
ИСТОРИЯ МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ И ВНЕШНЯЯ ПОЛИТИКА

HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND FOREIGN POLICY

УДК 821.161.3.09"19"(092)+327.700Н(091)"19"

BELARUSIAN WRITERS AT THE SESSIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY (1945–1990)

I. M. AULASENKA^a

^a*Belarusian State University, 4 Niezaliežnasci Avenue, Minsk 220030, Belarus*

The article is devoted to the tradition of participation of Belarusian writers in the official BSSR delegations at the UN General Assembly sessions in 1945–1990. The author made an attempt to define the reasons of such a practice and to reveal the role of Belarusian writers in the BSSR official diplomacy. It is noted that the tradition of invitation of literary workers followed from the high status of writers in the social and political life of the republic. It is stated that the topics of the speeches and statements of Belarusian writers touched foremost special political questions that were determined by the bipolar struggle in the Cold War. It is showed that the documents of personal origin of writers (memoirs, epistolary heritage, and diaries) are valuable sources that help to uncover informal aspects of the everyday life of the BSSR delegation, along with the official side of its activities.

Key words: writer; poet; literature; diplomacy; Byelorussian SSR; Organization of the United Nations; General Assembly; Cold War.

Образец цитирования:

Авласенко ИМ. Белорусские писатели на сессиях Генеральной Ассамблеи ООН (1945–1990). *Журнал Белорусского государственного университета. Международные отношения*. 2018;2:3–12 (на англ.).

For citation:

Aulassenka IM. Belarusian writers at the sessions of the United Nations General Assembly (1945–1990). *Journal of the Belarusian State University. International Relations*. 2018; 2:3–12.

Автор:

Игорь Михайлович Авласенко – кандидат исторических наук; доцент кафедры дипломатической и консульской службы факультета международных отношений.

Author:

Ihar M. Aulassenka, PhD (history); associate professor at the department of diplomatic and consular service, faculty of international relations.
avlasenkim@bsu.by
ORCID: 0000-0002-9700-3261

БЕЛОРУССКИЕ ПИСАТЕЛИ НА СЕССИЯХ ГЕНЕРАЛЬНОЙ АССАМБЛЕИ ООН (1945–1990)

И. М. АВЛАСЕНКО¹⁾

¹⁾Белорусский государственный университет, пр. Независимости, 4, 220030, г. Минск, Беларусь

Рассматривается традиция участия белорусских писателей в работе делегации БССР на сессиях Генеральной Ассамблеи ООН в 1945–1990 гг. Автором предпринята попытка выявить причины установления такой практики и раскрыть роль белорусских писателей в официальной дипломатии БССР. Отмечено, что традиция приглашения литераторов в состав официальных делегаций стала следствием их высокого статуса в общественно-политической жизни республики. Установлено, что тематика выступлений белорусских писателей касалась главным образом специальных политических вопросов и напрямую вытекала из логики биполярного противостояния. Показано, что воспоминания, письма, дневниковые записи писателей являются ценным источником, позволяющим раскрыть наряду с официальной стороной неформальные аспекты повседневной деятельности делегации БССР.

Ключевые слова: писатель; поэт; литература; дипломатия; Белорусская ССР; Организация Объединенных Наций; Генеральная Ассамблея; холодная война.

Introduction

Despite the establishment of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the Byelorussian SSR¹ in 1944, the freedom of its diplomatic activity was restricted and primarily determined by the Soviet Union's center (Moscow). During the Cold War external political activities of the soviet republics were implemented mainly in the framework of "popular", i. e. non-official, diplomacy that was implemented in various forms, such as cultural exchanges, visits of sports delegations, etc. However, the opposite phenomenon – participa-

tion of non-officials in the official delegations of the BSSR – also took place. Inclusion of Belarusian writers² in the delegations of the BSSR at the UN General Assembly sessions is worth to be mentioned as one of the most interesting pages in the history of Belarusian diplomacy. This phenomenon is followed by a number of research questions: why have writers been included in almost each official delegation of the BSSR at the UN General Assembly sessions? Which role did the writers play in the delegations?

Review of the historiography of the problem

The participation of Belarusian writers in the UN General Assembly sessions has not previously been the subject of special historical research. Certain references are available only in the works of some historians who studied the activities of the Byelorussian SSR in the United Nations (V. E. Snapkovski, S. F. Svilas) [1–4], or in the studies of several philologists who examined the life way and career of prominent authors (M. A. Lazaruk,

V. P. Ragoyssha, F. I. Kuleshov, V. V. Zuyonok, M. P. Kenka) [5–9]. The role of the writers in external cultural relations of the BSSR was featured in the monograph book of V. G. Shadurski "Cultural relations of Belarus with the countries of Central and Western Europe (1945–1990s)" but the subject of this research does not touch the participation of Belarusian literary workers in the UN General Assembly sessions [10].

The sources of the study

However, this form of activities of the writers can be reconstructed on the basis of a wide range of sources. First of all, texts of the official speeches and statements made by delegates of the Byelorussian SSR are worth to be mentioned: they are conserved in the National Archive of the Republic of Belarus (Collection No. 907) and in the Belarusian State Archive-Museum of Literature and Arts [11; 12], as well as reproduced

in special collection of works or summary reports of the General Assembly sessions [13–18]. The second group of sources consists of personal documents – notes from diaries, memoirs and epistolary heritage [19–22]. The third group of documents is made up from the literary heritage of writers and poets – their verses, essays, articles that has been written during or immediately after a trip to the United States [23–30].

