5

Feminist Dissidents in the “Motherland of Women’s Liberation”: Shattering Soviet Myths and Memory[1]

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> *And we can now proudly say without the slightest exaggeration that except for Soviet Russia there is not a single country in which there is complete equality between men and women and in which women are not placed in a degraded position, which is particularly felt in everyday family life.*
>
> —Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, September 23, 1919[2]

> *She holds a child in her right hand, a shopping bag in her left, her drunken husband staggers behind her, and ahead is a new Five Year Plan. This is the typical Soviet woman.*
>
> —Soviet Brezhnev era (1965–82) joke

> *Virgin Mary, Mother of God, become a feminist . . .*
> *Virgin Mary, Mother of God, chase Putin out!*
>
> *—Pussy Riot, Cathedral of Christ the Savior, Moscow, February 12, 2012*[3]

> *In the Russian Federation, to be a feminist is not a violation of the law or a crime. A number of religions, such as Russian Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism and Islam, are based on principles which are incompatible with the ideas of feminism. Tolokonnikova, Alekhina and Samutsevich and their unidentified accomplices . . . on February 21, 2012 carried out an act motivated by religious hatred and hostility . . .*
>
> —Excerpt from the judge’s verdict against Pussy Riot[4]

Mainstream discourse on feminism still privileges Western and Western colonial narratives in discussions of women’s history. As Estonian scholar Redi Koobak has noted, the “so-called former Eastern Europe continues to be something of a gap in feminist studies, if not entirely a non-place or non-region.”[5] Such a focus distorts the actual history of women’s movements and feminism, creating what Koobak terms a "lag" discourse, and obscuring the ways in which so-called backward areas were actually pioneering.[6]

Russians were among the first to raise the question of women's place in society. From the 1860s, consciousness about the role of women was a significant element of proposals to restructure Russian society; Nicholas Chernyshevsky's 1863 novel, *What is to Be Done*, the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of the Russian intelligentsia, had as a central theme the liberation of women from low-wage work and domestic slavery. In the middle of the nineteenth century, Russian women pioneered in winning access to higher education, founding battered women's shelters, and gaining the right to practice medicine. In 1917, feminist demonstrators forced the Provisional Government to grant women the vote and the right to run for office. Russia was the first major power to do so.

When Lenin and the Bolsheviks took power, they viewed themselves as extending the tradition of radical commitment to women's liberation, which they defined as complete transformation of women's role in society. They also explicitly distanced themselves from feminism, which they portrayed, inaccurately, as being solely concerned with political rights. Alexandra Kollontai, the foremost Bolshevik advocate for women's liberation, and an antifeminist polemicist, claimed that "The woman question—say the feminists—is a question of 'rights and justice'. The woman question—say the proletarian women—'is a question of a piece of bread.'"[7]

Under Bolshevik rule, prerevolutionary feminist activists fled the country or went underground. Those who stayed, supportive of the Soviet commitment to women's liberation, worked in literacy campaigns, served as physicians in clinics for the poor, and were often decorated by the state for their service. But mention of previous feminist activity was dangerous, and these women were silenced.

New generations of feminist activists, when they did appear, found inspiration from the West, or from Bolshevik women activists like Kollontai. Their own history had been erased. The newest wave, ranging from Pussy Riot to the "Feministki," while proudly proclaiming themselves feminists, claim inspiration from Western thinkers or groups, such as Shulamith Firestone, Julia Kristeva, bell hooks, and Redstockings. This enables opponents to label feminism as an alien, Western import. Yet Soviet Russia has a history of feminist activism. Sadly, it is little known in Russia today, and ignored in the West.[8]

Sixty years after Lenin's 1919 boast, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, the first Soviet "free journal for women" appeared in Leningrad (now St. Petersburg), the cradle of the Bolshevik Revolution. The first issue, entitled *Woman and Russia: An Almanac for Women about Women*, consisted of ten copies, carefully hand lettered and typed. Printed clandestinely (the only way it could be printed given Soviet censorship), the journal proclaimed "support for the forgotten cause of women's liberation." It included poetry, art, and essays covering a range of subjects, from patriarchy to prisons, from matriarchy to marriage, from theology to abortion. Seeking to appeal to a wider audience, the editors solicited contributions from their readers, stating their intention to "examine the position of women in the family, at work, in hospitals and maternity homes, the lives our children lead, and the question of women's moral rights."[9] Although *Woman and Russia* managed to circulate *samizdat* (underground) fashion, from hand to hand, Soviet authorities quickly seized most of the copies (some had

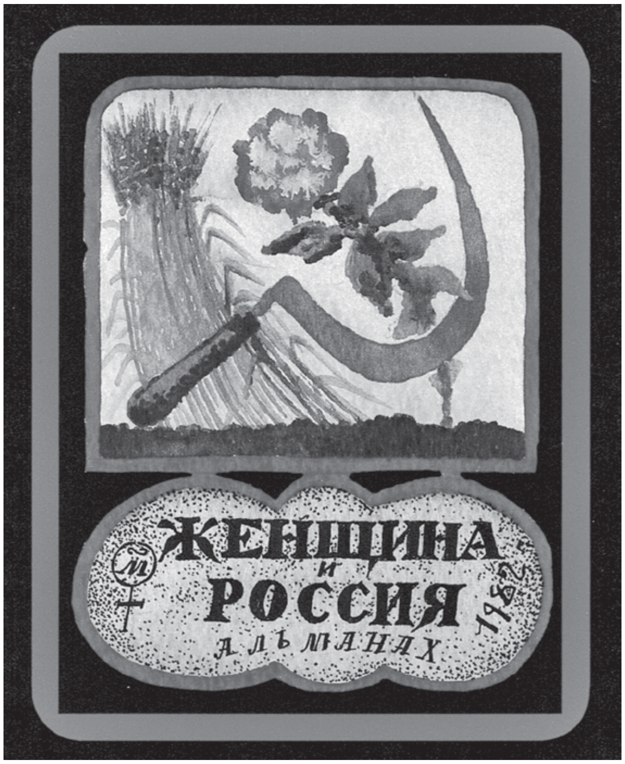

FIGURE 5.1. The cover for the self-published (*samizdat*) *Al'manakh: Woman and Russia*, appearing in 1979, the first independent feminist journal published since shortly after the October 1917 Bolshevik revolution.
Source: With permission: Tatyana Mamonova.

already been smuggled to the West) and warned Tatyana Mamonova, initiator of the *samizdat* project, against any further activity. But the authorities refrained from more drastic action, perhaps unsure about what to do.

The women did not cease their activity. By the spring of 1980, they had divided into two groups, Women and Russia, led by Mamonova, and the Club Maria (after the Virgin Mary). The official formation of the Club Maria was scheduled for March 8, International Women's Day. The international socialist women's holiday, an official holiday, with its ritual speeches, flowers, and meals prepared by husbands or children, had become the Soviet equivalent of Mothers' Day. Like the originally pacifist Mothers' Day, International Women's Day's militance was forgotten.

The Soviet secret police (KGB) got wind of the feminists' plans and on the night of February 29, 1980 searched several apartments and seized a camera-ready copy of the first issue of *Maria*, the journal of the soon-to-be launched Club Maria. The women responded by immediately announcing the creation of the Club Maria and issuing an "Appeal to Mothers" against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The appeal urged "Women of Russia" to join protest actions, burn draft papers, and by any means possible persuade their husbands and sons against joining the war effort in Afghanistan.[10] Thus the Maria group expanded its focus on the Virgin Mother to encompass contemporary wartime mothers and in the process underline their resistance to the Soviet state.

