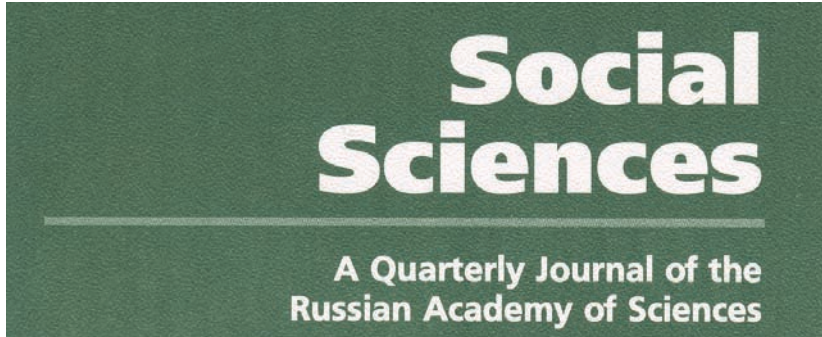


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### **INTERNATIONAL PROVOCATION: ON BORIS PASTERNAK'S NOBEL PRIZE**

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In 2009 Vremya Publishers released Ivan Tolstoy's book *The Laundered Novel: Boris Pasternak's "Doctor Zhivago" between the KGB and the CIA*. Ivan Tolstoy traces the story of the pirated edition of *Doctor Zhivago* in Russian sometimes following the established facts and at times contradicting them to the point of creating a detective story in complete disregard of actual history. He offers the reader a chance to penetrate as it were the secret intrigues of the CIA, to read their agents' and officers' correspondence cunningly plotting for the Nobel Prize to be awarded to Boris Pasternak. Ivan Tolstoy's theory boils down to the following: the Nobel Prize Committee has always had a tradition, perhaps not written down in their statutes, to award the Nobel Prize only to the work published in the original language. The absence of such an edition could have presented a serious obstacle for the Swedish Academy to choose Pasternak as a Laureate in 1958. In fact the pirate Russian edition of *Doctor Zhivago* became the last cornerstone in the construction which was finally crowned with the Nobel Prize for Literature. Announcing his book Ivan Tolstoy writes: "The publishing history of this novel has become one more of Pasternak's creations which had been conceived by him and brought to the Nobel Prize in accordance with his firm wish. Is it possible to declare now that the form of a publishing detective story which it had assumed is unrelated to the author's biography?"<sup>1</sup> We have no intention to analyze Tolstoy's book and disprove his sources—let those more competent in political history do it. The intention is to show that the fact, which Tolstoy believes to be a hereto undisclosed secret and around which he builds his whole theory, had been widely known and if it were not discussed by Pasternak scholars it was precisely because it was not directly related either to his biography or to the story of awarding him the Nobel Prize. The first Russian-language edition of *Doctor Zhivago*, (published in Holland in 1958), in fact came out with the support of the CIA (or rather the Central Association of Postwar Émigrés<sup>2</sup>). However, this fact has some significance only

in terms of the “cold war” history or, to be more precise, the history of world intelligence services, if it is at all studied somewhere. Was the Nobel Prize Committee influenced in its decision by the Russian edition of Pasternak’s novel? Did Pasternak take any measures to get his novel published in Russian with a view to win the Nobel Prize? Is the crime suspense described in Tolstoy’s book related to Pasternak’s literary life? The answer is unambiguously “no” to all these questions.

In a television program Ivan Tolstoy mentioned in passing that Pasternak “turned out to be incommensurate with the situation he had to face in connection with being awarded the Nobel Prize.”<sup>3</sup> In actual fact, the entire history of the struggle pro and contra the novel between the CIA (less known to the Russian reader) and the KGB (much better known<sup>4</sup>) as well as the story of the award and its forced rejection were completely incommensurate with Pasternak. The various individuals had different, often contrary, expectations from the author of *Doctor Zhivago* and were equally taken aback by his unexpected decisions that he continued to take in complete disregard of direct threats confronting him since 23 October, 1958. And he was guided not by the current circumstances but his own ingrained notions of life and death, duty and responsibility.

