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Individual is the only reality.
– Carl G. Jung¹

Escapism is, I will argue, human, – and inescapable.
– Yi-Fu Tuan²

A Forced Road to a No-Place: Escapism as a Form of Inner Emigration

From a biological perspective, migration is a natural mechanism, intrinsic to most animal species.³ Migrations are essential both for sustaining their populations, and spreading and maintaining biodiversity around the Earth. Of course, we cannot explain human migration just through instincts, and personal characteristics could play a decisive role. At the same time many immigration scholars emphasize that it is not a purely personal decision and there are always external conditions that force a person to move.⁴ In the 20th century,

¹ Carl G. Jung, “Approaching the Unconscious,” in *Man and His Symbols*, ed. by Carl G. Jung et al. (New York, London: Anchor Press Doubleday, 1988), 55.

² Yi-Fu Tuan, *Escapism*. (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), xvi.

³ Sneed B. Collard, “Migration,” in *Ecology Basics*, ed. by the editors of Salem Press, vol. 2 (Pasadena: Salem Press Inc., 2004), 407–415.

⁴ See Zygmunt Bauman, “From Pilgrim To Tourist – Or A Short History of Identity,” in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. by Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, ch. 2 (Sage Publications Ltd., 1996), 18–37, accessed 16 December 2012, <http://www.nyu.edu/classes/bkg/tourist/Baumann-pilgrim-tourist.pdf>; Hendrik P. van Dalen and Kene Henkens, “Longing for the Good Life: Understanding Emigration from a High-Income Country,” *Population and Development Review*, vol. 33, no. 1 (2007): 37–65; Aleksei Popov, “‘We Are Looking for Something We Haven’t Lost’: Soviet ‘Savages’ in Search of Their Place Under the Sun,” *Ab Imperio* 2 (2012): 261–299; Susan Gzesh, “Redefining Forced Migration Using Human Rights,” *Migración y Desarrollo* 1 (2008): 87–113.

which has been often called a century of refugees and an escape,⁵ the system of the nation-states can create such a force.⁶

In this essay, I want to rethink the definition of the forced migration inwardly, from the position of the individual and his/her development, which is often overlooked in the discussion. My argument is that, while it holds true that migration is a physical act, in many cases it became both a psychological and mental exercise that enabled people under duress to cope with these circumstances. To understand how this inward migration operated, I analyzed the images and meanings of the road and movement in the Soviet “bard” (poetic, semi-official, tourist, or student) songs of the generation of the 1960s. Particularly, I drew inspiration from its romantic representatives: Iurii Vizbor and Novella Matveeva. My focus on the romantic tendency of the bard poetry, is explained by their more lyrical and intimate manner of expression. While similar tragic-satirical branch of the poetry develops similar motives,⁷ the selected sample seemed more graphic.

The essay, however, is not a literary analysis. Considering individuals instead of group makes the analysis of any social phenomenon even more complex. Therefore, I will first revisit the theoretical context to address the natural and forced character of migration or an escape, and thus define the framework for understanding the poetry in question. I will then develop these concepts using the poetic texts themselves in the latter part of this paper.

A Desire to Escape: Forced or Natural?

Human migration is probably as old as humanity itself.⁸ Both external and internal factors, or as Hendrik P. van Dalen and Kene Henkens argued, the quality

⁵ Adelman, 1999, quoted in David Turton, “Refugees and ‘Other Forced Migrants,’” *Refugee Studies Center Working Papers* 13 (2003): 10, http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/publications/working-papers-folder_contents/RSCworkingpaper13.pdf; Robert B. Heilman, “Escape and Escapism Varieties of Literary Experience,” *The Sewanee Review*, vol. 83, no. 3 (1975): 439–458.

⁶ Rogers Brubaker, “Migration, Membership, and the Modern Nation-State: Internal and External Dimensions of the Politics of Belonging,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XLI:1 (2010): 61–78; Turton, “Refugees and ‘Other Forced Migrants’”; Gzesh, “Redefining Forced Migration”; Charles B. Keely, “How Nation-States Create and Respond to Refugee Flows,” *International Migration Review*, vol. 30, no. 4 (1996): 1046–1066.

⁷ I.B. Nichiporov, “Avtorskaia Pesnia 1950–1970 gg. v Russkoi Poeticheskoi Traditsii” (Dr. hab. diss., abstract, Ural Pedagogical State University, Ekaterinburg, 2008), 12–13.

⁸ See, for example, Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller, “Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and The Social Sciences,” *Global Networks* 2, 4 (2002): 301–334; Keely, “How Nation-States Create and Respond to Refugee Flows”; Brubaker, “Migration, Membership”; Tuan, *Escapism*.

of both private and public domain, may trigger the decision to immigrate.⁹ While private domain is understood as individual characteristics, the authors defined public domain as both the institutions and the “public goods” they produce,¹⁰ which would include general “confidence in their home country” among other goods.¹¹ In both cases, it would not really be a personal choice. Also from a psychological perspective, escape in the form of forgetting, repression, or sublimation is a natural defense mechanism, beyond our conscious control.¹²

Sneed B. Collard claimed that mass human migrations are “episodic and often, if not primarily, caused by severe population stress or catastrophic environmental change”.¹³ At the same time geographer Yi-Fu Tuan explained that geographic mobility could be a release of the human restless nature.¹⁴ Stress, uncertainty, as well as the desire to change the environment and Self, either by moving away or by modifying the environment itself, become reasons and a driving force for escaping or migrating. It is also important to remember that what causes migration under certain conditions (e.g. body, culture, nature, Self, or a collective) may also turn into a destination under another set of conditions. These desires may have various forms of expression.¹⁵ Imagination is one of them. Moreover, perception would play here as important a role as reality, if not even more important.¹⁶

Migration is only one “option to stress”.¹⁷ Its alternatives include revolution, open and covert opposition and protest, or silent suffering. Therefore, migration may serve as an individual and collective *regulatory mechanism*. The same way as psychological or mental escape (and escapism) is a form of *individual and collective therapy*, a restoration of the mental and emotional equilibrium,¹⁸ migration, as Susan Gzesh¹⁹ suggested, may become a means of reduction of political and social tension and even “a substitute for development”, and, so, be stimulated by the states.

