dörfern gibt. Um genauere Unterschiede (auf deren Basis man die Zukunft mit größerer Wahrscheinlichkeit prognostizieren könnte) festzustellen, müsste man eine gründlichere Untersuchung vor allem mit qualitativen Methoden durchführen.

Auf der Basis der in Krynki durchgeführten Untersuchungen lassen sich zwei mögliche Prognosen abgeben. Gemäß der ersten Prognose wird sich Krynki nicht in eine positive Richtung entwickeln, das Niveau des Sozialkapitals wird sich in den kommenden Jahren nicht ändern. Diese Prognose beruht auf einer Analyse der ökonomischen Situation Krynkis und auf den Aussagen der meisten Jugendlichen, dass sie das Dorf auf der Suche nach Arbeit verlassen werden. Das hätte zur Folge, dass der Anteil der älteren Generation in Krynki wachsen wird. Diese Generation aber ist passiv und wartet nur darauf, was von oben oder von außen kommt. Sie fördert die Entwicklung des Sozialkapitals in der lokalen Gemeinschaft nicht. Es ist schwer zu glauben, dass sich das in der Zukunft ändern wird. Jene Jugendlichen, die in Krynki bleiben wollen, werden höchstwahrscheinlich die Einstellung der Eltern und der Großeltern übernehmen, in der es kaum Platz gibt für ein Gemeinschaftsleben, die Verwirklichung gemeinsamer Projekte und ein innovatives Handeln. Diese Jugendlichen verhalten sich unabsichtlich genauso wie ihre Eltern und Großeltern. Schon heute beobachtet man bei den jungen Leuten in Krynki, dass sie viel versprechen, ohne eine reale Bereitschaft zu zeigen, etwas zu verwirklichen.

Die zweite Prognose für Krynki ist optimistischer und erwartet ein Wachstum des Sozialkapitals in der Zukunft. Sie stützt sich auf die Beobachtung, dass die Jugendlichen im Vergleich zur älteren Generation ein größeres Interesse an lokalen Themen zeigen. Die Schule in Krynki versucht, die lokale Geschichte und Kultur zu pflegen und den Schülern bewusst zu machen, wie außergewöhnlich ihre Region ist. Ein Teil der Jugendlichen gibt an, in Krynki bleiben zu wollen, wenn hier ein Job zu finden sein würde. Man kann also prognostizieren, dass Krynki diejenigen verlassen, für die das lokale Leben langweilig und unwichtig ist, und diejenigen da bleiben, die hier ihre Heimat gefunden haben. Falls sich die ökonomische Situation und die Situation auf dem Arbeitsmarkt in der Region verbessern, können diese Leute das Antlitz der lokalen Gemeinschaft verändern.

In Letschin machen die Forschungsergebnisse vor allem die Gefahr eines starken Rückgangs des Sozialkapitals deutlich. Die Jugendlichen sind hier emotional viel schwächer mit ihrer Heimat verbunden als die älteren Generationen im Dorf. Sie interessieren sich kaum für lokale Themen, nehmen am Gemeinschaftsleben nicht teil, identifizieren sich nicht mit der Gemeinschaft. Sie beschweren sich über das langweilige Leben in Letschin und planen, das Dorf in der nahen Zukunft zu verlassen. Die lokale Schule trägt nicht zur Änderung der Denkweise bei. Den Schülern werden Kenntnisse über Letschin nicht beigebracht. Man vermittelt ihnen nicht die Werte, die in den Jahrhunderten der schwierigen Geschichte der Gemeinschaft geprägt worden sind. Die pessimistische Prognose sagt voraus, dass eine große Zahl der Jugendlichen ihr Dorf verlässt und dass die alten Leute dableiben, die aus Altersgründen immer passiver werden.

Die zweite Prognose geht davon aus, dass sich der aktuelle negative Trend ändert. Mehrere Einwohner Letschins haben sich über die Passivität und das mangelnde Interesse der Jugendlichen an wertvollen Themen beschwert, aber viele haben das so kommentiert: *Sie haben noch Zeit dafür. Sie werden uns noch überraschen.* Die Einstellung der Jugendlichen kann als durch das Alter bedingt interpretiert werden und sich mit der Zeit ändern. Wenn es im Fall der Letschiner Jugendlichen so ist, kann es sein, dass sich das Sozialkapital positiv entwickelt. Dazu muss sich aber die ökonomische Situation der Region verbessern und den jungen Menschen dort eine Chance auf Arbeit eröffnen.

Wie am Beispiel der hier geschilderten Prognosen sichtbar ist, sind die Perspektiven der Sozialkapitalentwicklung von anderen Kapitalarten abhängig. Ein hohes Niveau des ökonomischen, humanen oder kulturellen Kapitals korreliert positiv mit einer Vermehrung des Sozialkapitals. Je größer der Wohlstand und die ökonomische Stabilität der Gemeinschaft sind, desto mehr Zeit können die

Einwohner der Entwicklung der sozialen Netze widmen. Je größer die Kenntnisse und die Fähigkeiten der Mitglieder der Gemeinschaft sind, desto geschickter und effektiver lassen sich ihre Ziele verwirklichen und desto mehr kümmern sich die Individuen um den eigenen Wohlstand im Rahmen der Gemeinschaft. Eine Voraussage, wie schnell und in welche Richtung sich das Sozialkapitalniveau entwickeln kann, ist in diesem Zusammenhang schwierig, weil sie eine konkrete und korrekte Prognose der Entwicklung des ökonomischen oder des kulturellen Kapitals der Gemeinschaft voraussetzt.

Das Prognostizieren der Entwicklung des Sozialkapitalniveaus ist kompliziert. Noch schwieriger ist es, das Niveau des Sozialkapitals zu beeinflussen. Das Sozialkapital hängt in lokalen Gemeinschaften von so vielen Faktoren ab, dass es kaum möglich ist, etwas zu ändern, wenn man keinen Einfluss auf die Bedingungen hat. Wir können die Geschichte Krynkis oder Letschins nicht ändern, wir können keine neuen Traditionen schaffen. Wir ändern nicht die Staatsverwaltung, die Ausbildungsstruktur oder den Wohlstand der Einwohner. Ein einziger Faktor, auf den wir in gewissem Maß Einfluss haben, ist das Heimatgefühl. Indem man Kenntnisse über die Region und die lokale Gemeinschaft vermittelt und die lokalen Werte propagiert, kann man einen lokalen Stolz prägen. Aus dem Stolz entsteht die lokale Identität. Wenn Leute stolz auf ihre Region sind, identifizieren sie sich mit der Region. Aus der Identität entsteht die Bereitschaft, zugunsten der eigenen Gemeinschaft zu handeln (weil man den Wohlstand der Gemeinschaft mit dem persönlichen Wohlstand identifiziert). Durch Versuche, die lokale Identität bei jungen Leuten zu formen (bei ihnen ist sie nämlich noch nicht ganz ausgebildet), kann man eine positive Entwicklung des Sozialkapitals in Krynki und in Letschin fördern.

6. Fazit

Das Sozialkapital offenbart sich als eine interessante und geeignete Kategorie zur Erforschung lokaler Gemeinschaften unter Berücksichtigung der Einflüsse vieler Variablen. Es ist eine breite Kategorie, die viele Faktoren einschließt, und deswegen passt es auch so gut zur Erforschung lokaler Gemeinschaften, bei der man viele Faktoren berücksichtigen sollte.

Die Untersuchungen haben die Hypothese über vorhandene Unterschiede im Sozialkapitalniveau zwischen Krynki und Letschin bestätigt. Die Unterschiede sind umso interessanter, als es sich um Dörfer handelt, die sich in vielem ähnlich sind. Die durchgeführte Untersuchung hatte einen monographischen Charakter.

Die erworbenen Ergebnisse lassen sich nicht verallgemeinern und auf alle lokalen Gemeinschaften übertragen. Krynki und Letschin haben spezifische Eigenschaften, die das Sozialkapital der Dörfer hochgradig prägen. Es wäre interessant, eine größere Untersuchung über Bedingungen des Sozialkapitals in lokalen Gemeinschaften durchzuführen. Solch eine Untersuchung müsste in einer größeren Zahl von Dörfern und Städten gleichzeitig durchgeführt werden, um spezifische Faktoren auszuschließen und diejenigen Variablen herauszufinden, die das Sozialkapital im Allgemeinen beeinflussen.

Qualitative Methoden scheinen für solche Untersuchungen besonders geeignet zu sein. Sie ermöglichen, die Denkweise, die Motivation und die Werte der Befragten zu identifizieren. Mithilfe quantitativer Methoden lässt sich eine Untersuchung schneller durchführen und mehr Daten sammeln, aber die so erworbenen Ergebnisse haben eine geringere explanative Bedeutung als die Ergebnisse der qualitativen Forschung. Besonders bei einer Forschung über die Einstellungen von Jugendlichen sind quantitative Methoden allein ungeeignet. Die Jugendlichen nehmen die Testfragen nicht immer ernst wahr und beantworten sie kaum oder auf eine willkürliche Art und Weise. Auf die Analyse solcher Daten muss man dann verzichten, denn man kann nicht sicher sein, inwiefern die Antworten der Wahrheit entsprechen.

Man sollte die Sozialkapitalforschung mit dem Ziel durchführen, die lokalen Gemeinschaften zu stärken, lokale Aktivitäten zu fördern. Auf diese Art und Weise können demokratische Ideale verwirklicht und das Lebensniveau der Individuen im Rahmen der Gemeinschaften verbessert werden.

STRESZCZENIE

Tematem artykułu jest analiza porównawcza dwóch miejscowości: Krynek i Letschina. Krynki to wieś na Podlasiu, położona na granicy z Białorusią. Letschin to wieś w Brandenburgii, 18 kilometrów od granicy z Polską. Kategorią teoretyczną porządkującą badania jest kapitał społeczny. Badania uwzględniają również zagadnienia teoretyczne związane z tożsamością lokalną. Hipoteza badań brzmi, że między społecznościami Krynek i Letschina występują duże różnice w poziomie kapitału społecznego, a różnice te wynikają z wielu czynników (takich jak: kultura, polityka i administracja krajów i regionów, do których badane społeczności należą, przeszłość historyczna, wpływy religijne i wiele innych) i przekładają się na odmienność badanych społeczności. Szczególnie istotne jest w pracy poszukiwanie zależności między zmienną zależną kapitału a zmienną niezależną przywiązania do ojczyzny lokalnej.

РЭЗЮМЭ

Тэма публікацыі – гэта параўнаўчы аналіз дзвюх мясцовасьцяў: Крынак і Лечына. Местачковыя Крынкі ўяўляюць сабою вёску на Падляшшы, блізу мяжы Беларусі. Лечын, гэтаксама местачковая вёска ў Брандэнбургіі; на васемнаццатым кілямэтры ад мяжы з Польшчай. Тэаратычнай катэгорыяй, парадкуючай досьледы, лічыцца грамадзкі капітал. Бярэцца пад увагу таксама пытаньні лякальнай таесамасьці.

Паміж грамадзтвамі Крынак і Лечына наглядаюцца вялікія розьніцы ва ўзроўнях грамадзкага капіталу – па прычыне культурных, палітычных і адміністрацыйных адрозьненьняў; таксама гістарычных, канфэсійных, найперш этнічных. Відавочныя і падабенствы.

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Michael Fleming

Talking about Białowieża: Recent problems and issues

In this brief paper I report on two recent articles discussing the Białowieża conflict. This conflict has been extensively analysed by Franklin (2001/2002), Gliński (2001) and Sadowski (2001) and I have also made a number of contributions to the debate.[1]

Over the past several years I have argued that 'if democracy is valued, discussion over Białowieża must break out of the rhetoric of environmental crisis' and that 'the voice of local people needs to be given due respect'. Given that the people living in and around the forest are mainly from the Belarussian minority, I have maintained that the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities provides a guide to how a just solution may be achieved. I still hold this view. However, it has become apparent that dialogue

[1] Franklin, S. 2001 *Bialowieza Forest, Poland : social function and social power* Unpublished D.Phil thesis, School of Geography, University of Oxford. 2002. Franklin, S. 2002 'Bialowieza Forest, Poland: representation, myth, and the politics of dispossession' in *Environment and Planning A* 2002, volume 34, (8) August, pages 1459 – 1485. Gliński, P. 2001 'Konflikt o Puszczę. Raport z badań nad konfliktem społecznym z poszerzeniem Białowieskiego Parku Nardowego' in *Pogranicze: Studia Społeczne Vol X p47-114.* Sadowski, A. 2002 Społeczno-kulturowe następstwa poszerzenia Białowieskiego Parku Narodwego' in *Pogranicze: Studia Społeczne Vol X p7-46.* Fleming 2003 'Fixing the political landscape: The Belarussian minority in Poland after the 2001 parliamentary elections' in *Annus Albaruthenicus 2003 p16-34* Villa Sokrates, Krynki, Poland, Fleming 2002 'The Białowieża forest conflict: Is there a democratic solution?' published as 'Bialowieza: A Minority View' in Central Europe Review 26th November 2002 (www.tol.cz). (A response to critics appears in the following week's letters page)

between the various protagonists in the conflict is not really happening. The 'hard' environmentalists continue to pursue an agenda guided by myths about the forest and a reluctance to engage with those who do not share their views.

Despite some progress, under the auspices of DANCEE and within the framework of the Aarhus convention, it is disappointing to realize that the following analysis of two papers published this year discussing Białowieża could, in substance, have been written five years ago – so little has changed on the discursive level. I have decided to re-engage with the Białowieża conflict as I believe it is as important as ever to challenge the disempowering mythologizing assertions of 'hard' environmentalists and to demonstrate how their claims inhere in the structure of their logic rather than in the world 'out there'. Though I am strongly criticizing a specific trend in the environmental movement in this paper, this does not mean I am anti-environment. On the contrary I, like others, am attempting to reconcile environmental concerns with democratic practice. But it is only by exposing and challenging regressive ideologies that we can, hopefully, move the debate forward and attempt to reconcile the hopes and aspirations of the people who live in and around the forest with the project to protect a valuable forest environment.

Reporting the conflict

It is over six years since the people of southern Podlaskie protested against the proposed extension of the Białowieża national park. The reasons why local people objected to the expansion are now well known and focused upon the anticipated economic deterioration which would result from the circumscribing of access rights and tighter restrictions on wood-based industries, the reluctance of individuals and NGOs sponsoring the expansion to engage with local people and their concerns, and the sense that expansion was in part directed against the locals themselves as they belonged to religious / national minorities.

This paper analyses two recent contributions to the debate about the Białowieża conflict to illustrate how discourse continues to shape the conflict. The first contribution discussed appeared in the ecological on-line journal 'Green Horizon' on Tuesday 2nd May 2006. The article, written by the Poznan-based journalist Wojciech Kosc, was entitled 'The Last Stand' (more on this later). [2] The second appeared on 4th April 2006 as part of a French organised discussion on globalisa-

[2] http://greenhorizon.rec.org/coverstory/the-last-stand.html

tion and people at the frontiers of Europe, and was entitled 'The Green Lungs : „Breathing problem" Environmental Conflicts in the Podlaskie Region (Poland)' written by two young scholars based at the University of Białystok – Radosław Poczykowski and Ireneusz Sadowski. [3]

The Kosc article appeared in 'Green Horizon', the quarterly magazine of the Regional Environmental Centre for Central and Eastern Europe (REC), a journal which attempts to reconcile concern for environmental goods with democratic considerations.[4] It is generally regarded as being a moderate and objective publication. Kosc himself has, over a number of years, provided succinct and useful reportage of events in East Central Europe for the online journal 'Transitions Online'.

Kosc's article attempts to provide an assessment of the on-going conflict over the Białowieża forest. However, despite the status of the publication in which it appears and Kosc's usual good judgement, the discussion of the Białowieża conflict is compromised by the author's adoption of the tropes and metaphors of the 'hard' environmentalists who initiated the conflict over a decade ago. Rather than approaching the claims made by 'hard' environmentalists in a critical spirit, Kosc has absorbed them and remade them as his own. Indeed the emotive title 'The Last Stand', assuming Kosc is not being heavily ironic, captures the sensibilities of 'hard' environmentalist ideologues in two ways.[5] Firstly, it reiterates the contested claims which they make regarding the state of the forest – that it is in crisis due to human activity within it – that there is a last stand (of trees) to be protected. And secondly, in an echo of embattled groups everywhere, the 'hard' environmentalist are making a (heroic) 'last stand' against those who do not share their view / faith. As a journalistic pun the title may arguably have merit; as the title to an article aiming to objectively describe the contours of the Białowieża conflict it is, at best, misleading and unduly emotive.

Kosc then proceeds to introduce readers to Janusz Korbel, a well known 'hard' environmentalist ideologue who communicates his agenda through his publication 'Dzikie Życie' (Wild life) and by organising protests outside Polish embassies abroad. Korbel, according to Kosc, is driven to conservationism 'on the grounds that nature cannot protect itself'. Białowieża, according to both Kosc and Korbel,

[3] http://www.peuplesmonde.com/article.php3?id_article=436

[4] For details of the REC and its mission see http://www.rec.org/REC/Introduction/whatis.html

[5] I am assuming that this is Kosc's title. If it is not, I apologise in advance to Mr Kosc and redirect my criticism to his editor at 'Green Horizon'.

'constitutes the last big piece of primeval deciduous forest in the northern temperate zone of Europe'. Both these claims are questionable.

The assertion that Białowieża is a primeval forest has been argued to be a rhetorical strategy rather than a description of the actual forest by the scholar Stuart Franklin over five years ago. The forest has been worked by humans for over a millennium, subjected to human interference from further afield, through water and air flows – no place is isolated from what goes on beyond its borders. The fact that it remains in currency is an indication of its strategic power. After all, claiming a place is untouched and by implication, pure, is more likely to stimulate protective impulses in the wider and frequently overseas population to whom Korbel and others appeal, than stating that the forest has been worked over, worked in and worked on for over a thousand years. Indeed, the fact that the forest has been worked over does not undermine its value, but it does jeopardize 'hard' environmentalists' attempts to enlist distant populations to their specific agenda. Kosc does recognize that the assertions of the forest being 'pristine' are troublesome – 'a characterisation that parties on both sides of the dispute routinely use to their own ends'.

The repeated use of the phrase primeval forest is itself problematic. The Polish word from which it is translated, 'puszcza', has other resonances. As Poczykowski and Sadowski point out 'puszcza' is derived from the word 'pusty' meaning empty. While they argue that this etymology encourages the use of the natural environment as a free resource or dumping ground, 'hard' environmentalists such as Korbel play on the etymology of 'puszcza' to affirm their vision of a depopulated forest freed from humanity's malign influence.

This understanding is given further credence by the conception of nature with which Korbel, amongst others, operates. In their view humanity is separated from nature. Nature becomes a subject in its own right, independent of human projects. It is only from this perspective that claims such as 'nature cannot protect itself' become possible. But by separating humanity from Nature, a conflictual binary is implied. Nature is feminised, is subjected to Man's interference, projects and desires. In the context of the possible violation of the feminised Other (Nature), a protector is required. But it should be clear that it is the structuring of the binary opposition of Man and Nature which frames Korbel et al's understandings, not scientific argument or empirical evidence. Thus, the repeated claims of *primevalness* operate on two levels – to garner support for a restrictive protective agenda and, more importantly, to concretise a particular ideological view of Man's place in the world, from which all other assertions are derived. Empirical evidence may be used or ignored to the degree that it affirms this ideological position. But as

the Białowieża conflict shows us, the separation of Man from Nature is a human project which requires contestation.

This dichotomy, it should be noted, has provided the justification of the massive exploitation of nature (designated as natural resources) in other places and times. Korbel et al use the same dichotomy model as modernists of varied political hues who celebrated the exploitation of nature to demonstrate Man's liberation from, and power over nature. Korbel et al merely invert the value of the Man / Nature binary, and accord nature primacy. While the strategy of inverting the values accorded to different categories has a lot to recommend it, it does not undermine the structure of antagonism between conceived opposites (here nature / humanity), but rather reinforces it. This theoretical cul-de-sac has worrying implications in the Białowieża conflict. For, by valorising nature vis a vis humanity, local people are devalued, and become part of the problem. It is therefore no surprise that 'hard' environmentalists operating with a binary model of man's relationship with the world (Nature / Man) are driven to violence against the problematic Other in a similar way modernists were driven to violence against their environment under the rubric of Progress. The violence committed against local people includes negative stereotyping and the denial of self development.

While Kosc does not discuss the theoretical difficulties concomitant to the Nature / Man separation, he uncritically presents the views of Korbel on the need for protection. But the issue of protection is itself obfuscated. As followers of the Białowieża and other conflicts know well, national parks can have different levels of protection accorded to them. These range from a liberal regime to a strict regime. Presenting protection as a uniform term which people either support or protest against is misleading, though depicting the conflict as a dichotomy between protectors and exploiters has worked well in 'hard' environmentalist propaganda. The complexity of this particular issue needs to be elaborated.

Kosc, then briefly outlines some of the issues raised by people who object to the hard line pursued by Korbel and others. He quotes Ryszard Kapuscinski – head of the forest protection department of State forestry who argues that the selective protection regime is sufficient and that logging is not a problem. However, an opportunity is missed to confirm this assertion through reference to logging totals of the last twenty years. Indeed, given that both sides of the debate problematise logging, some objective time-series data would be very helpful. It is worth noting that Franklin (2002) pointed out that during the 1990s 'hard' environmentalists made spurious claims about logging. Today, both volume of timber extracted from the forest and source from within the forest are important issues within the debate.

Kosc then mentions the demonstrations of 2000 and the economic motivation of local people to continue to work the forest, and rightly points to a significant cleavage in the conflict which centres on „best use," with conservationists favouring 'a shift from a local economy largely based on timber exploitation to one based on tourism in an expanded national park', without discussing the viability of the tourist strategy to improve or even sustain livelihoods amongst an already poor population group.

The author then does not challenge Korbel's dismissal of the protest of 2000 as bogus and fuelled by the State Forestry apparatus. This is despite the fact that several surveys of opinion prior to and after the protest found that local people were against the expansion of the national park. Korbel summarily dismisses the concerns of local (Belarussian) residents with the suggestion that they have been manipulated. The paternalism exhibited here should be understood in the context of Polish stereotypes of the Belarussian minority as 'simple' people.[6] The myth of manipulation continues to be propagated in 'hard' environmentalist circles. One wonders what it would take for such people to accept that most people around the forest actually disagree with the hardline agenda pursued by Korbel et al.

Korbel, according to Kosc, goes on to claim that a state forest official who serves as an elected official in a commune that lies mainly in the Białowieża forest has a conflict of interest. We are not told what level this official operates at, what work he does for the commune, nor are we told what precisely the conflict of interest is. Surely such an assertion needs to be investigated and assessed. Without, such assessment the reader is encouraged to share Korbel's opinion regarding 'manipulation' or, alternatively, to conclude that Korbel does not like to see state forest officials in local public office. Given that people know what the elected official's day job is, and voted for him or her, indicates, perhaps, not so much a conflict of interest, but a unity of interest.

In contrast to the Kosc article the work of Radosław Poczykowski and Ireneusz Sadowski is written for an academic audience and surveys the Białowieża forest conflict, in a more empirical fashion. The paper is framed by the insight that protected areas of Europe 'are more or less shaped by human activity' and that the condition of the area is a '„by-product" of underdevelopment, low urbanisation and industrialisation.' Poczykowski and Sadowski thereby avoid the 'hard' environmentalist myth of the primeval forest and avoid the trap of the Nature / Man

[6] For a discussion of stereotypes about Belarussians in Poland see Czykwin, E. (2000) Białoruska Mniejszość Narodowa Jako Grupa Stygmatyzowana Trans Humana, Bialystok

separation. The paper then moves on to rightly assert that the conflict is complex and must take into account the 'local history, social structure, and the culture of the region'. They highlight the fact that in Białowieża the surrounding communities are members of national and /or religious minorities, which causes 'conflicts to become multi-dimensional'. This is something which the 'hard' environmentalists avoid acknowledging for a number of reasons. A diverse human population upsets the rigid Nature / Man dichotomy on the one hand and, on the other, the mission to mesh Polish national identity with environmental evangelicalism is unlikely to garner support outside Poland. 'Hard' environmentalists obfuscate minorities' identity – they become simple people, manipulated by others with low ecological consciousness.[7]

However, Poczykowski and Sadowski's subsequent analysis is problematic. Though outlining the characteristics of local inhabitants is empirically useful and is necessary to understand aspects of the conflict, any assertions about them cannot be fully evaluated if the opposing groups are not also described. So, while Poczykowski and Sadowski rightly point to local people's social conservatism, their tendency to construct us / them oppositions and their 'low ecological consciousness' as being relevant to the discussion about the Białowieża conflict, we are not advised as to how these characteristics develop and remain important during the course of the conflict. Nor are we told about the characteristics of the 'environmentalists', the strategies they employ, their engagement (or lack of) with local residents, their socio-cultural backgrounds, their value systems or their specific objectives. Indeed, given that any conflict has at least two protagonists it is imperative that all actors are evaluated so that the way in which they interact, argue their case and behave can be appraised.

The main problem in Poczykowski and Sadowski's approach is its emphasis on empiricism – isolating factors to explain a phenomenon rather that viewing the issue as a set of relationships and processes. A more critical view on 'low ecological consciousness' for example would explore the cleavage between actions and views, and thereby help the authors to avoid misapplying the argument regarding the use of nature as free or as a dumping ground.

This argument is contingent upon two important assumptions. Firstly, that the social relations of private property are privileged and secondly, (and connected)

[7] Local people's actual actions and lifestyles may actually result in a lower environmental footprint than globe trotting environmentalists using planes, private cars etc. The relationship between wealth and environmental impact should be discussed.

that the model of Nature / Man dichotomy is dominant. In Białowieża, these assumptions can be contested. Białowieża can be viewed as a commons with local people as stewards rather than exploiters. It is true that forest produce (fruits, mushrooms, wood etc) may be taken from the forest 'freely' (that is no market set price is paid to a private owner), but not without an awareness of the forest's cycle in which local people are part. So while in other places where private property relations prevail, the tragedy of the commons (that is the unsustainable exploitation of common land) has occurred, in Białowieża such an eventuality is inhibited by local cultural practice, deep understandings of the forest and an awareness of the benefits of the forest.[8]

Thus, instead of seeing recorded low ecological consciousness as a problem, one could show how low ecological consciousness does not inevitably lead to environmentally problematic practices or one could outline how the notion of ecological consciousness is socially constructed and may be used oppressively against minority communities. Indeed, one could maintain that local understandings which do not separate Man from the forest are a more effective guarantee of good stewardship than an 'ecological consciousness' predicated upon Man / Nature separation. This is an issue which the Białystok scholars need to pursue with greater rigour on both empirical and theoretical levels.

So, while I fully agree with the sentiment that 'social environmental conflicts are complex and multi-dimensional … their dynamics can be understood only by careful analysis of their cultural and historical background', I don't think Poczykowski and Sadowski successfully achieve such an analysis. As the local people who opposed the extension of the national park felt they were the object of decisions made elsewhere, Poczykowski and Sadowski reproduce that objectification by making them the object of their study. In fact, the dynamic of the conflict is the relationship between some 'environmentalists' and local people.

The contemporary discourse over the Białowieża forest conflict reproduces the longstanding difficulties in reconciling not only different views on the future of the forest, but also radically different theoretical perspectives. It remains as diffi-

[8] The sense of stewardship should not be underestimated. By 'privatising' the forest through making it all a national park, local people are deprived of their stewardship role and become subject to rules and regulations which may undermine local cultural, social and economic practices. Alienated from the forest and deprived of rights and responsibilities, local people may then come to see the forest simply as a resource and exploit it. Thus, the attempt to protect the forest through the institution of the national park may actually undermine the social environment balance which currently works to sustain the forest and progressively criminalise segments of the population.

cult as ever to envisage a compromise solution given the 'hard' environmentalists' refusal to accept the local (Belarussian) people as equal partners in democratic deliberation. Indeed, 'hard' environmentalists continue to prefer to mobilise a global audience to exert pressure on Polish and European decision makers in order to circumvent local opinion and aspirations. While a politics of scale is not by definition anti-democratic, in the case of Białowieża it is, as its objective is to escape local accountability and to impose decisions on people without their voice being heard. Fortunately, mechanisms exist to ensure local voice at all levels of government from commune to the EU through both the electoral process and the new minority rights regime. If democracy and environmental sustainability are valued, it remains important to be vigilant of crisis environmentalism and the concomitant attempts to justify the exclusion or marginalisation of various social groups.

STRESZCZENIE

Jest to krótkie omówienie dwóch niedawno opublikowanych artykułów dotyczących konfliktu wokół Puszczy Białowieskiej. Moim celem jest ukazanie jak posługiwanie się określonym słownictwem i metaforą uniemożliwia obiektywną dyskusję nad przyszłością Puszczy. Obecna dyskusja potwierdza długotrwałe trudności w pogodzeniu różnych opinii na temat przyszłości Puszczy, a jednocześnie wskazuje na radykalnie odmienne perspektywy teoretyczne. Stwierdzam, że jeśli cenimy demokrację i ochronę środowiska, to powinniśmy być czujni wobec kryzysowych teorii środowiska i towarzyszących im prób wykluczania, lub spychania na margines różnych grup społecznych.

Michael Fleming*: otrzymał doktorat na Uniwesytecie Oksfordzkim, gdzie również wykładał geografię w koledżach Jesus i Pembroke. Jego główne zainteresowania badawcze dotyczą mniejszości narodowych w Polsce oraz spraw związanych z narodowością i obywatelstwem. Interesuje się także polityką ochrony środowiska.*

Arnold McMillin

Three poets of the future: Valžyna Mort, Volha Hapiejeva and Vika Trenas

There are many negative aspects of the literary scene in present-day Belarus, but there is also a great deal to arouse optimism. Although the previously predominant journals, such as *Połymia* and *Maładość* have been emasculated, several new ones have sprung up, notably *Dziejasłoŭ* and *Arche*. And although it is harder than ever to be published in the main literary publishing house, 'Mastackaja litaratura', without special help or influence, other still independent publishers have sprung up, predominant amongst them being 'Łonhvinaŭ' which specializes, though not exclusively, in the work of young writers. Another positive feature of Belarusian literary life is the continuing encouragement of beginners through seminars, anthologies, competitions and other means, often resulting in publications such as, for instance, *12 +1: Konkurs maładych litarataraŭ imia Natalli Arsieńnievaj* (Miensk, 2004). Some individuals too have played and continue to play an impor-

tant role in the encouragement and development of young talent. Amongst them is the poet, translator and scholar Andrej Chadanovič (b. 1973), a virtuoso of ludic, highly referential writing who seems but rarely to refer to or engage in direct poetic correspondence with the (even) younger generation, although one exception is Viktar Žybul (b. 1977), himself a master of elegant word games, particularly palindromes.

There are many talented young poets writing today. Amongst the most outstanding, in addition to Žybul, could be mentioned his wife Djeci (real name Viera Bułak, b. 1976), Michaś Bajaryn (b. 1978) and Janka Łajko (b. 1979). To their number must be added the three poets discussed below, Valžyna Mort, Volha Hapiejeva and Vika Trenas, each the possessor of a strong individual voice, but sharing a number of themes, mostly dark, as well as, of course, the experience of growing up as a young woman in Belarus.[1] Both individually and together they present a picture of Belarusian literature developing strongly despite what Shakespeare called 'the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune'.[2] Aleś Harun who, a century earlier, famously declared 'Сам народ – пясьняр' would have doubtless felt his words confirmed by the work of these excellent young poets.

*

Valžyna Mort (real name Martynava) was born in 1981 and lived in Miensk before marrying and moving to the United States in spring 2005, first to Tampa, Florida and later to North Carolina. In the 1990s, like many of her contemporaries she became part of the Bum-Bam-Lit grouping, some of whose adherents also associated themselves with Scherzwerk. The sign of the latter is to be seen on the back of Mort's first and, at the time of writing, only book, *Ja tonieńkaja jak tvaje vieki* (I am delicate and sensitive like your eyelids), a brilliant collection of poetry, prose and translations, was published by Łohvinaŭ in 2005, over two years after it was written. Since then she has continued writing poetry and intensified her translating activities, producing vividly convincing Belarusian versions of Rafał Wojaczek, Leonard Cohen, Ivan Andrusiak and, most recently, Ted Hughes. An original poet of bold imagination and profound feeling, Mort initially made created a scandal by using words not usually found in Belarusian print, and some of

[1] As the writer Anatol Kazłoŭ observed, 'If God wants to punish a woman – let her be born in Belarus': quoted from Andžeła Mielnikava, 'Vybiraje žančyna... Z nahody apaviadańnia L. Rubleŭskaj i nie tolki', *Maładość*, 3 (1999), 248-52 (252).

[2] *Hamlet*, III, i.

her images are similarly unfettered. But such aspects of her writing, like, indeed, her mixing of languages, are secondary, and it is her skilful and vibrant technique, her original imagery, great musicality, almost tactile qualities and her capacity to surprise that are the most striking features of her early poetry. Few Belarusian writers seem to appreciate their contemporary environment and the prevalence of the theme of loneliness in literature at the turn of the century has been mentioned more than once. Mort brings a characteristically robust attitude to this feeling in an untitled prose essay which shows apparently clear resentment of the phallocentric world in which she lives:

> Loneliness is of male gender. Despite the fact that they call it "she",[3] I am sure that I have seen its immense penis. The phallus of loneliness is like a telescope. As soon as it notices that I have appeared somewhere near, quiet and unattractive with two clips in my fine hair, it opens this tube to the necessary size and looks in it, watching me through the magnifying glass of its penis. (Mort 2005a, 67)

In more general terms this poet has written extensively about disillusion and disaffection: in one powerful, still unpublished poem, 'Biełaruskaja mova II' (The Belarusian language II) she writes in an intensely alienated way about the process of giving birth, of the coming of love like a forceful arrest during the Terror, 'of only feeling freedom in public lavatories where for 200 roubles nobody asked what we were doing', ending with a return to the womb, compared here to an air raid shelter, in order to be born again. An image that recurs after the first stanza and at the end is of a schoolgirl gymnast on the thin wire of the horizon, performing unbelievable feats, followed by an expletive as commentary; in its final recurrence the schoolgirl is described as being 'their' future:

> А там, на даляглядзе, гімнастачка нашай будучыні
> Скакала праз вогненны абруч
> Сонца
> П...ц.[4]

[3] The two main Belarusian words for loneliness, *samota* and *adzinota* are both feminine.

[4] 'And there on the horizon the gymnast of our future / Was leaping through the fiery hoop / Of the sun. / F*** it': Mort 2005b, 305-06. The translations of Mort's poems in 2005b were made by herself with the help of American poet Franz Wright. It is these translations that, exceptionally, will be given here, although in some cases they have been further modified in the interests of faithfulness. It may be noted, incidentally, that the contraction of the non-normative word *pizdziec* is by *Arche*, rather than the poet herself.

One of Mort's best-known poems is 'Bolnica' (The hospital), in which a (presumably) mental patient hits his head against a concrete wall leading the entire universe to resemble the plug hole of the hospital sink:

Больніца

Калі доўга стукаць
галавою
аб бэтонную сьцяну,
бэтон стане цёплым...
І да яго
можна будзе прытуліць
сваю шчаку,
падобную да зоркі-мэдузі,
адчуць,
як зазямляецца празь цела памяць,
і дачакаецца імгненьня,
калі твае вочы
ператворацца ў неваляшак,
а стракаты сусьвет
падасца глыбокай дзіркаю
ў мыйніцы.[5]

The memory referred to in this poem is compared in another poem, 'kab uvajści ŭ hetuju kvateru...' (in order to enter this flat...), with 'taking a prostitute for the evening', as the frustrated lyrical hero waits for an absent lover (Mort 2005a, 35). In another poem, 'Mužčyny prychodziać, jak ličby ŭ kalendary...' (Men come like numbers in a calendar...), it is men's mechanical constancy amongst other qualities that are enumerated, as we read in the following excerpt which, amongst other things marks a linguistic transition point as the verse goes from Belarusian to English:

[5] 'Hospital // When someone spends a lot of time running / and bashing his head / against a cement wall / the cement grows warm / and he curls up / with it / against his cheek / like a starfish a medusa / and senses, / how the body uses memory / to bind it to the earth / and he waits there for a moment / when his eyes turn / into wobbling tops / and the whole colourful universe / appears like the deep / hole in the sink': translation by Franz Wright.

Мужчыны, што вучаць дзяцей дзіцячаму сьмеху,
Мужчыны, што вучаць час не стаяць на месцы.
Мужчыны, што любяць мужчын у туалетах клюбаў,
мужчыны, што цалавалі рукі самое сьмерці,
Мужчыны, што ніколі мне не паверацъ,
Putting me into chairs
Mama their lips fall down on me
Like burning airplanes

(.....)

Take me out
Find me under
This airplane wreckage[6]

Depression and death feature surprisingly frequently in the early poetry of Valžyna Mort. In the still unpublished 'Fabryka sloz' (Factory of tears) we read of a highly productive organization that works day and night, setting new records, even on holidays, and recycling waste matter of the past, mostly personal memories. In a poem dedicated to the somewhat apocalyptic Polish poet Rafał Wojczek, of which these are the first few lines, death is represented as an intrusive filthy fly:

перад вачыма
лезе ў рот
над вухам
брыдкаю мухай
лётае смерць...[7]

Two poems using the image of life as a desperate nightmarish train successfully combine prosaic everyday Details with symbolism and deeper meaning: 'Ty...' (You...) describes a jam-packed railway carriage and ends with the following lines:

[6] 'Men that teach children childish laughter, / Men who teach time not to stand still. / Men who love men in the lavatories of clubs, / Men who have kissed the hands of death itself, / Men who never believe me, Putting me into chairs / Mama their lips fall down on me / Like burning airplanes / (.....) / Take me out / Find me under / This airplane wreakage': Mort 2005a, 38-39.

І я адзіная, што купіла білет.
Але да дзьвярэй не дабяруся, канечне.

Мне прыйдзецца ехаць
у тваім цягніку да *конечной*.

Ты –
Цягнік, забіты людзьмі
Да сьмерці.[8]

The last stop, death, is given in Russian, and another untitled poem about a train, 'Ne prislon'iatsia!..' (No leaning...) begins in Russian. This verse ends with the poet disembowelling herself, but the theme is as much about the frustrations of love as about death, as may be heard in the following lines from the middle of the poem:

А я ўпіраюся ў безвыходнасьць, нібыта
ў дзявочую цноту, пляву, і іду па тым лёдзе,
і прагну зваліцца ў ваду,
гучна крыкнуўшы – годзе![9]

Even the birds and the sun, elements of optimism and joy for many poets, find an alarming or, at best unattractive, aspect in Mort's introspective verses. In 'Užyvanyja ptuški' (Used birds) even the birds seem tired. It begins:

я рву сьнег на кавалкі
звар'яцелы ад ухвальных позіркаў
ужываных птушак...[10]

---

[7] 'getting into your eyes / mouth / ear / as if a filthy fly / death is circling...': Mort 2005b, 303; translation by Franz Wright.

[8] 'And I am the only one who has bought a ticket. / But I cannot get to the doors, of course. // I am obliged to travel / in your train to the *terminus*. // You / Are a train, packed with people / To death': Mort 2005a, 29.

[9] 'And I come up against hopelessness, as if / into my maidenly chastity, I spit, I go over that ice / and I long to fall into the water, / loudly crying "Enough!"': Mort 2005a, 37.

[10] 'I tear the snow to pieces / crazed by the laudatory gazes / of used birds...': Mort 2005a, 13.

In an unusual love poem, 'Ja ahłuchnu ad cišyni...' (I shall grow deaf from the silence), even the birds are silent, and in 'karoziju pavietra na ščakach...' (The corrosion of the wind on my cheeks...) we find a striking avian image:

па горадзе афішы,
як птушкі,
нібы мокрыя прасьціні...[11]

The sun, already encountered in the sinisterly remote and dispiriting gymnastic image of 'Biełaruskaja mova II', is far from always life enhancing for Mort. In 'Sonca – marski asiłak...' (The sun is a giant of the sea...) the sun is not only a maritime giant, and a rock, but also the source of the 'shabby dust' that oppresses the poet (Mort 2005a, 12). In a poem written in her new home, 'Z plažaŭ Flarydy' (From the beaches of Florida), not only are suns painted by boys ('future mages') in the water by the paintbrushes between their legs but the boys (descendents of apes) think nothing of pissing on God's mirror. Here are the final lines of a poem that is unlikely to appeal to Florida's Tourist Board:

ты сьліваеш з вуснаў салёны мёд,
і паветра прыліпае да насьліняўленай скуры
і курчыцца на ёй, як у павуціньні муха.

У вадзе – дзеці – нашчадкі малпаў
бессаромна мочацца на люстэрка Бога[12]

In her depiction of the seasons Mort is as unconventional as in other thematic areas. 'Užyvanyja ptuški' ends enigmatically with not only brewing tea from hemp wrist bands but play on the old name of the month of May:

я завару гарбату
з уласных фенечак

[11] 'in the town advertisements, like birds, similar to damp sheets...': Mort 2005a, 23.

[12] 'you are licking salty honey off your lips / and the air gets stuck in salivated skin / like a fly in a web. // In the water are children – apes' descendents / pissing shamelessly on god's mirror': modified translation by Franz Wright.

Месяц травень
Трава тае.[13]

The following poem in the collection, 'Treple tvary mlavy viecier...' (A flaccid wind plays on our faces...) echoes the last two lines above, adding another two that continue the word play and punning (in the last word on 'bloodsucker'):

Месяц травень
Траве тае.
Месяц травень
Травапіўца[14]

The striking title of 'Niesankcyjanavanaja viasna' (Unsanctioned spring) introduces a sensually powerful poem, rich in violent and evocative images, about spring as a time of sexual maturation:

Несанкцыянаваная вясна

шматкамі вуснаў
разьдзялі маю цнатлівасьць.
гульня ў хованкі
найпершая пяшчота.
у малекулах распырсканага дроту –
несанкцыянаваная вясна.
прамежкамі ад роту і да роту
адмеран час,
але не для такіх!
і мае вусны поўныя, як соты,
ідуць ужо на споведзь да тваіх,
намацаўшы жарсьць магмы
пад зямлёю.
О, месяц! Бесядзь *бесится*
ўва мне,
пры пятай Прыпяці

[13] 'I brew tea / from my own hemp wrist bands // The month of May. / The grass melts': Mort 2005a, 13.
[14] 'The month of May. / The grass melts. / The month of May, / Grasssucker!': Mort 2005a, 14.

стаю на валуне,
і неба крываточыць чысьцінёю.[15]

Another deeply sensual poem is 'Apošniaja jabłynia' (The last apple tree) in which the poet hero tramples on the roots of the last apple tree in the universe (Mort 2005a, 16-17). Amongst poems about men and erotic love may be mentioned 'Čaho b ja chacieła?' (What would I wish for?) which ends with the words:

І немагчыма заснуць з тым мужчынам

Зь ім цела становіцца ўначы
Музыкай саранчы[16]

Similarly erotic is 'Ci heta zhubleny taboju vołas...' (Was it a hair you lost...') a description of sex through various images, including a night-time storm at sea, and ending with the birth of single tulip growing from the poet's bed (Mort 2005b, 302).

Valžyna Mort's early verse also includes several poems about childhood, including the unpublished 'my ž dzieci' (but we are children) which is both amusing and touching: they cannot distinguish between Ali Baba and Allah Akbar, and there life is worse than anything that can be seen in the cinema, and yet they are the sugar of the earth. The last lines may seem to have a particular relevance to the poet's own situation:

таму што мы дзеці
малалетнія людзі
і мы ляцім на ўсіх самалётах
і ўсе самалёты ляцяць да мінска
таму што мы дзеці
і маем права на горад дзяцінства[17]

[15] 'Unsanctioned spring // with a multitude of lips. / part my virginity / playing at hide and seek / is the highest form of bliss. / in molecules of scattered barbed wire / is the unsanctioned spring. / time is measured / by the intervals between mouth and mouth, / but no for such ones! / and my lips, full like honeycombs, / are already going to yours to confess, / having felt the heat of magna / beneath the earth. O, moon! The river Biesiadź is foaming wildly / in side me, / at the fifth river Prypiać / I stand on a boulder, / and the sky pours forth blood as purity': Mort 2005a, 15.

[16] 'And it is impossible to fall asleep with that man // With him at night your body becomes / The music of locusts': Mort 2005a, 42.

[17] 'because we are children / juveniles / and we fly all airplanes / and all airplanes fly to minsk / because we are children / no one is going to deny us the city we grew up in': translated by Franz Wright.

Mort's still unpublished poem, 'mabyć tabie taksama časam zdajecca...', describes God as a head teacher who never gives high grades, causing the child's parents to abandon her from shame:

мабыць табе таксама часам здаецца,
што бог падобны да завуча школы,
які ніколі не ставіць пяцёрак.[18]

Mort does, however, show great warmth of affection for her grandmother, a theme comparable in intensity to Baradulin's writing about his mother. Two works, the first an untitled poem, 'maja babula...' and a short prose piece, 'babuli', are amongst the most moving of all her early works. Here is the heartfelt poem:

мая бабуля
ня ведае болю
яна думае што
голад – гэта ежа
галота – багацце
смага – гэта вада
яе цела як вінаград абвівалася вакол палкі
яе валасы як пчаліныя крыльцы
яна глытае сонечныя зайчыкі таблетак
называе інтэрнэт тэлефонам ў амерыку
яе сэрца стала ружаю – яго толькі і можна
што нюхаць
прыціскаючыся да яе грудзей
больш ад яго ніякага толку
толькі кветка
яе рукі як ногі бусла
чырвоныя палачкі
і я сяджу на кукішках
і выю ваўком
на белую поўню тваёй галавы,
бабуля,

[18] 'maybe you too sometimes fantasize / that god resembles your most difficult teacher / the one who never gave the highest mark: translated by Franz Wright.