In November 1958, in connection with the award of the Nobel Prize to Pasternak a pro-Soviet Berlin newspaper *Za vozvrashcheniye na Rodinu* (For Return to Homeland) reprinted a note from the magazine *Der Spiegel* with a characteristic title: “This is how it is done...” (In fact, the summary of that notorious article, with some fantastic substitutions, constitutes the essence of Ivan Tolstoy’s plot.) The anonymous author of that note informed the reader that “the grounds for awarding Pasternak the Nobel Prize have been laid thanks to the international plot whose main participants were the Vatican, the notorious American committee of Free Europe in Munich and the Russian White Guards in the service of this committee.”<sup>5</sup> Further it was maintained that Giangiacomo Feltrinelli had already been negotiating with the Dutch company “Mouton” about the publication of *Doctor Zhivago* in Russian when a “mysterious stranger” suddenly crossed his way and “demanded insistently to publish 1,000 copies of the novel in the shortest possible time. Moreover, he produced from his briefcase some negatives of the full photocopied text of the novel.”<sup>6</sup>

Soon the author’s manuscript allegedly makes its appearance, with Pasternak’s own notes and his letter disproving Feltrinelli’s rights to the Russian edition. This operation was supposed “to pave the way for awarding the Nobel Prize to him (Pasternak.—A. S.-K.)”<sup>7</sup> Copies of the published book were distributed at the Brussels World Fair in the Vatican Pavilion. According to the paper, it was Vladimir Tolstoy, a member of the “Free Europe” Committee, who was among the most active perpetrators of the international provocation. Allegedly he visited Pasternak in Peredelkino in July, 1958, and then he personally handed out copies of the novel at the Brussels Fair. “Western friends” activities were qualified by the article as “war among political secret services” to undermine the existing system in the USSR.

As Lazar Fleishman justly writes about the policy followed by *Der Spiegel* and supported by *For Return to Homeland*, those articles pursued several aims at once. They were written in such a way as to damage the reputation of both Feltrinelli and Mouton, who had no legal rights to the Russian text, according to the international publishing practices of those days, and set them against each other. Moreover, they “presented the story of the Russian publication to appear as if it was a secret services’ operation and

clearly suggested that the author, possessed with the desire to get the Nobel Prize, was well aware of the nature of forces involved in the affair and personally approved of their actions.”<sup>8</sup> They also created the basis for a new myth, which turned out more durable than they had intended: “A thoughtful reader of these sensational denunciations was supposed to conclude that the newly awarded Nobel Prize for Literature was a direct result of the conspiracy of some dark political forces.”<sup>9</sup> It goes without saying that the article in *Der Spiegel* and its summary in *For Return to Homeland* were obviously written on the assignment or with the direct participation of the Soviet secret service. Clearly these German publications reiterated both the interpretation of the facts and the intonation of the massive Soviet press campaign. The articles were probably meant for the Soviet reader to see them accidentally rather than for seriously influencing Western opinion that was increasingly inclining in favor of Pasternak. The fiercer was the persecution campaign at home the more sympathetic was the public abroad towards the persecuted writer.

Here are the landmarks in the story of the pirated Russian publication of *Doctor Zhivago* in The Hague and the award of the Nobel Prize to Pasternak.

At the end of 1957 through early 1958, the French Slavist Jacqueline de Proyart, Pasternak’s trusted representative, carried out perfectly official negotiations with Mouton Publishers in The Hague. She was in the possession of the only typescript of *Doctor Zhivago* in the West, which had been approved by the author. On 12 January, 1958, Pasternak informed Feltrinelli: “You may have wished me to see my work in print in the version it has been written: in the original. In other words, please don’t prevent me from entrusting this delicate matter into the solicitous hands of my good friend Jacqueline de Proyart. When she has discussed with you the accompanying questions she will probably select Mouton Publishers in The Hague for realizing this publication as the most appropriate from the political point of view.”<sup>10</sup> In their private conversation Jacqueline de Proyart and Pasternak decided to choose an academic publishing house maximally distanced from politicized émigré circles. Mouton seemed most suitable in this respect because since 1955 it mostly specialized in academic monographs and reprints of books on Slavic history and philology: precisely the area of Jacqueline de Proyart’s immediate scholarly interests. She recalled: “I have already discussed with Pasternak a possibility of proposing this (publication of the novel in Russian.—A. S.-K.) to Mouton Publishers in Holland, who were well known for their facsimile reprints of Russian books which were out of print or banned in the USSR.”<sup>11</sup>

