

The  
Carl Beck  
Papers  
in Russian &  
East European Studies

Number 1007

Helena Goscilo

# New Members and Organs

The Politics of Porn

**REES**  
THE CENTER FOR RUSSIAN  
& EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES  
UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

**Helena Goscilo** received her Ph.D. in Slavic Languages and Literatures in 1976 from Indiana University. She is currently Associate Professor and Chairwoman of the Slavic Department at the University of Pittsburgh. A specialist in Russian women's prose, she has published widely on gender and sexuality in Russian culture as well as on 19th-century fiction. Dr. Goscilo has most recently edited *Fruits of Her Plume* (M.E. Sharpe, 1993), a collection of original essays on contemporary Russian women's culture.

No. 1007, October 1993

© 1993 by The Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh

ISSN 08899-275X

*The Carl Beck Papers:*

Editors: William Chase, Bob Donnorummo, Ronald H. Linden

Assistant Editors: Mitchell Bjerke, Martha Snodgrass

Cover design: Mike Savitski

Submissions to *The Carl Beck Papers* are welcome. Manuscripts must be in English, double-spaced throughout, and less than 120 pages in length. Acceptance is based on anonymous review. Mail submissions to: Editor, *The Carl Beck Papers*, Center for Russian and East European Studies, 4G-21 Forbes Quadrangle, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.

## Introduction

"Pornographers are the secret police  
of male supremacy" — *Andrea Dworkin*

"The wenches don't do anything for my  
prong...but when I get ready to  
really put the screws hard to a man,  
with all the authority vested in me  
by the state...it looks up at the  
sky, and sometimes I get so worked up  
that I spatter my britches all over"

— *Viktor Erofeev*

Until *perestroika*, finding pornography in Moscow was less likely than encountering a singing nun at a bazaar. Yet by 1990 *Moscow News* reported a lively trade in girlie magazines at newsstands, an adolescent complained to *Vecherniaia Moskva* (Moscow at Night) about the pornographic videos inundating the city, and metro stations and dashboards of taxis routinely displayed pictures of women wearing only a pout or a smile.<sup>1</sup> Public reactions to the relentless omnipresence of naked flesh pressured Gorbachev, in fact, to establish a commission on 5 December 1990 charged with elaborating measures to safeguard the country's morality. Anyone curious about the effectiveness of that official body may consult reflections on the topic by one of its members—published in the glossy *Playboy* clone *Andrei*.<sup>2</sup> By mid-1992 pornography was thriving as a mainstay of the novelties introduced, along with kiwis and deodorants, into Russia's capital. Amidst the all-pervasive renewed Petrine drive to "catch up" with the West, such an influx of ostensibly liberating,

uncensored materials might appear as an exercise in freedom according to the modern Western model. As the editors of *Andrei* announced in their second issue: "We're certain that *Andrei* and its battle helped strengthen democratic tendencies in the area of social awareness and rights" (*Andrei* 2: 3).

Their certainty is, I contend, misguided. It originates in the fallacy of phallic "freedom," which merely exchanges one form of political enslavement for another. What allegedly furthers the cause of democracy is a publication that specifically targets only the male half of the population, presumably justifying its abusive exploitation of the other (female) half via body instrumentalization on the following grotesque grounds: "The first Russian journal for men...is essential today, for it is precisely men who more than anything need liberation from stressful aggressiveness and lack of satisfaction."<sup>3</sup> As the apostle of a new, true Word, the editor vows to combat the psychology of "a 'slavish sexuality'—rigid, crude, hypocritical, and blind," thus unwittingly delineating the profile of his own journal. What—after decades of censorship and regimented puritanism—impresses Russians as hard-won delivery from restraints merely enacts a substitution: the sexual Stallion replaces Stalin, perpetuating a kindred mode of ritualized repression.

What potential repercussions does the tidal wave of porn inundating Moscow in 1991-92 have for women's status in Russian society? On what grounds can one legitimately designate pornography a gendered issue? Russians increasingly speak of the widespread current unemployment as a dilemma predominantly affecting women.<sup>4</sup> May the same be said of pornography? Since the materials energetically hawked in Russia's capital and elsewhere rely on Western models or originate in the West, a brief glance at the Western socio-cultural framework of porn production and consumption provides a useful point of reference.

## Born to Porn in the West

In England, Canada, and the United States, pornography automatically raises several interrelated issues that fuel impassioned controversy on a recurrent basis: those of definition (porn vs. erotica), legality (constitutional freedom of expression), and morality (motivation and effects of porn). Feminist scholarship (especially by Andrea Dworkin and Catharine MacKinnon<sup>5</sup>) and concerted political action have decisively shifted the focus of discussion in recent years by radically gendering the debate on pornography. This debate shows little sign of slackening, for the voluminous official reports and scholarly studies intended to curb or understand the production, dissemination, and consumption of pornography have unwittingly contributed to its publicity (as has extensive press coverage of incidents such as the case brought against public funding for an exhibit of Robert Mapplethorpe's photography, or of scandal-creating rock videos by Madonna and Michael Jackson).<sup>6</sup> The profits of the current American pornography industry reportedly exceed those of the conventional film and record industries combined (Dworkin).<sup>7</sup> And although Denmark may boast of being the first country to legalize all pornography (1967),<sup>8</sup> the United States holds pride of place as the modern muck Mecca.

Astute in identifying and exploiting new markets, the porn industry has expanded from a low yield, covert business to "a highly visible multi-billion dollar industry,"<sup>9</sup> branching out into multiple categories of products and services, including film, videos, books and magazines, mail-order sales, under-the-counter materials, sexually explicit computer communications (e.g., SEXTEX), "Dial-A-Porn" recordings, and "sexual devices" and paraphernalia—such as artificial vaginas and penises, lotions, elixirs, whips, and chains—usually stocked in "adult" bookstores and sex or S/M shops.<sup>10</sup> Analyses of porn that confine themselves to written texts of the *Fanny Hill* and *Story of O* variety smack of an earlier, monolithic era predating the current porn boom. Their purview does not take into account "water sports," rectal inflation, and the administration of enemas, for example, as techniques for sexual arousal. Resorting to esoteric models from "high culture," these earlier studies theorize

titillation,<sup>11</sup> whereas the ultimate aphrodisiac in today's porn is, patently, annihilation.<sup>12</sup> Yet even commentators who have waded through the entire range of pornographic genres—both "soft core" and "hard core"<sup>13</sup>—have confessed defeat in pinpointing the constitutive features of porn.

## Definition

As Catharine MacKinnon has remarked, the dilemma of definition disturbs only those who attempt to legislate or combat pornography: "No pornographer has any trouble knowing what to make; no adult bookstore or theatre has any trouble knowing what to stock; no consumer has any trouble knowing what to buy."<sup>14</sup> Clearly, like U.S. Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart, they "know it when they see it." Yet scholars, critics, journalists, and various government commissions appointed to investigate the nature and consequences of pornography have struggled unavailingly to arrive at an uncontested definition. For instance, David Loth's monograph, *The Erotic in Literature*, uses the term "pornography" interchangeably with "obscenity, erotica, smut, filth, etc.," as encompassing "those writings about sex or eliminative functions which past or present officials or influential groups have suppressed or tried to on the ground that they were morally corrupting or degrading" (Loth 10). Such a simplistic ahistorical comprehensiveness would place Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*, Joyce's *Ulysses*, Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, and Henry Miller's novels alongside sado-masochistic items advertised in *Last Gasp*.<sup>15</sup> Anthony Burgess views a pornographic work as a substitute for a sexual partner, a means of achieving sexual catharsis without an "act of erotic congress"—i.e., as a "harmless" onanistic device within an Aristotelian sexual drama (Burgess 5).<sup>16</sup> Stanley Edgar Hyman and the majority of educated liberals—as represented in published scholarship and debates on porn—essentially share Burgess's position (Hyman 35-41).<sup>17</sup>

Problems of definition likewise have plagued the official commissions on pornography and censorship—constituted in part to clarify precisely what needs to be censored—which have not reached a terminological consensus. The Johnson

Commission (1970) denied "pornography" all legal significance, opting for "explicit sexual materials" as the key term, sometimes alternating with "erotica." The Williams Committee (1979) differentiated between pornography and erotica, interpreting the latter as anything that "expresses sexual excitement rather than causes it" and pornography as combining two features: the function or intention of arousing an audience, and a content that explicitly represents "sexual materials (organs, postures, activity, etc.)." The Meese Commission sweepingly dismissed both terms as labels for subjective disapproval (pornography) or approval (erotica) of explicit depiction of sex, pleonastically substituting "obscenity" to characterize material "that has been or would likely be found obscene in the context of a judicial proceeding."<sup>18</sup>

For the most part, scholarly works, the press, and everyday usage treat "erotica" and "pornography" as synonymous.<sup>19</sup> Among those who draw a distinction, the criteria for differentiating between the two vary significantly. Informal conversations reveal that for many, the degree of explicitness draws the (inevitably blurred) dividing line between erotica and porn. By contrast, those trained in "high culture" studies credit erotica (especially in written form) with artistic skill, often teasing out of a text a philosophy of principled rebellion or tragic "thanatic sexuality" that "redeems" it from the ignominy of the "unartistic"—porn.<sup>20</sup> For feminists making the distinction, egalitarianism and mutuality between sexual partners are the decisive factors. The widespread acceptance of a purely stylistic hierarchy, which equates erotica with sophistication (a "higher-class," less crude presentation of the same materials) may explain the preference in recent Russian porn for titling any narrative devoted exclusively to graphic copulation, tireless fellatio, and comparable acts "an erotic story" and to adopt such coy titles as *Kupidon* (Cupid)—the Roman Eros—for its pricier porn magazines. (As a guide to contents, the labeling on both is superfluous, for the naked women on the covers and their porn-coded stance instantly signal the genre.) Alain Robbe-Grillet wittily summed up the psychology governing nomenclature in the aphorism: "*La pornographie, c'est l'érotisme des autres.*"<sup>21</sup>

## **Legality**

Whereas most detractors of pornography (e.g., George Steiner, Ernest van der Haag, George P. Elliott) base their objections on moral grounds, opponents of censorship (e.g., Harry Levin, Peter Michelson, Paul Goodman) advance the civil liberties argument.<sup>22</sup> The latter camp posits an all-or-nothing scenario, whereby limiting a pornographer's freedom of expression sets the society on the "slippery slope" leading to fascism (Cole 162). The texts regularly invoked to buttress this apocalyptic prediction are the above-mentioned novels by Joyce, Lawrence, and Miller, not *Playboy*, *Hustler*, *OUI*, and *On Our Backs* or films like *Deep Throat* and *Snuff*.<sup>23</sup> Transferred into Russian culture, the tactic would entail justifying the publication of, say, *Shvedskaia troika* (Three-Way—a fictional mini-odyssey of ejaculations), on the basis of Pushkin's *Gavriliada*.