я кажу табе: гэта не боль
гэта так моцна цябе абдымае бог
цалуе і коле сваёй няголенай шчакою[19]

The first of the sixteen prose pieces, on loneliness, has already been mentioned. They are a mixture of humorous reflections, reminiscences of people and events, some with whimsy, others with lively dialogue, including those between other poets, including Źmicier Višnioŭ, her editor, and Viktar Žybul, her admired friend; here neither of them is presented in a very creditable light, and nor, indeed, is her boyfriend Ivan who also seems prone to drunken antics. Another of these informal sketches begins, 'I have caught gonorrhoea. God save me!' (Mort 2005a, 82). The best known, however, is the only one with a name, 'Hopniki' (Young rowdies) a pot-pourri of the poet's experiences during an exceptionally hot summer. Starting with attempts to make a phone call and the various replies, some of them abusive, through masturbation (and shame before her waiting lunch and the furniture) to a series of protests at the world consisting of shit, followed by a series of more or less banal urban sounds, such as the repeated shouting of the man's name Vo-va, and the singing of Happy Birthday, adding to the latter the observation that the best way to put out the candles on the cake is to piss on them (Mort 2005a, 100). It ends with reflections on forms of aggression and terrorism, accompanied by some violent images, followed by the poet's difficulty in falling asleep. Here is the final paragraph as she awakes to renewed discomfort and heat:

> I wake up from the unbearable heat. Again summer. Again morning. Again there are young rowdies beneath my window. My skin has stuck to my body like damp clothing. I do not like it. The temperature is higher than my weekly wage. A live yellow monkey is digging around in my knickers, and I cannot even close my legs.
>
> (Mort 2005a, 104)

[19] 'my grandmother / doesn't know pain / she believes that / famine is nutrition / poverty is wealth / thirst is water / her body is like a grapevine winding around a walking stick / her hair bees' wings / she swallows the sun speckles of pills / and calls the internet the telephone to america / her heart has turned into a rose the only thing you can do / is smell it / pressing yourself to her chest / there's nothing else you can do with it / only a rose / her arms like stork legs / red sticks / and I am on my knees / howling like a wolf / at the white moon of your skull / grandmother / I'm telling you it's not pain / just the embrace of a very strong god / one with an unshaven cheek that prickles when he kisses you': Mort 2005b, 303-04; translation by Franz Wright.

Valžyna Mort has been accused of gratuitous *epatež* (Šaŭlakova 2004, 250), but even if there is a desire to shock in some of her work, there is also a wealth of true feeling, a ready wit combined with the expression of very personal feelings. Both vividly tactile in imagery and extremely musical, her verse, original and translated alike, shows a bold confidence yet true sensitivity, implied by the title of her first book:

я
тоненькая
як
твае
вейкі[20]

*

Volha Hapiejeva was born in Miensk in 1982 and studied at the Belarusian Linguistic University. Her first book, *Rekanstrukcyja nieba* (Reconstruction of the sky, 2003) contains lyric poems (in the broadest sense of the word), a short 4-act play (or, perhaps more accurately, script for a performance) and a novel of twenty-five randomly numbered prose 'Details'. The verse is no less dark than that of Mort (or, indeed, Trenas), but whereas Mort's bleak visions seem, for the most part, to have a basis in reality observed by a stable personality, many of Hapiejeva's very imaginative verses seem essentially abstract and their deliberate, perhaps feminist, *épatage* somewhat less shocking.

Hapiejeva's unrhymed lyrics are mainly very brief, with short lines, sometimes consisting of only one word, and many of them containing elements of repetition. Thematically death, love and blackness predominate, and several verses use animals and insects to reflect emotions and experiences. The phrase in the title of the book is also that of the 'Novel in Details/ Detail in a Novel' with which it ends; it also occurs in the lyric, 'Adsiul niemahčyma pamierci...' (From here is it impossible to die...), an imaginative but deeply unenthusiastic description of the transformations brought about by modern life:

Адсюль немагчыма памерці
тут можна адно – слухаць
і ўпарта ня чуць
як навокал

[20] 'I am delicate and sensitive like your eyelids': Mort 2005a, 4.

нічога ня дзеецца
як бэтонныя дрэвы
чакаюць сваіх кватарантаў –
алюміневых птушак ТУ-154
як людзі стукаюцца аб шкло
ў сваіх камэрах хаваньня.
Ужо на працягу тыдня
тут вядзецца рэканструкцыя неба
а якое яно было напачатку
ніхто й ня памятае[21]

Leaving aside that it is shocking for some readers to find young poets seemingly obsessed with death, the poem that has caused most comment so far with its provocative final line is 'na padłozie vandrujuć nie papiery...' (it is not papers that are wandering over the floor...), a piece that, using repetitions, combines in a series of striking images the themes of femininity and the writing of poetry:

на падлозе вандруюць не паперы
на падлозе вандруюць вантробы
яны пляскаюць у далоні
патрабуючы словаў
на падлозе шкрабецца ня котка
на падлозе шкрабуцца нэрвы
яны лашчаць сваю сыстэму
аплятаючы косткі
на падлозе ня пляма сьмятаны
на падлозе мыюцца цені
яны пішуць сінія вершы
патрабуючы кавы са спэрмай[22]

[21] 'From here it is impossible to die / here it is only possible to listen / and stubbornly not hear / how round about / nothing is being done / how concrete trees are awaiting their inhabitants / the aluminium TU-143 birds / how people are beating against the glass / in their left luggage offices. / For a week already / the reconstruction of the sky is going on here / and what it was like previously / nobody can even remember': Hapiejeva 2003, 42.

[22] 'it is not papers that are wandering over the floor / it is my uterus that is wandering over the floor / it claps its hands / demanding words / it is not a cat scratching on the floor / on the floor it is my nerves scratching / they caress their system / ensnaring bones / on the floor there is no splash of sour cream / on the floor shadows are washing themselves / they are writing light blue poems / demanding coffee with sperm': Hapiejeva 2003, 18.

The reference to death in 'Adsul niemahčyma pamierci...' is not untypical, and this theme recurs quite frequently in Hapiejeva's verse. In some poems, like 'Ja pračynajusia ad taho što cieła tvajo...' (I wake up because your body...' is morbid, if not bizarre, but in other poems it can also be memorable, as in the second of the 'VIERŠY PRA ŽNIVIEŃSKI HOŁAS' (POEMS ABOUT AN AUGUST VOICE) where, after the execution of a dear one, the latter is invited into a collegium of death that may already be full. The poem 'Ja častkova pamru...' (I shall partially die...) is worth quoting as an example of Hapiejeva's sense not only of (literary?) mortality but also of humour:

Я часткова памру
часткова загіну
кавалькамі зьнікну
кроплямі высахну
жменямі разьвеюся
каменьчыкамі патану
шматкамі спарахнею
на малекуле атручуся
па атаме задыхнуся
выкінуся
парвуся
па швох разыдуся
пад колы патраплю
і зьнікне праблема выбару[23]

It is no joke when physical functions, such as sight, do not work, as in 'Zryvajusia' (I tear myself away), but a poem with almost ludic repetitions like 'Zaplacieš mnie koski koski...' (You will braid my plaits plaits...' is more memorable, combining as it does, quite characteristically of this poet, the themes of love and death:

The reference to sperm in coffee is not an isolated one, but recurs in the novel, at the end of Detail 8, where it is accompanied by an untranslatable typographical witticism which some will consider to be of equal vulgarity: Hapiejeva 2003, 102.

[23] 'I shall partly die / I shall partly perish / I shall disappear in little pieces / I shall dry up in drops / I shall scatter in handfuls / I shall drown as pebbles / I shall fall apart in rags / I shall suffocate in a molecule / I shall throw myself out / I shall tear myself / I shall come apart at the seams / I shall land up under the wheels / and the problem of choice will disappear': Hapiejeva 2003, 43.

Запляцеш мне коскі коскі
з водарам лекаў
і я прайду зданьню зданьню
праз тваё цела
і я аддам словы словы
нямым вуснам
калі запляцеш мне коскі коскі
з водарам сьмерці[24]

In the poems quoted so far, love and death have seemed connected; it certainly seems that love for Hapiejeva is dangerous. In one short poem 'Piasok...' 'Sand...' the theme of literature is introduced, almost casually, recalling the centrality of the poet as such in all these poems:

Пясок
колеру маёй скуры
сьнегам кладзецца ля акіяну
плача нехта
а нехта памірае
Там на ўзьбярэжжы трупных аповесьцяў
жывуць пілігрмы – войска крумкачовае
іх вязьні – нехрышчоныя лужыны
іх дзеці – душы атручаных
плача нехта
а нехта памірае[25]

Love is very specific and far from romantic in the work of Hapiejeva, like Mort and, indeed, Trenas. Some familiar elements of love such as jealousy are to be found, but danger and even nightmares are more common, as, for instance, in 'Kali robicca vuścišna...' (When it becomes fearful...) or 'U słoik...' (Into a jar...), an allegorical poem of sexual relations:

[24] 'You will braid my plaits plaits / with the smell of medicines / and I shall pass as a ghost ghost / across your body / and I shall surrender words words / to dumb lips / when you braid my plaits plaits / with the smell of death': Hapiejeva 2003, 20.

[25] 'Sand / the colour of my skin / settles like snow near the ocean / someone weeps / and someone is dying / There on the shore of putrid stories / live pilgrims – crow troops / their prisoners are unchristened puddles / their children are the souls of people who have been poisoned / someone weeps / and someone is dying': Hapiejeva 2003, 29.

У слоік
парослы атручаным квецьцем
я пакладу свой сорам – жоўты павук
спляце павуціну
і нецьвярозыя мухі
засьведчаць сваю далікатнасьць
пачуўшы ягонае хваляваньне
(мой страх перад табою)[26]

In another very imaginative poem, 'Ad słupa da słupa...' (From post to post...), Hapiejeva appears to move from telephoning her lover with kisses down the line, to non-verbal communication in which she herself is part of the text as a question mark, leading in turn to a rejection of all this 'love business' (*kachańni*) and a desperate search for escape from the loneliness that seems so ubiquitous in Belarusian literature:

Ад слупа да слупа
на стальных правадох
з хуткасьцю
трыста мэгапацалункаў
ў хвіліну
цячэ нешта
нешта маё
вялізнае з пахам язьміну.
Стану пытальнікам
пасярод поля
сярод чорных кропак
крумкачовае зграі
і на сухажыльлях
цела свайго
што-небудзь з Шапэна зайграю.
Да д'ябла ўсялякія там
<каханьні>

[26] 'into a jar / overgrown with poisoned flowers / I shall place my modesty – a yellow spider / will weave a web / and tipsy flies / will bear witness to their delicacy / when they feel its agitation / (my fear before you)': Hapiejeva 2003, 31.

мяне ванітуе ад іх пяшчоты
я лепей буду на паляваньні
страляць сабе ў голаў
ад адзіноты.[27]

The link between loneliness and literature is found in an unusual poem, 'Vosieńniu...' (In autumn...), which eschews the usual clichés of red and gold associated with the season of mists and mellow fruitfulness; rather, in Hapiejeva's treatment, it is a time of loss and departure:

Восенью
калі ўсе газеты
адлятуць у вырай
я распавяду табе пра карабельную самоту
і пра стомленых празаікаў што пішуць
свае аўдавелыя вершы.
Апошняе шкло
парвецца на акулярах патаемнага дому
і я прыгадаю фіялетавае заўтра
і ты не станешся ягоным хросным бацькам
(твой Бог не дазволіць гэтага).
Шэрая кволасьць нябеснай вадкасьці
ўжо не пакутуе пад вострымі штыкамі
Былога сонца.[28]

Several of Hapiejeva's poems are narrated from a child's point of view. Indeed, the book's opening quatrain, 'Biełу. Čorny...' (White. Black) leads us to expect something of the kind:

---

[27] 'From post to post / on steel wires / with the speed of / three hundred mega-kisses / a minute / something is flowing / something of mine / huge with the smell of jasmine. / I shall become a question mark / in the middle of a field / amongst the black dots / of a flock of crows / and along the tendons / of my body / I shall play something by Chopin. / To the devil with all that / 'love business' / I feel sick from its affectionateness / I had better, out hunting, shoot myself in the head / from loneliness': Hapiejeva 2003, 51.

[28] 'In autumn / when all the newspapers / migrate to warmer countries / I shall tell you about the loneliness of ships / and about the tired prose writers who compose / their widowed verses. / The last glass / will break on the spectacles of the secret house/ and I shall recall a violet tomorrow / and you will not become its godfather / (your God would not permit that). / The grey delicacy of heavenly liquid / will no longer suffer under the sharp bayonets / Of the former sun': Hapiejeva 2003, 30. Another rather bizarre seasonal poem, 'napeŭna...' (probably...') ends with the desultory lines: 'it's probably / winter. What can you do' (Hapiejeva 2003, 62).

Белы. Чорны.
Кантраст? Антонім?
Хутчэй –дзеці ШЭРАСЬЦІ
з процілеглымі мроямі.[29]

In 'Marcypanavy śnieh...' (Marzipan snow...) there is clearly a child narrator, and the cut-out wings of another poem 'kryły...' (wings...) reflect a youthful imagination. The military theme of poems like 'Ja źbirajusia na vajnu...' (I'm preparing to go to war...) and 'Jak pakliču ciabie na vajnu...' (How shall I summon you to war...) also have a childlike ring to them.

There are many animals, insects and birds, as well as fruit and even crumbs at the centre of these poems. In 'Pad hrukat małočnaha cerca...' (Under the roar of a milky heart...) a hospital ladybird helps the poet to listen to other people's thoughts. In 'MNIE biełym kitom...' (For ME as a white whale...) she dreams of being a white whale cast up on the shore only to be met by people 'pregnant with death'. Even more bizarre is a poem, 'Biełaja žyrafa...' (A white giraffe...) about the eponymous animal splashing about in the river Seine; the poet wants to see its real colour when wet, but the giraffe wants none of this speculation and turns into a white lily. One of the most enterprising and wide ranging of these poems is 'Voka kania' (The eye of the steed...) in which the wings are again hand made. the search for freedom, however, reveals an adult intelligence:

Вока каня
Вільготнае ад вуснаў маіх
Перакульвае мяне
галавой долу
рукі мае занадта слабыя
ісьці па зямлі
а ногі дужа брудныя
каб крочыць па небе
так зьяўляецца неабходнасьць
                вырошчваць крылы
ці рабіць іх
                з падручнага матар'ялу

[29] 'White. Black. / Contrast? Antonym? / Rather it is the children of GREYNESS / with their contrary dreams': Hapiejeva 2003, 11.

і
ня лётаць
сінюю вену
што небам пераклалі над каштанавым дрэвам
мне так лёгка парэзаць
навостраным пер'ем
лепей зьверам зьбягу.
ля засохлае студні
буду грызьці каменьне
да смаку салёнай іржы ў роце
і спадзе мая смага
як вейка з вока каня спадае
на чэрствыя вусны
дзікай свабоды
мінаючы рудыя бровы
той мост адзіны
да якога ніяк не дайсьці мне
занадта ён побач[30]

Hapiejeva's extraordinary play 'Kalekcyjanier' (The collector) will be considered elsewhere, but her novel, which has the same title as the book with an additional subtitle, 'Rekanstrukcyja nieba (Raman u detalach) – (Detal u ramanie)', (Reconstruction of the sky [A novel in Details. Detail in a novel]), is considered by some readers to be the most important part of *Rekanstrukcyja nieba* (see, for instance, Šaulakova 2005, 113, 115). It is clearly a postmodern novel, with non-linear time, a cocktail of surreal and realistic elements and, notably, a mingling of genders that may arguably be considered one reflection of a feminist revolt at the ubiquitous patriarchal attitudes in her country. It is notoriously difficult to describe postmodernist prose, but a possible starting point is the Preface or Warning (*Papiaredžańnie*) that opens the novel:

[30] 'The eye of the steed / damp from my lips / overturns me / head over heels / my arms are too weak / to walk along the ground / and my feet are very dirty / to step along the sky / thus the necessity arises / of growing wings / or making them / from improvised material / and / not fly / the blue vein / that the sky has lain over the chestnut tree / I could so easily cut / with a sharpened pen / better I should run as a wild beast. / near the dried-up well / I shall gnaw the stones / to please the salty rust in my mouth / and my thirst will fall away / just as an eyelash falls from the eye of a steed / onto the stale lips / of wild freedom / missing the dark red brows / that single bridge / which I shall never get to / it is too near by': Hapiejeva 2003, 60.

The reader has the right:
to use various writing instruments while reading
to imagine the main heroes in their place, to whom the [male] author, taking into account the demands of a heterosexual society, has given both masculine and feminine endings
to join in with strengthening (the absence of) equal rights in society by making harsh criticisms or writing lofty odes
to use certain excerpts a charms against toothache, unhappy love and evil spells

It is desirable to avoid:
learning particular expressions by heart
quoting publicly in crowded areas (Hapiejeva 2003, 92)

The fifth of the Details (numbered 2) gives some idea of the poet's creative methods, and her liberal view of time, but is mainly concerned with love, a theme that runs throughout the novel, taking different forms: at times it seems very personal, at others, perhaps, as purely formal in order to assert what might be described as feminist principles in a conservative world. Amongst the latter may be mentioned the dreams of a future lesbian relationship in Detail 8, and the heroine's interest in a book called *Perversions* in Detail 0. Here is Detail 2 *in toto*:

> We live in different countries and in different time zones. When it is 10 here, there it is still 9. So I have an hour to spare.
> I am learning not to lie. Although, when I do not lie myself, there will always be someone else who lies to me. I plan my sentences carefully, like an architect, especially when I say that you are the person I love, avoiding the word 'alone', which deprives me of the possibility of building other palaces in honour of the other people I love. Moreover, when I kiss someone who is not you, it happens an hour earlier. At that time I am always sincere and always with you. So that when you decide to go to Australia, I am guaranteed six months of free life. Just as you are guaranteed my eternal waiting, because the only thing I betray is time.
> (Hapiejeva 2003, 98)

In Detail 12 the heroine reflects on what seems to be a very ordinary nuclear family of two parents and a daughter, and, after some thoughts on the physiology of how the girl had been produced, considers staying with the father, a man perfect in what she sees as his complete spiritual emptiness. The Detail ends, however, with the observation: 'Perfection is not for me' (Hapiejeva 2003, 127).

The novel has an open-ended, fragmentary structure, and yet there can be no doubt that the whole is greater than the seemingly discrete parts. At times 'Rekanstrukcyja nieba' seems like excerpts from some kind of *Bildungsroman* and at others, like parts of a French *nouveau roman* (Šaŭlakova 2005, 114), with, moreover, elements of magic realism. The description of the heroine's visit to a clothes shop in Detail 72 could be seen as symbolic of the rapidly changing narrative viewpoint in this ambitious work, a change of garments here reflecting a change of personality. The biggest change, however, is the deliberate blurring of the gender divide, where the heroine can, at times, become a man, as well as a child. Perhaps the most important aspect of this salmagundi of a novel, complete with epistolary and quasi-scholarly Details (for example, no. 31 which concerns Mary Queen of Scots), is its variety and sense of fun. As post-modern novels go, Hapiejeva's 'Rekanstrukcyja nieba' is enjoyable to read and at the same time very thought provoking. It ends with a phrase that implies the conclusion of an intimate letter: 'I kiss and embrace you, Your Volha' (Hapiejeva 2003, 139.

In her freeness with sexual words, she has been linked with Valžyna Mort, but in fact this aspect of their writing is not very important, and the two poets have more differences than similarities, as, indeed, they do from Vika Trenas. Hapiejeva is without doubt a very interesting and promising young writer with much to offer.

*

Vika Trenas (real name Łajkoŭskaja) was born in 1984 and two decades later, barely out of university, published a book that enjoyed great success and earned her the reputation of one of the outstanding poets of her generation: *Cud kanfiskavanaha diacinstva* (The miracle of confiscated childhood, 2005). This book is distinctive, apart from its poetic qualities, by the fact that the poet uses not only modern Belarusian spelling, but also the Taraškievič system of orthography as well as transliteration from Cyrillic to Latin script, to say nothing of the use of English words and phrases, although the latter is not entirely uncommon in the work of the younger generation of writers. Another striking feature of this poet's work is its declarative nature, with some poems written entirely in capital letters; indeed, she uses capitals more than most poets since Anatol Sys.[31] Her public readings move well into the area of performance art, as she sometimes reads her poems kneeling, with a whistle in her mouth (Kiślicyna 2006, 36).

The tone of Trenas's first book is dominated by depression and thoughts of death. Indeed the lyrical heroine seems to be in a constant state of loneliness and emotional frustration, as in 'Ja ŭ krainie cudaŭ...' (I am in a land of miracles...),

where even the snow is prickly, and where the guitar strings are compared to veins, and the music groans under the fingers of doubts (Trenas 2005, 11). In another poem, 'Nazaŭždy' (For ever) even the lonely faces of the trees seem to witness the suicide of the poet's beloved, whilst another verse, 'HSYOD', ends with words redolent of loneliness: 'Яшчэ ўчора казалі: Hope to see you again one day' (Trenas 2005, 61). In 'Aniołu. Bratu' (To My Angel. To My Brother) God sends drizzle as a solution to some of the poet's problems, and the word for drizzle is rhymed with that for loneliness in the last two lines:

У новых снох. Пакуль ты спіш. Бог з неба разлівае слоту.
Любіць цябе. Шукаць цябе. Укрыжаваць сваю самоту.[32]

In 'Viaźni' (Prisoners) a lonely poem is compared to prisoners who need to be captured in a book:

Вязні

як вязні некалькіх прыступак
нясмела прыпыняем крок
нябёсы ахінае смутак
нябёсы абдымае бог
калі бяжыш, не спаткніся
сляды на травеньскай траве
пакуль са мною будзе ў кнізе
самотны верш[33]

For this poet, loneliness is closely related to other forms of longing and grief: in her poem 'u samocie' (in loneliness), for instance, we read:

[31] The purpose of Trenas's mixing of orthographies and scripts is not entirely clear, unhappily, though clearly not deliberately, echoing the almost ubiquitous macaronic cattle-feed *trasianka*.

[32] 'In new dreams. While you sleep. From heaven God pours forth drizzle. / To love you. To seek you. To crucify loneliness itself': Trenas 2005, 12.

[33] 'Prisoners // Like prisoners after a few terms / you timidly slow your step / sadness protects the heavens / god embraces the heavens / when you run, do not trip / there are traces on the May grass / until I have with me in my book, / a lonely poem': Trenas 2005, 72.

у самоце, у нябыце, у тузе, у скрусе,
у глыбакосьці, у жудасьці[34]

Death and madness play a considerable role in this book; the titles of 'Ziamla aniołaŭ i samahubcaŭ' (Land of angels and suicides) and 'Vosieńskaje samahubstva' (Autumn suicide) speak for themselves. Another moving verse, 'Biełу popieł' (White ash), ends by the poet wishing for self destruction:

ці ёсць магчымым забіваць сябе
каб быць крывёю на чужой красе[35]

'Nia toje' (Not that) is a particularly strong poem about extreme despair that begins with a memorable image:

Ня тое

Я – кропля болю, што паўзе па лязе,
Я – белы зьвер, загнаны ў вусьціш.
Дзяўчаткі вершы выразаюць з газет,
Маёй крывёй фарбуюць вусны;
Яны заваблiваюць сьмерць у крысо,
Ня любяць жабак ды вустрыц,
Падлік пасечаных вядуць валасоў,
Баяцца твараў у люстры.
Сярод прыгнечаных страшэннай красой
Табе – тае, мне – ня тое.
Прадаць дазволена разумным усё,
Усё для дурняў – сьвятое.[36]

[34] 'in loneliness, in non-existence, in longing, in sadness, / in the depths, in horror': Trenas 2005, 60.
[35] 'Is it possible to kill oneself / in order to be blood on another's beauty': Trenas 2005, 85.
[36] 'Not that // I am a drop of pain that slides along the blade, / I am a beast driven to silence. / Young girls cut poems from the newspapers, / They paint their lips with my blood; / They entice death into their lap, / They do not like frogs and oysters, / They keep count of the hairs they have cut off, / They fear their faces in the mirror. / Amongst those afflicted with terrible beauty / For you there is that, for me – not that. / Intelligent people are allowed to sell everything, / For fools everything is sacred': Trenas 2005, 28.

As for madness, being alive seems proof enough in the one- line poem, 'My žyviem – heta značyć, što my var'jaty' (We live – that means we are crazy) (Trenas 2005, 32). The theme is also to be found in 'Apošni' (The last) and 'Majo var'jactva' (My madness), often related to the poet's frequently unhappy, or so the poems suggest, love affairs. The last poem in the book 'Byćcio' (Existence) ends, after several vivid images of love, with a couplet that is characteristic of Trenas's ludic manner, even in poems of passion or despair:

твой сон у маю галаву
сьмерць блізка, лаві love you[37]

The sadness and vulnerability of frustrated love and betrayal, as well as true devotion, figure in nearly as many of Trenas's early poetry as images of death. Frustration is particularly well caught in 'Ščaślivyja ščaście nikomu nie zrobiać...' (Happy people will not make happiness for anyone...):

счасьлівыя шчасьця нікому ня зробяць
ты дзе, мой каханы, дзе?
пачуцьці свае разьмяняю на дробязь,
каб кідацца імі ў людзей
ня бачна празь белую цемрадзь завеяў
праз шкло захварэлай зімы
сагрэю твае зьледянелыя веі
гарачымі сьлязамі[38]

Another poem of strong feelings that should evoke a response from many women is 'Pałova' (Half):

Палова

Ты прыйдзеш, каб сабе забраць сябе
З маіх усьмешак, позіркаў і рухаў,

[37] 'your dream into my head / death is near, catch the words "love you"': Trenas 2005, 90.

[38] 'Happy people will not make happiness for anyone / where are you, my beloved, where? / I change my feelings for small change, / in order to throw them at people / I cannot see through the white murk of snowstorms / through the glass of sick winter / I shall warm your frozen eyelashes / with my hot tears': Trenas 2005, 29.

Ды мне ня трэба напалову скруха,
Ту цалкам мне належыш у журбе.

Ніякіх pro et contra, так ці не...
Вядома, што з табою можа стацца.
Вядома, прыйдзеш ты, каб тут астацца,
Адно тваёй паловы мала мне.[39]

In 'Narodžanyja ŭviersie' (Born on top) Trenas describes poetry being woven between lovers in what is seen by outsiders as only 'mindless eroticism' (Trenas 2005, 34). The world of love seems less romantic in 'Zamova' (A spell) where 'someone's boyfriend' is kissing the poet's broken fingers and her Muse is limping (Trenas 2005, 21), but in several other poems the link between love and the creative process has a happier association, although in 'Łovy' (Hunting) kissing appears to ruin the poet's hunt for the right words, the latter being of principal importance, as may be seen in the last two lines:

Ад маіх пацалункаў атруцяцца словы
Пачынаюцца ловы пачынаюцца ловы[40]

Not a few of Vika Trenas's poems are concerned directly with the creative process, sometimes very dramatically, as in 'Kanstatacyja majoj adsutnaści' (Establishing my absence) where in the last two lines she writes of crucifying her book of poems:

калі кнігу сваіх акрываўленых вершаў
я цвікамі прыб'ю да крыжа[41]

The process of creativity seems to be very harsh, but the pain of Trenas's verses rings true, with no sense of literary pose. A good example is the untitled 'Ja karystajusia ślapymi j kucymi słovami...' (I use blind and stunted words...)

[39] 'Half // You will come in order to collect yourself for yourself / From my smiles, looks and movements, / But I do not need a half measure of sadness, / You belong to me in grief completely. // No pro et contra, yes or no... / It is known what can happen to you. / It is known that you will come in order to stay here, / Only half of you is not enough for me': Trenas 2005, 30.
[40] 'From my kisses words are poisoned / The hunt begins the hunt begins': Trenas 2005, 16.
[41] 'if I nail my book of bloody verses / to a cross': Trenas 2005, 64.

Я карыстаюсь сьляпымі й куцымі словамі
зь сябе я шукаю выйсьця
хістаючыся, яны з адсечанымі галавамі
кладуцца на паперу, як барвовае лісьце

Сплываюць крывёю, набываючы новыя формы
мае вершы – могілкі выкшталцоныя
пазяхаючы, заплюшчыўшы вочы ад стомы
я выцягваюся на ложку, прадчуваючы бяссоньне[42]

In 'Ruch času' (The movement of time) poetry is shown to be a complex art, but one image, in the third line, stands out: 'Вершаваная іржа пануе ў срэбных мроях' (Versified rust rules in my silver dreams) (Trenas 2005, 58). The poet clearly believes in the power of the word to break through her silence, as may be seen in 'Skroź ścianu majho maŭčańnia' (Through the wall of my silence...)

Trenas's poems about the pain and difficulty of the creative process are matched by a very inventive, experimental streak in some of them. The book's enigmatic title is reflected in an untitled poem, 'Marudnaje mora...' (The slow flowing sea...):

д
з
і
ц
я
к ч
м о р а
а ы в й
р і
у
д
н
а
е[43]

[42] 'I use blind and truncated words / I seek a way out of myself / staggering, they with severed heads / lie down on the paper, like crimson foliage // They swim together like blood, acquiring new forms / my poems are moulded coffins / gasping, my eyes closing from tiredness / I stretch out on the bed, anticipating insomnia': Trenas 2005, 55.

[43] 'The slow flowing / sea / of children's / blood': Trenas 2005, 50.

Less inventive, but no less striking is the untitled 'VOS' TAK' (THAT'S HOW IT IS...):

ВОСЬ ТАК
ЧЫРВОНЫ ЗЕЛЯНЕЕ
І ЗЯЛЁНЫ ЧЫРВАНЕЕ[44]

'Posttryjalet' (Post-triolet) makes, perhaps a nod towards Bahdanovič, at the same time underlining the prosodic range of this very promising young poet:

Посттрыялет

пачвара з задуменнымі вачыма
угледзела самоту за вакном
ад скрухі трэба лекавацца сном
пачвара з задуменнымі вачыма
на дне азёр, напоўненых віном,
схавалася цвярозая радзіма
пачвара з задуменнымі вачыма
угледзела самоту за вакном[45]

Vika Trenas's poetic preoccupation with death and madness, tempered by concern with the creative process and, least surprisingly, poems of love and passion all in their different ways reveal a talented and original poet, assuring a bright future for Belarusian literature whatever else happens to the country.

РЕЗЮМЕ

Несмотря на многие негативные аспекты современного литературного процесса на Беларуси, основой для оптимизма является присутствие значительного числа выдающихся молодых поэтов, в частности Вальжына Морт, Вольга Гапеева и Вика Трэнас. В этой статье анализируются их литературные произведения, с освещением общих и сравнительных черт, характерных для их творчества. Каждая из этих многообещающих поэтэсс уже с первой из своих книг внесла серьезный вклад в современную литературу. При таких молодых талантах,

[44] 'THAT'S HOW IT IS / RED TURNS GREEN / AND GREEN TURNS RED': Trenas 2005, 36.

[45] 'Post-triolet // a monster with thoughtful eyes / saw loneliness beyond the window / one must cure oneself of grief through sleep / a monster with thoughtful eyes / at the bottom of a lake filled with wine, / our sober fatherland has taken refuge / a monster with thoughtful eyes / saw loneliness beyond the window': Trenas 2005, 68.

способных противостоять шекспировским «ударам, каменьям, стрэлам яраснага лёсу», слова Алеся Гаруна «сам народ – пясьняр» звучат правдой через столетие после написания и дают настоящую надежду на будущее.

Arnold McMillin, *Emeritus Professor of Russian Literature at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College, London, is the author of many articles and several books about Belarusian literature, two of the latter translated into Belarusian in 2001 and 2004. His latest monograph on contemporary Belarusian literature is due to be completed in 2007.*

Alena Tabolich
Алена Таболіч

Sakrat Yanovich's Prose: Stylistic Peculiarities in Translating

Translation of fiction can be considered as an aspect of literature studies, where the centre of attention are interrelations of literatures and contacts between them. At the same time translation is the object of linguistic studies, which are devoted to the analysis of methods and techniques of translating from one language into another. The three components of the translation process – original text, translated text and recipient – can be normally discussed together or in the combinations: original – translation, translation – recipient.

Translation is also considered as part of intertext, as a social problem, as part of culture and as a form of communication.

In translating fiction, to know two languages and techniques of transforming from one language into the other is not sufficient. The translator ought to know many other things about the country from the language of which he translates – the

historical background, geography, arts, folklore, mythology, the writer's outlook, etc.

The author's individual style is one of the translator's difficulties. The translator must be a perfect stylist to render all the stylistic nuances of the writer and to show the readers of the target language all the specific features of the author as a creator and as a personality.

What kind of style does Sakrat Yanovich present? How difficult are his works for translating into other languages? These and other questions are to be answered in the process of analysis based on the following works: 'Miniatures' (transl. by Shirin Akiner), 'Notes of the Century' (transl. by Alena Tabolich), 'Sakratsiki' (transl. by Andrei Tabolich) extracts from 'No Regret…' (transl. by Alena Tabolich and Andrei Tabolich).

First of all, his prose is a symbiosis of different genres – a piece of political essay, a fairy tale, a poetic miniature, a narrative story, etc. It contains argumentation, inner monologue, dialogue, and descriptions. Sakrat Yanovich is a captivating writer of varying moods, forms and themes. His texts are full of irony, satire, romantic sublimity, realistic thoughts, etc. All this can be expressed in words, but it can be also implied. Everything must be taken into consideration while translating his works.

What is his language, and what are the ways of translating Yanovich's nuances into other languages?

Each work has its specific traits, nevertheless, there is much in common in the prosaic works of Sakrat Yanovich. He is a master of intertext, and that means that his works are filled with reminiscences, and numerous allusions which are borrowed from the Bible, history, mythology, literature, folklore, etc. And the translation of allusions requires a wide scope of knowledge in various spheres. To illustrate it, we can give some examples and show how difficult it was to render his text and preserve all the allusions.

Allusions from Belarusian mythology with gods and pagan holidays can find only near-equivalents or descriptions in English (*Пярун - Piarun, god of thunder; лясун - wood goblin; Дзяды - All Souls' Day).*

Citations from literature or lines from songs and Belarusian folklore, the latter containing rhyme and rhythm, require poetic skills in addition. For instance: how should we translate the lines from the Russian war song 'Katyusha': *Расцветали яблони и груши …* or *Тёмная ночь, только пули свистят по степи… – Apple trees and pear trees were in blossom... Dark night, only bullets are whistling in the steppe…*?

Sakrat Yanovich is a truly patriotic writer whose works are deeply embedded in the cultural and spiritual past of Belastok Area. He represents Belastok Area, the Belarusian language of which (Padliashski dialect) includes numerous specific words, borrowings from Polish, Ukrainian and German.

While describing events of World War II, the author uses (chiefly in the speech of his heroes) many German or Russian words which give a special colouring to the descriptions of that period of time. But what are the ways of translating dialectal words? Theory of Translation recommends the only way out – to use the words of the informal or spoken style of the target language. What way should we show that the hero used Russian or Polish words? We think that explanations are possible in this case (*Nie słuchajcie go, to wrog klasowy - Don't listen to him, he's a working class enemy! said the political instructor in Polish).* Thus, the translator must know Polish, German and Russian.

Yanovich is a great fighter for preserving cultural traditions of Belarus. His texts contain Belarusian culture-bound words and folkloric elements which have no equivalents in English, they cannot be found in Russian-English dictionaries, and Belarusian-English do not exist at all. So the translator has to make efforts to find his own way of presenting these words in English texts. When there is no equivalent or near-equivalent in the English language, the compensation can be made only in the descriptive technique which makes the text longer, and neutralizes the style. For instance, the holiday *Зельная* can be transferred as *Zelnaya,* but it will have no meaning to anglophone readers. It should be explained like this: a *holiday in late summer, when herbs and flowers are sanctified; it is the last of the Transfiguration Days.*

Sakrat Yanovich knows all the geographical details of his area and neighbouring countries. Place names fill in his memoirs and descriptions. One has an impression that almost all the place names have meaning, they "speak"… He has a rare gift for inventing new names, which tell us about the history or peculiarity of the place – they are "speaking" names (*Ліповая вуліца - Linden Street, Чортава хата - Devil's Hut, a place in a deep forest*). Even those which exist in reality, reveal some secrets from their history (*Ангельская вуліца - English Street, Верхлес - Verkhles*). What preference should be given in translating them – transcription, calque or near-equivalent *(Upper Forest* for *Верхлес*, for instance)?

Sakrat Yanovich's memory is a specific phenomenon. The thing is that he remembers all his heroes – those who lived long ago, his contemporaries, and those who are the fruit of his imagination. Personal names are presented in various forms – formal, informal, derogatory, diminutive, etc. He has a vivid imagination for in-

venting different "speaking" names and nicknames, that require special techniques in translating. English readers do not know Belarusian suffixes that are used in the names like *Колька, Нютка*, and the only way of translating them can be tranliteration, but the attitude towards the character should be expressed in a wider context or in additional words *(... занепакоілася невяртаннем Колічкі – ... got worried about their dear Kolichka).* Nicknames sound good if they are built by analogy with English names *(Любка-Шпіёнка - Liubka the Spy, Чорная Ляля - Black Lialia*).

Phraseology is a rich source of expressive style, and the specific phraseological units are evident in Yanovich's prose. Shirin Akiner, the translator of his 'Miniatures', notes that " his adroit use of idiom is a stumbling block for the translator, for while it enlivens the original with its vivid immediacy, transferred to another medium, it can sound overprecious. Most of phraseology is colloquial, it depicts the rich imagination of Belarusians. Full English equivalents are rare, near-equivalents are not frequent, they sound neutral in comparison with Belarusian (*як вокам кінуць - as far as the eye can see, енчаць на цэлы дзень - moan and groan for all, кахаць без памяці - love to distraction, заснуць моцным сном - fall into deep sleep, вылупіцца на божы свет - appear in this world, be born).*

Imagery (metaphors, epithets, similes) are the lexical expressive means which make fiction different from other genres.

Yanovich's prose is no exception in this respect, and it possesses several strongly distinctive features. His epithets are unpredictable and hardly translatable. Firstly, they are often invented as neologisms, secondly, they have mostly contextual meanings which require creative work (*нямая роспач - silent misery, вада сіняя-сіняя - water blue as blue, белы дзень - broad daylight, сівавусыя каласы - dove-coloured beards, ветраная вуліца - draughty street, квяцісты луг - flower-flecked meadow, буславаты паліцай - long-legged policeman).*

The metaphors and similes are unusually constructed and worded, they are the result of the author's rich and specific creativity, and no dictionary can give proper equivalents. If translated, will the trope impress an anglophone reader in the same way it impresses a native reader? And when it is replaced by a descriptive sentence, will it not lose expressiveness? Surely, it will. Some examples: *звестка грымнула - news resounded, бура скаліцца і выe - the evil storm bares its teeth and howls, магістраль пагналася - the motorway swept around.*

The language of Yanovich's prose is either colloquial or neutral, with elements of Old Belarusian and slang. Though the English language has clear distinguishing criteria for style-forming means, it is a frequent case that no informal equivalents

exist for some Belarusian colloquial lexical units in English dictionaries. The reason is that the author's colloquial lexicon is highly mixed with dialectal words of Western Belarus (*падшыванец - brat, драпнуць - flee suddenly, пагоддзе - weather, ламочыцца ў акно - batter the panes, бамбіза - hulky great fellow, дохтар - doctor, ушчаперыцца – grasp, гергетаць – jabber, babble).*

The author's syntax is also worth mentioning. It is characterized by an unusual laying out the words (noun + adjective), numerous cases of parcelling out, afterthoughts, parenthetical phrases, rhetorical questions, etc. The biggest difficulty lies in translating the combinations noun + adjective, as this word order is not accepted in the English language. While translating this specific feature of the author's style there are no ways to render, one should keep to the rules of English grammar.

Thus, we can make conclusions in the following way:

— Is Yanovich's style translatable? – It is, though difficult because of numerous specific features. He has a distinctive and distinguishing style.

– Will anglophone readers understand his writings? – Some of them will, some of them will not. Even Belarusians, who are not familiar with the lifestyle of Belastok Area, have a difficulty understanding his prose.

— Is it worth translating Belarusian provincial authors into European languages? – It is, as Belastok Area is part of Europe, and Europeans should know the culture of their neighbours.

РЭЗЮМЕ

Аўтар, лінгвіст і перакладчык Алена Таболіч, разглядае праблему пераставрэння твораў Сакрата Яновіча на англійскую мову. Яна аналізуе асаблівасці аўтарскага стылю на матэрыяле прозы Сакрата Яновіча, перакладзенай на англійскую мову. Высновы заключаюцца ў тым, што стылістычныя цяжкасці яновічавай прозы выцякаюць з яго індывідуальнай манеры і багатай вобразнасці.

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ПЕРАКЛАДЫ АЛЕНЫ ТАБОЛІЧ

TRANSLATED'S BY ALENA TABOLICH

Nil Hilevich
Ніл Гілевіч

WHERE ARE YOU?

– Where are you? What are you doing, Belarusian sons?
– We are drinking. We have pawned our honesty to Satans.
–
– Haven't you drunk all you could drink?
– No, we are finishing all that is here without a wink.
–
– Strange! You seem to have nothing more.
– No, we have some crosses to sell, in the store.
–
– Those on the temples that are on guard of the Arch of Heaven?
– No, not those. But these that are on the ancestors' graves.

Danuta Bichel
Данута Бічэль

***

Clear dawn
Is quietly
descending onto the bog, gray and dreamy.
The sun has flooded with His light
the sleepy ears of corn, and made them bright.

Someone, who is kind, rules the heat and cold.
Someone, who is strong, is swaying the world,
someone is straining the solitude
between his idle fingers.
We have less,
and less…

Ales Razanau
Алесь Разанаў

DOTTED LINES

*

I am translating whispers of rain,
glances of eyes,
trembles of woods…
I am touching,
Listening,
Looking,
I am not writing, I am translating.

*

Where? Where from?..-
Silence.
Time has no answer.
I am standing like a question,
I am walking – and I *have a*n answer.

*

Am I walking by land ?
I am walking by myself –
constantly spreading under my feet
my shadow,
my intentions, my ambitions.

*

A path o'er the precipice
is attractive for a walk -
Every step over it
has a sense.

*

Behind the houses,
a bright full gypsy-moon
is hiding.

*

Rain has fed the earth,
and its eyes
have opened wide,
and now they see the skies.

*

Neither a warrior will return,
nor will a wanderer.
But a sower will…
A sower always returns.

*

From the chimney
smoke
is curling to the sky.
It is a pathway
which never comes back.

*

I left home at dawn,
and walked all day long
in the direction of the sky.
And my way turned out
to be contradictory!..

*

O, birds!
You are in the air
in summer and winter…
The whole year round…
The earth is not their Motherland,
their Motherland is Flight.

Siarhei Zakonnikau
Сяргей Законнікаў

***

When my eyes were awoken by dawn,
And the cloth of life got unwrapped,
A lulliby was sung over my cradle
By Mother
Snowball trees
And Belarus.

In my native place, in my quiet hut,
Mother was worried about me,
And the white snowball tree covered my way
With the white colour of hopes.

Wherever I wander, I remain
Under the stork's white wing of Belarus.

And the load of worries will fall down…
Three of them…
They will always worry about us –
Mother
Kalina
And Belarus.

Yanina Yanishtsits
Яніна Янішчыц

IN THE NOISE OF RYE LIGHT

My trouble will be still growing –
I won't love with one wing and sight.
I will see my Mother walking
In the noise of rye light.

Until this noon is as far as a mile,
And is wrapped by smoke of peat,
At the daybreak, a white camomile
And a dlue cornflower I will meet.

The path is running quickly
By the last hut , that is to the right,
The bird's nest is hiding meekly
In the noise of rye light.

Till the planet is breathing,
The souls of poets will shine bright,
They cannot be ruined, till they are living
In the noise of rye light.

Adam Mickiewicz
Адам Міцкевіч

TO THE NIEMEN

Niemen, my ancestral river! Where are your waters
That in my childhood I ladled with my rosy palms,
On which I later sailed in my lonely alarms
To console my aching heart and find supporters?

There Laura stood gazing at the reflection of her charm –
She liked to plait her hair and adorn it with flowers.
Often stirred up by the young madman for hours,
Was her image in the silvery waves of Niemen's calm.

Niemen, my ancestral river! Where are your streams,
And many happy days of ambitions and high hopes?
Where are the hydromancies and mystic horoscopes?

Where are the young turbulent years with joys and mopes?
Where is my Laura, where are my friends with their hopes?
All are gone, but why are here my tears and dreams?

VICTOR SHVED
ВІКТАР ШВЕД

UNION WITH NATURE

In an old cradle rocked
Many generations which knew
Many centuries when
Roots over the graves grew.

The generations died -
Some of them young and old.
From their dust, on the hillside,
Cradles and coffins appeared.

YASHA BURSH
ЯША БУРШ

CHILDHOOD

In my memory
are the orchards

purple like cocks
poppies
over the columns
carelessness
full of laughter
intimacy
of my barefoot feelings
for the cold dew
the dome of the sky
the field with Father's belt
my Mother's song
and fragrant meadows

EYES

Your eyelids
like petals of a rose
fenced off the velvet of your eyes
I discover the charm
look into the harem of your heart
lighten with my feelings
my hard failures
and with my glance
I plant solitude.