The KGB did not act decisively until the summer of 1980. Then, on the eve of the Moscow Olympics, three feminist activists, Mamonova, Natalya Malakhovskaya, and Tatyana Goricheva, were bundled onto a special Aeroflot flight and formally expelled from the Soviet Union. Following this, other feminist activists were harassed, searched, jailed, exiled to Siberian gulags, or died suspiciously. This did not stop the flow of material to the West, or the publication of subsequent editions of *Woman and Russia* and *Maria*, the two Soviet feminist journals.

What explains the emergence of an independent Soviet women's movement in 1979–80, sixty years after Lenin proclaimed the complete emancipation of women after the Bolshevik Revolution? Who were the feminist dissidents? How did their ideas and concerns compare with those of Western feminists? Why have they been largely forgotten in the post-Soviet period?

To put the feminist protests into perspective, it is necessary to know the arc of Soviet policies in relation to women. Immediately after seizing power in October 1917, Lenin and the Bolsheviks made marked changes in the legal status of Russian women. Soviet laws guaranteeing equal rights, equal pay for equal work, legalized abortion, universal child care and health care, and simplified marriage and divorce procedures were in theory far more comprehensive than those in the industrialized, capitalist West.[11]

Official Soviet policy for the emancipation of women had two interrelated objectives: bringing the majority of women into the paid labor force, and freeing women from their traditional domestic responsibilities to allow them to participate equally in work outside the home. The first objective was far more successful than the second, resulting in women's exhausting double burden of full-time work outside the home as well as most responsibilities (child care, cooking, and cleaning) within the home.

Ideology dovetailed with necessity for Soviet rulers. The need for female labor was a factor throughout the country's history. Ringed by hostile powers, determined to industrialize without massive infusions of foreign capital, devastated by purges during the 1930s and then by the Second World War (in which an estimated 27 million Soviet citizens died, by far the highest casualty rate for any combatant nation), the Soviet state had to utilize its workforce to the fullest. In this, Marxist ideology concerning women's emancipation fit the material conditions of the nation.

Relying primarily on legislation and education, the Soviets achieved impressive results. Instituting the equivalent of a massive affirmative action program for women, they virtually eliminated illiteracy, equalized education levels between women and men, hiked the female workforce participation rate to almost 100 percent, and encouraged the training of impressive numbers of women professionals.[12]

Women's emancipation often served specific economic policy goals. Peasant women in the 1930s were four-fifths of the female population. To sell rural collectivization, party leaders argued that women would gain economic rights in the new system, notably that they could keep their wages "rather than having to turn them over to the family patriarch."[13] In Central Asia's Islamic republics in the 1920s, the Soviets, lacking a classic industrial proletariat, sought to create a "surrogate proletariat" among women by vigorously promoting female emancipation. Resistance, especially from male family members, was strong; women were murdered for unveiling or for the "crime" of being schoolteachers. Nevertheless, by the end of the Soviet period the status of Central Asian females compared favorably with those in Muslim countries outside the USSR.[14]

As this brief survey shows, feminism in the USSR started from a different place from that in the West. Many basic feminist demands had been law for years, and the state, at least in theory, stood for equality between the sexes. Further, in the late Soviet period, the "woman question" was one of the few areas in which a gap between theory and practice was openly acknowledged. After Stalin's death, his regime's assertion that the woman question was resolved gave way to acknowledgement of that gap. Signaling this recognition in his de-Stalinization speech at the 20th Communist Party Congress in 1956, Nikita Khrushchev observed: "Very few women hold leading posts in the party and soviets."[15] In the Brezhnev years (1964–82), before Mikhail Gorbachev initiated his policy of *glasnost* (openness), the press regularly documented and discussed discontent with state support structures (inadequate or nonexistent child care, shortages of consumer goods, poor consumer services) and women's double burden of work in the family and in the workplace.

What differentiated the Soviet feminists' critiques from official acknowledgements of problems with the reality of policies related to women? Although both recognized persistent inequalities, official explanations variously blamed men (the stubborn persistence of patriarchal custom), women (their continued "backwardness"), or the bureaucracy. That overall policy, made by an aging, largely ethnically Russian, and all-male leadership, might be responsible was not mentioned. In contrast, the feminists, like other Soviet dissidents, placed the blame squarely on the political leadership and the system, although their exact analyses varied. For Tatyana Mamonova of the Women and Russia group, the Soviet system, despite its great promise, had become simply the same old sexist wolf in socialist clothing. For the Club Maria, the "tragedy of women" exemplified the moral crisis of Soviet communism, its hypocrisy and abandonment of spiritual values.[16]

The original editors of *Woman and Russia* were disillusioned not only with the political system. Like Western women activists of the 1960s angered by the hypocrisy of the New Left in their own countries, the Soviet women were also motivated by the sexism of their male comrades in the dissident community. The Soviet dissident movement schooled the feminists in the politics of protest, but it also fueled their grievances.

The women who published the first feminist *samizdat* were all part of the Second Culture, a loosely organized group of nonconformist, dissident Leningrad writers, poets, and artists, which emerged during the "Khrushchev thaw" of the early 1960s. Nonconformist in their art, the Second Culture men were, as Mamonova wrote in 1984, "with the possible exception of Andrei Sakharov, whom we consider to be truly democratic,"[17] quite conformist in their treatment of women. They expected women to nurture and serve them, turned a blind eye to wife beating, and ridiculed as second-rate the creative work of their female comrades. Such attitudes could lead to tragedy. The case of one young artist, Tatiana (Tania) Kerner, exemplified the worst outcome of such dismissive treatment. Kerner, pregnant by the editor of a well-known *samizdat* journal, was persuaded by another male dissident leader to keep her baby because "children are the flowers of life." Once the baby was born, neither man showed any interest in helping to nurture the "flower," and Kerner, torn between her love for her child and her love for her art, committed suicide in 1973. After her death, the Second Culture dissidents all acclaimed her art.[18]

Tania Kerner's tragic life and death as well as other examples of Second Culture sexism motivated Tatyana Mamonova, the initiator of the Soviet feminist publication, *Woman and Russia*, to work with several other female dissidents on this journal. Mamonova was no stranger to feminist ideas. She had written essays on the woman question in the early 1960s, during the Khrushchev "thaw" of rigid ideas about society and culture. At that time, she sought the support of official state-supported organizations and publications. Primary among these were the Soviet Women's Committee, headed by the first woman in space, the cosmonaut Valentina Tereshkova, and the magazine *Women of the World* (*Zhenshchiny mira*). But Mamonova's letter to the magazine's editors discussing sexuality and sex roles, with positive remarks about homosexuality and masturbation, brought an invitation to a chat with the KGB. Mamonova had no more success with her friends in the nonconformist art movement. When she tried to talk about women, they dismissed her concerns as frivolous and unimportant, a standard response given to feminists: "We have so many problems already we don't want any more!"[19]

In the mid-1970s, seeking to escape the insular Leningrad dissident community, Mamonova traveled the vast expanse of her country. But everywhere she turned, she found new evidence of the oppression of Soviet women. From Central Asia to Kamchatka on the Pacific coast, she heard "the most vile curses, insulting the virtue of women" (the Russian verb meaning to curse is derived from the word for mother). As a single woman travelling alone, she experienced constant harassment. Returning home, marrying and bearing a son, she found childbirth "a tragic experience" in which women suffer needlessly at the hands of callous doctors and nurses. This was in the late 1970s, in the country that had pioneered natural childbirth techniques.[20]

News about the "significance and seriousness of the women's democratic movement" in the West finally impelled Mamonova to action. Through her connections in the dissident and diplomatic communities, she obtained some feminist books and read Western press accounts of women's demonstrations in Western countries. Especially influenced by Robin Morgan's anthology *Sisterhood is Powerful*, Susan Brownmiller's *Against Our Will*, and Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics*, she resolved to start a Soviet women's journal and publish it abroad, "joining with international feminism." At that critical juncture, other dissident women were willing to join her.