In any event, the commonplace that censorship of phenomena offensive to some violates the first amendment may be countered by the argument that dissemination of material abusive to women constitutes a form of defamation and warrants injunction against "group libel."<sup>24</sup> Whether such a restraint is feasible remains moot, while the nature of materials currently accessible to practically anyone interested in porn suggests the impotence of censorship in overseeing its publication.

## **Marketing Psychology and Morality**

The motivation for pornography, on the one hand, and its effects, on the other, have been the subjects of countless discussions. Although the Marxist concept of porn as intrinsic to the commodity culture of capitalism may not be widely embraced, few would dispute that the capitalist system of supply and demand regulates the porn market. A desire for sexual stimulation prompts the purchase of porn, while the reward of financial profit drives its production. For that dynamic to operate, sex must be accorded the primacy it enjoys in the United States. Yet anyone who attributes Americans' obsession with sex and porn to their inherently greater sexuality



overlooks the commodification via advertising of sexual desire as well as its promised fulfillment. Both are mythical products promoted by the very same forces that satisfy the needs they artfully create: big business.

As various studies of subliminal seduction have demonstrated, finely tuned strategies of "consumer engineering"<sup>25</sup> have enabled manufacturers to sell everything from cars and furniture to clothes, cosmetics, and alcohol by projecting flattering, illusory self-images onto the potential buyer—as someone subject to that special sexual hunger which, not coincidentally, will be appeased through the acquisition of whatever product is being featured.<sup>26</sup> All media, with varying degrees of sophistry and sophistication, convey the message that sexual desire and desirability (of a visible, marketable sort) are critical to a full life, to popularity, happiness, etc. Cleverly packaged, manipulative ads that play and prey upon "illicit" wish-fulfillment fantasies have sold the public, in fact, on a pseudo-normative sexuality shared by those marked for success. This sexuality has become naturalized, in other words, through techniques of psychological suggestion. To consolidate, verify, and propagate national standards of sexual taste (originally codified and propagated by the media), publications such as *People* sponsor surveys to elect, for example, "The Sexiest Man of the Year." These processes (of collusion between power and pleasure and the institutionalization of the resultant identities) instantiate what Michel Foucault has called "implantation of perversions" (Foucault 36-49).

Although psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists increasingly recognize that sexuality is subject to shifting social constructions (its configuration and dynamics reinforced through interest groups operating behind the scenes), diehard skeptics continue to lyricize sex as the "spontaneous surge" of "natural impulses"—a perception carefully cultivated by the very ads that belie it.<sup>27</sup> Of all forms of mass culture, advertising most clearly testifies to the mainstreaming of pornographic values (Cole 41). The symbiosis between them, as John Ellis has noted, has stirred few objections, "other than from feminists" (Ellis 93).<sup>28</sup> Yet, given advertising's attested manipulative power, the relationship surely complicates (if not undermines) the

notion that pornography enhances life and flourishes amidst liberty—civil or any other.

While few dispute the incentives for the sale and purchase of porn, opinions diverge dramatically about its effects, both on participants and consumers. By and large, partisans of porn endorse it as innocuous, even culturally enriching ("it extends the boundaries of the permissible") or therapeutic (enabling a healthy release of "tension" that otherwise might erupt in physical violence). The anti-pornography contingent maintains exactly the reverse, adducing if not causal, then at least correlational links between porn and violent crime. Hearings investigating male violence against women or children have been unable to establish causality (in the legal or the scholarly sense) between the two, and are unlikely to do so in the future. However, officials have shown reluctance to recognize even a connection between the defendant's attested habitual use of pornography, which eroticizes beatings, mutilations, rape, and murder, and the imitative acts of abuse he perpetrates on his victim. Whereas findings strike some (e.g., Linda Williams<sup>29</sup>) as inconclusive, others (e.g., Dworkin and MacKinnon)<sup>30</sup> firmly believe that porn conduces to violence or, at the very least, desensitizes men, intensifies their callousness to women, increases rape myths, and entrenches misogynistic stereotyping.

This notion has been challenged as prescribing an artless "realist" aesthetic to pornography that posits no disjunction or area of negotiability between screen and text on the one hand and everyday life on the other—essentially the same grounds on which the West traditionally has faulted the aesthetic of Socialist Realism (SR). Yet the genre of porn itself adopts realism as its guiding principle.<sup>31</sup> And, just as countless Russian readers "identified" with SR heroes, so do many Americans extrapolate real-life scenarios from screen and page. To abstract the transaction between viewer/reader and his porn materials is to divorce arousal from everyday reality. If porn sets out to excite the imagination, it does so not because the latter dwells in sublime isolation, but because the imagination can trigger inspiration in the groin. Consumers of porn, unlike those who theorize about them, do not approach

their materials subtly, with Byzantine complexity. Theorists may invoke Kant<sup>32</sup>, but porn users want "cunt."

## **Feminist Perspective**

Feminists have fundamentally revised the pornography debate by spotlighting what until the advent of feminism seemed to have escaped everyone else's attention: the gendered nature of porn. The fact that film, videos, magazines, "fiction," and other categories of porn typically depict naked women as disposable instruments of male pleasure, ready and eager to perform any kind of sexual service, led feminists to reassess the genre in terms of political power. Accordingly, feminists define porn as both a practice and presentation of sexual subordination, whereby female submission to male dominance (and violence) is played out in sexually explicit terms degrading to women, for the purpose of arousing a (preponderantly male) audience.<sup>33</sup> Reduced to a passive object of male subjectivity, the woman in porn fulfills the depersonalized function of stimulating and gratifying men's desires (both within and outside the form). Enlisted to serve the cause of male orgasm, she endures or performs whatever act will ensure that climax, from submitting to anal penetration to being whipped or snuffed out. She supplies what the male demands, for pornography mandates that women be whores. The feminist critique of porn, then, not only defines it as sexist in content, but deplores its production as exploitative, its effects as misogyny-fostering, and its consumption as destructive to men (Soble 150).

Inasmuch as this essay examines Russian porn from the standpoint of gender, it aligns itself with and operates within this feminist definition of pornography.<sup>34</sup>

## The Etymological Variant and *Interdevochka* (A Quasi-Excursus)

The etymology of "pornography" points to the debasement of women that inheres in the genre. Derived from the Greek, the term combines *graphos*—depiction or writing, with *porne*—prostitute or whore<sup>35</sup> (normally the lowest of slaves in Greece), with the important proviso that the material of "literary" Greek pornography concentrated on aspects of the prostitute's life other than her professional exertions. Otto Brendel defines these early treatments as "novelistic written biographies of celebrated courtesans" (Brendel 64).<sup>36</sup> In modern times, in fact, the amateur, unofficial status of women's prostitution is crucial to pornography, which rarely concerns itself with paid professionals.

In this respect Vladimir Kunin's *Interdevochka* (Intergirl, 1988)<sup>37</sup> is a curious case of hybridization, whereby a text that is pornographic only according to the etymological definition (we learn mainly about Tania's non-professional activities) relies on the titillation attaching to prostitution and sexually transmitted diseases to preach "high culture" myths about Russia while sounding the social alarm about the dangers of AIDS. *Interdevochka* is Valentin Rasputin's *Pozhar* (Fire) transplanted to Leningrad's sexual market during extensive Russian emigration. Its implications fully accord with the Marxist view that pornography represents the commodification of sexuality under capitalism.

Issued by the establishment publishing house Molodaia Gvardiia in 100,000 copies, *Interdevochka* contains two forewords: a brief endorsement by the influential sexologist Igor' Kon, who correctly singles out for emphasis the work's admonitory function; and an essay by a journalist from *Literaturnaia gazeta* (Literary Gazette), which itself fulfills that function, as indicated in his title, "In the Risk Group" (*V gruppe riska*), referring to AIDS. Tellingly, the text of the novel proper contains no explicit descriptions of sexual acts (a must for porn) and whenever it incorporates expletives or vulgarisms, it opts for such largely desexed terms as *svoloch'*, *mraz'*,

and *podonok* over sexually derived obscenities of the *okhuet'* and *pizdet'* type. While asexual, the text nonetheless is vulgar in the manner once ridiculed by Tat'iana Tolstaia in an interview: in its preoccupation with various brands and names of commodities, which relentlessly repeat themselves whenever clothes, cars, make-up, perfumes, etc., are mentioned.<sup>38</sup> Needless to say, these are all Western imports, weapons with which the corrupt materialist West invades innocent Russia to tempt and degrade it.