Anticipating possible resistance on the part of his Italian publisher Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, Pasternak shared his doubts with his French translator Hélène Peltier-Zamoyski: “I suspect, hypothetically, that contrary to my insistence Feltrinelli will interfere with Jacqueline’s plans regarding the rams and may disrupt them. I’m really distressed about it. What then is she going to do with my typescripts which exist in a single copy and which are entrusted into her hands with the ram purpose only?”<sup>12</sup> (“mouton” means “ram or sheep”).

When by September 1958 Mouton had really published the novel Pasternak was convinced that it was due to Jacqueline de Proyart’s efforts. “Rumor has it that my novel has been published in the original, that it is available for sale and is being read. How did it happen? Is it true? Then even inviting you for my future quartering I can’t find the words to express my gratitude to you and my joy.”<sup>13</sup> However, Pasternak was mistaken,

that was a pirated edition and it was a surprise not only for Jacqueline de Proyart but also for Feltrinelli whose name, nevertheless, was put retroactively on the title page. Having learnt that Jacqueline de Proyart had nothing to do with the Russian edition Pasternak addressed his reproaches to Feltrinelli: “Your excellent edition of the novel in Russian is full of typos most of which might not have been there had you let Madame de Proyart do the editing.”<sup>14</sup> The thing is that the pirated edition used an unedited version which contained a monstrous number of errors and misprints. However, Pasternak’s accusations addressed to his publisher were not fair—Feltrinelli had nothing to do with the Mouton edition either.

In his interview to *The Sunday Times* Giangiacomo Feltrinelli explained: “While the literary world was acclaiming *Doctor Zhivago* and its author, I became aware of the first signs of a battle between me and a number of persons and institutions (all connected with the same circle of anti-Soviet activities that in one way or another were connected to the CIA). I commissioned a limited edition of *Doctor Zhivago* in Russian from a printing shop in Holland but to my deep surprise a different, pirated Russian edition appeared in Holland... I did my best to prevent the use of the book for political purposes by anti-Soviet circles as well as the consequences for the author it might have.”<sup>15</sup> It is noteworthy that Feltrinelli repeats here the information from the anonymous note in *For Return to Homeland* while at the same time also conducting negotiations with Mouton, the same as his Paris antagonist Madame de Proyart, about the Russian edition of *Doctor Zhivago*. Thus the interests of all concerned came together in this one spot in The Hague.

A mention by Feltrinelli of “a number of persons and institutions (all connected with the same circle of anti-Soviet activities that in one way or another were connected to the CIA)” was aimed at Madame de Proyart and the CIA. A decoding of this message we find in the memoirs of Giangiacomo Feltrinelli’s son Carlo. Discussing the role of Madame de Proyart in this matter he writes: “There are a number of dark spots in her activities: for instance, it is not clear what her role really was in the pirated Russian edition of *Doctor Zhivago*.”<sup>16</sup> Further he hints unambiguously at the Countess’s cooperation with the American secret services: “Madame de Proyart, encouraged by the author’s trust, arranged everything at her own discretion and, as many in Italy believe, not without reason, at somebody else’s expense.”<sup>17</sup>

Father and son Feltrinelli were also mistaken. At the time when Mouton prepared for print the pirated edition of *Doctor Zhivago* using the photocopy with numerous typos, the proofread copy edited by the author and belonging to Jacqueline de Proyart was also sitting at the publishing house having been brought there by Professor Clemens Heller with whose mediation the Countess was negotiating with the publishers on the unpublished edition, but to no avail. Jacqueline de Proyart’s first meeting with the publishers took place in her house on 17 December, 1957. Six months later, on 14 May, 1958, she wrote to Pasternak: “Our rams are still asleep.”<sup>18</sup> She believed the work on the novel would start at the end of June. That summer the plans connected with Mouton began moving: “The rams will graze on my lawn for a month. My husband took them to the sheep-fold and I think they’ll be ready for sale by autumn.”<sup>19</sup> Jacqueline de Proyart’s husband Daniel de Proyart, who played the role of a lawyer in the negotiations with Mouton, handed the typescript of *Doctor Zhivago* to the publishers, together with the author’s autobiography and a copy of Pasternak’s collection of poetry (its type-set

material had been disbanded by the Goslit publisher in the USSR) that Mouton intended to publish after the novel.