ALES BARSKI
АЛЕСЬ БАРСКІ

***

The autumn has sown patridges
on the potato field,
on the fragrant field.
Cranes are flying away tomorrow
with cries over the dead summer,

the sheds are pregnant
with treasure, full of hopes.
Autumn is my joy and sorrow.
The Earth has to crack,
giving way to green sprouts.
So do I break open my heart for a song.
Look, the blue of the skies, in despair,
has split into two, and now rent by fear.????
giving way to the birds
that flew up from the river,
The evening is swaying the stars
on the poplar's top.
My poem is the son of the peace
that is going to weep.

YAN CHYKVIN
ЯН ЧЫКВІН

ORCHARD

My dear orchard, my sadok,*
The best of my friends,
Come to Belastok
Now in the white veil of pear trees.

With your green, fragrant boughs,
You will bring in eternal words
And from the musical shrubs
Warmth will shine bright, and birds...

From your gentle green arms
The peace and unrest will fall down
Onto the lines of the psalms,
And on my head, and my poet's gown.

And the feast of the buzzing bees
Is like the chimes of the bells...
But my happy orchard feels and sees
It'll not come off from the roots and cells????

**'Sadok' is a small lovely orchard in Belarusian.*

YURKA HENIUSH
ЮРКА ГЕНЮШ

AFRICA

Why am I black? Why am I black, Mummy? Though my face is fair?
Why does the wind always blow in my face?
Africa is around. Africa, drums of the drums.
No use hiding your head in the sand – you"ll never find mercy from God.
Tum-da-ta, tum-da-ta, tum-da-ta-tam. The one who is black bends his head against his will.
Jungles around, like in a terrible dream, are howling, laughing,
Chattering with teeth – and scratching your flesh to be near the kettle,
Are strangling your throat to choke you with blood…
Oh-oh-oh! Why am I black? Why am I black, Mummy, though my face is fair?
The quick eye is everywhere – here and there. If there is something new in the air, it will hear every breath and will spy, how and where you are walking. It catches and grasps, winds up on the thread, making its spider"s web. It spies whether tamtam is howling, or the soul is weeping, or a snake is slobbering with its poison…
Lions and elephants are beyond the bars!
The rhino is trampling grass with its big belly, the buffalo has raised its head from the bog, the leopard has flickered with its brown spots, the zebra is grazing together with a gnu. And even the eagle cannot guess that here is a reserve…
Only hyenas are guffawing. And jackals are laughing.
Oh-oh-oh, Mummy!

HALINA TVARANOVICH
ГАЛІНА ТВАРАНОВІЧ

***

Golden crosses are like winged arms.
A hill… The temple is like a wing of a stork
Rising to the high sky of Motherland.

With its frequent clear chimes,
The temple over the Niamiha River
Is carrying some light message:
Under the roof of hard ground
Time is running slowly.

Golden crosses are like winged arms.

ZOSIA SACHKO
ЗОСЯ САЧКО

PSALM TO FATHER

I ran to my Father
through the paradise gate
of the thatched hut
onto the thrashing floor

the trembling look
of the greyish light
sat down on its toes
on the icon
stained by flies

long ago Father
fed it
with the best hay

seeing me in himself
he put on my cheeks
the golden dream of an apple
and in the willow pram
birds began chirring
and then the oats
burst out whispering
all was golden
over the head
curly little clouds
like little rams
were carrying wings
of angels in their mouths.

YURKA BAYENA
ЮРКА БАЕНА

***

We must rebuild our house:
We must – stone by stone.

We must open all the windows,
And revive all the sources for words.

The house cannot survive without a roof,
Without sanctity and memory,
Without a home fire,
Without Hope, our sail…

Entering this house,
Even an enemy
Will have to take off his boots.

***

Near the sloping pine tree
There are three crosses.
Made of field granite.
Stone by stone.

With my fingers
I touch the Cyrillic words.

As if blind,
I am looking for
Mother's hands and eyes…

MIRA LUKSHA
МІРА ЛУКША

THE NARVA

The Narva
is my river
it sears me
like a boil

it ploughed
and cut
the fields and roads,
riches and fortunes.

it washed away the grief
it flooded like a sea
uprooted the woods
and birds came back
from warm countries
they didn't believe
their eyes.

A TREE

the bark of a tree
is wailing madly
a tree cannot break free
from the bark
from the roots
from the crown
it will be enslaved
by a diligent
tolerant dwarf
a bark beetle, an executioner.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS
(Belastok Region, Poland)

Bayena, Yurka (1957) – poet and teacher of geography, graduate of Lublin University. He has two collections of poetry. He lives in Bielsk-Padliaski.

Barski, Ales (1930) – poet, Professor of Warsaw University. He has 5 collections of poetry. He lives in Warsaw.

Bursh, Yasha (1929) – poet and artist, graduate of Warsaw Academy of Arts. He lives in Warsaw.

Chykvin Yan (1940) – poet, Professor of Belastok University, author of 6 collections of poetry. He lives in Bielsk-Padliaski.

Heniush, Yurka (1946), medical.

Luksha, Mira (1935-1985) – poet, journalist, prose-writer, graduate of Belastok University. She has 2 books of prose and 2 collections of poetry. She lives in Belastok.

Sachko, Zosia (1955) – poet, graduate of Lublin University, writes in the dialect of her homeland, called Padliasha. She has some collections of poetry.

Shved, Viktar (1925) – poet, former journalist, graduate of Warsaw University. He has a number of collections of poetry, verses for children including.

Tvaranovich, Halina (1955) – poet and a lecturer, Professor at Belastok University. She is the author of 2 poetic collections. She lives in Bielsk-Padlaski.

EVA STSEPANIUK
Эва Сьцепанюк

A HOLE INTO THE SKY

On the place where the hut of Hapka Makarkava stood, there is a deep pit. Without any plants, without any life, just like in a desert. Amidst the grey cracked clay, a boot with a hole is lying. I can see some medieval tool by the rotten broken fence. It is a harpoon. In the old well, a dead rat is floating.

– Who are you looking for? asks a bearded person, appearing as if from the underground. I get frightened, when he comes up nearer.

– I am..., I'm..., I am taking photos...., I say as if paralyzed. I direct my lens to the old oak tree, adorned with ribbons, ruchniks* and various charming things.

– This is a private area! the stranger warns me. I feel some kind of power pulling my camera from my hand.

***

Henik Makarkau, the bearded person, is in fact a sociable man, and he is the first to begin a conversation. He says he is fond of girls who can speak in their local dialect.

– I am sorry I haven't shaven today, he says making excuses for his untidy appearance. Then he shows his household : this is my cat, this is my bike, these are my nettles. In the big nettles that have covered the yard, I can see the motorcycle „Yava", which has been out of order since Henik was twenty.

– I have no one to make efforts for, the old bachelor says, as if justifying himself.

Actually, the desire to realize his ambitions left my new acquaintance long ago. He is more keen on the forest now. Through the tiles of his brick house, a birch tree is forcing its way. It grew in the neglected room. The sheds and the threshing floor were cut for wood and burned in the stove during Christmas frosts.

– My sister wanted to take me to Belastok, she advised me to find some job and begin a new life. And to stop looking for shelter on the ruins, to stop living like a savage.

But Henik could not care less about those cellars in the town.

– I have clean air here, don't I!

He doesn't have to care about food. He is given some food twice a week as a social pleasure.

***

Henik's untidiness and indifference to himself cause suspicion, his powers and capability to charm away from head to foot are perceived at a mile's distance. But this is a mere comouflage. Though Henik swears and vows that he has no idea of any witchcraft, all people in N. know – it is he who knows something! In the bar „Amazonka" he is called Kashpirouski*.

– And when he touches your head, it gives you the shivers, says the bar woman Alka. And then she gives some pieces of advice, lest one should lose one's head in Henik's presence.

– He is such a devil! Oh,oh,oh!

***

Henik is Hapka Makarkava's grandson.

– When a cow stops giving milk or when a horse shows its obstinacy, people go to him for help from all over the world, says the experienced woman Sonka. By the words all over the world she means their parish which includes five villages.

– Are there any horses in N.? I ask, showing my teeth.

– No, no, there aren't! I hear the answer.

As to animals, in treating which Henik specializes, he has no calls in N. In the huts where lonely widows are living their last years, have survived only cats, named like heroes from popular T.V. films. Occasioally, one can see a sheep or a hen and a cock there. Forest wild animals, that shock and make people envious in neghbouring villages, no one knows why, go round N. in a wide circle.

To tell the truth, lack of damage from the pushcha* boars and deer is also a trouble in N.

– It's impossible to get any insurance in our gmina*, the villagers say. But these words are used for the sake of caution, not to bring harm with boasts. Everyone knows the strong principle - if things go well, complain!

***

No signs in the sky or on the earth predicted Henik's birth. Nobody paid attention to his Granny Hapka who cast spell over pains and aches, like all women in N. Henik's life was not unusual, just like lives of other people in N. When a teenager, he ran barefoot along the cobbled street from March to September, grazed cows and sheep, then, like all young people in N., he had fights at village parties. Though the oldest women knew Henik was not a simple boy. He was one of the twins, and in N. this fact guaranteed a metaphysical success.

– Bude toye, shche bude*, elderly women whispered in their local dilect with hope. One sign had already been, though only few knew ancient signs. When his twin brother unexpectedly died three months after the birth, all the powers, given by God, passed to one head, that is to Henik. It was not a mere chance that the boy had the highest marks at school. And that was also an evidence - he knew more than he had to! Though at that time he himself knew nothing and did not want to know anything. He jeered at the prejudices and witchcraft of his Granny, who from time to time mentioned ghosts, spoke about the milk that had been stolen by some envious eyes. Henik had finished the lyceum and was going to study to become a lawyer and to help people, like his Granny.

***

People learned about the power of Hapka Makarkava only on the day of her death. Earlier, as we have said, her magic practice was considered an everyday thing.

But Granny Hapka couldn't pass away easily. People did everything to send her to the better world. First they said prayers day and night. But no prayers helped. Hapka

was lying on the hearth and was howling with pain, like a wolf. When the local priest had left, the villagers remembered an old way. It was necessary to make a hole in the thatch. The experiment could cost life. When tipsy Uladzik Maksimkau climbed the thatch, he was suddenly grasped by something strong and strange, and thrown to the ground. The boy lay breathless, as if he were going to die. To return him to life, people swayed him in a home-woven piece of coloured cloth, called a radziushka, and whispered some mysterious words. Later the brave neighbour Mitska had an attempt to climb the thatch, too. He wasn't „allowed" either, as people in N. say about the magic thing. And only Henik managed to open a hole in the thatch. Like a cat, he climbed up the hut and, without any difficulty, made a hole.

Hapka Makarkava calmed down and asked the grandson to the bedside. She was the only one who knew how to make her last minutes before death easier. Though she didn't wish her grandson such kind of lot! She saw a world where people walked like pigs, on their four legs. They were interested only in the trough. In a word, there will be no prestige, no honour to her grandson from benevolence! But things did not depend on them. The would-be lawyer stood on his knees by the death bed and said:

– I am ready, Grandma.

Hapka Makarkava whispered something into his ear for a long time. She passed away on the same evening. The whole night, as some old residents say, the moon was full, and wolves were howling in the pushcha.

Translated by ***Alena Tabolich***

Notes:
Ruchnik – an embroidered towel, usually used for adornment;
Kashpirouski – a doctor-magician;
Pushcha – a thick forest;
Gmina – a parish in Poland;
Bude toye, shcho bude – such is is his fate

SAKRAT YANOVICH
Сакрат Яновіч

NO REGRET...

P. 72-75

I was beside myself from the lyrics of Pushkin and Lermontov, the first books of the Yanovich library, imagining I was a Russian officer, dancing at a ball party with an English lady, with rhythm like that in „Fancy-Dress Ball" by Lermontov. It was a „grand dance". I think that my persistence against provincial polinization took roots there, in the feelings of Russia's grandeur. When we heard its name, we stood in solemn silence at once. Later, I realized that glaring Russia had gone, and from there I felt the glance of a thick-headed Soviet stinker. But it was much later.

Meanwhile, the studniówka (a graduation party) was being arranged. The initiative came, of course, from well-born Belostokers who made rows at the parties called prywatki, to the music of phonographs and youth programmes of American radio which, was forbidden at that time. They had already had some experience in kissing and sexual relations. We, who came from the neighbouring villages, one third of the students, were considered stragglers. The year of 1955 came, party members stopped boasting of their membership; in the cold political climate we felt some thaw. If our

studniówka had been an year ago, we would have gone there in our uniforms with red ties and with reports about the subversive plans of American and English imperialists. In that situation, we had to borrow a suit, organize „babushka" (a girl). Oh, it is easy to say. Our relative, Vitska Karpuk, helped me to be stylish. And he also recommended his sister Tanya as my partner, but I was a bit afraid of her – she was older, very categorical, and bossy. By nature she was just like my mother.

But I remembered Shura, my fiancée from childhood. I found her in the halls of residence of Textile College in Mickiewicz Street. We exchanged messages once or twice, as the guards didn't allow strangers to enter the halls. The style was official: Dear friend! – and she: Dear friend! But never in Russian, only in Polish! That conspiracy could have led her to poisoning, cutting veins or flying out of the window and… She agreed, and I saw that she had become more elegant and lively. She was a tall blond girl with fluffy hair smelling of jasmine. I was pleasantly surprised. The party was in full swing in the hall of the college at the corner of two streets, from sunset till 10 o'clock a.m. Without spirits, without smoking. Lemonade, stewed fruit, sweets and cakes…The teachers seemed to have some drinks… The band was quite decent. Shura was my Natasha Rostova. Conversations in the intervals - where to work, how to earn money, etc. Instinctively we longed for erotics, but who new how to get it! Shall I press to Shura's breasts? – No, it would cause a scandal in public! If I had embraced Shura, I couldn't have looked into Mother's eyes! In the families, an atmosphere of strong struggle for survival dominated. It was like in the novellas by Leo Tolstoy about peasants; he wrote that after the wedding party not all newlyweds could make love in bed. They married to become richer, we must say. In Belastok peasant newlyweds pressed themselves to the riches of the wives' houses where the husbands had moved.

Shura needed a god boy, not a greenhorn. Girls tread on the earth solidly. They are born with an instinct of a nest, and we boys are like butterflies that fly from flower to flower. Nothing noble. But at that time the most eternal misfortune was to come to this world as a daughter. A woman had no right for decision, she was taken as a wife or was not.

We had to go to the work we had been sent to. I asked not to send me to the centre of Poland. I wanted to work in Hainowka, which was Orthodox. But my specialization was not required there. So I went to Yaraslau, closer to Ukraine. But when I came there, I saw no Ukrainians! Only the ruins of a big church at the market place. And a frowning clerk in the firm. – „Who are you? Belarusian? Did your old man fight against Bolsheviks in the twenties? Well, sons are not responsible for their fathers' deeds!"

The dreams to become an important technician finished in the team of tipsy electricians – they gave me a hammer and a chisel to make a canal for installations in the brick wall. To the accompaniment of erotic foul language. The landscape was gloomy – everywhere the sites of burnet villages, wild weeds and bushes, black soil on wasteland, wild orchards and a lot of cherry-trees by the fences. In one hut, in the verandah, I saw a picture of a battle with Bahdan Khmialnitski on his horse! Ukrainians cannot be frightened. It is true. There, standing before the hetman in the picture, I decided to leave the ruined town, though I was afraid of the authorities. I had enough money for the ticket, and for two buns and a bottle of lemonade. The trip by train lasted a day and night.

On returning to Belastok I slept and ate as much as I could, I went out for a walk and came across my classmates. Yolia Valkevich from Zamengoff Street looked beautiful – it was her permanent wave. Skauronski from Slonim Street was wearing a crepe suit. Malinouski from Proletarian Street was with his girl from the primary school. And all of them were making fun of me, because I had come from that far place. Petty bourgeoisie, psia kreu (God damn it) will always find a way out, and muzhyks are thoroughly fulfilling what have been ordered by the authorities! I became conscious of my being a town-dweller and immediately began doing my job of an electrician at a factory. Later I joined the team of a delicate engineer, who became my new supervisor. „Don't make haste, Socratenko, you'll have another day tomorrow, the supervisor said in Ukrainian, soothing my zeal. When some drunkard had burnt in the high voltage at the substation, I was taken to work there. I had advantages: young, not married… But first, I was called to the director's office to repair the telephone. He wouldn't listen to my stammering explanations that I didn't know how to do the job, as I hadn't been taught… I took off the cover, tinkered with a screwdriver in pieces of shut iron, cleaned them from some cobweb, and the telephone at once rang. I shuddered and sweetened, like a mouse under a broom. Rumours spread: he is a specialist, though green.

The master of the room at the substation was not much older than me, he was fond of dancing sambo and singing popular songs like „The island Cuba is not like a volcano… Cha-cha-cha!!" (Bearded Fidel Castro and his fellows were organizing a revolution then). The same way the young she-colleague told us about her young years near Lvov, singing in Ukrainian „Oh, girlie, the grove is whispering, if you love someone, don't forget him…"

On the brim of autumn news came that the Academic Kupala Theatre from Minsk was going to give performances at Aliaksandr Viangerka Theatre. One day, to get to the performance in time, I didn't wait for the lorry that took workers to

the town, but ran along the highway. My marathon was five times shorter than in the Olympic Games. The audience in the back rows were common people, with tickets given free of charge by factory trade-unions, and exhausted and sweetened from head to foot, I relaxed a bit. The play „Kanstantsin Zaslonau" or „Romeo and Juliet" were on, I don't remember… The latter was something new and unexpected for the Belarusian language. Poles began leaving the theatre when the play „The Destroyed Nest" was on: they couldn't stand the village life being shown in the sanctuary of Melpomene. And muzhyks, who were turning into a lower middle class, instead of crying at the dramatic action, began laughing. They had been taught through centuries that a peasant was nothing serious. For noble feelings those educated servants needed princes or fearful Bolshevik commissars in leather jackets and with threatening holsters of on the belly.

I took everything for granted. I was eager to go to the wings to look at the actors, at least some of them, who spoke good Belarusian. - And if I am Lucky I will touch one of them, I thought. I managed to do that to get dumb with shock, as I didn't hear them speaking Belarusian. Later I thought I had badly overheard.

p.81

1956-1970

In 1956 the publishing house of „Niva" (Cornfield) was located in a high middle-class flat, full of writing desks, bookcases, chairs, etc. Two typewriting machines worked. I was glad to hear natural Belarusian without any Polish accent. Sometimes I thought that the whole of Belastok began speaking Belarusian. Belastok was in ruins, it was not so large as it is now. The secretary Miklas Baravik was a living sample of saving Belarusian in a Belarusian. His slang was very strange. The word „tovarishch" (comrade) was pronounced with strong [o], typical of people from Polessie (he was from Hainowka district).

All the people, sitting in the small room, with their backs drooped, heard his monologues. The young boss, Yury Valkavytski, couldn't bare that too long, so he would grumble. In February I was given the post of a translator. Vera Lianchuk was also given a job. She came from Orlia and was known to have finished Belsk Lyceum and to write poems in Belarusian. The only journalist of „Niva", who was able to write articles in the literary mother tongue, was the chief editor. Having graduated from Maksim Gorky Literary Institute in Moscow, he naturally wrote poetry, but in Russian, and published the poems in the „Rusky Golos" (Russian Voice) in Lodz.

I worked shoulder to shoulder with Vera, we grasped the thick dictionary by academician Kandrat Krapiva one from the other. It makes boring now to think of

the level of those translators. But our readers understood us and wrote letters in the style of Baravik. Verses from elderly people who remembered the satirical „Malanka" (Lightning), published in Vilnia. Once we received a letter, which passed from hand to hand, because it was written in „pure Belarusian". When I heard about the intention to employ him for the office, as there was lack of educated Belarusians, I got frightened and confused; it was me who had written the text for Mikhas Klimovich from Krynki, an old man who could hardly read syllables…

p.p.119-123

We helped our parents on the farm. Before holidays on summer vocations. In spring we helped in planting potatoes on the plots near the cemetery; in harvest time it was reaping and taking the corn of rye and oats to the shed; barley, too, that was always rich beyond the meadow. We gave up using sickles a century later, in the late fiftieth (maybe, a little earlier). My father even mowed the pattern of wheat in the small valley beyond the Stotski farmstead. Can you fancy it was wheat?

Our help to elderly people was not financially motivated. Full deficiency. The profit was no more than providing food for the whole year. My parents did some tailoring, but not much and secretly; officially they had more than three hectares of land which was not bad near Krynki; It was on the side of the Western Valley.

The most painstaking job was to take corn home – our carts, full of sheaves, turned over; it was a catastrophe on the steep hill of Hlinishcha. But not a single person, even the soltys, our village chief, *did* think of covering those miserable potholes with stones. Heaps of stones in the fields got grown with weeds, and sad wild pear trees stood lonely there. It was not honourable to do something for the community! Full of anger, the people did their work on the roads; they walked idly to repair the dusty „chasa" (highways) to Sakolka and Belastok. When in Slovenia, I was surprised to learn that they have the same word for the road – *shasa*. The word must be very ancient, it dates back to the times when Slavs lived together before wandering about Europe in the 6th-7th centuries. Obviously the word „chasa" is connected with the building of the crossing in wet lowlands, when logs of wood were cut off and piled in a straight line. They built bridges, and the word „masty" (bridges) appeared.

On Sunday evenings Krynki was full of noisy war songs of young tipsy people. – *Dark night, only bullets are whistling across the steppe. Only the wind is droning on the wires… You are waiting for me…*

My father Kostsia liked the song „about Odessa". Here are some lines:

Barges are full of fish,
Chestnuts are in blossom over the town.
Kanstantsin takes his guitar
And sings in a quiet voice…

Now, after thirty or forty years, those singers are in the graves, and today's young people, though not less tipsy, don't sing war songs. They don't sing at all. They swear with the word „kurva" (bitch) and other words of Polish foul language. Earlier Krynki was full of laughter, which spread to the Lapitski Hills – our girls were being pinched and tickled. Now I don't hear anything like that. In the morning, when I go to mow grass on the lawns opposite my house, I have to clean them of condoms, lest my mower should spoil, and I have to take away the underwear that lies as white as geese on the meadow.

When my book „Strips of Land"appeared, Mikola Haiduk, my literary godfather, warned me that soon envious people would begin to rummage, I wouldn't believe him. The local people accepted the book with enthusiasm, one review was followed by another on the pages of the newspaper „Niva" and in some Polish papers in Belastok, Lodz, Warsaw. So I was in the bloom of local fame, on the local level. In the state of euphoria I went through the meetings with people, and they were something like a salvation for my stammering. I borrowed the technique of arranging meetings from Ales Barski: the audience like jokes, they don't stand serious pompous speeches, one must present oneself as a „good chap", who doesn't spare old wives' tales, and one must remember that two factors are important for the existence of human being – bread and Eros, sexual reproduction… And the actor Karoliak from Belastok gave me a practical piece of advice: don't stare at the faces, don't correct anyone, don't be a bore, your speech must be smooth without being even intelligent… Women are fond of those who are neat and wear ties.

I also remember some episodes, connected with the activists and editors. And I always think that Belarusians have changed very little since that time. Different Belarusian bodies and societies are headed by young people for whom I am a grandfather, but they are the same in their way of life. Thirsty for money , gossiping like traitors, revengeful like muzhyks, thick-headed like Soviets (in spite of their university diplomas). Where from is this constancy? Unfortunately, there is no riddle; man's mentality is formed by his fate and social background. We have children from the same dirty village. Mostly. Their lives are much easier than my generation's life, because the village itself is disappearing, and the peasant parents make efforts to support their sons, daughters and grandchildren, these new pans, pannas and their off-spring. This is

a suicide, typical of east-European poor people (which cannot be understood in the west).

Visually, one can see this in „villas" for instance, near Belastok, that were built by the first villagers, who had settled in the big town: at that time they captivated and charmed away, now with their grey appearance on the background of new, coloured, built for dollars, with some elements of real architecture, they cause sympathy. The poor remain poor till the fourth generation, though their relative poverty seems to be luxury in comparison with huts, sheds and barns of their forefathers.

I remind of all that, because to understand our selves is very important.

At the end of that year there some campaign, like a hullabaloo, for studying Belarusian at schools. Our idiotic authorities, who were used to fighting only for money and women, signed some papers given by capricious bosses from the ministry of education. According to that epistle it meant that Poles were as always Saints, and it was Belarusians who did not want their children to study the „cultural" Belarusian language. They explained: the native tongue will hamper their children's intellectual development… Let's study Polish! What could we do, we did what stupid plebs asked for…

This war against the Belarusian word soon realized in hunting for „Belarusian nationalists". I shall not name those hunters: some of them are dead now, other pensioners, having turned their children into Poles, are fanatic fighters for all Belarusian and Orthodox.

God is their Judge, everyone lives with one's own conscience. And the results of that war appeared to be a success, and even fatal for the future of our nation here. Belarusian real patriots have always been few; at the times of Stalin – to compare – all of them could be placed in one murderous lorry of the National Committee Internal Affairs (NKVD). In December of 1969 I wrote a sorrowful miniature „Here they are coming, those janissaries of the Empire called „If-Only-We-Lived" with sables crooked like conscience, and muskets with bullets of insouciance…"

p.p.161-166

I should mention the participation of women in Belarusian activities. What I remember is their marginal role on the whole, they were more active in amateur activities – drama and singing. The most active was Nina. In the bodies of the Belarusian Cultural Society there were only men.

With faces like potatoes, of plebeian origin, those who under Gomulka were driven away from their posts, the police establishments and from the pasty's positions, they were devoted to the regime, but were not fit, after the time to follow the bands

in the forests with guns had gone; they could not work with brains. They were not educated and could not think. Having found themselves on the heap of service, they had a feeling of patriotism, primitive, good only for the needs of the Society. Other Belarusian organizations except BTSK were forbidden.

The women of the Society influenced the girls, and the latter, being beautiful, influenced the boys. The girls, looking for boys, were eager to marry, but it was not as simple as in our times with our smoky discos. As in older times, the girl, who was a pretty stroller, was always blamed. The term „fakhouka" appeared, it had the meaning of something disgraceful in the beauty with thick thighs, who could go with boys and men without being pregnant. Such women could be found in any village, but all that did not mean corruption, it meant that in those poor times, daughters were born physically strong and with natural culture from childhood… It is well-known that the sexual behaviour of the poor is equal to zero and is becoming vivid only in spring, the time of nature revival.

The atmosphere in the Society, ruled by men, was that of peanut politics, strong but not original, and very shallow. And the women's community had quite different worries – they married off their girls and made the boys marry. A humane male is worthy as much as he is able to make a warm family nest. Young bosses were valued in a different way, the level of their stupidity being not considered. Money was earned not by wit and agility, but by the status of a person on the political ladder. The advanced depended on the ability to please those with a higher status. Flats were given according to the party, and the government gave an additional guarantee to buy a car. A quiet agreement of one's wife to be a so-called loose woman for those higher in status, automatically opened the doors to her cuckold husband a possibility to be in the higher circles or to lounge about on the committee's parquet floors. A male is a male: envious like a he-goat, but the career is more attractive than a devoted woman. By the way, marriages happened not because of great love, they were marriages of convenience: with calculations of a prostitute.

Has anything changed for the better since that time? I do not think the change is radical, but money depends more on a person himself now than on his place in the hierarchy. Private initiatives dominate now. There are such businessmen who earn even more money than the president! At the time of BTSK it was not like that, and the erotic affairs did not rob the purses of the bosses.

The miserable status of women, though on the stage of the houses of culture they dominated, was the result of their social, peasant background. In a traditional, especially village family, a woman had no rights, everything was in the hands of the head of the family – father or grandfather, if the latter could walk and think. That is

why the Belarusian Cultural Society could not be a school of social education, as it was something like a big village that moved to town. The feeling of citizenship is created in town, as people there have similarity in their fate (they travel on the same cart according to the Polish saying). And in the village, an owner has his house, well, store, wood, horse, cart, cow-milker, pig for bacon, hens, eggs, etc. Samahonka (home-made spirits)! How can they have a feeling of unity if they are independent owners? Just the same as in case of draught or fire. Perhaps, something like family mafia or clan.

That is the clue to our national weakness. The Belarusian movement was born as a peasant phenomenon, and it vegetated together with peasants. Alien to petty bourgeoisie. It did not have roots there though it has its addresses: BNKT, lyceums, the newspaper „Niva". It was not Belarusian people, but Orthodox believers who came to the Belarusian ball-parties, arranged for hundreds of couples, or sometimes about a thousand in big factory halls of Belastok.

With every year there were fewer and fewer of them, and some activists from BNKT began to explain the fact, finding fault with too many Belarusian language speakers among the arrangers.

In fact, the national accent was accepted by the audience, especially chic women, with vivid annoyance. Love for the Belarusian language was stifled by different authorities who called Belarusians nationalists to their faces and behind their backs. Today those chauvinistic Polish generates, while they are live, must be experiencing their triumph: Belarusians, I should say, are disappearing forever! They have achieved the result – they can see our national health, hurrah!!! Will Europe praise you for that and stroke you stupid heads?

In the middle 60ies there came a sudden wave of feminizing the staff of the Committee. The chairwoman was Lidziya Bialetskaya. When meeting her, one could ironically think she was a real „woman of revolution", though, having been in Siberian exile under Bolsheviks, she was quite liberal and not tough; she had suffered a lot. No one knows wherefrom Vera Kulak appeared; she was a fat and erotic beauty without any gift for discipline at work. But Luba Filipik, M.A., the only one with university education, was a well-prepared boss of the education department! The education was rather weak, because it was a la Soviet. Helena Meleshka was the head of the accountant department, a resolute shirker from Belastok, who brought some delicate manners and chic to that peasant environment. She created a women's saloon, where our red-party plebs couldn't afford to be as vulgar as they usually were. She was the wife of a high authority from the Department of Education. She needed that work in BTSK not for a piece of bread, but for some perfume and dresses.

People said that the feminization was made by the former chairman, the intriguer Uladzimir Stankevich, also a party member, who had been saved from „white bears" due to the Polish sanitation prison. He was a classical sexual maniac, whose head was easily made dizzy by the image of a sexual beauty. Having heard his self-praising confessions and funny stories with genital attributes, I can believe in his cat-like escapades. At the same time the main reason for advancing women in the higher levels of BTSK must have been the reduce of wages due to the reforms in the clownish state.

There is a regular rule – if in some firm or office women begin to dominate, that is the signal of low wages; men flee to places which pay more. Working women accept worse conditions, their wages have always been additional to the wages of their husbands, never the other way round. Nie kobieta utrzymyvala chlopa! (It was not a woman who supported her man!)

In amateur activities – Ziulkouskaya Helena, a graceful woman like the doll Barby, but energetic like a man, was the conductor of the choir; before her Ludmila Panko, a unique woman of culture with Vilnia education, had done that job. The ballet group was in the hands of Tatsiana Hizheuskaya from Bielsk middle classes, who always claimed they had correct Petersburg pronunciation. During the intervals she used to smoke, had manners of a Russian madam, which confused local lady-killers with moss-like moustaches. She paralyzed those men who had grown in common-people manner of mincing. And that happened in a big crowd of young girls, who were sexually attractive.

At that time, the Belarusian Cultural Society received considerable money; it had dozens of full-time and part-time posts, paid for the buildings of the branches in towns and settlements, in Gdansk and Warsaw, there also worked a paid group of instructors.

With time everything reduced owing to the Central Committee kind officials from Warsaw; it began in the mid 60ies, and gradually turned into feminization.

Women were not selected for their activities in the organization. That natural process was not realistic; the stuff was completed accidentally. Educated people were few, like corn for a blind hen. No wonder, because even at schools, teachers had seven or fewer years of education. Visitors from voyavodstvo (region), who knew Belarusian, were not cultural either, but it was sufficient for the officials.

But the seat of the Secretary of the Committee was given to a man, a „person in trousers" as the woman Bialetskaya joked. For the post, they had found UladzimirYuzviuk, a Soviet M.A., who is now publishing anachronic „Belarusian Calendars" for Sucheuski. But at that time, being a young ambitious man, he behaved accordingly, and in comparison with his untalented predecessor, he seemed like a piece of sunny

luck, that had fallen from the Heaven! On the eve of the 70ies the beneficial decade came to an end, the party, having got into stagnation, began to play cards with Polish nationalism. Some more years passed, and…

A different type of Belarusian activists was required; they were to be cunning, unlike those women with mentality of the previous age. Having driven those „hens" away, and having given them a decent pension or annuity, though they were more than fit and healthy (even fat), the officials found their seat in Warsaw Street 11. They were something like a special group of secret mission. They caught the meaning at once - the Belarusian movement should change into something like artificial flowers at the ceremonies of First of May celebrations. An episode of decadence: one of the secretaries of BTSK lost his position not for the politics, but for not giving his attractive lover from the accountant office to the boss from Warsaw, who had come on business.

During the war period in Poland our brave „soldier" played the dandy with his revolver.

Feminization appeared to be the intermediate in the process of marginizing BTSK. At the time of Gerek's prime the Society almost lost its significance.

During the „Solidarnost" movement Belarusians revived, stood from their knees, but not owing BTSK, which had lost its spirit; against the will of their fathers the new generation of young people appeared from the side streets of lost hope, to whom the Society smells of Soviet era even today. The smell, typical of an ethnographic museum.

Girls and women of today are unlike those in BTSK, hens with an arrogant cock, they are ready to grab by the comb to wean from male chauvinism. Not everything was covered with the Polish „skirt", Belarusian chickens had escaped.

Krynki, 1998-2002

Translated by ***Alena Tabolich***

Сакрат Яновіч, Не жаль пражытага, Беларускае літаратурнае аб'яднанне „Белавежа", Беласток 2002

БЕЛАРУШЧЫНА Ў ВУГОРШЧЫНЕ
(пачаткі)

Albaruthenicusis poetica in Hungary

PÁLFALVI LAJOS

MŰVEK A FEHÉROROSZ IRODALOM POSZTTOTALITÁRIUS KORSZAKÁBÓL

Az alábbi összeállítás szerzői kivétel nélkül ismeretlenek Magyarországon, még a legnevesebb költőkről sem mondhatunk mást. Bár információkat gyűjthetünk róluk a megfelelő kézikönyvekből, nem tudjuk őket elhelyezni egymáshoz képest, eltekintve attól az elemi rendezőelvtől, hogy kiemeljük a két alapítóként tisztelt nagy klasszikust, Janka Kupalát (1882–1942) és Jakub Kolaszt (1882–1956), akik már a szovjet korszakban a XX. század elején indult irodalomtörténeti kor legfőbb tekintélyeivé váltak, s e pozíciójukat az elmúlt másfél évtizedben sem vonta kétségbe senki, a posztszovjet posztmodern legbizarrabb figuráit is beleértve.

Jó példa erre a *Helybeliek* csoport alakulása 1987-ből, melynek legfőbb célja a fehérorosz irodalom szovjet korszakának lezárása és a sosemvolt nemzeti keretek megteremtése volt. A programhoz képest igencsak öniróniku a név: olyan embereket jelöl, akiknek még nem alakult ki a nemzeti tudatuk, csak azzal a legsz-

űkebb környezetükkel tudnak azonosulni, amelyben leélik az életüket. Az identitásnak emellett még lehetnek paraszti és felekezeti komponensei, amelyek akár még (cári vagy szovjet) birodalmi képzetekkel is keveredhetnek, de a nemzeti lét evidenciája hiányzik mögüle. Ugyanakkor a nemzetté válás premodern szakaszát jelölő kifejezésnek konkrét irodalomtörténeti vonatkozásai is vannak: *Helybeliek* címmel írt tragikomédiát Janka Kupala 1922-ben, a művet hivatalosan nemlétre ítélte a bolsevik kritika, de az említett költőnemzedék számára már a nemzeti nevelés alapja volt.

A magyar irodalomtörténészek a legutóbbi időkig gyakran használták a mitologikussá vált *megkésettség* fogalmát, például Arany epikájára vonatkoztatva. A fehérorosz irodalomtörténészek is állandó kényszert éreznek arra, hogy külső kánonokhoz mérjék a nagy műveket, orosz vagy lengyel klasszikusokhoz képest helyezzék el őket valahol. Így például Jakub Kolasz *Új föld* (1923) című nemzeti eposza, amely a bolsevik forradalom előtti falusi világot mutatja be, a következő fejlődési sémába kerül: Puskin *Anyegin*je arisztokrata közegben játszódik, Mickiewicz *Pan Tadeusz* című nemzeti eposzának hősei falusi lengyel nemesek, akiket Napóleon oroszországi hadjárata kapcsol be egy pillanatra a világtörténelembe, Kolasz pedig paraszti környezetbe helyezi művét, ami ilyen reprezentatív műfaj esetében azt jelenti, hogy népi alapokon tudja elképzelni a nemzetté válást és a modern fehérorosz kultúrát is.

Mindez persze csak e kultúrán belül élve tűnik ilyen magától értetődőnek, külföldön – a szomszéd országokat is beleértve – semmit sem tudnak erről. A fehérorosz irodalom máig is egyik legfontosabb városára, Vilnára emlékezve így ír erről Czesław Miłosz: „Bevallom, a beloruszok mindmáig rejtélyt jelentenek számomra. Hatalmas térséget lakó, állandóan elnyomott nép, amelynek nyelve híd a lengyel és az orosz nyelv között. Nemzeti tudata az európai nemzeti mozgalmak legkésőbbi terméke, nyelvtana csak a huszadik században alakult ki. Itt minden definíció cseppfolyós állapotú, és egy ilyen tömeg alany helyett könnyen válik tárggyá az idegen kezekben. Moszkva támogatta az iskolákat, megnyitotta az első belorusz egyetemet, egyidejűleg elnyomta a szeparatista törekvéseket, börtönbe csukta és deportálta a hazafiakat, sőt a belorusz szótárból is száműzte azokat a szavakat, amelyek hangzása túlontúl eltért az orosztól. Varsó abszurd politikát folytatott: egy-két kivétellel betiltotta az önálló iskolákat, és minden alulról kiinduló szervezkedési kísérlet ellenszereként a börtönbüntetést alkalmazta."[1]

[1] Cz. Miłosz: *Ifjúkorom városa* [in:] A *kétségbeesés tisztasága. Válogatott esszék*. Budapest 1999. 42–43. o.

Miłosz külső erők játékszereként, belül inkoherens, rejtélyes jelenségként írja le ezt a kultúrát, amely mintha csak most, a szemünk láttára alakulna ki. Az előzményekről nem beszélt. Pedig belülről nézve ez csak egy új korszak kezdete volt: „A fehérorosz irodalom a maga, Európában normálisnak számító ezeréves korával átélte a reneszánsz, a reformáció és a felvilágosodás korszakát, kialakította a barokk, a klasszicizmus, a romantika és a realizmus egyéni változatait. Igaz, bizonyos stílusok vagy irányzatok nem fejlődtek ki teljesen. Akkor akadt meg a fejlődés, amikor a rideg politikai realitások elfojtották az összkulturális tendenciákat. Amikor Fehéroroszország el volt nyomva, vagy a Kelet és a Nyugat osztozott rajta. Amikor pusztító háborúk söpörtek végig rajta, amelyeknek akár a lakosság egyharmada is áldozatul eshetett. Amikor az idegen politika vektora a fehérorosz nemzet és nyelv elpusztítását célozta. Ilyen körülmények között mentette meg Fehéroroszország a kultúráját, ethoszát, nyelvét az idő rejtekében."[2]

Az imént idézett cikkében Pjatro Vaszjucsenka arról ír, hogy ez a kultúra bizonyos történelmi körülmények között újra meg újra föld alá szorul, útja föld alatti labirintuson át vezet. A fehérorosz irodalom nemcsak a legkiélezettebb politikai helyzetekben, például a sztálinizmus időszakában volt kilátástalan helyzetben, hanem a hetvenes-nyolcvanas években is. Mint ahogy üldözött ma is, a kilencvenes évek közepe óta.

Ha áttekintjük az elmúlt évszázadot, azt láthatjuk, hogy az irodalom meghatározó szerepet játszott a nemzetté válás folyamatában. Különösen tanulságos ebből a szempontból Janka Kupala A *Nyemen partján* című verse, melyben a folyó megszemélyesítésével mitologizálja a hazai tájakat, a nemzeti ébredést pedig a legelemibb természeti törvényekkel összhangban álló jelenségként írja le. A műben megfogalmazott követelményekkel újabb meg újabb nemzedékek szembesülnek (lásd Eduard Akulin Kupalát megszólító versét).

Ez az irodalom újra meg újra nekirugaszkodik a száz éve kitűzött feladatoknak. Az alapítók áldozatos munkája nem érhette el célját, mert a kommunista utópia hívei csak taktikai okokból tűrték a nemzetépítő tevékenységet, valójában ezt történelmileg meghaladottnak, vagyis reakciósnak, vagyis üldözendőnek tartották. A II. világháború utáni évtizedekben az utópia mögül egyre inkább előtűnt a birodalom kolonialista arculata. Persze az intézményesített szocialista irodalmi élet hatalmas mennyiségű szöveget termelt, de ezek elsöprő többsége a korszak végén könnyűnek találtatott. Nagyon jellemző, hogy az egyik nagy kivétel, az 1984-ben elhunyt Uladzimir Karatkevics pontosan azért vált kultikussá, mert történelmi re-

[2] P. Wasiuczenka: *Kroki w labiryncie. Warunki procesu literackiego na Białorusi*, *Kartki*, 1997, 1. 3. o.

gényeivel azt tudatosította olvasóiban, hogy a fehérorosz történelem nem a bolsevik forradalommal vette kezdetét, a Brezsnyev-korszak jelenéből is vezetnek utak a múltba. Vagyis majd' száz évvel Sienkiewicz után megteremtette a fehérorosz nemzeti mitológiát.

A fehérorosz irodalom posztotalitárius korszaka a nyolcvanas évek végén kezdődött. A társadalmat súlyos katasztrófák (Afganisztán, Csernobil) térítették vissza az utópia látszatvilágából a konkrét történelmi térbe, ahová tonnaszám hullott a radioaktív hamu (lásd Uladzimir Nyaklejeu *Zóna* című költeményét). 1988-ban Zjanon Parnyak régész, a leendő ellenzéki politikus két katartikus hatású cikket közölt a *Litaratura i Masztactva* (Irodalom és Művészet) című hetilapban Kuropatiról, a Minszk északi részén, a város szélén lévő erdőről, az ország és a térség legnagyobb temetőjéről, ahol 1937 és 1941 között kétszázötvenezer embert gyilkolt meg és temetett hatalmas tömegsírokba az NKVD. 1988 végén megalakult a Fehér Orosz Nemzeti Front, a függetlenségre törő balti államok ellenzéki szervezeteinek megfelelője. A régi szovjet szimbólumokat felváltotta a lovas vitéz és a fehér-piros-fehér zászló. A nyolcvanas-kilencvenes évek fordulóján kibontakozó társadalmi és kulturális tendenciák a *fehérorosz újjászületés* gyűjtőnevet kapták (igaz, sokan már ekkor felfigyeltek a felfokozott társadalmi várakozások és a hatalmi viszonyok közti ellentétre, és „a kommunizmus rezervátumáról" beszéltek).

Ha az ország a balti államok politikai fejlődését követte volna, az irodalom, miután betöltötte a *fehérorosz újjászületésben* játszott szerepét, valószínűleg a többször megszakított modernizáció területén mutatott volna fel jelentős eredményeket (ebben a tendenciába tartoznak Ihar Szidaruk szexuális és össznemzeti tabukat sértő versei). De a Lukasenka-diktatúrában ismét befagyasztották ezeket a folyamatokat, az említett nemzeti szimbólumokat is hatályon kívül helyezték.

Jan Maksymiuk már 1998 februárjában a következőket írta: „Az elmúlt évtizedben a fehérorosz költészet, miután a privát szférába és az intimitásba menekült a közösségi mítoszok banalitása elől, a külső körülmények nyomására megint »a front első vonalában találja magát«. Ebben a helyzetben, amikor Fehéroroszországban teljesen lefegyverezték és marginalizálták a politikai ellenzéket, a fehérorosz kultúra, mindenekelőtt az irodalom maradt a legerősebb fegyver a társadalom mongolizálódása ellen vívott harcban."[3]

A hatalommal folytatott harc legfeltűnőbb példája Szlavamir Adamovics (1962) esete. A költőt 1986-ban, minszki tanulmányai idején kényszerítette egy-

[3] J. Maksymiuk: *Poeci wśród ruin nadchodzącego królestwa* [in:] *Za niebokresem Europy. Antologia nowej poezji białoruskiej, 1987–1997.* Białystok 1998. 115. o.

üttműködésre a KGB, 1989-ben megszabadult megbízóitól, beszervezése történetét a moszkvai *Lityeraturnaja Gazeta* közölte. 1996-ban újból lecsapott rá a KGB, úgy találták, *Öld meg az elnököt!* című költeményében nem jobbító szándékú, építő kritikát gyakorol, hanem a közrendet veszélyezteti. Adamovics tiltakozásul egy performance keretében fekete cérnával varrta össze a száját. *Pravi Revanzs* (Jobboldali Revans) néven félig misztifikált szervezetet, valamiféle terrorista struktúrát hozott létre a rezsimmel folytatott harcra. Igen jellemző, hogy amikor előzetes letartóztatásban volt említett verséért, a KGB tisztjei a Fehérorosz Tudományos Akadémia irodalomtörténészeitől kértek szakértői elemzést.