The dominant lexicon of *Interdevochka* is that of economics (not sex), and of capital (we learn varieties of slang for money in general, for foreign currency, etc.). This makes sense in light of the work's agenda—to propagate traditional Russian/Soviet (i.e., anti-capitalist) myths: the moral superiority of Russians' vaunted generosity, spirituality, and emotional intensity to Western materialist values (the heroine's, the truckdriver Vitia's, the reformed schoolboy Kozlov's); the sacrosanct nature of motherhood—a mother's love, like love for one's mother, transcends all other ties (exemplified in Tania and her mother Alla Sergeevna); the sacrosanct nature of the Motherland, which proselytizes the unique inseparability of Russians from their native land (note the sentimental nationalism of Tania, her mother, and Verka, the Moscow ex-prostitute living in Stockholm); and the apparently deathless stereotypes of "whore with a heart of gold" and "woman as nurse," which converge in the person of Tania, who simultaneously is a "warm-hearted" prostitute and an efficient, compassionate, nurturing nurse. A tender, loving daughter, she will go to any lengths to vouchsafe her mother's comfort and happiness; she cares about her patients, loves animals, quotes Pasternak from memory, etc. In short, Kunin revives Karamzin's bathetic scenario as "Poor Tania," showing that "*ibo i prostitutki liubit' umeiut!*" ("prostitutes, too, know how to love!").

Kunin operates both sides of the street, so to speak: he treats such provocative topics as prostitution, rape, AIDS, and suicide, in the process dropping an endless trail of brand names of products calculated to stimulate cupidity (not arousal). Yet he wraps everything in a moralistic tract on the level of comicbook complexity. As a solution to Russia's highly complex dilemmas, the work delivers simplistic

homilies: "death over dishonor," "happiness cannot be found in wealth/possessions," "home (i.e., mother and Russia) is best," etc. It would be difficult to find a less erotic text than this clutch of recipes for safe and sanctioned conduct founded primarily on a rejection of the reductively perceived values of the West. In fact, the porn and pornographic transactions overrunning Moscow in 1991-92 seemed to instantiate the very dangers that Kunin's premonitory parable tried to avert.

## **The First Gasp: Meat Comes into Moscow**

By a masterstroke of associated pseudo-coincidences, Russia lacks not only effective condoms,<sup>39</sup> but also a developed national tradition of porn. It imports the bulk of its current pornography from Latvia (Riga) and borrows from Western sources for its own (re)products, as well as modeling its "original" creations on foreign paradigms.<sup>40</sup> Probably the most subversive aspect of these semi-pirated publications is their infraction of copyright law. In all other respects they conform faithfully to the stringent rules of the genre.

The suddenness of porn's acceptability in Russia has forced its production and circulation into patterns that are simultaneously centripetal and centrifugal. Owing to the scarcity of available materials, the same shots are reproduced randomly on various covers of translated and original fiction (e.g., the identical picture graces the covers of *Fortuna* No. 2 [1991, published in Riga] and of the story *Kanikuly v Kalifornii* (Holidays in California); the same nude women reappear throughout entire issues of a magazine (e.g., Nos. 3 and 6 of *Kupidon* [published in Riga]); the same item surfaces in several different packages (e.g., the story *Meteostantsiia* [Weather Station], printed separately and also in *Sex-Hit*, No. 2). Concurrent with this frugality is a profligacy that presupposes readers' voraciousness for anything vaguely related to sex or the body: certain publications offer a potpourri of wildly heterogeneous items, some of which acquire a risqué coloration or alteration of status

by virtue of arbitrary juxtaposition with radically different pieces. How "neutrally" does a reader absorb "scientific" information about biological processes or dictionary definitions of such basic terms as "deviancy" and "frigidity" in a column printed alongside a bared pudendum or pneumatic breast clutched in a male hand?

Such chaotic inclusiveness especially prevails in papers like *Eshche* (More, published in Riga), *Sex-Hit* (published in Riga), *Sovershenno intimno* (Entirely Intimate, published in Riga), *Spid-Info* (Aids-Info, published in Moscow) and sex digests. These throw together a dizzyingly mixed assortment of standard porn shots, reports on sexual diseases, illustrations of possible positions for sexual play, personal ads (incomparably more down-to-earth and practical than in the United States<sup>41</sup>), letters from readers seeking advice or sharing their "sexual" experiences (the naiveté of some is extraterrestrial), purely pedagogical or "how-to" items, "scandals" gleaned from the Western press, and much more.<sup>42</sup> Particularly jarring for proponents of "high culture" is the lack of differentiation between comic book nudes in suggestive poses and reproductions of famous paintings by Rubens and other representatives of Art. Within Russian porn, then, the Venus de Milo is likely to rub elbows (only metaphorically speaking) with a Playboy centerfold, their sole common denominator being their gendered nudity. For the purposes of the genre, however, both are merely undressed female bodies, artfully "presented."

Apart from films and videos (which this essay excludes from discussion), the categories of porn that have flooded Moscow<sup>43</sup> may be broken down into:

- 1) "static" visual, i.e., pinups of individual women on posters or within magazines and newspapers;
- 2) "dynamic" visual or narrative visual, i.e., "action" shots of a couple or series of such, grouped so as to suggest narrative development within a temporal flow;
- 3) verbal narrative, i.e., texts that elaborate a plot (the covers of these normally designate the genre of the contents, via one or more nude bodies, sometimes accompanied by the tautological classification "erotic story" and the revelatory declaration of caution *cum* exclusion, "for men only"); and
- 4) anecdotes (*anekdoty*) about "sex."

The first three categories both recycle Western forms and slavishly imitate their conventions, which are strictly coded to suggest a single overdetermined scenario.

### **Static Visual: The Hole as Whole**

Pinups by definition are of woman, offered up according to a number of time-tested formulas calculated to commodify her as a generalized object for male use. Completely undressed or with breasts, bottom, or vagina exposed and highlighted, she becomes reduced to parts, in what Alan Soble and other Marxists have called the "dismemberment syndrome" that ensures women's alienation.<sup>44</sup> She invariably assumes a position that emanates passivity, submission, languor or insatiability, and invites sexual possession or violation (e.g., on her knees; crouching, with buttocks thrust out at the camera; supine, with thighs spread wide). Boots pulled up to her naked thighs may be used to evoke the standard sexualized image of horseback riding (Tolstoi lives!), while the leather/suede conjures up bondage or S/M paraphernalia.

Although static in form, the pinup anticipates narration by imaging woman as a hole waiting to be filled, for porn tells and sells the timeless "story of O." Hence the highlighting of her anus, vagina, and mouth—the last, inevitably pouting and moist, sometimes licking, sucking, or encircling a surrogate penis (fruit, bottle, etc). If her face is visible (not mandatory for a genre that works to erase identity), her eyes are either closed in anticipated ecstasy or fixed directly on the viewer, "soliciting" him.

In accordance with porn's privileging of size, pinups favor generous breasts (with nipples darkened and perky—like Lenin, always "on watch" [*na postu*]) and lush pubic hair,<sup>45</sup> which intimate comparable proportions in sexual appetite and apertures that promise a pornucopia of orgasmic delights. If healthy and robust, the woman exudes a capacity for insatiability and epic exertions (the Amazonian "sex machines"). These are fantasized in *Andrei* (2:89), for example, as "women robots, inflated savages" (*zhenshchiny roboty, nakachannye dikarki*). If delicate or frail, she



is sooner coded for S/M pain, accentuated by smudged, dark eye makeup that connotes a bruised sexuality (Cole 41).<sup>46</sup>

The genre carefully orchestrates appurtenances and setting. Animals—especially dogs, cats, and horses—hint at the woman's animal nature (evident in the synonyms of "pussy" and "beaver" for a woman's pudendum) and have specific cultural associations with sex: Dogs, as is well known, have been (ab)used for intercourse with women in porn films. Cats are ambulatory realized metaphors (or hyperbolized metonyms) for a woman's "pussy" (a visual rhetoric exploited in the first issue of *Andrei*, where the centerfold nestles a cat between her legs, her face rapt with pleasure). The horse, especially the stallion, is a traditional symbol of male potency (*proizvoditel'* or the obsolete *al'fons*); hence the shot of Katia Volkova, the centerfold in *Andrei* (2: 42), on horseback, arranged so that the neck of the horse resembles an enormous phallus emerging from between her gripping thighs. The purple prose explicating the sexual narrative, however, is transposed to a less obvious visual representation, of Katia straddling a chair:

Ей хочется сжать горячего скакуна ногами, подать ему шпор, ощутить щекочущий бархат коричневой шкуры. Она чувствует себя и всадником, и сильной гибкой лошастью, и изнеженной дамой света. Той, к кому они скачут по опасной дороге. (2: 43)

She wants to squeeze the hot racer with her legs, give him the spur, feel the ticklish velvet of his brown coat. She feels that she is both a rider and a strong, flexible mare, and a spoiled woman of the world—the one to whom they race along a dangerous road.

The "they," of course, encompasses the entire male readership of the magazine.

Settings likewise are carefully selected for their associative qualities. Accordingly, the showcased "goods" are sprawled on luxurious sheets, stretched out on the floor, or lolling in the "untamed" outdoors, often beside water.

The meticulous choreography of pornographic images transforms women's nakedness into highly self-conscious nudity, according to John Berger's insightful distinction.<sup>47</sup> Pornography's display of women in the "uniform" of nudity objectifies them so that man may perceive himself as the complementary opposite, the invading conqueror of this coded territory ("woman as land"), equipped "to penetrate the mystery within." Submission implies assertion (or violation); passivity invites activity (or violence); "large holes" can be filled only by large penises, etc. These aggrandizing devices generate an ego-stroking image of the implied (omni)potent man that facilitates the male consumer's projection of himself into the picture, so to speak, as the active participant in the implied scenario.

The alternative of voyeurism is built into the cultural disposition of gender roles. According to *Penthouse* publisher Bob Guccione, women are natural [sic] exhibitionists, whereas men are natural voyeurs (Cole 36-37). Berger's formulation echoes Guccione's, but in a context that denaturalizes the role assignment and illuminates the origins of female self-voyeurism:

Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at. This determines not only most relations between men and women but also the relation of women to themselves. The surveyor of woman in herself is male; the surveyed female. Thus she turns herself into an object—and most particularly an object of vision.  
(47)

Hence the profusion of mirrors for women's alienating, voyeuristic self-examination in pornographic art, film, and writing. Although pinups literally feature only women, in a more meaningful sense women are ontologically absent, while the dominant presence is male. The male buyer and his desires determine not only the manufacture of the product, but the "layout" of the "parts" that collectively comprise the object.