Modernity, with its increasing social mobility, and the development of transportation, medicine, and television, has created the feeling of possibility of escape from the strata you were born, from death, or aging, as Robert Heilman argued.²⁰ He went even further to note that contemporary society, by associating itself

⁹ Van Dalen and Henkens, “Longing for the Good Life,” 37–65.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, 39.

¹¹ A. O. Hirschman, quoted in Van Dalen and Henkens, “Longing for the Good Life,” 60.

¹² Arthur J. Clark, *Defense Mechanisms in the Counseling Process* (Sage Publications, 1998), 1–23.

¹³ Collard, “Migration,” 413.

¹⁴ Tuan, *Escapism*, 9.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, xi–xvii.

¹⁶ Van Dalen and Henkens, “Longing for the Good Life,” 59.

¹⁷ Ronald J. Terchek, “Options to Stress: Emigration and Militancy in Northern Ireland,” *Social Indicators Research*, vol. 15, no. 4 (1984): 369–387.

¹⁸ Heilman, “Escape and Escapism”; Clark, *Defense Mechanisms*.

¹⁹ Gzesh, “Redefining Forced Migration”.

²⁰ Heilman, “Escape and Escapism,” 446–447.

with the “recipients rather than with the assigners of the legal sentences,” also strengthened the feeling of escape.²¹

As we can see, any migration is forced by its nature. The origins of its motives are diverse. The environment, including the social one, not just provides them but also stimulates the escape. Yet, simultaneously, constructed social environment lays constraints on migration.

Forced Belonging?

While there are many ways of keeping the mobile population from moving, I will focus on the imaginary. Imagination (or fantasy) is an important epistemological tool that diversifies our vision and perception of reality, as well as reality itself. As a form of migration and the same way as migration, it carries therapeutic power and emancipates a person.²² It simultaneously challenges and rationalizes reality, defines its borders,²³ and provides stability into it.²⁴ The balance between these two sides is essential for the person’s healthy functioning. When neglecting, repressing, and devaluating certain sources of information, such as dreams and myths, one undermines the balance. Repressed or neglected, as Carl G. Jung argued, the messages do not disappear completely, but “their specific energy disappears into the unconscious with unaccountable consequences”.²⁵

The created system of the nation states, as another relevant example, implies practice, a world-vision, imagination, methodology and a category of analysis (methodological nationalism),²⁶ which reformulates both migration and membership so they would fit its “classificatory and regulatory grid”.²⁷ Within this imaginary, the territory defines the geographical state borders and power that the state exercises within them.²⁸ These borders also become a semantic frontier between the chaos and no sense of the outer world and the order of the inner

²¹ *Ibidem*, 447.

²² Deborah O’Keefe, *Readers in Wonderland: The Liberating Worlds of Fantasy Fiction* (New York, London: Continuum, 2004), 11–12; J. R. R. Tolkien, *On Fairy Stories* (1947), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://public.callutheran.edu/~brint/Arts/Tolkien.pdf>.

²³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso: New Edition, 2006).

²⁴ Heilman, “Escape and Escapism”; Tuan, *Escapism*.

²⁵ Jung, “Approaching the Unconscious”, 92.

²⁶ Brubaker, “Migration, Membership”; Martha C. Nussbaum, *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership (Tanner Lectures of Human Values)* (Belknap Press, Harvard University Press, 2007); Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande, “Varieties Of Second Modernity: The Cosmopolitan Turn In Social And Political Theory And Research,” *The British Journal of Sociology* 61 (3) (2010): 409–443; Wimmer and Glick Schiller, “Methodological Nationalism”.

²⁷ Brubaker, “Migration, Membership”, 76.

²⁸ Wimmer and Glick Schiller, “Methodological Nationalism”; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

world.²⁹ This imaginary assumes that everyone belongs to some state.³⁰ Everything that neither fits the category nor has one may present a threat. Migrants of all kinds (stateless people, refugees, nomads, immigrants, or even travelers³¹), as border people,³² belong to both inner and outer spaces. While fortifying the institute of membership³³ and, so, the borders on the one hand, they challenge the borders on the other hand by crossing them and are seen as alien, “a disturbance,”³⁴ a dead-end of a development of a society or civilization, using terms of the Soviet historiography of nomadism,³⁵ or “out of place”.³⁶

By mere birth a person falls under the category of a member of a certain state, culture or nationality. The state usually ensures that its members are reminded of such membership on a daily basis.³⁷ In this sense, national identity becomes the forced belonging that implies strict limitations on people’s way of thinking, their aspirations, and their loyalty. Of course, one can agree with the Enlightenment philosophers’ argument that Simon During highlighted in his essay that nationalism and freedom became indivisible.³⁸ However, we are predominantly speaking of the freedom of the individual as a nation, a collective, where the individual as a person is lost. As Erich Fromm wrote, “we aim primarily at the usefulness of our citizens for the purposes of the social machine, and not at their human development”.³⁹ In other words, while nationalism may allow a state to reach self-determination, it prevents a person from doing the same.

Moving inwards

Inner emigration is rather “virtual” migration, an emigration “in spirit, if not in body, by turning inwards”.⁴⁰ The term was introduced in the 1930s in the Nazi Germany to reflect a form of a protest of those intellectuals who stayed

²⁹ Iurii M. Lotman, “O Semiosfere,” in *Izbrannye Statii v 3 tomakh*, vol. 1, by Iurii M. Lotman (Tallin Aleksandra, 1992), 11–25.

³⁰ Wimmer and Glick Schiller, “Methodological Nationalism,” 320.

³¹ Diane P. Koenker, “Travel to Work, Travel to Play: On Russian Tourism, Travel, and Leisure,” *Slavic Review*, vol. 62, no. 4 (2003): 664.

³² See for example, Lotman, “O Semiosfere,” 14–15.

³³ Brubaker, “Migration, Membership,” 71–73.

³⁴ Brubaker, “Migration, Membership,” 72; Wimmer and Glick Schiller, “Methodological Nationalism”; Keely, “How Nation-States Create and Respond to Refugee Flows”; Turton, “Refugees and ‘Other Forced Migrants’”; Gzesh, “Redefining Forced Migration”.

³⁵ Serguei Oushakine, “Guest Editor’s Introduction to the Forum. Traveling People: Nomadism Today,” *Ab Imperio* 2 (2012): 58–59.

³⁶ Turton, “Refugees and ‘Other Forced Migrants,’” 11.

³⁷ See for example, Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (Sage Publications, 1995).

