

**Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Punk Alternative Publications:
Challenges to Fugitive Materials**

Kevin Adams¹

Information Literacy Librarian, Alfred University, Alfred, New York, United States

ABSTRACT: Punk scenes are complex and heterogeneous. They have always been prolific producers of physical documentation of their attitudes, beliefs, and actions. At the same time, these scenes have often existed on the margins, which has led to the creation of fugitive collections of self-documentation. In Slavic, East European and Eurasian (SEEE) countries, this documentation has historically taken the form of non-traditional music releases, zines, and samizdat. Due to the often-illegal nature of these creations, the materials did not find immediate homes in official repositories, and the fugitive materials experienced a covert diaspora initially across Eastern Europe and later across multiple continents. The author provides a case study of the current state of collections of non-traditionally published SEEE punk materials to highlight the challenges that face access and use of marginalized, diasporic collections. This paper provides a definition of punk in a SEEE context; offers a literature review to illustrate the discourse and collections that address Slavic and East European punk materials; draws connections between SEEE punk alternative publications and broader marginalized fugitive collections; describes obstacles faced by collections of Slavic punk materials; and concludes by way of recommendations for addressing these challenges in order to improve access and use.

KEYWORDS

zines, samizdat, punk, categorization, punk collections

CONTACT

Kevin Adams is the Information Literacy Librarian at Alfred University. Email: adamska@alfred.edu

Mailing Address: 1 Saxon Drive, Alfred, NY 14802.

Introduction: Slavic and East European Punk Materials – Vessels for Understanding Marginalized and Fugitive Collections

Punk in the West and the East has long been a mystified subject for scholars, students, researchers, and “punkademics.” Punks have historically striven to defy definition and observation, as exemplified by the statement from Penny Rimbaud of the prolific anarchist punk band, Crass: “I’ve got the answer to what is punk? And it is very simple. It isn’t.”² While punk scenes are complex and heterogeneous, they exist, they are, and punk is. Punk has often existed on the margins, outside of mainstream culture and practice. Despite the punk drive to resist definition, punk scenes have always been prolific producers of physical documentation of their attitudes, beliefs, and actions.

In Slavic, East European, and Eurasian (SEEE) countries, documentation of punk scenes, historically, has taken two forms: (1) non-traditional releases of music, whether on cassette, CD, or vinyl; and (2) zines, whether published through typical channels, or in the case of some Soviet zines, via samizdat.³ Many of the materials from Slavic punk scenes are quite rare due to their limited print runs. Even rarer are the unique elements of hand construction and do-it-yourself (DIY) production.⁴

The rarest SEEE punk materials are samizdat. Samizdat was state censored literature in the U.S.S.R. that was clandestinely created and circulated in the underground.⁵ Samizdat was often produced by hand, since, whether typed or handwritten, the content put both author and reader at risk. Because laws in the Soviet Union prohibited the possession or distribution of literature that was banned by the state or considered to be anti-Soviet, samizdat was discreetly passed from person to person.⁶ By dealing in samizdat, punk scenes in the Soviet Union were converting anti-establishment ideology into praxis and putting their lives at risk for the

dissemination of their radical ideas and attitudes. Due to the inherent danger, production of these publications was kept to a minimum, often with fewer than ten copies circulating at a time.⁷

Since their creation, SEEE punk publications have been dispersed across Slavic, Eastern European, Eurasian, and North American countries. The existing collections of SEEE punk materials consist of fugitive materials whose unique obstacles can be generalized to the broader fields of SEEE studies and special collection librarianship.⁸ While the scope of this study is relatively narrow, the challenges faced by SEEE punk materials and collections mirror those faced by collections that pertain to populations whose communities fluctuate due to political, social, physical, or environmental shifts.⁹ By closely examining SEEE punk materials and collections, their existence and cultural history, and the challenges they pose to researchers and information professionals, the author hopes to highlight patterns and provide recommendations that will be valuable to the field of SEEE librarianship as well as special collection librarianship.

Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Punk: A Cultural and Historical Overview

Punks have subverted and rejected attempts by outsiders to pin down or define their subculture. Hilary Pilkington, a scholar of sociology, states, “The very quality of punk we seek to understand dies the moment it is so defined.”¹⁰ Fortunately, the physical products of punk scenes do not die, but immortalize the attitudes, thoughts, and expressions of their creators (if the materials can be preserved). Tolga Guldalli, a Turkish punk turned scholar and actor, offers a standard definition for what punk originally was: “Punk is an anti-establishment, subversive subculture that developed around a music movement in England in the second half of the 1970s to wreak havoc upon the values of mainstream society.”¹¹ Guldalli goes on to show that punk was not static, and it evolved into “a do-it-yourself destructive-creative . . . ideology.”¹² As

Pilkington states, Russian punk is difficult to define thanks to its dynamism. However, it is often a manifestation of a reflexive attitude which is embodied in aesthetics, politics, and attitudes.¹³

Punk also varies in its manifestations across the world. Lifelong student of world-punk Luk Haas writes of Eastern European punk music: “it shouldn’t be surprising that some ‘Eastern’ bands don’t play traditional 77 punk (in a “Western” way) or NYHC [New York Hard Core], and more than often, will have their own sound and direction. But ask any punk in their city, and usually they’ll be recognized as the punkest thing ever.”¹⁴ Given the importance of identity in these scenes, it is easier to define punk if self-identifying punks are taken at their word. As Haas illustrates, perhaps this trust will establish a more sociologically accurate image of punk than a strict adherence to structured musical styles, aesthetics, or politics. A synthesis of the above commentary from Guldalli and Haas becomes the functioning definition for punk alternative publications: items that were published outside of the mainstream (records, cassettes, CDs, fanzines, samizdat, etc.), by or for self-identifying punks or DIY musicians, which exhibit punk musical style, aesthetics, politics, or attitudes.