As urban dissident intellectuals, Mamonova and her comrades Malakhovskaya, Goricheva, and Julia Voznesenskaya, all permanently expelled in the 1980 pre-Olympic "cleanup," were hardly typical of the average Soviet woman. Nevertheless, their upbringing was not unusual in the society that eventually expelled them.

All came from loyal Soviet families; none had parents who were dissidents or purge victims. Indeed, Voznesenskaya called her father "a real Communist, dedicated to the Party. The name Lenin for him was sacred." And Malakhovskaya described her parents as part of the "first generation," who believed totally in the Revolution.[21] At the time they were expelled, the women ranged in age from their mid-thirties to their mid-forties. All had been married; three were divorced. Voznesenskaya and her husband, a party official, had had political differences; Malakhovskaya left her violence-prone husband; the reasons for Goricheva's divorce are unclear. Mamonova is still married; her husband shares her views and took her surname. Goricheva is childless; the others have male children. Malakhovskaya and Mamonova each have one son; Voznesenskaya has two.[22]

All but Mamonova were dissidents first and then feminists. Voznesenskaya, protégé of the acclaimed Leningrad poet Tatyana Gnedich, first fought the stifling official culture of socialist realism, organizing unofficial poetry readings and art exhibitions. She claims that at that time she did not make a distinction between "male or female problems." Indeed, in 1975, she rejected Mamonova's proposal to start a feminist journal, asserting that there was no need to create a specifically feminist opposition within the democratic movement as a whole.[23] But when she was sentenced to a Siberian labor camp for her dissident activities, Voznesenskaya heard her sister prisoners' tales of brutal treatment and sexual harassment and experienced some of this herself. Suddenly aware of the "special fate of women," she returned to Leningrad determined to publicize, and hoping to change, the treatment of women in the camps.[24]

Upon Voznesenskaya's return in 1979, Malakhovskaya asked her to join the feminist project. Although concerned about women's issues, Voznesenkaya still did not consider herself a feminist, but several factors were drawing her in that direction. The ridicule of her Second Culture friends, who claimed that in writing about women she had "gone too far," helped to strengthen her feminist resolve. She finally embraced feminism when KGB agents, literary critics of impeccable taste, during a visit chastised her for publishing writing of such "low artistic standards." Voznesenskaya claimed that this incident inspired her to redouble her efforts to produce excellent feminist work; she joked that she now had an official mandate to improve the quality of feminists' work. In claiming her feminism Voznesenskaya did not abandon her dissident ties; she continued to maintain strong connections with her Second Culture friends.[25]

As we have seen, Julia Voznesenskaya had learned about sexism from her sister prisoners. Natasha Malakhovskaya came to feminism by a different route, experiencing it daily in her married life. A writer, Malakhovskaya thought she had met a kindred spirit in a young man who "cried when he said how he loved me." She married this sensitive soul. But her husband, while cultivating a public image of gallantry and concern about Christian love, in private drank and beat his wife. His split personality manifested itself in private as well. When Malakhovskaya's work "was not keeping me from preparing dinner," her husband encouraged her writing and showed her first novel to some of his Second Culture friends. As a result, Malakhovskaya was drawn into dissident activity.

She helped edit the *samizdat* religious journal *37*, wrote some articles, and finished her second novel. When Tatyana Goricheva told Malakhovskaya about Mamonova's feminist project, Malakhovskaya experienced a flash of consciousness: "It was like an intuition. I felt as if I were standing on a mountain and could see it all in perspective, because suddenly I saw that in the Women's Movement you can say exactly what I wanted to say—everything."[26]

For Natasha Malakhovskaya, feminism was a vehicle for personal liberation; for Tatyana Goricheva, it opened vistas for spiritual liberation. The oldest of the exiled women, Goricheva claimed to have been a "subconscious feminist" all her life. She initially shared the view of many Soviet intellectuals that feminism was "frivolous." But as a philosophy major at Leningrad State University in the early 1970s, she was drawn to "the question of woman, the question of sex, of love . . . of eternal femaleness." This led her to Russian Orthodoxy and "the concept of Sophia, who is compared to cosmic wisdom and creativity, to the God Mother and to the ideal of feminism." Sophia, Greek for wisdom, has from ancient times been a key concept in Eastern Orthodox theology, sometimes associated with God's role in the Trinity.[27]

Goricheva formed a women's study group at this time, but then was drawn to *samizdat* publishing. Fired from two jobs for her nonconformist views, she and her husband began publishing the journal *37* (named for their apartment number and the year of one of the most infamous Stalinist purge trials—1937). Active in Second Culture, she learned about Mamonova's feminist journal project and joined it because "the situation of woman is the most evident expression of the tragedy of our society." For Goricheva, the tragedy of life in a repressive secular state manifested itself among women in "false emancipation." She advocated a return to the Russian Orthodox Church, which, because it was the strongest force representing values different from that of the Soviet state, represented "the most progressive movement or force in Russia now."[28]

The emphasis on Orthodox Christianity as a force for feminism differentiated Goricheva and to a lesser extent Malakhovskaya and Voznesenskaya from Mamonova. Following the Western feminist tradition, Mamonova's feminist views were largely secular. Although religious feminism is not unique to Russia, it has been mostly peripheral to the mainstream Western feminist discourse which critiques patriarchy and women's oppression. Shortly after the *samizdat Woman and Russia* appeared, Goricheva, Malakhovskaya, and Voznesenskaya broke with Mamonova, forming the Club Maria, which they called "the first free woman's club in our country," and issuing their own journal, also named *Maria*. The women chose the Madonna, or Maria, the Christian symbol of maternal selflessness, and not Sophia, the Orthodox symbol of feminine wisdom.[29]

They rejected the secular rationalism symbolized by the Marxist state and also by what they understood as Western feminism. Instead they posited a higher truth as embodied in Orthodox Christian spirituality as reflected in women's traditional roles. Spurning Soviet "compulsory equality," they sought to develop a uniquely Russian approach to feminism, stressing community and a spiritual-religious transformation. Western feminism also was not the answer for them. They asserted that Mamonova, the chief proponent of Western feminism in their group, "was throwing out the baby with the bathwater" by emphasizing equality and failing to appreciate the differences between the sexes.[30]

The Club Maria's rejection of Marxism or any other Western rationalist ideology—its anti-individualism, its insistence on a uniquely Russian path to social change, and its focus on the Orthodox Church as the center of opposition to the materialist state—was not new. These attitudes echoed nineteenth-century debates between the Slavophiles and Westernizers, and the dialogue of the dissident movement in the Brezhnev era (1960s and 1970s) between the advocates of Western-style democratization (advocated by nuclear physicist Andrei Sakharov) and those favoring a Russian spiritual-moral revival (promoted by novelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn).