³⁸ Simon During, “Literature – Nationalism’s Other? The Case for Revision” in *Nation and Narration*, ed. by Homi Bhabha (London, New York: Routledge, 1990), 145.

³⁹ Erich Fromm, *The Sane Society* (London, New York: Routledge, 2008), 338.

⁴⁰ Neil H. Donahue, “Introduction: ‘Coming in Terms’ with the German Past,” in *Flight of Fantasy*, 1.

in Germany. The fact that they stayed and used covert forms of protest, however, questioned their critical position, and their ability “to leave” while being inside.⁴¹

The reasons for such forms of escape may vary. Possible causes include disagreement with the existing regime, exhaustion from pressure and fear, or frustration. On the other hand, inner emigration may reflect a myriad of reasons that prevent people from actually leaving. Considering the escapist human nature and the contradictory messages that the modern world order sends – such as encouraging the spirit of escape while strengthening control over individual freedom (forced belonging), increasing disparities in the development and distribution of opportunities⁴² – such form of migration will most likely exceed the limits of the concrete historical cases.

Discussing the recent increasing amount of fantastic (escape) movies, Christopher Latham suggested that “escapism is in demand”.⁴³ Reminding the importance of not losing the sight of reality, he explained the popularity of escape with limited power of an average individual over his or her life and over the reality: “Because it’s painfully obvious to me that even if I were fully committed and engaged in trying to change things, I still would be only slightly more effective than the fictional characters would be”.

Inner emigration assumed various forms in the same way as escape, especially if one were to omit the intellectual protest and instead focused on the understanding of migration as an adoptive mechanism to reality, or an individual reaction to stress. It could be artistic forms of expression,⁴⁴ a turn towards religious movement,⁴⁵ kitchen talks as an expression of a search for a private space,⁴⁶ exploration of taboo topics under the permitted umbrella⁴⁷ or allegorical forms of reflection over reality, satire and the choice of language of expression as a form of resistance as it was in the Czech lands during WWII,⁴⁸ “savage” (unorganized)

⁴¹ Stephen Brockmann, “Inner Emigration: The Term And Its Origins In Postwar Debates,” in *Flight of Fantasy*, 11–27.

⁴² Simon Caney, “Cosmopolitan Justice And Equalizing Opportunities,” *Metaphilosophy* 32, 1/2 (2001): 113–134; Turton, “Refugees and ‘Other Forced Migrants’”; Keely, “How Nation-States Create and Respond to Refugee Flows”.

⁴³ Christopher A. Latham, “Little bit of Hulk Helps Reality Go Down,” *Chicago Tribune*, July 13, 2008, accessed 17 December 2012, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2008-07-13/news/0807120438_1_hulk-anakin-skywalker-energy-scarcity.

⁴⁴ M. Batorova, “‘Vnutorna Emigracia’ ako Gesto Slobody (Dominik Tatarka a Ludvik Vaculik Po Roku 1968),” *World Literature Studies*, 1(18) – 2 (2009): 58–75; *Flight of Fantasy*.

⁴⁵ See, for example, Judith Deutsch Kornblatt, *Doubly Chosen: Jewish Identity, the Soviet Intelligentsia, and the Russian Orthodox Church* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2004).

⁴⁶ Svetlana Boym, *Common Places: Mythologies of Everyday Life in Russia* (Harvard University Press, 1994), 147–148.

⁴⁷ For example, Lev Annenskii, *Bardy*. Ch. Predtecha, accessed 17 December 2012, <http://lib.rus.ec/b/320690/read#t24>.

⁴⁸ Chad Bryant, *Prague In Black: Nazi Rule and Czech Nationalism* (Harvard University Press, 2007).

tourism,⁴⁹ leaving for participation in the “constructions of the century” in the 1960s and 1970s in the Soviet Union,⁵⁰ or “virtual tourism”⁵¹ by reading adventure literature, watching travel shows, or collecting postcards, to name just a few. It also adopts the form of political apathy that, according to Polish sociologist Jerzy Wiatr, “may be interpreted in terms of the critical evaluation of the existing system”.⁵²

No-Place

Inner emigration is not just an out-of-place, but a no-place of a kind. First, since there may be no physical migration inside the country or over the border, it is rarely the domain of migration studies. Moreover, it is difficult to trace the reasons that triggered that migration or the amount of people emigrating inwards.

However, as any other migration, it challenges the ideology of the nation-state or any state as such, breaking their homogeneity by shifting the focus from group identity, aspirations and loyalties to the individual identity, especially when talking about inner emigration as a mass phenomenon. Psychologically, inner emigrants are not at home even when they are at home. In other words, they are lost and alone in the crowd. It is a no-place from the perspective of a rational reality. As an inward form of emigration, it mostly deals with imagination and perception.

Finally, imagination, allegorical methods of expression, and perception create a very subjective reality where they escape to or which they look for. Discussing the “savage” tourism in the Soviet Union, Alexei Popov defined its philosophy as follows: “We are looking for what we did not lose”.⁵³ This in a way corresponds with the common quest of a hero in Russian fairy tales – “go to the unknown place and find the unknown thing”. As a cultural symbol, it may reflect the human or a cultural longing for the road, quest for the unknown thing and land. In one of his articles, Hans Günther used an interpretation of the utopic in a more literal way as a no place (u-topic), an escape from the Earth, unlike developing the Earth, or being on it.⁵⁴ In the analogy to this, such migration can be seen as an opposite to ideological “common places”, which are the same utopias themselves.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ See, for example, Popov, “Soviet ‘Savages’”.

⁵⁰ See Mikhail Rozhanskii, “Towards the Gleaming Dawn: Looking for the Real,” *Ab Imperio* 2 (2012): 112–145.

⁵¹ Boym, *Common Places*, 155; Koenker, “On Russian Tourism, Travel, and Leisure”.

⁵² Quoted in Wayne DiFranceisco and Zvi Gitelman, “Soviet Political Culture and “Covert Participation” in Policy Implementation,” *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 78, no. 3 (1984): 619.

⁵³ Popov, “Soviet ‘Savages,’” 267.

⁵⁴ Hans Günther, “Sotsrealism i Utopicheskoe Myshlenie,” in *Sotsrealisticheskii Kanon*, ed. by H. Günther and E. Dobrenko (Sankt-Petersburg: Akademicheskii proekt, 2000), 41–48.

⁵⁵ Boym, *Common Places*; Günther, “Sotsrealism”.