Amikor Magyarország 2002-ben első Nobel-díjas íróját ünnepelte, Fehéroroszországban azon keseregtek az irodalmárok, hogy megint elvesztettek egy esélyt – mint 2003. június 21-én kiderült, végleg. Vaszil Bikauról van szó, élete utolsó évtizedében benne látták a díj várományosát azok, akik várták a csodát, hátha egy látványos siker megszabadít az átoktól, a fehérorosz irodalom külső és belső, azaz nemzetközi és hazai elszigeteltségétől. Ezt a csodát most a költészettől, az összeállításunkban is szereplő Rihor Baradulintól várják.

A fehérorosz irodalomról továbbra sem beszélhetünk a békeidőben megszokott terminológiával. Ez az irodalom létezik, bár nincsenek meg a létfeltételei. Ebben az országban az anyanyelv használata radikális döntés eredménye, és korántsem veszélytelen, ezért érthető módon az irodalom szinte csak elit funkcióit tudja ellátni, más egyebekre ott az orosz nyelvű kommersz és egyéb anyag. A legtöbb író számára Fehéroroszország továbbra is valamiféle metafizikai jelenség, ugyanúgy nem magától értetődő, mint a nemzeti identitás a nemzeti hagyományokat nem ápoló, külső megszállás híján önmagát kolonizáló államban. Ilyen helyzetben a visszájára fordul az anyaország és a kisebbség viszonya: a lettországi, litvániai és lengyelországi fehéroroszok az Európai Unióból tekintenek az anyaországra, amelyet egyre nagyobb civilizációs különbségek választanak el tőlük. Ebben a nehéz időszakban különösen a lengyelországi kisebbség próbál sokat tenni azért, hogy ne vesszen el ez az irodalom a külvilág számára, ne tűnjön el úgy a köztudatból, mint Magyarországon, a nyolcvanas-kilencvenes évek fordulóján.

Natalla Arszennyeva

Imádság

Mindenható Isten! Óh, világok ura,
A kicsiny szíveké éppúgy, mint naprendszereké!
Takard búzavirággal a csendes Belorusziát,
Áraszd el dicsőséggel, mint egykor földvárait!

Adj értelmet a napok egyhangú munkáinak,
Apáink földjének, áldd meg mindennapi kenyerünket.
Árassz el erővel, méltósággal, az igazság igazát
A jövőbe vetett hit biztonságát add meg nekün!

Adj termékeny legelőket és rozsföldeket,
Bőséges termés csodájával örvendeztess minket.
Tedd szabaddá, tedd hosszan boldoggá
Szegény hazánkat, egész népünket!

Így leszel Én

Ősz! Mikor tudom majd
Megosztani kettőnk közt
Fáradt örömöm s mámorító színeidet?
Te lennél akkor Én,
Keserű bánatommal
S én Te lehetnék
Óaranyban és vörösben.
Akkor az emberek egyszerűen
Natallának hívnak majd
És engem egyszerűen
Ősznek neveznének.
Akkor megérzed fájdalmát

A belémvert szögeknek
Midőn élő húsomba hatolnak
Szeretteim s ellenségeim keze által,
Én meg a lassú múlás kínját viselném
Ködben állva, ahogy rád méretett
És a földre lehulló leveleim
Fájdalma járna át.
A Te haláloddal halnék,
Nyírfák és kányafák halálával
Tündökölve és pompázatosan
Vörösökben,
Barnákban,
Te pedig –
Elégnél lassan
Verseimben és rémképemben.
Zörgő avar leszek én,
S te – hasztalan fecsegés

Deák László fordítása

Janka Kupala

Belorussziáról álmodom

…Óh igen! Proletár vagyok! …
akit fed rabok durva ruhája –
ma bolygónkon örök jelet hagyok
mint cároknak hatalmas cárja!

Hazám immár mindenek világa,
Hát az ősi szántónak tűnni kell…
Azért mindent mégse feledem el:
Óh, álmom Fehéroroszországa!

Deák László fordítása

A NYEMEN PARTJÁN

Csend van, Nyemennek messzi habja lomha,
Nyugton iramlik, tekintélyesen.
Ám zord időn zúg örvény kavarogva,
Átcsap partjain vadul a Nyemen.

Füzek, égerfák busán ringatóznak,
Duzzadó hullám mord visszhangja kel.
Rezzenő szívvel a büszke folyónak
Öblös szavára ilyenkor fülelj:

„Ne ámulj rajta, ingatag barátom,
Hogy a tajtékzó hullám mind dühöng.
A felhők súlya mellkasomra rárogy,
Sokallja már a kínt az anyaföld.

Fáj, hogy a világ itt más srófra jár ma.
Hol az ország, a nekem megszokott?
Fáj nekem e föld ebsorsra jutása,
Járnak más szelek és más tutajok.

Milyen derűsen nézett a világba
Hajdan az a zug, honnan eredek!
Mesét regélve, dalokat kántálva
Pipacs-piros volt és elégedett!

A dús anyagban élet forrt surrogva,
Külhon partjain dicső híre járt.
Az ellenséggel bátran kelt birokra
Hazánk fia, és kacagta baját.

Az én gyalázott, ma elnyomott népem
Dicsérték künn, s benn maga ura volt.
Szót lelt bölcs könyvek lapján, s ön-fejében,
És nem csak cifra káromlást tudott.

Szabad trónon ült, szabad volt a herceg,
Szabad népének jogát védte meg.
Bölcs volt, százféle bajos ügyön edzett,
S népgyűlés-harang szólt, ha tévedett.

Emlékszem, tisztán csengett a fülembe
Távol, nyugtalan konduló harang…
Elnémították, nem szól szava zengve,
Felébred-e még egykor ez a hang?

Híres volt hazánk akkor még, barátom,
Világszerte, mint mennyei vidék.
Hol Észak talált rejtekre e tájon,
Máskor a Nyugat pihenni betért.

S tudod-e, milyen hírnevünk vajon ma?
Forrás elapadt, kincsnek lába kelt.
Rozsomat minap rakták nagy hajókra,
Sok jött-ment úsztat fenyőt, tölgyeket.

Idegen kezek a szuszt belém fojtják,
Idegen erők éltemet ölik,
A sok földi meg, s az egész rokonság
Az idegenek bőrében feszít.

Nem örvendenek csobogó dalomnak,
Szél járja fejük, kósza, jövevény.
Vannak, kik vakon Névához sunnyognak,
Csábít másokat Visztula-szirén.

Fiú apjára, apa a fiára
Rá nem ismer az utcanép között.
Kóbor gyereket pesztrál a leányka,
Lusta, korcs fiú anyján csak röhög.

Szabad országnak sok derék polgára
Látott már igát, s ma is mind rabok.

Néma fű terül dicső ősapákra,
Már minden remény gyep alatt, halott.

Eleven árut ad és vesz az ország,
Szégyen-gyalázat, vágóhídra hajt!
Moszkva és Varsó földünket orozzák,
Századok óta marakodva rajt'.

Te nem figyelsz rám… Mondjam csak, ha mondom…
Állva szenderegsz, de meddig s miért?
Soká lesz süket még a füled, sólymom?
Fűzfa, égerfa hamarabb megért."

Mikor örvénylő, komisz idők járnak,
Búsan, szenvedőn beszél a Nyemen.
Elnémul aztán, és folyik tovább csak.
Lomha Nyemen, elnyel a végtelen!

1911–1912

Lackfi János fordítása

Makszim Bahdanovics

Vágta

Hogyha néha balsejtelem jár át,
S egyre kémlelem földem egét,
Felidézem a szent Osztra Brámát,
S a rohanó lovagok seregét.

Lovaiknak hab lepi hátát,
Jöhet éj, pokol – szállanak ők.
Ezt az ősörök, százados Vágtát
Meg nem állítják démonerők.

Az idő repül, s egyre ügetnek,
Sose fogy ki alóluk az út…
Lovagok, hova, merre siettek?
Hova visz ez az éj-alagút?

Belarusz! Fiaid, kit az éjben
Hajtnak-űznek e bősz lovasok:
Mert hűtlen mind s feledékeny,
S mert sorsára hagyták a rabot.

Ó, a csalfa szivükre ha ütne,
Lovasok, kezetekben a kard!
Bárcsak jutna zokogva eszükbe
Otthonuk, a sehogyse-akart!

Ki hazáját veszti el, annak
Jobb a sír is, amely betemet.
Bocsáss meg, anyám, a fiadnak,
Vagy hadd adjam az életemet!

A lovaknak hab lepi hátát,
S egyre szállanak, szállanak ők.
Ezt az ősörök, százados Vágtát
Meg nem állítják démonerők!

Tercinák

A régiség az embert megigézi;
Letörölvén a tűnt idők porát,
Oly jó a szép, dicső múltat idézni,

S a múlt ködén ha visszfény hatol át!
A régieknél nem dall senki szebben,
Ha szomjazunk, isszuk a múlt borát.

Így hát az ódon rondóban s szonettben
Komor versemre szép nap fénye száll.
A hold is így világít kint a kertben.

A versben így igéz a régi báj!

Körner Gábor fordítása

Ales Zvonak

ÁLLOMÁS

Vlagyivosztok mellett, a tengerpartnál
Hatalmas hajó áll, fodros a víz tükre.
Roppant gőzös... Éjjel felpakolnak rá
Sok emberi roncsot – s mindre sorszám ütve.

Akár a cethal, mely Jónást elnyelte,
A vasszörny felfalja ez eleven masszát:
Puskatussal lökdösnek a menetbe,
És arcvonásom kín torzítja grimasszá.

A raktérbe zsúfolva, mint heringek,
Hatezer ember – szánkból megszakad a hang.
„Sztálin, hálától könnyes a tekintet!” –
Ríják a sirályok: ádáz lélekharang...

Mint mikor a *niggereket* a fehérek
Elhurcolták a világ túlsó felére.

Zsille Gábor fordítása

Mihasz Rudkouszki

x x x

Él még a gyermekkor vadona
Él még ez az ősrengeteg.
De szántja már a „haladás" fergeteg,
És erdőm már mély sebek vadona.

Áll némán és kivérzetten,
Bölcsen, bátran a nagy télben.
Az erdő nem fél. Nincs benne félelem.
Tartja derekát – mint az igazság - egyenesen.

Hiába is rejteném fájdalmamat,
Ha a halál majd végképp elragadja.
Miképpen éljek, az egykori tőle tanultat
Mára, a méltó halál lesz, ami felváltja.

Parancsolat

Mint atyai szót – hallom e szent parancsot:
Bárkivé válnod adatott is –
Egyik kezed ha fiad bölcsőjét ringatja
A másik nagyatyád sírjára virágot ültessen.

Deák László fordítása

Larisza Hienyijus

x x x

Nem ismerek rád, Szülőföldem!
Idegen rendet nyög a vidék.
A más ekéje szántja földem,
Már csak a kereszt, az a miénk.

A sírok, csak azok maradtak,
S a mezőn a sok régi kurgán.
Vajon mindent a földnek adtak,
És egész múltunk ott rohad tán?
Az idegen szó szívünkbe mar,
Hogy megfojtsa saját szavunk.
Nyelvünk forgács, elfogy hamar,
És másikat Kolimán kapunk.
Keleti széltől megperzselve
Apad a Nyemen, az asztag széthull.
Sorvad a nemzet büszke lelke,
S – sebzett madár – a dal elnémul.
Rabságban nem bonthat szárnyat
Madár sem, dal sem, a lélek sem.
S fényes nappal csupa árnyat
Látok, bár a napon fekszem.
A szörnyű teher – örök rabság –
Földhöz nyomja kínzott hátunk,
A sanda erőszak s hazugság
Könnyű prédájává válunk.
Munkába hajtnak minden reggel
S mi megtesszük, amit kívánnak.
S a honi tájon ismét felkel
kései szelleme Batu Kánnak…

Bátyám, A.

Golyó végzett vele, mondják, idegenben,
Ahová a balsors bátyámat vetette.
De a nevetése itt cseng a fülemben,
Azt a gonosz világ már el nem vehette,
Hangját odaadta csörgő patakoknak,
S a búzavirágban szemei ragyognak.

Ő volt boldogságunk, őbenne bízhattunk;
Eltűnt, és utána most minden emlékem

Az utolsó hír csak, amit róla kaptunk:
Monte Cassinóból egy maréknyi érem.
Egy katonazubbony, vérrel átitatva,
S az idegen földből egy apró darabka.

Huszadik tavaszán, dicsőség mezején
Esett el az olasz virágos tavaszban.
Vagy tán mérges párát lehelt a televény;
Vagy tán szertefoszlott a távolban lassan,
Hol örök ciprusok komor fővel állnak,
S hol ifjú reményét adta a halálnak.

Körner Gábor fordítása

Nil Hilevics

X X X

Haldokol már,
Elcsöndesül
Aranyló tölgyesem,
Leszórja,
Szétdobálja a földön
Ábrándos köntösét.
Nem csilingel, nem árad az erdőbe
Örök beszéde,
Csak száraz zörgés
A lábunk alatt,
Mint vád
Mint a világnak tett panasz.

Pedig nem is olyan rég,
Mielőtt beköszöntött a fürge nyár,
Mi minden történt a tölgyekben!
Milyen csodaszép ünnep
Fénylett!
Hogy zúgott-morgott itt minden,

Lombok és virágok
Hogy burjánoztak!
Hogy csicseregtek itt a lombok,
Csiripeltek, csattogtak, csevegtek!

Mennyi öröm volt
Minden feléledt
Csipogásban és csiripelésben!
Mennyi erőbe telt
Minden csattogás, minden fütty,
Minden kelepelés!
A legkisebb levél is igyekezett
Terebélyes lombbá nőni,
A legkisebb szár,
A legkisebb csíra is
Messziről látszó
Fává…

Hova tűnt mindez,
Hogy az örökkön álló
Szó
Síri morajjá változott,
Mint vád,
Mint a világnak tett panasz?
Haldokol már,
Elcsöndesül
Aranyló tölgyesem,
Leszórja,
Szétdobálja a földön
Ábrándos köntösét.
1966

Körner Gábor fordítása

HOL VAGYTOK

– Hol vagytok, belorusz fiaim, mit csináltok?
– Elisszuk a lelkünket, amelyet eladtunk a Sátánnak.

– Hát nem ittatok el mindent, ami csak maradt?
– Ugyan már! Van még mit elinni. Ni, már töltöttek is.

– A fejemet rá, hogy már mindent eltékozoltatok.
– Nem. Van még dohány a keresztekből, amiket lefűrészeltünk.

– Az oltár fölül? Amik óvják és díszítik honunk égboltját?
– Azokat majd később, most nagyapáink fejfáit isszuk el.
1996

Keresztes Gáspár fordítása

Danuta Bicsel

A KACSENYKA-VÖLGYÖN MA ÁTVÁGTAM...

A Kacsenyka-völgyön ma átvágtam,
gyónni siettem, szedtem a lábam,
szívemben mintha kés forgott volna.

Minden erőm összeszedtem hosszan,
s Makszim* lelkével hogy találkozzam,
az égboltra libbentem dalolva.

Méltó lehetek a gyors halálra.
Zsoltározva és mezítláb járva
esdettem ki lelkem nyugalmát.

Cirógassátok a szegény lelkem,
mezítlábas lelkecském, ti ketten,
te Istenem, és te is, Makszim!

Zsille Gábor fordítása

A FATIMAI SZŰZANYÁHOZ

Fatimai Szűz, ó, maradj sokáig...
Felajánlom Neked a vadrózsákat,
szülőhazám virágzó vadrózsáit.

Szerénységed, mely Fiadéval rokon,
sokszorozd meg a középkori és
örök, a fehérorosz oltárokon.

Hófehér ruhád ráncai száz
színes kővel ékesek,
csodatévő sztudenckai Szűz.

Mint egy gerlice, mely alászáll éppen,
megjelentél egy tölgy alatt,
és egy körtefánál – Zsirowicsében.

Eltörlöd a harcok iszonyát,
Budszlávban és Maloritában
hozzád fohászkodnak az anyák.

Zsille Gábor fordítása

* A költőnő a grodzieńi Makszim Bahdanowicz Múzeum igazgatója volt. Bahdanowicz, a fehérorosz líra legfénylőbb üstököse mindössze huszonhat évet élt. Tüdőbaj végzett vele 1917-ben. (A ford.)

Zjanon

Áldott lovag

Áldott jávorfa
A júliusi zivatarban –
Koldusok biztos
Menedéke.
Áldott Lovag az útfélen,

Lova is
Az aranysörényű, lángoló ló
Is áldott.
És Vilna!
Háromszor is
Légy áldott Vilna.
Vágtass, Lovag!
Kergesd az árulót!
Röpülj, Lovag,
Az üldözés dobpergésére!
Hozd el nekünk a szabadságot.

Felhők, levelek, füvek zenéje

Fehér papírlap, toll, tavaszi virág!
Ti vagytok reménységeim a hazugság idején.
Ti vagytok örömöm, a megváltás útja.
Virágozz, virágozz utamon, fehér gyümölcsöskertem!
A hullámok moraján úszom
Az ismeretlen világba,
Az égszínkék térbe,
A távoli országba –
Hol erdő kéklik,
Hol a szépség lakik
Hol felhők úsznak,
Oda, ahol az én elveszett paradicsomom,
A mi lerombolt paradicsomunk,
Ahol kurgánok és emberek voltak.
A hátam mögé pillantok –
Haldoklanak a gólyák, akár az emberek,
És füvek árnyékába feküsznek…
És füvek árnyékába feküsznek…
1986

Körner Gábor fordítása

Rihor Baradulin

Az első levél

Eső, eső
És felhők, és magány,
És kelettől nyugatig
Süket csönd.
A szív
Valakik puha érintésre vágyik.
A szomorúság pedig rácsap a fejedre,
Mint a medvére a farönk
Az odúnál, ahol
Méhek élnek szorgalmasan.
És csak nézheted,
Hogy vonít a lélek…
1998. július 3.

Körner Gábor fordítása

TIZENNYOLCADIK LEVÉL /171-dik*/

Fehéroroszország —
Mint brilliáns egy gyűrűben —
úgy van Európában.
A koldusoknak Európa nem ad kezet.
És a kéregetők — folyton
A brilliánsra kapnak
Akár tyúk
a kendermagra...

2003. április 3.

* A levél Rihor Baradulin és a Vaszil Bikau több mint öt éven át folytatott levelezését zárja le. Bikaut, a világhírű belorusz prózaírót a Lukasenka-rezsim hazájának elhagyására ítélte. Élt Finnországban, Németországban és Csehországban. 2003. június 22-én halt meg Minszkben.
Keresztes Gáspár fordítása

Znyics (Aleh Bembel)

TESTVÉRKÉK

Fojtó gondok közt élünk – imádkozunk.
Hisszük, minden ember egymásra talál
Krisztusban, és az Úr lelkétől talán
virágba borul a fényben a hazánk...

Zsille Gábor fordítása

A SZENT LEPEL

Dalaim harangtornya fölött
hallom a magasztos szót: szeretet...
Ég és föld ívét óvón befedem
egy fehér-piros-fehér lepellel...

Zsille Gábor fordítása

* * *

Krisztus urunk örökül hagyta,
s nem vett el belőle semmit sem:
mindahány nyelven magasztalva
legyen a Mindenható Isten.

E szavakat különös céllal
metropolitánk eltörli ma:
„... e fantom-nyelven, e hangsúllyal
templomunkban nem lesz több ima,

hisz egész más beszédre vágyik a
nép...” Ha ez így igaz, Filaret –
Isten igéje a politika
miatt keserű és fura lett!

Zsille Gábor fordítása

Jauhenyija Janyiscsic

MILYEN VAGYOK

Ne hagyj el! Egészen betöltesz!
Csillag vagy, álom és sóhajok.
Fanyar emlékeimből köd lesz,
S nem tudom, milyen vagyok.

Csillapodj! Hadd pihenjek újra
A te vadfű ízű ajkadon.
Mákgubók s liliom közt bújva
Nem sejtem, milyen vagyok.

Minden porcikám beleremeg,
Ahogy zúdulnak a viharok.
Búsak s boldogok közt heverek,
S nem sejtem, milyen vagyok.

Nem kérdem a nyírt, a rozstáblát,
Sem a csillagokat, mind vakok.
Téged kérdlek, ki mindenen átlát:
Áruld el, milyen vagyok.

Zsille Gábor fordítása

Ónos eső

(részlet)

Fehér a fagy. A fal és a tél.
Rímet keresek az „egyetlen” szóra”.
Hazugság nekem az óra.
Hol a nap, a hét, az örökkévaló lét?
E film tán véget ért valahol messze,
Más járásban, faluban, ligetben?
Világom fehér gyászlepelben.

Mint fekete kobra a telefon teste.
Nem hívlak.
Nincs értelme.
Nem kell.
Egyszerre idegen hang a fülemben.
Fehér plafon: hámlik az ég.
A hó fehér kráter a lelkemben.
Lelkem meg rácsok közt.
Szívem üres, mint tört veder.
Fehér erdő, fehér kunyhók megett
A gólya-hajnal fehér tolla.
Szabad akaratom a haladás mellett.
Szabad dal hangzik, mint hegyi lehelet.
A fehér mező, a fehér vadon megett
Fehérlőn fehér szoknyám lebeg…

Késő telefonálni. (Csenget valaki!)
Futok. (Szamszon, a szomszéd.)
Arca gyűrt papucs. Lüktet halántéka.
Három rubel híja, s megvan boldogsága.

Csípős szavakat szórnék az arcába.
Bevágnám az ajtót az orra előtt.
De Szamszon szeme nagyon véres.
Nagyon megviseli a másnapossága.
Nem leszek hát szeszélyes dáma,
Nem akarom, hogy azt higgye: fösvény!
Meztelen csonkjával elvett három rubelt,
Majd, mintegy kinccsel, óvatosan elment.
Nem volt amúgy semmiféle okom
Megőszült fejének tetején táncolnom,
Mert midőn Szamszon még kamasz volt,
Testem fehér szirmokban tavaszként tombolt.

Megint csak kopognak (Nascsona, a gondnok.)
Nem is igaz. Dusek.
Gyűrűje rettentőn szorul kövér ujján,

Lánca is megfeszült, ahogy kell, a nyakán.
„Ó, a legfehérebb fehér ruhát viselem,
A pacsirtát a ligetben túlénekelem…”
A plafon felett itt lakodalom tombol,
Hogy minden lámpa ugrál a kampókon.
„Ó, a legfehérebb fehér ruhát viselem…”
Fehéret. De kiokádom a belem.
De ki ünnepe ez? Ki lakodalma?
A mennyezet alól hull a hó vállamra.

Keresem a rímet… (Mire jó ez nekem?)
Az órát szemem elől nem tévesztem.
Kávét főzök. Sehogy se forr nekem
Ősöreg, fekete, keserű edényem.

Galambos Csaba fordítása

Szjarhej Zakonnyikau

Madonna

Szívem őszi levélként reszketett
mikor szobrod előtt félúton megdermesztett:
Hogyan változhatott el szép, ifjúi tested?
kéz-, láb-, fej nélküli a törzsed...

A márvány Madonna szobrát néztem
s éles fájdalomhasított torkomba:
oly nyomorultnak és védtelennek
tüntél, akár csak Belorussziám.

És hallottam suttogásod:
Édes Istenem!
Miért fosztasz meg kegyeidtől?
Miért, hogy századok óta gyötörhet engem
bárki istentelen vagy vakmerő pimasz?

De a Teremtő hallgatott. Őrizve titkait
Beloruszia bűnének,bajának, gyalázatának,
amiért csupán szövögeti a szabadság álmait,
amiért dicsősége szétfoszlik, mint a füst...

Igen. Hallgatott a Teremtő.
A terméketlen völgy felett
kristályszemcseként ragyogtak a csillagok,
s már önmagától kérdezte meg a Madonna:
„ Hogy éljek így, kéz-, láb és fej nélkül?...

Mi

Keleti szelek
Nyugati szelek
De a Beloruszok jó időt várnak

Régtől-máig németnek tartanak,
Rabvér kúszik az ereinkben.
Satnya utódoknak látszanak
Katonák, parasztok ő követőikben.

Mindenem van, mit szülőhaza adhat,
De szárnyat bontani itt senki se mer
Félőn, hogy puha szalmát senki se rakhat
Alá, ha majd talán lezuhanni kell.

Bűzös lágerzónába élünk hát,
Lelkünkbe ette magát dohos szaga.
Hogy a Teremtő minket mily sorsra szánt
Nem tudjuk, és vajon ki tudja?

Deák László fordítása

Szlavamir Adamovics

HAJNALI KONTAMINÁCIÓK METAMORFÓZISSAL, HÁTTÉRBEN NAP ÉS ESŐ

Amikor a fehér fogak kordonján áttörve
Nyelvem megízleli a hajnali harmat cseppjeit
Egy alig bimbózó rózsa szirmáról —
Óh, mily tébolyult pillanat lesz,
mikor nyelvem érdes tüskéje
mohón beszívja magát a virág szívébe.
Ó kozmosz! Hogy szeretném végzeted
én, a méhecske, kinek rengeteg virág kell,
hogy belőlük a virágport begyűjtve
megalkothassa az örökkévalóság mézét.
Íme, ez vagyok én. Ki vagy te,
hogy virágod e harmatos hajnalon ily merészen
érleled nekem? És miért van,
hogy édes teljességed örömei,
reggel és este ugyanúgy
csábítják az esővel terhes felhőket?
Bizonyára így kell lennie.
Égjen a lelkem a vágytól.
fedje bár vastag lepel,
Legyen bár tetől talpig rongyba takarva —
Töltse meg akár kenyérillattal
a Villámisten szabad mindenható szellemével
nyers, sivár csontvázamat.
Hát, én ilyen vagyok:
gyermek a bölcsőben, alig láttam a világot
és megpillantva benne önmagam, nem győztem csodálni
a tiszta harmatcseppet hajnalban,
amint lassan felszívódik
a boróka koromszín háromszögén.

Nekem, a kis hírszerzőnek már akkor
megsúgta valaki a mindenható szót,
mint egy útravaló varázsigét,
amikor elindultam a fenyegető ismeretlen világba,
megesküdve, hogy egy hajnalon visszatérek
ismét e harmatos mezőkre...
Idesusogtak egy titkos szót
Méhecskék, poszméhek és darazsak, meg egy
(talán vasárnap történt)
álmos sündisznó az útszélen eső után.
Az elemeken keresztül ismertem meg a világot:
megkülönböztettem a hangától a korpafüvet
a csombort — mindenféle gazt,
és bókoltam nekik,
hálásan a madaraknak, állatoknak, növényeknek
csak ezekért harmatcseppekért
és a jogért, hogy csodálhatom őket.
És a család
keresőnek nevezett engem
kóborlásaim, makacsságom miatt.
Nem tudta, mi bennem az érték:
hogy testvérem a gyík, és farkastorkon suttogok,
és barátom kiáltására kiáltással felelek
az éjjeli mezőn, miközben búg a bölömbika,
amelynek bőven elég a klorofil.
És hogy szeretem a muslincát és a szitakötőt;
És hogy szeretem először az esőt, aztán a napot,
Midőn azzal játszik, hogy a kisnyulakat harmattal
Szórja be, akik röptében kapják be a legyet
és elvakítja az álmos denevérek szemét;
és szeretem a hajnalt, ahogy feldíszíti az estét
a fáradságos nap után,
amikor a láp felől hideg levegő árad;
szeretem a természet törvényét és törvénytelenségeit
és amikor a tiszta égből jég és havas eső hull...
Amikor a fehér fogak kordonján áttörve
nyelvem megízleli a hajnali harmat cseppjeit

olyan finoman, hogy szinte hozzá sem ér
a rózsaszín jácinthoz.
Így születik
a háromszögű bioszférából az új nap.

Keresztes Gáspár fordítása

ÖLD MEG AZ ELNÖKÖT

Öld meg a férget, ki operettbajszát
meresztve rettegést hozott
honunkra, mely szegény, de a miénk,
honunkra, mely gyönyörű, de komor.

Öld a bitangot, ahogy csak tudod.
lyuggasd ki gépfegyverrel, sújtsd baltával,
törd be a fejét, ne habozz,
s hajítsd a pöcébe, a trágyára.

Öld a dögöt töltőtollal,
döfd le esernyővel, bicskával,
vagy készíts pokoli koktélt
s keverd vodkájába.

Öld, az ellenséged, mielőtt ifjan
megrohaszt a kolhozganéban.
Éljen hazánk dicső szabadságban
s ne paranoiás rabságban!

Öld elszántan, bőszen,
ahogy csak az Isten ölhet.
Így vess a rémálomnak véget!
Söpörd ki hazádból a szennyet.

S a megtisztult fehérororsz hazát
bezárjuk a bajszos hóhérok előtt,
s látva a fényes nap sugarát,
megnyitjuk a szabad világ előtt.

Keresztes Gáspár fordítása

Uladzimir Nyaklejeu

A ZÓNA
(Részletek)

Mily álmot láttál, emberi nemzet?
Kályhádat fával betegre tömted.
Álomi földre kotrod parazsát,
Csernobil füvét cserzi a zsarát,
Az álombeli zöld mezőt befedve
Mely ürömzóna lett már mindörökre,
Többé nem él.
    S bár ez nem ínség-zóna,
    Emberek milliója
    Enni-inni kér.

A helyi *isten* meghív ebédre,
Azt mondja, erről nem tehet,
Ilyen a nagy számok törvénye,
Elenyésznek a kis tételek.

Szeretett volna úri életet.
Ne is agyaljak ezen hiába.

Ez a vidék itt villámot vetett,
Gyilkos áram a jövő aratása.

A gyászos jövő házad előtt áll,
Felkiáltójellel üvölt,

S a hegy, hol aranyat találtál,
Most vulkán, mely lávát köpött.

Hogy jót ad a hegy, nehogy elhidd,
Lenn mélység tárja karjait,
Uram, mily bordából szőtted ezt itt,
Ezt a technokrata palit?
Homlokán egy tábla virít:

ELIT!

Mint vasharang, a hangja,
Tekintete acél,
A véletlen kalandja
Végzetünk lett, elért:

Növényi szár üres
vázában ablakodban,
Rajta papírdarabka:
Születésnapodra
1986 április 26.

… A KISAJÁTÍTÁS időpontja,
épp akkor született a ZÓNA.

„Ilyen iszonyat velünk még meg nem esett.
Kisajátítják?
Miért?
Elvisznek? Hova?
Nincs árvíz, pestis, nincs semmilyen csata…”

Sok kilométernyi föld- és víztakaró felett
Anyóka hangja lebegett.

„Sugárzás, nem is mondtak többet,
Vitték őket, sírtak sokan,
Őseiknek nem jutott áldozat,
Az összes régi sír ott maradt,

Mit kezük elbírt, annyit vihettek.

Persze mindent nem vihet el az ember.”

Rettegés küszöbén túlról jön a hang.
Szenvedés küszöbén túlról jön a hang.

„Vártuk, az ördög mikor jön majd el,
Dühöngtek mind az emberek,
Valami üstököst emlegettek,
Mely a Föld felé közeleg.”

Megrázom *istent*, adjon feleletet,
Mint zsidóknak a csipkebokorban:

„*Istenünk* vagy bálvány vagy-e?”
És ő felelt: „Nem tudom, ez a zóna
Egyelőre csak helyi zóna…”

Azzal megkövült az arca,
És kifaragva
Arra az arcra
A zóna feldereng.

Meggyalázott földhalmok,
Mint határőrtornyok a táj fölött.
Őrhelyek – és egy címerpajzson
Villám, amely kettétörött…

Lackfi János fordítása

Nagyeja Artimovics

x x x

reményem felszíne puha
mint az első tavaszi köd
reményem felszíne fekete

mint a szülőföld
reményem felszíne vörös
mint a sebzett mák,
reményem beköltözött
a szabad madárba

x x x

bezárult a fény
békésen elfolyik az ég
s a véres vonatok
megérkeznek a néptelen városokba
felesleges varjak híznak
boszorkányok üres kártyák fölött gubbasztanak

hol a tűz hol a sózott kenyér
hol a mozdulat
hol az idegen levegőben
függőben maradt mozdulatod
hol a köves tó
mely nemrég még oly zöld volt
hol a halk versek
hol a te igaz lírád
hol vannak titkos helyeink
hol nyugodt álmaink
hol vagyunk
hol vagy
hol vagyok

körbenézek
az utcák lüktetnek
remegésekben a fény
markomban magamban
a feleslegesség

kéretlen nyeretlen napok
és képtelen hangom

felesleges az is
homok száll a messzeségbe
csillagok lángolnak

örvénybe sodor a folyó…

Körner Gábor fordítása

Eduard Akulin

Ave Maria

Ideje van immár, bánni bűnöket…
Nyarainkat hamvasztja az emlékezet.
Álmomban anyám rám nevetett
És fény övezte az ő alakját.

Imádkozom anyám fényességéhez
Életem minden órájában.
E pillanattól a legvégső óráig
Ragyogjon, mama, a te neved.

Egész lényed engem védett
Kezdettől, hogy életre hoztál.
Már örökre te lész az én Hazám,
Képtelen gondolat, hogy – már csak voltál…

Deák László fordítása

TALÁLKOZÁS KUPALÁVAL

Ballada

De ki jön ott?
Janka Kupala

A feketedett lombokat
eső veri unottan.
Bocsánatot kérni legott
Kupalához futottam.

Bocsánatot, mert nem kapott
szent kérdésére választ.
Hallgat a népünk, mint halott,
mint kit megbabonáztak.

Barátaink nem lelnek itt
egy fehérorosz embert,
van még néhány, de semelyik
hazáért halni nem mer.

Önkény vár a hazára most,
foglyul ejt az ellenség…
Nem vagyunk fehéroroszok!
Nem létezik ilyen nép!

Hogy hol volt a költő szeme?
Komor szemüregekben,
s mint sötét éj, oly fekete:
fekete felleg gyűlt fenn.

Kupalának nem volt szeme,
ne nézze undorodva,
utódai vak menete
mint tolong vandál módra.

Feketedett lombokra csak
eső csorgatja mocskát.
S én elfutottam a minap
Kupalához, ki nem várt.

Lackfi János fordítása

Ales Csobat

1917. MÁJUS 25. A KÖLTŐ HALÁLA

Nem vártad ki a törvényeket és a direktívákat.
De nem ez a költő szerencsétlensége
A fájdalom, hogy nem alkotsz és nem élsz tovább.

Még a harmincat sem vártad ki.
Így hát elkerültek a véres tisztogatások
És a GPU sem varr semmit nyakadba.

Ha megérted volna, a fiók mélyére
űztek volna, vagy eltűntél volna nyomtalanul
egy lágerben valahol a végtelen hómezők között a tajgán...

Ah, mily átkozott, áldatlan ország ez,
hol a kárhozattól csak úgy menekül a szabadság és a dal
ha elbúcsuzol életedtől korai haláloddal!

Keresztes Gáspár fordítása

Jan Csikvin

Imádság

Kerek farú madonna,
Dúskeblű szláv asszonyka,
Ibolyakék szemedben
Én egészen elvesztem.

Add a remény sugarát,
Kín tüzének parazsát
Az áldozat ostyáját
A keresztútnál áhítom.

Becéző szád mellett a Nap
Elhalványul, nem virrad.
Fényt adsz te, a születés
És elmúlás éjjelét.

Világoló vagy bizony te
Mint Madonna szentképe.
Szépet, jót és igazat
Vétkes nekem, ismerni add.

x x x

… és, mint ragyogó tekintetével
rabok hosszú sorfala előtt álló Krisztus –
elűzi lelkükből a rossz babonákat
s új tűzzel telítve, nemzetté nemesít,

mert nem ott áll már, suhogó nyírek közt
mint egy csupasz karó, gally nélkül, lombtalan,
szeretetének erejével, már dús ágat hajt

Deák László fordítása

Uladzimir Hajduk

Kéklő tündérhon

Túl a képzelet láthatárán,
Mint egy anyai bölcsődal,
Mint gyermeki ábránd egy meséből,
Mint a fiatalság szomja,
Mint egy vissza nem térő álom,
Tűnik az égről a darvak V-je,
Életre szóló, egyetlen
Kéklő déli tündérhonom.

Nem vagy, nem vagy, mikor…

Nem vagy, nem vagy, mikor tavasszal
Egy éjjelen át, majd hajnaltájt,
A lombba borult fűzfák alatt
Sugdosnánk egymásnak, angyalkám.

Nem vagy, nem vagy, mikor nyáridőn,
A kalászok árnyába bújva,
Egy kis boldogságot is fonnék
A búzavirág-koszorúdba.

Aztán ha a langyos őszelőn
Vénasszonyok nyara fellángolt,
Nem vagy itt, hogy hajfonatodra
Selyemszálakból szőjek fátyolt.
Nem vagy, nem vagy, ha tél derekán

Holdtöltekor, egy szűz hómezőn
Suhannánk szánon, egyetlenem,
Nászi dalt fújva örvendezőn!

Zsille Gábor fordítása

Zoszja Szacsko

x x x

Nyugtalan álmok
Nyugtalan álmokkal
Zsibbadtan ébredek
S amilyen a reggel
Olyan a nappal is
Toporgok
Zenélek magamnak
Homlokom megkoszorúzom
Ajtóm feltárom – bejössz
Világtalan a világom

Csak a mamát megkérdezem

Deák László fordítása

*** * ***

a távozók emberfölötti kínja
kik saját szavukat kutatják
az idegenben
a vöröslő tánc az erekben
a csatornák útvesztőjében
életem a kert élete
és a titoké
minden elmerül s felolvad
a szeretet áttetsző égboltján

ahogy a szelíd hullám
átadja magát a fövenynek
akár egy döglött hal egy legyecske
egy gallyacska egy mag a borostyánba...
talán így térünk majd vissza
észrevétlenül

Zsille Gábor fordítása

* * *

félek a nyugalomtól ha nincs benne tűz
egy zárkózott családba rekesztett estétől
és a nappaltól – mely a szembogárba vesző
kísértetvonat
– mely csak műanyag kenyér
az éhezőnek
– mely az arcunkra hegedt
papírálarc
s a szótól mely csak egy ügyes műkéz
– – – – – – – – – –
felhalmoztam a komor novemberre
a nyári álmok a virágkosorúk
és a méz illatát
felhalmoztam zsugorin

Zsille Gábor fordítása

X X X

fölkeltesz kisnyulacskám
az ujjaddal, egy fénysugárral
megérinted arcom
még fel sem kelt a napocska
a harmat akár a kúszóbab

lehúzza a fűszálakat
senki sem mosdik az első harmatban
hacsak nem szenved álmatlanságban
a koszorúk bekötve
a ház kapuja zárva
a méhek alszanak a mézen…
s te már fölkeltesz

Keresztes Gáspár fordítása

Ihar Szidaruk

A HOLLÓ
Regény

1. fejezet

„Kinek vájhatnám ki a szemét?" — tűnődött a holló, a környezetbarát szemétdombon üldögélve. Szemtelen volt, dagadt és ostoba. Talán ezért örvendhetett életének immáron negyedik évezrede.

2. fejezet

Ki tudja már, mióta nem talált áldozatot magának! A vadállatok és a mutánsok nem izgatták. A legfinomabb csemege számára az emberi szemgolyó volt. De még azt is nehezen tudta felidézni, mikor látott utoljára ilyet.

3. fejezet

Csak az ember vadászott a hollóra. Éhes volt. Ő maradt utolsónak.

4. fejezet

A párbajra kettejük között egy szinte teljesen szétbontott teherautó mellett került sor, amelynek fülkéjét golyóálló üveg védte. A párbaj sokáig tartott. Kíméletlen volt és véres.

5. fejezet

Elmúlt az éjszaka. Eljött a hajnal. A két küzdőfélnek már alig maradt ereje.

6. fejezet
Az ember ravaszabb volt. De tudta ezt a holló.

7. fejezet
Ezért amikor az ember beugrott a szinte teljesen szétbontott teherautóba, és utolsó erejével a gázra taposott, mire az, az örökkévalóság óta létező, így már mindent látott környezetbarát szemétdomb legnagyobb megdöbbenésére elindult, a dagadt, szemtelen holló csőrével belemélyedt a fülke golyóálló szélvédőjébe, és ahogy átütötte, ki is vájta az ember egyik szemét.

8. fejezet
De a véreres szemgolyó ezúttal keserű volt, és kis híján megakadt a torkán.

9. utolsó fejezet
„Kinek vájhatnám ki a szemét?" — tűnődött a holló, a szinte teljesen szétbontott teherautó vezetőfülkéjében ülve.

Keresztes Gáspár fordítása

Valzsina Mort

* * *

Hártyavékony vagyok
akár
a te
szemhéjad

Zsille Gábor fordítása

MENET

Korcs
sors
sas
ne
áltass
és
riogass
de elengedj
minden mindegy
orsóm
fonala
sorsom
vonala
mézem
nyirkos homoknak nézem
ujjam ha nyálaznám
ezer ablakra
pingálhatnám
a te mindahány
arcodat
harcodat
álladat

álmodat
az emberség
ára
határa
nemsokára
nemsokára
aids-betegek
a fák
fakóros az egész
világ
a madarak fészkeiket
a holdon rakják
s én felkiáltok nekik
megálljatok...
Az óra a falon
megállt
Mindent mit adtam
visszakaptam
kattan
csappan
csappan
csaltam
voltam
ábránd(oké)

Zsille Gábor fordítása

MIHAS SZKOBLA

* * *

Halld otromba népség –
hogy a félcipő
lábatokon él még
él a marhabőr

Tenger a kagylóban
visszhang a stadionban
az imádság a lerombolt templomban
nem hal meg ott van ott van

Úgyhogy ne csodálkozzatok
hogyha a tollpárna
kiröppen az ablakon
s a lenyakazott hering bár megfőtt már
csapdosni kezd bádogdobozában
a fűszeres ecetes lében ázva
s látjuk a partba gyökerezni a csónakot.

Meg ha a tűz
mihelyt fellobban
égbe röpül
eloszlik a napban

A temető ma park
mely egy hajdani
röhejes alak
nevét viseli
és ezredévekig
bolyong a fasoron
a halál éjszaka.

És ha majd megremeg
az aszfalt talpatok alatt
rájöttök egyszerre hogy
koponyákon tapostatok…

1989

Lackfi János fordítása

Istálló

– ballada –

Szólott a komisszár: nem kell nekünk templom
Ebben a kommunista korban,
Legyen hát kenyérbolt ottan az a templom,
Ebből meg váljék egy istálló nyomban.

Szólt, és a dolgozó nép menten megindult.
Összetörték az ikonokat,
Nyaklóra cserélték az oltáron Krisztust,
Majd behajtották a lovakat.

A lovász köröttük lázasan dolgozott,

De néha csattant az ostor is,
Kanca s mén elég világosságot kapott,
Mindjárt tele lett a vályú is.

Proletár a lovász, nem holmi ellenség.
Hajnalban ott áll a kapuban,
Keze alól minden lónak jut eleség,
Van elég víz az itatóban.

E lovászunk néha a vályúban aludt,
Mert ivott, mint a kefekötő,
A vályúba alul beszórt egy zsák zabot
És reggelig félholtan döglött.

Fagy nem érte: a pálinka melegített,
De mikor fölébredt éjszaka,
S félálomban hunyorogva körülnézett,
Azt hiszi, a szeme megcsalja.

Íme, az összes igavonó állata
(Micsoda ördögi praktika!)
Térdelt a kép előtt, mit ő fölapríta,
S térden ott imádkozott vala.

Szörnyű félelmében a kocsi alá bújt,
Mint kire halálnak szája fújt,
Vajh látása pálinkától homályosult?
Látván a könnyekben úszó lószemeket
És a kidagadó ereket.

Imádkozó lovak? S engedélyt ki adott?
Mely törvénykönyvben áll ez benne?
És a derék lovász egy karót ragadott,
Csakhogy az összes ló már felkelt.

És, mint az őrültek, együtt rárontanak,
Nagyon is tudják, mit csinálnak,

Zokogott a lovász kemény paták alatt,
Félholtan fekve a földön maradt.

Fogait szorítja gyolcsfehér arcában
A sodronyrúd rozsdás vasára.
S az ablak mögött a felhőkön ott van a
Krisztusnak fényességes arca.

Galambos Csaba fordítása

Viktar Sved

* * *

A nyarat vágyja a sok csónak.
Sír a füzes, ezer levéllel.
Ugyan kivel keljek most útra,
Mikor csaknem elfelednélek?

Te elhajóztál. Nekem – álmok,
S Robinson sorsa egy szigeten.
Őszi tűzvészek közt bolyongok,
Magam is az ősztől deresen.

Aszalt körte

Emlékszem a szeptemberekre,
Körteillatuk ma is érzem,
S a kenyérsütő kemencére,
Körtével borítva egészen.

És házikónk mézillatára,
S hogy mily szép volt az aszalt körte,
Mit anyám a kályhából pakolt,
Egy kosarat színültig töltve.

Karácsonyig kamránkban telelt.
S mikor Szenteste zengtük a dalt,
A mama minden vendégünknek
Egy egész marék körtét adott.

S ha a mama kompótot főzött,
Behabzsoltuk, mint a bolondok...
Jó anyám aszalt körtéjére
Ma már csak álmomban gondolok.

Zsille Gábor fordítása

Irina Bahdanovics

KULCSOK

Elkobozva már minden kincseink,
Most ne kérdezz már semmit, honfitárs, csend!
Szürke létünk baktat rendje szerint.
Örökségünk kulcsa, mondd csak, hová lett?

A krivicsek ős könyve hova lett?
A pergamen, a nemes palimpszesztek?
Hol egykoron templomok zengtenek,
Részegesek sörrel birokra mennek.