The histories and cultures of punk in SEEE countries are as heterogeneous and complex as the individuals that made up the scenes, and have been documented in a variety of forms and approaches. The literature surrounding the history of SEEE punk scenes primarily deals with the origins of punk in Russia. Punk began in Russia through underground distribution of vinyl, zines, and samizdat.¹⁵ The original ideas and ethos of punk were derived from concepts of rebellion, anarchy, and dissidence and are often cited as being influenced by bands like the Stooges, Death, the Ramones, and the Sex Pistols. One scholar, zinester, and punk rocker, Alexander Herbert, identifies the origins of punk ideas in Russia in an anecdote provided in an oral history with a

Russian protopunk, Yevgeny “Yufa” Yufit, which details his first interactions with a future Russian punk rocker, Andrei “Svin” Panov:

There was no punk rock in 1976. I met Andrei “Svin” Panov on the street, and we had a lot of common interests: primarily the grotesqueness of Soviet society, black humor, and provoking innocent bystanders. One of our favorite provocations consisted of shoveling snow in the nude in front of glass windows. The police would show up and we would run in separate directions, knowing all along that we were leaving traces in the snow. At that time, the only source of music information was a short-wave radio that I would use to listen to the BBC. In 1977 I heard a new group, Sex Pistols, and I remember telling Svin, “Hey, in England there are idiots just like us!” Svin never played music, but he was an ideal punk.¹⁶

By the early 1980’s punk had been adopted by state sanctioned concert venues such as the Leningrad Rock Club as a means of monitoring, sanitizing, and controlling its message.¹⁷ However, the scenes were not stifled by this adoption. Many punk bands found ways of expressing dissent through their music without being explicitly political. Those that chose to voice anti-Soviet lyrics quickly became fugitives of the state. In an interview with Microcosm Publishing, Herbert tells two stories of punks being arrested and fleeing the KGB for playing explicitly anti-Soviet punk music.¹⁸ Punk in Russia survived to the present day by becoming multimodal. Each mode contained similar underlying threads of combativeness against fascism, secret police, and neo-Nazis.¹⁹ It should be noted that in spite of the picture painted by the available literature, punk existed across SEEE countries and was not limited to Russia.

Primary source documentation of punk scenes are necessary to fully understand the aesthetic, socio-political, and ideological variation across geographic region. Punks in Turkey sought community among other anti-establishment rockers. However, Guldalli argues that punk failed to become political in Turkey for multiple reasons, but primarily due to its lack of self-documentation; and mainstream sources conflating Turkish punks with “neo-Nazism and Western wannabe-ism.”²⁰ Without access to the primary sources from the scenes themselves, misrepresentations of the scene became the norm. The message across regional punk scenes was

varied, as can be seen in the divergent oral histories of Herbert's *What About Tomorrow?: An Oral history of Russian Punk from the Soviet Era to Pussy Riot*.²¹ The nuances captured in the alternative primary sources from SEEE punk scenes have been obscured by obstacles to access and preservation. In the following literature review, the author identifies aggregators that help identify holdings for the punk primary sources, specific holding institutions for these sources, and several instances of punk publications, as well as an overview of the secondary literature pertaining to these collections and materials.

Literature Review

Primary Sources and Their Holding Institutions

There are many examples of special collections and databases for alternative publications, ranging from private fanzine, poster, and music collections, to academic and institutional research collections. One such digital database that focuses on a special collection of samizdat from the Soviet Union is the Project for the Study of Dissidence and Samizdat, run by the University of Toronto. This project, which “launched in 2015, includes the Database of Soviet Samizdat Periodicals, Electronic Editions of selected Samizdat Journals, Illustrated Timelines of Dissident Movements, and Interviews with Activists.”²² Where electronic editions of samizdat are not fully available, the database includes bibliographic records with corresponding searchable linked data. The database provides researchers, scholars, students, and the public with access to alternatively published rare materials that would otherwise be accessible only in dispersed regional collections.

The Project for Study of Dissidence and Samizdat provides bibliographic information for only a few specific punk zines. As mentioned above, some of the punk zines made in the Soviet

Union were illegally produced and distributed via samizdat. The most famous music fanzine, *Roksi*, originally ran as a samizdat fanzine until it was incorporated into the officially recognized Leningrad Rock Club in 1985. Prior to 1985 the zine was infused with anti-establishment punk ethos. Following its official recognition *Roksi* kept its writings apolitical, focusing on rock music.²³ This official recognition and incorporation marks a definitive break from the punk ethos of the early editions.