¹⁾The official name of the soviet republic (the Byelorussian SSR), as well as the personal names of members of delegations, are reproduced in the article according to their spelling in the official documents of that time (actually in Russian transliteration); while adjective "Belarusian" is used in the article according to the modern way of spelling.

²⁾The notion "writer" is used in the article in a broad meaning, as equivalent to "literary worker", relating both to prose writers and to poets.

Writer in the social and political system of the BSSR

The participation of writers in the official BSSR delegations to the UN General Assembly followed from the high status of literary worker in the Soviet Belarus. First of all, writers performed an important ideological function for the state. Their task was to justify the building of the new socialist society and to reflect establishment of the “new soviet man”. That’s why in the 1930s the state established control over the literary process in order to control the spiritual life of the society. In 1934 the Union of Writers of the USSR was created (and the Union of Writers of the BSSR as its autonomous part). Other literary associations that emerged in the 1920s, in the wake of Belarusization, have been eliminated; a lot of their members, accused of “national-democratism”, became the victims of the Great Purge in 1937. Despite the heavy damage that Belarusian literature suffered in 1930s, its value has increased significantly in the first half of 1940s, during the Great Patriotic War against Nazi Germany. Many outlined poets – A. A. Kuleshov, P. E. Panchenko, E. I. Skurko (Maxim Tank) – have made successful steps and have built their reputation at that time. Due to their significance in the social life of the Republic, Belarusian writers began to play a role in the external political activity of the Byelorussian SSR, which began in the mid-1940s.

Belarusian writers, as well as other representatives of intellectual elite, were honoured to held some high positions in the governing bodies of the Republic at the Soviet time. For example, writers were regularly elected as deputies of the Supreme Council of the BSSR, and some of them (E. I. Skurko, I. P. Shamyakin, I. Y. Naumenko) occupied the position of its chairman. An example of tense relations between literary intellectuals and state officials is the fact that at the time of 17th General Assembly session the 50th anniversary of E. I. Skurko was visited personally by A. A. Gromyko who was the Minister of foreign affairs of the USSR at that time [30, p. 65]. But in the political system of the BSSR real power was vested to the system of party bodies that duplicated the functions of the governing bodies, while the role of the latter was primarily decorative and symbolic. As I. P. Shamyakin (who occupied the position of Chairman of the Commission of the Supreme Council on Foreign Relations at the time of his invitation to the 18th Session of the UN General Assembly) once recalled figuratively in his memoirs, “I have been a “big cheese” that in reality was equal to zero, but there, in the United Nations, it sounded loudly...” [21, p. 310]³.

Belarusian writers as correspondents

The activity of the Belarusian writers in the diplomatic sphere started with M. T. Lynkov. As a member of the Supreme Soviet of the BSSR he participated at its sixth session in March 1944 in Gomel and expressed his support for establishment of the People’s Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the Byelorussian SSR. He expressed a view that the development of relations of Belarusian nation as a member of the United Nations coalition would give the country possibility of legal influence on the world processes [32, p. 228]. Later, in May – June of 1945, M. T. Lynkov was included in the Belarusian delegation to the UN founding conference in San Francisco but not as a full member but as a correspondent. The same status of correspondent in the Belarusian delegation was given to K. K. Atrakhovich (Kandrat Krapiva) at the first UN General Assembly session in London [33, aids 61, fol. 201, p. 35]. During the conference M. T. Lynkov has prepared several articles for the

newspaper “Zviazda”, devoted to the press-conference of K. V. Kiselev (minister of foreign affairs of the Byelorussian SSR), to the visit to the American Russian Institute, to the ceremony of signing of the Charter of the United Nations, while K. K. Atrakhovich has prepared an article “London: the first impressions” during the first session of the UN General Assembly that was held at the capital of the United Kingdom [34–37].

The practice of invitation of Belarusian writers to the official delegations of the BSSR to the UN General Assembly resumed since 1952. Since then Belarusian writers were invited not as correspondents but as full members of the delegation. As officials, writers worked in the main committees of the General Assembly, participated in discussions and voted on behalf of the BSSR on certain matters; they were present at the plenary sessions and several times made statements from the high tribune in the Assembly hall.

Activities of the writers in the General Assembly Committees

The range of issues consigned to the writers during various sessions was very broad, ranging from the problem of apartheid in the South Africa to the matter of the draft Convention on the Rights of the Child. But the activities of the Belarusian writers as full members of the BSSR delegation started with M. T. Lynkov

in the *Fifth Committee of the General Assembly* that deals with administrative and budgetary matters. In his statements, the Belarusian writer supported the Soviet Union’s proposal to reduce the budget of the United Nations for 1953, and strongly opposed a new scale of assessments. He required reducing the

³ Hereinafter translated by I. A.

rate of contributions from the Byelorussian SSR to the 1950 level, by pointing out the devastation of the economy of the republic, caused by the heavy losses during World War II [11, aids 1, fol. 99, p. 260–262; 11, aids 1, fol. 99, p. 268–274]. On behalf of the BSSR delegation, M. T. Lynkov has supported the adoption by the Economic and Social Council and its functional commissions of Spanish as a working language but

also he pointed out that the adoption of Russian as a working language by the Council and its functional commissions was important to Russian speaking countries [11, aids 1, fol. 99, p. 265–267]. M. T. Lynkov activities at the 7th session remained the only case when the representation of the BSSR position in the Fifth Committee of the UN General Assembly was entrusted to the Belarusian writer (see table).