Szentelt kövű székesegyház alól
Ásít reánk metró sötét pofája,
És mint a vér, kémcsőben alvadó,
A Nyamiha lanyhul betonba zárva.

Elcsendesül az utca, kőkanyon,
S hallom, amit a ködben erre tévedt
Utódunk majd megkérdez egykoron:
Örökségünk kulcsa, mondd csak, hová lett?

Becsülettel ugyan mit is feleljek?

Az örökség kulcsa, mondd, hova lett?
Ködös utcán széthullt emlékezetnek
Láncát miért tépi holló-sereg?

Becsülettel ugyan mit is feleljek?
Milyen lantnak pengessem húrjait?
Idegenek jósolták meg vesztünket,
Bölcsőnktől az út a sírunkba vitt.

Virágfüzér futja be a bilincset.
Hadd higgye azt a nép, hogy még szabad,
Higgyen csak a boldogító meséknek,
Ne lássa a sivár köznapokat.

Azt hitték tán, hogy a lapályra érve
Elenyészünk, mint keskeny patakok!
A levegő, mit beszívunk tüdőnkbe
Másé talán? S a miénk sose volt?

A dicsőség s hála mikor tér vissza?
Mikor csendül szájunkon szózene?
Kezünkben, mint páfrány ezüst virága,
Nyamiha partján a kulcs megcsillan-e?

Lackfi János fordítása

З ІСПАНСКАЙ ПАЭЗІІ

Мігэль Эрнандэс
(1910-1942)

ЧОРНЫЯ-ЧОРНЫЯ ВОЧЫ

Чорных памераў сусьвет
ты падымаеш на веях,
полымя чорных планет

позірк-завея.

Паціху зьнікае сусьвет
з чорных апушчаных веяў,
і зыркага полымя сьлед
гасьне ў завеі.

ВАЙНА

Твары вёсак састарэлі.
Глуха, нібы ўначы.
Каханьне сьцвіло, адгарэла.
Пустазельле, крумкачы.
А маладая сіла?

Вайна загубіла.

Пошум дрэў сухі, самотны.
Бляклыя здані ўдавіц
Лёс праклінаюць гаротны.
Ды нянавісьць без граніц.

А маладая сіла?

Вайна загубіла.

Рафаэль Альберці
(1902-1999)

ЗЬНЯВОЛЕНАЯ

I

Бацька
цябе пад замком трымае.
Маці
ключ ад замка хавае.
Пільнуюць удвох,
каб я не змог
слова табе сказаць.
А на тое зусім не зважаюць,
што я безь цябе паміраю.

II

У цябе пасаг нядрэнны,
дужыя быкі і сад.
Усе балбочуць,
што патрэбны мне не ты,
а твой пасаг.

III

Усе каменьні нашай вёскі
пералічыў я нагамі босымі.
Цікаваў за тваёю хатаю,
вуліцы ўсе абыйшоў.
Дзе і як схавацца магла ты,
што ніяк я цябе не знайшоў?
Нідзе нікога
і нічога!

IV

Кожны ведае пра гэта.
І нясе яе па сьвеце,
прыпяваючы

сталяр.
Тайну рымару
цясьляр
у шынку паведамляе,
а цырульнік падхапляе,
пастуху каб перадаць
дый магільшчыку сказаць.
Тут бы ськеміў і мярцьвяк.
Ты ж не ўцяміш аніяк!

V

Мне сьнілася, што ўначы прыйшоў я
Ў твой сад. Нідзе – нікога.
Лімонны месяц над лімонамі
ў садзе. І ты адна.
– Адна ты?
– Так.
– Ты аб чым летуценіш?
– Прымяраю строі
вясельныя.
– На вясельле са мной?
– Не.

***

Калі б я меў карабель,
ветразі шыць узяў бы цябе.

– А чым жа я палатняны
ветразь пашыю твой?
Дзе ніткі ўзяць , мой каханы?
– Наробім з касы залатой!

ПАРАНЕНЫ

Дай мне хусьцінку, сястра,
рана мая крываточыць!
Якую? Зялёную даць?
А можа ружовую хочаш?

Хачу прыкласьці да раны я
такую, каб там палала
сэрца тваё вышыванае.

МАРАК НА СУШЫ
(ФРАГМЭНТ)

Народжаны быць селянінам,
народжаны быць мараком
я тут нібыта ў цясьніне,
нялюбы мне гэты дом!

Як таюць ад сонца зоры,
так і ў лепшыя дні
злавесным прывідам горад
зьнікне ў цішыні.

МЕТАМАРФОЗЫ ГВАЗЬДЗІКА
(ФРАГМЭНТ)

Закружылася галубка,
заляталася,
не на поўнач, а на поўдзень
кіравалася,
думала: вада – палетак.
Памылялася.
Не ўзьлятала, а на мора
апускалася,
думала: не вечар – ранак.
Памылялася.
Ёй расой сьвітальнай зоры

падаваліся,
завірухаю – сьпякота.
Памылялася.
У цябе знайсьці прытулак
спадзявалася
ды цяпло ў тваім сэрцы.
Памылялася.

(Яна заснула ў даліне.
Ты палаеш на галіне)

Пераклаў з іспанскай мовы
Якуб Лапатка

З ІРЛЯНДЗКАЙ ПАЭЗІІ

Томас Мур
(1779-1852)

Я зь берага бачыў палаючым раньнем
Як сьмела па хвалях ляцеў карабель.
Калі я вярнуўся ўжо на зьмярканьні,
Судна спыніла падступная мель.

Такі ж лёс і ў нашых юнацкіх зарокаў,
Шчасьлівых імгненьняў гарэзнай вясны,
Нас хвалі, што ўдзень уздымаюць высока,
У цемры на бераг шпурнуць ледзяны.

Не ўсхваляйце мядовую славу,
Што ціха аздобіць сівыя гады.
Навошта мне вечар, хай цёплы, ласкавы,
Вярніце сьвітальныя мне халады!

Джозэф Планкет
(1887 – 1916)

На ружах кроў яго барвела,
Гарэлі зоры славаю вачэй,
Бялела вечнымі сьнягамі цела,
Яго сьлязамі дождж цурчэў.

На кветках твар яго сьвяціўся,
Нібыта гром і сьпевы салаўёў
Ягоны голас у гарах адбіўся,
Скалы – пісьмёны яго слоў.

Палеглі сьцежкі за нагамі,
Прыбоем сэрца білася ў цішы.
Карону цёрн яму зьвіваў шыпамі,
Усе дрэвы – для яго крыжы.

Я НЕ ПАМРУ

Ананімнае

Не, з-за цябе я не памру,
О лебядзінай грацыі жанчына!
Ты шмат дурных згубіла не ў пару,
Я ж не зусім дурны мужчына.
Навошта пакідаць мне белы сьвет?
За рукі пухкія, задумлівыя вочы?
За грудзі твае белыя, як сьнег?
З-за іх ты маёй згубы хочаш?
Навошта мне зважаць на твой капрыз,
Гарэзны выгляд твой, ці вочы долу,
На профіль тонкі, чысты, як нарцыс?
Я не памру з-за іх ніколі!
Да д'ябла точанасьць нагі!
Мяне ў палон ёй не ўзяла ты!
Ні ёй, ні позіркам, ні чым другім,
Хай гінуць з-за цябе вар'яты!
О лебядзінай грацыі жанчына!
Даўно, яшчэ у юначую пару,
Я зьведаў шчасьце стаць мужчынам,
І з-за цябе я не памру!

Пераклаў з англійскай мовы Якуб Лапатка

З ЦЫГАНСКАЙ ПАЭЗІІ

Вальдко Калініно

***

Гудзе, мяцеліць завіруха,
Рыпяць расчыненыя дзьверы,
А ў душы старога скруха
Параненым лютуе зьверам.

Вясельныя рванулі сані,
Нявесьце – дальняя дарога,
Падпітым весела цыганам,
Ды рвецца сэрца ў старога.

Імчацца сані па дарозе,
Радня яму гукае з хаты:
"Не плач, дзядуля, вытры сьлёзы!
Табе дастаўся зяць багаты!"

Стары цыган нібы й не чуе,
Глядзіць, глядзіць саням усьлед,
А завіруха ўсё лютуе
І замятае нітку-сьлед.

***

Жыцьцё маё – нібыта кніга,
Гартай старонкі год за годам,
Зіма, вясна, мароз, адліга
Лятуць шалёным карагодам.

Як цыганам жывецца ўвесну
На гэтай сказана старонцы,
Як у душы ад песень цесна,
Бо цыганы – ёсць дзеці сонца.

Другую адгарнем старонку,
А там пануе спрэс цямрэча,
Бяда за шчасьцем наўздагонку
Імчыць па долі чалавечай.

Лятуць, лятуць гады-старонкі,
Лісткі жыцьця ў нябыт спадаюць
І холад ад мароза звонкі
Сьпякота летняя зьмяняе.

***

Нясіце мяне, крыланогія коні,
Ад злосьці вар'яцкай, ад чорнай начы,
Ратуйце, ратуйце мяне ад пагоні!
Ад помсты цаганскай як мне уцячы?

Ратуйце мяне ад цыганскага шалу!
Дзяўчыну з сабою забраць я не змог,
Скрывавіла сэрца, душа ў запале—
Вяртаюся я на бацькоўскі парог.

Спагадліва дзед мой стары ўсьміхнуўся,
Ён ведае звычкі старых цыганоў.
Ад гэтай усьмешкі мой дух зноў прачнуўся:
За шчасьцем вярнуся я ўвечары зноў!

З цыганскай мовы па падрадкоўніках аўтара пераклаў Якуб Лапатка

Калі іспанцы Рафаэль Альберці ды Мігэль Эрнандэс, гэтак жа як і ірляндцы Томас Мур і Джозэф Планкет – паэты добра вядомыя, і адмысловыя рэкамендацыі тут не патрэбныя, дык Вальдко Калініно (Вальдэмар Калінін) – зьява ўнікальная. Гэта адзін з тых нешматлікіх цыганоў, што змаглі на Беларусі павесьці аседлае жыцьцё, атрымаць вышэйшую адукацыю і сталую працу, але не страціць сувязі са сваім народам і не забыць родную мову. Вальдко закончыў Інстытут замежных моваў, працаваў загадчыкам кафедры замежных моваў у Віцебскім інстытуце ўдасканаленьня настаўнікаў. Валодае англійскай ды яшчэ некалькімі мовамі, у тым ліку іўрытам, пераклаў на цыганскую мову Новы запавет, псальмы ды яшчэ некалькі рэлігійных кніг. Вершы піша на цыганскай мове, хаця валодае беларускай на ўзроўні роднай мовы. Зараз жыве ў Лёндане. Ляўрэат Прэміі Хірасімы па культуры і разьвіцьці малых народаў і прэміі Інстытута адкрытага грамадзтва ў Будапешце за пераклад псальмоў на цыганскую мову.

КАРЛІС СКАЛБЭ
KARLIS SKALBE

ЦУДОЎНАЯ СКРЫНКА

У садзе старога караля было шмат кветак, але ён без радасці глядзеў на іх. Іхнія колеры былі вогненна-чырвоныя, стракатыя і яскравыя. Калі ён ішоў па садзе, то засцінаў вочы сваёй бледнай, дрыготкай рукой. Гэтае стракаценне стамляла яго, як і палацавыя нарады. Яму хацелася бачыць маленькія палявыя кветкі, што раслі ў яго на радзіме, у гарах, дзе Бог пасеяў іх так, як хацеў.

Кароль меў яшчэ адно жаданне, заўсёды думаў пра гэта, калі слуга клаў шоўкавую падушку на крэсла, на якое ён збіраўся сесці: яму хацелася прылегчы на зямлі, пакласці галаву на траўнік. Усё абрыдла яму, толькі зямля прыцягвала яго да сабе.

Ён хацеў паехаць на сваю радзіму яшчэ ўвесну, калі ў садах распускаецца лісце, але яго зноў нешта затрымала.

І вось, калі ён вырушыў у дарогу, бярозавыя гаі на пагорках ужо палалі восеньскім агнём лісця. Ён ехаў у залатой карэце, якая адлюстроўвалася ў блакітных азёрах і ціхіх рэках, дзе на лукавінах сярод змарнелай травы яшчэ пасві-

ліся каровы, – ён быў пышны і багаты, як сама восень. Кароль ўзяў з сабой тры куфры з залатымі і ўсю дарогу рассыпаў талеры сваім верным падданым сабе на радасць. Але ў сваёй душы ён хаваў пяшчотныя думкі пра сяброўку свайго маленства Маю, якую ён жадаў наведаць у родным мястэчку.

А вось ужо і рака, лес, прадгор'е – сагрэтая ўспамінамі зямля, што прыцягвала яго да сябе ў абдымкі, як рукі маці.

Ён адхінуў на пагорку змарнелы быльнёг, і бледныя, пашкуматаныя ветрам, паўзавялыя краскі баязліва і прыніжана глядзелі на залатыя кветкі, вышытыя на каралеўскіх шатах.

Так, яму здавалася, што ён прыехаў надта позна.

Ён ужо не знайшоў таго сонца, што свяціла яму ў маладосці. Сарамліва, нібыта ўцякаючы, яно слізгацела па ўскрайку нябёсаў, а апошнія кветкі, што яшчэ нясмела трымаліся на сваіх сцяблах, здавалася, не ведалі, ці заставацца, ці адысці. Жоўтае, сумнае святло разлівалася над скошанымі палеткамі. Сэрца караля сціснула туга.

Яму захацелася пастаяць пад старой бярозай, як ён рабіў гэта ў маленстве, калі здаралася нейкая бяда. Але бярозы ўжо не было. Ён знайшоў толькі парэпаны пень, на якім выраслі маладыя парасткі. Ён прысеў на яго, абхапіў галаву рукамі і задумаўся. Зялёнае жабянё прыскакала бліжэй і глядзела на яго вылупленымі вачыма, нібыта хочучы ўбачыць, як выглядае кароль. Нейкі слімак, зашыўшыся ў траве, поўз каля яго са сваей хаткай на плячах. Стары кароль вярнуўся ў карэту, якая стала для яго цяпер такой жа роднай, як ракавіна для слімака.

Ён паехаў у старую сялібу, дзе жыла Мая, і ва ўсёй сваёй раскошы выйшаў на двары, дзе, як вялікія залатыя птушкі з апушчанымі крыламі, стаялі пажаўцелыя дрэвы, там і сям губляючы пёркі – восеньскае лісце.

Кароль спытаўся, дзе Мая, і яму паказалі на шэры свіран.

Ён падняўся па дзвух-трох рыплівых драўляных прыступках і ў святле, што разам з ім увайшло праз расчыненыя дзверы, убачыў ложак, на якім, захінуўшыся ў кажушок, адпачывала пасля абеду старая.

Ці ж гэта была Мая? Ён прысеў на акрайчык ложка і пачаў углядацца ў яе. Ейны твар быў зморшчаны, як старая кара дрэва, а раззяўлены рот выглядаў, як пустая, брыдкая нара. Але, пакуль ён так глядзеў, з яе рота выскачыла маленькая, жоўтая птушачка. Яна тройчы абляцела вакол галавы старой і, як сонечны прамень, пачала лётаць па паўцёмным свіране. Стары кароль выцягнуў рукі і, прыўзняўшыся на дыбачках, паспрабаваў схапіць яе, але яна зноў тройчы абляцела вакол галавы ляжачай старой і знікла ў яе роце, пакінуўшы на яе твары слабое ззянне. Тут кароль убачыў, што гэта была ягоная Мая, якая сваімі ўсмешкамі

асвятляла дні ягонага юнацтва. Не хочучы абуджаць яе, ён ціха выйшаў прэч.

Ён увайшоў у пакой, дзе печка, стол і крэслы стаялі на старых месцах, толькі людзі былі іншыя.

Тым часам абудзілася і Мая. Яна ўвайшла і стала каля дзвярэй, нібыта напалохалася бляску, што кароль і ягоныя прыдворныя ўнеслі з сабой у нізкую хатку.

„Гэта ты, Мая? Ці ты пазнаеш мяне?"

Кароль падышоў да яе і ўзяў яе грубыя, навярэджаныя рукі.

„Так, я пазнаю",. – сказала Мая, ейны голас ішоў нібыта з глыбіні далёкай памяці.

Кароль размаўляў з ею і, схіліўшы галаву, прыслухоўваўся, ці не пачуецца ў ейным голасе спеў залатой птушачкі. Але гэтак яму здавалася толькі кароткае імгненне. Перад ім стаяла занядбаная старая, якая схапіла яго за крысо сурдута, калі ён сыпануў ёй у фартух жменю залатых.

Ён абдарыў усіх, падняў з зямлі апалы лісток і ад'ехаў. Не было нічога, што ён мог бы ўзяць з сабой.

На ростанях, дзе гасцінец ужо паварочваў ў бок гораду, ён убачыў нейкага чалавека з усмешлівым тварам, які з усімі зморшчынамі ўсё роўна падаўся каралю знаёмым. Той ішоў – шапка набакір, за плячыма скрыня з шклом – і спяваў.

Кароль пазнаў яго. То быў сябра ягонай маладосці Аўгуст, ахвочы да спеву і жарту.

Здарылася гэта ў старыя часы, калі пастухоў ўзводзілі на царства, а іхнія браты ў гарах захоўвалі ўспаміны сумеснай маладосці.

„Скажы, што ты робіш і як маешся?" – спытаў кароль Аўгуста, затрымаўшы карэту.

„Іду з дому ў дом і ўстаўляю ў старыя вокны новыя шыбы, каб людзям было весялей глядзець на свет. Сам я задаволены кожным днём, яны прыносяць толькі дабро. Кожны пражыты дзень – добры. А як твая, кароль, жытка? Бачу, ты нешта сумны".

„Бачыш, я ад'язджаю, а няма нічога, каб узяць з сабой". – сказаў кароль.

„Ну, тады вазьмі гэтую пасудзінку". – сказаў Аўгуст і выняў з кішэні малюпасенькую скрынку з простага зялёнага шкла. – „Я сам зрабіў яе. Будзе чым забаўляцца".

Кароль радасна падзякаваў за падарунак.

„Скажы, што ты жадаеш, каб я даў табе!"

Аўгуст апусціў вочы і пачухаў за вухам.

„Ну, калі ты такі добры, то падаруй мне новы разак для шкла", – сказаў ён. – „Мой дыямэнт зусім стачыўся".

„Тады бяры гэта”, – сказаў кароль і зняў з пальца вялікае кальцо з дыямэнтам. – „Няхай яно ззяе табе, як святло нашай маладосці”. Ён абняў Аўгуста і паехаў далей.

А засаромлены шкляр круціў у руках падарунак караля. Цяпер ён меў кальцо, але дзе ж узяць разак для шкла?

Аднак кароль не ўмеў дарыць малыя падарункі.

*

Надыйшлі белыя зімовыя дні. Закрасавалі лядовыя кветкі. У высокіх вокнах каралеўскага палаца расквітнелі дыямэнтавыя бярозы і засцілі яму свет.

Кароль сядзеў увечары каля каміна і, нібыта забаўляючыся, узяў шкляную пасудзінку, якую прывёз з родных мясцінаў. Ён адчыніў яе – скрынка была пустая! Ён ужо хацеў быў адкласці яе ўбок, але заўважыў, як ад шкляной вечкі да яго льецца нейкае ззянне.

Ён пачаў ўзірацца ўглыб шкляной пасудзіны і ўбачыў там дні сваёй маладосці, якія дарэмна шукаў у старых мясцінах радзімы. Усмешлівая і юная ішла яму насустрач Мая, палявыя кветкі ззялі веснавым бляскам, а чырвонае сонца ўзыходзіла і заходзіла над бярозамі і пагоркамі.

1928

ПЕСНЯ ГАРЫ

Падарожнік абышоў шмат краінаў, пабачыў вёскі і гарады. На ягоным адзенні і на чаравіках назбіралася пылу, але ён гэтым не праймаваўся, усяго ўжо пабачыў, усё адно – пячэ альбо лье. Так вось, увесь запылены ён бадзяўся па свеце, аж покуль не зайшоў у такія мясціны, дзе ўсё цудоўным чынам змянілася. Усе рэчы вакол, здавалася, ён бачыў упершыню. Зноўку ўсё падавалася яму і было ў навіну, як тады, калі ён ўпершыню расплюшчыў вочы на свет. Можа ён вярнуўся ў маленства або наблізіўся да нечага небачанага, але такога прыўкраснага, пра што казала яму нейкае шчаслівае прадчуванне? Усё было такім родным, некалі страчаным назаўжды; ён запаволіў крок, яму хацелася пагладзіць кожную травінку на ўзбочыне гасцінца. Часам такое здаралася з усімі, хто ішоў гэтым гасцінцам. Пара нейкіх старых – дзве сівыя галавы, што прыціснуліся адна да адной, – спынілася каля бярозы, на якой раптам распусцілася лісце. Яна дакраналася да іх сваімі доўгімі, зялёнымі валасамі – галінамі, а яны паказвалі адзін адному белае воблачка ўдалечыні. Яны то ішлі, то сядалі на ўзбочыне гасцінца. Іхнія твары былі звернуты ў вышыню, яны яшчэ да чагосці рыхтаваліся і чагосьці чакалі.

Гасцінец лёгка пайшоў угару і скончыўся. Далей была бездань, над якой клу-

білася туманам і слізгацела маленькая хмарка.

Хто прыходзіў туды, пляскаў рукамі, гукаў: „Ах, як цудоўна!" – і кідаўся ўніз. Магчыма разам з хмаркай праз цёмную бездань прывабна плыў цудоўны цень шчасця, следам за якім усе кідаліся не раздумваючы, магчыма яны нешта бачылі там – ніхто гэтага не ведаў, бо ніхто адтуль не вярнуўся.

Ідучы за кветкамі, што рассыпаліся пад гарой, падарожнік спусціўся па вузкай пясчанай сцежцы да ракі, карычнявыя хвалі якой гуляліся з залатымі сонечнымі кольцамі.

Падарожнік прысеў на камень і пачаў глядзець на горную дарогу.

Нейкі коннік наўскач вылецеў на гару і знік, нібыта растварыўшыся ў паветры: ягоны конь не ўбачыў бездань пад нагамі.

Потым туды ўзышла нявеста ў вянку і, нібыта кідаючыся свайму каханаму ў абдымкі, раскінула рукі і знікла.

Гэта было проста неверагодна і ўсё ж адбывалася ў яго на вачах. Гара валодала нейкімі чарамі. Яна вабіла падарожнікаў.

Ён устаў з каменя, прытуліўся плячыма да сагрэтай сонцам гары, што была ахутана, нібы туманам, маладой, тонкай веснавой травой.

Падарожнік схіліўся да зямлі, якая дыхнула на яго спакоем, дабрынёй і водарам свежай травы.

Над безданню ўсе рэчы ажывалі і набывалі новы водар.

Нібыта новымі вачыма ён глядзеў на божую кароўку, што прысела яму на руку і ўзняла карычнявыя крылцы, каб узляцець ізноў. Гэтая малеча размаўляла з ім. Ён глядзеў на матылькоў, што, як стужкі жоўтага шоўку, раіліся на тле цёмных соснаў узлеску – якім імклівым і шчаслівым быў іхні палёт.

Ад шчасця ён прыціснуўся шчакой да зямлі і яму падалося, што гара спявае. Не, гэта спявала яго сэрца! З глыбіняў гары ўздымаліся нібыта радасць і стогны, гукі прасочваліся скрозь зямлю, як мёд скрозь соты. Гэта вабіла і палохала, падарожнік устрывожана азірнуўся вакол.

Да яго набліжаўся стары пастух з сваімі авечкамі, якія, нетаропка крочачы па беразе ракі, скублі маладую траву.

„Скажы, дружа, – адкуль лятуць гэтыя гукі? Яны поўняцца то плачам, то святочнай радасцю. Ты іх чуеш таксама?"

„Так, я чую іх штодня, а здарылася гэта вельмі даўно".—адказаў пастух, кіўнуўшы галавой у бок гары. „Шмат гадоў таму – тады я быў яшчэ падлеткам – я пасвіў авечак, як і сёння, пад гарой. Раптам я ўбачыў, як па дарозе ідзе ўгару гусляр. У яго ў руках залатыя гуслі, валасы кудлаціць вецер. Ён дайшоў да ўскрайку бездані і раскінуў рукі, як плавец, гуслі выпалі яму з рук. Я пачуў, як яны

са звонам пакаціліся ўглыб зямлі, гукі жаласна прабіваліся скрозь гару, як боль, што часам адгукаецца ў маім старым целе. Гусляр знік, але – калі ўвесну я ганю пасвіць сюды свой статак – голас гусляў не змаўкае. Я маю дастаткова часу, каб услухацца ў яго. Часам голас гучыць урачыста і радасна, як у бязмежным шчасці, часам просіць выпусціць яго на сонечнае святло. І гара тады – нібы грудзі, што гатовыя разарвацца ад болю. Увесну гуслі гучаць яшчэ больш балюча і салодка, бо ўсё абуджаецца і імкнецца да жыцця. Тады я ганю сюды маіх авечак. Мабыць, гуслі таксама ня хочуць заставацца ў самоце і жадаюць, каб нехта іх слухаў...”

Пастух схіліў голаў і змоўк.

Гара спявала. *1937*

ВОСТРАЎ ШЧАСЦЯ

З мора вялікімі, мокрымі камякамі ляцеў снег, нібыта яго нёс таямнічы подых. З падветранага боку на даху хаткі рыбака Мазпэтэрса напярэдадні свята грэліся ў дыме дзве вароны. „Варона, гэй, варанё, – спытала адна ў адной, – ці ты не змерзла?”

„Калі я так прыціснуся да цёпленькага коміна і засуну галаву пад крыло, дык не адчуваю ні снегу, ні ветру”.

„Да чаго ж смачна гэтым вечарам пахне дым! Там унізе, мабыць, нешта добрае смажаць ды вараць...”

„Смачна, смачна...” – сказала санліва другая варона і схавала галаву пад крыло.

Снежнае покрыва, што ў прыцемках ахутала маленькую хату, заглушала ўсе гукі. Нават шум мора было чуваць слаба.

А ўнутры гаспадыня з разрумяненымі шчокамі адыйшла ад печы і ўвіхалася ў пакоі, разносячы ва ўсе закуткі цудоўную цяплыню.

Каля печы віселі мокрыя рыбацкія боты.

Рыбак Мазпэтэрс, распусціўшы пас, сядзеў за сталом з сваім сынам Анцытам, які гойдаўся ў яго на каленях, і распавядаў яму казку пра востраў шчасця.

„Там ніхто не працуе цяжка. Хлеб расце на ўсіх дрэвах. Там такія вялікія булкі, белыя булкі... трэба толькі працягнуць руку! А на галінках вісяць цукровыя фрэндзелі, нібыта намаразь узімку. Калі пачынае дзьмуць вецер, толькі шапку падстаўляй... Аднойчы бедны рыбак з нашай вёскі выйшаў у мора і знік. Усе думалі, што ён патануў. Прамінулі тры гады, ніхто ўжо яго не чакаў. І раптам ён прыплыў дадому з чаўном, поўным хлеба – вялікіх булак, белых булак. Рукі у яго былі белыя, як у настаўніка. Усе зразумелі, што ён быў на востраве шчасця. Толькі распавесці ён нічога не мог. Ад вялікага шчасця дзядзька знямеў. Калі

рыбакі нешта пыталіся, ён толькі ўсміхаўся...”

А пакуль бацька распавядаў, кот Міка пад сталом казытаў Анцыта па голых нагах хвастом, як пяром, нібыта запрашаў кудысьці.

„А як жа туды патрапіць?” – спытаў малы.

„Вось, ты ўжо павячэраў. Хадзі ў ложак і кладзіся на бачок. Магчыма, што сон завязе цябе туды”, – сказаў з усмешкай бацька.

І як толькі хлапчук лёг і заплюшчыў вочы, перад ім ўстаў нейкі чалавек і ўзяў яго за руку. Сціснуў яе так, што адразу замерла сэрца. Ягоны твар быў падобны на месяц. Цераз паўзаплюшчаныя павекі з доўгімі, цёмнымі вейкамі ззяла цёплае, зіхатлівае святло. А там, куды яны ішлі, зелянелі травы і мякка пахлі рамонкі.

Вочы добрага чалавека часам заплюшчваліся, і святло за доўгімі павейкамі адразу згасала. Хлопчык ачуняў у чаўне пасярод мора. Вакол плёскаліся хвалі, толькі кот Міка з краю чаўна прыязна цягнуўся да яго сваёй пыскай.

Хлопчыку ўжо не было страшна.

Кот дзейнічаў, як цудоўны штурман. Калі надыходзіла вялікая хваля, гатовая ўжо перакуліць човен, Міка лёгка махаў хвастом, нібыта намазваў хвалю маслам – хваля адкочвалася, паверхня мора станавілася роўнай і бліскучай. Падарожнікі набліжаліся да вострава шчасця.

Яны прышвартавалі човен і выйшлі на бераг. Сапраўды, там расло нейкае нябачанае дрэва з галінамі, што апусціліся да зямлі, поўныя пунсовых, сакавітых пладоў, якія самі прасіліся ў рот. Як толькі Анцыт хацеў сарваць адзін яблык, то адчуў, як кот стукае яго хвастом па лытках.

„Лезь вышэй, вышэй!” – муркатаў Міка. – „Не зрывай яблыкаў на ніжніх галінках! Вырасцеш вялікі і моцны, табе будзе належыць увесь свет”.

Каток падсадзіў хлопчыка вышэй і той залез па галінах на самую вяршыню дрэва.

Сарваўшы яблык, што глядзеў у самыя нябёсы, хлопчык па галінах спусціўся ўніз і хацеў ужо зьесці яго ў засені дрэва.

„Пад сонца! Хадзі пад сонца!” – гукнуў Міка. – „Пад сонцам ты будзеш заўсёды здаровым і нішто ў табе не забаліць”.

Ідучы далей, яны завіталі ў хатку, дзе прыязная, сівая бабулька частавала іх рознымі прысмакамі. Але як толькі яна некуды адвярнулася, кот ускочыў на стол, схапіў кавалак з талеркі і зашыўся за печ.

За такое нахабства добрая гаспадыня хаткі вытурыла Міку прэч.

Анцыт пайшоў за ім, надзьмуўшы губы.

„Скажы, каток, – няўжо кавалак, які ты скраў, быў лепшы за тыя, што дасталіся табе спярша?” – спытаўся Анцыт.

„Зусім не," – адказаў Міка. – „Але я люблю сам сябе забяспечваць ежай. Бачыш, Анцыт, я ж паляўнічы і рыбак. А калі б я забыўся сваё рамяство, то ўрэшце-рэшт не здолеў бы і сляпую мышку злавіць".

„Дык навошта тады мы імкнемся на востраў шчасця?"

„Мабыць таму, каб убачыць, што найлепшым ёсць той свет, у якім мы жывем". Міка задуменна замуркатаў...

Раніцай падарожнікі абудзіліся ў запеччы на вузенькім ложку, збітым з кавалкаў старога чаўна, якія яшчэ слаба пахлі смалой. Кот ляжаў у нагах хлопчыка, скруціўшыся абаранкам.

1938

Пераклаў з латышскай – Валеры Буйвал

Karlis Skalbe. Pasakas. Riga 1979

***Карліс Скалбэ** (1879-1945) – класік латышскай літаратуры, творчасць якога жывілася народнай традыцыяй. Аўтар навел і казак, якія вылучаюцца яскравай вобразнасцю, фантазіяй і экспрэсіяй фарбаў.*

АЛЕХА КАРПЭНЦЕР
ALEJO CARPENTIER

ВЫБРАНЫЯ

...et facta est pluvia super terram…[1]

I

На досвітку ўсё запоўнілі каноэ. У неабсяжную затоку, возера, унутранае мора, народжанае з нябачнай сутокі Ракі, што цячэ здалёк – яе крыніцы нікому невядомы – і Ракі Правай Рукі, прыбывалі караблі. Імклівыя, яны жадалі хутчэй прайсці з усёй урачыстасцю праз вузкую пратоку, каб ударыць вёсламі і стаць побач з іншымі чаўнамі, якія ўжо прышвартаваліся, прытуліліся борт да борта, на якіх віравалі людзі, што скакалі з носа на карму, выдурваліся, як блазны, кідалі жарцікі, корчылі грымасы ў бок, дзе іх нібыта ніхто не заўважаў. Тамака былі людзі з варожых плямёнаў – спрадвечныя ворагі, што зводзілі іхніх жанчын і кралі харчовыя запасы, – ім ужо не ставала ваяўнічага духу, яны забыліся пра бойкі,

[1]...і ліў на зямлю дождж... (лацінск.)

глядзелі з дурнымі ўсмешкамі, нават не наважваліся ўступіць у размову. Тамака былі людзі з плямёнаў вапішанаў і шырышанаў, што некалі – можа два, тры, чатыры стагоддзі таму – білі нажамі людзей племені хаўрыясаў у бойках на смерць, настолькі жорсткіх, што часам не заставалася нікога, хто мог бы расказаць пра іх. Але блазны з тварамі, размаляванымі сокам дрэваў, усё скакалі і скакалі з каноэ на каноэ, выстаўляючы з-пад аленіх скур палавыя органы, калацілі ў бубны і бразгалі кастаньетамі з ракушак, што віселі ў іх на геніталіях. Гэтая згода, гэты ўсеагульны мір ўражваў тых, якія толькі што прыплылі. Іхняя зброя была схавана, прывязана вяроўкамі, якія можна было імгненна парваць. Зброя была пад рукой на дне каноэ. І ўсё гэта – зграмаджэнне караблёў, гармонія, што панавала паміж братамі-ворагамі, распярэзанасць блазнаў – адбывалася таму, што звестка дайшла да народаў, да народаў, якія жылі далёка за бурнымі плынямі, да народаў, што не мелі сваёй дзяржавы, да народаў, што не ведалі агню, да народаў-бадзягаў, да народаў каляровых гор, да народаў Далёкіх Сутокаў – звестка, што Стары мае патрэбу ў дапамозе ў адной вялікай справе. Ворагі або не, народы шанавалі старога Амалівака за ягоную мудрасць, ягонае разуменне ўсяго, ягоную добрую параду, ягоныя гады, пражытыя на гэтым свеце, ягоную сілу, што дазволіла яму яшчэ даўно занесці на вяршыню гары тры маналіты, якія людзі, калі грымаў гром, называлі Барабанамі Амалівака. Амалівак не быў богам; ён быў чалавекам *веды*; ён ведаў многія рэчы, што былі недаступныя звычайным смяротным; ён часам размаўляў з Вялікай-Змяёй-Прамаці, якая ляжала на гарах, паўтараючы іх контуры так, як адна рука можа паўтараць контуры другой, якая стварыла жудасных багоў, што кіруюць чалавечым лёсам, даючы Дабро прыгожай дзюбай тукана, падобнага на Вясёлку, і даючы Зло ядавітай змяёй, у малюпасенькай і тонкай галаве якой схаваны найстрашнейшы з ядаў. Хадзіў жарт, што Амалівак зрабіўся зусім стары, размаўляў сам з сабой і адказваў рознымі глупствамі на свае ж пытанні, а да таго ж звяртаўся да глекаў, кошаў, драўляных абручоў, як да людзей. Але калі Стары Трох Барабанаў склікаў грамаду, то значыць, нешта мела адбыцца. Тады ад самага ранку ціхамірна-рахманы суток Ракі, што цячэ здалёк, і Ракі Правай Рукі запаўняўся да краёў, у яго водах віравалі каноэ.

Калі стары Амалівак з'явіўся на камені, што нібыта гіганцкая трыбуна ўздымаўся над водамі, запанавала ціша. Блазны вярнуліся ў свае каноэ, чарадзеі навастрылі вушы, а жанчыны перасталі круціць круглыя камяні жорнаў. Здалёк, ад самых апошніх шэрагаў караблёў можна было разглядзець, ці ўзялі гады ўладу над Старым. Ён глядзеўся на вяршыні каменя, як казурка, што жэстыкуліравала, як нешта малюпасенькае і актыўнае. Узняў руку і пачаў гаварыць. Казаў, што ў жыцці людзей набліжаюцца Вялікія Пераўтварэнні. Казаў, што сёлета змеі

паклалі яйкі на вяршынях дрэваў. Казаў, што неварта разважаць пра прычыны, а лепш, каб запабегчы вялікім няшчасцям, трэба падняцца на пагоркі, горы, сысці ў Кардыльеры. „Але там жа нішто не расце".—сказаў адзін вапішан шырышану, які слухаў старога з хітранькай усмешкай. Раптам на правым фланзе, дзе сабраліся каноэ, што прыплылі здалёк, ўзняўся вэрхал. Нехта крычаў: „Дык мы граблі два дні і дзве ночы, каб паслухаць гэта?" „Што ж гэта робіцца?" – крычалі справа. „Заўсёды мы працуем, гаруем і нічога не маем!" – крычалі злева. „Гавары па справе! Па справе!" – крычалі справа. Стары ўзняў руку другі раз. Блазны змоўклі. Стары паўтарыў, што не мае права здрадзіць тое, што ведаў праз таемнае адкрыццё. Што патрабуе як мага хутчэй рук, людзей, каб паваліць незлічоныя дрэвы і як мага хутчэй. Ён заплоціць маісам – ягоныя свіраны поўныя – і мукой юкі, якой запоўнены ягоныя клеці. Усе, хто сабраўся тут, хто прыплыў разам з дзецьмі, чараўнікамі і блазнамі, будуць мець усё неабходнае і яшчэ больш, калі настане час вяртацца. Сёлета – і гэта ён сказаў дзіўным тонам, хрыпатым голасам, які вельмі збянтэжыў тых, хто ведаў яго – голаду не будзе, ім не прыйдзецца есці зямных чарвякоў у сезон дажджоў. Але вось што трэба рабіць: валіць дрэвы і ачышчаць іх. Падпальваць іх пад корань, валіць, спальваць вялікія і малыя галіны і пакідаць толькі ствалы без якіх-кольвечы заганаў: чыстыя, гладкія, як барабаны, што ўзвышаюцца тамака далёка (і ён паказаў на іх). Ствалы, абчэсаныя і здольныя трымацца на вадзе, трэба скласці на гэтай паляне – і ён паказаў на вялізную натуральную пляцоўку – дзе каменчыкамі трэба будзе скласці рахунак ствалоў, дастаўленых кожным народам. Стары скончыў прамову, сціснуліся крыкі, і распачалася праца.

II

„Стары з'ехаў з глузду". Так казалі людзі племені вапішанаў, так казалі людзі племені шырышанаў, так казалі гуаібы і піароі; так казалі ўсе народы, занятыя на лесапавале. Яны бачылі, як з дастаўленых імі ствалоў Стары будуе вялізнае каноэ – прынамсі тое, што было падобнае на каноэ – такое не мог бы прыдумаць чалавечы розум. Абсурднае каноэ, няздольнае плываць, яно распасціралася ад пакручастай Скалы Трох Барабанаў да берагоў затокі. Унутры яно было падзелена рухомымі перагародкамі – гэта было зусім невытлумачальна. Акрамя таго, гэтае каноэ мела тры паверхі, над якімі пачынала ўжо ўзвышацца нешта падобнае на дом, пакрыты дахам з лістоў пальмы-марычэ ў тры тоўстых слаі, з вакном з кожнага боку, і мела яно такую пасадку, што мясцовыя воды з пяшчанымі мялізнамі і безліччу падводных камянёў не змаглі б падняць карабель. Больш таго, найбольш неверагодным было тое, што пабудова мела форму каноэ з кілям,

шпангоўтамі, з усімі прыладамі дзеля мараплавання. На храм яна была не падобна, таму што багам пакланяюцца ў адкрытых пячорах на вяршынях гор, там, дзе ёсць звяры, намаляваныя продкамі, сцэны палявання і жанчыны з вялікімі грудзямі. Стары з'ехаў з глузду. Але ягоным шаленствам можна было жывіцца. Хапала маніокі і маісу, каб у глеках гнаць маісавую гарэлку-чычу. А потым наладжваць грандыёзныя гулянкі ў ценю Каноэ-Гіганта, што рос з кожным днём. Цяпер Стары прасіў белай гумы, той, што цячэ са ствалоў дрэваў густой плынню і напаўняе шчыліны, калі дрэва раптам заціснута суседнім ствалом. Уначы ўсе танцавалі пры святле вогнішчаў; чараўнікі выймалі Вялікія Маскі Малпаў і Дэманаў; блазны імітавалі аленя і жабу; адбываліся спаборніцтвы, бяскроўныя дужанні паміж плямёнамі. Прыбывалі новыя народы, прапанавалі свае паслугі. То было святкаванне да моманту, калі Амалівак усталяваў квітнеючую галіну на даху дома, які дамінаваў у канструкцыі Каноэ-Гіганта, вырашыўшы, што праца скончана. Кожны быў шчодра ўзнагароджаны мукой юкі і маісам, і – не без смутку – народы адплылі ў свае валадаранні. А пад поўняй засталося абсурднае каноэ, раней нябачанае каноэ, наземная канструкцыя, якая ніколі не змагла б плываць, нягледзячы на сваю форму карабля-з-домам-на-вяршыне, на квадратны дах якога з лісця марычэ ўзышоў стары Амалівак і пачаў вырабляць дзіўныя жэсты. Да яго казаў Вялікі-Голас-Таго-Каторы-Стварыў-Усё. Перад ім разбурыліся межы будучыні, і стары атрымаў таямнічыя інструкцыі. „Каб ізноў засяліць зямлю людзмі, няхай твая жонка кіне цераз плячо семя пальмы". Часам гучаў жудасны, салодка-забойчы голас Вялікай-Змяі-Прамаці, ад чыіх спеўных слоў кроў стыла ў жылах. „Чаму я павінен быць – думаў стары Амалівак – захавальнікам Вялікай Таямніцы, недаступнай людзям? Чаму яна абрала мяне, каб я выказаў страшныя заклінанні і ўзяў на сябе такія вялікія справы?" Нейкі цікаўны блазан затрымаўся на сваім чаўне, каб паглядзець, што адбудзецца з Тым-Дзіўным-Што-Ёсьць-Каноэ-Гігантам. І калі месяц ужо схаваўся за блізкімі гарамі, прагучалі Заклінанні, нячувальныя, недаступныя розуму, выказаныя голасам настолькі моцным, што гэта не мог быць голас Амалівака. Раптам уся расліннасць, дрэвы, трава, галлё, што засталося пасля лесапавалу, зрушыла з месца. Гэта было магутнае рушанне скокамі, паўзком, лётам, галопам, рыўкамі ў бок Каноэ-Гіганта. На досвітку неба прасвятлела сінню. Маса, якая раўла, тупала лапамі, гудзела, стракацела пысамі і гарбамі, уставала на дыбкі, натапырвалася рагамі; маса, лавінападобная, магутная, імклівая, улівалася ў немагчымы карабель, пакрытая птушкамі, што імпэтна ўляталі туды пасярод рагоў, задзертых ног, пысаў, што грызлі вецер. Потым уся зямля закішэла ад рэпцілій вады і сушы, сярод якіх былі і агромністыя яшчаркі, і хамелеёны, і меншыя змеі – тыя, што робяць хвастом музыку, прыкідваюцца

ананасам і носяць на целе бранзалеты з бурштыну і каралаў. Да самага поўдня адбывалася нашэсце людзей, што, як і чырвоныя алені, своечасова не атрымалі паведамлення, таксама ж як чарапахі, для якіх доўгія падарожжы ёсць цяжкай справай ды яшчэ ў перыяд кладкі яек. Урэшце, убачыўшы, што апошняя чарапаха ўпаўзла ў каноэ, стары Амалівак зачыніў Вялікі Люк і ўзышоў на вяршыню дома, дзе жанчыны ягонай сям'і – гэта значыць: ягонага племені, бо ў племені жаніліся ў трынаццаць гадоў – спявалі і няспынна круцілі ручныя млыны. Неба ў той поўдзень было чорным. Здавалася, што чорная зямля наваколля ўстала наўтапыркі ад далягляду да далягляду. Раптам загучаў Вялікі-Голас-Таго-Каторы-Стварыў-Усё. „Засланіце вушы",– сказаў ён. Амалівак ледзь паспеў падпарадкавацца, як грымнуў гром такі жудасны і працяглы, што звяры Каноэ-Гіганта аглухлі. Пачаў падаць дождж. Але не той дождж, які вы бачылі. Дождж Гневу Багоў, сцяна вады невымернай таўшчыні, якая абрынулася з вышыні; воднае покрыва пасярод няспыннага разбурэння. Пад такім дажджом немагчыма было дыхаць, таму Стары вярнуўся ў дом. Туды ўжо прасачыліся кроплі, там плакалі жанчыны і пішчэлі дзеці. І немагчыма ўжо было адрозніць дзень ад ночы. Зразумела, Амалівак зрабіў запасы фіцілёў. Іх запалілі, і яны няроўна гарэлі ўдзень або ўначы. Але цяпер з прычыны браку святла Стары збіўся ў сваіх рахунках, блытаючы ночы з днямі, а дні з начамі. І раптам, у імгненне, якое Стары не забудзе ніколі, нос каноэ пачаў даваць крэн. Нейкая сіла ўздымала, ўзносіла, штурхала канструкцыю, зробленую пад камандай Магутных Валадароў Гор і Неба. І вось, пасля ўсяго напружання, разгубленасці, страху, ад чаго Амалівак вымушаны быў выпіць цэлы гляк маісавай гарэлкі, яны адчулі нібыта глухі ўдар. Каноэ-Гігант парваў апошні канат, што звязваў яго з зямлёй. І паплыў. Вырушыў у свет бурных плыняў, што віравалі сярод гор, плыняў, няспынны рык якіх напаўняў страхам грудзі людзей і звяроў. Каноэ-Гігант плыў.