Subsequently the events developed in an unexpected way: in August the pirated edition of *Doctor Zhivago* came out without any knowledge of the conflicting parties who both claimed the copyright to the novel. This inspired a scandal with Feltrinelli who practically put a stop to any further Pasternak publications at Mouton. Due to Feltrinelli's resistance Jacqueline de Proyart could not for a long time take part in publications of *Doctor Zhivago* in Russian. The authorized Russian typescript which was in her possession was first published only ten years later, in 1967.<sup>20</sup>

Expectedly, the question remains (not exactly insoluble, it should be mentioned): Who managed to strike a deal with Mouton having outwitted both the copyright holder, Feltrinelli, and Pasternak's representative Jacqueline de Proyart? As it has been shown above, quite plausible suppositions were made practically immediately after the event. After the publication of Lazar Fleishman's book *Russian Emigration Discovers "Doctor Zhivago,"* a series of obvious facts came into the open, which suggested the only possible conclusion that the pirated edition of *Doctor Zhivago* was initiated by one of the biggest émigré organizations in Europe: Central Association of Postwar Émigrés that was largely engaged in anti-Soviet activities, and hence is the noncommercial nature of the publication: the books were not offered for sale but were distributed at the World Fair which was attended by a Soviet delegation too. It is no secret for anyone, and neither had it ever been, that during the times of the "cold war" many Russian-language editions of books potentially capable of undermining the USSR system were published with the financial support and mediation of the CIA or other political organizations. For example, when Pasternak's collected works were prepared for print under the general editorship of Gleb Struve and Boris Filippov the same kind of sponsorship was involved. Discussing the details of the future edition Filippov wrote to Struve: "The money will come from different sources <...> interested in publishing non-Soviet Russian books, and especially those banned in the USSR or being out of favor there." And further: "Say, with the printing of 2,000 half will be bought by the people interested in these books penetrating to the other side, such as CAPE members and others."<sup>21</sup> Supposedly, the subsequent editions of Struve and Filippov were also subsidized by various political organizations. Suffice it to mention that in 1962-1968 Nikolay Gumilyov's collected works were published; in 1965, Anna Akhmatova; in 1967, Osip Mandelshtam, to name but a few. It would have been strange if a major novel rejected by Soviet publishers and inspiring political intrigues, even irrespective of its contents, would have remain unnoticed.

There remains a question, of course, where and in what way had the draft of the novel been obtained for the publication at Mouton. For a long time it was believed that the photocopy was made from the Russian copy in the possession of Feltrinelli. Carlo Feltrinelli recalls: "Let us note in parentheses that the CIA seemed to be partly involved in that affair. I mean the attempts at a pirate edition of the book. I read somewhere that Her majesty's intelligence service did not leave this book without its attention. Allegedly, they photographed the typescript at the Malta airport when the plane Feltrinelli was traveling in made a bogus emergency landing."<sup>22</sup> This story is repeated in Ivan Tolstoy's book almost unchanged. It is adorned with stunning fictional details, but on the whole it follows the version supplied by the Feltrinelli family. "Suddenly for no apparent reason the plane landed in Malta. The propellers went still. It was getting dark. A herd of

gesticulating passengers was unhurriedly streaming towards the lights of the one-storey airport building. All plans for the evening had gone to pot. But in the autumn twilight that day in 1956 there were several gentlemen in the Malta airport whose plans for the evening were completely contrary to those of the passengers: they needed the plane to change its course and land precisely in that airport. After the passengers had been seated in the waiting room a certain suitcase was found in the plane's belly and a plump folder containing a typescript was removed from it. It took two hours to secretly photocopy the 600-page manuscript in the airport office under the light of specially brought lamps; it was then put back into the suitcase upon which the passengers returned to the airplane. The propellers resumed their droning as if nothing had happened. And thus the typescript of Doctor Zhivago got into the hands of Western intelligence services."<sup>23</sup>