In the following sections, I want to illustrate how the aforementioned pushes (the reasons that cause it) and pulls (what a traveler or an immigrant is hoping to find) worked for the migration in question – the poetry of the generation of the 1960s.

The Lost Generation of the 1960s: A “Push”

The 1960s were in many ways a reflection of the Stalinist years. The space created by then formed a particular environment based on the forced belonging and defined standards for it. It was characterized by Hans Günther as “neither a utopia, nor a reality”.⁵⁶

First, it was an imaginary, a “hypothetical”⁵⁷ space or a no-place.⁵⁸ That had been reproduced through “popular emotional rituals,”⁵⁹ which would include songs. Moreover, as Svetlana Boym argued, enactment was the only way to comprehend these rituals and the imaginary itself.⁶⁰ It was a mythical space, and, so, untimely, or disconnected from the past and future,⁶¹ – another no-place. Anything that would not fit its cyclical structure did not exist for it either. Even a song was “travelling in circles”.⁶² However, the official slogans would insist on the movement upper and farther.

Second, this space was turned inwards away from the borders and all the movements, physical and imaginary, inside it meant to be regulated.⁶³ Since the borders are an important space for creation of new senses,⁶⁴ going away from them intentionally may create the feeling of stagnation. The official rhetoric reflected in the songs, insisted on the idea of the open borderless world, as was the case with the patriotic song from the late 1960s: “The world is open in front of us, the heart is burning in the chest,”⁶⁵ thus compelling one to feel free. Such

⁵⁶ Günther, “Sotsrealism”.

⁵⁷ Boym, *Common Places*, 113

⁵⁸ See also, Anne E. Gorsuch, “‘There’s No Place like Home’: Soviet Tourism in Late Stalinism,” *Slavic Review*, vol. 62, no. 4 (2003): 760–761; Günther, “Poiuschaia Rodina” (Sovetskaia Massovaia Pesnia Kak Vyraszheniie Arkhetipa Materi), *Voprosy Literatury* 4 (1997), accessed 17 December 2012. <http://magazines.russ.ru/voplit/1997/4/gunter.html>.

⁵⁹ Boym, *Common Places*, 113.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*

⁶¹ Günther, “Sotsrealism”; Lotman, “O Semiosfere,” 36–37.

⁶² *Khodit Pesenka Po Krugu*, mus. by O. Feltsman, text by M. Tanich, I. Shaferan, performed by N. Droda, E. Khil (1960s–70s), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://a-pesni.org/drugije/hoditpes.htm>.

⁶³ Gorsuch, “‘There’s No Place like Home’”; Vladimir Nabokov, “Russian Writers, Censors, and Reader,” in *Lectures On Russian Literature*, V. Nabokov (Harvest Book/Harcourt, 1981, 2002), 15.

⁶⁴ Lotman, “O Semiosfere,” 15.

⁶⁵ *Nasha molodost*, mus. by Oleg Ivanov, text by Iakov Shvedov (the late 1960s), accessed 17 December 2012, web site “Sovetskaia muzyka”, <http://sovmusic.ru/text.php?fname=nashayu2>.

enforcement, as Nabokov wrote, generally characterized the epoch.⁶⁶ Not being able to feel free, one would feel guilty about that.

The space, according to the existing studies,⁶⁷ was based on fear, total distrust, envy, embarrassment and consequently a feeling of guilt as a sign of traumatic experience. Vera Matveeva's poem summarized these emotions quite well:

If I am alive... Will I be?
 I am afraid of not talking and thinking about it,
 I am afraid of falling asleep at night, but when I do –
 I am afraid of scaring away the dream by waking up.
 I am afraid of dreaming of the coming happiness: what if it never comes true,
 I am afraid of thinking of the one in the past: will it happen again?⁶⁸

Her poetry probably was a response to the brain tumor she suffered. However, put in the general literary context, it reflects the experience of the generation: "I am a dislocated part of the family tree," poet Alexandr Gorodnitskii wrote later.⁶⁹ A character in Aksionov's novel "The Colleagues" explained it: "It is probably happening, because there was too much distress to just forget it at once".⁷⁰

The natural desire would be to run away and hide. As the Soviet poet Daniil Kharms' wife recalled about their feelings in the late 1930s: "...He wanted us to disappear, to walk together away to a forest and live there".⁷¹ At the same time, the official mood was optimistic,⁷² in a way reminiscent of Count Cagliostro's dream from the Soviet movie "Formula of Love" to make one and all happy despite of their will.⁷³ This optimism was present in songs, official literature, travel advertisements⁷⁴ and slogans. It found symbolic expression in the two only officially acceptable seasons: Summer and Spring.⁷⁵

Created space, as Hans Günther and Svetlana Boym noted,⁷⁶ was a space of cultivated collective infantilization. At the stage of the construction of socialism

⁶⁶ Nabokov, "Russian Writers, Censors, and Reader," 13.

⁶⁷ See, Boym, *Common Places*, Ch. 2; Gorsuch, "There's No Place like Home", 761, 771.

⁶⁸ V. Matveeva, *Esli Ia Budu Zhiva...* (1970), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://www.bards.ru/archives/part.php?id=8912>.

⁶⁹ A. Gorodnitskii, *U zashishennykh marlej okon...* (1995), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://gorodnit.progressor.ru/text.par?id=934>.

⁷⁰ Aksionov, *Kollegi*, Ch. "Egorov," accessed December 17, 2012, http://www.e-reading.org.ua/chapter.php/1216/19/Aksenov_-_Kollegi.html.

⁷¹ V. Bondarenko, "Daniil Kharms: Govoriu Chtoby Byt...", review of *Daniil Kharms* by A.A. Kobrinskii (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 2008), 382, accessed 17 December 2012, http://www.library.ru/2/lik/sections.php?a_uid=131.

⁷² Günther, "Poiuschaia Rodina"; Boym, *Common Places*.

⁷³ *Formula of Love*, dir. by Mark Zakharov, screenplay by Grigori Gorin (Mosfilm, Ekran, 1984).

⁷⁴ Gorsuch, "There's No Place like Home," 782.

⁷⁵ Boym, *Common Places*, 114; Günther, "Poiuschaia Rodina".

⁷⁶ Günther, "Poiuschaia Rodina"; Boym, *Common Places*, 149.