What was new was the attention paid to the role of women in the church and to the question of female spirituality. In Soviet Russia the churches were filled with old women; the *Maria* feminists argued that Orthodoxy could appeal to younger women as well. For Goricheva, the church had become a consciousness-raising haven, "the only place where women can talk about all their problems. No men come."[31] Further, the church was not only a sanctuary for women; the shortage of priests enabled women to take over many of the traditional sacramental functions, especially in isolated rural parishes. In no way did this mean equality. The Maria feminists did not advocate for opening up the priesthood to women. Their concern was neither equality nor, in their view, making women more like men, but the discovery of the feminine, or more precisely, the Russian feminine essence. That essence, they argued, was the soul of Russia, and in the godless Soviet state it had found refuge in the Church.[32]

In exile, the three leaders of the Maria group largely went their separate ways. Goricheva enrolled in a Russian Orthodox seminary in Paris and contributed articles to major émigré publications. Voznesenskaya moved to Frankfurt in what was then West Germany where she became heavily involved in émigré politics and also contributed to émigré publications. Although Goricheva wrote frequently for *Maria*, and Voznesenskaya served as the Western representative of the Club Maria, the pattern of their feminism remained tied to male dissident concerns and émigré politics, not infrequently becoming subordinated to them. Only Malakhovskaya, in poor health, eking out a meager living for herself and her son in Austria, stayed largely aloof from émigré politics. She was most concerned about expanding the Club Maria's appeal beyond Russian Orthodox members, noting that its members included other Christians, "different nationalities and different religions: Orthodox, Catholic, and Baptists." Where this left Jews and Muslims was not clear. As the chief editor of *Maria*, Malakhovskaya established contact with members of the feminist spirituality movement in the West, publishing an article on women and writing for the feminist journal *Trivia*. And she also engaged in polemics with Western leftist groups, publishing an open letter in the Trotskyist sectarian Spartacist group's journal *Women and Revolution*, in which she condemned their attacks on the feminists as "petty-bourgeois," and critiqued their "strange, fusty and moth-eaten terminology."[33]

As might be expected, Tatyana Mamonova moved most vigorously to "join with international feminism." While *Maria* was published in Russian and French, *Woman and Russia*, edited by Mamonova, was translated into twelve languages, including most

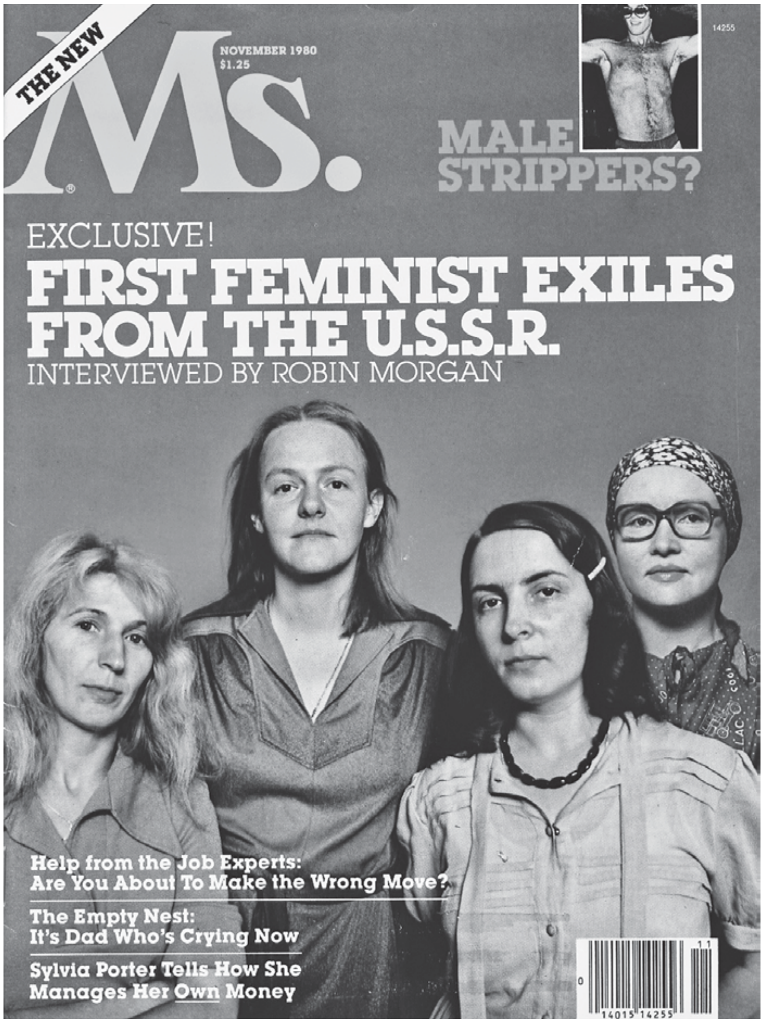
THE NEW
Ms.
NOVEMBER 1980
$1.25
14255
MALE STRIPPERS?
EXCLUSIVE!
FIRST FEMINIST EXILES FROM THE U.S.S.R.
INTERVIEWED BY ROBIN MORGAN
Help from the Job Experts: Are You About To Make the Wrong Move?
The Empty Nest: It's Dad Who's Crying Now
Sylvia Porter Tells How She Manages Her Own Money

FIGURE 5.2. Feminist dissidents expelled from the Soviet Union make the cover of *Ms. Magazine* in November 1980.
Source: Permission: *Ms. Magazine*.

Western European languages and Japanese. Four volumes of the journal appeared in France, and Beacon Press in the United States published an anthology of the first five volumes. Restricted as an ordinary Soviet citizen from foreign travel while she lived in Russia, Mamonova in exile lost no time in seeing the world, lecturing widely in Europe, Asia, Africa, Canada, and the United States. Shortly after her arrival in the West, Mamonova and Robin Morgan embarked on a whirlwind speaking tour of the United States sponsored by *Ms. Magazine*. To publicize further the plight of her Soviet sisters, Mamonova opened an office and archive in Paris. When she moved to the

United States to accept a Radcliffe Institute fellowship, she eventually transferred her organization's office and archive to New York.[34]

To Mamonova, women's oppression was central. Regardless of class and nationality, women were the "new proletariat," the "most oppressed class." Patriarchy held sway everywhere, in socialist and capitalist countries alike. She employed the term *phallocracy* to describe the complex web of patriarchal institutions that hold women in thrall, and argued that women must act as the new revolutionary vanguard and uproot this oppression. Men failed to build socialism; it was women's turn. Largely eschewing émigré politics, Mamonova agreed with the Sakharov faction in accepting the achievements of the Revolution in abolishing blatant social inequities, but arguing for urgent additional democratic and economic reforms. In a 1981 Edmonton, Alberta speech commemorating International Women's Day, she asserted: "We do stand for social transformation and we do not think the socialist revolution was in vain. The revolution did contribute to the transformation of the world, even though Russia itself, weakened by hunger, by intervention, by war, was unable to realize its ideals."[35]

Mamonova connected with a different Russian tradition from that of the Maria group. She identified strongly with the prerevolutionary democratic intelligentsia and with the feminists and cultural radicals (*nigilistki*) who challenged social mores and fought for equal education. Attempts to integrate socialism and feminism, as in the social experiments of the 1920s advocated by the "Bolshevik feminist" Alexandra Kollontai, interested her greatly. She agreed with radical feminists that these experiments failed because ultimately women were forced to sacrifice feminism to the revolution. Aligning with the democratic rebellions of the late 1960s, she proudly "count[s] myself in the generation of 1968—the generation of the occupation of Czechoslovakia and the rebellion in France."[36]

The exiled feminists, like the revolutionaries of past generations, split and traded charges and countercharges. To Mamonova, the Maria group members were not real feminists: "By emphasizing Orthodoxy, Maria takes the teeth out of feminist objectives." In a prescient observation, given the post-socialist patriarchal renascence and Putin's alliance with the Church, Mamonova observed: "Reactionary circles both inside and outside Russia are already beginning to use Orthodox-political feminism as an ideological battering ram in the fight for chauvinistic hegemony."[37] Feminists who remained in the Soviet Union also had conflicting visions and perspectives, but their isolation and vulnerability encouraged cooperation and the need to use all means to increase their visibility. Thus, for example, Galina Grigorieva and Alla Sariban, both feminists who stayed in the Soviet Union, contributed essays to later issues of both *Woman and Russia* and *Maria*.