For all its detective attractiveness the "Malta" version remains only a hypothesis. In fact, we believe that in those days it was possible to get hold of a photocopy of the novel in much simpler ways. One of them was suggested recently by a person involved in that affair: the Italian journalist Sergio D'Angelo who delivered the typescript to Feltrinelli. He said: "If representatives of the CIA came to me with the request to give them the text of the novel I would have given it to them without a moment's thought."<sup>24</sup>

The speed with which the Russian version of Doctor Zhivago was published in the West is simply amazing. Only at the end of July, the photocopy arrived in the publishing house and already in September copies of the book were handed out at the Brussels fair. This unusual haste displayed by the publishers is usually explained with the same conclusion: "That was a resolution of the unnatural situation preventing the Nobel Committee from taking their decision: worldwide fame in the absence of the Russian edition."<sup>25</sup> This is the opinion of Yevgeny Borisovich, Pasternak's elder son. The newspaper *For Return to Homeland* sarcastically described how Pasternak's Western friends managed to get his Russian version of Doctor Zhivago published in "phenomenally quick time ... in order to pave the way for awarding him the Nobel Prize."<sup>26</sup> Ivan Tolstoy makes an unconditional conclusion: "The Swedes believed that it would be impossible to award the Nobel Prize to Pasternak without the Russian publication. The CIA believed that awarding the banned Soviet author this prestigious prize would be a monstrous slap on the face of the Kremlin authorities."<sup>27</sup> Now that the Nobel Prize archives have been opened this assertion has to be corrected. The CIA motives are still unknown, but what the Swedes thought about all this is quite evident. Among the members of the Nobel Prize Committee Pasternak's most active supporter was Anders Österling, a patriarch of the Swedish Academy, who had been on the Nobel Prize Committee for six decades and chaired it for nearly a quarter of a century, from the end of the 1940s. In the 1958 "annual protocols" to each of the candidates for the Nobel Prize Anders Österling added two and a half pages of his substantiation of Pasternak's nomination. As an "expert conclusion" on Pasternak's novel the materials of his Nobel "file" contained the article of the same Anders Österling "Boris Pasternak's Novel about the Revolution" published in *Stockholms-Tidningen* on 27 January, 1958. Summing up the debates in his capacity of a chairman, in the supplement to the final protocol of the Nobel Prize Committee, Anders Österling emphasized from the start that No. 19 (Boris Pasternak) ought to become the main candidate without any discussions.

On the basis of known translations from Pasternak's lyrics Österling names him "the most significant" among contemporary poets. And, naturally, the main argument in

Pasternak's favor was the recently published *Doctor Zhivago*. "I cannot imagine another work, apart from this novel, which would so supremely correspond to the ideals of the Nobel Prize, for the sake of which it had been originally established, in its artistic mastery, its mature wisdom, the pure and powerful spirit rising above any partisan intrigues, and probably simply apolitical. As evidence of the times and partly as a work of art, Pasternak's novel bears worthy comparison to Tolstoy's *War and Peace*: quite amazingly, thanks to the author's *laterna magica*, it is as if a lightning illuminates various pictures in the tragic chaos obtaining in the country during that period in Russian history." In Österling's opinion, the novel's merits were so obvious for all the Nobel Areopagites that "in this case the Academy can make their decision with a clear conscience on the basis of the translation, disregarding the fact that the work has not yet been published by the Soviets."<sup>28</sup>

