

# The Fate of Russian Nationalism: The *Samizdat* Journal *Veche* Revisited\*

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In the 1960s, as Marxism-Leninism became increasingly discredited in the Soviet Union, many Russians began to search for new values. They saw around themselves official hypocrisy, corruption, widespread drunkenness, the neglect and decay of the Russian villages, and the harm done to the natural environment in the name of progress. A significant proportion looked back to the pre-revolutionary Russian past and came to hold what can loosely be termed Russian nationalist feelings — often out of fear for the future of the Russian nation. For some, these feelings led them to the Russian Orthodox Church, the traditional religion of the Russian people. Some felt that the Russians had become second-class citizens in the Soviet Union, with the minority nationalities having a higher standard of living than the Russians and discriminating against them. They looked with alarm at the census returns which showed the rapid growth of the Muslim nationalities and the decline in the Russian share of the Soviet population. Some blamed the Jews for Russia's misfortunes and became fanatical anti-Semites.

A major role in the spread of Russian nationalist feelings was played by the Komsomol journal *Molodaya gvardiya* (Young Guard). The artist Il'ya Glazunov and the writer Vladimir Soloukhin campaigned in the journal and elsewhere for the preservation of Russian historical monuments, especially churches and monasteries, many of which had been destroyed to make way for the communist future. Writers of the "village prose" movement (*derevenshchiki*), such as Fyodor Abramov, Sergei Zalygin, Vasili Belov and Valentin Rasputin, praised the spiritual values of the Russian peasants and in some cases showed sympathy for Russian Orthodoxy. The spectrum of Russian nationalist ideas was very wide. At one pole were the *gosudarstvenniki*, who believed in a strong Russian state, and

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supported the Soviet government as the legitimate successor to the Tsars. At the opposite pole were the *vozrozhdentsy* who wanted a Russian cultural rebirth, based on Orthodoxy, and were sympathetic to the early Slavophils of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Since not everything that the Russian nationalists wanted to say could be published openly, they began to use *samizdat* channels. The most significant embodiment of Russian nationalist *samizdat* in the Brezhnev era was the journal *Veche* (named after the popular assemblies of ancient Kiev and Novgorod). This was the organ of several tendencies of Russian nationalism and was edited by Vladimir Osipov (born 1938), who had been converted to Russian Orthodoxy and Slavophilism while a political prisoner.<sup>2</sup> Freed in 1968, he settled in the town of Alexandrov in Vladimir region, as near to Moscow as he was legally allowed, and found work as a fireman. He met the Orthodox priest Dimitri Dudko, who seems to have been an important influence on him; in January 1980 Dudko called him his "spiritual son".<sup>3</sup> Although Osipov was sympathetic to the human rights movement, he was more concerned with the survival of the Russian nation than with democratic freedoms. Further, he saw Russian nationalism as a bridge by which the Russian people might reach Orthodoxy. Osipov rejected the ideology of the regime; but he now proclaimed his loyalty to the Soviet state. Unlike the editors of the *Chronicle of Current Events*, he printed his name and address in *Veche* and distributed it through the mail. Since he was allowed to edit nine issues of the journal, from January 1971 to December 1973, at a time when other *samizdat* journals like the *Chronicle* and the *Ukrainian Herald* were stopped,\* it seems clear that he was protected

<sup>1</sup>The best study of contemporary Russian nationalism is J. B. Dunlop, *The Faces of Contemporary Russian Nationalism* (Princeton, N.J., 1983).

<sup>2</sup>For discussion of Osipov and *Veche* see *ibid.*; P. Walters, "A New Creed for Russians? The Ideas of the Neo-Slavophils", *RCL* Vol. 4 No. 3, pp. 20-31, and "Vladimir Osipov: Loyal Opposition?", *RCL* Vol. 5 No. 4, pp. 229-34; D. V. Pospielovsky, "The Resurgence of Russian Nationalism in *Samizdat*", *Survey*, XIX, No. 1 (Winter 1973), pp. 64-74, and "The *Samizdat* Journal *Veche*: Russian Patriotic Thought Today", Radio Liberty CRD 331/71 (5 November 1971), pp. 11-25; A. Yanov, *The Russian New Right: Right-Wing Ideologies in the Contemporary USSR* (Berkeley, Cal., 1978), pp. 62-84; D. P. Hammer, "Vladimir Osipov and the *Veche* Group (1971-1974): A Page from the History of Political Dissent", *Russian Review*, XLIII, No. 4 (October 1984), pp. 355-75.

<sup>3</sup>A. E. Levitin-Krasnov, *Rodnoi prostor, Demokraticeskoye dvizheniye. Vospomini- niya*, Part IV (Frankfurt, 1981), pp. 235-37.