The Soviet Samizdat Periodical Database, in partnership with the Project for Study of Dissidence and Samizdat, provides bibliographic information for the fanzine *Roksi*. Bibliographic details for the issues that were published prior to 1985, when the fanzine was produced underground, are incomplete. In contrast, metadata for the issues published in the years following the fanzine's official recognition by the Leningrad Rock Club are much richer, and include linked data that identifies institutions that have holdings for the sanctioned issues of *Roksi*.²⁴

UKHO (*The Ear* in English) is another underground fanzine that dealt briefly with the subject of punk rock. Although *UKHO*'s primary focus was rock music (not punk rock music),²⁵ the cover image for issue number 2 from 1982 depicts a pair of well-worn denim jeans held together by a safety pin, and a padlock dangling from the belt loop is emblazoned with the words "PUNK ROCK" (Figure 1).²⁶

[INSERT FIGURE 1]

Figure 1: Samizdat cover of *UKHO*.

Bibliographic records and holdings information for *UKHO* in the Project for the Study of Dissidence and Samizdat, indicate that the original publication is held by the Archives of Aleksandr Kushnir.

An additional project that provides access to dissident material in digital format is a project called Cultural Opposition: Understanding the Cultural Heritage of Dissent in the Former Socialist Countries (COURAGE). This database, funded by the European Union Framework Programme for Research and Innovation, highlights dissident material from special collections and archives. It is “the first digital database of both online and offline private and public collections in Europe which testify to the survival for various forms of cultural opposition in the former socialist countries.”²⁷ COURAGE sets out to tell stories of non-conformist movements including avant-garde art, anti-establishment movements, and underground punk bands. The database includes descriptions and links to over 550 collections, with new collections continuously being added. Collections are organized and searchable by keyword, subject tags, content type, country, geographic scope, language, date of founding, and online availability. The tags for punk are a part of a musical tag amalgamation which includes other genres such as classical, folk, jazz, and rock.²⁸ According to the author’s evaluation, eleven collections contain punk content and ten of the collections include material from SEE countries.

Entries for the collections in project COURAGE provide detailed descriptions that include location, languages, provenance and cultural activities, description of content, operators, owners, geographical scope of operation, topics, founders, founding date, content creators, collectors, featured items, access type, related publications, and important related historical events. Where applicable, entries also include links to the collection websites themselves. Of the ten collections with SEE punk alternative publications (Table 1), seven belong to private

collectors, and only two of these are accessible by the public.²⁹ The three remaining, non-private collections with SEEE punk materials are open to the public. Only two of these have their own website, and none offer digitally accessible catalogs of their materials.

[INSERT TABLE 1 - See separate file. I had to include the table here in order retain the order of endnotes]

Collection Name	Public or Private	Open to Public?	Website
Gábor Klaniczay's Private Collection ³⁰	Private Collection	Closed to the Public	No
Koszits, Attila New Wave Collection ³¹	Private Collection	Closed to the Public	No
Krzystof Skiba Private Archive ³²	Private Archive	Closed to the Public	No
Polish Punk Collection by Anna Dąbrowska-Lyons ³³	Private Collection	Available to the Public by Appointment	Facebook Page
Tamás Szőnyei Poster Collection ³⁴	Private Collection	Closed to the Public	Digitized Posters Available through Artpool Website
Trasa W-Z Archive ³⁵	Private Archive	Available to Public by Appointment	No
Black hole Underground Club Ngay, Gyula Private Collection ³⁶	Private Collection	Closed to the Public	No
Polish Rock Collection at the Polish Rock Granary ³⁷	European Union Funded Project	Open to the Public	Project Website ³⁸
Youth Subcultures Ad-Hoc Collection at CNSAS ³⁹	National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives (CNSAS) Project	Open to the Public	No
Artpool ⁴⁰	Artpool Foundation Archive	Open to the Public	Foundation Website ⁴¹

Table 1: Slavic, East European, and Eurasian punk materials in the COURAGE database

While project COURAGE is a useful resource for locating dissident materials from SEEE countries, the database does not provide tags that make it easy to identify and locate punk materials. None of the collections with punk materials have item level descriptions or digitally accessible catalogs of materials.

Beyond the usefulness of bibliographic information, access to digital versions of rare primary sources provide unique glimpses into institutional holdings. The Artpool Research Center, a Hungarian foundation, provides access to digital copies of SEEE punk alternative publications. This collection is one of the publicly accessible collections linked by COURAGE. Artpool was originally an illegal art archive specializing in the avant-garde. Originally referred to as the Active Archive, its purpose was to document, archive, and make freely available information pertaining to the social actions and events of the 1960s through the 1980s in Hungary.⁴² Artpool has since evolved into a non-profit organization that provides free access to its archive of “Correspondence materials, notes, plans, ideas, interviews, writings, works of art, photo documents, catalogs, invitation cards, bibliographies, chronologies, diagrams, video and sound documents, CD-Roms, [and more].”⁴³ The archive also includes zines as well as some cassettes, records, and CDs, of new wave and punk-rock music. Archived music is searchable, and items can be found by searching if the names of specific bands or creators from the Hungarian punk scene are known.⁴⁴ Unfortunately, many of these bands have been forgotten over time, and their music is at risk of falling into further obscurity without explicit tags or subject headings to make them more easily discoverable. Further complicating access, only a selection of the materials has been digitized. Allie Whalen, who conducted research on the preservation of punk and underground samizdat and music recordings, described the dense

collection: “At Artpool, rooms are filled floor to ceiling with books, artists’ books, magazines, and more.”⁴⁵

