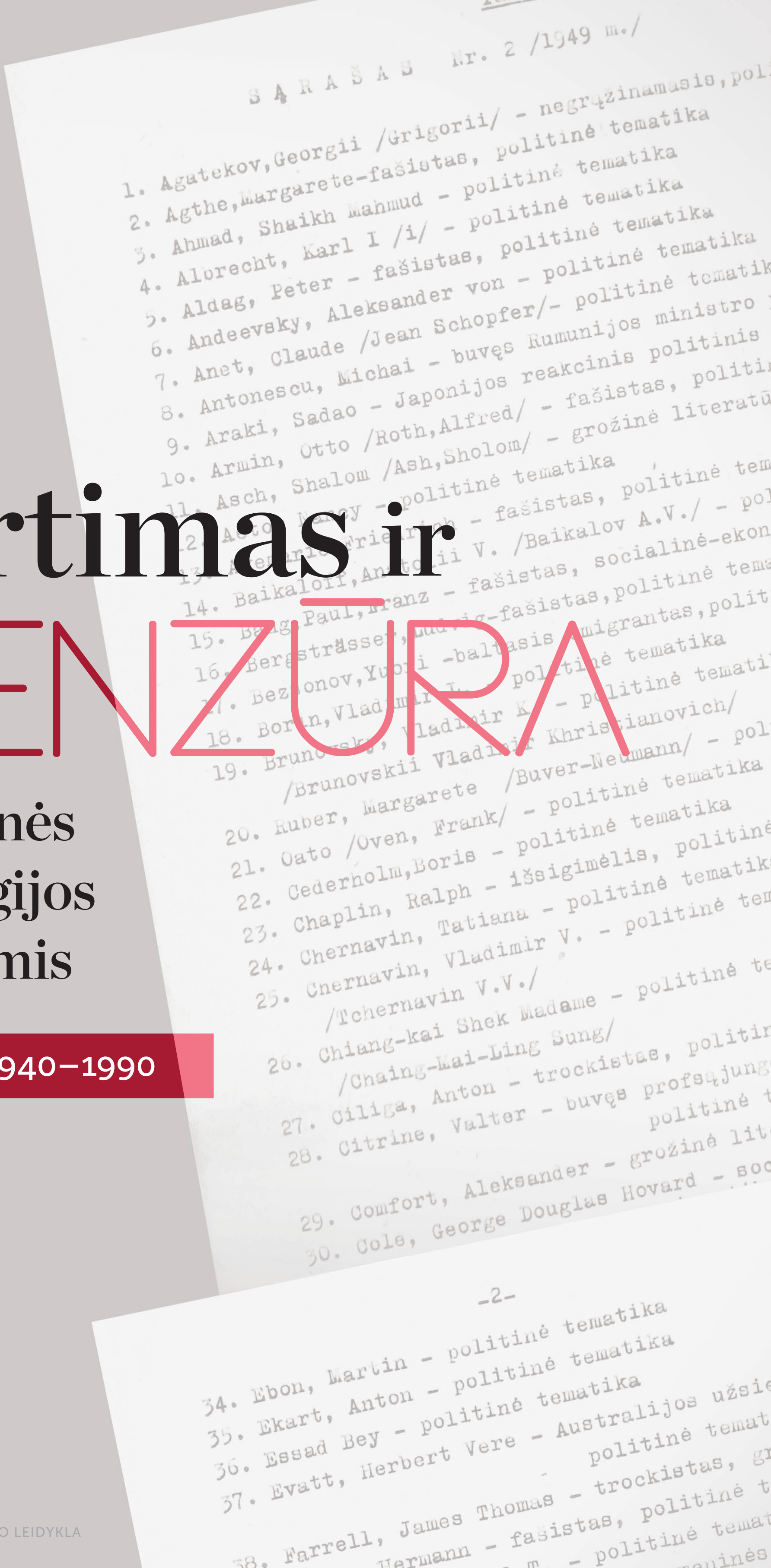
Vertimas ir CENZŪRA

sovietinės ideologijos sąlygomis

Lietuva, 1940–1990



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Vertimas ir CENZŪRA

sovietinės ideologijos sąlygomis

Lietuva, 1940–1990

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sovietinės ideologijos sąlygomis

Lietuva, 1940–1990

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TRANSLATION AND CENSORSHIP UNDER SOVIET IDEOLOGY.

Lithuania, 1940–1990

SUMMARY

The book "Translation and Censorship under Soviet Ideology: Lithuania, 1940–1990" represents the culmination of several years of research, offering a comprehensive exploration of the censorship of translations of foreign literature into Lithuanian. This edited volume makes a significant contribution to the broader discussion on the enduring impact of the Soviet era on Lithuanian society and culture, as well as on the mechanisms of translation censorship under repressive regimes.

The book contains four parts: I. *Ideology, Censorship, Translation*, II. *The Soviet Context of Foreign Literature Publishing in Lithuania*, III. *Case Studies of Political, Religious and Moral Censorship*, IV. *Postcolonial Effects of Translation*, comprising fourteen chapters. The first part of the book is an in-depth investigation of various theoretical approaches to ideology and censorship. The focus is on key questions such as how ideology affects culture and cultural production in general, the functions and notions of censorship and its relation to ideology, and what contexts, processes, and conditions specifically influence literary translation. It investigates the effects of dominant ideological frameworks, state policies, and the agency of actors within the literary translation field, while also exploring how the individual's complex positionalities at the intersection of multiple axes of identity (Mihai 2022) influence its dynamic.

The second part of the volume examines the context of publishing literature in translation during the 50-year Soviet occupation in Lithuania from three angles. First, it explores the field of publishing of foreign literature translations, its boundaries and dynamics, then it delves into the network of actors (as roles) and participants (as individuals) and, finally, into the system of Lithuanian foreign literature translations within the polysystem of Soviet Lithuanian literature (cf. Even-Zohar 2004). A particular focus is on principles of book and author selection for translation under preventive censorship and the shaping of literary reception. The use of paratexts in translated books is termed secondary censorship, because the book was already approved, translated and copy-edited, but the publisher takes one more step to ensure that the reader perceives its content correctly by explaining the merits of the author and the book and how to correctly understand its message, sometimes with a cautionary note that in some aspect the author may have failed to see the causes of the evils of the capitalist society or a way to find the solution that a socialist path could offer, and the like.