The exiling of the leading feminists did not at first succeed in suppressing their activity within the USSR. New issues of *Maria* and *Woman and Russia* regularly appeared in *samizdat* format; the flow of articles to the West continued. The Club Maria grew to four chapters, in Leningrad, Moscow, Odessa, and Riga. Contributions to *Woman and Russia* began to reflect the national and ethnic diversity of the Soviet Union, featuring writing from the Baltic republics, Armenia, Central Asia, and Kamchatka.

Articles in *Woman and Russia* by unskilled laborers and about conditions in the then ubiquitous workers' dormitories indicated that feminism was finding sympathizers beyond dissident and intelligentsia circles and even in the Communist Party. Mamonova cited the case of the secretary to a regional committee of the Komsomol (Young Communist League). While the secretary was preparing to receive a delegation from a Leningrad grammar school, a longtime male coworker turned to her and commanded, "Some old bags are going to be here. Get some coffee on the table for them." The woman, outraged, commented to Mamonova, "He spoke to me as if I were a robot without any feelings. And his words carried the scorn of a grandee, scorn for both the delegation and for me as a woman."[38]

The successes of the feminists in reaching out to larger numbers of Soviet women occurred despite continued official harassment. This harassment included physical abuse, apartment searches, the seizure of manuscripts, books, and typewriters (the printing presses of *samizdat*), job loss, and, for single mothers, threats that their children would be taken from them or drafted into the army. Some of the feminists buckled under this pressure. Natalia Lazareva, illustrator of the original *Woman and Russia* and member of its editorial collective, served a ten-month prison term in 1981 for "anti-Soviet agitation." Arrested again in 1982, she gave detailed information about friends and acquaintances in exchange for a promise that she would be allowed to emigrate. At her trial, however, the authorities sent her East instead of West, sentencing her to four years in the gulag and two years of internal exile rather than to a new life outside the Soviet Union. Galina Grigorieva, mentioned earlier, was a prolific contributor to both *Woman and Russia* and *Maria*. A single mother with four children, she was pressured to appear in a documentary produced by state-run television about the Leningrad feminists and the Club Maria in which she condemned her own activity and that of Julia Voznesenskaya.[39]

What was the content of the feminist publications and how did they compare with other Soviet dissident and feminist writing in the West? In form, the feminist journals were similar to other Soviet dissident journals. Theoretical essays, discussions, and exposés of everyday life mingled with short stories, poetry, and literary criticism. The contributions were for the most part short (between three and ten pages), and they touched universal themes, such as family and work (inside and outside the home), as well as such familiar Western feminist concerns as women's hidden history, health care, and violence against women.

Reflecting the particular characteristics of Soviet society, some contemporary Western feminist issues—pornography, prostitution, sexist advertising, the empty-nest syndrome, the psychology of women, and feminist therapy—were simply not mentioned. In the USSR, pornography was banned; advertising was limited to political exhortations and the equivalent of public service announcements. Soviet women were expected to hold full-time paid jobs all their adult lives. They generally married and had children young, and did not wait to enter the world of paid work until after their children were grown. Freud was virtually unknown in the USSR; the language and jargon of psychology did not pervade everyday speech; counseling happened in the work collective or, more commonly, informally in the family. Therapy services were rudimentary at best; individual treatment was viewed as violating collective norms.

In the Soviet feminists' writing, sexuality, sexual relations, and the "politics of orgasm" also received little attention. This reflected partially a general reticence about such matters (it was considered particularly crude or "uncultured" for women to talk openly about sex), and partially the view of some Maria members (particularly Goricheva) that celibacy was preferable. This was not unknown in the West; the Cambridge feminist collective Female Liberation advocated celibacy in its early publications in 1969–70. But celibacy was not a mainstream feminist approach in the West. Here again, Mamonova was closest to the dominant trends in the West, advocating in her writings and speeches free sexual expression, both heterosexual and homosexual, in the spirit of early Soviet sexual policy. For Mamonova, love had many forms; she condemned narrow judgment about sexual behavior.[40]

Lesbianism, a taboo Soviet subject, was the topic of one essay, and one love poem was published in the 1980 *Woman and Russia Al'manakh.* It appeared, not surprisingly, in discussions of women in prison and of the noted poet Marina Tsvetaeva (to reclaim her love poems to women), and in a description of coming out written by a young Lithuanian advocating "the right to be myself." Soviet policies toward homosexuality varied from extremely progressive, in the regime's early years, to very repressive, from Stalin's reign to the fall of the Soviet Union. The USSR was the first state to legalize homosexuality (in December 1917), but seventeen years later, Stalin reinstituted criminal penalties for men. Although lesbianism was not a crime, if discovered, lesbians were considered deviant, and could be institutionalized. In any case, the general conditions of Soviet life did not make same-sex relationships easy. Housing was assigned to families or single individuals, not to two unrelated people of the same sex. Reflecting state priorities, families with children received preference for new apartments, while the unmarried and childless couples were at the bottom of the list. Even among the dissident feminists, there was disagreement about lesbian and gay rights. At least one of the *Maria* editors considered it an "alien" issue.[41]

The feminists exposed the reality behind Soviet propaganda about women's liberation. The much-touted system of free health care was one target. For example, how did free abortion on demand work in practice in the USSR? Natasha Maltseva, in "The Other Side of the Coin," gave a chilling account of a typical abortion. Concerns about the declining Russian birthrate made the authorities extremely reluctant to encourage abortions. At the same time, the paucity of alternative forms of birth control (the pill was considered too dangerous; condoms were in short supply and so thick that they were called "galoshes") made abortion often the only means of fertility control. Nevertheless, a woman who wanted an abortion had to cope with intimidating bureaucratic procedures (even by Soviet standards) and the hostility of her doctors. If she persisted, she would find herself at an abortion clinic such as the one on Leningrad's Lermontov Prospect, which treated 200 to 300 women a day. The clinics were called "slaughterhouses" by the women who used them. There was no privacy; two to six patients were operated on at the same time; those waiting in the operating room saw "the faces distorted in torment and the bloody mess flowing out of the women's wombs."[42]

Choosing to have a child was not much better, from a medical point of view. The descriptions of unsanitary conditions, overcrowding, and staff callousness showed childbirth as an often nightmarish experience. The Soviets pioneered natural childbirth techniques, but feminist accounts indicate that inadequate training, isolation (no outside visitors, including the father, were allowed during the birth or for seven to ten days following childbirth), and an overburdened staff left women largely to recover on their own in Soviet maternity hospitals.[43]

Those with children had access to an extensive network of child care centers and summer camps. But again theory and practice differed widely. In a 1980 article Vera Golubeva assailed the quality of care in these facilities. She indicted the venality and indifference of day care workers, which she attributed to the low pay and low status of their jobs. Child care centers were overcrowded and staffed by "middle-aged and elderly women" who were so economically strapped that they would steal food and supplies. Golubeva reported that at summer camps and sanatoria conditions were no better, hygiene was a sham, and disease a common occurrence.[44]

Soviet women spent a large part of their time at paid work, and several essays in the feminist journals described working conditions at different levels of society. At the bottom rungs of the industrial economy, long hours and arduous work were the rule; safety was often ignored and protective legislation disregarded in the pressure to fulfill quotas. Valentina Dobrokhotova, in "Woman Laborer," observed that much of the heavy, monotonous, and dirty work of Soviet society was performed by women. Indeed, there is no word for cleaning *man* in Russian. Dobrokhotova, describing her job in the mailroom of a train station north of Leningrad, noted that in one twelve-hour shift a woman was expected to handle 300 parcels weighing between fifteen and twenty-two pounds. In the rail yards and on trains women worked the least desirable jobs, "sweeping out passenger cars, cleaning up the floor after drunks, endlessly wiping off tables, making up berths and cleaning out toilets." Most accepted the notion that this was "woman's work," but some escaped to another time-honored form of female labor—prostitution—which "flourishe[d] in our train stations."[45]