(Stalinist years), the power of the Party and its wise leader was based on the idea, as Neil Robinson argued, of the “inability of people to take control of their own lives because of their backward political consciousness”.⁷⁷ Communism implied people’s ability for self-management. Despite the proclaimed transition to the construction of communism, however, people were still denied having a mature political consciousness,⁷⁸ thus needing the leadership of the Party. This contradiction was metaphorically presented in the movie “Welcome, or else no trespassing” (1964): “Children! You are the owners of this summer camp. You! And what is required from you, my friends? – Discipline!”⁷⁹ The contradictions between the expectation of changes and the reality could cause despair and frustration. Some authors spoke about the so called “syndrome of expectancy” – willingness to tolerate hardship up to a certain point – to appear by the early 1950s.⁸⁰

Finally, forced collectivism was another characteristic of the created space.⁸¹ This “intimate mass” or “a collective body”⁸² had its own road to individuation. However, it is individuals who actually make any collective. Each of them has their own process of individuation and self-actualization, which cannot be synchronized and developed at the same tempo and together with the collective Self.

The discrepancy between one’s expectations and reality could also develop the feeling of vacuum, and guilt or, as a variation, the feelings of being late⁸³ or not having enough time. The enforced standards of how to feel and develop would cause distress and consequently a desire to escape. At the same time, being unable and often not really willing to move beyond the state borders, they lived in their own reality transformed in their imagination. The final line from the movie “Good-bye, Lenin!” appropriately reflects these emotions: “The country my mother left was a country she believed in, and which we kept alive until her last second; a country that never existed in reality”.⁸⁴ This vacuum created a feeling of being lost. The question “Where to?” becomes central for the poetry and prose of the time.⁸⁵ The themes of loneliness, restlessness, and rootlessness

⁷⁷ Neil Robinson, *Ideology and the Collapse of the Soviet System: A Critical History of Soviet Ideological Discourse* (Edward Edgar Publishing, 1995), 65.

⁷⁸ Robinson, *Ideology*, Ch. 3.

⁷⁹ *Dobro Pozhalovat, Ili Postoronnim Vkhod Vospreschen!* dir. by Elem Klimov, screenplay by S. Lungin, I. Nusilov (Mosfilm, 1964).

⁸⁰ Quoted in Gorsuch, ““There’s No Place like Home””, 778–779.

⁸¹ See also, Boym, *Common Places*; Günther, “Poiuschaia Rodina”.

⁸² Günther, “Poiuschaia Rodina”.

⁸³ Rozhanskii, “Towards the Gleaming Dawn,” 119.

⁸⁴ *Good-bye, Lenin!* DVD, dir. by Wolfgang Becker (Germany, 2003, X Verleigh AG, Sony Pictures Classics).

⁸⁵ Annenskii, *Bardy*, Ch. Predstavlenie Imen: Evgenii Kliachkin; Aksionov, *Kollegi*, Ch. “Eto ikh dom,” accessed 17 December 2012, http://www.e-reading.org.ua/chapter.php/1216/16/Aksenov_-_Kollegi.html; I.B. Nichiporov, “Svoeobrazie Liricheskoi Ispovedi V Pozdnei Poezii Vysotskogo,”

were the base notes of the lyrics that found expression in the images of an endless road, a ship, or “a homeless home spirit”.⁸⁶

A “Pull”: Where To?

The world created by poetry was a journey reflecting the inner quest of the generation: journey, road, path, sailing, walking, and flying away or back were the framing themes. It was, however, a personal, rather than a collective journey.⁸⁷ This was the world of “free-floating characters”:⁸⁸ “Stranger, hello and good-bye, one can blink with headlights too”;⁸⁹ “other boats would run across it, they would stop, tittle-tattle a tad, and would hit again the road”.⁹⁰

Strangers were not a threat. On the contrary, the pull was to meet people, overcome distrust, and reestablish trust and ties with the world or within it: “What is important is to walk on earth, meet people, shake their hands, chit-chat about things,” Iurii Vizbor wrote⁹¹ or

There is no better vocation for us
Than a vain wandering
Than a naive desire
To understand the dialogue partner.⁹²

Opening oneself to the world implies vulnerability and uncertainty. The poets are taking the risk of looking naïve, absurd, “bitten” as metaphorically expressed by Iurii Vizbor in one of his songs, because “it won’t do without trust. It’s better to be bitten, it will heal later”.⁹³ Trust is an effective instrument to maintain order in a society, which not even a law can provide, as Karen Cook summarized.⁹⁴

Portal Slovo, accessed 17 December 2012, http://www.portal-slovo.ru/philology/37210.php?ELEMENT_ID=37210.

⁸⁶ Novella Matveeva, *Bezdomny Domovoj*, accessed 17 December 2012, <http://www.bards.ru/archives/part.php?id=41350>.

⁸⁷ Boym, *Common Places*; Annenskii, *Bardy*, Ch. Pesni Nashego Veka; I. B. Nichiporov, “Iurii Vizbor Kak Klassik Avtorskoj Pesni,” *Portal Slovo*, accessed 17 December 2012, <http://www.portal-slovo.ru/philology/37285.php?PRINT=Y>; Nichiporov, “Avtorskaia Pesnia”; R. Shipov, Introduction to *Antologia Bardovskoj Poezii*, ed. by R. Shipov (Moscow, Eksmo, 2006), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://a-pesni.org/bard/a-pojusch.php>.

⁸⁸ Boym, *Common Places*, 118.

⁸⁹ Iurii Vizbor, *Nochnaia Doroga* (1978), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://a-pesni.org/bard/vizbor/notchndoroga.htm>.

⁹⁰ Novella Matveeva, *Korablik*, accessed 17 December 2012, <http://lib.ru/KSP/nmatweewa.txt>.

⁹¹ Iurii Vizbor, *Liudi Idut Po Svetu* (1968), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://lib.ru/WIZBOR/poeples.txt>.

⁹² Iurii Vizbor, *Rechka Nara* (1979), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://lib.ru/KSP/wizbor.txt>.

⁹³ Iurii Vizbor, *Ukushenny* (1982), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://lib.ru/KSP/wizbor.txt>.

⁹⁴ Karen S. Cook, *Trust In A Society* (Russel Sage Foundation, 2001), xxvii.