The third part of the book supports the findings in the first two parts with detailed case studies, showcasing patterns of political, religious, and moral censorship. These analyses illuminate the extent, manifestations, and nuances of translation censorship during the Soviet era, as well as its lingering effects in the post-Soviet period. This not only gives a comprehensive picture of the entirety of foreign literature translations into Lithuanian but also of the cultural policy pursued by the Soviet Union, where it was important to show a relationship with the Other while maintaining strict control over its representation.

Soviet censorship differed from that of other communist regimes. Unlike other communist countries, the Soviet Union was a colonial, occupying power, imposing its violent regime and authority on the diverse nations within its borders, each shaped by specific histories of statehood, collective memories, and distinct cultural heritages. The structure of Soviet power operated through a hierarchical chain, extending from the central government to the periphery, delegating decision-making authority and other forms of agency to republican, regional, and local institutions. These institutional actors varied in their responsibilities, autonomy, and visibility. Each Soviet republic that formed the Union had its own cultural and ideological specificity, shaping its internal needs, and simultaneously, all of them were ultimately controlled by Soviet authority in Moscow.

These internal needs within the Soviet republics could be influenced, for example, by the former place of religion in society. In Catholic Lithuania, the situation was unique because, during the interwar period, the Church played an important role in creating the country's national identity. The authority and influence of Catholic priests were traditionally significant, and the Soviet authorities failed to win them over. Therefore, the Church was perceived as a constant threat to the communist regime in the Lithuanian SSR. Anti-religious pressure manifested itself in all areas, especially in the cultural sphere, and affected the entire cultural policy, including book publishing.

The cultural dynamics of each of the Soviet republics were further influenced by their geographical and historical connections with neighbouring countries. For example, Lithuania's proximity and historical ties with Poland and Estonia's ties with Finland shaped their respective interactions with foreign cultures. The research showed that during the Soviet era, the possibility of obtaining translations of foreign authors into Polish, even officially by ordering through a bookstore, significantly expanded the Lithuanian cultural elite's access to otherwise inaccessible literature and latest trends. The impact was also made by the existing general linguistic and translation tradition: many translators were proficient in Polish or German, so some books, especially those written in rarer languages or when a book in its source language was not available, were translated through these languages.

One of the most striking features of the Soviet Union was its supposed internalization of internationalism—the so-called principle of a multi-ethnic state, which was meant to compensate for its hermetic nature by creating the illusion of internal heterogeneity. However, in practice, this principle functioned as a colonial mechanism, establishing internal and external hierarchies: the dominance of one language (Russian) as the main language of centralized governance and the cultural othering of other languages, the elevation and maintenance of Russian culture and literature as the highest ethos (despite the discrepancies between the old and new ethos), and at the same time, the divide between the "fraternal republics" and the "foreign" countries, or between the socialist countries ("us") and the capitalist Other ("them").

The Period under Study

The boundaries of the period in question (1940–1990), within which the field of translation publishing was functioning under conditions of Soviet ideology, historically are marked by two cornerstone events both at the beginning and at the end of the period. First of all, the year 1940 marks the introduction of Soviet ideology into the political, social, and cultural field of Lithuania as a systemic, state-institutional ideology of a violent occupation regime after twenty years of independent development of the country, which this occupation had interrupted. In this respect, the historical situation of Lithuania and other Baltic states (Estonia and Latvia) was similar; however, it was very different from other Soviet republics. Firstly, the Baltic states were the last to be incorporated into the USSR, and also they were the only ones that had had prior historical experience of statehood, which they had lost because of this occupation.

In prewar independent Lithuania, there already existed a certain tradition and praxis of translation, a nascent culture of publishing, certain ties among those working in the field of culture, as well as some practices of censorship. Of course, in the 1930s translation publishing in Lithuania was still in the process of formation, and its norms were inconsistent. For example, in the first decades of independent Lithuania (from 1918 through the 1920s) a great deal of literature was translated for educational purposes and with the aim of developing the standard Lithuanian language. In the 1930s, foreign literature publishers sought commercial success and a wider readership: in published books they advertised forthcoming publications, included their previews and information about points of sale where the new books could be acquired. Books were increasingly diverse in genre and style; there emerged a need to publish works of classical world literature; a certain school of translation was taking shape (Malažinskaitė 2015: 85). Thus, Soviet publishing in Lithuania did not begin from scratch. And even though the first Soviet occupation lasted barely a year, until June 1941, and was interrupted by the Nazi occupation during World War II before the second occupation, Soviet ideology directly affected Lithuanian society and culture throughout the entire period until it lost its official status in 1990.

The year 1990, the formal date when Lithuania regained its statehood, is the other cornerstone event that frames the Soviet era, but this date does not allow us to draw a clear line between "what was" and "what is today". After the formal restoration of statehood, the real change in the legal framework, the social fabric and the cultural field took a few more years, while the long period of occupation and life under Soviet ideology, which inevitably affected the whole of society and all its spheres of expression, left a lasting imprint both on collective memory and on the society that unreflectively replicated certain patterns of behaviour.

The new Soviet regime came with its own agenda: political interests, ideology, norms, rules, requirements, and priorities, that is with its political, social and *cultural ecosystem* (Cronin 1995: 100) – the totality of relationships, values and mutual interactions which were to replace the former sociocultural field and usurp its territory by using the political and policing power of the central government. The new ecosystem established itself in the tension between what was being consciously filtered out and selected from the former field (elements that were allowed into and adapted to the new culture) and what seeped into this culture from the former field unconsciously, spontaneously and without being reflected upon. This approach of continuity and interruption underlies the whole book: it is first discussed in Chapter III: **"The Context of Translation Publishing: Dynamics of Continuity and Interruption"** by **Nijolė Maskaliūnienė** and **Ingrida Tatolytė** and in one way or another it recurs in the subsequent chapters.

Research Methodology and Research Data

To analyze censorship and foreign literature translation in Lithuania under Soviet ideology over a period of 50 years, a supradisciplinary approach and a multidimensional research methodology were used. The focus of the research was on Lithuanian literary translations of books by authors who lived abroad and wrote in foreign languages (i.e. not in the languages of other Soviet republics). To investigate how publishing functioned and what formal and informal ties existed among its actors, we employed approaches from the social sciences, such as network analysis and exploration of various actors and their agency, while considering the impact of the historical context and Soviet ideology.