Number of speeches and statements made by Belarusian writers and poets at the sessions of the UN General Assembly (1952–1990), distributed by committee

Committee or Plenary meeting	Number of speeches and statements	Number of participations in various committees
Plenary Meetings	12	9
First Committee (disarmament and international security questions)	10	6
Special Political Committee	23	13
Second Committee (economic and financial questions)	–	–
Third Committee (social, humanitarian & cultural questions)	16	4
Fourth Committee (decolonization questions)	20	8
Fifth Committee (administrative and budgetary questions)	4	1
Sixth Committee (legal questions)	–	–
Total	85	41 ⁴

Note. The calculations are done by the author.

Sources: Index to Proceedings to the General Assembly, 7th session – 45th session. New York: United Nations, 1953–1991.

The largest number of statements were made by Belarusian writers on *political matters*, mostly in the First Committee, the Fourth Committee, and the Special Political Committee of the UN General Assembly. In 1950s their statements were primarily related to the decolonization process that was put in the core of the geopolitical struggle in the time of the Cold War. They were discussed in the *Fourth Committee*. By illustrating this trend, the Belarusian writer M. T. Lynkov once noted that “the question of Non-Self-Governing Territories is not an internal affair of metropolitan countries, it is a question of an international character...” [11, aids 1, fol. 126, p. 141]. Political and social development of Non-Self-Governing Territories, reflected in the reports of the Trusteeship Council, was consistently a subject of critics from BSSR delegation in 1950s, particularly in the statements of M. T. Lynkov who continued to be a full member of the BSSR delegation at 3 subsequent sessions, in 1953–1955. His speech was focused on such problems as illiteracy of population of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, its poverty and absence of political rights. Particularly, he criticized the decision of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to cease the transmission of information about the situation in the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam [11, aids 1, fol. 126, p. 174]. Special attention was paid to the situation in South West Africa and Puerto-Rico.

In November 1953, some leaders and members of the Party of Independence of Puerto-Rico have sent several personal letters to M. T. Lynkov, expressing gratitude to the BSSR delegation for its support of the independence movement of Puerto-Rico [11, aids 1, fol. 129, p. 92–113]. In 1953, M. T. Lynkov published the short story “The lights of Tanganyika” based on the real case suited by Wa-Meru tribe (from modern Tanzania) and devoted to the struggle of native African inhabitants for their lands against Western colonialists [24; 38].

Starting from decolonization matters, Belarusian writers were devoted to uncover other special political questions, highlighted mostly at the meetings of the *Special Political Committee* in 1950s – 1970s. One of the most acute problems, which was constantly raised by the Byelorussian SSR delegation, became the situation in the South Africa and the policy of apartheid, performed by the South African regime. This problem has been a convenient subject of critics of the Western countries, accusing them of political and economic support of the South African regime. For instance, in 1970 I. Y. Naumenko compared the situation in South Africa with the days of the Nazi occupation of Belarus. He noticed specially that “in defiance of the decisions of the United Nations, the Western Powers – including members of the Security Council – were providing South Africa with large quantities of arms and military

⁴The number of participations exceeds the number of sessions when Belarusian writers were invited in the BSSR delegation because in some years they made statements in several committees simultaneously: for instance, E. I. Skurko in 1960.

equipment. ... Thanks to those supplies, South Africa had been turned into a vast military and police camp, and its army had been provided with modern equipment" [14, p. 75–76]. This item was also raised in speeches and statements of M. T. Lynkov, A. N. Kulakovski, I. G. Chigrinov and others.

Another issue, that was regularly raised in the statements of Belarusian writers in the Special Political Committee of the UN General Assembly, was the Palestinian problem, exacerbated after the Six Day War of 1967, when Israel took control of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula. Like the situation in the South Africa, Israel's foreign and domestic policies constantly were the target of criticism from the delegations of the Soviet republics (particularly, from the Byelorussian SSR), especially in the wake of deterioration and breaking off the Soviet-Israeli diplomatic relations in 1967. Special statements on behalf of the Byelorussian SSR on this issue were made by I. Y. Naumenko, N. E. Pashkevich, G. P. Buraukin and others. Commenting the Camp David Accords of 1978, B. I. Sachenko noticed that "tension in the Middle East continued to increase, because of Israeli aggression supported by States protecting their so-called "vital interests". It was clear to everyone that the Camp David Accords would not lead to a genuine settlement of the conflict; their aims were rather to consolidate the results of the aggression of 1967..." [15, p. 7].

Among other items that were touched by Belarusian writers in the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly was a matter of admission to the United Nations of new states but it also was put in the core of the geopolitical struggle. Granting full membership in the UN for several new states from Eastern bloc (i. e. Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria) in 1955 was a result of bargain between the Soviet Union and the United States. At the 10th session on behalf of the BSSR delegation M. T. Lynkov expressed his support for such a resolution [11, aids 1, fol. 184, p. 7–17]. Later, at the meetings of the Special Political Committee in the 1950s and 1960s, Belarusian writers repeatedly articulated the requirement to admit the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the United Nations.

Certain political questions were transferred to the *First Committee* of the General Assembly that deals with disarmament, global challenges and threats to peace that affect the international community. Korean question (the problem of Korean unification, as well as requirement to invite the delegation of the DPRK to the sessions of the General Assembly) was touched by P. F. Glebka, P. U. Brovka, E. I. Skurko and A. A. Kuleshov. Besides, P. F. Glebka and E. I. Skurko focused their statements on Algerian question, and A. A. Kuleshov – on the issue of the peaceful uses of outer space [11, aids 1, fol. 504, p. 1–8]. But actually Belarusian writers touched a question of disarmament

and its link to international security only two times. The first one was in 1979 by E. M. Skobelev, but it is worth to remember that he was invited not only as a writer but as a career diplomat – the inspector of the Department of Foreign Relations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belarus. The second one occurred in 1989, when the Belarusian poet G. N. Buravkin raised the issue of reducing weapons of mass destruction. His speech reflected the policy of "new political thinking" in the Soviet Union and was a reaction on successful Soviet-American negotiations on reduction of the nuclear weapons (the INF Treaty, already signed in 1987, as well as talks on the START-1) [18].