The words by Iurii Vizbor – “Thank God, we have enemies; it may mean we have friends somewhere too”⁹⁵ – reconfirm this. They can be seen as a response to the distrust stimulated by the official propaganda.⁹⁶

The journey that these poems illustrated was a quest for sincerity, private intimacy and solitude. In situations “when the costs of misplaced trust are high,”⁹⁷ individuals tend to rely on families and smaller circles, or create a fictitious system of kinship. The world of this poetry was the world of the kitchen poetry,⁹⁸ of an intimate talk, and gatherings of friends or companions (tourists, co-travelers, alpinists, tent-mates on the construction sites, or just another person on the road).⁹⁹ Encounters were ordinary people, whose world was of a great interest to the characters of the poems. These gatherings, as Svetlana Boym noted,¹⁰⁰ were a “different form of collectivity... neither utopian, nor forced,” unofficial and yet “not antiofficial”.

Unofficiality, but at the same time non-anti-officiality, was the key term to describe this poetry and “migration”. It may have been their simplicity, fairy-talish images and abstract allegories, their introversion that made them semi-official and protected them from being banned. The idea was just to live and be on the road: “Don’t stop, just sing a song. And that song sings that a road is running in a valley far away,”¹⁰¹ “people will ask: “Why the noise? Why the fuss?” – We will answer: “There is no particular reason, just because”.¹⁰²

The Latin verb ‘*invenire*’ (to find or discover in English), as Carl G. Jung noted,¹⁰³ requires walking, going on a journey, and the same way as the English verb ‘*find*’ has the connotation of walking, coming upon,¹⁰⁴ as well as its Russian equivalent *nakhodit’*. The romanticism of wandering,¹⁰⁵ as the symbol of this generation, focused not on the destination of a journey, but on finding, keeping, and improving oneself: “The road does not have an end, instead it has a result”.¹⁰⁶ This could be seen as a hint of the unconscious to focus on quality instead of “the

⁹⁵ Vizbor, *Nochnaia Doroga*.

⁹⁶ See, for example. Gorsuch, “‘There’s No Place like Home’,” 771.

⁹⁷ Cook, *Trust In A Society*, xix.

⁹⁸ Boym, *Common Places*; Annenskii, *Bardy*, Ch. Avtorskaia Pesnia.

⁹⁹ See, for example, Nichiporov, “Avtoroskaia Pesnia”; Nichiporov, „Iurii Vizbor”; I.B. Nichiporov, “Pesnenno-poeticheskaia Antropologiya. Liudi Trudnykh Professii V Izobrazhenii Iu. Vizbora I V. Vysotskogo,” *Portal Slovo*, accessed 17 December 2012, http://www.portal-slovo.ru/philology/37230.php?ELEMENT_ID=37230&PAGEN_2=2.

¹⁰⁰ Boym, *Common Places*, 148.

¹⁰¹ Iurii Vizbor, *Po Usheliu Tropka Vietsja* (1954), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://lib.ru/KSP/wizbor.txt>.

¹⁰² Iurii Vizbor, *Osennie Dozhdi* (1970), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://lib.ru/KSP/wizbor.txt>.

¹⁰³ See Jung, “Approaching the Unconscious,” 79.

¹⁰⁴ Online Etymology Dictionary by Douglas Harper. Entry “find,” accessed 17 December 2012, <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=find>.

¹⁰⁵ Rozhanskii, “Towards the Gleaming Dawn”.

¹⁰⁶ Vizbor, *Nochnaia Doroga*.

fetishization of production and of quantitative indicators¹⁰⁷ common for central planning economy, which contributed to the economic decline of the country. Unofficiality, at the same time, it could simply reflect a reality: for many poets of this genre, poetry was more of a calling and self-expression than an occupation.

Truth of life and simplicity set the tone of this “bard” poetry. The guitar, which used to be associated with banality and low taste, became their symbol. In one interview, Iurii Vizbor explained it as follows: This is an instrument most families (and young people) can afford and it is light, which is most appropriate in this “century of the universal mobility”.¹⁰⁸ It also would not restrain the singer’s motion, he added, which emphasizes the meaning of the song itself as a means of travelling.

The pull of the mass movement in these years was freedom, a chance to manage one’s own time, thoughts and body freely,¹⁰⁹ regain the power over Self, over the tempo of individuation and over one’s feelings: be sad, laugh, cry, talk or be silent when one wanted to, when one felt it was appropriate. It was possible in the world of imagination and inner journey: “It «a wave of a blue sea» is whispering that there is no limit in the dreams and it calls me to the far lands”.¹¹⁰ The images of boats, sea, open spaces, mountains were most common in the discussed poetry: “I want to sail, sail, sail with the furious wind”.¹¹¹ These images in general reflected the search, quest, freedom, and Self. “When I go to these places,” said, for example, a famous mountaineer Joe Simpson about the mountains, “I feel an amazing sense of space, an amazing sense of freedom”.¹¹² The goal was also to regain the self-consciousness, consciousness that one will do it right: “The little boat was sailing and dreaming about something, taking good note about everything it saw. It made the conclusions itself”¹¹³ or “I will loosen the reins, my horse knows the road”.¹¹⁴

The tone of the poems was typically quiet, reflective, humorous, fairy-talish and dreamy:¹¹⁵ “What music it was! It did not preach, but simply called you calmly”.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁷ Alexander Motyl, *Imperial Ends: The Decay, Collapse, And Revival Of Empires* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 68.

¹⁰⁸ Iurii Vizbor, “Tri Voprosa Menestreliam,” *Avrora* 12 (1981), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://lib.ru/WIZBOR/interview.txt>.

¹⁰⁹ Popov, “Soviet “Savages”,” 268; see also, Koenker, “On Russian Tourism, Travel, and Leisure”; Gorsuch, “There’s No Place like Home”.

¹¹⁰ Novella Matveeva, *Kapitan Bez Usov* (1960), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://a-pesni.org/bard/novella/kapitany.htm>.

¹¹¹ Matveeva, *Kapitan bez usov*.

¹¹² *Touching The Void*, dir. by K. MacDonald (UK/USA, 2003), Script, accessed 17 December 2012, http://www.script-o-rama.com/movie_scripts/t/touching-the-void-script-transcript.html

¹¹³ Matveeva, *Korablik*.

¹¹⁴ Novella Matveeva, *Polovodie* (1963), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://a-pesni.org/bard/novella/polovodje.htm>.

¹¹⁵ Nichiporov, “Avtorskaia Pesnia”.