We can see that the Swedish Academy was prepared to discuss Pasternak's novel as a candidate for the prize even in the absence of the Russian-language original edition. Were the CAPE efforts in vain then? Yes and no. It should be noted that after the publication in November 1957 of the Italian edition of *Doctor Zhivago* the Russian emigration was already acquainted with Pasternak's novel and was eagerly awaiting its Russian edition. An essay on Pasternak by Professor Renato Poggioli being prepared for print in the magazine *Opyty* (*Experiences*) is mentioned by its editor Yury Ivask in his letter to Gleb Struve: "I asked him (Renato Poggioli.—A. S.-K.) to write a post scriptum about *Doctor Zhivago*. His advantage over Weidle and Slonim, who read it in Italian, is that Italian is his native tongue. But that cannot substitute, naturally, reading the novel in the original."<sup>29</sup> Yury Terapiano reiterates Ivask's opinion: "Will *Doctor Zhivago* be published in Russian? A translation is not the same thing."<sup>30</sup> The major critics of the Russian emigration (such as Fyodor Stepan, Mark Slonim, Viktor Frank, Gleb Struve) had to retell the novel, which they had to read in a foreign language, and analyze it without reading it in the Russian original. In their notes they could only inform the reader about the existence of the novel rather than analyze the text. Then already in July 1958, Nina Berberova publishes her article in the CAPE magazine *Svoboda* (*Freedom*) from which it follows that the anxiety regarding the absence of the Russian edition has been taken into account: "*Doctor Zhivago* has been published only in Italian so far and already articles about it appeared all over Europe and America. There are all sorts of rumors about it, some of them can be verified and others not. It is known for a fact that the novel will soon come out in France, England, and the USA. Will it come out in Russian? Without a doubt, but not in the Soviet Union."<sup>31</sup> As Lazar Fleishman shows in his book, which is currently almost inaccessible to the Russian reader, the edition undertaken by the CAPE was not an imposition of its own political will but rather a response to the spiritual demands of the Russian emigration that was greatly stirred by the release of Pasternak's novel. It was also a painful sting directed against the Soviet system that refused to publish this major work by their author.

As far back as 1961, Robert Conquest in his sensational book *The Pasternak Affair: Courage of Genius* expressed the opinion that a supposition about the Nobel Prize Committee acting as an agent of the cold warmongers should only be treated as an absurdity: at any rate no evidence or proof in its support existed... As for political pressure from the Swedish point of view it came from quite a different source. Obviously, the Soviet authorities regarded the award of the prize to Pasternak as an unfriendly

gesture and that might have damaged the neutral position adhered to by the representatives of the various parties within the Swedish Academy.<sup>32</sup>

It is well known that after 1945 Pasternak was nominated for the Nobel Prize every year: from 1946 to 1950. Persistent rumors about awarding the prize to Pasternak were circulating in 1954 when, to quote Pasternak: “allegedly, I’ve been nominated, but being aware of our practices, they requested consent from the representatives, who requested that I am replaced by Sholokhov, and when he was declined the committee proposed Hemingway.”<sup>33</sup> The wording of the accompanying note to the award in 1958 “for outstanding achievements in contemporary lyrical poetry as well as for furthering the traditions of the great Russian epic novel”<sup>34</sup> implied Pasternak’s entire colossal creative heritage and not only Doctor Zhivago which became, no doubt, the last and the most weighty drop tipping the scales in his favor. It would be hard to disprove the fact that, irrespective of the Nobel Prize Committee’s appreciation, Doctor Zhivago remains to this day one of the most significant works of the 20th century. Robert Conquest says in his book that the prize was actually awarded almost exclusively for Doctor Zhivago and the mention of poetry was just a polite or protective gesture.<sup>35</sup> However, Dr. Conquest disagreed with this later and showed consistently that the authority of Pasternak the poet was exceptionally high in the world.<sup>36</sup>

To sum up, let us reproduce the popular political cliché, which often came up in Pasternak’s case spotlighting its different aspects. In the USSR the publication of Doctor Zhivago abroad and the award of the Nobel Prize to Pasternak were qualified as “a hostile gesture towards our country and a weapon of the world reactionary forces aimed at escalating the cold war.”<sup>37</sup> In the West it was believed that Americans managed to successfully use Russian literature as an effective weapon against the USSR. Adhering either to the one or the other point of view one has to admit that Pasternak with his novel and the Nobel Prize turned out in this context to be just some small change in the political opposition of the two systems. However, only with a crooked vision can one view the situation in this light. It is true that the two political systems were playing the Pasternak card in complete disregard of the consequences it might have for the main hero in this affair. Invariably the representatives of both secret services, with their specific work methods and goals, and the Russian writer Pasternak found themselves not only on the opposite sides of the barricades, so to speak, they simply existed in parallel worlds which neither had communication nor could they have any.