Belarusian writers returned again to the *Fourth Committee* in the 1980s to uncover mostly the problems of Non-Self-Governing Territories. They highlighted such issues, as the situation in South West Africa (Namibia), and criticized the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries. These problems were touched in the speeches of A. M. Adamovich, G. I. Borodulin, V. V. Zuyonok, V. A. Kozko, A. I. Maldi. For instance, commenting the situation in Namibia, A. M. Adamovich stated that "data provided by the United Nations and the world press showed that collaboration between South Africa and the Western Powers was steadily on the rise. <...> Their economic and strategic interests demanded the maintenance of racism and colonialism and therefore they could be observed doing everything possible to delay the independence of Namibia" [17, p. 14].

Except political matters, Belarusian writers highlighted social, humanitarian and cultural issues, discussed in the *Third Committee* of the General Assembly. Despite the humanitarian character of the literary activity, the Belarusian writers participated in the meetings of this Committee during only four sessions (13th, 15th, 17th and 36th). Nevertheless, the number of items, covered by their statements (16), was comparable with the number of issues touched in other committees (see table). Among the Belarusian writers who participated in the discussions in the framework of this committee can be named P. E. Panchenko, E. I. Skurko and E. I. Yanishchits.

In their statements in the Third Committee Belarusian writers often expressed their support of the initiatives from the Soviet Union initiatives or from other countries of the Socialist bloc. For instance, P. E. Panchenko in 1958 expressed support for the proposal of the member of the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR V. D. Bratus to declare the International Health and Medical Research Year in 1959 [11, aids 1, fol. 315, p. 78]. Two years later, E. I. Skurko spoke in favour of the Romanian's delegation initiative on "measures designed to promote among youth the ideas

of peace, mutual respect and understanding between peoples". Much of his speech was devoted to the problem of spirituality of the young generation and the role of literature in this process: "Literature and the arts are undeniably of great educational value and it was largely on them that man's choice between weapons and the plough would depend" [13, p. 324–325]. At the 17th session E. I. Skurko on behalf of the BSSR delegation, expressed his full support on the draft "Declaration concerning the conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament" submitted to the General Assembly by the USSR [11, aids 1, fol. 583, p. 126]. Two decades later, while participating in the discussion of the draft Convention on the Rights of the Child, E. I. Yanishchits spoke in favour of the draft Convention, submitted by the Polish People's Republic, and expressed regret that convention had not been adopted in the International Year of the Child (1979), "owing to the unconstructive attitude of a number of countries". She also focused on the fact that "the plight of South African youths detained in prisons, children dying in bombing raids in Lebanon, and barefoot children in Angola fleeing the vultures of death from neighbouring South Africa" [16, p. 8].

On the contrary, a number of draft resolutions in the Third Committee has become the subject of controversy between the western and eastern blocks. One of such issues covered the matter of refugees and repatriation. Reflecting the official position of the delegation of the BSSR, the Belarusian writers insisted on amendment of the resolution with a clause promoting repatriation (but haven't met a broad support for such a position). In anticipation of 1959/1960 World Refugee Year, P. E. Panchenko criticized the activities of the UNREF Executive Committee because it "mistakenly continued to devote its main efforts to resettlement and integration" [11, aids 1, fol. 315, p. 74]. E. I. Skurko similarly criticized the report of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, mainly due to the fact that it addresses the problem of Chinese refugees in Hong Kong [11, aids 1, fol. 583, p. 142–146].

Other statements of the Belarusian writers contained criticism of the initiatives from the Western states. For instance, E. I. Skurko negatively spoke about the US and the UK proposals on the Draft Convention

and Draft Recommendation on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages that allowed not to apply it to the countries that were not members of the United Nations. Belarusian poet accused these two countries for they "deliberately sought to exclude not only countries such as China and Vietnam, which represented approximately 1,000 million persons, but also the countries which had not yet attained independence" [11, aids 1, fol. 583, p. 112].

As the full members of the BSSR delegation, Belarusian writers have never been involved in the work of the *Second Committee* of the UN General Assembly, which considers economic and financial issues, as well as in the work of the *Sixth Committee*, that examines legal matters (see table). The main reason is that preparation of speeches in these two committees required special knowledge.

However, some speeches and statements were made by Belarusian writers and at the plenary meetings of the General Assembly. Such a practice started in December 1954 at the 9th session with M. T. Lynkov who was entrusted to explain the vote of the BSSR delegation in favour of two draft resolutions proposed by the delegation of the Soviet Union: the first one, on measures to reduce unemployment and increase employment, and the second one, concerned the removal of measures of discrimination applying to trade with individual states or groups of states [11, aids 1, fol. 151, p. 1–4]. Such statements by the Belarusian writers at plenary sessions turned to be regular since the late 1970s. Among the writers, who were honoured to make a statement in the Assembly hall, A. I. Vertinsky, I. G. Chigrinov, A. M. Adamovich, V. V. Adamczyk, G. I. Borodulin, V. V. Zuyonok, and V. A. Kozko can be mentioned. As usual, in the framework of plenary statements they repeated the same issues that they were consigned to speak on at their committees: either special political questions (Israeli settlements on Palestinian lands; apartheid in South Africa), or decolonization matters (the question of Namibia; foreign interests impeding the implementation of the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries). However, G. I. Borodulin recalled in his diary that the Assembly hall at the time of his speech was for the most part empty [22, p. 190].