## **Dynamic Visual: The Metaphysics of Absence**

In visual pornographic scenarios with two or more players, the male viewer may exercise essentially the same options—identification with the actual male portrayed, voyeurism, or a combination of the two. While this category may appear more even-handed insofar as it incorporates men alongside women into the representation, that impression of gender parity is quickly dispelled. The balance of power between the heterosexual couple (or group members) engaged in intercourse, preliminary fondling, or exchange of meaningful looks, etc., duplicates the gender conventions that regulate pinup aesthetics.

Since women are the user-friendly disposables, multiple-participant groupings constellate several woman around one male. As Cole remarks, "the dynamic between pin-up and consumers is that of a gang bang" (36). Shots of couples contrast the woman's nudity or her exposure of one or more "key areas" (breasts, buttocks, vagina) with the man's fully or partly dressed state. Like the Godhead, the male penis in pornography tends to be invisible<sup>48</sup>—underlit, so that its contours remain shrouded in darkness, hidden by the man's careful posture, or strategically shielded by the woman's body, which, of course, is fully revealed. As the symbol of male identity ("manhood"), the penis remains largely "unpresentable." Its mode is action (the active male subject), not contemplation (the passive female object).<sup>49</sup> Canadian law prohibits as obscene, and mainstream American custom discourages as unsettling, any shot of an erect penis. In like fashion, among the publications currently sold in Russia the ratio of exposed (flaccid) male organs to bared pudenda is approximately 1:100.<sup>50</sup>

The rigid conventions of porn militate against turning men into objects for display, as Bob Guccione discovered when he experimented with *Viva* magazine (1972). Reversing gender roles, *Viva* featured explicit accounts of women's sexual adventures, punctuated with photos of nude men (penises at rest). To emphasize the men's virility, the magazine placed them in forest settings ("man in control of wide expanses"), on ski slopes ("the intrepid sportsman"), and on horseback ("the

Marlboro cowboy"). Readers' objections that the men "looked like homosexuals" (which presumably explained the poor sales) forced the magazine to close down. The market's lesson in lower mathematics? Boobs + butt = quintessentially a woman; pecs + penis = less than a man (Cole 37-38). Hence their respective bodies appear in postures and at levels emblematic of their unequal image and power: the woman photographed prone, supine, or in some recognizably supplicating position, whereas the man, as the ringmaster in control, sits or stands.

A photograph published in the second issue of *Andrei* condenses a host of genre topoi that beg for closer analysis along these lines. The carefully arranged tableau shows a white (possibly marble) statue of Napoleon on a red tablecloth (coded to suggest blood and passion), standing, arms folded, between a seated woman's spread thighs. The military figure of Napoleon, instantly recognizable through his uniform and pose, universalizes the male as arrogant conqueror. A monument (literally and figuratively) to boundless power, Napoleon for Russians is the violent invader who confidently enters unknown terrain and by whatever methods necessary imposes sovereignty over it. An unstoppable force, on the one hand, Napoleon nonetheless exudes an aura of Olympian calm, on the other, because he is immobilized (and desexed) through the cool medium of marble or stone. Strategically stationed at the picture's center, he instantly dominates the viewer's attention. The land to be forcibly entered and subdued looms behind him as the "battlefield" where he will prove himself. It is the anonymous expectant vagina, bared but blocked off from the viewer, who sees only the pubic hair surrounding Napoleon as background.<sup>51</sup> Thus, while physically reduced by compositional proportions to modest (unaroused) penis-size, Napoleon is symbolically inflated to cosmic proportions as historical referent (and a cultural monument celebrated by the Western world).

Woman here is fragmented, genre-coded as "every man's land," nothing more than spread legs. A black lacy garter on her otherwise nude right thigh and her black-gloved left hand, resting "protectively" against the left groin and pubic hair, signal frivolity and helplessness in the face of aggression, respectively. Faceless, lacking all identity, woman is generalized into "cunt," the fetishized body part that

defines her role in the universe of male activity and values. The "hole" of her vagina (i.e., zero of her being) obstructed by Napoleon's figure is transposed onto the enormous ring decorating the gloved finger of her hand (a convention borrowed from striptease routines),<sup>52</sup> playing on the immemorial association between jewels and women's genitals.<sup>53</sup> The picture, then, erases the live woman photographed and dismembered in it, while installing the presence of the man via inert facsimile. Both function as cultural objects—invested, however, with unequal political power.

### **Verbal Narrative: Hype, Hyperbole, and Taboo**

If, as Linda Williams contends, visual pornography strives to make the invisible (i.e., pleasure) visible, then the goal of its Gutenberg counterpart is to print the unprintable. Critics have emphasized the more visceral appeal of the visual, which tends not only to elicit stronger and more immediate audience reactions, but also can function more economically, as acknowledged by the cliché "a picture's worth a thousand words."<sup>54</sup> This may especially obtain when the nude body and its acts are represented, for verbal mediation tends to dilute the instant impact normally attributed to a directly apprehended visual image. Viktor Erofeev, in an interview on eroticism, declared: "The power of bare flesh is such that once you've seen it you can forget about what a person is saying" (Erofeev 2). Yet words may strongly affect our perception of the visible nude (the difference between silent and sound film), just as the ability of the written word to conjure up visual images is crucial to published texts. In fact, printed pornography appropriates a number of authentication techniques from film as well as sharing the gender stereotyping that reinforces unequal distribution of power in visual genres.

Porn fiction sold as a separate item in contemporary Moscow has a specific look. A compilation of 12 to 50-odd pages folded in half and stapled together to form a slim booklet, it usually has a randomly selected cover sporting a nude or near-nude woman in a suggestive pose or couples positioned in some form of sexual readiness, or beyond. Runs of the computer-typed texts vary from 500 to 50,000

copies, offered most frequently for a "negotiable price" (*tsena dogovornaia*—a pimp eager to make a deal). Barter and exchangeability rule the packaging, in fact, for the identical cover may appear on several different texts or, conversely, the same story may have several different covers, just as it may bear various titles (e.g., *Rodovoe okonchanie* ["Family Completion"]<sup>55</sup> by S. Khalyi surfaces elsewhere as simply *Okonchanie* ["Completion"]).

The narratives belong to one of three categories, not always easy to distinguish because of hurried, sloppy production:

1) Translations from Western sources bearing authors' names (e.g., Jeanette Rich-Paterson's *Letnie kanikuly* [Summer Vacation] or Michelle de Clercq's *Iuzhnyi roman* [Southern Romance]).<sup>56</sup> Intentionally marketed by its purveyors as a Western commodity for the status that attaches to foreign goods, this category dominates the porn market.

2) Anonymous texts, where the only clue to the country of origin is the characters' names (e.g., Iolanthe de St. Ives in *Prikljucheniia v otele "Svetlaia luna"* [Adventures in the 'Bright Moon' Hotel]), which may not be completely reliable evidence, since American and English names often mix with Russian ones, without explanation.

3) Original Russian creations, with author's name attached. The likelihood of a market-oriented adoption of pseudonyms seems strong, however, particularly in such cases as *Shvedskaia troika*. Although an indisputably Russian text, it purports to be the inspiration of O. Konner (American or Irish O'Connor?), which not only has a Western ring (a significant selling point), but evokes the French "con" (not for its current primary meaning of "dumb bastard," but for its earlier one of "cunt" [Mercier 27]).

Both translated and domestic Russian pornography adheres fairly closely to standard precepts of the genre. Action in pornography is the act of sex (the single indispensable element), presented in such a way as to stimulate readers' arousal. In

a sense the genre presupposes an impotent as its most "difficult" or resistant reader (a view shared by Soble), for its choices rest on the premise that "regular" sex alone is insufficient cause for excitement. To elicit the necessary frisson, what is prohibited must be exhibited. Now, interdictions depend on a hypothetical norm validated by a social community. Thus porn necessarily violates taboos and breaches boundaries in those areas of sexual activity which, according to communal standards, symptomatize deviation from normalcy: location and frequency of act; and number, age, and position of participants.<sup>57</sup> In other words, non-stop, non-missionary sex, outside of bed, with adolescents and pensioners, preferably in groups. Hence in *Shvedskaia troika* Sasha and Vitia have three-way sex with Lilliia, a woman in her sixties devoted to masturbating men to orgasm; Viktor in *S golodu* (Out of Hunger) performs cunnilingus on Lin [Lynn?] during her menstruation, extracts her tampon for intensification of pleasure, and finally climaxes together with her son's girlfriend Kim when she urinates on his testicles as they both straddle a toilet seat. D. Harber's *Desiat' let vo sne* (A Ten-Year Sleep)—elsewhere called *Vospominaniia molodoi zhenshchiny* (A Young Woman's Recollections)—condenses perhaps the greatest number of generic topoi: mutual onanism (hetero and homo), group sex with the aid of aphrodisiacs, fellatio, voyeurism, sodomy, and incest (between father and daughter).

In the narrative structure of porn, sex is the masterplot, with orgasm as its "natural" culminating point. The importance of quantity in porn's economics of pleasure builds repetition into the genre, which is why those who decry porn on other than moral grounds typically complain of boredom at witnessing "one sex act after another." Yet, while the experience of pleasure is iterated, the means of achieving it must vary, which explains why the principle of escalation structures the genre. If the first orgasm is attained through conventional sex, the second must involve either an increased number of partners or some less orthodox route to climax. How the rule of escalation operates is illustrated by the abovementioned "Summer Vacation," a classic text of sexual initiation that has been repackaged in Russian. The 15-year-old virgin Ania enjoys her first sexual discharge in the woods when her 25-year-old

distant relative Robert manually brings her to orgasm, her second when he actually deflowers her. She then progresses to intercourse with a 35-year-old monk, "brother" Petr, inside a room on church grounds. If at first blush her next coupling—with 28-year-old "brother" Klement—seems to contradict the imperative of augmentation, the formidable dimensions of his instrument ("23-25 centimeters," she notes in appreciative awe) and the confessional as his Sadean choice of setting dispel that impression. Size and site compensate for reduction of age. Ania next succumbs to 45-year-old "uncle" Jim, before moving on to three-way sex and fellatio with both "uncle" and "brother" (the pseudo-familial mode of reference capitalizing on the incest taboo).