Whalen’s research highlights Radio Artpool, a part of the sound collection which has been fully digitized and made accessible online. Among its many items, the Radio Artpool collection includes recordings from one avant-garde punk cassette: VÁGTÁZÓ HALOTTKÉMEK.⁴⁶ The recordings of this avant-garde punk band from 1975 have been digitized and include a preface in English, as a part of the Radio Artpool broadcast. The music is complemented by hand drawn album artwork of a skeletal fist smashing a sketched landscape, paired with a weapon resembling a flail. There are over 300 other cassettes in the Artpool archive with similar materials.

[INSERT FIGURE 2]

Figure 2: Cassette album artwork of avant-garde punk band VÁGTÁZÓ HALOTTKÉMEK.

SEEE punk primary sources also exist in institutional and private collections in the United States. Veronika Trotter, a researcher who works with Russian rock zines, details one archive and one private collection that hold punk materials in the United States: the International Counterculture Archive of the Gelman Library at George Washington University is home to one hundred titles and four hundred different issues of Russian rock zines.⁴⁷ While the bulk of the samizdat held by the Counterculture Archive consist of rock zines, there are at least 24 punk sound recordings catalogued as a part of the Rock Music under Dictatorships Collection.⁴⁸

A specifically punk collection of zines and samizdat is held by Alexander Herbert. Consisting of roughly sixty titles with one hundred different issues, the collection is mostly made

up of Russian punk zines from the 2000's that Herbert obtained from his travels and attendance of punk shows.⁴⁹ Herbert himself published a zine detailing his first encounter with punk in Russia in 2012.⁵⁰

While the discussion above indicates that punk materials can be found in the collections and databases of samizdat, cassettes, fanzines, and other non-traditionally published SEEE materials, these materials present unique obstacles. The author addresses these in more detail in an upcoming section.

Secondary Sources

The secondary literature on SEEE punk alternative publications, in English, is sparse. There are, however, a few definitive volumes that deal with regional punk materials. One such text, *An Interrupted History of Punk and Underground Resources in Turkey 1978-1999*, presents firsthand accounts of the punk scene in Turkey. This book includes coverage of interviews with cover bands, scenes, local art movements, fanzines, music sources, and insider and outsider assessments of the scene.⁵¹ One of the compilers of this book, Sezgin Boynik, specifically identifies primary source materials that are at risk: Turkish punk fanzines whose contributors are still alive, including "Mondo Trash," "Disgaust," "Gorgor," and "%30."⁵²

A vital reference tool is Luk Haas's *Discography of Eastern European Punk Music 1977-1999*.⁵³ Haas, who was a regular contributor to *Maximum Rock-n-Roll* (a United States punk zine), offers insight into his method of data collection and organization. The discography contains details for albums, in CD or vinyl format, released by punk bands in Eastern Europe during the late 1900s. It is organized alphabetically by country, then by band name. The

discography includes thousands of entries including over 1100 bands with descriptions, an index, addresses, and a bibliography.⁵⁴

The most recently published monograph addressing the subject of SEEE punk materials, Herbert's *What About Tomorrow?: An Oral History of Russian Punk from the Soviet Era to Pussy Riot*, is centered around Russian punk. The book consists of a variety of primary sources tracing the history of punk in Russia through the 2010s. Curated to include interviews, essays, and photographs, Herbert's work was inspired by his experience of the undocumented underground DIY punk spaces that existed off the radar in places like abandoned warehouses and bomb shelters.⁵⁵

Beyond these fundamental sources, there exists a selection of academic discourse surrounding nontraditionally published SEEE punk material. Key contributors include Ivan Gololobov, Hillary Pilkington, and Yngvar B, Steinholt, all of whom worked together on *Punk in Russia: Cultural mutation from the 'useless' to the 'moronic.'* This book draws upon extensive field research, including references to fanzines and discographies of Russian punk bands. Steinholt has written other pieces relevant to the topic, including his book *Rock in the Reservation: Songs from the Leningrad Rock Club 1981-86*, and his article "Punk Is Punk but by No Means Punk: Definition, Genre Evasion and the Quest for an Authentic Voice in Contemporary Russia."⁵⁶ These works include analyses of the early samizdat fanzine *Roksi* and specific music releases from Russian punk bands.⁵⁷

Challenges and their Implications

SEEE punk alternative publications have existed as fugitive materials since their inception. These fugitive materials were often created, disseminated, collected, and preserved

without the intention of documenting history. They were ephemeral and often illegal.

Historically the materials were excluded from collection policies in their home countries, or worse, targeted for destruction.⁵⁸ The process of collecting and preserving these materials creates specific challenges that can be applied to more general collections of marginalized communities in fluctuating and unstable geographic, political, and cultural circumstances. Fugitive materials and collections may include materials from LGBTQIA+ people, immigrant communities, politically disenfranchised populations, racial minority groups, and more. In this section, the author will illustrate the specific obstacles that SEEE punk materials face and draw generalizations that are applicable to other fugitive information resources.