III

Спачатку Амалівак і ягоныя дзеці, ягоныя ўнукі ды праўнукі-прапраўнукі спрабавалі, выскачыўшы з крыкам на палубу, разабрацца ў манеўрах рулявога. Бессэнсоўна. У атачэнні гор, пад ударамі маланак Каноэ-Гігант падаў з віра ў вір, з аднаго віража ў другі, абыходзячы падводныя камяні і не сутыкаючыся ні з чым. Не маючы сілы, карабель паддаваўся шалёнаму парыву вады. Калі стары зірнуў за борт свайго Каноэ-Гіганта, ён убачыў, як карабель ляціць імкліва, згубіўшы арыентацыю на Поўнач (дарэчы, а ці бачны зоркі?), пасярод ускаламучанага бруднага мора, якое паступова залівала горы і вулканы. На карабель зусім зблізу глядзела нікчэмная зеўра, якая некалі вывяргала агонь. Горы паступова

памяншаліся па меры таго, як знікалі іхныя схілы. А Каноэ-Гігант плыў няпэўнымі маршрутамі ў бок невядомых прыстаняў, часам круціўся вакол сваёй восі, аж пакуль не налятаў на магутны ўсплёск вады, што абрынаўся водаспадам на спакойныя глыбінныя плыні. І так яны плылі праз нязведаныя цясніны да тае пары – а паводле падлікаў Амалівака, дождж ліў больш за дваццаць дзён і гэта быў проста патоп...—пакуль воды не перасталі падаць з неба. Усё сцішылася, бескрайняе мора супакоілася пасярод апошніх бачных вяршыняў з іхнімі берагамі, залітымі стракатай гразёй, вышынёй у тысячы пядзяў, і Каноэ-Гігант больш не хістаўся. Нібыта Вялікі-Голас-Таго-Каторы-Стварыў-Усё прымусіў яго супакоіцца. Жанчыны вярнуліся да сваіх ручных млыноў. Жывёлы ўнізе былі спакойныя: усе яны, нават драпежнікі, з дня Адкрыцця задавольваліся штодзённым кормам з маісу і юкі. Стомлены Амалівак хільнуў у раток добры гляк маісавай гарэлкі і затуліўся спаць ў свой гамак.

На трэці дзень сну ён абудзіўся, бо карабель ударыўся аб нешта. Але то была не скала, не камень, не старыя ствалы дрэваў, што звычайна ляжаць і гніюць, нікому не патрэбныя, на палянах у сельве. Удар быў настолькі моцны, што паперакульваліся рэчы: глякі, начынні, зброя. Але то быў мяккі ўдар, так сутыкаецца адно мокрае дрэва з другім, адзін плываючы ствол з другім. І пасля таго, як яны параняць адно ў аднаго кару, яны працягваюць сваё плыванне разам, злучаныя, як муж з жонкай. Амалівак падняўся на верхнія палубы свайго судна. Ягонае каноэ сутыкнулася наўскось з нечым надзвычай дзіўным. Яно наляцела бортам і не пацярпела шкоды ад удару аб агромністы карабель з адкрытым каркасам, шпангоўтамі па-за бортам. Карабель быў нібыта збудаваны з бамбука і трыснягу і меў нешта зусім непаўторнае: мачту, вакол якой паварочваліся ў залежнасці ад напрамку брыза – вялікія вятры ўжо скончыліся – чатыры квадратныя ветразі, якія падхоплівалі паветра, што свісцела ўнізе, як комін хаты. Узіраючыся ў цёмнае судна, на якім не было ні душы, стары Амалівак думаў і прымерваўся да яго вокам бывалага гандляра глякамі – зразумела, поўных маісавай гарэлкі. Карабель меў каля трохсот локцяў даўжыні, каля пяцідзесяці ў шырыню і каля трыццаці ў вышыню. „Больш менш, як маё каноэ, – казаў ён,– хаця я павялічыў да максімуму прапорцыі, што былі паведомлены мне ў Адкрыцці. Богі не надта разбіраюцца ў мараплаванні, бо ўвесь час перасоўваюцца ў небе". Расчыніўся люк дзіўнага карабля, і з'явіўся малюпасенькі стары ў чырвоным капелюшы. Ён выглядаў на крайне раздражнёнага. „Як гэта? Мы не прыстанем?" – закрычаў ён на дзіўнай мове, танальнасць якой мянялася скокамі з кожным словам. Але Амалівак зразумеў усё, таму што ў тыя дні мудрацы разумелі ўсе мовы, дыялекты і жаргоны чалавечых істотаў. Амалівак загадаў кінуць канцы на дзіўнае судна.

Караблі прыціснуліся адзін да аднаго, і Амалівак абняўся са старым, які меў скуру жоўтага колеру і казаў, што ён плыве з Царства Сін ды вязе жывёлаў у сутарэннях Вялікай Баркі. Ён расчыніў люк і паказаў Амаліваку свет нябачаных жывёлаў. Тыя знаходзіліся за загароджамі, што абмяжоўвалі іхнія рухі, і прадстаўлялі заалагічныя тыпы, аб якіх Амалівак не меў уяўлення. Ён напалохаўся, убачыўшы, як да іх караскаецца чорны жудасны мядзведзь. Унізе былі таксама нейкія нібыта алені з гарбамі на хрыбтах. Там скакалі таксама нейкія няўрымслівыя кошкі, якія называліся рысямі. „А што Вы тут робіце?" – спытаў чалавек з Царства Сін у Амалівака. „А вы?" – адказаў стары. „Я ратую род чалавечы і жывёльныя віды". – сказаў чалавек з Царства Сін. „І я ратую род чалавечы і жывёльныя віды", – сказаў стары Амалівак. Тым часам жанчыны чалавека з Царства Сін прынеслі рысавага віна, і той ноччу гаворкі на цяжкія і няясныя тэмы больш не вяліся. На раніцу чалавек з Царства Сін і стары Амалівак былі ўжо на добрым падпітку, як страшны ўдар скалануў абодва караблі. Квадратнае судна – трыста локцяў у даўжыню, нешта каля пяцідзесяці ў шырыню, трыццаць локцяў (можа каля пяцідзесяці) ў вышыню – над якім узвышалася жылая пабудова з бакавымі вокнамі, наляцела на абодва, прышвартаваныя адзін да аднаго, караблі. На носе, перш чым яго гукнулі з прычыны няўдалага манеўра, стаяў стары чалавек, вельмі стары, з доўгай барадой, і дэкламаваў са скрутка, зробленага са звярыных скураў. Ён дэкламаваў крыкам, каб усе слухалі яго і не наважыліся перапыніць з прычыны няўдала выкананага манеўра. Ён казаў: „Явэх сказаў мне: „Зрабі каўчэг з дрэва гафэр, зрабі адсекі ў каўчэзе і прасмалі яго смалою ўсярэдзіне і звонку. Зрабі ў каўчэзе ніжні паверх, другі і трэці". „І тут таксама тры паверхі", – сказаў Амалівак. Але той стары казаў далей: „І вось, я навяду на зямлю патоп вады, каб вынішчыць усякую плоць, у якой ёсць дух жыцця, пад нябёсамі; усё, што ёсць на зямлі, пазбудзецца жыцця. Але з табою я станаўлю запавет мой, і ўвойдзеш у каўчэг ты і сыны твае, і жонка твая і жонкі сыноў тваіх з табою..." „А ці ж не тое самае зрабіў і я?" – сказаў стары Амалівак. Але той стары працягнуў распавядаць са свайго Адкрыцця: „Увядзі таксама ў каўчэг з усіх жывёл, і ад кожнае плоці па пары, каб яны засталіся з табою жывыя; мужчынскага полу і жаночага хай яны будуць. З птушак паводле роду іхняга, і з усіх паўзуноў зямных паводле роду іхняга, з усіх па пары ўвойдуць да цябе, каб засталіся жывыя". „А ці ж я не зрабіў так жа сама?" – спытаўся стары Амалівак, прыходзячы да высновы, што гэты чужынец надта выхваляецца сваімі Адкрыццямі, якія былі так падобны на іхнія Адкрыцці. Але, калі яны пабылі адзін у аднаго на суднах, паміж імі ўсталяваліся прыязныя сувязі. І чалавек з Царства Сін, і стары Амалівак, і Ной, што прыбыў апошнім, былі вялікімі выпівакамі. Віно апошняга, гарэлка-чыча Старо-

га, салодкая рысаўка першага змякчылі іхнія сэрцы. Пачаліся роспыты, спачатку сціплыя, пра іхнія народы, пра іхніх жанчын, пра тое, хто што есць. Час ад часу падаў дождж, нібыта дзеля таго, каб навесці больш яснасці на Небе. Ной, капітан масіўнага каўчэга, запрапанаваў зрабіць нешта, каб даведацца, ці ўсё расліннае жыццё свету знікла. Ён выпусціў галубку над водамі, спакойнымі, але нявыказна мутнымі. Пасля доўгага чакання галубка вярнулася, трымаючы ў дзюбе пальмавую галінку. Тады стары Амалівак кінуў у ваду мыш. Пасля доўгага чакання мыш вярнулася, трымаючы ў лапках пачатак маісу. Урэшце чалавек з Царства Сін паслаў папугу, якая вярнулася з рысавым коласам пад крылом. Жыццё вярталася ў сваю каляіну. Заставалася толькі атрымаць Настаўленне ад Тых, што са сваіх храмаў і пячор кіруюць дзеяннямі людзей. Узровень вады зніжаўся.

IV

Прамінулі дні, і сцішыліся Вялікія-Галасы-Таго-Каторы-Стварыў-Усё, Явэха, з якім Ной, здаецца, вёў доўгія размовы і атрымліваў больш дакладныя інструкцыі, чым атрымаў Амалівак; чалавек з Царства Сін слухаў Таго-Хто-Стварыў-Усё і жыве ў прасторы, невагавіты і вісіць у паветры, як бурбалка. Разгубіліся капітаны караблёў, счэпленых бартамі, і не ведалі, што рабіць. Воды спадалі; горы вырасталі; пачалі вырысоўвацца горныя хрыбты на далягляцдзе, дзе ўжо не было туманаў. І вось аднойчы ўвечары, калі капітаны выпівалі, каб забыцца на свой неспакой і цяжкія думкі, ім паведамілі, што з'явіўся чацверты карабель. Ён быў амаль белы, з вытанчанай тонкасцю ліній, з гладкімі бартамі і ветразямі, якіх ніхто раней не бачыў. Карабель нетаропка падплыў, і на ім з'явіўся капітан, захінуты ў чорны ваўняны плашч: „Я – Дэўкаліён,– сказаў ён.—Я адтуль, дзе ўздымаецца гара, што называецца Алімп. Мне было даручана Богам Нябёсаў і Святла аднавіць насельніцтва свету, калі скончыцца гэты жудасны патоп". „А дзе ты змясціў жывёл у такім сціплым караблі?" – спытаўся Амалівак. „Пра жывёлін мне не было сказана, – казаў прыбылы капітан. – Калі гэта скончыцца, мы возьмем камяні, якія ёсць плоццю зямлі, і мая жонка Піра перакіне іх цераз свае плечы. З кожнай булыгі народзіцца чалавек". „А я павінен зрабіць тое ж з пальмавым семям", – сказаў Амалівак. А тым часам з туману, што згусціўся над блізкімі берагамі, вынырнула аграмадзіна – карабель, амаль ідэнтычны каўчэгу Ноя. Майстэрскім манеўрам каманда павярнула судна і завяла яго ў шыхт. „Я – Оўр-Напішцім, – сказаў новапрыбылы капітан, пераскочыўшы на карабель Дэўкаліёна. – Ад Гаспадара Водаў я даведаўся аб тым, што мае адбыцца. Тады я пабудаваў каўчэг і пагрузіў у яго акрамя сваёй сям'і па галаве жывёлаў кожнага віду. Мне здаецца, што горшае ўжо прамінула. Спачатку я выпусціў у прастору галубку, але яна вяр-

нулася, не знайшоўшы нічога, што было б для мяне знакам жыцця. Тое ж здарылася з ластаўкай. Але крук не вярнуўся, што даказвае: ён знайшоў корм для сябе. Я ўпэўнены, што ў маёй краіне, у мясціне, якая называецца Пашча Рэк, засталіся людзі. Вада адыходзіць. Настаў час вяртання ў родны край. Цяпер столькі зямлі ад краю да краю яе нанесла, наваліла на палі – будзем мець багатыя ўраджаі". І сказаў чалавек з Царства Сін: „Скора мы расчынім люкі, і жывёлы выйдуць на свае забалочаныя пашы; і ўзновіцца вайна паміж відамі; і адны будуць жэрці другіх. Мне не дасталося славы за выратаванне расы цмокаў, і я адчуваю, што цяпер гэтая раса вымрэ. Застанецца толькі адзін цмок-самец без самкі на поўначы, дзе пасвяцца сланы са скрыўленымі біўнямі, а вялікія яшчаркі нясуць яйкі, падобныя на кунжутныя мяхі". „Усё гэта магчыма, калі людзі далі рады ў гэтай прыгодзе, – сказаў Ной. – Шмат хто павінен бы ацалець на вяршынях гор".

Капітаны маўкліва вячэралі. Вялікая журба – зразумела, нявыказаная – жыла ў іхных грудзях, яны ледзь стрымлівалі слёзы. Ім выпаў на долю гонар стацца выбраннікамі і памазаннікамі розных багоў, але тыя звярталіся да людзей з аднолькавымі словамі. „Тамака павінны быць іншыя караблі, падобныя на нашы, – сказаў з горыччу Оўр-Напішцім. – Далёка за даляглядам, тамака далёка павінны быць іншыя выбраннікі , што плывуць са сваім грузам жывёл. Выбраныя з краіны, дзе пакланяюцца агню і воблакам". „Выбраныя з Імперый Поўначы, дзе, кажуць, людзі надзвычай дзейныя...". У гэтае імгненне Голас-Таго-Хто-Стварыў-Усё загрымеў у вушах Амалівака: „Адплыві ад іншых караблёў і падпарадкуйся воднай плыні". Ніхто, акрамя Старога, не пачуў грамавое пасланне. Але з усімі нешта здарылася, таму што ўсе хутка, не развітваючыся, вярнуліся на свае судны. Кожны з караблёў знайшоў адпаведную яму плынь пасярод вады, што ўжо была больш падобна на раку. І ўжо скора стары Амалівак застаўся сам са сваімі людзьмі і жывёламі. „Багоў ёсць шмат, – думаў ён. – І дзе ёсць столькі багоў, колькі народаў, не можа цараваць згода, але жыцьцё будзе праходзіць у сварках і вэрхале вакол спраў сусвету". Багі падаліся яму такімі маленькімі. Але яму яшчэ трэба было выканаць сваю місію. Каноэ-Гігант прыстаў да берага. Стары высадзіў на бераг адну са сваіх жонак і загадаў ёй кідаць цераз плячо пальмавае семя, якое прынёс у мяху. І сапраўды – гэта быў цуд – зярняты ператвараліся ў людзей, што на працягу некалькіх імгненняў раслі, раслі, былі спачатку ростам з дзяцей, потым станавіліся падлеткамі, юнакамі, і ўрэшце мужчынамі. З семям, што ўтрымлівала жаночыя расткі, здаралася тое ж самае. Раніцай бераг запаўняў натоўп, які віраваў паўсюль. Але раптам няясная гісторыя з выкраданнем жанчыны падзяліла масу людзей на дзве групы, і пачалася вайна. Амалівак хуценька вярнуўся на Каноэ-Гіганта і глядзеў адгуль, як толькі што выратаваныя, толькі

што створаныя людзі забівалі адны адных. А паводле баявых пазіцый на беразе, абраным для ўваскрэсення, было ясна, што ўтварыліся група горцаў і група людзей раўніны. Ужо ў аднаго выбітае вока расцякалася па твары, у другога выпалі вантробы, а ў таго чэрап быў разбіты ўдарам каменя. „Думаю, што мы змарнавалі час", – сказаў стары Амалівак, кіруючы Каноэ-Гіганта ў плаванне.

Пераклаў з іспанскай Валеры Буйвал

Alejo Carpentier. Cuentos. Ciudad de La Havana 1979.

Алеха Карпенцер *(1904-1980) – вядомы кубінскі пісьменнік. Аўтар раманаў „Страчаныя сляды", „Стагоддзе асветы", „Магчымасць метаду", „Арфа і цень", „Асвячэнне вясны", аповесці „Барочны канцэрт", навел і апавяданняў.*

REZENSIONEN

Konferenz in Prag

Die nationsschöpferischen Prozesse in Mittelosteuropa waren bisher Gegenstand vieler Konferenzen in führenden wissenschaftlichen Zentren unseres Teils des Kontinentes. Zum ersten Mal widmete man aber eine Konferenz dem Vergleich von zwei nationsschöpferischen Prozessen – des tschechischen mit dem weißrussischen. Der Veranstalter des Treffens der tschechischen, weißrussischen und polnischen Forscher war die Humanistische Fakultät der Karls-Universität in Prag. In der tschechischen Hauptstadt tagte man vom 4. bis zum 6. Juli 2006. Der Titel der Konferenz lautete: „Die Wege zur nationalen Erneuerung: weißrussisches und tschechisches Modell". In drei thematischen Sektionen (der historischen, ökonomisch-politischen und linguistischen) hielt man 25 Referate. Die linguistische Sektion hatte auch eine literarische Dimension. Besonders bemerkenswert ist, dass man den Diskussionen zumindest so viel Zeit wie den Referaten einräumte.

In der historischen Sektion traten zwölf Referenten auf. Der historischen Thematik widmete man also fast die Hälfte der Texte. In diesem Teil der Konferenz verzeichnete man auch die belebtesten Diskussionen (sie erfolgten je nach zwei bis drei Referaten). Nach der Eröffnung der Konferenz durch den Dekan der Fakultät Jan Sokol hielt Miroslav Hroch (Prag), einer der in Europa führenden Forscher der nationalen Problematik, das Eröffnungsreferat. Der Titel seines Referats lautete: „Die Nation als Schöpfung der gesellschaftlichen Kommunikation" und war zum großen Teil den Parallelen und Unterschieden zwischen dem tschechischen und weißrussischen nationsschöpferischen Prozess gewidmet. Jan Rychlik (Prag) sprach über die Entwicklung der „nationalen Geschichte" als einer Grundlage der nationalen Idee und nationalen Ideologie und Pawel Cieraschkowitsch (Minsk) über die Weißrussen im Kontext der nationalen Wiedergeburt der Völker Mittel-

und Osteuropas. Der Text von M. Hroch besaß eine interessante theoretisch-verallgemeinernde, komparatistische Dimension. Im Auftritt von P. Cieraschkowitsch (er bot viele Vergleiche) berücksichtigte man hingegen viele interessante Daten, die man aus der gesamtrussischen Volkszählung des Jahres 1897 gewonnen hatte. Miloš Řeznik (Chemnitz) wiederum sprach über die tschechische und weißrussische Nationalbewegung in ihren historisch-staatlichen Kontexten und Ryszard Radzik (Lublin) wies auf Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede der beiden Nationalbewegungen im 19. Jahrhundert (bis 1914) hin. Derselben, komparatistisch behandelten Problematik widmete seinen Beitrag Eugeniusz Mironowicz (Białystok).

Die Mehrheit der sonstigen Referate in der historischen Sektion betraf die weißrussische Problematik. Über die weißrussische Nationalbewegung (die Idee der Nation) sprachen – getrennt – Referenten aus Grodno: Alexander Smalantschuk und Siarhej Tokć. Luboš Švec (Prag) analysierte den Einfluss der Russifizierung auf die Formung der nationalen Identität auf den Gebieten des ehemaligen Großherzogtums Litauen in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts und Jaroslav Šimov (Prag) verglich die Formung des weißrussischen und des slowakischen Volkes, indem er den Einfluss der großen Nachbarn dieser Völker auf diese Prozesse berücksichtigte. Über verschiedene Aspekte der Formung der weißrussischen Nation, des weißrussischen historischen Bewusstseins und der nationalen Identität in der weißrussischen Historiographie sprachen in ihren Referaten: Hienadz' Sahanowitsch (Minsk) und Oleg Latyschonek (Białystok).

In der ökonomisch-politischen Sektion beschrieb Sachar Schybieka (Minsk) den weißrussischen nationalen Kommunismus und Andrej Kischtymau (Minsk) untersuchte den Einfluss der Modernisierungsprozesse auf die Entwicklung der weißrussischen Nationalbewegung im 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts. Mikołaj Iwanow (Oppeln) wiederum besprach die Idee der weißrussischen Souveränität in den Arbeiten von Tomasch Hryb und Michaela Šmídová (Prag) hielt das Referat: „Die nationale Identität und die weißrussischen politischen Emigranten". Elena Temperová (Leipzig) stellte die Modelle der Formung der Nation in Weißrussland nach 1990 dar und Miroslav Kouba (Prag) verglich miteinander die Prozesse der nationalen Wiedergeburt in Weißrussland, Mähren und Makedonien. Michal Plavec (Prag) charakterisierte die Relationen zwischen den Behörden der sich formenden sowjetischen weißrussischen Republik und dem tschechoslowakischen Staat in den Jahren 1918-1925.

In der linguistischen Sektion hielt man sechs Referate. Hanna Gladkova (Prag) verglich die „sprachlichen Programme" in der tschechischen und weißrussischen Nationalbewegung und Siarhiej Saprudski (Minsk) die sprachlichen Purismen

in den Wiedergeburtprozessen der beiden Völker. Irina Bahdanowitsch (Minsk) sprach über die Idee der nationalen Wiedergeburt in der Poesie beider Völker am Ende des 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts und Jasep Januschkewitsch (Minsk) über Wacław Lastowski im Kontext der tschechischen nationalen Wiedergeburt. Das vorletzte Referat hatte sprachwissenschaftlichen und das letzte literaturwissenschaftlichen Charakter. Markus Giger (Prag) analysierte die weißrussische Sprache in den Kategorien des Symbols und Rituals und Michaś Skobla (Minsk) die Poesie von Larysa Heniusz im Kontext der Ideale der tschechischen Unabhängigkeit.

Den obigen Referaten und den Diskussionen widmete man drei Tage, also die Zeit schränkte die Auftritte der Teilnehmer der Konferenz nicht in dem Grad ein, wie es bei derartigen Treffen üblich ist. Die Diskussionen galten fast ausnahmsweise der weißrussischen bzw. der weißrussisch-tschechischen Problematik. Dies resultierte wohl daraus, dass die Referate meist dem Prozess der Formung der weißrussischen Nation gewidmet waren. Man kann aber auch vermuten, dass der Grund im größeren Grad der Entwicklung der tschechischen als der weißrussischen Historiographie liegt. Ursache von Differenzen sind im Schrifttum über die Geschichte Weißrusslands weiterhin die für den weißrussischen nationsschöpferischen Prozess wesentlichen Tatsachen und gesellschaftlichen Erscheinungen. Immer noch herrscht keine Eintracht über den Charakter der weißrussischen nationalen Wiedergeburt im 19. Jahrhundert (einer nationalen oder nur einer literarisch-kulturellen?), über das Niveau des nationalen Bewusstseins in der weißrussischen Gesellschaft im 20. Jahrhundert und über die Bedeutung der einzelnen Faktoren der Formung der weißrussischen nationalen Gemeinschaft. War es so (wie einer der Referenten behauptete), dass die Weißrussen in der Zwischenkriegszeit das Auftreten einer massenhaften Nationalbewegung „C“ (nach der Typologie von M. Hroch) erlebten? Oder aber (wie ein anderer Referent behauptete) war es nicht der Fall, denn ein so starker nationsschöpferischer Prozess wäre nach seinem Auftreten nie wieder rückgängig zu machen gewesen und der Grad des nationalen Bewusstseins im heutigen Weißrussland ist ja nicht hoch. Die Zusammenstellung der beiden Nationalbewegungen machte den Tschechen bewusst, wie günstig (im Vergleich mit den Weißrussen) ihre Entwicklungsbedingungen in der Habsburger Monarchie waren. Die Reflexionen der Forscher aus Minsk und Grodno waren hingegen wohl anders geartet. Die weißrussische Nationalbewegung war eine der spätesten und schwächsten in Europa. Die Bedingungen, unter denen die weißrussischen Aktivisten der nationalen Wiedergeburt zu wirken hatten, waren unvergleichbar schlimmer als jene, mit denen nicht nur die Tschechen, aber auch die

Slowaken, die galizischen Ukrainer oder die Slowenen konfrontiert wurden. Das Ergebnis dessen, dass Weißrussland zunächst ein Teil des Zarenreiches und dann der UdSSR war, ist der heutige Stand des Bewusstseins der Weißrussen.

Als Koordinator des Projekts und als Veranstalter der Konferenz informierte Alena Ivanova die Teilnehmer, das die Konferenzmaterialien noch im Jahre 2006 veröffentlicht werden und dass die meisten Beiträge in zwei Sprachen erscheinen: in Tschechisch und in Russisch.

Ryszard Radzik

Poetic Allusions: Peculiarities and Translation

Allusions make an inseparable part of intertext in the process of communication. They are defined as a correlation of the subject of communication with some events or situations which are described in the text without mentioning the text, with some part of the text being omitted or transformed [3, 2].

Philologists are interested in different aspects of this phenomenon – the essence of allusion as a kind of techniques, relations between the texts, its structure and functions, frequency of recurrence in various discourses, etc.

As for classifications of allusions, there are some of them in philological literature, and they depend on the aim of research and principles of classifications.

We aimed at studying allusions in the literary discourse. The research is based on the latest book „Ksty" by Ryhor Baradulin, a Belarusian famous poet, and the book of the well-known prose-writer from Belastok Area (Poland) Sakrat Yanovich „Notes of the Century"[1,4].

We define our tasks as the following:

– analysis of the sources of borrowed allusions and the form of their presentation in the text;

– study of the principles in using allusions;

– analysis of the methods and techniques of translating allusions into English;

– analysis of adequacy in translations.

The book „Ksty", written by Ryhor Baradulin, is an example of spiritual poetry, in which the author is making attempts to approach the Lord, and is pondering over

the problems of earthly and eternal life. The main concept is - „every man should understand that he has his own Cross and his own Fate, that the one who has been baptized, has every sign of belonging to Christianity, and to the eternal Heaven. The collection „Ksty" is a book of prayers, a book of thoughts, a book of confessions, and a book of repentance [1].

The interaction of cultures is realized in different forms, one of them is translation. And translations of fiction can be the object of linguistic investigations. They help researchers to find peculiarities which often remain beyond the attention of a philologist who has chosen an aesthetic or social approach.

Allusions, as an intertextual phenomenon, are of interest not only as facts of literature, but also as linguistic units which have their functions, their specific structure and peculiarities of translation into other languages.

Baradulin's verses, devoted to the subject of spiritual values, contain frequent biblical themes, and some of them are written under the titles of these themes (*Heart Turns into Bethlehem, Night Is Shaped Like an Egg, Trickerion, etc*).

Biblical names, place-names, situations, events, holidays, names of temples fill in the texts of the book (*Abel, John the Baptist, the Sea of Galilee, the Calvary, the Last Judgment, the Jordan, Whitsun, Catholic Church*).

Other frequent allusions are historical, which are represented by names of ethnic tribes, ancient places and events, famous personalities, ancient traditions and rituals (*Kryvichans, Castle Hill, Day of Freedom, Socrates, All Souls' Day / Dzyady*).

Mythology is also a rich source of allusions. In the texts of the verses we chiefly find mythological characters and customs (*valatoukas / ancient burial mounds, Piarun / god of thunder, Yaryla*).

The specific Belarusian folklore could not but enrich the verses of Ryhor Baradulin, an ardent supporter of traditions. Songs, proverbs and sayings, popular phraseology, articles of clothes and footwear, tools are frequent allusions in Baradulin's works in general, this book being no exception (*Kutsia, andarak, Lithuanian scythe, better one bird in the hand than two in the bush*).

Much poetic attention is paid to Motherland, native heath and hearth, Mother, young years; hence *Vushacha*, the poet's birthplace, is one of the most favourite allusions.

Ryhor Baradulin devotes many of his poetic lines to famous people of his land and other nations, and not only famous – his friends and simple countrymen are also worth remembering (*Yanka Kupala, Vasil Bykau, John Paul II, Ihar Sarokin, Su Dong-Po*).

The form of presenting allusions is different – from a single word to some lines (for instance, epigraphs from the psalms in the part *Psalms of David*). The verse with its lack of space in the line, where the poet must express his deep thoughts and feelings, force poetic imagery and retain the strict form, demands from the author to follow all the laws of versification. And this is the reason for different transformations, where allusions survive only in their fragments, they are brief and laconic.

The proverbs and sayings are often paraphrased or used only in their fragments *(Калі мне сініцу хацелася ў рукі... Вядуць не ўсе дарогі ў Рым*).

Emotionally, allusions are various. When the author mentions Judas, the lines cannot but cause the reader's disgust; Bethlehem is the place that everyone perceives with feelings of joy and reverence, the Garden of Eden is something very special and romantic, Heaven is both pacifying and frightening, Vushacha is sad and touching, Dzyady means respect to ancestors, and Chernobyl is a painful disaster. That is why, reading the poems, every Christian and Belarusian understands these allusions according to his faith, experience and knowledge.

Principles of using allusions can be classified as belonging to the following groups – analogy (*Every stone, like Socrates, has a large forehead*), contrast (*Man does not pass away, he returns to solitude and peace*) and parallelism *(Only Mother and Sun are always young. Joy is also young*).

Translation of poetry is one of the most difficult things, or even impossible, as some of the writers still think. The patterning of sounds and sense into a single unit of meaning is the principle reason, of course, why it is so extremely difficult [6].

When translating allusions from prose, we can change words or use explanations and comments, but we do not have this opportunity while translating verses. We cannot do without a word-allusion, and at the same time we must follow the necessary rhythmic structure and a rhyme scheme. The language of a poem is organized into a pattern of recurring sounds, structures and meanings which are not determined by the phonology, syntax or semantics of the language code which provides it with its basic resources. All this dictates the rules we must observe when translating poetry. That is why, to retain the principle things – the sense and imagery - a translator has to change word order, omit or add some words with not much or little meaning, and make other transformations, often unnatural for the target language.

The translators of Ryhor Baradulin's verses used all possible techniques, accepted in theory of translation, but the most frequent were transliteration (*Yanka Kupala, Vushacha*), calque (*Milky Way*), analogy (*Cock's Way*), explanation (*god*

of thunder), traditional translation (*Whitsun Day*), and a combination of some techniques (*Lenten Kutsia*) or a near-equivalent (*the Day of Sorrow*). It was not a rare thing when the order of elements in a phrase was changed (*City Eternal*).

We should state that different ways of translating were used according to the context, the structure of a poem and other aspects. For instance, the allusion „Пярун" was translated in three ways (*Piarun, god of thunder, Thunder and even Lightning*), the culture-bound word „святы кут / sviaty kut" had the following equivalents: *honoured holy place, Red Corner, Holly Corner; the word „небакрай / nebakrai"* in different contexts had the following equivalents: *horizon, skyline, the Arch of Heaven*.

Unfortunately, in the translations of Baradulin's allusions there were some difficulties, and as the result, wrong equivalents. The preferable equivalent of the ethnic name „Крывічы" is *Kryvichans,* but not *Kryvichi* , the correct equivalent for the word „Касцёл" would a *Catholic Church*, though in the poetic text the name is too long to press into the lines, the Belarusian culture-bound word „валачобнік" would sound better as an *Easter carol singer*, though the word *wanderer* is shorter, the name of the Belarusian patron „Еўфрасіння Полацкая" could be rendered as *Eufrasinnia Polatskaya* (transliteration) or *Eufrosyne of Polatsak* (dictionary equivalent), the mixture of techniques is not desirable (*Eufrasinnia of Polatsak*).

Thus, the undertaken analysis of allusions in the poetic discourse of the original and its translations shows the following:

– The nucleus of the intertext are biblical allusions, devoted to the theme of the sublime and spiritual;

– The allusions of the author have different emotional colouring – positive and negative. In spite of all the trials that Man, a Belarusian, and the author have come across, the book, as a whole, is optimistic (To be! - is the title of one of the poems);

- The principle characteristics of Baradulin's method of introducing allusions are openness (their explanations can be various), complexity (biblical allusions are presented together with other types), combinability (literary allusions coexist with elements of the author's personal life);

– According to the aim and structure of the verse, the allusions have different forms of realization (epigraphs, sentences, word combinations and words) with the use of the chief principles of the discourse structure (analogy, contrast, parallelism);

– The translations show a relative variety of equivalents for some allusions (mostly from the sphere of culture) and strict dictionary equivalents for other allu-

sions (biblical names, situations, etc.) The choice of the equivalent is conditioned by the principles of imagery and the form of versification.

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The book „Notes of the Century" by Sakrat Yanovich includes stories, novellas and miniatures [4]. The principle issues of the author's concern are relations of man with environment, nature and society.

The main hero is a Belarusian who lives in his native place, Belastok Area. In his short novellas, Sakrat Yanovich creates the world of the grotesque and abstract reality, where local people live, work and die. The space frame of the events is Belastok and its outskirts, but the 20th century heroes of the book are connected with other places of the world as well – they travel and migrate to Germany, Italy, America, and the history of the area, called „Kresy", is closely connected with Russia, Ukraine, Prussia, Sweden, etc. Now part of Poland, Belastok Area, like other borderlands, experienced numerous turbulences and misfortunes in its history, but it survived and preserved Belarusian identity, culture and traditions. The thing that worries Sakrat most of all is the gradual disappearance of Belarusianness. His lyrical miniatures are reminiscences of his childhood and youth, meditations on the future of Belarus and mankind.

As far as the language of the texts is concerned, we should state that it has its own characteristics. Yanovich's style is specific on the whole, this book being no exception. Satirical, ironical or lyrical, the stories and novellas contain numerous images, taken from Belarusian folklore or created by the writer himself. The author's style is characterized by numerous implications, allusions, metaphors and similes, structurally complicated epithets, neologisms, dialectal words, etc.

The allusions show the author's memories of the past events, the inter-relations of the lyrical hero and the world. They depict his lyrical hero as Man, a Christian, a personality with deep knowledge of history and geography, a patriotic person, an ardent defender of Belarusian mythology, traditions, language and folklore. As for the sources where his allusions come from, they are numerous – Bible, mythology, folklore, history, literature, phraseology, traditions, geography, etc.

Sakrat Yanovich frequently refers to the following allusions: biblical (*the Holy Script, Jerusalem, Bethlehem*), historical (*Athens, White Guards, Acropolis, Plato*), mythological (*Piarun, Sisyphus*), literature (*I am a muzhyk, stupid muzhyk*), phraseology (*As is the apple tree, so is the fruit*), traditions *(Zahynki, celebration of the beginning of harvest*). Geographically, Yanovich's hero is connected with nearly all points of the world: in the past – Moscow, Siberia, Athens, Rome, Prussia; in

the present – Munich, Africa, Venice, New York, etc. The historical names, often referred to, are Hitler and Stalin. The geographical names, existing and non-existing in reality, are also created through allusions *(Lane of Forty Martyrs, English Street, Swedish Trenches).*

Speaking on the emotional colouring of allusions, we should state that, being satirical and ironical, most of the stories contain allusions that cause corresponding feelings. But those which are lyrical and sound like sad or warm reminiscences, are taken from the Bible, Belarusian folklore and traditions. Especially fascinating are the words, used in descriptions of folk holidays and feasts (*Kupalle, The Feast of Transfiguration, Zelnaya).* His lyrical hero is sooner romantic than sentimental, more realistic than romantic, very often disappointed, but never painting rosy pictures. Writing about one of his Christmas nights, Sakrat Yanovich feels lonely and sad at seeing beautiful Christmas stars, because there is no real Belarus under this beauty.

Paris, London, San Francisco are the cities that mercilessly take away best Belarusians, tempting them with progress and dreams of prosperity; the Jordan River, Bethlehem and Jerusalem are sacred places of which he thinks, when he is the Belarusian sanctuary Suprasl, the Russian song „Katsiusha" is a memory of the last war and Russian soldiers.

The methods of presenting allusions are various, but most of them are analogies, though contrasts are no rare as well. For instance, *Sisyphus* would be an idler, if compared to Belastok hard-working young people after the war (contrast), the town of Belastok with its buildings in the centre is something like *Athens* (parallelism), *Bahach / Harvest Day* is analogous to ripe plums, autumn rains, yellow leaves and fragrant orchards (analogy), the night of St. Peter and St. Paul means the starry sky, the young moon, and sudden thunderstorms; ancient Hellas and Rome are something we can never understand in full.

Structurally, allusions in prose can be characterized as more extensive, if compared to those in poetry. The frames are not so limiting, there is more space, the laws of constructing phrases are different. But Sakrat Yanovich is laconic and conscice, he hopes that his reader will understand the allusions he used. Hence, most of them are short, but bright. The exceptions are proverbs and sayings, some citations from literature (*Багатаму чорт дзяцей калыша. Беднаму ўсё вецер у вочы. / The rich are born with a silver spoon. Once a poor man, always a poor man*).

As for translation techniques, we cannot compare them to anything, but the English version of his early „Miniatures" done by Shirin Akiner in 1984 [5]. Mentioning the book, we should state that Sakrat Yanovich's stylistic method has

become more complicated, more philosophical and more sophisticated since that time. As for the translation, the „Miniatures' were perfectly done by the native speaker of English, who felt the style of the original and tried to understand the Belarusian way of life and the culture-bound words, reflecting the style.

So, while translating Sakrat Yanovich's prose, one should think not only about the unusual word order of his, numerous commas and dashes, but also about allusions. His heroes live in the past or present, but all is interwined in this world, and exists in one dimension.

The allusions were not difficult to translate, as most of them (biblical, historical, geographical) could be found in dictionaries. What seemed really difficult to render in English were Belarusian culture-bound words from folklore and traditions. In some cases English near-equivalents helped (*Dziady - All Souls' Day, Bahach - Harvest Day),* in other cases, comments or explanations were given (*Zelnaya, the third of Transfiguration holydays, when herbs and flowers are sanctified).* Allusions of Italian or Polish origin were translated from the source language *(Cracow, Santa Lucia),* except Belastok (from Polish it is *Bialystok*) [7].

Thus we can conclude the following:

– Sakrat Yanovich uses allusions as one of his stylistic techniques;

– The allusions are borrowed from different sources, the most frequent being historical, and folklore;

– The allusions are intended to create different emotional associations, ranging from irony to sentimentality;

– Structurally they are simple words, word combinations and sentences;

– Methods of presenting allusions are analogy, contrast and parallelism;

– The simplest way of translating Yanovich's allusions is finding proper equivalents in a dictionary. The most complicated for translating were allusions, borrowed from Belarusian folklore and mythology.

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Comparing both poetic and prose allusions, used in the works of two Belarusian famous writers, Baradulin and Yanovich, we can make the following conclusions:

– Though the books are different in genre, style and the way of presenting the material, and seem to be incomparable, the use of allusions makes them similar in some ways.

– Both the authors allude to biblical, historical, mythological, folklore names and situations, giving preference to those which correspond to the object described or to the feeling and image, necessary to be created.

– The translation techniques were more numerous in the verse due to three factors – the number of themes, the number of translators and the number of allusions used in the texts, which were different in their general length and style.

– The method of allusions emphasizes the fact of intertext as a phenomenon of literatures in contact, as an element of style and as a linguistic phenomenon.

– The sources of allusions demonstrate the following qualities of the authors – openness to the Lord, friendly attitude to other communities of the world, deep love for Motherland, which is the Land of Belarus.

Alena Tabolich

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РЭЗЮМЕ

У артыкуле разглядаюцца алюзіі, выкарыстаныя ў кнігах Рыгора Барадуліна „Ксты/Ksty” (2006), намінаванага за гэты твор на Нобелеўскую прэмію па літаратуры, і Сакрата Яновіча „Запісы веку”, і іх пераклады на англійскую мову, выкананыя Мінскай школай перакладу пры Лінгвістычным універсітэце.

Аўтар артыкула (адна з перакладчыкаў) аналізуе алюзіі з боку іх паходжання, структуры і эмацыянальнасці; вызначае галоўныя прыёмы перакладчыкаў і іх асаблівасці ў паэтычным і празаічным тэкстах, і прыходзіць да высновы, што алюзіўныя метады Рыгора Барадуліна і Сакрата Яновіча заслугоўваюць увагі з боку літаратараў і лінгвістаў. Вынікі даследавання могуць быць карыснымі як для літаратуры, так і для супастаўляльнай лінгвістыкі ў пары моў беларуская – англійская.

Da, wo sich Seelen begegnen…

Das ist ein Buch von zwei Verfassern. Jeder ist ein Meister in dem Literaturbereich, in dem er seine Werke schafft. Ryhor Baradulin ist der berühmteste zeitgenössische Dichter Weißrusslands. Wasil Bykau ist ein hervorragender Prosaist, ein Kandidat zum literarischen Nobelpreis. Sie haben dieselbe Heimat, aber andere Lebensgeschichten. Baradulin lebt in Minsk. Bykau musste 1998 Minsk und Weißrussland verlassen. Weil er sich offen gegen das Regime ausgesprochen hat, wurden die Veröffentlichungen seiner Werke in seiner Heimat verboten. So landete Bykau 1998 in Finnland, danach in Deutschland und im tschechischen Prag. In der Zeit des Zwangsauslandsaufenthaltes wurde er von Baradulin in seinen Briefen unterstützt. Selbst Bykau schreibt: „Die Poesie von Baradulin enthält in sich die ganze göttliche Schönheit der weißrussischen Sprache – einer Quelle der nationalen Inspirationen, eines Trägers des uralten weißrussischen Geistes. Das spürt man besonders stark, wenn man von der Sprache getrennt ist. Als mir bitterlich und schwer war und als ich mich mit der Heimat nicht abgeben konnte, kam die Heimat zu mir durch die in Gedichten meines Freundes lebende Gedanken und Bilder. (…) Seine Worte haben mir Mut und Kraft zum Leben gegeben und haben Hoffnung in mir geweckt.“[1]

Das Buch ist eine Art des poetischen Briefwechsels. Baradulins Gedichte haben keine Titel. Sie werden einfach „Erster, zweiter, dritter…Brief“ genannt und chronologisch – nach Entstehungsdaten – geordnet. Was sie verbindet, ist eine bestimmte Sensibilität und Empfindlichkeit. Die meisten sind sehr pessimistisch, beschreiben das traurige Schicksal der Menschen und besonders der Weißrussen.

Die hier angesprochenen Themen beziehen sich entweder auf allgemeinmenschliche Sorgen (wie Einsamkeit, Alter, Unglück), oder auf spezifisch weißrussische Kummer (geprägt durch Geschichte, Politik und Kultur des Landes). Die hier benutzte Sprache ist sparsam und einfach. Umso besser und deutlicher bringt sie den schmerzlichen Inhalt zum Ausdruck.

Als Antwort für Baradulins Weltanschauung stellt Wasil Bykau seine Geschichten vor. Jede Geschichte ist eine Art der Parabel. Sie erzählen von Tieren, Wundersituationen, legendären Wanderungen und Kriegen. Sie sind eine Art schwieriges Märchen für Erwachsene. Sie sind schwierig, weil der Autor nie klar sagt, welche Bedeutung sie haben sollen. Die Parabel ist wie ein Gespräch zwischen dem Schriftsteller und dem Leser. Der Leser muss der Geschichte folgen und sich gemeinsam mit dem Schriftsteller Gedanken zu in ihr verborgenen Bedeutungen machen. Alle hier von Bykau erzählen Geschichten sind ein Ausdruck einer reifen Vernunft und eines schmerzerfüllten Herzens. Sie beweisen auf eine allegorische Art und Weise, dass Menschheit immer wieder dieselben Fehler macht und trotz guten Willens letztendlich immer schlecht landet. Muss das so sein? Gibt es keine Hoffnung? Ich sehe in Bykaus Geschichten keine Hoffnung, was auf keinen Fall bedeutet, dass es da keine Hoffnung gibt. Bei einer Parabel sollte sich jeder Leser Fragen stellen und die da beschriebenen Geschichten und gezeichneten Bilder alleine interpretieren, um die Fragen zu beantworten.

Die Geschichten Bykaus sind tief allegorisch und sehr konkret, aber ohne Belehrung am Ende, ohne Moralisierung. Die meisten betreffen einen Mensch und menschliches Schicksal. Der Leser sollte die Geschichten verallgemeinern, um eine Lehre daraus für sich zu ziehen. Die Leser, die das Schicksal der Weißrussen kennen, können die Geschichten manchmal besser verstehen und mitfühlen.

Das ist ein Buch für alle, für die eine Begegnung von zwei reifen Seelen eine Bereicherung ist.

Ewa Bacia

Ryhor Baradulin, Wasil Bykau, *Gdy witają się dusze,* Kolegium Europy Wschodniej, Wrocław 2006, s. 309.