¹¹⁶ Iurii Vizbor, *Napolnim Muzykoj Serdca*. (1975), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://a-pesni.org/bard/vizbor/napolnim.htm>.

It was no coincidence, then, that the color of the poetry, which also infiltrated into the official songs, was blue. It did not just reflect the real color of the mountains or forests in the distance. The blue color, psychologically speaking,¹¹⁷ is the color of introversion, solitude, and reflection. It is the color of Self and anima (Jung), a quest for wholeness of Self and tranquility. Such phrases, as “I want to go to the land of tranquility (or rest)” or “Mom, I want to go home” (Iu. Vizbor), “I want spring so much” (V. Matveeva), “a fairy tale will finally come to us” (V. Matveeva), “let me lean against the door post of the ray” (N. Matveeva) reflect this quest.

Despite the possible first melancholic impression, especially in comparison with the optimism of the official songs, this poetry was quite optimistic.¹¹⁸ On the one hand, it was the general romantic enthusiasm of the 1960s. On the other hand, the poetry was open to the world and curious about it. It is difficult to say what its dominating seasons were: autumn, winter, snow, and rain were present in the poem together with spring and summer. It is highly likely that the choice of the season depended on the mood of the person and the truth of reality. In the country whose utmost southern point laid on the latitude 35° North, changes of seasons and colder climate are quite natural, as well as longing for warm weather.

It was not really an escape from the reality to forget oneself and get lost but rather a warning or a call to wake up, to look around and inside, to stop and listen and “take a close look” at “everyone’s home”, “because it is your home too”.¹¹⁹ The desire to come back home is another key motif in this poetry. By returning, the poets wanted to break the cycle of no change not once but as many times as it will be necessary. Probably, that is why they “left the heart” in the mountains (Vizbor, Vysotskii), and would say “it is so good to live on earth, when there is always a line of horizon in front of you. It is so good that the Earth is a globe!”¹²⁰

Value: Coda

The world created by the poetry of the generation of the 1960s was not isolated. Instead, it was a cultural phenomenon that reflected the society of the time in its complexity. It also should be interpreted in the context of the tradition of Russian literature, folk songs,¹²¹ and their ensuing criticism.

¹¹⁷ Ia. Obukhov, *Simvolika Tsveta. Sinii Tsvet*, accessed 17 December 2012, http://www.gumer.info/bibliotek_Buks/Psihol/Obuh_Sim/04.php.

¹¹⁸ Shipov, “Introduction”.

¹¹⁹ Iurii Vizbor, *Znakom Li Ty S Zemlej* (1966), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://lib.ru/KSP/wizbor.txt>.

¹²⁰ Aksionov, *Kollegi*, Ch. “Eto ikh dom,” accessed 17 December 2012, http://www.e-reading.org.ua/chapter.php/1216/16/Aksenov_-_Kollegi.html.

¹²¹ See, for example, Nichiporov, “Avtorskaia Pesnia”.

The idea of the road in Russian poetry, language¹²² and mythology was traditionally a test ground, a space for a battle,¹²³ and a quest for answers and Self.¹²⁴ It was a quest for “truth lost somewhere,”¹²⁵ but at the same time for “freedom and tranquility”.¹²⁶ The source of all that was, however, usually inside. The true journey was a journey inwards. Only there could the character reach completeness and connectedness with the world. Travelling in the outer world was actually understood as senseless and motionless, just a set of disconnected details (such as in travelling of Chichikov, Onegin, or Pechorin).¹²⁷ Dostoevskii explained it from the perspective of nationalism as disconnectedness from the people, or rootlessness.¹²⁸ Characterizing such characters, he did not deny their love for the land but emphasized that they were searching for their own imagined world instead of looking around them. However, from a psychological perspective, one can argue that this was a poetic expression of the process of individuation, or a call for it in response to the constraints imposed by the reality.

The songs and poetry in general, as Iurii Vizbor argued, had to reflect the reality, “be a counselor, bring up their point in different questions, or simply tell a story”.¹²⁹ It did reflect the reality – everyday life of people – as well as the myth, which was a part of it and of the poets’ consciousness. The forced character of the no-reality of the official myth bore the danger of getting lost in it and never recovering. As Novella Matveeva wrote: “And since then she disappeared behind the tan... On the road everyone forgot who stole, who was stolen,”¹³⁰ and then repeated in another song – “there is so much soot on me that I am even not sure if I am still there underneath this soot”.¹³¹ The songs were

¹²² *Online dictionaries*, entry “Doroga,” accessed 17 December 2012, <http://slovari.ru/search.aspx?s=0&p=3068&di=vsem3&wi=532>.

¹²³ Svetlana Komagina, “Obraz Zheleznoj Dorogi V Russkoj Literature: Mifologicheskie Istoki,” *Rocznik Instytutu Polsko-Rosyjskiego* Nr 1 (1) (2011): 41–56.

¹²⁴ Lotman, *Puskin* (S.-Petersburg, 1995), 205; Iurii M. Lotman, „Tiutchev. Nakanune Godovschiny 4 Avgusta 1864 g.,” in *O Poetakh i Poezii: Analiz Poeticheskogo Teksta* by Iu. M. Lotman, ed. by M. Gasparov (Sankt-Petersburg: Iskusstvo, 1996), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://www.do.rulitru.ru/v11251/?cc=1&page=15>, <http://www.do.rulitru.ru/v11251/?cc=1&page=16>.

¹²⁵ F. Dostoevskii. *Pushkin*, accessed 17 December 2012, <http://philosophy.ru/library/dostoevsky/push.html>.

¹²⁶ Mikhail Iu. Lermontov, “Vykhozhu Odin Ia Na Dorogu,” in *Polnoe Sobranie Sochineni* by M. Lermontov, vol. 2 (Leningrad: Sovetski pisatel, 1989), 83.

¹²⁷ Lotman, „Tiutchev”; Donald Fanger, “Dead Souls: The Mirror and the Road,” *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, vol. 33, no. 1, Special Issue: Narrative Endings (Jun., 1978): 24–47.

¹²⁸ Dostoevskii. *Pushkin*.

¹²⁹ Vizbor, *Liudi Idut Po Svetu*; “Tri Voprosa Menestreljam”; *Svoj Golos* (1981), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://lib.ru/WIZBOR/voice.txt>; *Pesni Delajet Vremja* (1975), accessed 17 December 2012, http://lib.ru/WIZBOR/songs_and_time.txt.