The first set of challenges, exemplified by databases such as COURAGE and the Soviet Samizdat Periodical Database, arises from bibliographic information. In the vast COURAGE database, punk materials are lost in the homogeneous presentation of all collections deemed musical. The database lacks the granular categorization necessary to quickly locate punk materials. While a categorization or tagging system that divides musical genres may make these items more accessible, the genre “punk” is often subsumed by the genre of “rock and roll.” Thus, the relative obscurity of the materials manifests in the ways that they are catalogued.⁵⁹

Bibliographic obscurity is further compounded by the complex history of the materials. In Russia, punk was initially illegal and only later was it incorporated into official music venues. The rock zine, *Roksi*, was adapted as a publication by the official Leningrad Rock Club in 1985. Prior to 1985, *Roksi* was a samizdat publication imbued with a punk ethos. The bibliographic record of the samizdat turned official rock zine reflects this transition. The Soviet Periodical Database includes much richer bibliographic metadata for the issues following 1985. Thus, with the official acceptance of the material into the historical record of the Soviet Union, the very

acceptance that defines a transition from punk alternative publication to official state documentation, the materials become more accessible. These same challenges can be applied to other fugitive materials that have been deemed illegal, or outside of the collection development scope of cultural heritage institutions.

Without proper preservation and care, many SEEE alternative punk materials will have a short life span before they degrade beyond use or the hope of preservation. In a case study of cassettes and other materials held at the Art Pool Research Center, Whalen identified key risks to the materials: “format obsolescence, low quality off-brand tapes, and chemical composition issues detectable through non-visual inspection, such as sticky shed syndrome.”⁶⁰ One of Whalen’s suggestions for preservation of these at-risk materials is digitization. A special collection that incorporates digitization would overcome obsolescence and preserve some of the content, despite the materials’ physical degradation. However, digitization is not always an option for smaller institutions. Furthermore, digitization of zines and samizdat raises ethical concerns regarding privacy and intent of the creator.⁶¹ Fugitive collections consisting of diverse materials will encounter similar obstacles.

Further accessibility difficulties lie in the fact that many of the materials are locked away in private collections. Over half of the collections with punk materials that are indexed in project COURAGE are held by private collectors and thus closed to the public. This is applicable to a wide variety of fugitive materials that were not adopted into institutional collection development policies, but found homes with private collectors.

Finally, problems of representational marginalization within niche collections drive complex alternative narratives and materials deeper into obscurity. For example the Russian punk scene was represented as hypermasculine throughout the eighties and nineties, further

marginalizing the women of the scene that were seeking a voice through a platform that allegedly rejected the sexism of mainstream society. Similar intra-scene marginalization and misrepresentation is common in underground communities that produce fugitive material. This is exemplified by the North American punk movement and its counter sexist movement, riot grrrl. Spearheaded by Kathleen Hanna of the band Bikini Kill, the movement promoted an ethos of “girls to the front.” In a scene where hypermasculinity allowed little room for women in mosh-pits and at the front of concerts, “riot grrrl’s DIY, punk philosophy opposed alternative music’s dominant bro culture and created, through gigs and pamphlets, spaces where women could discuss issues of gender, race, sexuality, equality and enjoy being able to crowdsurf without being groped.”⁶² The misrepresentation of identities in fugitive materials within SEEE countries is further compounded at the regional level of study by the disproportionate attention that scenes in Russia receive.⁶³

Recommendations

The mystification of punk, specifically Slavic punk, is partially due to the lack of accessible primary source material on the subject. Locating and accessing these materials provides specific challenges that further illuminate difficulties of collecting, processing, and cataloging fugitive materials. The author will conclude this article by way of a few recommendations for overcoming the obstacles to collecting, preserving, and providing access to fugitive materials.

The first recommendation is to follow a model that synthesizes the examples provided by the item level bibliographic metadata of the Project for the Study of Dissidence and Samizdat and the detailed records of collection and holding institution information of project COURAGE.

The item level bibliographic metadata provided by the Project for the Study of Dissidence and Samizdat allows for transparent browsing at a granular level, which helps to identify the nuances of the materials in large collections. The detailed records of collections and holding information at COURAGE allows for an understanding of how fugitive materials are obtained at a broader, institutional level. While this will not remove all the opacity that comes with the obscurity of SEEE punk materials, it would improve access.

Challenges of backlog and preservation concerns may best be addressed through collaboration, communication, and advocacy. Collections that hold fugitive materials that have historically been underutilized in research could benefit by engaging with broader professional communities and interest groups. By reaching out to interested parties through social media, listservs, and professional organizations, the visibility of these obscured collections and their needs can be improved. An increase in advocacy, communication, and community building for fugitive materials will allow interested parties and institutions to build and strengthen the alliances necessary to create repositories for materials that are otherwise inaccessible. These steps should build on the work of, and collaborate with, established scholars in the field and organizations that maintain related databases. In addition to the SEEE information professionals highlighted in this research, partners may be found through international zine conferences and unconferences such as the International Zine Library unConference.⁶⁴ Special interest groups for fugitive materials may be able to reach out and establish partnerships and networks with private collectors to increase the advocacy for and accessibility of fugitive materials.