Other activities of Belarusian writers in the UN

However, the activities of Belarusian writers in the United Nations and its specialized agencies were not limited only to the official participation at the UN General Assembly sessions. For instance, M. T. Lynkov was a full member of the BSSR delegation at the IX General Conference of UNESCO in November – December of 1956 in India. Particularly, he noticed that "colonial dependence of countries in Asia and Africa hampered their economic and cultural development, prevented the

creation of their own educated and technically literate staff. Now the people of these countries have embarked on a broad road of independent development and the revival of their national culture" [12, aids 1, fol. 589, p. 1]. P. F. Glebka, while participating at the meeting of the Board Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the BSSR in March 1957, noted the lack of a basis for the work of the Belarusian delegation at the 11th session of the UN General Assembly and proposed to open the Permanent

Mission of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic to the UN in 1958 [4, p. 70]. Several times M. T. Lynkov addressed the staff of the Permanent Mission of the USSR

to the United Nations with reports on development of the Soviet literature and read some excerpts from his novel "The memorable days" [9, p. 121, 123].

Personal impressions of writers

However, the sources of personal origin from Belarusian writers (memoirs, diaries, letters) make it possible to uncover the everyday life and informal rules in the work processes of the Byelorussian delegation at the United Nations, along with the formal side of its activities. A son of poet Maxim Tank referred that the texts of speeches of all delegates had to gain preliminary approval at the meeting of the delegation. A special position on this matter was taken by A. A. Kuleshov and A. E. Makaenok who refused to subordinate to this rule [39]. As a result, while A. A. Kuleshov has made two statements in the First Committee in 1961, Makaenok is not mentioned among the members of the BSSR delegation who spoke at the 20th session in 1965 [40, p. 108]. I. P. Shamyakin recalled in his memoirs that once he was asked to correct the text of speech for A. A. Gromyko, but later surprisingly noticed that his remarks were not taken into account absolutely [21, p. 314].

Some notes from diaries of the Belarusian writers contain critical view on the whole General Assembly sessions, as well as on the order within the BSSR delegation and its relations with other Soviet delegations (from USSR and UkrSSR). I. P. Shamyakin in his memoirs bluntly recalled the discussion at the General Assembly as "talking shop" [21, p. 311]. His memoirs contain also

critical appreciation of artificial unanimity of Soviet delegations [21, p. 313–314]. Having witnessed a sharp debate between the Ambassador of the United States to the United Nations A. Stevenson and the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union V. Zorin during the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962, E. I. Skurko reflected quite critical view in his diary on the official position taken by the Soviet side in the controversy: "We say that there are no Soviet missiles in Cuba. But Stevenson in the UN showed their [American] pictures which were more convincing arguments as facts from Zorin who objected to this. Frankly, it was unpleasantly for us to listen to this duel and, according to the received instruction, to convince others that actually there are no other missiles in Cuba" [20, p. 80]. Another excerpt from diary indicates poet's non-acceptance of artificial unanimity of Soviet delegations: "At the last meeting I spoke critically about the speech of Ostrovski, the deputy of T. Nikolaeva (both were representatives of the USSR delegation – I. A.). And today she became worried and let me understand that it's unacceptable because he is a member of a union delegation, etc. Apparently, we can not make any comments" [20, p. 81]. A lot of writers mentioned fatigue from a three-month participation in the session in their diaries or letters [19, p. 216, 217, 282; 21, p. 314–315].

Reflection of the trips to the UN in the works of the writers

Literary works of Belarusian writers and poets were a special form of report from sessions of the UN General Assembly. This tradition was laid by M. T. Lynkov, who published an article "From a trip to America" in 1945, after having returned from the conference in San Francisco, which he attended as a correspondent from the BSSR delegation [23]. This essay, written in the wake of common victory of the Allies over the Nazi Germany, still contained the author's positive opinion on the prospects of cooperation between the USSR and the United States. But after the Cold War had started, the content of such essays changed significantly. Next articles, published in 1950s, contained sharp criticism of American social and political system. The essays

and short stories of M. T. Lynkov on American issues were collected in the book "Beyond the sea", published in 1962 [25]. Some authors, such as E. I. Skurko and I. P. Shamyakin published their essays in the journal "Polymia" ("Non-diplomatic notes" and "Two months in New York") [27–29]. P. E. Panchenko started a tradition of poetry, devoted to the foreign trip. His first book, published in 1960, was called "The pictures of New York" [26]. These essays and verses contained critical view on American social order and reflected the atmosphere of the Cold War. But this critical view of writers followed not only from the ideological setup, but also was a reflection of personal convictions and impressions.

Conclusion

Thus, a conclusion can be made that practice of regular invitation of the writers for participation in the delegations of the BSSR at the UN General Assembly took a form of sustainable tradition. The same interpretation gives A. I. Vertinski in his memoirs, recalling his 1977 meeting with A. E. Gurinovich, then-Minister

of foreign affairs of the republic [30, p. 3]. Since 1945 to 1990 30 Belarusian writers (29 – as full members of the delegation) attended sessions of the UN General Assembly. Initially, in 1945–1946 two Belarusian writers (M. T. Lynkov and K. K. Atrakhovich) visited San-Francisco Conference and 1st session of the United Nations

as correspondents. In 1952–1990 Belarusian writers were included in the BSSR delegations as full members almost every year, with short breaks in 1973–1974, and 1987–1988. M. T. Lynkov visited the United States 5 times (considering also San-Francisco Conference), P. F. Glebka – 4 times, E. I. Skurko – 3 times, G. N. Buravkin – twice. In 1990 Belarusian poet G. N. Buravkin, who previously participated in the 31st and 44th sessions of the UN General Assembly, was accredited as Permanent Representative of the BSSR (one year later – of the Republic of Belarus) to the United Nations.