Following the occupation of Lithuania, the Soviet authorities immediately monopolized and compartmentalized publishing. In 1940, all publishing companies that existed in Lithuania before the Soviet occupation were closed, and only one State Publishing House was established. After World War II, it underwent further reorganization and in 1945 was split into four entities according to their thematic focus: the State Publishing House of Political Publications, the State Publishing House of Encyclopaedias, Dictionaries, and Scholarly Publications, the State Publishing House of Pedagogical Publications, and the State Publishing House for Literature (renamed "Vaga" in 1964). The latter institution was the only one of its kind in the country and remained the centre of literary publishing in Lithuania almost until the end of the period under study, and it is the main institution in our research.

As translated foreign literature is part of the polysystem of all published literature in Lithuania, the researchers compiled a comprehensive annotated bibliographical index of translations of all foreign literature published in the form of books. The index of 3696 entries in total includes books of both socialist and capitalist countries from the researched period of 1940–1990. It encompasses all the published Lithuanian translations of different genres of prose, poetry and drama as well as children's literature, which is often distinguished as a separate category. The index can be freely accessed at the National Open Access Research Data Archive (MIDAS) at https://dx.doi.org/10.18279/MIDAS.258008.

The data amassed in the index allowed the researchers not only to determine the characteristics and the composition of the system (how many and what works were translated, from what languages, and the proportions of different kinds of literature) but also to see how the translation field was evolving. The index throws light on the changing attitude towards the translators who had experienced acts of repression, shows whether during different periods the number of translations from foreign languages was shrinking or growing, and the print runs of translations. The statistical analysis of the research is mostly based on the data of this index, which accounts for 2163 titles of translated books of foreign literature (multi-volumes are calculated as one title).

Researchers have also explored the archives and various documentary materials. Assorted egodocuments were amply used as primary sources: memoirs of those who worked in publishing, their published diaries, speeches, egodocumentary essays in the media or in some thematic collections of essays, posts in social media. Interviews with translators, editors and other publishing workers comprised a large part of these materials. The most copious group of sources is interviews with translators and editors in the press and other media. These materials are very colourful, but at the same time they are mediated. Bearing in mind that in public interviews respondents might have controlled and edited their language and message, removing unwanted elements, or that, in addition to them, other actors – editors, editors-in-chief, section editors – could also do the same, and in order to obtain the most authentic testimony possible, we have tried to interview those in the field who are still with us and not impeded by ill health.

For the purposes of the project, the researchers conducted 16 interviews with people who worked in different positions of the publishing sector in Soviet Lithuania. This series of unstructured or semistructured, unmediated interviews was a treasure trove, allowing the researchers to better understand the dynamic shifts, job specifics and roles in the publishing sector, the experiences and feelings of the participants, and also prompting the respondents to reflect on their own activity, their relationship with the colleagues, and their attitudes towards the past. The interviews enabled the researchers to look at censorship events from a subtler perspective, through the eyes of its participants, and to take into account their self-reflection. Many of these insights and reflections upon them became the basis of Chapter IV: **"A Multi-Network Publishing Environment"** by **Nijolė Maskaliūnienė** and **Ingrida Tatolytė**.

There were several reasons why the researchers chose to anonymize the interviews. Firstly, we thought this would give more freedom to interviewees to speak about their relationship with the past and the decisions they made then, perhaps helping them to come to a more authentic assessment; secondly, the researchers would have an opportunity to access the micro level of individual experiences. It has been observed that the same people speak differently in private and in public: among other things, this also shows the unreliability of memory and reveals how the interviewees felt about censorship – what responsibility they had and how censorship affected their ethos as participants. Secondly, the concept of "censorship" has a highly negative connotation, so issues related to Soviet censorship research are a rather delicate matter, requiring sensitivity on the part of the researcher and self-reflection on the part of interviewees. Also, the questions asked during the interviews involved other participants in the publishing sector, as their names cropped up in conversations. Thus, interviews directly or indirectly touched upon the ethos and reputations of other people. In cases where researchers discussed specific translations and the name of the interviewee was easily inferred from the context anyway, we asked the interviewees whether they would agree to have their name mentioned in that specific context. Most interviewees have agreed to this.

It should be noted that what is said in an interview and what we see in reality do not always match, as individual memory is affected by collective memory, and we tend to interpret all our experiences within the framework of typical models of experience (Connerton 2010: 6). Taking this into consideration, interviews as a primary source were compared with other available sources; the data in the book are discussed as complex phenomena, making allowances for the imprecisions of memory and the incompatibility of all the available information.

In their analyses, the researchers have drawn on source texts and their translations into Lithuanian, in some cases on translations into Russian as well, and have compared translations by different translators, and different editions of the same translation. Also, a large amount of paratextual materials (including so-called epitexts and metatexts) were explored: criticism, opinions, commentaries on published translations, data on published books found in library indexes and catalogs.

During the Soviet era, paratexts became an additional sieve, filtering out those features of the author and their work that were acceptable to the Soviet public ethos, or warping and reinterpreting the unacceptable ones. In Chapter VI: **“Between the Author and the Reader: Paratexts as an Instrument for Shaping Reading”** by **Nijolė Maskaliūnienė**, it is noted that without comprehensive reception research, which would include respondents from various walks of life and geographies, it is not possible to firmly state how much the general readership reflected on whether a translated text might have been censored. In other words, if a paratext does not openly acknowledge that the book had passed the censorship filter, an ordinary Soviet reader picking up a book had no way of finding out what had been changed in the book or what selection process it had undergone. Similarly, readers might have failed to filter out the mandatory stereotypical elements of the accompanying texts and distinguish the “ideological” cliché from the paragraphs of literary criticism, and thus they had to accept the reading path offered to them (Genette 2001: 4 and onwards). Finally, as Genette notes, paratextual information of publications can be intended for different audience segments—thus, the book as a whole could establish a different connection with each reader, depending on who picks it up (*ibid.*). Today, such research would require analytical tools from memory studies to separate the readers' experience from the collective memory image and evaluate it as authentic.