The auditory accompaniment is also subject to escalation: heavy, irregular breathing and gasps expand to moans and groans, and reach a crescendo of shrieks and shouts that would put the Hallelujah Chorus to shame, even as the female voice continues to plea for "harder, faster, more." What this text artlessly exposes, then, is the mathematical organization of unappeasable appetite. Not development but increment extends the narrative, which ends only when the author's imagination (masquerading as the protagonists' sexual energy) runs out of steam.

Of course, the performance principle that informs the construction of male sexuality demands tangible evidence of capacity. Consequently, a mainstay of porn is the mathematical formulas invoked regarding size (where male organs are concerned, biggest is still best), frequency (males' epically heroic reprisals correspond to women's constant voracity), and quantity (people virtually bathe in each other's sexual emissions—in a convention doubtless appropriated from the "money shot" in film [authentication via a close-up of external ejaculation]). In short, hyperbole is porn's privileged trope.

What most eloquently testifies to the formulaic nature of porn, like that of the Harlequin Romance, is the "how-to" manuals in the West that catalogue the genre's essential ingredients and the recipes for mixing them.<sup>58</sup> Yet, for all their mechanical predictability, over the last decade both genres have pushed back the limits of acceptability. That is why one reads Stephen Ziplow's *Film Maker's Guide to*



*Pornography* (1977) with a certain nostalgia for the "gentler, kinder" brand of porn whose definitive features his checklist inventories. Stressing the supremacy of the "money shot," Ziplow also includes masturbation, conventional sex (heterosexual, penis in vagina), lesbianism, oral sex (cunnilingus and fellatio), orgies, three-way sex (heterosexual), and anal sex (the recipient presumed to be female). Sadoomasochistic rituals (affectionately called "sadie-max") and thanatic sex, now a commonplace in all categories of porn,<sup>59</sup> are conspicuously absent from Ziplow's list. The rule of escalation, then, affects not only the internal structure of the genre, but also the evolution of the genre itself, which inevitably responds to changes in social values. Yet one constant persists, whatever the permutations: male supremacy.

Although the dynamic of male dominance and female submission so blatant in visual materials seems weakened in pornographic writings marketed in Russia, most texts nonetheless propagate gender stereotypes. In the realm of sex, men are authoritative figures of initiation, endowed with skill, creativity, and persistence; whereas women, as receptacles, "take in" the male lessons, penises, hands and fingers, and various objects.

### **Hard Lessons and Softening Devices**

Not unlike Socialist Realism and the *Bildungsroman*, some of the porn fiction sold in Moscow has a pedagogical cast, most pronounced in narratives of initiation, which trace the induction of a *naif* into the mysteries of "forbidden" sex acts by a seasoned specialist. Curiously perhaps for the Western reader, the lesson seems also directed at the consumer, for many texts resort to a terminology for bodily equipment and (re)actions more likely to inform the ignorant than inflame the excitable. "Foreign" words with Greek or Latin roots, instead of a purely Slavic lexicon, preponderate in what I would call a purely functional naming: "*fallos*," "*vagina*," "*sperma*," "*klitor*," "*orgazm*." The dearth of (non-euphemistic) Russian vocabulary for body parts and sexual activities partly accounts for this reliance on "dictionary" nomenclature, which effectively distances the reader.

Even more curious is the slippage into euphemism and periphrasis—canonical rhetoric within soft porn. Michelle D’Clercq’s [sic] "Southern Romance" offers a fascinating instance of periphrasis that, nonetheless, installs the paradigm of visual porn analyzed above. In describing his sexual congress with a woman he meets at the beach, the narrator (a married father and experienced sexual athlete) conjures up the image of sex as warfare by repeatedly referring to his penis as "weapon" (*oruzhie*) and "instrument" (*orudie*), while words applied to the woman advert to her animal nature. She is "a rider" (*naezdnitsa*), her vagina a "secret burrow-hole" (*zavetnaia iama-norka*), her clitoris "a rather strange little animal" (*dovol’no strannyi zverek*); when she performs fellatio, he analogizes her licking motions with a cat’s. The invocation of two distinct sets of associations (military vs. zoological) underscores the author’s inscription of other gendered differences. The male as controlled and controlling pragmatist (an adulterer seeking short-term impersonal gratification, lying so as to pacify the woman who represents merely one of numerous x-night stands) contrasts with the accommodating, vulnerable female (ready to abandon job and home for his sake and to satisfy his every desire). Their encounter emotionally enslaves her, but certifies his virility as an emblem of power.

If in "Southern Romance" porn’s reputed liberating function is belied by gender stereotyping, in "Weather Station" and elsewhere the conformist aspects of the genre manifest themselves in self-censorship. Although this "erotic" novella brims with such generic commonplaces as three-way sex, lesbianism, rape, fellatio, and implement-aided onanism, it either employs coy euphemisms for sexual parts and acts (e.g., "mound" [*kholmik*], "introduces the ‘friend’ into the ‘little house’" [*vvesti ‘druga’ v ‘domik’*]) or replaces them with ellipses (e.g., "Alesha came up, spread my buttocks and introduced his member into my ..." [*Alesha podoshel, razdvinul rukami iagoditsy i vvel svoi chlen v moiu ...*], or "I started again to ... Natasha" [*ia snova nachal ... Natashu*]). Prudery wreaks havoc on narrative continuity when, for instance, a series of question marks and ellipses substitutes for the description of Liia’s rape, occasioning a bewildering shift in point of view that makes the ensuing

passage incomprehensible. Such devices signal not license, but suppression in a genre touted as promoting and betokening freedom.

### **Anecdotes: Loss of Oral Potency**

Subversive license, by contrast, inheres in the genre of the joke (*anekdot*), which Andrei Siniavskii has conceptualized as a peculiarly Russian form of contemporary folklore (Terts 77-95). In a remarkable operation that evokes the transsexuality motif in pornography (e.g., "Family Completion"), the logic of the current popular culture market has transplanted the *anekdot* onto the pages of porn and sex publications. In so doing it has transformed an authentic oral art form whose success depends on the individual "teller's" skill in delivery—on a live performance in which timing, tone, accent, and emphasis play a crucial role—into an inert item, mechanically reproducible and reproduced.<sup>60</sup>

*Anekdoty* not only appear alongside other materials in magazines and papers devoted to sex (e.g., "No-holds-barred SEX" [*SEX-bespredel*]), but also comprise the entire contents of slim digests (e.g., *Daidzhest SEX anekdotov*) and more substantial collections (e.g., "SEX *Anekdoty*"), invariably featuring a nude and/or suggestively posed woman on the cover. If Siniavskii's notion that the genre lives by suppression has any legitimacy, this sudden rash of "anekdotitis" may well prove fatal to its survival. For, as Siniavskii maintains:

What lies at the basis of the genre [of the *anekdot*] and the conditions in which it works, develops, and exists is a violation of certain conventional norms of behavior and speech. It's as if the *anekdot* wants to be prohibited, liquidated on the spot, and it lives on just this supposition and expectation. Give it freedom, remove the prohibition, and it will die....(78)

It would be myopic to deduce publishers' awareness of the transgressive nature of *anekdoty* from such titles as *Smekh i grehk: 72 anekdota* ("Grin and Sin: 72

*Anekdoty*" [published in Kiev), for these compilers patently locate transgression not in the genre *per se*, but in the theme of sex. This much is evident from such packaging techniques as highlighting the "a" "k" and "t" in "*anekdot*" to stress the sexual act implicitly offered by the nudes scattered throughout the paper's pages.

Most collections group *anekdoty* according to a familiar situational typology (e.g., a gynecological appointment; a spouse's unexpected return home; a visit to a brothel; a trip abroad) that explores sexually related themes, usually cast in a problematic mode: fears of impotence, anxieties about performance, sexual incompatibility, adultery, and the like. While such topics and their treatment might reveal something about prevailing attitudes and mores in Russian society, the specifics of the genre hardly conduce to reader arousal. The climax to which the *anekdot* moves is the *pointe* that brings a release of plot tension through laughter prompted by the witty closure. That is why, as Siniavskii correctly argues, "as an authentically folkloric, oral form of poetry, it fades on paper, losing the live voice, mimicry and gestures that accompany it, and sometimes practically reifies it completely, like pantomime" (91). To fix this quintessentially oral genre in written form, then, is to castrate it (the Greek etymology of *anekdotos*, in fact, means "unpublished").

Without the performance component that is inseparable from the subversive gesture of the *anekdot*, its audience is degraded from participants to observers (voyeurs). Read (as opposed to heard) from this shifted perspective, *anekdoty* draw attention to thematic concerns and their significance as social document. They reveal the ubiquity of adultery, mistrust between the sexes, and the currency of the rape myth—at least among the male population. Of course, anyone seeking "porn pleasure" from these pseudo-literary eunuchs is doomed to disappointment.