For the skilled professional, alienation took other forms. Malakhovskaya, in "The Most Female Profession," described how bureaucratic regulations crippled creativity and individual initiative among high school teachers. The educators, mostly women, had to contend with large classes (averaging between thirty and forty students), standardized lesson plans (the same lesson was taught on the same day in schools from Vladivostok to Leningrad), and constant supervision. In the more prestigious types of careers, women were not treated equally. A career scientist interviewed by Galina Grigorieva noted that women seeking professional advancement were treated differently from men and subject to "constant degradation." And, despite laws mandating equality, it was mothers who shouldered the bulk of child care responsibilities. Such discussions were not off-limits in the official press. Letters to the widely read *Literaturnaya gazeta* (Literary Gazette) echoed similar themes. A 1983 article in the Gazette was occasioned by a letter from a female reader claiming that women could achieve career advancement only at the expense of all personal life.[46]

But even those women who did focus on their homes and families often found little shelter at home from the frustrations of Soviet daily life. Both *Maria* and *Woman and Russia* devoted a good deal of space to critiquing the Soviet family and relations between the sexes. Their central theme was simple: Soviet men were not holding up their half of the sky. Men may have given up their traditional responsibilities, but not their traditional rights. Mamonova, in "Human Birth," pseudonymously attributed to Rimma Batalova, lamented that socialism did not change the basic division of labor. Women brought forth children in pain; men controlled them once they were born. Men had no interest in changing the system, she wrote, they'd rather "build new rockets" or "start new wars, which will destroy your children." Feminists wrote that once a year, on International Women's Day, men would dust the furniture, or sometimes "help" with the dishes or take care of the baby. But real emancipation was not their concern.[47]

Looking to the past for different models, Malakhovskaya, in "The Matriarchal Family," argued the traditional family had more equality, with its "balance of pain, balance of risk, and balance of work." In contrast, the modern Soviet family fostered an imbalance. Women did all the work; they bore children, nurtured and fed them, reared them and supported them. Soviet conditions did not make this easy. Employers did not like to hire women with children, for they feared their taking too many sick days. In Soviet conditions with frequent consumer goods shortages, feeding the family meant standing in long lines for hours on end. The only lines with a majority of men were those at beer stands.[48]

Answering the standard Russian revolutionary question popularized by Lenin in the first years of the twentieth century, "What is to be Done?" Malakhovskaya envisioned the emergence of the matriarchal family. Woman "has to become everything, *so she is becoming everything.*" Responsibilities became rights; women "who have not known male support will never agree to become the appendage of a man … Soon they will be both the physical and spiritual creators of the future world."[49]

Malakhovskaya found solace in an image of matriarchal self-sufficiency; Goricheva looked to the past for her vision of the future. Echoing the dominant theme in the *Maria* journals, she rejected the ideology of emancipation, condemning it for blurring the distinctions between the sexes, creating "doubly castrated" male "hermaphrodites" and coarse, hard women "deprived of all attraction and romanticism." In place of emancipation, she urged a return to Biblical Christian models. Soviet men should study "God and his image"; Soviet women should abandon their "infantile egoism," "discover the Other," and learn from the Madonna. Soviet models of equality were flawed; sex differences should be celebrated, she maintained. Goricheva also argued for a rediscovery of the feminine in women and "defeminizing" men, but she was vague about the implications of this return to the destiny of anatomy. She did not advocate a return to tsarist laws clearly defining patriarchal authority in marriage. Although dubious about their practical value, she favored equal rights laws.[50]

Other Club Maria members went further than Goricheva in rejecting emancipation and embracing more traditional concepts of sex roles to the point that they represented a reaction not only to Soviet concepts of women's liberation but to any notion of feminism. Representing an extreme but not atypical perspective in constructing an anti-Soviet view of women, Galina Grigorieva argued against abortion and defended the *Domostroi*. This was the infamous sixteenth-century Russian tract prescribing female obedience, describing women's domestic duties, and laying out in detail methods for "disciplining" wives. In Grigorieva's view, Soviet women needed to learn "humility."[51]

In Soviet society, with its carefully defined vision of the future, those seeking an alternative vision often looked to the past or to the heavens. For the Maria women, the cult of the Madonna offered a welcome contrast to the cult of Lenin. The Russian Orthodox Church, with its established institutional framework, identification with national aspirations, rich tradition of female devotion, and some history of protest against tsars and especially commissars, offered an alternative to the all-powerful secular state. The patriarchy of the Church and the ideology of the Club Maria complemented each other. Indeed, some Orthodox men praised the Club for championing "the traditional role of wife and mother, the anchor, the disseminator of stability and the moral health of the family." Continued KGB harassment only cemented this alliance. And if Grigorieva's confession was as reported, the police taught a bitter kind of humility.[52]

Tatyana Mamonova also found inspiration in the past, but from the ideals expressed by Lenin and the hopes kindled by the Bolshevik Revolution. These included not only political but also social and cultural changes. Mamonova, the only married woman among the feminist exiles, was the least committed to the traditional family, or to traditional sex roles. She embraced the concept of the hermaphrodite, noting its origin in the ancient myth that the gods did not have time to divide human beings into two distinct entities and therefore the two sexes yearn for each other. Before current debates about the construction of polarized gender identities and "performing gender," Mamonova presciently argued for the union of the sexes, not their further differentiation. She adamantly rejected restrictive laws and customs, arguing that they held women in bondage for centuries. Arguing for plurality rather than uniformity of expression, she asked, "Why fear … diversity?"[53]

The interplay between traditional Western feminism and the Orthodox worship of the feminine continued to be a theme and defining motif for Goricheva and Voznesenskaya. Goricheva has been the most steadfast in arguing that the Orthodox Church is the true vessel of feminism and gender equality. She has produced a steady stream of books and pamphlets advocating for this view. The most ambivalent about emigration, soon after arriving in the West she questioned in her diary, "Is it possible that emigration has set me back?" Reflecting the age-old Russian ambivalence toward the West, she turned Russia's suffering under the Soviets into a positive: "Russia today is going through the ninth circle of hell and at the same time the luckiest people in the world live in it."[54]

Voznesenskaya's path was less straight. After living in various German cities with her two sons, she moved to a Russian Orthodox convent in Normandy, France, in the last years of the twentieth century. As the new century dawned she returned to Germany, where she lived as part of the émigré community until her death in Berlin in February 2015.

Malakhovskaya has explicitly rejected the Orthodox beliefs of her early exile, when she was part of the Club Maria. For the last nine years she has contributed to Mamonova's journal *Woman and Earth*. Mamonova has remained steadfast in embracing the feminist label, continuing to publish *Woman and Earth*, an eclectic mélange of art, travel information, archival material, and essays on various woman-related topics.[55]

Mamonova's feminism is largely invisible in her native land as well as in the West. Western fascination with Soviet-style women's liberation cooled long ago as the reality of Soviet life became undeniable. In this, Mamonova and her group played a role. The feminists never received anywhere near the attention, support, and lucrative prizes received by many of their male dissident counterparts. On the cover of *Ms. Magazine* in 1980 and touring the country with *Ms.* founder and editor Robin Morgan, they dropped from the spotlight several years later. The thirtieth anniversary of the feminists' exile was not considered worth noting in the pages of *Ms*.[56]

Valerie Sperling is prominent among the scholars who have argued that under the rule of the hypermasculine Vladimir Putin, feminist protesters such as Pussy Riot and the lesser known *feministki* have the best chance of articulating a persuasive alternative view. As Sperling notes, a feminist analysis can be effective in "shining a light on the ramifications of hierarchically arranged gender norms for democratic politics."[57] Given the current political climate in Russia the success of such attempts at opposition are dubious.