A different, and more reasonable, view of the situation—of its various aspects: political, spiritual, and biographical—was expressed shortly after the Nobel scandal as well as by one of the Western radio programs of the “Free Russia” radio station. They discussed the persecution campaign against Pasternak in the Soviet Union. The anonymous presenter asked questions and answered them himself: “What does their reproach consist of? That he acted against his own people? And yet, Pasternak refused to emigrate, he even refused to leave the country to receive his Nobel Prize, so that he could share to the very end the fate of his people and never part from them. Is he reproached for being an ‘inner émigré’? However, Pasternak never looked back, always forward, although he well understood the attraction of any historical past. Was it his fault that he was ‘egocentric’? And yet, he put his entire life and his future under threat in order to serve the higher, suprapersonal values. Is he accused of a moral downfall? And yet, Pasternak calls on people to show Christian love and he himself followed the way to

Calvary. Is he politically undermining the Soviet power? But Pasternak's power is in his position of one standing on a height from where all politics appears as something very small."<sup>38</sup> Today, from numerous available sources we can see that Pasternak chose his road voluntarily being fully aware of the inevitable consequences of his decisions. So the war of the secret services appears as some petty scheming compared to the real, and not fictional, literary and spiritual triumph attained by Pasternak whose personal life was tragically affected by the meanings and the logic of the cold war.

It should be noted that Pasternak himself regarded his Nobel Prize epopee as a personal drama and by no means as part of big politics. The most convincing proof of the fact is his only poetic text reflecting the events following 23 October 1958: the poem "The Nobel Prize" (1959). We have to agree that "the forces of evil and spite" as opposed to "the spirit of good" have nothing to do with the global opposition between the USSR and the West. In fact, the situation of the hunted animal in which the lyrical hero of the poem finds himself is experienced by him as his personal tragedy rather than an event of world importance.

By contrast we could recall a typologically similar but differently interpreted situation connected with another major poet, Anna Akhmatova. In September 1945, during his term as a Second Secretary of the British Embassy in the USSR, the famous English philosopher, historian, and diplomat Isaiah Berlin came to Leningrad and visited Akhmatova in her apartment at the Fountain House. As Akhmatova believed, that visit enraged Stalin's and led to the 1946 Communist Party resolution concerning the magazines *Zvezda* and *Leningrad* and the subsequent political persecutions. Moreover, she also believed that many Russian émigrés who wanted to return home after the Second World War changed their minds because of that resolution and stayed in the West. With time, Akhmatova became increasingly convinced that the 1946 Party resolution concerning the magazines *Zvezda* and *Leningrad* was also the starting point of the cold war.

Isaiah Berlin recalled in his memoirs that during their second meeting in Oxford in 1965 Akhmatova told him in detail about the wave of persecutions that had befallen her in 1946. In her opinion, the mere fact of their unpremeditated encounter in 1945 had as an outcome the onset of the cold war era; hence—concludes I. Berlin—"we both had an impact on the course of world history."<sup>39</sup>

As Isaiah Berlin recalls, Akhmatova considered their meeting to be fateful and of cosmic significance.<sup>40</sup> Indeed, in her work that meeting acquires universal significance.

Not only for Akhmatova's personal life but for her creative career as well the events that followed the fateful meeting with Isaiah Berlin in 1945 were of primary importance having really damaged her life. Pasternak's creative life remained unaffected by the international scandal raging around Doctor Zhivago and the high award for its author. The fact is easily explained by the specifics of Pasternak's thinking: practically immediately after he had been interrogated by the Prosecutor General, he wrote in a personal letter: "Although the danger with which they threatened me recently is deadly without exaggeration, the things of immortal nature, which have been achieved at the same time, outweigh the danger."<sup>41</sup>

"The things of immortal nature," which were of much more concern for Pasternak than his own life, had never been of any interest to the political intelligence services.