## **The Porn of Politics: Airbrushing a Myth**

If Western pornography is the political product of the capitalist economic system, in Soviet Russia politics has been the pornographic product of a utopian imagination unrestrained by ethics. Whereas Western billboards typically advertize commodities by implicating them in a sexual mystique, Soviet Russian slogans and signs invariably advertize(d) ideology through promises of a future paradise. According to the "wish-fulfillment" scripts of the politico-socioeconomic structures that have produced them, the larger-than-life symbolic ideals of both advertising campaigns capture (indeed, master) the public imagination. For these carefully elaborated figures suggest the tangible realization of their societies' dominant dreams. Through their visible example, they validate the possibility of formidable achievements in those arenas that collective fantasy invests with significance. If the pinup (or her "tamed" relative, the model) represents the "ideal" of the Western billboard, her Russian analogue is, unquestionably, Stalin.<sup>61</sup>

Recent Russian scholarship has begun examining the "selling strategies" used to fashion the image of Stalin along semi-divine lines (a procedure earlier mapped out by the prototyran Nero).<sup>62</sup> Under Stalin's own supervision, film, fiction, and the press orchestrated a comprehensive drive that enabled Stalin to emerge (like the pinup) as "all things to all men." Stalin's omnipotence, according to this script, derived not from his readiness to murder when expedient (the reality), but from his prowess in all spheres: his prophetic vision, military leadership, artistic genius, democratic convictions, compassion, and self-abnegation (the illusion). It is undoubtedly the irreconcilable discrepancy between the claims and the reality of Stalinism that prompted Liudmila Petrushevskaja to adduce the following passage from P. Proskurin's *Imia tvoe* (Your Name)<sup>63</sup> as a sample of Russian pornography:

This evening, to his annoyance, Stalin, who loved this very opera with a...morbid passion...didn't feel the satisfaction he always anticipated....Briukhanov privately registered Stalin's barely noticeable movement as he abandoned himself with his

whole body to what was happening on stage, and Briukhanov realized that he'd been waiting for precisely that moment....From very close Briukhanov saw Stalin's eyes and he was startled at their youthful brilliance.(238)

The perfect congruence between this account and the voyeuristic strain of porn derives from their common transparent deceit: a prearranged scene, with every detail calculated in advance, is presented as the viewer's chance intrusion upon an individual during a moment of private self-oblivion. In porn, the unwary woman might be undressing, bathing, or masturbating; in Proskurin, Stalin is anticipating a "total" pleasure enabled by his musical sensitivity. Both versions of purportedly unwitting self-exposure rely on illusion (the woman's "innocent" sexuality, Stalin's passionate love of the arts) that may be manipulated through lies. Both exact a high price from their consumers, who seek one thing, pay for another, and receive a third. Both mask brutality of sorts through aestheticizing myths.

The homology emerges most clearly in the iconography of sexuality and political power as regards dress, pose, setting, props, and facial expression of the subject (i.e., object "on sale"). Shots of the pinup coordinate all details so as to convey sexuality: her mandatory nudity and suggestive pose (often supine or prone) of intimate invitation, often accentuated by "frivolous" items like see-through lingerie, lacy garter, even toys, and often photographed from above so as to seem powerless. By inverse contrast, Stalin wears his perennial military uniform (even during peacetime), always buttoned up to the throat, so as to project simultaneously his invulnerability and his readiness to defend "Mother Russia" and Her/His "children." To emphasize his imperturbable control and inspired leadership, he either stands upright above the "teeming masses"<sup>64</sup> or is seated over a map, both variants implying that he controls all he surveys (people, territory, and nature). In group pictures he holds center stage, his "presence" conveyed by the reactions of those surrounding him, its force augmented by the angle of the camera, which captures him from below. Gerasimov's cult painting of him with Voroshilov shows Stalin towering symbolically over the country's capital; in the Stalin statue at the Paris World Fair

(1937) the Napoleonic placement of his right hand and the forward movement of his body—as if about to soar into space—project Stalin's "cosmic" power. If the pinup's setting and props evoke "naughty" pleasures, Stalin's emblemize power, duty, and competence; hence he is depicted in a battlefield or beside tanks, sporting military boots and reassuringly puffing on a pipe (the Father of all Russia as phallic authority). The centerfold's bushy mound as a promise of sexual bounty has its desexed equivalent in the clipped fullness of Stalin's mustache, which connotes a military (controlled) rather than sexual virility. And finally, because both pinup and Stalin, as visual incarnations of an ideal, must transcend their physical reality, photographers obligingly airbrush their portraits so as to erase all imperfections.<sup>65</sup> In short, although the power relations they construct for the beholder are polar opposites, the (desexed) *Kul't* image and the (sexed) pinup image are structured by the same pornographic aesthetic.

To posit such a convergence between pornography and Stalin may strike skeptics as perverse. Yet Moscow's truck drivers subliminally recognized and celebrated their commonality during the era of *glasnost*' by displacing the portraits of Stalin on their dashboards with pinups. Those who welcome pornography as a long-delayed access to freedom of expression, then, would benefit from reading J. S. Mill's essay "On Liberty," which cautions against freedoms that impinge upon the liberty and selfhood of others. Readers of Russian pornography might ask themselves why, if pornography sings freedom's song, it does so only in male chorus. Why, if scopophilic pleasures are so natural and liberating, they are limited to only half of the country's population and constructed according to musty formulas from the West. Meanwhile, from the vantage point of a Westerner trained in dismantling self-serving constructs, the porn revolution in Moscow has merely ushered in yet another Party, with different organs and members, but an all too familiar agenda of domination.

## Postscript

By spring 1993 the porn that flooded bookstalls (*lotki*) throughout Moscow in 1991 and 1992 had virtually disappeared from the streets. *Andrei* was defunct, and the only porn items readily available in all sections of the city were the three issues of the Russian edition of *Penthouse*. Ironically, owing to recent market forces, the fate of "Russian" porn now coincides with that of Russian Literature. The dynamics of supply and demand determining the sale of printed matter evidently have relegated both to specialty stores. Volumes of such venerated classics as Dostoevskii, Tolstoi, and Mandel'shtam prove as rare finds at streetstalls as "Three-Way" or "Summer Vacation." The future of porn in Russia, then, depends on the pleasures and perils sought by its consumer populace and the patterns of a culture and economy<sup>66</sup> that still await stabilization.



## Notes\*

I thank my procurers of the Russian porn that provided the unsentimental education informing this essay: Volodia Padunov, Valeria Sajez, Emily Tall, and Ol'ga Lipovskaia. A special note of gratitude to Peter Scotto for providing my *Last Gasp* and to Martha Snodgrass for her superlative editing.

In a somewhat different form this essay was written for the third annual meeting of the Working Group on Contemporary Russian Culture (Moscow, June 1992), sponsored by the Joint Committee on Soviet Studies with funds provided by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. I thank these agencies, the members of the group, and above all Volodia Padunov; our conversations inevitably seep into my thinking and writing in incalculable ways.

1. On the market in pornography, see Sidorov and Demidov 38. See the letter of complaint by a 15-year-old male student in *Vecherniaia Moskva*, 25 April 1990: 2. By 1990 pinups of naked women decorated virtually all taxicabs in Moscow. When an American male passenger sharing a cab with me ironically asked one cabdriver whether the "nudie" shot displayed on his windshield was of his wife, the man laughed, and to the query, "So, who is she?" revealingly replied, "No one."

2. The article, in the form of a diary, is by Leonid Konovalov, "Narod trebuet reshitel'nykh mer," *Andrei* 2 (1991) 16-18.

3. This *profession de foi* launched the inaugural issue of *Andrei* in 1991. By 1993 *Andrei* was defunct, much of its staff having transferred to the Russian edition of *Penthouse*.

4. According to researchers at the Gender Center (Moscow), by early 1993, women comprised 80% of the unemployed in Moscow and St. Petersburg.

---

\* See page 43 for a list of works cited in this Carl Beck paper, presented in bibliographic format.

5. Dworkin has researched pornography for many years and written copiously on the topic. MacKinnon is a Professor of Law at the University of Minnesota. Both had contracts with the City Council in Minneapolis to develop an ordinance relating the violation of women's rights in regard to pornography to civil rights. Since American publishers refused to publish the record of the public hearings that took place in December of 1983, the transcript came out in England in a volume entitled *Pornography and Sexual Violence: Evidence of the Links* (London: Everywoman, 1988), hereafter cited in the text as *PaSV*.

6. The brouhaha around Robert Mapplethorpe's 1990 photograph exhibition in Cincinnati revived a host of questions normally triggered by the appearance of works considered pornographic by some segments of society: freedom of artistic expression, the rights and obligations of sponsoring agencies such as the National Endowment for the Arts, the distinction between art and pornography. On this, see Robin Cembalest, "The Obscenity trial: how they voted to acquit," *Art News* (December 1990): 136 and "Body Politics," editorial in *Commonwealth* (November 9, 1990): 627. Although explicit sexuality and sadomasochism in rock lyrics and videos, on record jackets, and during concert performance have become standard fare, occasionally a particularly extreme version of such materials will elicit public outrage. Witness the scandals around the Two Live Crew's recording of "As Nasty As They Wanna Be," and videos by Madonna and Michael Jackson.

7. Unnumbered page of Preface, following p. xi. At the Minneapolis hearings, Dworkin cited an article claiming that pornography annually accrues about seven billion dollars, which would place it fortieth in the list of Fortune 500 largest companies in terms of profit. *PaSV* 10-11. She has come under fire from partisans of pornography for making unsubstantiated assertions. Given her most recent claim that sexual intercourse between men and women by definition is a form of rape, Dworkin qualifies as the most radical "feminist" on issues of sex and gender.

8. Douglas A. Hughes, Introduction to *Perspectives on Pornography* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970) xiv.