Images of Censorship and the Multi-layered Mechanism of Censorship

Repressive or violent regimes seek to control not only the public sphere but also private space. They demand that their subjects identify with the official ideology, and this requirement has long-lasting consequences to society. Even after the political system changes, violent models are unconsciously reproduced and repeated (Mihai 2022). In such regimes, censorship operates at several levels: first, *institutional censorship* is established with a function of deterrence; over time, this function is delegated to lower-level institutions – publishing houses, their editorial boards, heads of translation departments of the publishing house, and to editors. Eventually, censorship becomes invisible, internalised, happening 'naturally,' as if of its own accord, and it is no longer seen or perceived as censorship. The result of compulsory identification with ideology in such regimes is *self-censorship* by individual and collective actors (publishers, editorial boards), who may be more or less aware of it.

It is the type of censorship that is directly or indirectly enforced by the state that is the focus of this book, where special institutions are employed to control, check, evaluate, allow, or disallow certain channels through which information is disseminated, ranging from everyday media to the publishing and presentation of translated literature. Still, while discussing the principles and examples of translation and censorship in different chapters of the study, the researchers return to self-censorship as one of the main cogs of the censorship mechanism. Thus, self-censorship in all its various forms and manifestations also becomes a subject of this study, alongside centrally implemented censorship and ways of circumventing it. Here, self-censorship is revealed as the internalized ideological norms of the regime that influence the selection of works, their design, and the strategy of critical assessment, sometimes exercised consciously to protect oneself from potential repressions of the regime, and sometimes unconsciously reproducing the ideological norms.

In Chapter I: **“Censorship as the Defensive Lining of Ideology”** by **Nijolė Keršytė**, censorship is presented as a common mechanism within society, culture, and the individual psyche. The chapter distinguishes between two images of censorship: as the scissors that openly and publicly cut and destroy, and as the lining that implies secret manipulation and compromises. To recognize the content that is to be censored, criticized, and castigated, there must be a system of norms and values (religious, moral, political, aesthetic), or, in other words, an ideology. Thus, censorship presupposes ideology and must ensure its long life by guarding it against the dangers of other ideologies. Censorship is the lining of ideology, its protective and defensive mechanism. A specific feature of Soviet ideology was that this lining was turned inside out: Soviet ideology served as a screen for naked power relationships—conflicts between institutions and personal conflicts between individuals—even when participants in the translation field believed it was the best of all ideologies.

Chapter II: **“Two-faced Janus: Translation as a Means of Blocking or Embracing the Other”** by **Ingrida Tatolytė** continues to explore various forms of censorship and also addresses the question how censorship of translation is different from censorship in other domains. The author discusses the complex relationship between translation and censorship: on the one hand, such scholars as André Lefevere (Lefevere 1995; 1998), Michael Holquist (Holquist 1994), Carol O’Sullivan (2009), Karen Emmerich (2017) and others show that translation as activity always has the potential to be manipulated and that it contributes to manipulation itself through selection of source texts, their rendering, framing and presentation to the reader. On the other hand, this feature of translation lends it to manipulation for the purposes of censorship, controlling access to the Other, because, as noted by Michaela Wolf (2002), censorship is always about blocking the Other. Thus, censorship of translation shares many similarities with censorship of culture in general, and at the same time, due to its specific features, censorship of translation is less visible, harder to detect and, therefore, less perceived as such. The visibility of censorship in translation is even more blurred under dispersive Soviet censorship.

Shifts in Translation Publishing

When presenting the field of publishing of literary translations and its dynamics over the entire 50-year period, several points need to be emphasized. Firstly, at the beginning of the period, publishing was heavily influenced by external factors—Soviet occupation, World War II, deportations that particularly affected the educated part of the society, translators and editors among them, and finally, the establishment of the new regime. Furthermore, post-war repressions significantly impacted the field of translation, as well as the well-being, visibility, and ethos of translators. Authors and translators who emigrated from Lithuania were permanently eliminated from the Lithuanian translation field and never rehabilitated. Convicted and repressed individuals were also erased for a time (physically as well, by erasing their names even in reissued translations), but later their names were restored in translations, and by around 1960, all were rehabilitated. Some translators changed their stance and began collaborating with the regime, thus gaining exclusive privileges.

Secondly, the curve of the presented statistical data shows the relationship between Soviet literary policy and the publishing of translated literature in Lithuania (see Table 3). In the early period (1940–1953), the dominance of the literature of the Soviet nations (especially Russian) corresponds not only to the Stalin regime's isolationist policy towards foreign literature but also shows efforts to integrate Lithuania's cultural field, as quickly as possible, into the overall context of the literature of the Soviet nations, with Russian literature being elevated to the status as the most important (cf. Rudnytska 2022: 47). During the so-called Thaw (1954–1964), openness to foreign literature increased—a trend that, despite fluctuations, continued in the later decades of the Soviet era.

Additionally, as the purchasing power of the population grew compared to the difficult post-war years, the demand for books, especially by foreign authors, increased. Thus, the publishing house, although criticized by the ideological controllers in Moscow for prioritizing commercial interests over ideological ones, was inclined to publish more translations. However, it was soon noticed that the publication of works by Russians and authors of other Soviet republics was decreasing, so there was an order from above to correct the situation: bigger quotas for translations of this literature were imposed at the expense of foreign author translations. In the 1970s and 1980s, during the so-called Brezhnev stagnation period (1965–1985), the overall number of titles of foreign literature translations was greatly reduced, but their demand was compensated for by the huge print runs of those few books that were published. The importance of foreign literature translations in the cultural landscape of Soviet Lithuania did not diminish until the end of the period, even with censorship restrictions, and according to the testimony of the administrators of the state publishing house "Vaga", such translations always helped it to stay profitable. In the 1980s, various structural reforms took place in the publishing house, but Gorbachev's promised complete abolition of censorship did not happen—the dependence on the decisions of the censoring institution, *Glavlit*, remained until the end of the period.

Thirdly, in the Soviet Union, the publishing of foreign literature was always significantly influenced by the country's relations with the authors' countries of origin and the political situation. For example, the noticeable surge in translations from Spanish in the 1970s was due to the changed political situation: after the socialist revolution triumphed in Cuba in 1959, the entire South American continent was perceived as brimming with revolutionary potential (Lavery 2021: 18; Prizel 1990). Throughout the following decade, various Latin American authors were quickly translated into Russian, with the same books being translated into Lithuanian. Conversely, the USSR's relations with Spain were tense for almost the entire history of the country. Accordingly, during the Thaw period, of the 38 authors translated from Spanish, two-thirds were from Latin America. This trend, as a response to the Latin American boom, continued for at least two decades.