Verzauberte Welt der Geschichte des Grenzlandes

Das Buch von Żakiewicz besteht aus drei Werken, die in verschiedenen Perioden seines Lebens, innerhalb von 27 Jahren, entstanden sind. Trotzdem bilden sie als Ganzes eine historische und literarische Einheit. Alle drei Geschichten wurden mit der Person des Erzählers verbunden, der in deren Verlauf physisch und geistig reif wird. Am Anfang ist der Erzähler ein Kind, das auf eine besondere Art und Weise sein Umfeld betrachtet. Die Welt wird in seinen Augen verzaubert, geheimnisvoll, sinnlich, manchmal gefährlich, manchmal auch vertraut und heimisch. Die Welt verwandelt sich zusammen mit dem Erzähler, entwickelt sich, befindet sich im ständigen Prozess, lebt und hat Einfluss auf seine Bewohner. Und die Bewohner sind Weißrussen, Russen, Polen, Tataren, Juden, Litauer: manchmal haben sie Probleme, eigene Identität mit solchen Begriffen zu bezeichnen. Sie sind einfach „hiesige", waren schon immer da und bleiben für immer da. Die Geschichte zeigt jedoch, dass es so was wie „immer" nicht mehr gibt.

Der Erzähler nimmt die von ihm geschriebene Welt emotional und gefühlsbetont wahr. Im zweiten Teil wird er „ein erwachsenes Kind", fast ein junger Mann, der unter einer unmöglichen Liebe leidet. Es ist die sinnliche Liebe zur eigenen Mutter, zur eigenen Heimat, zu Menschen und zur Welt, die auch grausam sein kann. Es ist manchmal irdische, manchmal auch metaphysische Liebe, die unglücklich macht, auf die man aber kaum verzichten kann. Sie führt zum Niedergang, zum Tod und Leiden, bildet aber einen unentbehrlichen Teil des Daseins.

Die Geschichte ist voll von Symbolen. Symbolistisch ist die Gestalt der Mutter, um die herum sich die schärfsten und schmerzlichsten Gefühle konzentrieren. Die

Gestalt wird im letzten Teil des Triptychons entmythologisiert. Da wird sie erniedrigt und gedemütigt, ihr Leiden symbolisiert wieder einen Schmerz und einen Niedergang der verzauberten Welt des Grenzlandes, einen Durchstrich von allem, was eine Identität des Landes geprägt hat.

Das Buch von Żakiewicz beschreibt die Welt, die es nicht mehr gibt. Żakiewicz ergreift die Welt im Prozess eines Zerfalls, wo alles möglich, aber auch unsicher bleibt. Was in der Welt besonders und einmalig ist, wird auch in der Sprache erfasst. Sie ist eine erstaunliche Mischung von allen Sprachen, die von Einwohner des Landes benutzt wurden. Żakiewicz schützt das Land vor dem Verfallen in Vergessenheit. Die Sprache des Landes, in der sich Polnisch mit Weißrussisch verbündet, hilft ihm, die Wahrheit der Geschichte, der Psychologie und der Natur des Landes zu äußern.

Ewa Bacia

Zbigniew Żakiewicz, *Tryptyk wileński,* Wydawnictwo słowo/obraz terytoria, Gdańsk 2005, s. 452.

Geschichte in Briefen

Briefe sind ein Teil des Nationalerbes. Nach dem ersten und zweiten Weltkrieg waren die Briefe oft die einzigen Bindeglieder zwischen einem Absender und einem Empfänger, sie dienten einem Gedankenaustausch; in den Briefen wurden Meinungen, Gefühle und Emotionen festgehalten. Ein Bedürfnis, Briefe zu schreiben, entstand entweder aus dem Willen, eigene Gedanken und Gefühle mit wichtigen Personen zu teilen, oder aus dem Bedürfnis, Kontakte mit dem Erkenntnisziel zu knüpfen.

Ein Absender, und gleichzeitig ein Empfänger von solchen Briefen war Marian Pieciukiewicz, ein Ethnograph und weißrussischer Aktivist, der ab 1957 in Toruń gewohnt hat. In der Nachkriegeszeit war er gezwungen, seinen Wohnort zu wechseln, viele seiner Freunde wurden ebenfalls in der Welt verstreut. Weit weg von seiner Heimat und seinen Freunden, stand Pieciukiewicz mit ihnen im Briefwechsel. Diese Freunde stammten sowohl aus der Vilniuszeit, aus der Kriegszeit, als auch aus der Verbannung in Sibirien. Helena Głogowska hat zwischen verschiedenen Briefen eine Auswahl getroffen, die unter Berücksichtigung des Inhalts, der Autoren und der Sprache gemacht wurde. Die Briefe wurden in verschiedenen Sprachen und Alphabeten verfasst. Die beschriebene Veröffentlichung bewahrt die sprachlichen Besonderheiten von Originalen. Aus dem Grund ist das Buch auch sprachlich und ethnographisch wertvoll.

Ihr größter Wert besteht jedoch darin, dass sie die schwierige Geschichte der Nachkriegsjahre, einer Zeit der Zwangsmigration, aus konkreter, individueller Perspektive darstellt. Das ermöglicht, die Geschichte besser zu verstehen, hilft dabei,

sie zu begreifen. Marian Pieciukiewicz war ein Zeuge und ein wichtiger Aktivist der weißrussischen Nationalbewegung nach dem ersten und nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg. Er kannte gut die damalige Realität und ihre Akteure. Deswegen ist seine Korrespondenz eine wertvolle Quelle für die Erforscher der weißrussischen Geschichte. Pieciukiewicz war auch ein sehr produktiver Mensch, der dabei das Nationalerbe achtete. Von seinen Briefen lernen wir einen Teil seines Lebens, seiner Gedanken und seiner Gefühlen kennen. Durch Veröffentlichung der Briefe haben seine Leser eine Chance bekommen, sich mit dem Alltag der vergangenen Jahre weit von der Heimat vertraut zu machen.

Ewa Bacia

Marian Pieciukiewicz, *Listy (1956-1982),* Białoruskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, Białystok 2005, s. 152.

Allusions in Sakrat Yanovich's prose

The book „Notes of the century" (1999) by Sakrat Yanovich includes stories, novellas and miniatures. The principle issues of the author's concern are relations of man with environment, nature and society.

The main hero is a Belarusian who lives in his native place, Belastok Area. In his short novellas Sakrat Yanovich creates the world of the grotesque and abstract reality where local people live, work and die. The space frame of the events is Belastok and its outskirts, but the 20th century heroes of the book are connected with other places of the world – they travel and migrate to Germany, Italy, America and the history of the area is closely connected with Russia, Ukraine, Prussia, Sweden, etc. Now part of Poland, Belastok Area, like other borderlands, experienced numerous turbulences and misfortunes in its history, but it survived and preserved Belarusian identity, culture and traditions. The thing that worries Sakrat most of all is the gradual disappearance of Belarusianness. His lyrical miniatures are reminiscences of his childhood and youth, meditations on the future of Belarus and mankind.

As far as the language of the texts is concerned, we should state that it has its own characteristics. Yanovich's style is specific on the whole, this book being no exception. Satirical, ironical or lyrical, the stories and novellas contain numerous images, taken from Belarusian folklore or created by the writer himself. The author's style is characterized by numerous implications, allusions, metaphors and similes, structurally complicated epithets, neologisms, dialectal words, etc.

The allusions show the author's memories of the past events, the inter-relations of the lyrical hero and the world. They depict his lyrical hero as Man, a Christian, a personality with deep knowledge of history and geography, a patriotic person, an ardent defender of Belarusian mythology, traditions, language and folklore. As for the sources where his allusions come from, they are numerous – Bible, mythology, folklore, history, literature, phraseology, traditions, geography, etc.

Sakrat Yanovich frequently refers to the following allusions: biblical (*the Holy Script, Jerusalem, Bethlehem*), historical (*Athens, White Guards, Acropolis, Plato*), mythological (*Piarun, Sisyphus*), literature (*I am a muzhyk, stupid muzhyk*), phraseology (*As is the apple tree, so is the fruit*), traditions (*celebration of the beginning of harvest*). Geographically, Yanovich's hero is connected with nearly all points of the world: in the past – Moscow, Siberia, Athens, Rome, Prussia; in the present – Munich, Africa, Venice, New York, etc. The historical names, often referred to, are Hitler and Stalin. The geographical names, existing and non-existing in reality, are also created through allusions *(Lane of Forty Martyrs, English Street, Swedish Trenches)*.

Speaking about the emotional colouring of allusions, we should state that, being satirical and ironical, most of the stories contain allusions that cause corresponding feelings. But those, which are lyrical and sound like sad or warm reminiscences, are taken from the Bible, Belarusian folklore and traditions. Especially fascinating are the words, used in descriptions of folk holidays and feasts *(Kupalle, Feast of Transfiguration, Zelnaya)*. His lyrical hero is sooner romantic than sentimental, more realistic than romantic, very often disappointed, but never painting rosy pictures. Writing about one of Christmas nights, he feels lonely and sad at seeing beautiful Christmas stars, because there is no real Belarus under this beauty.

Paris, London, San Francisco are the cities that mercilessly take away best Belarusians, tempting them with progress and dreams of prosperity; the Jordan River, Bethlehem and Jerusalem are sacred places of which he thinks, when he writes about the Belarusian sanctuary Suprasl; the Russian song „Katiusha" is a memory of the last war and Russian liberators.

The methods of presenting allusions are various, but most of them are analogies, though contrasts are no rare as well in Yanovich's prose. For instance, *Sisyphus* would be an idler, if compared to Belastok hard-working young people after the war (contrast), the town of Belastok with its buildings in the centre is something like *Athens* (parallelism), *Bahach / Harvest Day* is analogous to ripe plums, autumn rains, yellow leaves and fragrant orchards (analogy), the night of St. Peter and St. Paul means the starry Sky, the young Moon, and sudden thunders

with storms; ancient Hellas and Rome are something we can never understand in full.

Structurally, allusions in prose can be characterized as more extensive, if compared to those in poetry. The frames are not so limiting, there is more space, the laws of phrases are different. But Sakrat Yanovich is brief and laconic, he hopes that his reader will understand the allusions he used. Hence, most of them are short, but bright. The exceptions are proverbs, sayings and some citations from literature (*Багатаму чорт дзяцей калыша. Беднаму ўсё вецер у вочы. / The rich are born with a silver spoon. Once a poor man, always a poor man*).

As for translation techniques, we cannot analyze any, except those in the English version of his early „Miniatures" (transl. by Shirin Akiner in 1984). Mentioning the book, we should state that Sakrat Yanovich's stylistic method has become more complicated, more philosophical and more sophisticated since that time. As for the translation, the „Miniatures' were perfectly done by the native speaker of English, who felt the style of the original and tried to understand the Belarusian way of life and the culture-bound words, reflecting Yanovich's style.

So, while translating Sakrat Yanovich's prose, one should think not only about the unusual word order, but also of numerous commas and dashes. His heroes live in the past or present, but all is intertwined in this world, and exists in one dimension.

The allusions were not difficult to translate, as most of the words (biblical, historical, geographical) could be found in dictionaries. What seemed really difficult to render in English were Belarusian culture-bound words from folklore and traditions. In some cases English near-equivalents helped (*Dziady – All Souls' Day, Bahach - Harvest Day*), in other cases I had to give comments or explanations (*Zelnaya, the third of Transfiguration holydays, when herbs and flowers are sanctified*). Italian and Polish allusions were translated from the source language (*Krakow, Santa Luccia),* except *Belastok* (from Polish it is *Bialystok*), now a Polish town, but historically a Belarusian one.

Thus we can conclude the following:

– Sakrat Yanovich uses allusions as one of his stylistic techniques;

– The allusions are borrowed from different sources, the most frequent being historical;

– The allusions are intended to create different emotional associations, ranging from irony to sentimentality;

– Structurally, they are simple words, word combinations and sentences.

– Methods of presenting allusions are analogy, contrast and parallelism.

– The simplest way of translating Yanovich's allusions is finding proper equivalents in a dictionary. The most complicated for translating were allusions, borrowed from Belarusian folklore and mythology.

Alena Tabolich

Сакрат Яновіч, *Запісы веку,* Беларускае літаратурнае аб'яднанне „Белавежа", Беласток 1996.

Geschichte der Kaschuben auf dem Hintergrund der europäischen Geschichte

Band VII von „Acta Cassubiana“ sammelt unterschiedliche Artikel, die den Leser mit der Geschichte und der Kultur der Kaschuben vertraut machen. Das Buch ist in sechs Kapitel unterteilt. Das erste Kapitel – *Studien und Materialen* – enthält 13 Abhandlungen von verschiedenen Autoren. Für ein besseres Verständnis des Buches scheint der erste Artikel besonders wichtig zu sein. Stefan Ewertowski befasst sich hier mit dem Thema „Nationen im *Neuen Europa*“. Ewertowski betrachtet den Begriff als eine neue Bezeichnung von politischer, kultureller und historischer Bedeutung. Er erörtert dabei die Frage, wie passt das „neue Europa“ zu seinen alten Bestandteilen, nämlich zu nationalen Gemeinschaften, die das neue Europa bilden. Wie betrachtet man Nationen in einer Zeit der europäischen Integration? Welche Rolle spielen sie heutzutage? Werden sie ein Hindernis oder eine Unterstützung zum Erreichen der europäischen Ziele? Ewertowski stellt unterschiedliche theoretische Konzeptionen von Nation vor, um anschließend zu analysieren, was für eine Konzeption in der Politik der Europäischen Union zu erkennen ist. Er kommt zu der Schlussfolgerung, dass Europa zur Entwicklung seiner eigenen Identität auch nationale Identitäten und Traditionen pflegen sollte. Ohne diese Identitäten wird die europäische Identität ausdruckslos und dann droht Europa die Gefahr, dass es sich in eine rein wirtschaftliche Struktur verwandelt.

Ähnliche Grundgedanken finden wir im zweiten Kapitel des Buches und zwar in der Abhandlung von Jerzy Kmieciński: „Gegenseitige Relationen des europäischen und des globalen historischen Bewusstseins im Integrationsprozess“.

Kmieciński weist darauf hin, wie stark lokale, regionale und nationale Geschichte mit der Geschichte Europas verknüpft ist.

Die zwei Artikel bilden eine breitere Perspektive bei der Lektüre von anderen Arbeiten in „Acta Cassubiana“. Viele von ihnen befassen sich mit sehr konkreten Themen, wie der Artikel von Edward Breza, der die pommerischen Namen analysiert oder der Artikel von Małgorzata Dudziak, die literarische Analysen der Werke von Anna Łajming vorstellt. Im Buch finden wir wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen über Kultur, Geschichte und Literatur von Kaschuben. Wir lernen auch die Lebensgeschichten von Leuten kennen, die Kultur, Geschichte und Literatur der Region geschaffen haben. Bei der Lektüre sollen wir nicht vergessen, dass sie dabei nicht nur kaschubische, sondern auch europäische Identität geprägt haben.

Ewa Bacia

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Was war, und ist nicht mehr?...

Das Gesetz, auf das die nationalen Minderheiten mehr als zehn Jahre gewartet haben, ist Anfang Mai 2005 in Kraft getreten. Es schafft unter anderem die Möglichkeit, in vielen Gemeinden der Region Bialystok zweisprachige Namen einzuführen. Nicht jeder kann sich daran erinnern, dass schon seit Anfang der 80er Jahre manche weißrussischen Kreise um die Namen gekämpft haben. Der Kampf, der mehr als zehn Jahre dauerte und doch mit einem Misserfolg endete, betraf die Wiederherstellung der historischen Namen in der Nähe von Bialystok, die einst durch die Behörden geändert worden waren, ohne irgendwelche Konsultationen der Einwohner der jeweiligen Orte und ohne Respekt der Rechtsordnung – deshalb waren die Änderungen tatsächlich illegal. In der Angelegenheit haben damals sowohl die Einwohner der betroffenen Ortschaften als auch die wissenschaftlichen Autoritäten Einsprüche erhoben. Einer von ihnen war Prof. Jerzy Tomaszewski, der schon 1982 schrieb: „Ich sehe keine Hindernisse (…), dass in den Ortschaften, wo mindestens 20% Weißrussen wohnen, alle amtlichen Schriften an öffentlichen Orten zweisprachig seien sollten. Das gilt für Namen der Ortschaften genauso wie für Aushängeschilder, Informationstafeln (z. B. auf Bahnhöfen) usw.“ Diese Bewegung wurde damals im Namen des Bundes der Weißrussen in der Republik Polen von Jarosław Janowicz geleitet. Die mehr als zehn Jahre dauernden Bemühungen führten zur Veröffentlichung des Buches: „Die Abschaffung der offiziellen Namen der weißrussischen Herkunft von Ortschaften in der Region von Białystok durch die staatliche Verwaltung in den Jahren 1921-2004“. Dies ist ein Gespräch mit dem Autor Jarosław Janowicz.

Wie war die Genese, die Entstehungsgeschichte der Angelegenheit?

– Ein Anstoß könnte die Wiederherstellung von 120 Namen in Bieszczady im Jahr 1981 gewesen sein. Es schien damals so, als reiche es, sich in die Schlange einzureihen mit dem eigenen Anliegen, diesmal die Region von Białystok betreffend, und sie würde sofort erledigt, im gleichen Verfahren. Um so mehr, als es damals ein allgemeines Verlangen gab, ethisch zu Handeln, auch in der Politik, die von nun an nicht mehr nur effektiv sein sollte. Darüber hinaus begann in Kreisen der Opposition (Solidarność) die Überzeugung zu herrschen, dass die polnische Politik gegenüber den Ukrainern zwar während ihrer Umsiedlung und der Abschaffung ihrer historischen Namen effektiv war, es aber vielmehr das Ziel sein müßte, einen dauerhaften Antagonismus zwischen Ukrainern und Polen auf der einen Seite und Russland auf der anderen Seite zu schaffen. Übrigens hat sich herausgestellt, daß die Kommunisten während der Aktion Weichsel („akcja Wisła") zwei Fliegen mit einer Klappe geschlagen haben, weil während der Aktion General Karol Świerczewski-Walter höchstwahrscheinlich durch die Polen selber den Gnadenstoß erhalten hat oder ganz einfach getötet wurde, weil er unbequem und dabei schwer zu ignorieren war.

Nicht lange danach hat ein Wissenschaftler der „Bestimmungskommission für Ortsnamen und Physiographische Objekte" beim Ministerrat, der sicherlich schnell avancieren wollte, einem *bis dahin unbenannten* Berggipfel den offiziellen Namen „Walter" gegeben, obwohl es bekannt war, dass er schon immer „Weronikówka" hieß. Bis jetzt wurde die Angelegenheit nicht „inspiziert", ebenso wenig wie die illegalen Namen der Ortschaften in der Region von Białystok. Also diesmal ist die PRL (Volksrepublik Polen) als Gewinner immer noch lebendig. Im Juli 1994 hatte zwar der Vorsitzende der „Bestimmungskommission für Ortsnamen und Physiographische Objekte" beim Innenministerium eine Wiederherstellung vieler historischer und legaler Namen im „Monitor Polski" angekündigt, aber kurz danach hat man auf die Realisierung der Idee verzichtet. Die Einzelheiten dieser Sache bleiben wahrscheinlich noch lange Zeit streng geheim. Man weiß z.B. nicht, um welche Namen es sich handelte, aber trotzdem gibt es alle Information in meinem Buch, das auch im Internet zugänglich ist.

Da Sie das Bieszczady-Problem angesprochen haben, vergleichen Sie bitte die beiden Angelegenheiten.

– Die 120 Namen in Bieszczady wurden legal geändert, was im „Monitor Polski" 1977 bekanntgegeben wurde. So wurde wenigstens dieser Teil des Pro-

blems definiert. Dagegen wurden in der Region von Białystok die Namen illegal polonisiert, indem man die neuen Namen während der nächsten Volkszählungen einführte. Sie sollten also nach und nach in Gebrauch kommen, ohne daß das bemerkt werden würde. Außerdem waren in der Volksrepublik Polen (PRL) alle Landkarten mit Rücksicht auf die Anforderungen „einer Staatsverteidigungs-bereitschaft“ und der Spionagemanie sehr unpräzise. Da konnte man bloß feststellen, dass in den neuen Ausgaben Trościanica, Trościanka, Trościano und Orechwicze in Trześcianka, Trzcianka, Trzciano und Orzechowice (jetzt Orzechowicze) umgewandelt wurden. Es war auch unklar, ob es sich um Druckfehler handelte oder um etwas Ernsteres, aber schon diese Beispiele zeigen, daß es unmöglich ist, dass plötzlich alle Einwohner der Gemeinden Narew (nur Orthodoxen und Weißrussen), Szudziałowo (die Hälfte der Katholiken) und Janów (nur Katholiken) Lust hatten, ein „rz“ im Namen zu haben. Man sieht hier, dass das jemand von oben, zumindest auf der staatlichen Woiwodschafts-Ebene, veranlaßt hat.

Im „Verzeichnis“ von 1980 gibt es auch eine Zusammenstellung aller Ortsnamen in Polen nach 1945. Es wäre jedoch vergeblich, dort die Namen in der Region von Białystok und die Ausdehnung des Problems zu suchen, weil da nur die legalen Änderungen berücksichtigt wurden, mit Angabe der Nummer vom „Monitor Polski“. Solch eine Änderung gibt’s da nur eine: Małogruzka in Horodnianka, also die Änderung eines *weißrussisch klingenden* Namens in einen anderen weißrussischen. Das zeugt nachdrücklich davon, dass man im Woiwodschaftsamt in Białystok durchaus nicht vergessen hatte, wie man einen Namen legal ändert. Es war auch nicht in Vergessenheit geraten, wann man eine Namensänderung ruhig öffentlich durchführen konnte und wann nicht, weil sie als „Säuberungsaktionen“ zu erkennen gewesen wäre.

Welchen Verlauf hatte die Angelegenheit der Ortsnamen in der Region von Białystok, und welches waren die wichtigsten Wendepunkte? Was führte dazu, dass sie solch ein Ende genommen hat? Woher der Zeitrahmen ihres Buches: von 1921 bis 2004?

– Im Jahr 1995 entschied der Premierminister, als er gemerkt hatte, dass der Bund der Weißrussen in der Republik Polen (ZBwRP) sich nicht geschlagen gab, dass man die Namen in der Region von Białystok überprüfen sollte. Dieser Prozess sollte von denselben Beamten vollzogen werden, die früher illegal Ortsnamen polonisiert hatten. Das Ergebnis war einfach vorauszusehen. Man hat einfach den illegalen Namen von Łańczyno geändert und den alten Namen Łanczyno wie-

derhergestellt. Die Journalisten der „Niwa“ und der „Gazeta Współczesna“ haben das in die Öffentlichkeit gebracht, dass der alte Name Łanczyno ohne Kenntnis der Einwohner wiederhergestellt wurde, also von Amts wegen, und weil es eine erfolgreiche Rückkehr war, konnte man vermuten, dass man praktisch viel mehr Namen hätte wiederherstellen können. Der Bürgermeister von Dubicze Cerkiewne hat in der „Niwa“ festgestellt, dass er *sogar Briefe nach Kruhłe schickt,* und er kann nicht glauben, dass es schon seit 1980 Krągłe heisst. Erstaunlicherweise war die Gemeindeverwaltung gegenüber einer Wiederherstellung des historischen Namens wohl am ablehnendsten von allen. Der Vorsteher der Gemeinde Krynki hat dagegen mit Befriedigung festgestellt, dass die Diskussion um eine eventuelle Wiederherstellung des Namens Borsukowina *gegenstandslos* sei, weil es ein unbewohntes Dorf sei, was völlig falsch ist. Die „Gazeta Współczesna“ hat auch beschrieben, wie 1995 während einer Überprüfung die Reste der alten Namen auf den Wegweisern abgeschafft wurden. Danach hat der Premierminister eine Namensänderung der Orte Biendziuga und Jatwieź Duża nur darum angeordnet, um die Wegweiser nicht ändern zu müssen, obwohl sie historisch falsch waren. Überdies hat die staatliche Woiwodschaftsverwaltung den Journalisten auf eine sehr merkwürdige Weise den Inhalt einer Klage des Bundes der Weißrussen in der Republik Polen (ZBwRP) an das Nationale Verwaltungsgericht (NSA) und eine Stellungnahme des NSA zugänglich gemacht. Der „Kurier poranny“ hat nämlich darüber informiert, dass das NSA die Klage *unbegründet* fand, obwohl sie eigentlich als unzulässig einzustufen war, d.h. sie hätte eigentlich durch das NSA nicht erörtert werden können. Die „Gazeta Współczesna“ kritisierte, dass Janowicz *sich auf die Traditionen des Großherzogtums Litauen berufen hat, obwohl die vorgeschlagenen Änderungen in hohem Maße eine Wiederherstellung der Ortsnamen im* ***weißrussischen*** *Klang* (also nicht im litauischen) *betrafen.* Interessant war, dass die Zeitung bei dem, worauf sie sich „bezog“, den Inhalt der Klage, übersehen hat, dass weißrussisch die Amtssprache im Großherzogtum war. Ein Zufall? Eine andere Zeitung war verwundert, wie man auf den Antrag nur einer Person – nämlich Jarosław Janowicz - einen Verifizierungsprozess in Gang setzen kann, obwohl es mehr als zehn Signatarmächte des Vertrags gab und Jarosław Janowicz nicht zu ihnen gehörte. Nur scheinbar hatten die Presseartikel keinen Zusammenhang mit der offiziellen Stellung der staatlichen Verwaltung. Ihr Inhalt ist jedoch nicht vom Himmel gefallen, wir finden ihn auch in der Korrespondenz des Innenministeriums (MSWiA), das ebenfalls zu dem Schluss kam, dass z.B. Janowicz nur *eine private Person* ist, mit der das Ministerium keine weitere Korrespondenz führen kann. In der Situation wurde klar, dass nach dem Rückzug von „Warschau“ von

der Wiederherstellung der historischen Namen die so genannte Verifizierung nur eine Vorstellung für Naive war, die Staatsverwaltung in Wirklichkeit zynisch die Inkompetenz der Selbstverwaltung ausgenutzt hat, um die bis zu dieser Zeit von ihr durchgeführten illegalen Änderungen zu „festigen".

Diese Vermutung sollte jedoch erst geprüft werden. Wie wollten Sie das machen?

– Mein Gedankengang war folgender: Die Stellungnahme des Gemeinderates ist für das Innenministerium nicht bindend, sie soll nur dazu dienen, eine objektiv richtige Entscheidung zu treffen, die sich jedoch auf bestimmte Prämissen stützen sollte. Es reicht also nachzuweisen, dass die Stellung des Rates inkompetent oder gar falsch ist, um diese Stellung zurückzuweisen als wenig glaubhaft, und an ihrer Stelle eine neue Stellungnahme zu setzen, die dazu hilft, eine Entscheidung zu treffen.

Ich habe also die schriftliche Unterstützung der Mehrheit der Landwirte, und danach auch der Mehrheit der Einwohner von Kruhłe, Hurynowy Hrud, Borsukowina, Sawiny Hrud, Bobkowy Hrud, Samohrud, Juszkowy Hrud, Dubnica für die Wiederherstellung der traditionellen Namen bekommen. Dabei habe ich bewiesen, dass die Stellungnahmen der Gemeinderäte, die suggeriert hatten, dass es praktisch unmöglich sei, solche Unterstützung der Einwohner zu erlangen, falsch waren. Doch das Innenministerium (MSWiA) wollte weiter den Weg der illegalen Polonisierung gehen. Auf die gleiche Art wie der Bürgermeister von Krynki hat das Innenministerium u.a. geantwortet, dass Samohrud *unbewohnt* ist, dass „Łanczyno" auf die einzige mögliche Weise wiederhergestellt wurde, das heißt als Folge einer spontanen Initiative der Einwohner. In dem gleichen Stil – wie der Bürgermeister von Krynki - hat das Ministerium geantwortet, obwohl der erwähnte „Kurier Poranny" verkündet hatte, dass *der Antrag nicht überprüft werden könne, weil Janowicz keine Unterstützung der Einwohner bekommen habe,* was bedeutet, dass sich etwas geändert hätte, wenn er tatsächlich die Unterstützung bekommen hätte. Es stellte sich aber heraus, dass dem nicht so ist. Das war nicht das erste Mal, daß die Verwaltung ihre Einstellung ändern mußte, denn das Woiewodschaftsamt bat schon 1982 in der in der „Niwa" veröffentlichten Antwort tückisch um *eine Kooperation beim Engagement gegen alle Tendenzen zur Änderungen der weißrussischen Namen in der Woiewodschaft von Białystok.* Man weiß aber nicht, worauf die Kooperation bauen sollte, wenn nicht darauf, brav zu Hause zu sitzen.

Damit ist klar, dass das Theater mit dem Namen „Verifizierung" genauso ablaufen sollte, und ein anderer Verlauf vom Innenministerium (MSWiA) einfach nicht

erwünscht war. Und die Zustimmung der Einwohner wäre für das Innenministerium (MSWiA) nur dann wichtig gewesen, wenn sie den bisherigen „Polonisatoren“ der Namen, also den Beamten, gegolten hätte.

Im Titel Ihres Buches steht immerhin das Datum 2004.

– Ja, denn wenn die Namen Kruhłe, Borsukowina und andere in der Provinz immer noch gebräuchlich sind, dann bedeutet das, dass der Prozess der Einführung von polnischen Namen andauert und nicht zu Ende gebracht wurde. Wenn der Gemeinderat in Gródek schon vor ein paar Jahren die Wiederherstellung des Namens Bobkowy Hród verabschiedet hatte, das Innenministerium (MSWiA) das aber bis heute nicht bestätigt hat, dann ist das auch ein Beispiel dafür. Das Innenministerium (MSWiA) argumentierte 1998, dass es die Namen nicht ohne positive Stellungnahme der Räte und der Einwohner wiederherstellen will, um Konflikte zu vermeiden: Man wolle nicht *Emotionen* bei den Polen hervorrufen, und als ein Beispiel für solche *Emotionen* führte man den einzigen schriftlichen Protest an das Nationale Verwaltungsgericht (NSA) an …einen Brief eines Einwohners Warschaus. Als Protest wurde z.B. auch eine phlegmatische, ausdruckslose Aussage des Landrats der Gemeinde Kuźnica angeführt, der sagte, *in Dubnica wohnen 4 Familien* (interessant, dass der Landrat nicht „in Kurpiowska“ geschrieben hat, denn er hat so eine Gewohnheit nicht). Aber ich frage: Von welchem Konflikt kann hier die Rede sein, wenn diese Namen immer noch in der Provinz funktionieren, für die Einwohner selbstverständlich sind (im Gegensatz zu den polonisierten); und für den Namen Bobkowy Hrud gibt es sogar eine positive Stellungnahme des Rates? Nur die negativen Beurteilungen des Innenministeriums (MSWiA) sind bindend, die positiven nicht? Es ist schon die zweite positive Stellungnahme des Rates, die erste stammt aus dem Jahr 1994. Ähnlich (unlogisch) ist es, wenn z.B. 1998 80% der Landwirte von Juszkowy Hrud imstande waren, die Wiederherstellung des Namens zu akzeptieren - kann man dann davon reden, dass der Prozess einer Einführung des Namens Juszkowy Gród in ihrem Bewußtsein definitiv beendet wurde, dass der alte Namen für immer aus ihrem Gefühl der lokalen Identität verschwunden ist, und dass sie sich den Namen nicht auf einem Wegweiser vorstellen können? Dass das das Ende des Prozesses ist?

Nachdem das Gesetz in Kraft gesetzt wurde, haben viele Ortschaften in der Region von Białystok, darunter das ganze Powiat Hajnówka, die Chance bekommen, Schilder mit zweisprachigen Namen einzuführen. Dazu gehört auch Białowieża,

obwohl es die Bedingung des zwanzigprozentigen Anteils der weißrussischen Minderheit in der ganzen Gemeinde nicht erfüllt – unter der Bedingung, dass sich die Einwohner bei den durch den Gemeinderat durchgeführten Konsultationen für sie aussprechen…

– Um die zweisprachigen Namen einzuführen, braucht man nicht nur wenigstens 20 % der Einwohner von einer bestimmten Minderheit in der Gemeinde, sondern auch – was wichtiger ist – mehr als 50 % Stimmen im Gemeinderat, dessen Stimme entscheidend ist. Es ist eine Art gesetzlicher Trick, der die tatsächlichen Standards des geltenden Gesetzes bestimmt, das auf diese Art und Weise eine beschwerliche, weil politisch nicht korrekte Aufgabe - eine Begrenzung der zweisprachigen Namen - den „demokratisch gewählten Gemeinderäten" überträgt. So ein Gesetz betrifft eigentlich die Mehrheiten, nicht die Minderheiten. Es sollte etwas kompensieren, die Chancen der Minderheiten ausgleichen, und es kompensiert nichts. Diese Voraussetzung der Stimmenmehrheit in den Gemeinderäten „wirkte" 1995 perfekt, als ihnen eine ähnliche Aufgabe - die Nichtzulassung der Wiederherstellung der historischen Namen - nach dem gleichen Prinzip anvertraut wurde. Wie paßt „eine demokratische Abstimmung" des ganzen Gemeinderats mit der normalen Stimmenmehrheit zusammen mit dem Ziel, der Garantie der Rechte z.B. nur einer zwanzigprozentigen Minderheit – das weiß man nicht. Es ist ein sehr wichtiger Umstand, wenn man berücksichtigt, dass in den Behörden vieler Gemeinden Leute sitzen, die im Jahre 1995 die Wiederherstellung von historischen Namen blockiert haben oder überhaupt dem alten System gedient haben, das doch alle Minderheiten im Namen einer so genannten moral-politischen Einheit des Volks diskriminiert hatte…Das sind Leute, deren Mentalität alten Regeln, diensteifrigen Gewohnheiten folgt, und es hat keine Bedeutung, dass sie oft ethnisch Weißrussen sind, weil sie sich daran gewöhnt haben, dass, wenn sie regieren, sie ihre Herkunft vergessen müssen. Solche Leute werden „vertretende Weißrussen" oder „Weißrussenähnliche" genannt. Wenn wir uns eine bestimmte Situation vorstellen, in der sie z.B. nur eine zwanzigprozentige weißrussische Minderheit vertreten, dann sehen die Perspektiven einer Einführung von zweisprachigen Namen mies aus.

Wollen Sie damit andeuten, dass die Namen gar keine Chance haben, eingeführt zu werden?

– Nicht unbedingt, aber unter diesen Umständen werden sie wahrscheinlich erst eingeführt, wenn es auch Polen wollen. Sonst wird es nie passieren, weil die

Weißrussen zu schwach sind, um das Gesetz durchzusetzen. Und das kann nicht nach der Regel durchgesetzt werden, „wer kräftiger“ ist, denn wer kräftiger ist, weiß man schon jetzt – besonders in Hinsicht auf das Selbstsicherheitsgefühl und auf einen Mangel an Komplexen. Es müsste eine Verständigung darüber geben, dass man die regionale Kultur schützen sollte, nicht eine Kultur von einem bestimmten Volk. Das ist ja möglich, wenn z.B. das teutonische Schloss in Marienburg ein Gut sein kann, das von einheimischen Polen geschützt wird und ihr Stolz ist, ein Wert an einem bestimmten Platz und nicht von einem bestimmten Volk. Umso mehr sollte es möglich sein, die Geschichte des Großherzogtums Litauen für die gemeinsame Geschichte der Region anzuerkennen und seine Sehenswürdigkeiten zu schützen, zu denen die Sprachwissenschaftler auch die historischen Ortsnamen rechnen. Wir sollten uns daran erinnern, dass, als im Jahre 1981 120 Namen in Bieszczady wiederhergestellt wurden, man sorgfältig den Begriff „ukrainisch“ vermied; sogar Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, der sich stark in der Angelegenheit engagiert hatte, scheute sich davor, ihn zu benutzen. Das lief nicht auf Antrag ab und noch weniger unter dem Druck der erschrockenen Ukrainer, die glücklich waren, dass sie noch lebten, sondern wegen der polnischen intellektuellen Eliten. Die Tatsache, dass nichts Ähnliches in der Region von Białystok passiert hat, ist wahrscheinlich nicht nur ein Ergebnis der einmaligen Atmosphäre im Jahr 1981, sondern auch der Tatsache, dass, ähnlich wie heute, für die Polen die Ukraine und der griechische Katholizismus wichtiger sind als das griechisch-orthodoxe Glaubensbekenntnis und Weißrussland.

Die letzten könnten aus Sicht der Polen verschwinden, und besonders die Weißrussen in der Region von Białystok, die selbst durch die katholische Hierarche offen verdächtigt werden, Moskau zu dienen. Das tun sie natürlich nicht, aber da die Kirche auch nichts von ihnen bekommt, ist das eher das Problem. Außerdem sind von den Ukrainern in Bieszczady nur die Namen (und die noch nicht einmal vollzählig) geblieben, und bei den Weißrussen geht es sowohl um die Namen als auch die Weißrussen selber. Wenn es so ist, dann kann man die Feststellung wagen, dass die Zukunft der zweisprachigen Namen in hohem Maß von der römisch-katholischen Hierarchie in der Region von Białystok abhängig ist, davon, ob sie darauf verzichten, die eigenen Interessen der Kirche *eine Wahrung des Polentums* zu nennen. Wenn die Kirche *in der Angelegenheit einen Standpunkt haben muss,* wird es wohl nicht ohne das – als Vorbedingung – abgehen. Hoffentlich wird dieser Wandel möglich und die Integration nach neuen Regeln ablaufen und nicht nach alten, wie in der Volksrepublik Polen (PRL), als die Integration mit einer Assimilation gleichgesetzt wurde.

Letztens, im Jahr 1995, hat Solidarność bloß klargestellt, dass sie *gegen weißrussisch klingelnden Ortsnamen mit allen Methoden kämpfen will.* Es ist wohl Zeit, diese Haltung zu ändern, die im gegenwärtigen Europa anachronistisch ist. Halten wir fest: Es gibt nicht mehr viele Woiewodschaften, die den Namen ihrer Hauptstadt tragen, so wie es in der Volksrepublik Polen (PRL) üblich war. Der Lubusker Woiewode ist sehr aufgeregt, dass er sein Amt in Gorzów Wielkopolski, und nicht in Lubuski oder einfach Gorzów ausübt. Und der Name wird sich nur ändern, wenn diejenigen aussterben, die sich immer noch mehr mit einer Idee „des Standard- oder Normpolentums" identifizieren als mit der Region. Jetzt fördert man Regionen mit einer eigenen Identität, der Kapitalismus ist ein großer Förderer des Individualismus. Es wird also die Zeit kommen für eine Förderung der kulturellen Besonderheiten, das, was in der Region von Białystok einmalig ist. Allerdings kann sich solches Denken in Kategorien eines eigenen Ortes in der Region von Białystok nicht durchsetzen. Dass z.B. das Denkmal vom Wisent (von dem Newerly geschrieben hat) nach Białowieża zurückkommen sollte, ist für viele Polen unverständlich. Sie sehen die Sache einfach so: „Spała ist doch auch Polen, wo gibt's also ein Problem?"

Ähnlich war es mit dem illegalen Namen Dubnica Kurpiowska, der 1980 illegal in der Gemeinde Kuźnica eingeführt worden ist. Es ist unbestritten ein Ausdruck eines regionalen Verrats, der daraus folgt, dass Polen sich in der Region von Białystok mehr mit Polen als mit der Region identifizieren. Aber das geht dem Woiewoden noch nicht auf die Nerven. Noch nicht. Wenn es so ist, dann muss man das „zaristische" Wisent nach Spała schicken, so dass es sich da „wiederpolonisiert", und man muss das wiederborstige Kurpie (und Podlasie) etwas zähmen, die Region von Białystok anpumpen usw. Unterdessen wäre – wenn man Namen wie Lidzbark Warmiński, Ostrów Mazowiecka, Ostrów Wielkopolski, Lwówek Śląski oder Dziemiany Kaszubskie betrachtet - der Name Dubnica Kurpiowska unzulässig, selbst wenn da faktisch die Kurpen leben würden, was bekanntlich nicht der Fall ist. Sogar ein Schriftsteller, Józef Rybiński (zum Glück ein Katholik) hat geschrieben, dass *heute, da der Dubnicki- und nicht der Kurpiowski-Urwald wächst, unsere Dubnica in Staatsdokumenten in Kurpiowska umgewandelt wurde*. Halten wir fest: *unsere,* nicht die weißrussische oder die polnische.

Da die Weißrussen in der Angelegenheit von der polnischen Unterstützung abhängig sein können - welche Chancen sehen sie für diese Unterstützung?

– Den Polen sollte daran gelegen sein, die zweisprachigen und offiziellen historischen Namen wieder einzuführen, schon weil das immer ein touristischer

Anziehungspunkt ist. Wenn man im Ausland ist, springt so ein Element in die Augen und weist auf die regionale Besonderheit hin, sagt deutlich, dass es gerade hier etwas anderes gibt, und so eine Andersartigkeit sucht jetzt doch jeder, sie ist eine der am meisten anziehenden Elemente für Touristen. Eine Stadt in Niederschlesien wirbt für sich als Schauplatz des Films über Kargul und Pawlak, es gibt da sogar ein Museum dieses Films, das durch die Gemeinde finanziert wird. Eine andere Gemeindehauptstadt wirbt für sich als Sitz von Koziołek Matołek. Solche halsbrecherischen Versuche an der Grenze zur Lächerlichkeit macht man, um eine besondere Identität zu bekommen. Wiederum muß Kętrzyn (Rastenburg) auf Hitlers Bunker stolz sein und das „verkaufen", denn was soll es tun, wenn Touristen nur das akzeptieren, was authentisch ist, man will ja keine künstliche Pyramiden, keine Fotos mit einem Kamel, auch wenn es technisch möglich wäre, aber der Bunker ist authentisch, und da ist nichts zu machen! Und hier gibt's eine angenehme Besonderheit, die regionale Identität, die mit dem ehemaligen Grenzgebiet verbunden ist, die man einfach annehmen kann, es reicht, sie zu akzeptieren - aber dazu fehlt die Bereitschaft. Und der Kapitalismus duldet keine Leere: Falls Białystok nicht will, organisiert z.B. Łódź das Festival des Dialogs der vier Kulturen und hat in den Schulprogrammen Stunden über Kultur der nationalen Minderheiten, die in der Woiewodschaft leben. Ja, das ist kein Witz! Wenn wir nicht wollen, dann macht dieses Geschäft jemand anders, und wir werden inzwischen die Kultur von Kurpen fördern oder großmütig Spała „die zaristischen" Andenken schenken. Vor allem nicht man selber sein – das ist ein Grundsatz eines Menschen in der Region von Białystok, „Hier ist Polen, nicht irgendeine Region von Białystok!".

Außerdem könnte das Bemühen um die regionale Identität Polen und Weißrussen auf der Basis der gemeinsamen Geschichte des Großherzogtums Litauen zusammenführen. Die regionale Geschichte sollte gemeinsam sein, nicht unterschiedlich für jedes Volk. Als Beispiel kann man wieder das Schloss in Malbork (Marienburg) betrachten. Niemand sagt, man sollte es zerstören, nur weil es ein Kreuzritterschloss ist. Das wäre eine Barbarei. Ganz im Gegenteil, alle sind stolz auf das Schloss, obwohl es in sich selbst eine deutliche Erinnerung daran ist, dass die Länder früher nicht zu Polen gehört haben - Was bedeutet das aber, dass sie nicht dazugehört haben? Was denn? Etwas anders geht man mit den historischen Namen in der Region von Białystok um, leider…Und die Geschichte Polens und Litauens ist doch nicht so antagonistisch wie die Geschichte Polens und Preußens.

Mit den Ortsnamen ist es ähnlich. Es ist nicht wichtig, ob sie weißrussische oder ukrainische Eigenschaften bedeuten; nur die Tatsache, dass sie historisch sind und zu einem bestimmten Ort gehören, nicht einem Volk, zeugt von einer

gemeinsamen Geschichte. Immerhin kann so ein Denken in Kategorien eines Ortes in der Region von Białystok noch nicht beginnen. Es fehlt immer noch das Denken in Kategorien „unserer Sache“ und einer Gemeinsamkeit von bestimmten Orten, Ereignissen, Angelegenheiten. Ohne dieses Denken wird es vermutlich keine zweisprachigen Namen geben, eine Möglichkeit, die uns der Sejm übrigens gnädig garantiert hat.

In allen demokratischen Gesellschaften sind die zweisprachigen Namen immerhin ein Standard, und sie erregen keine Emotionen.

– Tatsächlich, und es ist schon seit langem so. Einmal habe ich in Frankreich eine Postkarte gekauft, die ein inoffizielles Straßenschild vorgestellt hat und zwar mit einer Inschrift: „Hier endet Frankreich. Hier beginnt die Auvergne“. Das Schild trägt Spuren von Rost, also hat niemand versucht, es zu zerstören. Im Gegenteil: es „avancierte“ zum Objekt einer Postkarte.

Die zweisprachigen Schilder sollen signalisieren, dass Minderheiten dort geschätzt werden und dass die Integration nach ganz anderen Regeln erfolgen sollte, als die Regierenden in der Region von Białystok das verstehen. Nirgendwo haben doch die zweisprachigen Namen den Charakter einer Straßenauskunft. Vielleicht gilt das für die griechisch-englischen, aber ihr Ziel ist ganz anders, es handelt sich nicht um andere Namen, sondern stellt eine Transkription dar (z.B. Athina, nicht das englische Athens).