Finally, collection building and material preservation will require an informed and critical approach. To avoid reinforcing the marginalization of unique identities represented in fugitive materials, curators, collectors, and researchers will need subject expertise, as well as an approach

informed by a critical theory. Combining theory with expertise may provide the tools necessary to actively combat narratives that whitewash identities and experiences by only highlighting normative, hetero, masculine, white, or regional bias in favor of a nuanced and detailed representation.

As demonstrated by the examination of SEEE punk materials, fugitive materials carry the weight of historical and cultural representation for marginalized, misrepresented, and mystified communities. In 1983 the anarchist punk band, Crass, spoke of the struggle for existence and representation in their song “You’re Already Dead.” The lyrics begin with an aggressive denouncing of American power, Russian power, and British power: “They’ve tried to hold the people down, but we’ve simply gone underground, moving in the darkness looking for the light, looking for a future and ready to fight.”⁶⁵ Rejected by political, cultural, or social powers, fugitive materials were created on, existed on, and collected on the margins. The challenges and recommendations presented in this paper are by no means comprehensive. However, they are meant to help guide the field in developing a more holistic approach to advocating for, collecting, and promoting fugitive materials. It is the author’s hope that these recommendations will empower and guide the field toward preserving, uncovering, and illuminating important narratives that have been historically obscured. In their 2012 song, “Where to get Quality” the contemporary Russian Punk band, Pank-franktsia Krasnykh Brigad, sang of their hope for the persistence of a punk ethos and message:

Everything modern will turn to dust
All young people will perish in internal protest
At such times many songs are not in public view,
But they will be sung by all in a century or two.⁶⁶

¹ The bulk of the research for this article took place when the author was a master's candidate in library and information science and a graduate assistant in the Slavic Reference Service at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign (UIUC). The author wishes to thank the wonderful team at the Slavic Reference Service made up of Joseph Lenkart, Jan Adamczyk, and Anabella Irvine. The author would also like to acknowledge the insightful conversations and support he received from the scholars that came together for a related panel at UIUC: Veronika Trotter, Mark Yoffe, and Olga Zaslavskaya. Finally, the author would like to recognize the suggestions he received from colleagues and peer reviewers: Sara Kramer, Edward Gloor, Nicolas Crosby, anonymous reviewer 1, and anonymous reviewer 2.

²Ivan Gololobov, Hilary Pilkington, and Yngvar B. Steinholt, *Punk in Russia: Cultural Mutation from "Useless" to "Moronic"* (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, n.d.), 1.

³ Zines, as stated by the New York Public Library, are easier to describe than define. They are do it yourself (DIY) magazines, historically made by hand to distribute information. Some zines have been adopted by professional publications and prints, but many are made and copied by individuals. Zines are made and distributed on an international scale. "Zines at The New York Public Library," The New York Public Library, accessed June 27, 2020, <https://www.nypl.org/about/divisions/general-research-division/periodicals-room/zines>.

Samizdat publications can be defined as clandestine literature produced by underground networks; as such, they were banned by the state, particularly in communist countries. Not all samizdat took the form of zines. Samizdat has recently entered dictionaries but is less easily conveyed in a short definition. For a discussion of the complexities of defining samizdat through its material existence, see Ann Komaromi, "The Material Existence of Soviet Samizdat," *Slavic Review* 2004: 63: 3.

⁴ Veronika Trotter describes the DIY construction of a similar subset of zines: Russian rock zines: "Most of the zines in question were published on cheap acidic paper or photo paper, some are made of various materials with the use of glue, and many are stapled or held together with rusty paper clips." For further discussion of the implications for DIY elements of samizdat and Russian rock zines on preservation and digitization see Veronika Trotter, "A Digital Voice for Russian Rock: Perspectives on Digitization of Russian Rock Zines," *Slavic & East European Information Resources* 20, no. 1–2 (April 3, 2019): 31–38, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15228886.2019.1628499>.

⁵"Definition of SAMIZDAT," Merriam-Webster, 2019, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/samizdat>.

⁶Gordon Johnston, "What Is the History of Samizdat?," *Social History* 24, no. 2 (May 1999): 115.

⁷Yngvar Bordewich Steinholt, *Rock in the Reservation: Songs from the Leningrad Rock Club 1981-1986* (New York: Mass Media Musich Scholars' Press, Inc., 2004), 47–53.

⁸ Here, the author defines fugitive materials as materials and records of communities that are fleeting, ephemeral, illegal, or lack a home whether it be institutional, private, or otherwise.

⁹ Slavic and East European Information Review has recently published works that address challenges to similar materials. For an insightful discussion of preservation, copyright, and digitization challenges that face researchers and information professionals working with Russian rock zines, see: Trotter, “A Digital Voice for Russian Rock.” For a deeper conversation about preservation, collecting, cataloging, and copyright challenges to SEEE sound recordings, see: Lida Cope et al., “Sound Recordings in the Archival Setting: Issues of Collecting, Documenting, Categorizing, and Copyright,” *Slavic & East European Information Resources* 20, no. 3–4 (October 2, 2019): 85–100, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15228886.2019.1694373>.

¹⁰Gololobov, Pilkington, and Steinholt, *Punk in Russia : Cultural Mutation from “Useless” to “Moronic,”* 1.