Selection of Literary Works for Translation as a Sieve of Censorship

Chapter V: **"Selection of Works as the First Sieve of Censorship"** by **Nijolė Maskaliūnienė** and **Dalia Mankauskienė** shows how the selection of literary works for translation was used as an instrument to build the Soviet Lithuanian canon of foreign literature. The salient feature of this process, like that in the translated literature system of the USSR as a whole, was that the canon was built not on an aesthetic, but on a political-ideological foundation. As Witt (2011), Rudnytska (2022) and others have shown, it was designed like a state project that sought to create a uniform, approved canon of world literature for the entire country. Including an author in the canon was a reflection of the Soviet state's inner politics and ideology, which is why a canonical foreign author in the USSR did not necessarily belong to the canon in his or her own country. Additionally, as circumstances changed, canonical authors could easily lose their status. If this happened, the author was removed from study programs and libraries (their books transferred to special closed-access departments); their works were no longer translated, and a formerly popular author was no longer mentioned in any context.

The analysis of the mechanism of Soviet censorship (Chapters II, III and V) shows that censorship of translation worked in two directions: top-down and bottom-up. The decisions about which authors were to be published were made at the highest level in Moscow; permission to publish a specific work in Russian was issued by the Press Committee under the Central Committee of the CPSU (even the most prestigious literary journals, such as *Inostrannaja literatura*, *Novyj Mir*, or *Neva* had to obtain permission to publish the translation of a foreign work (Bljum 2005a: 125)). Publishers in Soviet republics would rely on this decision and include the work in their publishing plans following its publication in Russian. There were very few instances of translations that were first published in Lithuanian. The opposite, bottom-up process started with the preparation of publishing plans in translation departments of the publishing house. These plans were included into the general plans of the publishing house, which were submitted to the central censoring office, Glavlit, the Press Committee and the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party. After scrutiny by the local authorities, the plans were sent to Moscow. According to Vytautas Visockas, deputy chief editor of the State Publishing House for Literature "Vaga", Moscow sent back a report with instructions "what to leave out, what to publish and what else was to be included in the plan" (Visockas 1992: 381). The administration of the publishing house then decided who would translate and copy-edit the work, as well as who would write a paratext or illustrate the book.

Sometimes the Lithuanian party ideologists were even stricter than those in Moscow and more cautious in trying to please the functionaries there. Even if permission to publish a book was given in Moscow, publishing could be prevented in Lithuania. For example, the publication of Franz Kafka's *The Trial* was stopped by Lithuanian party functionaries; the book came out in Lithuanian only in 1981, sixteen years later after its Russian translation (1965). Stricter control was also applied to religious books. A decision to prohibit the publishing of a book was sometimes explained by "the special circumstances in the republic" (Streikus 2018: 288).

Thus, the books that reached the Lithuanian reader in translation were the result of a scrupulous multi-layered selection. But author and book selection was only a starting point in the journey of a book in translation, as censoring in publishing was a chain of processes: the selection was followed by translation, then copy-editing, writing of paratexts, making the book design, and finally presenting the book in a bookshop and a library. Each of these stages was controlled by different actors who might not have even known what happened in the previous stage. None of them could see the whole process of sieving, but only its separate steps and the material that had already been sifted. Thus, one could gain the impression that all this was very natural, that people were naturally interested in this kind of literature, that they naturally read these and not other books. And so as if naturally, there emerged a particular image of the Other. But all the stages were important, because the books that got through the sieve ultimately created the system of translated literature within the Soviet literary polysystem.

The study provides a thorough picture of the authors who could be translated into Lithuanian and those who could not. The first criterion was the author's personality, their political views and their attitude towards the USSR. Many of the forbidden names were first mentioned publicly by Tomas Venclova in the journal *Lituanus*, published in the US (Venclova 1979). Later this list could have slightly changed following developments in the political life of the USSR, but the principles of selection remained mainly the same. Among those blocked were Western writers of anti-communist works (for example, Aldous Huxley, Arthur Koestler, George Orwell); Western writers who had held communist views, but later renounced them (for example, André Breton, André Gide, John Dos Passos, Ignazio Silone); writers who condemned some aspects of the Soviet politics, such as violations of human rights (for example, Günther Grass, Saul Bellow, Simone de Beauvoir); writers who were or had been related to the far-right movements, supporters of Mussolini, Hitler, Franco (for example, Ezra Pound, Hans Carossa, Giovanni Papini, Gonzalo Torrente Ballester), modernist writers (such as James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, Italo Svevo, Rosamond Lehmann) and others. One more group of unacceptable authors, omitted in the previously mentioned article by Venclova, was because of their sexual orientation (Baer 2011; this is also discussed in Chapter II of the book). All the authors listed above, no matter their literary merit, were excluded from the Soviet canon of translated foreign literature.

Another important criterion was the content of a book. Thematically, there were several ideologemes that ensured the inclusion of a book in publishing plans. Particularly valued was the writer's ability to highlight the problems of Western society, which allegedly did not exist in the Soviet Union (drug abuse, homosexuality, nihilism, moral degradation etc.), and also the criticism of the USA and bourgeois life. Much appreciated was the criticism of the Church and the clergy; of Franco's regime and life in Francoist Spain (if the author was Spanish). An Italian author had to be a critic of Mussolini, a participant in the liberation or communist movement, or both. A German writer had to be an anti-fascist, a supporter of the workers' movement, preferably living in Eastern Germany, which meant that they were likely to write in the method of socialist realism. The aesthetic principles of socialist realism were applied even to classical authors; they were presented as realists in their portrayal of life but often unable to understand the true reasons of all evils. If the author could not be categorized as above, they were usually considered unacceptable.

Types and Forms of Censorship: Case Studies

Part III of the book focuses on the textual analysis of specific works, serving as case studies that illustrate patterns of censorship, publication practices, presentation, and textual decisions. These patterns reveal probable motivations behind them and the relationship between the translated text and its source. Censorship took many forms: excluding foreign authors from the publishing field due to their political or religious views; ignoring works deemed thematically unacceptable by Soviet ideology; omitting political, religious, or erotic content (redaction); replacing unacceptable language with neutral terms; and more. The principles of all these types of censorship are the same, while variations appear depending on the content of the work.