Nevertheless, the erasure of awareness of an autonomous feminism during Soviet times contributes to a distortion of women's history not only in the post-socialist space but globally. As Jennifer Suchland observes, "despite the relative absence of the second world in the global turn in U.S. women's studies, women in the region have always been a part of the global."[58] In the case of the Soviet feminists, a true transnational approach, one that does not privilege first world experiences and narratives, can make more visible this pioneering autonomous feminist resistance in the second world socialist space.

Notes

1 The author is grateful to Tatyana Mamonova for her enormously helpful feedback on this article. Parts of this essay appeared in a previous article (Rochelle Ruthchild, "Sisterhood and Socialism," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 7, 2 [1983]: 4–12).

2 Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, "The Tasks of the Working Women's Movement in the Soviet Union," in *The Women Question* (New York: International Publishers, 1951), 50–51.

3 Masha Gessen, *Words Will Break Cement: The Passion of Pussy Riot* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2014), 118.

4 https://slon.ru/russia/prigovor_pussy_riot-821705.xhtml, accessed November 27, 2015, 32.

5 Redi Koobak, *Whirling Stories: Postsocialist Feminist Imaginaries and the Visual Arts* (Linköping: Linköping Studies in Arts and Sciences, 2013), 37.

6 Koobak, *Whirling Stories*, 35. See also Jennifer Suchland, "Is Postsocialism Transnational?" *Signs* 36, 4 (Summer 2011): 837–62.

7 Rochelle Goldberg Ruthchild, *Equality and Revolution: Women's Rights in the Russian Empire, 1905–1917* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), 125.

8 Gessen, *Pussy Riot*, 61–62; Valerie Sperling, *Sex, Politics, & Putin: Political Legitimacy in Russia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 248.

9 The following are the sources of Soviet *feminist* writing cited in this article: English language: *Woman and Russia: An Almanac for Women about Women* (London: Sheba Feminist Publishers, 1980)—hereinafter cited as *WR* (Sheba)—is the only English translation of the first volume of *Woman and Russia*. The anthology *Women and Russia: Feminist Writings from the Soviet Union* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984) edited by Tatyana Mamonova, contains material culled from the first five volumes of *Woman and Russia*. French language: *Rossianka* (Paris: Des Femmes, 1980); *Femmes et Russie* (Paris: Des Femmes, 1981); and *Voix de Femmes en Russie* (Paris: DeNoel/Gonthier, 1982) are the second, third, and fourth volumes of *Woman and Russia*. *WR* (Beacon) contains some articles from each issue, but there is no complete English translation of these works. *Maria* (Paris: Des Femmes, 1981) is the French translation of the first volume of *Maria*. The second and third volumes of *Maria* were published in the West by the Club Maria: in Frankfurt am Main (1982) and Paris (1982), respectively. The appeal is in *Maria* 2 (Paris, 1981).

10 For the most comprehensive contemporary English account of this incident, see Robin Morgan, "The First Feminist Exiles from the USSR," *Ms.*, November 1980, 49–56, 80–3, 102, 107–8.

11 A good survey of the prerevolutionary women's movement and early Soviet efforts at women's liberation is Richard Stites, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism, 1860–1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978, 1991).

12 Norton T. Dodge, *Women in the Soviet Economy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966), 65–6; Michael Paul Sacks, *Women's Work in Soviet Russia* (New York: Praeger Press, 1976), 56.

13 Dodge, *Women in the Soviet Economy*, 65–6.

14 See Gregory Massell, *The Surrogate Proletariat: Moslem Women and Revolutionary Strategies in Soviet Central Asia, 1919–1929* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974); Nancy Lubin, "Women in Soviet Central Asia: Progress and Contradictions," *Soviet Studies* 33, 2 (April 1981), 182–203; and Douglas Northrop, *Veiled Empire: Gender and Power in Soviet Central Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).

15 Mary Buckley, *Women and Ideology in the Soviet Union* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1989), 140.

16 Mamonova's edited collection *Women and Russia* contains a representative sample of articles reflecting the range of views of the feminists before they split into separate factions with their own publications.

17 Mamonova, *Women and Russia*, xiv. For Mamonova, "Sakharov had a healthy democratic mind. He was not for revival of the Church in Russia, he was not for legalization of pornography, he respected women, Elena Bonner, his wife was an example of it." Tatyana Mamonova, email message to author, February 3, 2016.

18 Tatyana Mamonova, "La nouvelle chasse aux sorcières," *Rossianka* (Paris, 1980), 37–9; *WR* (Sheba), 10–11.

19 Information about Mamonova's life can be found in Morgan, "First Feminist Exiles"; "Mamonova: Roots of a Russian Feminist," *Sojourner* (March 1981): 5; "Tatyana Mamonova: A Feminist Speaks," *Dialoh* 13, 69 (March 1981): 4–5, 10. Alix Holt, "The First Soviet Feminists," in *Soviet Sisterhood*, ed. Barbara Holland (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1985), 237–65, is a good contemporary survey of

the feminist's activity. After her exile, Mamonova eventually settled in the United States. She lives in New York City. She published the journal *Woman and Russia Almanac* from 1979 to 1991 and has published *Woman and Earth* from 1991 to the present.

20 Morgan, *Sojourner*, 5. For an informative study of natural childbirth in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, see Paula Michaels, *Lamaze: An International History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

21 On Voznesenskaya, see Morgan, "First Feminist Exiles," 51. Malakhovskaya referred to her parents in a speech at the Wellesley Conference on Women Writers, April 1981.

22 Morgan, "First Feminist Exiles."

23 Morgan, *Sojourner*, 53; and Julia Voznesenskaya, "Le movement feminist dans notre pays," *Maria* 1 (Paris, 1981), 37–8.

24 In exile, Voznesenskaya's most well-known publication was real-life stories from the camps. See Julia Voznesenskaya, *Women's Decameron* (London and New York: Quartet Books, 1986).

25 Morgan, "First Feminist Exiles," 53; Voznesenskaya, "Le movement feminist dans notre pays," 38–9.

26 Morgan, "First Feminist Exiles," 83.

27 For an excellent explanation of the role of Sophia in Russian Orthodoxy and its links to feminism, see Brenda Meehan, "Wisdom/Sophia, Russian Identity, and Western Feminist Theology," *Cross Currents* 46, 2 (1996): 149–68.

28 Morgan, *Sojourner*, 54–6.

29 For a concise summary of the Maria group's views, see "Rèponses aux questions du journal français, *L'Alternative*," *Maria* 1 (Paris, 1981), 85–102.

30 Voznesenskaya, "Le movement," 41.

31 Morgan, "First Feminist Exiles," 56.

32 Goricheva was the most forthright exponent of this view. See Tatyana Goricheva, "Des sorcières dans l'espace," *Maria* 1 (Paris, 1981), 53–60, the *L'Alternative* interview, and Morgan, "First Feminist Exiles," 54–6.