Belarusian writers acted at the sessions of the UN General Assembly foremost as officials and were invited to the BSSR official delegation to raise primarily political questions, as evidenced by their participation in the work of the General Assembly committees (see table). The topics of their official speeches and statements were determined by the bipolar struggle in the

Cold War. Participation of writers was considered as means to raise the prestige of the BSSR in the international arena, as well as to focus attention of the international community on certain sharp matters due to their rhetoric qualities. Sometimes such genuine performances attracted attention of the press. For instance, the newspaper “New York Times” on 23 September 1962 published an article “Proverbial Battle” in which the author has mentioned how Belarusian poet Maxim Tank, commenting on the promise of Charles de Gaulle about peace on Algerian land, recalled an old Belarusian proverb: “When a fox speaks, chicken must think twice” [20, p. 74; 40]. At the same time Belarusian writers left a lot of sources of personal origin that contain critical view on American reality, as well as on artificial unanimity of soviet delegations. Trips to America enriched personal experience of Belarusian literary workers and their creative heritage.

Библиографические ссылки

1. Снапковскі ВЕ. *Путь Беларуси в ООН: 1944–1945 гг.* Минск: Навука і тэхніка; 1994. 139 с.
2. Снапоўскі УЕ. *Знешнепалітычная дзейнасць БССР, 1945–1953 гг.* Мінск: Беларуская навука; 1997. 207 с.
3. Свилас СФ. *Деятельность Белорусской ССР в ЮНЕСКО (1954–1964 гг.)*. Минск: БГУ; 2013. 463 с.
4. Свилас СФ. Об открытии Постоянного представительства Белорусской ССР при ООН. *Журнал международного права и международных отношений*. 2006;3:70–74.
5. Лазарук МА. *Пімен Панчанка: літаратурна-крытычны нарыс*. Мінск: Дзяржаўнае выдавецтва БССР; 1959. 142 с.
6. Рагойша ВП. *Паэтыка Максіма Танка*. Мінск: Выдавецтва БДУ; 1968.
7. Куляшоў ФІ. *Міхась Лынькоў: Нарыс жыцця і творчасці*. Мінск: Народная асвета; 1979.
8. Зуёнак ВВ. *Лінія высокага напружання: літаратурна-крытычныя нататкі, постаці, роздум*. Мінск: Мастацкая літаратура; 1983. 181 с.
9. Кенька МП. *Міхась Лынькоў: летапіс жыцця і творчасці*. Мінск: Універсітэцкае; 1987. 173 с.
10. Шадурскі ВГ. *Культурныя сувязі Беларусі са странами Центральной и Западной Европы (1945–1990-е гг.)*. Минск: БГУ; 2000. 285 с.
11. Национальный архив Республики Беларусь. Ф. 907 (Министерство иностранных дел БССР).
12. Белорусский государственный архив-музей литературы и искусства. Ф. 191 (личный фонд М. Т. Лынькова).
13. Танк М. *Збор твораў. Том 13: Публіцыстыка*. Мінск: Беларуская навука; 2012. 969 с.
14. Summary Record of the 705th Meeting of the Special Political Committee held on Thursday, 22 October 1970 [A/SPC/SR.705]. *Official Records of the United Nations General Assembly 25th Session*. New York: United Nations; 1970. p. 75–76.
15. Summary Record of the 10th meeting of the Special Political Committee held on Monday, 20 October 1980 [A/SPC/35/SR.10]. *Official Records of the United Nations General Assembly 35th Session*. New York: United Nations; 1980. p. 1–7.
16. Summary Record of the 31st Meeting of the Third Committee held on Tuesday, 27 October 1981 [A/C.3/36/SR.31]. *Official Records of the United Nations General Assembly 36th Session*. New York: United Nations; 1981. p. 7–8.
17. Summary Record of the 7th Meeting of the Fourth Committee held on Friday, 22 October 1982 [A/C.4/37/SR.7]. *Official Records of the United Nations General Assembly 37th Session*. New York: United Nations; 1982. p. 75–76.
18. Verbatim Record of the 5th Meeting of the First Committee held on Wednesday, 18 October 1989 [A/C.1/44/PV.5]. *Official Records of the United Nations General Assembly 44th Session*. New York: United Nations; 1989. p. 26–35.
19. Лынькоў МЦ. *Збор твораў у васьмі тамах. Том 8: Лісты, 1935–1975. Летапіс жыцця і творчасці*. Мінск: Навука і тэхніка; 1985.
20. Танк М. *Збор твораў. Том 10: Дзённікі (1960–1994)*. Мінск: Беларуская навука; 2010. 917 с.
21. Шамякін ІП. *Збор твораў. Том 22: Роздум на апошнім перагоне: дзённікі 1980–1994 гадоў*. Мінск: Мастацкая літаратура; 2014. 814 с.
22. Барадулін РІ. *Дзённікі і запісы. Выпуск 4. 1983–1988*. Мінск: Кнігазбор; 2017. 377 с.
23. Лынькоў М. З падарожжа ў Амерыку. *Беларусь*. 1945;9:20–23.
24. Лынькоў МЦ. Агні Танганьікі. *Польмя*. 1953;5:5–20.
25. Лынькоў МЦ. *За акіянам: нататкі, апавяданні, нарысы*. Мінск: Дзяржаўнае выдавецтва БССР; 1962. 288 с.
26. Панчанка ПЕ. *Нью-Йоркскія малюнкi*. Мінск: Дзяржаўнае выдавецтва БССР; 1960. 77 с.
27. Танк М. Недыпламатычныя нататкі. *Польмя*. 1961;3:123–141.
28. Шамякін ІП. Два месяцы ў Нью-Ёрку. *Польмя*. 1964;3:121–138.
29. Шамякін ІП. Два месяцы ў Нью-Ёрку. *Польмя*. 1964;4:113–132.
30. Вярцінскі АІ. *Нью-Йоркская сірэна*. Мінск: Мастацкая літаратура; 1987. 342 с.
31. Смирнов ВС. Беларусь в Совбезе ООН: воспоминания белорусского посла. *Беларуская думка*. 2011;1:64–71.
32. Шостая сесія Вярхоўнага Савета БССР, 21–24 сакавіка 1944 г.: стэнаграфічная справаздача. Мінск: Дзяржаўнае выдавецтва БССР; 1946. 301 с.
33. Национальный архив Республики Беларусь. Ф. 4п (Центральный комитет Коммунистической партии (большевик) Беларуси).