According to the dominant reason (or rather groups of reasons) for censorship, i.e. why something was censored and what was targeted by censorship (an author, a translator, or a work), the cases are discussed as instances of political, religious and moral censorship. The division is arbitrary, as these kinds of censorship overlap and intertwine. One can raise the question of whether religious censorship is not also political. Or, shouldn't moral censorship be categorised as religious censorship if it is determined by religious traditions or the influence of the Church? As thoroughly presented in Chapter IX, religious censorship was enforced due to the anti-clerical policy of the Soviet state, so its reason was political, but in this study, it is categorised as religious censorship on the basis of the content that was censored.

In Chapter **VII: "Political Censorship: A Case Study of Joseph Conrad"** by **Daina Valentinavičienė**, the author overviews Conrad's Soviet-era translations into Lithuanian in an attempt to answer the question why some important titles of the English Conradian canon were missing in translation. The author ascribes this to preventive censorship through selection, whereby Conrad was placed in a narrow, but ideologically acceptable niche, as a writer of maritime adventure stories. His novels with political themes or those directly and indirectly referring to Russia were eliminated from the Soviet canon of translated foreign literature. This, in many aspects, replicated the reception of Conrad in the USSR. However, the comparison of Conrad's translations into Lithuanian and Russian also revealed significant differences. Between 1940–1990, very few of Conrad's works were translated into Lithuanian compared to the number of titles translated into Russian; Conrad is absent altogether from literary criticism in Lithuanian and from any textbooks of English literature published in Lithuania at the time when the post-Stalinist USSR experienced a Conrad revival. This points to the fact that the dissemination of Conrad's works in translation was much more restricted in Soviet Lithuania than in the centre of the Soviet empire. According to the author, one of the reasons why Conrad was more undesirable and dangerous in Soviet Lithuania was that Lithuanian readers with their historical experience (affinity with and also proximity to the West, late entry to the USSR, a history of post-war armed resistance) could interpret his works rather differently than was prescribed by Soviet paratexts.

In Chapter **VIII: "Political Censorship: The Translator, the Writer, the Work"** by **Nijolė Maskaliūnienė,** the author discusses two cases of political censorship, highlighting different targets and reasons for censorship. This censorship targeted not only unacceptable writers, but also translators who were repressed and imprisoned, or who emigrated after World War II. Their translations were published, but the translators' names were omitted from the publications. Maskaliūnienė analyses the publishing history of Voltaire's novellas, translated by Juozas Keliuotis, who was persecuted and repressed more than once. Interestingly, while publishing this esteemed author and his works of highly suitable content, both preventive and repressive kinds of censorship were used against the translator. This case supports Ingrida Tatolytė's idea that, in addition to writers or their works, the translator, due to their personality, actions, or views, could be both the object of and the reason for censorship. The second case study in this chapter explores one of the most notorious instances of political censorship in the history of Soviet publishing – the translation of Ernest Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. The story of its translation started in 1940 when the book first came out in the USA and was immediately forbidden in the USSR. After many attempts to get permission to translate the book (by a highly popular author among Russian readers), it became available to the public in Russian only in 1968, with more than 20 politically motivated cuts. The Lithuanian translation of the novel was published in 1972. Political censorship in this book was much milder in Lithuania than in the Russian translation, as only seven cuts found in the Russian version were present in the Lithuanian translation. Maskaliūnienė shows that while the Lithuanian translator translated the work without any omissions and protested against any suggested cuts to the text, the heads of the publishing house still could not publish the work entirely intact. Thus, a minimal censorial invasion into the text was made so that the editors could show the censors that the translation had been properly redacted. Additionally, a critical article by Konstantin Simonov, a distinguished writer, was translated from Russian and included in this edition as an additional safeguard. This paratext explained to the reader the things that Hemingway had allegedly misunderstood or where his portrayal of reality was faulty.

Three chapters are devoted to religious censorship: Chapter IX: **"Religious Censorship, or Hiawatha's Guests that Never Arrived"**; Chapter X: **"Religious Censorship: The Adventures of the Translation of *Robinson Crusoe* in Soviet Lithuania"**; Chapter XI: **"Translated Books as Soldiers of the Antireligious Front"** by **Daina Valentinavičienė**. The author analyses all types and forms of religious censorship illustrating them with specific examples: (1) preventive censorship, exercised by either excluding Catholic authors or authors of other Christian denominations from publishing, or choosing not to select certain books with religious motives for translation, and (2) manipulative censorship, i.e. omitting or doctoring religious words or motives in translated books, also shaping the interpretation of the book through its paratexts. At the same time, literary translations were actively used for antireligious propaganda. These tactics were employed separately and in combination to wean the Lithuanian people off religion and create an atheistic society. One of the most important conclusions of Chapters IX and X is that the Lithuanian translations of Henry Longfellow's *The Song of Hiawatha* (1947, 1981) and Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1949, 1956) were aggressively expurgated, removing religious content from them without any indication of such changes in the books. These seemingly authentic, but in fact falsified translations were read in Soviet Lithuania through the entire 50 years of Soviet rule. The comparison of the Lithuanian translations with the Russian translations revealed that during the same period, in the centre of the USSR, there circulated school versions of these translations, marked as adaptations, but there were also uncensored authentic Russian translations. Thus, as far as these two works are concerned, religious censorship in Soviet Lithuania was applied more strictly than in the centre of the Soviet empire and it was exercised until the very end of the Soviet rule.

The author also distinguishes a minor form of manipulation – corrective censorship – which does not distort the work as a whole, but may affect in varying degrees the interpretation of certain aspects of the work, as is apparent in the 1950 Lithuanian translation of Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. Even if in this case the overall effect of the *ad hoc* deletions was rather insignificant, their ideological motivation is clearly decipherable. In the author's opinion, the omission of religious references in this translation could be the sign of the mounting pressure on the translator and editors who feared making a mistake which could cost them dearly, as Soviet terror was sweeping across post-war Lithuania in a wave of massive deportations.