33 In this period of early exile, Goricheva contributed articles and reviews to three major émigré publications, *Russkaia mysl'*, *Kontinent*, and *Possev*. All discuss various aspects of theology, especially Russian Orthodox theology. Although Goricheva continued to be a frequent contributor to *Maria*, her writings in this period made no mention of feminism, nor did they indicate any special concern with women's issues. See, for example, *Kontinent* 26 (1980): 415; and *Kontinent* 28 (1981): 416–21. Voznesenskaya wrote frequently for *Possev.* Her contributions to émigré publications also indicated no special interest in women, even when the topic seemed to warrant it. See, for example, her article on Soviet street people: "Eschche odin klass?" *Possev* 3 (1983): 31–4. She did, however, write the *Women's Decameron.* In the early years of her exile Voznesenskaya lived in various German cities, at first with her two sons. From 1996 to 1999, she resided in the Lesna convent of the Blessed Virgin in France affiliated with the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia, in Provemont, Normandy. There, with the blessing of the Mother Superior Athanasius, she wrote a novel-parable, "My Posthumous Adventures." From 2002 she lived in Berlin where she died on February 20, 2015 (http://www.pravmir.ru/v-berline-skonchalas-yuliya-voznesenskaya/, accessed February 2, 2016). Information about Malakhovskaya is partially from personal communication, February 17, 1983. Malakhovskaya's *Trivia* article is "Terra Incognita: On Women and Writing," *Trivia* 1 (Fall 1982): 27–36. Her exchange with *Women and Revolution* is "Open Letter to the Editors of the Journal *Women and*

Revolution," *Women and Revolution* 23 (Winter 1981–82): 7. See also Holt, "The First Soviet Feminists," 258–60. For the past nine years, Malakhovskaya has contributed to Mamonova's *Woman and Earth*, and according to Mamonova "strongly opposes the Orthodox church in contemporary Russia … and has become a real feminist" (Tatyana Mamonova, personal communication, February 1, 2016).

34 Morgan, "First Feminist Exiles." Mamonova, personal communication, 2016.

35 Tatyana Mamonova, International Women's Day Speech, Edmonton, Alberta, March 1981.

36 Tatyana Mamonova, "The Feminist Movement in the Soviet Union," in *Women and Russia*, xiii–xxiii. The 1968 quote is from p. xiv.

37 The Editors (this appears to be mostly Mamonova), "Actions and Counteractions," in *Women and Russia*, ed. Mamonova, 235–44, 237.

38 The Editors, "The Everyday Gulag," in *Women and Russia*, ed. Mamonova, 229–33, 231.

39 Information about harassment can be found in Mamonova, "The Feminist Movement," in Mamonova, *Women and Russia*, and Voznesenskaya, "Le movement," 51–2. Information about Lazareva is from Mamonova, "The Everyday Gulag," 230; *Possev* 7 (July 1982): 4; *USSR News Brief*, May 31, 1982, 6. The news about Grigorieva's confession is from *USSR News Brief*, September 30, 1982, 6.

40 For Goricheva's views, see "Rejoice, Redemption from the Tears of Eve," *WR* (Sheba), 27–33; and "La femme et l'Eglise," *Maria* 1 (Paris, 1981), 103–12. For Mamonova's views, see "A propos de liberté sexuelle," *Rossianka* (Paris, 1980), 75–83. For a description of life in a dormitory for women workers and the lack of privacy for marrieds and unmarrieds alike, see Lidia Koulagina, "Le foyer de travaileuses," *Voix de femmes* (Paris, 1981), 87–93.

41 See Inessa Tominaite, "The Right to Be Myself"; and Elena Lastenko, "Verses from the Cycle 'to My Contemporary'"; both in Mamonova, *Women and Russia.* Tominaite is on 145–9; Lastenko is on 151–3. On prison, see Galina Grigorieva, "The Woman and Prison, *Freedom Appeals* 5 (May–June 1980): 8–12. On Tsvetaeva, see Zhanna Ivina, "With the Grandeur of Homer and the Purity of Sappho," in *WR* (Sheba), 95–102; and in Mamonova, *Women and Russia*, 155–63. In the Sheba version, Ivina's essay is incorrectly attributed to Ivina Tallin.

42 Natasha Maltseva, "The Other Side of the Coin," in Mamonova, *Women and Russia*, 111–16. The quote is on pp. 115–16. The same essay, translated as "The Other Side of the Medal," is listed as written by Vera Golubeva in *WR* (Sheba), 51–6; and as "The Other Side of the Coin," in *Freedom Appeals* 5 (1980), 3–7. For corroboration of this account, see William Knaus, *Inside Russian Medicine* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1981), 210–211.

43 For a contemporary Western scholarly account of Soviet practices, see Jean Ispa, "Childbearing Experiences and Attitudes: A Comparison," *Slavic Review* 42, 1 (Spring 1983): 1–13. See also Paula Michaels, *Lamaze*; and for a comprehensive survey of post-Soviet conditions, see Michele Rivkin-Fish, *Women's Health in Post-Soviet Russia: The Politics of Intervention* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005).

44 Golubeva, "The Other Side of the Coin," *Freedom Appeals*, 6–7.

45 Valentina Dobrokhotova, "Woman Worker," in Mamonova, *Women and Russia*, 5–9.

46 Natalia Malakhovskaya, "The Most Female Profession," *Maria* 5 (Leningrad, 1981); Galina Grigorieva and Svetlana Sonova, "Interview with a Career Woman," in Mamonova, *Women and Russia*, 11–19; Sil'va Kaputikian, "Byt' zhenshchinoi – velikii trud," *Literaturnaia gazeta*, March 30, 1983, 13.

47 Rimma Batalova, "The Birth of Humanity," *WR* (Sheba), 43–9.

48 Natalia Malakhovskaya, "The Matriarchal Family," *WR* (Sheba), 35–42.

49 Malakhovskaya, "The Matriarchal Family," 35–42.

50 Goricheva, "Des sorcières dans l'espace," 53–60.

51 Galina Grigorieva, "Smirenie i poslushanie: psikhologicheskii podkhod i opyt," *Maria* 3 (Leningrad; Paris, 1982), 10–12.

52 Russian "Feminist Dissidents" vs. *Women and Revolution*," *Women and Revolution* 23 (Winter 1981): 6–17.

53 Mamonova, "A propos," 81–3.

54 Tatiana Goricheva, *Talking about God Is Dangerous: The Diary of a Russian Dissident* (New York: Crossroad, 1988), 95. Both quotes are from the same February 1981 entry in Goricheva's diary. Goricheva's other major published works are *Docheri Iova: Khristianstvo i Feminizm* (Daughters of Job: Christianity and Feminism) (Saint Petersburg: "Alga-Fond" "Stupeni," 1992); *Tol'ko v Rossiii est' vesna! O tragedii sovremennogo zapada* (Only in Russia is There Spring! On the Tragedy of the Modern West) (Moscow: Russkii Khronograf, 2006); and selected essays from the religious journal *Nadezhda* (Hope), collected by its editor, Zoya Krakhmalnikova, and edited and published by Goricheva, *Cry of the Spirit: Witnesses to Faith in the Soviet Union* (New York: Crossroad, 1989).

55 Mamonova maintains an apartment in St. Petersburg, and in 2008 was named Woman of the Year by the Vishnevskaya Association of that city. She has no plans to return to her native land. In 2011 she was granted US citizenship. *Woman and Earth 35th Anniversary issue* 10 (2015): 124.

56 A friend, Bonnie Marshall, and I wrote a letter to the editor; this was the only way the anniversary was noted.

57 Sperling, *Sex, Politics, & Putin*, 308–9. Chandra Niles Folsom, an associate of Mamonova, has been in contact with members of Pussy Riot (Mamonova, personal communication, February 2, 2016).

58 Suchland, "Is Postsocialism Transnational?," 848.