34. Лынькоў М. Беларуская прэс-канферэнцыя. *Звязда*. 26 мая 1945 г.;97:1.
35. Лынькоў М. Аб культурных сувязях. *Звязда*. 16 чэрвеня 1945 г.;114:4.
36. Лынькоў М. Паўднёвыя беларускія дэлегацыі. *Звязда*. 29 чэрвеня 1945 г.;121:4.
37. Крапіва К. Лондан: Першыя ўражанні. *Літаратура і мастацтва*. 16 сакавіка 1946 г.:3.
38. Petitions from the representatives of the Wa-Meru tribe (T/PET.2/99 and Add. 1–7) and from Gamaliell Sablak (T/PET.2/143) concerning Tanganyika: adopted at the 452nd plenary meeting, 1952 July 22. *Official Documents of the UN Trusteeship Council (11th sess.: 1952)*. p. 4–8.
39. Лашкевіч К. Король прэферанса, спікер парламента і поэт-классик. Максим Танк без глянца [Интернет]. [Прочитано 20 мая 2018 г.]. Доступно по: <https://news.tut.by/culture/560526.html>.
40. Index to Proceedings of the General Assembly: 20th session – 1965. New York: United Nations; 1966.
41. O’Kane L. Proverbial Battle. *The New York Times* [Internet]. [Cited 2018 May 20]. Available from: <https://www.nytimes.com/1962/09/23/archives/proverbial-battle.html>.