## NOTES

- 1 I. Tolstoy, *The Laundered Novel: Boris Pasternak's Doctor Zhivago Between the KGB and the CIA*, Moscow, 2009, p. 9 (in Russian).
- 2 Central Association of Postwar Émigrés was transformed into Central Association of Political Émigrés in 1957.
- 3 Apocrypha, 15 December, 2009.
- 4 Largely thanks to the collection of documents: "And the clamor of the chase behind me..." Boris Pasternak and the Authorities, *Documents of 1956-1972*, Moscow, 2001 (in Russian).
- 5 "This is how it is done..." *Za vozvrashcheniye na Rodinu* (For Return to Homeland), No. 88 (279), November, 1958.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 L. Fleishman, *Russian Emigration Meeting with "Doctor Zhivago,"* Stanford, 2009, p. 132.
- 9 Ibid., p. 132.
- 10 Quoted from: C. Feltrinelli, *Senior Service: The Life of Giangiacomo Feltrinelli*, Moscow, 2003, p. 130.
- 11 B. Pasternak, "Letters to Jacqueline de Proyart," *Novy mir*, 1992, No. 1, p. 132.
- 12 "Letter to H el ene Peltier-Zamoyski. 8 July, 1958" (No. 1521), B. Pasternak, *Complete Works in 11 vols.*, vol. 10, Moscow, 2005, p. 355 (in Russian).
- 13 B. Pasternak, "Letters to Jacqueline de Proyart," pp. 150-151.
- 14 "Letter to Giangiacomo Feltrinelli. 4 April, 1959 (No. 1590), B. Pasternak, *Complete Works in 11 vols.*, vol. 10, Moscow, 2005, pp. 455-456 (in Russian).
- 15 Quoted from: C. Feltrinelli, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
- 16 Ibid., p. 149.
- 17 Ibid., p. 150.
- 18 B. Pasternak, *Letters to Jacqueline de Proyart*, p. 141.
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- 21 "Letter from B. Filippov to Gleb Struve. 10 February, 1959," Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace.
- 22 Carlo Feltrinelli, *op. cit.*, p. 122.
- 23 I. Tolstoy, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
- 24 Sergio D'Angelo's reply to the question during the presentation of the book *The Pasternak Affair. Reminiscences of a Witness*. (Moscow, 2007) 11 September 2007 at the Literary Museum in Moscow.
- 25 B. Pasternak, "Letters to Jacqueline de Proyart," p. 151.
- 26 "This is how it is done..."
- 27 I. Tolstoy, *op. cit.*, p. 251. According to Ivan Tolstoy, CAPE is a branch of the CIA supported financially by the latter organization.
- 28 T. Marchenko, "The Nobeliad of Boris Pasternak Based on the Archival Materials of the Swedish Academy and the Swedish Press," *Materials of the International Academic Conference "From Bunin to Pasternak: Russian Literature in Foreign*

Perception. For the Anniversaries of Awarding the Nobel Prize to Russian Authors.”  
Moscow. (In press.)

29 Quoted from L. Fleishman, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

30 Letter to Gleb Struve. 4 June, 1958. Quoted from L. Fleishman, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 110.

32 R. Conquest, *The Pasternak Affair: Courage of Genius*, Philadelphia and New York, 1962, p. 81-82.

33 Letter to Olga Freidenberg. 12 November, 1954, in: B. Pasternak, *Life-long Attachment. Correspondence with Olga Freidenberg*, Moscow, 2000, p. 370.

34 “And the clatter of the chase behind me...” p. 150.

35 R. Conquest, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

36 *Ibid.*

37 Note by Mikhail Suslov, secretary of the CC CPSU, suggesting measures in connection with awarding Pasternak the Nobel Prize. “And the clatter of the chase behind me...” p. 144.

38 Quoted from L. Fleishman, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

39 I. Berlin, “Encounters with Russian Writers in 1945 and 1956,” *Zvezda*, 1990, No. 2, p. 153.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 152.

41 “Letter to Sergio D’Angelo. 6 April, 1959 (No. 1591),” B. Pasternak, *Complete Works in 11 vols.*, vol. 10, p. 457.