¹³⁰ Novella Matveeva, *Tsyganka-Moldovanka* (1961), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://a-pesni.org/bard/novella/cyganka.htm>.

¹³¹ Novella Matveeva, *Novogodniaia (Zolushka)* (1964), accessed 17 December 2012, http://web-kind.ru/text/99769363_95314318p945553862_text_pesni_zolushka-novogodnyaya-pesnya.html.

to help the renovation of a society including the myth itself, clean the meanings: “We are not afraid of the loud words. We see the things clearly. We will clean these words,”¹³² or

When the words and the objects lose their meanings,
the poets come to the world for their renovation...
... and bringing back anxiety into the hearts
and clear mind into the heads.
Ah, so much work is still ahead!¹³³

The poems could be seen as warning messages similar to the dreams sent by our unconsciousness to us.¹³⁴ Restlessness, premonition, the feeling that something is going wrong were present in these songs: “Not that he wanted a disaster, but he was being troubled about something at all,”¹³⁵ “a young generation – all with the guitar, shouting, as if before a big disaster,”¹³⁶ or “the alarm bell on the tower was motionlessly silent... meanwhile, very many things were burning, but nobody saw that!”¹³⁷

On the one hand, as Mikhail Rozhanskii argued, speaking of another expression of the same phenomenon of inner emigration, the mass “voluntary” participation in the “accelerated construction” sites in the remote parts of the Soviet Union in the 1960s–1970s, it gave people an opportunity to escape within the system.¹³⁸ On the other hand, it helped renovate the system and postpone its collapse. Basically, it was a “substitute of development”. Of course, there was a side effect: an experience and taste of independence, learning about the real state of being, which would often contradict the image created by the myth: frozen injured bodies of rehabilitated working camp convicts lying on the side of the roads,¹³⁹ poverty of the countryside that looked nothing like villages in the movies.¹⁴⁰ Peripheries, or individuals in this case, were trying to acquire lives of their own and redeem control over them. This would loosen the core’s control over the peripheries, start the construction of the rim in a hub-like structure of the empire, using Alexander Motyl’s terms, and mean the beginning of its decay.¹⁴¹ The euphoria and romanticism of the 1960s, however,

¹³² Aksionov, *Kollegi*, Ch. “Vse Eshe Vpered”, accessed 17 December 2012, http://www.e-reading.org.ua/chapter.php/1216/41/Aksenov_-_Kollegi.html.

¹³³ Novella Matveeva, *Poety* (1961), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://a-pesni.org/bard/novella/poety.htm>.

¹³⁴ Jung, “Approaching the Unconscious,” 18–104.

¹³⁵ Novella Matveeva, *Pozharny* (1961), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://a-pesni.org/bard/novella/pozharnyj.htm>.

¹³⁶ Iurii Vizbor, *Rasskaz Zhenshiny* (1978), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://www.bard.ru/cgi-bin/listprint.cgi?id=6.13>

¹³⁷ Matveeva, *Pozharny*.

¹³⁸ Rozhanskii, “Towards the Gleaming Dawn”.

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*, 122.

¹⁴⁰ Aksionov, *Kollegi*, Ch. „Stekliannyi mys,” accessed 17 December 2012, http://www.e-reading.org.ua/chapter.php/1216/18/Aksenov_-_Kollegi.html.

¹⁴¹ Motyl, *Imperial ends*.

began to vanish and turn into clichés in the 1970s.¹⁴² Stagnation and social processes coming with it, such as alcoholism, growing cynicism, or absenteeism could contribute to the growing despair, pessimistic and tragic notes in the poems of the 1970s–1980s. The impulse of the turn to an individual was lost.

Looking mostly at Iurii Vizbor's and Novella Matveeva's poetry in the context of the existing literary studies of the "bard" poetry and studies on the Soviet culture and society of the 1960s–1970s, both bard and official poetry in general, I found enough similarities in the different social and intellectual phenomena of these years to be able to speak about the generation of the 1960s.¹⁴³ The imaginary character of this type of the inner emigration makes it difficult to analyze and make generalizations. However, discussing forced migration or any type of social phenomenon we should remember that "the further we move away from the individual towards the abstract ideas about *Homo sapiens*, the more likely we are to fall into error"¹⁴⁴ and that any individual story could be important. As a character of the Vasilii Aksionov's novel noted: "A young man stricken with 'world-weariness' nowadays is absurd. But what shall we do if there is such a man?"¹⁴⁵

Polina Golovátina-Mora

A Forced Road to a No-Place: Escapism as a Form of Inner Emigration

Summary

Migration provides an important balance for the group and individual development that can be challenged by the constraints of the created social structures, such as the nation state, for example. Because of the omnipresence of its ideology, the line between voluntarism and coercion is quite vague. In this article, I propose to look at the definition of forced migration inwardly, from the position of the individual and his development. Individuals and their development often turn to a no-place in the scholarship and official rhetoric. Inability for different reasons to emigrate in combination with "pushes" of reality creates an interesting phenomenon of inner emigration, or an emigration inwardly, and "in spirit". It can assume different forms. While it holds true that migration is a physical act, in many cases and societies it became both a psychological and mental exercise that enabled people under duress to cope with these circumstances. To analyze and understand how this inward migration operated, I analyzed the images and meanings of the road and movement in the "bard" (poetic, semi-official, tourist, or student) songs of the generation of the 1960s and looked at this poetry as at the form of inner emigration and escape that played eventually therapeutic and regulatory role similar to the role that, according to Carl G. Jung, dreams and myths play.

¹⁴² Rozhanskii, "Towards the Gleaming Dawn"; Boym, *Common Places*; Vizbor, *Pesni Delajet Vremja*; Annenskii, *Bardy*, Ch. Avtorskaia Pesnina.

¹⁴³ Boym, *Common Places*; Annenskii, *Bardy*; Vasilii Aksionov, *Tainstvennaia Strast'. Roman O Shestidesiatnikakh* (2007), accessed 17 December 2012, <http://www.e-reading-lib.org/book.php?book=147573>.

¹⁴⁴ Jung, "Approaching the Unconscious," 58.

¹⁴⁵ Aksionov, *Kollegi*, Ch. „Idi, idi...” accessed 17 December 2012, http://www.e-reading.org.ua/chapter.php/1216/27/Aksenov_-_Kollegi.html.