9. U.S. Department of Justice (1986), *Attorney General's Commission on Pornography Final Report* 1353.

10. For a rundown on the various categories, see Hawkins and Zimring 30-52.
11. See, for instance, the influential essay by Sontag 131-69. To viewers of such porn classics as *Deep Throat* and purchasers of "under the counter" publications, Sontag's ruminations on aesthetics, philosophical speculation, Henry James, and Bataille must have an inter-galactic ring.
12. As Ed Donnerstein (a psychologist at the Center for Communications Research at the University of Wisconsin) testified, porn material "has changed quite drastically" since 1968. *PaSV 22*. See also Donnerstein's book *The Question of Pornography: Research Findings and Policy Implications* (New York: Free Press, 1987).
13. "Hard core" originally referred to the actual perpetration of the acts represented in the porn materials as part of their production, whereas "soft core" simulated them. Nowadays "soft core" tends to designate less explicit treatments of sexual acts, often euphemized through a romantic haze. This designation has led to analyses of Harlequin romances, for example, as soft porn. Indeed, that genre polarizes gender along lines of dominance, control, power, and violence for men, and submission, helplessness, disempowerment, and acceptance of brutalization by women. On the genre, see Ann B. Snitow, "Mass Market Romance: Pornography for Women Is Different," *Radical History Review* 20 (1979):141-61; Beatrice Faust, *Women, Sex, and Pornography* (New York: Macmillan, 1980); Janice Radway, *Reading the Romance* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984); Tania Modleski, *Loving with a Vengeance* (New York/London: Methuen, 1982/1984) 35-58. For additional sources, see Soble 21, n.41.
14. Comment at the Women Law Conference in New York, 1986, quoted in Cole 170, n.18.
15. *Last Gasp*, a mail order catalogue published in San Francisco, advertizes comics, art books, cards, records, body art, videos, games, magazines, T-shirts, drugs, and children's books. It caters to the broadest possible audience: gay, straight, and bisexual; fetishists, sadists, masochists, pedophiles, etc.

16. Susan Cole has validly objected that to accept the so-called cathartic value of pornography is difficult "when murder victims' bodies are strewn with pornographs, or when the dresser drawers of child-killers like Clifford Olson are crammed with pornographic magazines" (Cole 45).

17. "The true defense of pornography and obscenity, as they encourage sexuality, is that they are harmless or beneficial" (40).

18. These three official bodies were, respectively, the Commission on Pornography and Obscenity constituted by the U.S. Congress in 1967; the Home Office (U.K.) Departmental Committee on Obscenity and Film Censorship; and the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography. See Hawkins and Zimring 20-29. On the *Final Report* of the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography (1986), see Clive Bloom, "Grinding with the Bachelors: Pornography in a Machine Age," *Perspectives on Pornography*, 9-25. Bloom's assessment of the Meese Commission's efforts slights its receptivity to feminist ideas and formulations. The report not only directly asserts that pornography is degrading to women and used to generate male "lustful pleasure," but also echoes Robin Morgan's famous maxim, "Pornography is the theory; rape is the practice." *Attorney General's Commission on Pornography* 1 (1986) 78.

19. This point is made about the Russian public by Leonid Konovalov in his piece on the Russian commission. See *Andrei* 2 (1991) 16.

20. Works by the Marquis de Sade, Henry Miller, John Cleland (*Fanny Hill* [1749]), Pauline Réage (*The Story of O* [1954]), and Erica Jong belong to the conventional corpus of "erotic" texts. Commentators such as Susan Sontag, for example, often with the aid of Georges Bataille (*Death and Sensuality: A Study of Eroticism and the Taboo* [1969]), analyze these texts in terms of "artistic superiority." Sontag, whose essay brims with subtle and thought-provoking insights, approvingly quotes Paul Goodman's maxim, "The question is not *whether* pornography, but the quality of pornography," assuming that quality is an unproblematic universal measure. Sontag 131-169, especially 169.

21. Cited in Charney 1. Charney himself avoids the problem of definition by referring to the works he investigates as "sexual fiction."

22. See their essays in the collection edited by Hughes.

23. A milestone in porn film, *Deep Throat* brought instant notoriety to Linda Marciano, who, as Linda Lovelace, portrayed a woman with a unique physiological displacement—her clitoris was located in her throat. At the Minneapolis hearings on pornography, Marciano testified that throughout the filming of Gerard Damiano's *Deep Throat* its agent Charles Traynor imprisoned, physically brutalized, and forced her at gunpoint to have sex with animals. She describes these experiences in her autobiography *Ordeal*. See Crabbe 44-68.

An entire subgenre of hard core porn derives its name from the feature-length commercial film by the husband and wife team of Michael and Roberta Findlay titled *Snuff* (1976). It popularized evisceration of women and their death (they are "snuffed out") as a "turn on." In her book on porn film, Linda Williams argues, with unpersuasive logic, that the film is not pornographic, but a variant on the slasher film. Yet the capacity of porn to assimilate elements from the slasher genre, which also favors female victims, is self-evident (on this, see Clover 187-228). What Williams calls "the replacement of orgasm's 'little death' by real death" elides the two. Williams 189-95.

24. That has been proposed by Tong 1-18, especially 10-12.

25. This is the title of the definitive guide by Roy Sheldon and Egmont Arens (1932) to the economic control of a mass audience through psychological manipulation grounded in the insights of Sigmund Freud, C.G. Jung, Alfred Adler, and Ivan P. Pavlov. On this and other aspects of subliminal seduction, see Ewen's *Consuming Images*.

26. See, for instance, Stuart and Elizabeth Ewen, *Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness* (New York, 1982); Robert Sobel, *The Manipulators: America in the Media Age* (Garden City, New York: 1976). An incisive early study that pioneered both the key term and the socio-psychological approach to media material is Wilson Bryan Key, *Subliminal Seduction: Ad Media's Manipulation of a Not So Innocent America* (New York: Signet, 1973).

27. See, for example, the unsigned article in *Sex-Hit*, which makes the "natural" argument for pornography: "Pornography simply shows people as they're made, including their sexual organs." "*Chto takoe khorosho i chto takoe plokho?*" *Sex-Hit* 2: 3.

28. Which, in the context of Ellis's values, means "no one who matters."

29. See Williams 184-228.

30. "To show how the concept of pornography conditions and determines the way in which men actually treat women" is how MacKinnon formulated the agenda at the Minneapolis hearing (*PaSV* 9).

31. On this and the formative role of André Bazin in the realist theory of film, see Williams 184-96.

32. Indeed, as Suzanne Kappeler justly points out, Kant's theory of aesthetics, which lists women among the "soulless" products of fine art, makes woman an object of aesthetic perception awaiting "animation" by the perceiver's genius. Kappeler 45-46.

33. Susan Cole stresses the importance of viewing porn not as a concept or a representation, but as a practice (Cole 7-12, 24-25). For a more extended, particularized definition, see Dworkin, xxxiii.

One might object that gay male porn does not represent women, but such an objection ignores the widely recognized fact that in gay male relationships the "passive" or less "macho" partner plays out the female role in a heterosexual relationship. In such cases, "woman" functions as sign.

34. Although feminists largely agree on the definition of pornography, they are divided as to the means of combatting it. Whereas radicals like Dworkin and MacKinnon unwaveringly opt for strict censorship with a view to elimination, feminists advocating liberal values hesitate to agitate for a solution that would compromise their broader political allegiances by aligning them with a stance traditionally identified with political conservatives (the New Right).

Yet another group of feminists is reluctant to adopt a position that would imperil erotica produced by and for women. In short, the pornography controversy continues to divide feminists.

35. In the ancient world, *pornographos* reportedly referred to inspiring depictions of varieties of sexual intercourse that decorated the walls of a house of prostitution in Pompeii, for instance (Tong 2).

36. Otto Brendel, "The Scope and Temperament of Erotic Art in the Greco-Roman World," *Studies in Erotic Art* (New York: Basic Books, 1970) 64. What puzzles me about this statement is that a "celebrated courtesan" would most probably belong to the higher class of prostitute, called the *hetaira*.

37. The Russian original, simply called *Interdevochka*, is available in English translation, *Intergirl: A Hard Currency Hooker*, tr. Antonina W. Bouis (New York: Bergh, Inc., 1991).

38. Tatyana Tolstaya, "A Little Man is a Normal Man," *Moscow News* 8 (1987):10.

39. The 1990s may go down in Russian history as the Popular Culture Re/naissance (or Pregnancy Era), as uncoordinated "quickie" reproduction (Unplanned Parenthood) overpopulates streets and markets with commodities that the economy may have difficulty absorbing.

40. According to Red Stripe Books, however, several "erotic" texts have merely been suppressed. The publisher, housed in New Jersey, so far has released two novel-length books in English translation: the purported *Memoirs of a Russian Princess: Gleaned from her Secret Diary*, anonymous and, according to the editor's conjecture, "penned about the year 1796"; and from the mid-eighteenth century, *The Russian Serf Girl: The Story of Grushenka*, based on a 1933 Paris edition. The latter supposedly tells the story of a serf girl who resembled, and so could substitute for, Princess Nelidova Sokolova (in bed and elsewhere) when the princess engaged in extra-marital frolics. Grushenka reportedly later became the madam (Grushenka Pavlovsk) of "one of the most notorious brothels in all of Russia," in which

capacity she became implicated in the sudden death of one Iurii Rybin. See the Introduction and Preface to *The Russian Serf Girl*.

41. If the cited costs for such ads are accurate, they, by contrast, are prohibitive for certain segments of society (no hope for pensioners!). *Kupidon*, for instance, charges 40 rubles per ad, a price archly specified "for gentlemen" (*dlia ddzentel'menov*).

The ads supply information not usually found in their Western counterparts: references to men's excessive drinking, assurances of economic health, frank admissions of having children who will have to be reckoned with in any relationship that might eventuate, and the like. They also imply certain trends—e.g., young men's eagerness to meet older women and, in the case of gays, older men; a concern with physical fitness; and men's expressed conviction of their ability to bring any woman full satisfaction.

42. Of course, publications of a serious informational nature have also proliferated in recent years: Igor' Kon's articles, reporting on Western trends and offering data à la Kinsey; Aleksandr Nezhdanov's sexological primer, *Populiarnaia seksologiya* (Popular Sexology, Riga, 1990); a book-length examination by various sexologists of typical sexual-emotional problems between heterosexual couples, based on scores of received letters, *Tainy dvoikh* (*Mysteries of a Twosome*, Moscow, 1990); translations from the *Kamasutra*, etc.

The third issue of *Kupidon* has advertised a forthcoming sex-encyclopedia by Sergei Mamulov, from which it extracts a rundown of various "authorities'" recommended normative doses of sexual activity (the frequencies stipulated indicate that people prefer to watch and talk about sex to engaging in it!). See *Kupidon* 3: 14.