The third type of censorship – moral censorship – is explored in Chapters XII and XIII. Chapter XII: **"Moral Censorship: *Madame Bovary* as Metaphor"** by **Liucija Černiuvienė** deals with the Lithuanian translations of French literary works, their context and the consequences of their manipulation. The author argues that moral censorship in Soviet Lithuania did not appear in a vacuum and that it did not end with the Soviet times – it continues to exert influence on translations in independent Lithuania today. This confirms the idea of continuity and interruption in the translation tradition at one more level. The analysis of the bibliography of Soviet-era translations of French literature shows that moral censorship (as well as political) was primarily exercised at the level of selection of works. French works of the 19th century were translated the most, and while they are replete with sexual intrigues, there is no erotic, let alone obscene, vocabulary in them. The sexual encounter is apparently happening, but silence is kept on how it is happening. The famous episode from Gustave Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*, where the two lovers in the carriage behind the drawn curtains are most probably making love, stands as a metaphor for Soviet literary translations. This legacy of the past experience is still felt today. Translators do not shrink from obscene words, but the salacious sexual lexis remains a kind of social and cultural taboo, which is also evidenced by linguistic lacunae.

Chapter XIII: **"Translation of a Classical Text and Ideology: Soviet Translations of William Shakespeare's Sonnets"** by **Deimantė Veličkienė** shows that the translations of Shakespeare's sonnets, works deemed classical, had been subjected to the same ideological principles. The author singles out several reasons for the distortions in the Soviet translations of Shakespeare's sonnets. First of all, she stresses the impact of the Soviet school of translation, which allowed free manipulation of the text. Translators focused on the recreation of the poetic effect, but semantically often deviated from the original. Secondly, Shakespeare's texts were manipulated by hiding erotic images under more appropriate words because of the dominant Soviet norms on sexuality (masking homosexuality and misogyny ensuing from it, also suppressing sexuality in general). These were not only manifestations of censorship, but also of self-censorship.

While showing only part of the entire ideological context, case studies of political, religious and moral censorship in Chapters VII–XIII of the book could be considered as various models of censorship, covering the full range of its varieties: from preventive censorship through selection (works by Conrad and French authors) to aggressive and deforming textual manipulation (as in the above-mentioned cases of Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha* and Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, also the translations of Beecher-Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1962), Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* (1971)), to relatively moderate corrective censorship (in the Lithuanian translations of Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1972), Shakespeare's sonnets and others).

Corrective Censorship and Ethos

Ingrida Tatolytė, who explores the relationship between corrective censorship and ethos in Chapter II, has determined that although corrective censorship can be applied both at pre-production and post-production stages, it should be distinguished as a separate type of censorship, alongside the traditional types of preventive and repressive censorship, precisely because it affects the essence of the work by changing its ethos – its character, ideological implications, and aesthetics. It threatens not only the inner coherence of the text (its plot and ideology), but also the ethos of the author of the source text, the perception of his or her integrity.

In the situations of translation, corrective censorship affects ethos at several more levels. First, censorship can be applied directly to the source text: a) by exerting pressure on the author to change his text before the source text is translated; b) by publishing a new edition of the source text according to the censored version of the translation (the case of the 1981 edition of Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* in Russia). Thus, corrective censorship directly subverts the ethos of the source text and its author, because common readers experience and judge the source text and its author only through the translation. The elite reader with knowledge about the context (for example, those who, under a change of ideological, historical, and other circumstances, know about the author's agreement to correct his work) also forms a certain ideological and psychological portrait of the author.

The ethos of the translator is related to all aspects of the translator's agency, also the translator's visibility, trust in the translator, competence attributed to the translator, reputation that can be potentially acquired by the translator and the translator's responsibility as an actor. Judgments about the translator's ethos presuppose a certain critical distance towards the translated text and contextual knowledge, such as the ability to compare the source and the translation, knowledge about the translation process, the contextual situation of a particular translation, etc. Thus, at the textual level, the translator's ethos is more implied than obvious. At the extratextual level, the translator's ethos is shaped through various social representations. Therefore the question about the translator's choices and probable censorship of the translated text brings to the fore the issue of the translator's responsibility and ethos.

Corrective censorship undoubtedly affects the translated text itself, and the ethos of the corrected text is manifested to us differently than that of the source text. This lacuna in ethos is implanted through corrective manipulation, and it becomes an integral part of the translated text; the text circulates and is reproduced with the "corrected" ethos, which becomes its constant new reality.

Finally, it is in cases of corrective censorship that both the ethos of the censor and of the censorship process itself gain prominence: corrective censorship modifies the text to tailor it to the official ethos. Enforcers of such censorship, consciously or not, are implicated and become the representatives of this ethos; the responsibility for the act of intervention is assigned to them. Thus, corrective censorship affects many actors at different levels.

Post-Colonial Effects of Translation

Part IV of the book deals with the postcolonial effects of translation and contains only one chapter, Chapter XIV: **"Textual Refraction: The Range of Fractured Identities of Source Texts and their Metastasis"**. The author of this chapter, **Paulius V. Subačius**, argues that works of Western literature, even if they penetrated the Soviet sieve of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, never reached the Soviet reader in their authentic form. Some of the most obvious factors contributing to this adverse environment were: (1) Moscow publishing houses – *Progress* and *Raduga*— acting as intermediaries between the foreign work and the Soviet reader, (2) ideologically skewed literary criticism, (3) seekers of translation contracts for financial gain, as translations were fabulously paid by Soviet standards, (4) limited information sources, and (5) the poverty of the printing industry. Due to these factors, the syndrome of warped texts was chronic in Soviet publishing. The author notes that the efforts of professional translators and editors to do their work with the utmost craftsmanship sometimes paradoxically reinforced the refraction of the overall meaning of major literary works. These works translated with great literary skill have entered the culture and continue to function within it (and the better translated, the more deeply they have been ingrained in us). The author's point is that, in this way, even if we are no longer colonized literally, our minds are still colonized by Soviet discourses (he calls it 'secondary cultural colonization'). The post-colonial consciousness is not free from colonization, and those well-translated works do not help to free it because they read well and there is no censorship in sight. This is what the refractive power means – if a translated work has passed through ideological censorship, refraction has already taken effect: the work "shines" differently, like a refracted ray. The problem is we do not understand that what we see is the result of refraction.

Final Remarks

At first sight, and as evidenced by the documentary materials, Soviet censorship of translated foreign literature in Lithuania was milder than that of original Lithuanian literature; at the same time, it was very deceptive, ephemeral, and dispersed. Less visible and therefore less contemplated upon, it permeated the entire field, affecting all processes of translation and publishing, reception and readership. Precisely for these reasons, two competing myths, often used to describe the Soviet period translations, can coexist: that everything was censored and that translations were not censored at all.