¹¹ Sezgin Boynik and Tolga Guldalli, *An Interrupted History of Punk and Underground Resources in Turkey 1978-1999* (Istanbul: BAS, 2007), 361.

¹² Boynik and Guldalli, 361.

¹³ Gololobov, Pilkington, and Steinholt, *Punk in Russia : Cultural Mutation from “Useless” to “Moronic,”* 1.

¹⁴Luk Hass, *Discography of Eastern European Punk Music 1977-1999*, 2nd edition (Mala Ewolucja / Tian An Men 89 Records, n.d.), 3.

¹⁵ Alexander Herbert, *What About Tomorrow? An Oral History of Russian Punk from the Soviet Era to Pussy Riot* (Portland: Microcosm Publishing, 2019), 6.

¹⁶ *Microcosm Presents: Alexander Herbert Author of What About Tomorrow? An Oral History of Russian Punk*, Interview, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6lqXfmwVlrI&feature=youtu.be>.

¹⁷ Steinholt, *Rock in the Reservation*. The adoption of Punk into the main stream, makes the distinction between alternative punk publications and sanctioned punk publications an important one. Materials that were deemed illegal were not incorporated into state collections; rather they were criminal, ephemeral materials that later found homes in fugitive collections.

¹⁸ One of the bands whose members were arrested and interrogated was called Self-Eradication Department. They were arrested and questioned for a particular lyric that used crass language to explain what the band believed Ronald Regan and Yuri Andropov did to all of Europe. *Microcosm Presents*.

¹⁹ Herbert, "What About Tomorrow?"

²⁰ Boynik and Guldalli, *An Interrupted History of Punk and Underground Resources in Turkey 1978-1999*.

²¹ Herbert, *What About Tomorrow?*

²² Ann Komaromi, "About the 'Project for the Study of Dissidence and Samizdat' | Project for the Study of Dissidence and Samizdat," accessed May 2, 2019, <https://samizdatcollections.library.utoronto.ca/about>.

²³ Gololobov, Pilkington, and Steinholt, *Punk in Russia : Cultural Mutation from "Useless" to "Moronic,"* 25.

²⁴ "ROKSI | Soviet Samizdat Periodicals," accessed May 6, 2019,

<https://samizdat.library.utoronto.ca/search/site/roksi>. While the obscurity of Russian rock zines is not negligible, this example serves to further illustrate the obfuscation of zines that held traces of punk ethos.

²⁵ Gololobov, Pilkington, and Steinholt, *Punk in Russia : Cultural Mutation from "Useless" to "Moronic,"* 25.

²⁶ "UKHO," Soviet Samizdat Periodicals, 1983, <https://samizdat.library.utoronto.ca/content/ukho>. This image is from Soviet Samizdat Periodicals, where it is displayed as it appears in Alexander Kushnir, *Zolotoe podpol'e. Polnaia illiustrirovannaia entsiklopediia rok-samizdata. 1967-1994. (Gold Underground Full Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Rock Samizdat 1967-1994)* (Nizhny Novgorod: Dekom, 1994).

²⁷ COURAGE project, "Courage – Connecting Collections," COURAGE connecting collections, accessed June 16, 2019, <http://cultural-opposition.eu/>.

²⁸ COURAGE project, "COURAGE Registry," COURAGE connecting collections, accessed June 16, 2019, <http://cultural-opposition.eu/registry/>.

²⁹ This does not include the Tamas Szonvei Poster Collection which has been digitized and made accessible online by the Artpool Art Research Center.

³⁰ Heléna Huhák, "Gábor Klaniczay's Private Collection," COURAGE connecting collections, accessed June 16, 2019, <http://cultural-opposition.eu/registry/?uri=http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n42006&type=collections>.

³¹ Lóránt Bódi and Attila Koszits, "Koszits, Attila New Wave Collection," COURAGE connecting collections, January 10, 2019, <http://cultural-opposition.eu/registry/?uri=http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n38819&type=collections>.

-
- ³² Xawery Stanczyk, “Krzysztof Skiba Private Archive,” COURAGE connecting collections, February 2, 2018, <http://cultural-opposition.eu/registry/?uri=http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n8320&type=collections>.
- ³³ Xawery Stanczyk, “Polish Punk Collection by Anna Dąbrowska-Lyons,” COURAGE connecting collections, accessed June 16, 2019, <http://cultural-opposition.eu/registry/?uri=http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n16681&type=collections>.
- ³⁴ Tamás Scheibner, “Tamás Szőnyei Poster Collection,” COURAGE connecting collections, accessed June 16, 2019, <http://cultural-opposition.eu/registry/?uri=http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n16167&type=collections>.
- ³⁵ Piotr Szenajch, “Trasa W-Z Archive,” COURAGE connecting collections, accessed June 16, 2019, <http://cultural-opposition.eu/registry/?uri=http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n149980&type=collections>.
- ³⁶ István Pál Ádám, “Black Hole Underground Club. Nagy, Gyula Private Collection,” COURAGE connecting collections, February 24, 2019, <http://cultural-opposition.eu/registry/?uri=http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n140503&type=collections>.
- ³⁷ Xawery Stanczyk, “Polish Rock Collection at the Polish Rock Granary,” COURAGE connecting collections, accessed June 16, 2019, <http://cultural-opposition.eu/registry/?uri=http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n14266&type=collections>.
- ³⁸ The Polish Rock Granary, “Spichlerz Polskiego Rocka Jarocin,” *Spichlerz Polskiego Rocka* (blog), accessed June 22, 2019, <http://spichlerzpolskiegorocka.pl>.
- ³⁹ Manuela Marin, “Youth Subcultures Ad-Hoc Collection at CNSAS - Registry - Courage – Connecting Collections,” accessed June 16, 2019, <http://cultural-opposition.eu/registry/?uri=http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n125104&type=collections>.
- ⁴⁰ Gabriella Schuller, “Artpool Performance Archive,” COURAGE connecting collections, March 26, 2019, <http://cultural-opposition.eu/registry/?uri=http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n45855>.
- ⁴¹ “Artpool Art Research Center,” Artpool, accessed June 15, 2019, <http://artpool.hu/index.html>.
- ⁴² “Artpool Art Research Center.”
- ⁴³ “Artpool Art Research Center,” Blog, *East and Southeast European Archives: A Web Guide* (blog), accessed September 18, 2020, <https://www.ese-archives.geschichte.uni-muenchen.de/?p=703>.
- ⁴⁴ “Artpool Art Research Center.”