References

1. Snapkovski VE. *Put’ Belarusi v OON: 1944–1945 gg.* [A way of the BSSR to the United Nations: 1944–1945]. Minsk: Navuka i tjehnika; 1994. 139 p. Russian.
2. Snapkovski UE. *Zneshnepalitychnaja dzejnasc’ BSSR, 1945–1953 gg.* [External political activities of the BSSR, 1945–1953]. Minsk: Belaruskaya navuka; 1997. 207 p. Belarusian.
3. Svilas SF. *Deyatel’nost’ Belorusskoi SSR v YuNESKO (1954–1964 gg.)* [Activities of the Byelorussian SSR in UNESCO (1954–1964)]. Minsk: Belarusian State University; 2013. 463 p. Russian.
4. Svilas SF. On the Opening of the UN Permanent Mission of the Belarusian SSR. *Journal of International Law and International Relations*. 2006;3:70–74. Russian.
5. Lazaruk MA. *Pimen Panchanka: litaraturna-krytychny narys* [Pimen Panchanka: literary-critical essay]. Minsk: Dzjarzhawnae vydavectva BSSR; 1959. 142 p. Belarusian.
6. Ragoysya VP. *Pajetyka Maksima Tank* [The poetics of Maxim Tank]. Minsk: Publishing House of the Belarusian State University; 1968. Belarusian.
7. Kuljashov FI. *Mihasy Lyn’kow: Narys zhyccja i tvorchasci* [Mikhas’ Lynkov: a sketch of life and creativity]. Minsk: Narodnaya asveta; 1979. Belarusian.
8. Zuyonak VV. *Linija vysokaga napruzhanja: litaraturna-krytychnyja natatki, postaci, rozдум* [The line of high voltage]. Minsk: Mastackaja litaratura; 1983. 181 p. Belarusian.
9. Kenka MP. *Mihasy Lyn’kow: letapis zhyccja i tvorchasci* [Mikhas’ Lynkov: chronicle of life and creative works]. Minsk: Universitjckae; 1987. 173 p. Belarusian.
10. Shadursky VG. *Kul’turnye svyazi Belarusi so stranami Tsentral’noi i Zapadnoi Evropy (1945–1990-e gg.)* [Cultural relations of Belarus with the countries of Central and Western Europe (1945–1990s)]. Minsk: Belarusian State University; 2000. 285 p. Russian.
11. National Archive of the Republic of Belarus (Coll. No. 907: the Fund of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the BSSR).
12. Belarusian State Archive-Museum of Literature and Arts (Coll. No. 191: the personal collection of M. T. Lynkov).
13. Tank M. *Zbor tvoraw. Tom 13: Publicystyka* [The full collection of works. Volume 13: Publicism]. Minsk: Belaruskaya navuka; 2012. 969 p. Belarusian.
14. Summary Record of the 705th Meeting of the Special Political Committee held on Thursday, 22 October 1970 [A/SPC/SR.705]. *Official Records of the United Nations General Assembly 25th Session*. New York: United Nations; 1970. p. 75–76.
15. Summary Record of the 10th meeting of the Special Political Committee held on Monday, 20 October 1980 [A/SPC/35/SR.10]. *Official Records of the United Nations General Assembly 35th Session*. New York: United Nations; 1980. p. 1–7.
16. Summary Record of the 31st Meeting of the Third Committee held on Tuesday, 27 October 1981 [A/C.3/36/SR.31]. *Official Records of the United Nations General Assembly 36th Session*. New York: United Nations; 1981. p. 7–8.
17. Summary Record of the 7th Meeting of the Fourth Committee held on Friday, 22 October 1982 [A/C.4/37/SR.7]. *Official Records of the United Nations General Assembly 37th Session*. New York: United Nations; 1982. p. 75–76.
18. Verbatim Record of the 5th Meeting of the First Committee held on Wednesday, 18 October 1989 [A/C.1/44/PV.5]. *Official Records of the United Nations General Assembly 44th Session*. New York: United Nations; 1989. p. 26–35.
19. Lynkow MT. *Zbor tvoraw u vas’mi tamah. Tom 8: Listy, 1935–1975. Letapis zhyccja i tvorchasci* [The full collection of works. Volume 8: Letters, 1935–1975; Chronicle of life and creativity]. Minsk: Navuka i tjehnika; 1985. Belarusian.
20. Tank M. *Zbor tvoraw. Tom 10: Dzionniki (1960–1994)* [The full collection of works. Volume 10: Diaries (1960–1994)]. Minsk: Belaruskaya navuka; 2010. 917 p. Belarusian.
21. Shamjakin IP. *Zbor tvoraw. Tom 22: Rozдум na aposhnim peragone: dzionniki 1980–1994 gadov* [The full collection of works. Volume 22: Reflections on the last stretch: the diaries of 1980–1994]. Minsk: Mastackaja litaratura; 2014. 814 p. Belarusian.
22. Baradulin RI. *Dzionniki i zapisy. Vypusk 4. 1983–1988* [Diaries and notes. Issue 4. 1983–1988]. Minsk: Knigazbor; 2017. 377 p. Belarusian.
23. Lynkow M. [From the trip to America]. *Belarus’*. 1945;9:20–23. Belarusian.
24. Lynkow MT. [The lights of Tanganyika]. *Polymja*. 1953;5:5–20. Belarusian.
25. Lynkow MT. *Za akijanam: natatki, apavjadanni, narysy* [Beyond the sea]. Minsk: Dzjarzhawnae vydavectva BSSR; 1962. 288 p. Belarusian.
26. Panchanka PE. *N’ju-Jorkskija maljunki* [The Pictures of New York]. Minsk: Dzjarzhawnae vydavectva BSSR; 1960. 77 p. Belarusian.
27. Tank M. [Undiplomatic notes]. *Polymja*. 1961;3:123–141. Belarusian.
28. Shamjakin IP. [Two months in New York]. *Polymja*. 1964;3:121–138. Belarusian.
29. Shamjakin IP. [Two months in New York]. *Polymja*. 1964;4:113–132. Belarusian.

30. Vjarcinski AI. *N'ju-Jorkskaja sirena* [The siren of New York]. Minsk: Mastackaja litaratura; 1987. 342 p. Belarusian.
31. Smirnov VS. [Belarus in the Security Council: the memoirs of the Belarusian ambassador]. *Belaruskaya dumka*. 2011; 1:64–71. Russian.
32. *Shostaja sesija Vjarhownaga Saveta BSSR, 21–24 sakavika 1944 g.: stjenagrafichnaja spravazdacha* [The sixth session of the Supreme Council of the BSSR (1944 March 21–24): a stenographic report]. Minsk: Dzjarzhawnae vydavectva BSSR; 1946. 301 p. Belarusian.
33. National Archive of the Republic of Belarus (Coll. No. 4п: the collection of the Communist Party of Belarus). Russian.
34. Lynkow M. [Belarusian press-conference]. *Zvjazda*. 1945 May 26;97:1. Belarusian.
35. Lynkow M. [On cultural relations]. *Zvjazda*. 1945 June 16;114:4. Belarusian.
36. Lynkow M. [Signing of the Statute by the Belarusian delegation]. *Zvjazda*. 1945 June 29;121:4. Belarusian.
37. Krapiva K. [London: the first impressions]. *Litaratura i mastactva*. 1946 March 16:3. Belarusian.
38. Petitions from the representatives of the Wa-Meru tribe (T/PET.2/99 and Add. 1–7) and from Gamaliell Sablak (T/PET.2/143) concerning Tanganyika: adopted at the 452nd plenary meeting, 1952 July 22. *Official Documents of the UN Trusteeship Council (11th session: 1952)*. p. 4–8.
39. Laskevich K. The king of preference, the speaker of parliament and poet-classic. Maxim Tank without gloss [Internet]. [Cited 2018 May 20]. Available from: <https://news.tut.by/culture/560526.html>. Russian.
40. Index to Proceedings of the General Assembly: 20th session – 1965. New York: United Nations; 1966.
41. O’Kane L. Proverbial Battle. *The New York Times* [Internet]. [Cited 2018 May 20]. Available from: <https://www.nytimes.com/1962/09/23/archives/proverbial-battle.html>.

Received by editorial board 24.09.2018.