43. Through lack of information about what kind of porn circulates in other Russian cities, my comments pertain to Moscow, since I do not wish to generalize on the basis of materials sold there (and in some cases Petersburg) but possibly unavailable elsewhere.

44. As Soble justly observes, the images of woman perpetuated through porn subject her to alienation through the "dismemberment syndrome" that manifests itself in physical, linguistic, and photographic modes: through the separation of limbs from the trunk of her body during violent sexual or nonsexual assault (and, in some parts of the world, through clitoridectomy); through the practice of depersonalizing women by referring to them via "lower" body parts



("cunt," "twat," "piece of ass"); and through advertisements that anatomize women's bodies by picturing only their hands, feet, and especially breasts, hips, and buttocks. Pornography merely carries the last a step further by spotlighting their breasts, legs, rears, and genitals. Soble 56-58.

45. Women coded for specialists in "woman as child," however, are apt to have small breasts and shaved mounds. According to Florence Rush, the woman-child is fast becoming the sexual ideal in the United States (Rush). In issue 2 of *Andrei*, among the comic book images of women drawn by Svetlana Borisova is that of Zosia, lush of body (if emphatically weak of mind), with hair in pigtails, white socks, and a teddy bear beside her (91).

46. See Kerri Kwinter, "The Fashioned Face," *Fuse* (March 1980).

47. Berger writes:

To be naked is to be oneself. To be nude is to be seen naked by others and yet not recognized for oneself. A naked body has to be seen as an object in order to become a nude. (The sight of it as an object stimulates use of it as an object.) Nakedness reveals itself. Nudity is placed on display. To be on display is to have the surface of one's own skin, the hairs of one's own body, turned into a disguise which, in that situation, can never be discarded. The nude is condemned to never being naked. Nudity is a form of dress. (54)

Indeed, the rote repetition of these "dress" regulations in pornography makes nudity women's uniform.

48. Cole points out that the law (e.g., in Canada) treats the penis as "sacred, scary or profane," to be "hidden at all costs" (32).

49. The grammatical usage of the vulgar Russian equivalent for "to fuck" makes the distinction between the two modes crystal clear. When used transitively (and not reflexively), *ebat'* may only have a female object (men "fuck" women, who may only "be fucked"). My thanks to Aleksandr Zholkovskii for his helpful explanation of this and related verb usages.

50. These figures represent a rough estimate of the number of exposed vaginas, as opposed to the precise count of the five uncovered male penises (four at rest, one at attention). The author reviewed dozens of publications for this information.

51. There is an ambivalence, however, in the picture, which simultaneously expresses the male fear of losing the self in the vastness of the overwhelming mother (in Napoleon's case, Mother Russia), of "falling through the crack." My thanks to Kolia Padunov and Bozenna Goscilo for their insights in this area.
52. On striptease as a ritual that establishes the woman as an object in disguise and on the role of jewels in this process, see Barthes 84-87.
53. On the connection between the two, and Diderot's play with that link in his *Les Bijoux indiscrets*, see Williams 1.
54. For the validity and limitations of this view, see Williams.
55. The polysemous title is difficult to render into natural sounding English, for the adjective *rodovoe* means "birth-related," "ancestral," and "family," while *okonchanie* has the meaning of "completion" and "termination"—which, in this context, suggests sexual "coming."
56. Contained in an issue of the paper *Sex-Hit*, printed in Riga, where, judging by the number of publications, the porn industry must keep the city's entire population employed.
57. None of the Russians materials consulted challenged the interdiction against crossing race boundaries and species, although in Villi Konn's science fiction narrative *Pokhozhdeniia kosmicheskoi prostitutki* (The Adventures of a Cosmic Prostitute) the protagonist falls in love with an insect who assumes female form.
58. For Harlequins, see *Harlequin Romance and Harlequin Presents Editorial Guidelines* (Ontario: Harlequin Books, 1984).
59. These aspects of pornography particularly disturb feminists, who have been reprimanded by "liberals" for generalizing about all porn on their basis. Yet the (largely legitimate, though not unproblematic) point feminists try to make is that sadomasochism and thanatic porn only make explicit and carry to a violent extreme what in implicit and more restrained form makes up "regular" pornography. On this, see Dworkin and Cole.

60. On the effects of such processes, see Benjamin 219-53. Of course, without modern technology Russia's recent pirating of masses of Western materials, in violation of copyright, would be impossible.

61. Lenin fulfilled a similar function, but for the sake of their contemporaneity, I shall focus on the modern pinup and the Strong Hand.

62. For an intelligent survey of the methods used and the image cultivated in these efforts, see Dobrenko 3-34.

63. Published in the late 1970s, the novel is part of the "elegiac" halo cast around Stalin, the Strong Hand that could do all. Proskurin's works are both nostalgic and arch conservative.

64. For instance, in Toidze's painting of Stalin with the railway workers (1926) or in Finogenov's of Stalin at the front (1941). See Hingley, pages between 106-107.

65. For the permutations in the literary portrait of Stalin over time, see Dobrenko.

66. For an analysis of the current market in cultural production and distribution, see Condee and Padunov.

## Works Cited

- Anonymous. *Memoirs of a Russian Princess: Gleaned from her Secret Diary*. Secaucus: Red Stripe Books/Lyle Stuart, 1989.
- Anonymous. *The Russian Serf Girl: The Story of Grushenka*. Secaucus: Red Stripe Books/Lyle Stuart, 1989.
- Barthes, Roland. "Striptease," *Mythologies*. New York: Hill & Wang, 1972.
- Benjamin, Walter. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *Illuminations*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1955/1968: 219-53.
- Berger, John. *Ways of Seeing*. London: BBC & Penguin Books, 1972/1977.
- Bloom, Clive. "Grinding with the Bachelors: Pornography in the Machine Age," *Perspectives on Pornography*, eds. Day and Bloom.
- Brendel, Otto. "The Scope and Temperament of Erotic Art in the Greco-Roman World," *Studies in Erotic Art*. New York: Basic Books, 1970.
- Burgess, Anthony. "What is Pornography?" *Perspectives on Pornography*, ed. Hughes.
- Charney, Maurice. *Sexual Fiction*. London/New York: Methuen, 1981.
- Clover, Carol J. "Her Body, Himself: Gender in the Slasher Film," *Representations* 20 (Fall 1987): 187-228.
- Cole, Susan. *Pornography and the Sex Crisis*. Toronto: Amanta, 1989.
- Condee, Nancy and Padunov, Vladimir. "Reading, Riting, and Real Estate: The ABCs of Russian Consumer Culture," unpublished paper written for the 4th meeting of the Working Group on Contemporary Russian Culture, London, 1993.
- Crabbe, Anthony. "Feature-Length Sex Films," *Perspectives on Pornography*, eds. Day and Bloom.
- Day, Clive and Bloom, Clive, eds. *Perspectives on Pornography* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988.
- Dobrenko, E. "Sdelat' by zhizn' s kogo? (Obraz vozhdia v sovetskoi literature)," *Voprosy literary* 9 (1990): 3-34.
- Dworkin, Andrea. *Pornography: Men Possessing Women*. New York: E.P.Dutton, 1989.
- Ellis, John. "Photography/Pornography/Art/Pornography," *Screen* 21 1 (1980).
- Erofeev, Viktor. "Konsul'tatsiia dlia GF," *Gymanitarnyi fond* 12 [115] (1992): 2.
- Ewen, Stuart. *Consuming Images: The Politics of Style in Contemporary Culture*. Harper Collins/Basic Books, 1988.
- Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality* Vol. 1. New York: Vintage, 1990.

- Hawkins, Gordon and Zimring, Franklin E. *Pornography in a Free Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Hingley, Ronald. *Joseph Stalin: Man and Legend*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974.
- Hughes, Douglas A., ed. *Perspectives on Pornography*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970.
- Hyman, Stanley Edgar. "In Defense of Pornography," *Perspectives on Pornography*, ed. Hughes.
- Kappeler, Susanne. *The Pornography of Representation*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1986.
- Konovalov, Leonid. "Narod trebuet reshitel'nykh mer," *Andrei 2* (1991) 16-18.
- Kunin, Aleksandr. *Interdevochka*. Moscow, 1988.
- Kwinter, Kerri. *Fuse* (March 1980).
- Loth, David. *The Erotic in Literature*. New York: Julian Messner, 1961.
- Mercier, Vivian. "Master Percy and/or Lady Chatterley," *Perspectives on Pornography*, ed. Hughes.
- Nezhdanov, Aleksandr. *Populiarnaia seksologiia*. Riga, 1990.
- Petrushevskaiia, Liudmila. "Nam — seks?" *Inostrannaia literatura 5* (1989): 237-38.
- Pornography and Sexual Violence: Evidence of the Links*. London: Everywoman, 1988.
- Rush, Florence. *The Best Kept Secret: Sexual Abuse of Children*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1980.
- Sidorov, Dmitry and Demidov, Dmitry. "Pillow Talk," *Moscow News* (30 Sept.–7 Oct. 1990).
- Soble, Alan. *Pornography: Marxism, Feminism, and the Future of Sexuality*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1986.
- Sontag, Susan. "The Pornographic Imagination," *Perspectives on Pornography*, ed. Hughes.
- Terts, Abram. "Anekdot v anekdote," *Sintaksis 1* (1978): 77-95.
- Tong, Rosemarie. "Feminism, Pornography, and Censorship," *Social Theory and Practice 8*, 1 (Spring 1982): 1-18.
- United States Congress, Commission on Pornography and Obscenity, *Final Report*, 1970.
- United States Department of Justice, *Attorney General's Commission on Pornography Final Report*, 1986.
- Williams, Bernard, et al., *Report of the Committee on Obscenity of Film Censorship*, House of Commons Command Paper no. 7772 (1979).
- Williams, Linda. *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure and the Frenzy of the Visible*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989.
- Ziplow, Stephen. *The Film Maker's Guide to Pornography*. New York: Drake, 1977.