⁴⁵Allie Whalen, “‘I Will Counterrevolution / I Will Stop All The Motion’ Archiving Exile, Samizdat, and Underground Audio from the Eastern Bloc” (New York, New York University, 2015), accessed September, 18, 2020.

https://www.nyu.edu/tisch/preservation/program/student_work/2015spring/15s_3490_whalen_thesis_final.pdf.

⁴⁶“RADIO ARTPOOL No. 7,” Artpool, accessed June 15, 2019, <https://www.artpool.hu/sound/radio/7.html>.

⁴⁷ Trotter, “A Digital Voice for Russian Rock,” 32.

⁴⁸ Cope et al., “Sound Recordings in the Archival Setting,” 87. In a self-described memoir the curator of the Counterculture Archie, Mark Yoffe, provides a colorful accounting of the archive through the years: Mark Yoffe, “Soviet Rock Collection and International Counterculture Archive at the Global Resources Center of the George Washington University Libraries,” *Slavic & East European Information Resources* 21, no. 1–2 (April 2, 2020): 112–32, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15228886.2020.1756943>.

⁴⁹ Trotter, “A Digital Voice for Russian Rock,” 32.

⁵⁰ Alexander Herbert, “Niznhny Life,” *Punks Around*, July 24, 2018.

⁵¹Boynik and Guldalli, *An Interrupted History of Punk and Underground Resources in Turkey 1978-1999*.

⁵²Boynik and Guldalli, *An Interrupted History of Punk and Underground Resources in Turkey 1978-1999*., 507–529.

⁵³ Luk Haas, “Discography of Eastern European Punk Music 1977-1999,” *Tian An Men* 89, accessed May 15, 2019, <http://tam89records.com/book.html>.

⁵⁴Haas.

⁵⁵ *Microcosm Presents.*; Alexander Herbert, *What About Tomorrow?*

⁵⁶ Steinholt, *Rock in the Reservation*; Yngvar Bordewich Steinholt, “Punk Is Punk but by No Means Punk: Definition, Genre Evasion and the Quest for an Authentic Voice in Contemporary Russia.,” *Punk & Post Punk* 1, no. 3 (2012): 267–84.

⁵⁷ In addition to these works, Veronika Trotter in “A Digital Voice for Russian Rock,” and Mark Yoffe in “Soviet Rock Collection and International Counterculture Archive at the Global Resource Center of the George Washington University Libraries,” have made valuable contributions to the broader discourse regarding samizdat and Rock zines, but do not specifically address punk as a separate genre.

⁵⁸ Olga Zaslavskaya, “From Dispersed to Distributed Archives: The Past and the Present of Samizdat Material,” *Poetics Today* 29, no. 4 (December 1, 2008): 702, <https://doi.org/10.1215/03335372-081>.

⁵⁹ For an extensive examination of SEE sound recordings and challenges to cataloging and categorization, see Cope et al., “Sound Recordings in the Archival Setting.”

⁶⁰Whalen, “‘I Will Counterrevolution / I Will Stop All The Motion’ Archiving Exile, Samizdat, and Underground Audio from the Eastern Bloc,” 65.

⁶¹ For a similar discussion of obstacles to digitizing paper media in the realm of music samizdat, see Trotter, “A Digital Voice for Russian Rock.”

⁶² Kate Hutchinson, “Riot Grrrl: 10 of the Best,” *The Guardian*, 2015, sec. Music, accessed September, 22, 2020. <https://www.theguardian.com/music/musicblog/2015/jan/28/riot-grrrl-10-of-the-best>.

⁶³ The author acknowledges that this challenge is not fully over come in this article.

⁶⁴ “Zine Librarians UnConferences | Zinelibraries.Info,” Blog, *Zine Libraries Info* (blog), accessed November 20, 2020, <http://zinelibraries.info/events/zine-librarian-unconferences/>.

⁶⁵ Crass, “You’re Already Dead,” Vinyl, *Best Before 1984* (London: Crass Records, 1986).

⁶⁶ Alexander Herbert, *What About Tomorrow?*, 204.