Dagegen herrscht in der Region von Białystok immer noch eine Stimmung, in der die weißrussischen Ratsmitglieder, wenn sie für diese Namen stimmen, ihnen das Etikett angeklebt wird, dass sie Weißrussland wieder einführen wollen. Man stellt zwei Haltungen gegenüber, entweder: „Hier ist die Region von Białystok und die gemeinsame Geschichte von vielen Nationen“ oder „Hier gibt es, gab es und wird auch geben ein normalisiertes und standardisiertes Polen“. Ob die Ratsmitglieder imstande sein werden, die Einmaligkeit der Region richtig einzuschätzen und gemeinsam im Geiste der ersten Haltung zu stimmen oder für die kompromittierte so genannte „Repolonisierung“ stimmen“, wird die Zeit zeigen

In dem Moment bricht ein Bild beinahe mythischer polnischer Toleranz zusammen…

– Wie Professor Mironowicz behauptet, wurde der Begriff der so genannten polnischen Toleranz erst vor relativ kurzer Zeit durch den Historiker Professor

Tazbir durchgesetzt, und zwar mehr als Idee denn als Realität, eine Idee, die den relativen Liberalismus der Epoche von Gierek unterstützt hat, denn z.B. haben sich „polnische“ weißrussisch-sprachige Tataren nur in den Grenzen des Großherzogtums Litauen angesiedelt, also bis nach Suchowola, aus der Gegend, woher der Priester Jerzy Popiełuszko kommt, der auch *als Kind nur einfach gesprochen hat, das bedeutet weißrussisch,* wie der „Tygodnik Powszechny“ einmal geschrieben hat. Auch da, „in Litauen“, gab es religiöse Freiheit, die, wenn sie begrenzt wurde, dann eben durch die Polen eingeschränkt wurde (Beispiele dafür sind die Verweigerung der Baugenehmigung einer neuen orthodoxen Kirche in Vilnius oder die spätere Rücknahme der Legalisierung des griechisch-orthodoxen Glaubensbekenntnisses). Dennoch, da dieser Begriff einmal durchgesetzt wurde, kommt jetzt die Zeit, die richtige Toleranz wieder im ehemaligen Großherzogtum Litauen in die Wirklichkeit umzusetzen.

In den Diskussionen um die eventuelle Einführung der zweisprachigen Namen bringt man sehr oft das Thema einer Aufzeichnung der Namen zur Sprache. Es tauchen Zweifel auf, welches Alphabet man benutzen sollte, ob es ein historischer, ein mundartlicher und in kyrillischer Schrift geschriebener Name sein sollte, oder vielleicht seine literarische Version… Dazu sollte man über die Ukrainer in der Region von Białystok reden, deren Vertreter sich über die eventuelle Einführung der weißrussischen Namen auf den auch von Ukrainern bewohnten Dörfern empören…

– Genau aus diesen Gründen sollten die zweisprachigen Namen nicht in der literarischen Version geschrieben werden, sondern in der mundartlichen – also jener, die die Einwohner eines Dorfes oder einer Stadt auch benutzen. Dann kann keiner einen anderen wegen einer Manipulation anklagen – dass man z.B. einen ukrainischen Namen in einen weißrussischen ändert oder umgekehrt. Das Dilemma betrifft zwar nicht Gemeinden wie Michałowo, Szudziałowo oder Krynki, aber gerade dort hat der Sejm die Einführung der zweisprachigen Namen für die ganze Gemeinde nicht beabsichtigt. Bei dieser Gelegenheit erkläre ich den Unterschied zwischen dem historischen und dem weißrussischen Namen: z.B. der historische Name in den polnischen Dokumenten der Zeit vor der Teilung ist Juszkowy Hrud (hrud – ein hoher, trockener Platz mitten in einem feuchten Gelände), dagegen ist der weißrussische Name Juszkau Hrud (das heißt: Juškau Hrud).

Wenn es um die Frage des Alphabets geht, dann bei der Befürchtung, dass die kyrillische Schrift missfallen kann. Hier ist immer das lateinische Alphabet

möglich (besonders in den katholischen Regionen), das hier dem tschechischen Alphabet ähnlich ist (d.h. sz=š, cz=č, ż=ž, w=v). Über die Wahl eines Alphabets sollen die Einwohner entscheiden, obwohl man sich zuerst für die kyrillische Schrift entscheiden kann. Die lateinische Rechtschreibung wäre zugänglicher für Polen und auch Weißrussen der mittleren Generation, wie Leon Tarasewicz oder Jan Maksymiuk, denn sie gefiel schon in der Zeit der ersten Solidarność in den achtziger Jahren, und vergessen wir am besten diejenigen, die jetzt polnische Schulen besuchen, an denen kein Weißrussisch unterrichtet wird, die noch nicht einmal Russischunterricht haben. Nur - auf der anderen Seite – würden sich die Weißrussen mit dem lateinischen Alphabet identifizieren? Ich denke, nicht immer, aber diejenigen, denen es nicht gefällt, könnten sich auch nicht für die kyrillische Schrift entscheiden – ich vermute, aus Furcht vor der Reaktion der Nachbarn – der Polen, vor einer Stigmatisierung durch sie. Manchmal ist das vielleicht etwas vorschnell und übertrieben, entspricht nicht der Wirklichkeit. Insgesamt aber scheint die „Stigmatisierung“ in der lateinischen Version weniger problematisch für die Polen zu sein, und mit der Zeit vielleicht gar nicht mehr problematisch, besonders wenn die zweisprachigen Namen auf dem Gebiet der ganzen Gemeinde eingeführt werden und die so genannte „weißrussische Angst“ auf diese Art und Weise „verwässert“ wird.

Die Landräte einiger Gemeinden, darunter der Landrat von Dubicze Cerkiewne, finden jedoch, dass ihre Einwohner keine Namensänderungen wollen…

– Der Landrat von Dubicze Cerkiewne – und nicht nur er – verharmlost die Situation der Weißrussen. Obwohl sich 83 % der Gemeindeeinwohner als Weißrussen erklärt haben, meint er, dass dies nichts bedeute, weil es doch auch die Ukrainer gebe. Im Februar 2005 hat sich die „Niwa“ darüber lustig gemacht, weil es offiziell 32 Ukrainer dort gebe, dagegen 1677 Weißrussen. Auf ähnliche Weise hat sie vorher die Frage der Wiederherstellung der historischen Namen Kruhłe, Hurynow Hrud und anderer bagatellisiert. 1980 hat die Behörde illegal, ohne jemanden zu fragen und sogar ohne jemanden zu informieren, (nicht in der Gemeinde, aber zumindest in der Woiewodschaft) den Namen von Krągłe geändert, und 1967 Górny Grud in Górny Gród geändert. Die Einwohner des Dorfes können bis heute kaum glauben, dass sie in Krągłe wohnen, so stark sind sie überzeugt, dass der alte Namen immer noch gilt. Der Landrat hat jedoch in der Sache nichts unternommen, obwohl er selber zugegeben hat – auch in der „Niwa“ – dass der Namen *Okrągłe* für ihn absurd ist. Ich glaube nicht, dass ein Landrat, der für die

Einwohner in diesem Fall nicht gesorgt hat, die Einführung der zweisprachigen Namen vorschlagen wird. Die Einwohner dagegen werden solchen Antrag deshalb nicht einbringen, weil sie jeden Tag mit alltäglichen Angelegenheiten beschäftigt sind, was völlig verständlich ist. Wenn die Situation in der „superweißrussischen" Gemeinde so aussieht, was kann man von jenen Gemeinderäten erwarten, in denen es bedeutend weniger Weißrussen gibt?

Als Sie vor einiger Zeit Stimmen für die Rückkehr der historischen Namen gesammelt haben, gaben Ihnen viele Einwohner ihre Unterstützung. Welche Ergebnisse der in den Gemeinden durchgeführten Konsultationen erwarten Sie jetzt?

– Alles hängt davon ab, mit welcher Absicht jemand das Problem vorstellt. Ob er „konsultiert", indem er z.B. eine eigene „feindliche amtliche Neutralität" für die Sache erkennen läßt, oder ob er sich für Förderung und Akzeptanz ausspricht.

Als ich die Unterschriften der Mehrheit der Landwirte und der Einwohner gesammelt habe, habe ich nicht gefragt, ob die betreffende Person die Wiederherstellung eines weißrussischen Namens (genauer: eines historischen Namens, also des Namens mit weisrussischen Zeichen) wünscht, ich habe gleich gesagt, dass ich dafür bin und um Unterstützung bitte, auch wenn man sie mir nicht geben kann (was nur in zwei Fällen passiert ist!). Außerdem habe ich immer erklärt, welcher Name historisch ist und welcher aktuell, denn den mundartlichen kannte sowieso jeder. Ich wollte also herausfinden, auf welche Zustimmung ich zählen kann. Ganz anders ist es, wenn ein Beamter kommt und mir nichts, dir nichts die Frage stellt: „Wer will den Namen Juszkowy Gród, und wer ist für den Namen Juszkowy Hrud", und er erklärt nichts dabei, vielleicht nur, dass…dann angeblich ein so genannter Dokumententausch droht, so wie es in den Jahren 1995-98 bei unseren Bemühungen um die Wiederherstellung der illegal geänderten Namen war. Jetzt kann man nicht so argumentieren, um die Einwohner zu entmutigen, denn die Einführung der zweisprachigen Namen verlangt keinen Dokumententausch, diese Namen haben keine amtliche Anwendung.

Das Problem kann also darin bestehen, dass die Gemeindebehörden bei einer Konsultation den Einwohnern suggerieren könnten, daß es besser wäre, die Namen ohne Änderungen zu lassen. Wenn der Landrat selbst suggestiv ist, indem er erklärt, dass er persönlich dagegen ist, dann ist es klar, welchen Einfluss dies auf die Einwohner haben kann…

Ein interessantes Gespräch habe ich vor ein paar Jahren geführt, es ist also nicht so lange her, mit den Einwohnern des Dorfes Sawin Hrud (heute Sawiny

Gród, aber es hießt schon Grunt, Sowin und Sowinny), wo die Einwohner alleine gemerkt haben, dass, wenn der Namen schon ein paar Mal geändert wurde, es auch diesmal keine Katastrophe bedeuten würde. Ich kann nicht glauben, dass in so einer kurzen Zeit sich ihre Haltung radikal in die andere Richtung geändert hat.

1995 und danach sagte kein Beamter, dass bei einer Änderung des offiziellen Namens der Dokumententausch umsonst vor sich geht (und das ausschließlich mit einem vor Ort gemachtem Foto) und dass der Umtausch nicht unbedingt unverzüglich nötig ist, wie die Erfahrung aus den Jahren 1960-80 und die jetzige Erfahrung lehren. Auch heute leben die Einwohner von Kruhłe oder Borsukowina irgendwie, obwohl es in ihren Dokumenten die offiziellen „Neu-Namen" Krągłe, Borsukowizna nicht gibt. Das Problem steckt woanders: Sofort, unverzüglich müssten ihre Dokumente geändert werden, und das nur durch die Verwaltung, und es ist doch besser in der Zeit z.B. Kaffee zu trinken und Kekse zu essen.

Wenn das Argument jetzt entfällt, werden sicher neue erscheinen, z.B. das Argument „der Kosten", das ja immer zur Verfügung steht. Es ist bloß interessant, dass die Polonisierung der Namen nichts gekostet hat, und wenn schon, dann fiel das nicht ins Gewicht…

Gesprochen **Joanna Chaniło**
Übersetzung **Ewa Bacia**

Das Interview in Kurzfassung wurde im Juni 2005 im „Kurier Hajnowski" veröffentlicht und „Czasopis", 10/05.

SKIZZE

Mattias Nowak
Mi Lennhag

Ökade möjligheter till nyanserad bild av Vitryssland i Sverige

”Europas sista diktatur” är ett slagkraftigt uttryck som använts frekvent i de senaste årens svenska medierapportering om Vitryssland. Den vitryska politiken beskrivs som reaktionär, auktoritär och starkt kontrollerat av den allsmäktige presidenten Victor Lukasjenka. Indirekt utmålas härmed även stora delar av det vitryska samhället samt befolkningen, vilken faktiskt genom val stödjer den samtida politiska regimen, som bakåtsträvande och ointresserade av en demokratisk utveckling. Frågan vad detta stöd beror på besvaras dock mycket sällan. En föga nyanserad och främst politiskt orienterad diskurs om Vitryssland, som ofta saknar djuptgående problematisering av den vitryska historien och kulturen, har dominerat mediebilden och ligger till grund för många svenskars kunskaper – eller bristande kunskaper – om Vitryssland. Vi svenskar får främst information av politisk karaktär, men ytterst lite av kulturell, även om den sistnämnda skulle kunna bidra till svenskarnas, inklusive journalisternas, förståelse för det samtida vitryska samhället. Hur mycket vet vi egentligen om vitrysk historia, kultur, litteratur eller landets samhällsliv? Vad vet vi förutom att Vitryssland kallas ”Europas sista diktatur”?

Det finns få informationskällor tillgängliga som kan användas av svenskar som önskar att besöka Vitryssland. Utbudet av böcker på svenska som behandlar det vitryska samhället är starkt begränsat. Dessutom finns praktiskt taget inga böcker om vitrysk historia och kultur på svenska. Det engelskspråkliga utbudet är förvisso större, men inte jämförbart med publikationer om andra länder i Östeuropa.

Enligt historikern Andrej Kotljarchuk förmedlar svenska medier en begränsad bild av Vitryssland. Den västerländska läsaren tror ibland att Vitryssland inte är annat än en provins i Ryssland. Kotljarchuk menar att dagens medierapportering genomsyras av bristande kunskaper. Till exempel har en svensk journalist felaktigt skrivit att Vitryssland översatt till svenska betyder ”Ryssland vintertid”[1]. Enligt Niklas Bernsand, doktorand i Öst- och Centraleuropakunskap vid Lunds universitet, kan svenska journalisters bristande kunskaper om Vitryssland delvis förklaras med att journalisterna oftast är stationerade i kringliggande länder och inte i Vitryssland.[2]

Vi hävdar att förståelse av ett lands kultur, historia och religion är en förutsättning för att korrekt kunna förstå och beskriva ett lands politiska situation. I en normativ anda anser vi att denna typ av förståelse behövs i en större utsträckning inom dagens svenska medier. I begreppet kultur innefattar vi ett system av verklighetsuppfattningar och handlingsmönster som har utformats historiskt och som idag genomsyrar ett visst samhälle. Kultur kan därmed enligt denna breda definition inkludera såväl språk, nationella identiteter och religiösa traditioner som modern konst och musik. Vi använder oss alltså av både ett antropologiskt perspektiv och en moderna syn på vad som är konst. Vad som hänt de senaste åren är att allt mer information blivit tillgänglig i Sverige. Den utnyttjas dock i en allt för liten utsträckning.

Syftet med den här artikeln är att belysa de kontakter och det intresse som finns länderna emellan. Trots att Vitryssland i medier oftast enbart är ”en politisk diktatur” finns det allt fler exempel på försök att nyansera bilden och öka kunskapen om de delar av det vitryska livet som föga nämns i de dominerande medierna. Under senare år har allt fler forskare, medborgerliga organisationer, kulturella föreningar och frilansjournalister försökt bredda, nyansera och problematisera bilden av Vitryssland. I denna artikel kommer vi att presentera de verksamheter som syftar till att erbjuda Sverige och svenskarna en rikare bild av Vitryssland.

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[1] Andrej Kotljarchuk 2004.
[2] Niklas Bernsand 2006.

Vitryssland och det svenska forskarsamhället

Enligt Helena Marttinen, f.d. praktikant vid svenska ambassaden i Rysslands sektionskontor i Minsk, hämtar svenska besökare i Vitryssland information om landet främst från två på svenska utgivna böcker. Den första är den svenske liberale och partipolitiskt knutne journalisten Tobias Ljungvall som skrivit boken Kontroll (2003). Den andre är Sveriges Radios Östeuropakorrespondent Kjell Albin Abrahamsson, som 2001 skrev Vitryssland – 89 millimeter från Europa. Trots dessa böckers informativa och exemplifierande karaktär, bygger de inte på vetenskaplig forskning utan är främst journalistiska. Detta är samtidigt två av ytterst få exempel på journalister som har gedigen kunskap om Vitryssland. I fallen med övriga länder i Östeuropa råder mer jämvikt mellan publikationer av journalistiskt och mer djupgående vetenskapligt slag. Dessa två former av publikationer kan ofta komplettera varandra och bidra till en bredare bild av ett samhälle. Till exempel kan journalister i Sverige som skriver om Ukraina hämta information från en växande skara av forskare som utifrån olika perspektiv fokuserar på Ukrainas samhällsliv. I sammanhanget kan nämnas historikern Johan Dietsch som arbetar med samtida ukrainskt historiebruk och doktoranden i Öst- och Centraleuropakunskap Niklas Bernsand som i sin forskning fokuserar på språkideologier och ukrainsk identitet.

Sverige har dock under de senaste åren bevittnat ett ökat intresse bland forskare för såväl den samtida vitryska politiken som för vitryssarnas kultur, litteratur och historia. Detta intresse resulterade, och resulterar fortfarande, i ett antal publikationer som på ett väsentligt sätt skulle kunna öka journalisternas och svenskarnas kunskap om och förståelse för de mycket komplexa politiska och kulturella förhållandena som råder i det vitryska samhället. Denna förståelse skulle i sin tur kunna användas för att förklara varför ”Europas sista diktatur” faktiskt erhåller ett starkt stöd bland den vitryska befolkningen. En rad historiska företeelser ligger bakom detta stöd.

År 1997 trycktes vid Lunds universitet kulturhistorikern Barbara Törnquist-Plewas bok ”Vitryssland - språk och identitet i ett kulturellt gränsland”[3]. Denna publikation var den första svenskspråkliga monografin om Vitrysslands historia och om den vitryska nationsbyggnadsprocessen. Professor Törnquist-Plewa behandlar inledningsvis de teoretiska verktyg som kan användas för att erhålla förståelse om komplikationerna kring identitetsskapande i kulturella gränstrakter. Ett särskilt empiriskt fokus läggs därefter på den historiskt kulturella interaktionen mellan

[3] En omarbetad version utkom pÍ Studentlitteratur 2001. Eftersom Studentlitteratur är ett relativt stort förlag till skillnad frÍn utgÍvan pÍ Slavica Lundensia 1997 nÍdde utgÍvan 2001 en större publik.

vitryssar, litauer, polacker, ryssar och andra nationella och etniska gemenskaper, vilka bodde sida vid sida i den historiska statsbildningen Polen-Litauen. I boken hävdas att den vitryska nationen, i ordets moderna betydelse, i likhet med flera andra europeiska nationer, började formas först under 1800-talets slut. I det vitryska fallet upplevde man dock därefter en försvagning av den nationella självidentifikationen, främst under den sovjetiska epoken. En kraftig sovjetisering anses ligga bakom dagens svaga nationella självkänsla bland vitryssar, vilket bidrar till att en stor del av samhället sympatiserar med Ljukasjenkas Rysslandsorienterade politik. I en annan kortare publikation förklarar Törnquist-Plewa sympatin för Lukasjenka med hänvisning till myternas och symbolernas roller i Öst- och Centraleuropas historia.[4] Politiker som skickligt kan använda sig av de i den kollektiva mentaliteten djuprotade symboliska referensramar har potential att erhålla brett folkligt stöd, vilket var fallet med Vitrysslands president. Törnquist-Plewa skriver:

> För den vitryska nationella kulturen är folklore – folkkonst, folksånger och folksagor – mycket viktiga. Ett motiv som ofta återkommer i de vitryska folksagorna och i en bearbetad, transformerad form även i den vitryska skönlitteraturen, är berättelsen om ett föräldralöst barn och dess umbäranden. Barnet (oftast en pojke) lider och är utsatt för förtryck. Till sist besegrar han med list (och sällan våld) de rika, grymma förtryckarna och blir själv härskare. Han blir en god tsar, en riktig fader för folket […] Detta symboliska scenario utnyttjades i det politiska spelet om makten i Vitryssland 1995. Under presidentkampanjen presenterade sig Alexander Lukasjenko […] som en man av folket som skulle kämpa mot den gamla kommunistiska nomenklaturens korruption och maktmissbruk. I sina tal berättade han mycket om sin faderlösa barndom och fattigdom […] Lukasjenkos retorik gick hem.[5]

Törnquist-Plewas publikationer kan ses som exempel bland nya och betydelsefulla källor till information om Vitryssland. Vi hävdar att den typen av på forskning baserad kunskap oftare borde ligga till grund för journalistiska publikationer. Tilläggas kan att ovan nämnda verk är skrivna på ett lättillgängligt sätt och därmed inte är begränsade till strikt akademiska sammanhang.

Det under senare år ökande intresset för Vitryssland märks även i ett flertal nya artiklar, vilka behandlar såväl Vitrysslands samtida politik som dess historia och kulturhistoria. Även om utbudet fortfarande är begränsat skrivs och publicerades allt mer vid olika svenska universitet och högskolor. År 2004 utgav exempelvis tidskriften Baltic and East European studies, knuten till Södertorns högskola, ett tidskriftsnummer med titeln ”Contemporary Change in Belarus”, redigerad av Egle Rindzeviciute. Det till Lunds universitet knutna Centrum för Europaforsk-

[4] Törnquist-Plewa (2003) s. 127-128 i Petersson & Lindström red.
[5] Ibid.

ning publicerade år 2006 antologin ”History, Language and Society in the Borderlands of Europe – Ukraine and Belarus in Focus”, i vilken ett flertal vetenskapliga artiklar rörande vitrysk problematik ingår. Anna Brzozowska behandlar frågan om två olika konkurrerande narrativ som konstruerar två olika bilder av den vitryska identiteten. Det enda narrativet kallas nationaldemokratiskt och sprids av den nationellt orienterade oppositionella eliten, medan det andra kan kallas det postsovjetiska. En annan artikel i antologin är skriven av lingvisten Genadz' Tsykhun, som hävdar att det är en alltför vanlig stereotyp att skriva att en stor majoritet vitryssar talar ryska. I stället hävdar han att de flesta vitryssar i verkligheten talar ett blandspråk (trasjanka). För journalister som skiriver att ryskan är det klart dominerande språket i landet, skulle denna information kunna nyansera bevakningen av det vitryska samhället.

År 2003 skrev historikern Andrej Kotljarchuk, numera verksam vid Södertörns högskola, en bok som behandlar de tre senaste seklens svensk-vitryska förbindelser. I boken nämns exempelvis Karl XII:s marsch genom dagens Vitryssland och svenskarnas etnografiska expeditioner i mitten av 1800-talet. Kotljarchuk skriver att det i vitryskan skapades ett antal folkliga ordspråk, som har sin grund i de ömsesidiga historiska kontakterna. Ett intressant exempel utgörs av uttrycket ”za dzedam szvedam” (”under svenske farfars tid”) som vitryssar använder då de önskar referera till historiska tider. I detta ordspråk får begreppet ”svensk” betydelsen ”förfäder”. Då många svenska soldater stannade kvar efter det stora nordiska kriget och bosatte sig i dagens Vitryssland kan man antaga att ordspråket är baserat på verkliga historiska händelser. En del av de kvarvarande soldaterna kom att bli en del av borgarklassen och tjänstgjorde i det polsk-litauiska samväldets arméer. De assimilerades med det nya hemlandets befolkning och sägs ha grundat några vitryska byar, exempelvis byn Szvedy som betyder ”Svenskar”.[6] I Kotljarchuks doktorsavhandling ”In the shadows of Poland and Russia: The grand duchy of Lithuania and Sweden in the European crisis of the mid-17th century” (2006) driver han en tes om att ökad kunskap om historiska relationer mellan Sverige och det Polsk-Litauiska riket kan stärka de samtida banden länderna emellan.

[6] Informationen är hämtad frĺn www.vitryssland.nu, där Kotljarchuks arbete presenteras pĺ svenska. Här kan man läsa en rad andra ordsprĺk som är kvarlevor frĺn historiska kontakter mellan svenskar och vitryssar, till exempel ordsprĺken „Härifrĺn kommer ryssar, och därifrĺn svenskar – ingenstans att ta vägen frĺn det stora eländet” och ”När svenskar kom, försvann det vatten ur Dvortjanskisjön”. Medan det första speglar den vitryska befolkningens svĺra levnadsförhĺllanden under det stora nordiska kriget, handlar det andra talesättet om vitryssarnas idéer kring svenskarnas trolldom. Idag börjar sĺdana ordsprĺk att försvinna frĺn det vitryska sprĺkbruket, men kan

Vid sidan om diverse publikationer har det svenska forskarsamhället relativt nyligen genomfört en rad symposier och för allmänheten öppna föredrag om vitrysk politik och kulturhistoria. Det till Lunds universitet knutna Centrum för Europaforskning anordnade 2005 en välbesökt diskussionskväll om den vitryska politiska regimen och frågor kring vitryssarnas nationella självidentifikation. De inbjudna huvudgästerna var Tobias Ljungvall samt den i Polen bosatte vitryske författaren Sakrat Janowicz. Medan Ljungvall fokuserade på den aktuella politiska situationen, talade Janowicz om många vitryssars svaga nationella självuppfattning som resultat av en långtgående russifierings- och poloniseringsprocess. Han betonade att den folkliga kulturen, som i enlighet ovanstående citatet av Törnquist-Plewas, har en stark ställning. Janowicz påpekade att det i dagens östra Polen finns en vitrysk minoritet som kan arbeta utan censur och därmed kan ses som en viktig informationskälla om samhällslivet i Vitryssland. Då svenska journalister som behandlar den vitryska problematiken ofta är lokaliserade i länder som Polen och Ryssland, kan dessa länders vitryska minoriteter och deras verksamhet utgöra ett relevant studieobjekt. Särskilt gäller detta den vitryska minoriteten i Polen som är relativt välorganiserad och starkt oppositionell till Lukasjenkas regim.

Det svenska civila samhällets intresse för Vitryssland

Förutom att Sverige ibland kallas ”organisations-Sverige”[7] är landet också känt för sitt internationella engagemang i frågor om demokrati och mänskliga rättigheter. Under de senare åren har det svenska civila samhället bevittnat en framväxt av diverse föreningar och sammanslutningar, både politiskt och kulturellt orienterade, som sysslar med samhälleliga frågor rörande Vitryssland. Dessa organisationer kännetecknas enligt oss av fyra egenskaper.

För det första är de mångsidiga vad gäller intresseområden och verksamheter. Även om det samtida politiska klimatet i Vitryssland ofta står i fokus är ett ökande intresse för vitrysk kultur och historia märktbart, vilket inkluderar såväl politisk rapportering och stöd till oppositionella krafter i Vitryssland, som spridning av information om det vitryska samhällets kulturella yttringar inom poesi, konst, folkliga traditioner och språk. När det gäller de främst politiskt orienterade aktörerna

fortfarande ses som informationskällor angĺende de historiska kontakterna mellan de tvĺ nationerna. Utifrĺn sitt stora intresse för vitryskt-svenska etnokulturella kontakter arbetar Andrej Kotljarchuk för närvarande med en ny bok om den svenska vikingatiden i Vitryssland.

[7] Bäck och Möller beskriver i ”Partier och organisationer” (1997) hur Sverige internationellt sett uppvisar ett ovanligt högt folkligt engagemang i föreningar och partier. Endast mindre än en tiondel av befolkningen saknar anknytning till föreningslivet.

så kan svenska Amnesty International, Palmecentret och SILC (Svenskt internationellt liberalt centrum) nämnas. Många organisationer som visar ett intresse för den politiska utvecklingen arbetar samtidigt med frågor kring kulturellt utbyte mellan Sverige och Vitryssland samt med utbildning, kunskapsspridning och bistånd. Nämnas kan bl.a. ”Vitryssland – det fria ordet” som driver Internetportalen Vitryssland.nu, Svenska Institutet, Star of Hope och Öst- och centraleuropaföreningen i Lund. Ett nyligen genomfört försök att förmedla den vitryska kulturen till svenskarna och samtidigt beröra landets politiska förhållanden genomfördes dessutom av Dramaten i Stockholm. Den 25-26 september 2006 anordnades föreställningar med titeln Aspect: Belarus (Vitryssland). Följande text på Dramatens hemsida illustrerar vikten av att via kultur nyansera och öka den svenska befolkningens kunskap om och intresse för Vitryssland:

> För många svenskar är Belarus (Vitryssland) - trots närheten till Sverige - en vit fläck, ett svart hål. Med Aspect:Belarus skapar Elverket i samarbete med Svenska institutet en unik möjlighet att under två dagar - genom föreställningar av gruppen Free Theatre, samtal, fotoutställning, filmvisning och konsert – få inblick i „Europas sista diktatur”.
> Free Theatre instiftades av vitryska dramatiker och regissörer verksamma inom teater och film. Projektet startade den 30 mars, 2005 och kommer att avslutas när situationen i Vitryssland vänds från diktaturstat till demokrati. Genom Vaclav Havel och Tom Stoppards försorg, börjar FreeTheatres arbete att bli känt även utanför Vitrysslands gränser.[8]

För det andra, vad gäller de olika organisationernas karaktär, så märks ett tilltagande utbyte med det svenska forskarsamhället. På olika föreningars och sammanslutningars hemsidor kan information om vetenskapliga publikationer och symposier erhållas. Tillsammans anordnar universitet och organisationer diverse föredrags- och diskussionskvällar. I samband med det tidigare nämnda föredraget som anordnades i Lund 2005 och gästades av Tobias Ljungval och Sakrat Janowicz samarbetade Centrum för Europaforskning med Öst- och Centraleuropaföreningen samt den lokala FN-föreningen i Lund. Ett sådant samarbete mellan universitet och föreningar bidrar definitivt till spridning av en allt bredare och mera nyanserad kunskap.

En tredje aspekt är att såväl infödda svenskar som vitryska emigranter är engagerade i det svenska civila samhällets arbete med frågor kring Vitryssland. Detta tyder på att allt fler människor utan rötter i Vitryssland är intresserade av landets politik, kultur och historia. Ett rikt kulturellt utbytte bidrar till att den kunskap om Vitryssland som sprids genom det svenska samhället är baserat på allt fler källor. Tilläggas kan de olika organisationerna är verksamma i många olika delar av Sverige.

[8] www.dramaten.se (2006.09.26)

Slutligen relateras många organisationers intresse för Vitryssland till en större internationell kontext. Vikten av Europas såväl politiska som kulturella integration betonas. Vitrysk politik, kultur och historia relateras ofta till olika händelser och processer i övriga Europa. Dessutom märks ett tilltagande samarbete med liknande organisationer i andra länder.

En av de svenska aktörerna inom det civila samhället som bedriver en mångsidig och rik verksamhet utgörs av det tidigare nämnda ”Vitryssland – det fria ordet”. Denna organisation kännetecknas av alla de ovan angivna egenskaperna och kan lyftas fram som ett bra exempel på hur ett arbete med frågor kring vitrysk kultur, litteratur och historia kan förenas med en politisk aktivitet. Organisationens verksamhet utgör en bra informationskälla för alla som är intresserade av eller arbetar med frågor kring Vitryssland. På Internetportalen Vitryssland.nu, kan man kan hämta mycket information på svenska om såväl det historiska som det samtida Vitryssland. Även om portalen har en viss anknytning till det svenska socialdemokratiska partiet så är verksamheten inte ideologiskt influerad eller begränsad till politiska frågor.

I samarbete med Svenska institutet och Bok & bibliotek anordnade organisationen i september 2006 den vitryska författarinnan Svetlana Alexievichs framträdande på bokmässan i Göteborg. Titeln för detta framträdande var „Europa: Muren lever i Vitryssland”.[9] På Vitryssland.nu presenteras biografisk information om och exempel på författarskap av Alexievich, men även andra vitryska kulturpersoner, deras böcker och besök i Sverige presenteras.[10] Vitryssland – Det fria ordet samordnar och informerar om poesikvällar och konstnärliga utställningar med ett vitryskt tema samt om föredrag och publikationer av svenska forskare och Vitrysslandexperter. Information om samt exempel på den tidigare nämnda historikern Andrej Kotljarchuk verksamhet är ett exempel i samanhanget. Där till erbjudes information om både politisk och kulturell verksamhet i själva Vitryssland och kontakterna mellan civila samhällen i Sverige och Vitryssland.

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[9] www.vitryssland.nu (2006.09.25)

[10] Svetlana Alexievich är en internationellt uppskattad vitrysk författare som för sina publikationer erhĺllit mĺnga priser i bl.a. Sverige och Tyskland. Som exempel kan det svenska PEN priset nämnas som Alexievich fick för modet att realistiskt följa och beskriva det samtida vitryska samhällslivet. I sitt författarskap ställer hon ofta frĺgor som „Vilka är vi och vilket land lever vi i?”. (www.vitryssland.nu). Den typen av frĺgor handlar inte bara om den samtida politiska situationen utan även om den vitryska nationella identiteten och vitryssarnas försök att hitta sin plats i dagens Europa. Härmed bidrar en läsning av Alexevich till ökad kunskap i sĺväl Vitrysslands politiska situation, som i frĺgan kring människornas kulturhistoria. Förstĺelsen för det sistnämnda kan troligtvis öka förstĺelsen för dagens politiska läge.

Intresse leder till mer nyanserad bild

För många svenskar och delar av det svenska samhället fortsätter Vitryssland att utgöra en vit fläck på Europas karta eller ett land ”någonstans i Östeuropa”. Även den svenska journalistkåren uppvisar bristande kunskaper. Deras brist på insikter i Vitrysslands historia, kultur och politik begränsar deras möjligheter att korrekt analysera dagsläget och i förlängningen förmedla det till svenskar i allmänhet. Ett problem utgörs av att den svenska mediebevakningen av Vitryssland i att journalisterna är stationerade mycket oftare i Moskva eller Warszawa än i Minsk.

I den här artikeln har vi försökt redogöra för de ökande möjligheterna att erhålla korrekt, nyanserad och problematiserad kunskap om landet. Vi har visat på ett ökande antal informationskällor både inom forskarvärlden och i det civila samhället. Vi anser alltså att det i dag är fullt möjligt för svenska journalister att finna information om Vitryssland. I ett samhälle som det svenska, där massmedia ofta benämns som den tredje statsmakten, är det av största vikt att media uppvisar en korrekt och nyanserad bild. Även om Vitryssland för många i dagens Sverige fortfarande är ett relativt okänt land, kan förhoppningsvis det ökande intresset bland forskare och organisationer spridas till övriga delar av samhället och därmed påverka journalistikens karaktär. På basis av historisk, mytologisk och kulturell kunskap blir förklaringen av den komplexa samhälleliga situationen i Vitryssland rikare och mer korrekt. Detta får förhoppningsvis följden att vi slipper läsa om Vitryssland enbart som Europas sista diktatur utan djupare analys.

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Intervjuer

Helena Marttinen, fil.mag. i statsvetenskap och f.d. praktikant vid svenska ambassaden i Rysslands sektionskontor i Minsk. (2006.09.23)

Niklas Bernsand, doktorand i Öst- och centraleuropakunskap vid Lunds universitet (2006.09.26)

STRESZCZENIE

W dzisiejszym społeczeństwie szwedzkim widoczny jest brak wiadomości na temat historii oraz kultury białoruskiej. Często obserwuje się niedostatek wiedzy w środowisku dziennikarskim. Szwedzcy dziennikarze opisują Białoruś przede wszystkim jako „ostatnią dyktaturę Europy” podkreślając dzisiejszy klimat polityczny białoruskiego państwa. Opis ten nie jest jednak pogłębiony o szczegółową analizę historycznych i kulturowych procesów, których poznanie ułatwiałoby możliwość lepszego zrozumienia dzisiejszej Białorusi oraz panującej w tym kraju politycznej sytuacji.

Autorzy powyższego artykułu pragną jednak podkreślić, że zarówno w szwedzkim świecie naukowym jak i w coraz większej części społeczeństwa szwedzkiego wzrasta szybko zainteresowanie problematyką Białorusi. W ostatnich latach pojawiło się w Szwecji kilka interesujących publikacji naukowych na temat zarówno polityki, historii, jak i kultury białoruskiej. Ciekawym przykładem w tym kontekście mogą być prace prof. Barbary Törniquist-Plewy oraz dr. Andreja Kotljarchuka. W szwedzkim społeczeństwie obywatelskim działa również coraz większa ilość organizacji, które zajmują się wspomaganiem białoruskiej opozycji, działalnością charytatywną oraz propagowaniem białoruskiej kultury i literatury w Szwecji. Pzykładem mogą być organizacje takie jak „Vitryssland – det Fria Ordet” (Białoruś – Wolne Słowo), „Star of Hope” (Gwiazda Nadzieji) oraz „Svenska Institutet” (Instytut Szwedzki).

Autorzy artykułu uważają, że zwiększone zainteresowanie dziennikarzy szwedzkich wyżej zaprezentowaną działalnością przyczynić by się mogło do lepszego zrozumienia sytuacji na Białorusi, i co za tym idzie, bardziej merytorycznych analiz dziennikarskich w szwedzkich mediach.

Mi Lennhag*, born 1981 in Sweden, is a free-lance journalist focusing on Eastern Europe. The main focus of her work is directed towards the contemporary political situation in Ukraine, Poland and Belarus. In 2006 Lennhag wrote a thesis concerning the picture of Ukraine in the Swedish press over the last three years.*

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VARIA

Exegi monument!

– Nie bez dumy powiedzieć sobie dziś już za Horacym może architekt i budowniczy tego prawdziwie pomnikowego dzieła, jakim jest ANNUS ALBARUTHENICUS; architekt śmiały, budowniczy mrówczo pracowity i wytrwały: oto kompedium, bez którego nikt, kto w sprawach białoruskich zechce mieć istotne rozeznanie, obejść się nie może. Zamysły tak ambitne, jak ten projekt wydawania wielojęzycznego rocznika poświęconego problematyce białoruskiej z reguły więdną szybko, zapał animatorów wygasa w uciążliwych i zniechęcających zmaganiach z pełną wybojów rzeczywistością: oto tymczasem siódma, w Krynkach wygotowana księga wielkiego rocznika. Siódma, jubileuszowa zatem! Jest czego winszować.

Nie tylko wydawniczego uporu i konsekwencji, ale – z większym jeszcze podziwem może – intelektualnego poziomu i treściwości tej księgi. Poziomu, bo z reguły publikują tu – czymże zwabieni, czyżby wysokimi honorariami? – wyborni autorzy, zarówno białoruscy, jak europejscy, by wymienić Włodzimierza Pawluczuka, Olega Łatyszonka, Sokrata Janowicza, Eugeniusza Kabatca, Michaela Fleminga, Feliksa Ackermana, Lajosa Pálfalviego, Arnolda McMillina... każdy niemal pisarz innego języka, odmienne postawy prezentujący, wypowiadający się w innych formach literackich.

Bardzo to bogata księga, bardzo instruktywna, wręcz fascynująca niekiedy. Każdego zapewne coś innego zaintrygować może, zresztą – ale o tym później – nie każdy ma to, co w języku komputerowców nazywa się „prawem dostępu" do każdego tekstu: niżej podpisany w każdym razie z wielką ciekawością czytał po angielsku subtelny esej Włodzimierza Pawluczuka o problemach mniejszości białoruskiej w Polsce, po francusku studium o tożsamości białoruskiej Bruno-

na Drweskiego, po polsku fragment zadziwiającej powieści historycznej Eugeniusza Kabatca...

Nie bez kozery wszakże wspominam tu o „prawie dostępu": poskarżyć się muszę, że nie mam go do prawie połowy pomieszczonych w tomie tekstów. To moje kalectwo, są z pewnością poligloci, którzy podobnie jak ja czytają po polsku, angielsku i francusku – ale trudu nie sprawia im też niemiecki, rozkoszują się lekturą w języku węgierskim i są w stanie odczuć subtelności stylistyczne tekstów białoruskich w języku ukraińskim. Zapewne jest w tym językowym rozpasaniu jakiś zamysł, może nawet – jakaś metoda, trudna jednak do przeniknięcia. Podejrzewam natomiast, że dla przeciętnie inteligentnego i przeciętnie wykształconego czytelnika z grubsza biorąc połowa pomieszczonych w roczniku tekstów pozostaje za barierą językową. Rozumiem intencję, jest nią zamiar dotarcia do jak największej liczby czytelników, tak anglojęzycznych jak niemieckich i węgierskich (o białoruskich oczywiście nie wspominam): czy jednak racjonalną rzeczą jest publikowanie tekstów w węgierskim, brutalnie mówiąc – jednak prowincjonalnym (podobnie jak polski zresztą czy ukraiński...) języku, a ignorowanie mającego nieporównanie większy zasięg języka rosyjskiego? To chyba błąd. Zaryzykowałbym bowiem twierdzenie, że to właśnie Rosjanie najmniej o Białorusi wiedzą – jako że są przeświadczeni, że wszystko o niej siłą rzeczy wiedzą. W takim stanie rzeczy każda rzeczowa informacja nawet dla rosyjskich elit brzmi jak niebywała sensacja – jeśli do nich w jakiś sposób dotrze. Przeczytałem oto przed niedawnym czasem w dodatku militarnym do „Niezawisimoj Gaziety" utrzymany w sensacyjnym tonie szkic o wielowiekowych zmaganiach Moskowii z Wielkim Księstwem Litewskim. Gdzie tu jednak sensacja? Otóż sensacją jest odkrycie autora – nie pomnę już jego nazwiska – że moskiewscy carowie walczyli nie z jakimiś mitycznymi Litwinami, lecz – Białorusinami właśnie... I że te zmagania trwały trzy wieki z okładem! Myślę, że takich wstrząsających podstawami dzisiejszego rosyjskiego myślenia (czy niemyślenia...) o Białorusi tekstów historycy i publicyści mogliby dostarczyć całe kopy.

Mój postulat więc: oświecić Rosjan! Ba, oświecić także mówiących po rosyjsku Białorusinów, wszak są i tacy? Ta gra jest warta świeczki.

Marian Pilot, *Warszawa, 18.09.06*

Firenze, 13 VIII 2006

Szanowny Panie Sokracie, Drogi Przyjacielu,

te dni spotkania w Łapiczach były dla mnie nieomal szczęśliwymi. Jeszcze raz dziękuję. Panu oraz wszystkim innym.

Tuż po zakończeniu naszych dni pojechałem do Mińska (do Mienska, do Mińska Litewskiego); przejazdem tam i z powrotem zatrzymałem się na kilka godzin w Grodnie i w Brześciu. W Mińsku zatrzymałem się na trzy dni. Cóż więc można powiedzieć po tak krótkim pobycie? A jednak: wrażenie odniosłem takie, iż Mińsk jest miastem stuprocentowo rosyjskojęzycznym; w Grodnie i w Brześciu również mówiłem tylko po rosyjsku. W dużej księgarni w Mińsku książki białoruskie były, ale w odizolowanym, prawie ukrytym, kąciku, a ekspedientka była niesmacznie zdziwiona na moją prośbę (później, na granicy, sam celnik był trochę zdumiony, że cudzoziemiec zachodni nosi ze sobą tyle książek białoruskich).

Moje doświadczenia z terenu Białorusi są jeszcze nader niekompletne, niedojrzałe, fragmentaryczne: ale mam wrażenie, że miejscowość, gdzie najbardziej mówi się po białorusku oraz o białoruskości, to Łapicze (und Umgebungen).

Ale, ale. Co się mnie tyczy: ja, czym tylko gdzieś pachnie sprawą przegraną, tam akurat ja lubię się znaleźć i grać, i być obecnym. Za tydzień wybieram się na urlop (nad morze, na wyspę Cherso/Cres). Po powrocie, od połowy września, będę pracował nad antologią poezji białoruskiej. Będę jeszcze kilkakrotnie przeszkadzał listownie pytaniami i prośbami. A ta antologia w końcu wyjdzie, i będzie bogatym świadectwem witalności białoruskiej kultury.

Panie Sokracie, jak się Pan ma? Co Pan obecnie pisze? Chętnie bym czytał od czasu do czasu parę słów od Pana.

Na razie, łączę wyrazy mojej przyjaźni.

Anton Maria Raffo

Беларускі Трыялёг – 2006

(Трыялёг)

Не трэба ехаць далёка ў горы,
Каб знайсці цуды роднай прыроды.
Шукаць спакой і нат' прыгоды,
Не трэба ехаць далёка ў горы,
Спазнаць рамантыку, у гуморы,
Вершы складаць з любай нагоды,
Не трэба ехаць далёка ў горы,
Каб знайсці цуды мілай прыроды.

(Макаранічны верш)

І трыялог, і дыялог,
І палілог, і маналог
Звінелі ў паветры млосна-чыстым.
Ні венгр, ні беларус, ані паляк –
Адзін тут хіба Włoch
быў крыху злосным.
Больш гаварылі пра беларуса.
Не, не пра włosy, нат' не пра вусы.
Што мы за людзі, стэрэатыпы?
Выступоўцы – дзіўныя ўсе тыпы:
Чэся на вершыкі больш цягне,
Юры змяніць саветаў прагне,
Матыяш сказаў нам
шмат пра шведаў,
Ляяш усё пра венграў ведаў,
Але маўчаў сабе ў рукаў.
Алег хацеў на Нёман з'ехаць,
Каб дзікую прыроду зведаць,
Але сядзеў і прыглядаўся,
На Еву Бацю любаваўся.
Арнольд ля Тэмзы заблудзіўся,
А Белы крыху прыпазніўся,
Але пра Белу Русь сказаў,
Што ў сваіх кніжках напісаў,
А Ева Баця, мілы Божа –
Taka mądra, taka гожа!
Антон з Фларэнцыі ганяўся
За буслам белым ды смяяўся
З смяхотнага English вымаўлення,
Ну, а Алена, на здзіўленне,
Крыху сачыла і słuchała,
Але праз moment – адключэнне
Якраз тагды, калі наш Радзік
Выліў вады, мо' цэлы тазік,
На беларусаў і на чэхаў.
Чаго сюды, ты брат, прыехаў?
Сакрат усіх зразумець стараўся
Ды да Алены ўсё чапляўся,
Каб хоць сядзела і маўчала,
Бо ведае яе нямала.

Такі вось Трыялёг сабраўся,
Такім жанчыне адной ён падаўся.

Алена, трыялошніца з Менску,
не саветчыца і не буфетчыца
July, 2006