The latter myth often arises from the peculiarities of translation and especially the censorship of translations during the Soviet era: the geographical dispersion of its stages (some decisions made in Moscow, others in Lithuania) and the distribution of agency among different actors with different scopes of responsibility (chief editors, heads of translation divisions, translators, copy-editors) as well as the specificity of the translation itself, characterized by the difficult-to-determine motivations of the translator's (or other actors') choices.

In translation studies, particularly among Western scholars (e.g. Tymoszko 2003; Baker 2010; Baer 2016, 2024; Sherry 2015) and also in Russia (Yurchak 2003; Kamovnikova 2019), the myth of the Soviet translator as a fighter against censorship, a kind of dissident, stands out (cf. the criticism of the translator-dissident myth in Rundle 2022; 2025). Sometimes, even the translations of classical authors like Shakespeare were framed as acts of resistance. (This topic is explored in more detail in Chapter XIII of the book by Deimantė Veličkienė.)

However, this narrative also implies an opposing cultural stance – collaboration. In this regard, the latest study by Kamovnikova (2019), conducted by interviewing translators who worked in Moscow and Leningrad during the Soviet era, based as it is on respondents' self-reflection, often emphasizes the role of translators as disseminators of Western culture and provides examples of individual acts of "resistance" against the publishing house (= system). Yet, this dichotomy of dissidence versus collaboration does not align with the accounts of participants in our interviews or the evidence found in egodocuments. These sources do not support characterizing translators as either dissidents or collaborators in such stark terms. Our research shows that translators and editors more or less accepted the roles assigned to them by the Soviet system: their participation was often implicit and intuitive – they obeyed the established rules and performed their duties as was required, practicing self-censorship without thinking about it. At the same time, while being part of that system, they also tried to make the system less hermetic, by opening it up to the Other or showing the Other to their fellow citizens. These acts of conformism or resistance were very small, but their traces can be seen in the translated literature we inherited, which is often reproduced without consideration.

The collective responsibility for all the products of translation and their deficiencies in Soviet times is often placed on translators due to their visibility, while editors often escape this responsibility or at least are seen as less culpable due to their invisibility. Readers do not see the decisions that were imposed on the selection of the authors and/or their works. Nor do they see cases when editors had in fact re-translated the work handed in by a translator; in such cases, the line between translating and editing is obscured, as is the authorship of the translation. The situation regarding translator/editor roles may seem somewhat similar nowadays, except for the fact that in reality the agency of translators and editors differed, i.e. in Soviet times translators did not have the powers we attribute to them today, while editors had the delegated obligation to act as censors. This pressure cannot be understood from the textual analysis alone.

At a theoretical level, we have seen that even under totalitarian conditions one cannot unambiguously determine where censorship begins and where it ends, and what should be qualified as an instance of translation censorship. Diverging opinions on (self-)censorship in translation show that not all decisions were deliberate or made in full awareness – some decisions were prompted by fear or gut instinct, others by lack of understanding. Even when translated texts exhibit cuts in comparison with the source texts, we cannot say who is responsible for them and at what stage they were made. The extratextual background includes many different actors that shape the final translation and may contribute to its censorship. Often, especially with stylistic corrections, it is impossible to firmly ascribe the decision to either a translator or an editor; the decision might have been induced by their moral views or degree of cautiousness, or perhaps by the entire ideological set-up in which the translation was made. Also, we do not know whether a decision was made by free will or under pressure. The context of threats, coercion, and restriction of freedom in which a translator or an editor makes decisions are the essential conditions for a case to be considered as an instance of censorship. However, the distinction between censorship and a translator's or an editor's choice is never quite clear or obvious.

Looking at the translation field in its entirety, we see the result of the former policy: a specific Soviet canon of translated foreign literature, including certain writers chosen according to certain criteria; the translations made and presented to readers in a certain way; translations from certain languages rather than others. As the workings of Soviet censorship were invisible, the ecosystem formed in the Soviet period continues to live on, and on this basis, a view of authors, works and the Western canon has been built. Readers often do not notice the distortions of the canon or of concrete works because they grew up with these already shaped cultural images which became ingrained in their emotional experience, i.e. such is their emotional literary canon.

The book shows that the research on censorship in translation is in fact research into a cultural lacuna, highlighting the content that the Lithuanian readers had been denied, the content that is absent from our culture or reached us in a more or less twisted form. Fully understanding that our coverage of translation censorship in Lithuania under Soviet ideology reveals only part of the bigger picture, we believe that this study adds to the existing research on censorship in the former USSR, and in other communist and totalitarian regimes; also, it extends the research on the cultural policy implemented in Soviet Lithuania by dealing with the aspects of translation practice little explored before.

Vertimas ir cenzūra sovietinės ideologijos sąlygomis. Lietuva, 1940–1990. Sudarė Nijolė Maskaliūnienė ir Ingrida Tatolytė. – Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2024. 576 p.

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Sovietmečio verstinės literatūros cenzūra pirmiausia pasižymi tuo, kad nors iš pažiūros ji buvo švelnesnė nei originaliosios literatūros cenzūra, vis dėlto buvo labai apgaulinga, efemeriška, išsklaidyta. Kartu ji buvo įsismelkusi, mažiau reflektuojama, bet veikė tiek vertimo kūrybos ir leidimo procesus, tiek jo recepciją, skaitytoją, visą verstinės literatūros lauką. Kitas sovietmečio vertimo cenzūros ypatumas kyla iš paties vertimų leidybos proceso: iš jo etapų geografinės dispersijos (dalis sprendimų buvo priimama Maskvoje, kita dalis – Lietuvoje), o užtekstiniame lygmenyje – daugybės įvairių veikėjų, kurie, prisidėdami prie vertimo, prisidėjo ir prie jo cenzūros. Todėl vertimo cenzūros (savi)refleksija yra labai sudėtinga, reikalaujanti beveik detektyvinio darbo ją nušviesti ir įvardyti. O sovietmečiu suformuotas užsienio grožinės literatūros kanonas ir tekstinės refrakcijos, įtvirtinančios ideologizuotą kūrinių perteikimą, yra dauginamos iki šių dienų.

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