\*The *Chronicle of Current Events* appeared at irregular intervals between 1968 and 1983; a series of arrests and convictions, and threats by the KGB, resulted in a 19-month hiatus in its publication, from October 1972 to May 1974. The *Ukrainian Herald* was published from 1970 to 1972, when it, likewise, had to suspend publication; two more issues were produced before it ceased again in 1974. Its founder and editor, Vyacheslav Chornovil, who spent 15 years in prisons and camps, has recently announced (August 1987) that the journal is to be revived — *Ed.*

from above.<sup>4</sup> A parallel may be drawn with Roy Medvedev, the socialist *samizdat* historian, who appears to have been protected by other regime circles who wished to keep the door open to reform in the future.

At the end of 1970 the party leadership, at the instigation of the Politburo's chief ideologist, Mikhail Suslov, sacked the editor of *Molodaya gvardiya* and reined it in. This drove some of its supporters underground. Mikhail Kheifets, a Zionist activist who met Osipov in the camps after the editor had been resentenced in 1975, and who later emigrated to Israel, explains how these people came to Osipov:

People who had supported *Molodaya gvardiya* ideologically, Osipov told me, were mortally offended by the dispersal of its editorial board. Many of them occupied important seats and offices and considered themselves, being "Russian patriots", to be the foremost defenders of the Soviet authorities. And then they suddenly gave them such a kick in the back-side! And they gave me the initial means for publishing the journal and the first literary connections.

So, the *gosudarstvenniki* entered and occupied the key positions in the party [sic] created by a "Slavophil" [i.e. Osipov].<sup>5</sup>

Kheifets says that the differences between the circles which came together to produce *Veche* were greater than the differences between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. With one exception, he does not identify the officials and cultural figures who backed *Veche*, but says that in fact their financial contribution was small. The exception was Glazunov, who was more generous,<sup>6</sup> and about whose work and life Osipov wrote a warm and laudatory article in *Veche*.<sup>7</sup> One of Osipov's collaborators and a principal contributor was Anatoli Ivanov, better known as Ivanov-Skuratov, who had been involved in political opposition in the early 1960s. Leonid Borodin, a former activist of the underground All-Russian Social-Christian Union for the Emancipation of the People, also played an important role.

We have no first hand account of how the situation on the editorial board developed, but we know that in March 1974 the founder, editor and publisher of *Veche*, Osipov, announced that the journal had

<sup>4</sup> *Veche* No. 1 (January 1971), AS 1013; No. 2 (19 May 1971), AS 1021; No. 3 (19 September 1971), AS 1108; No. 4 (31 January 1972), AS 1140; No. 5 (25 May 1972), AS 1230; No. 6 (19 October 1972), AS 1559; No. 7 (19 February 1973), AS 1775; No. 8 (19 July 1973), AS 1665; No. 9 (19 December 1973), AS 2040. (Abbreviations: in this and subsequent footnotes, AS refers to the Radio Liberty *Samizdat* Archive document number, MS to *Materialy samizdata* published by Radio Liberty.)

<sup>5</sup> M. Kheifets, "Russky patriot Vladimir Osipov", *Kontinent*, No. 28 (1981), p. 141.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 140-41, 146-47.

<sup>7</sup> V. N. Osipov, "Russky khudozhnik Il'ya Glazunov", *Veche* No. 8, pp. 160-77.

ceased publication; and that in April 1974 most of the editorial board produced "Veche No. 10" without Osipov and denounced him. The view that the split in the editorial board between Osipov and the editors of "Veche No. 10" was a split between the liberals and the chauvinists is not borne out by the evidence. It seems that personal factors, and perhaps the intrigues of the KGB, played a role too. For example, one of Osipov's opponents was Adel Naidenovich, who was the principal link between *Veche* and the human rights circle around Pyotr Yakir.<sup>8</sup> Further, Ivan Ovchinnikov, the editor of No. 10, had himself, in August 1973, co-signed with Osipov, Anatoli Levitin-Krasnov, Vyacheslav Rodionov and Valentina Mashkova (Osipov's wife) an appeal on the situation of Soviet political prisoners.<sup>9</sup>

Since an adequate and detailed discussion of the major articles in *Veche* has not yet appeared in English, it seems appropriate to make an attempt to summarise the contents of the most important Russian nationalist *samizdat* journal of the post-Stalin era.

The introduction to the first issue of *Veche* referred to the growth of crime, selfishness, alcoholism and the collapse of the family. It announced itself as a "RUSSIAN PATRIOTIC JOURNAL" (block capitals) which would "continue the guiding line of the Slavophils and Dostoyevsky" and seek to aid the rebirth of Russia.<sup>10</sup> The first article was by Ivanov-Skuratov and argued that Slavophilism was inseparable from Orthodoxy. He particularly praised Khomyakov for seeing the Russian people rather than the church hierarchy as the bearers of Orthodoxy. Konstantin Aksakov and Ivan Kireyevsky, he said, had under the influence of German messianism seen Russia as the ruling nation of the era, but Khomyakov had been above this. Konstantin Aksakov had rightly regarded free speech as an inalienable human right; but an obstacle to implementing this was Aksakov's own belief that the Russian people were not political, which justified the principle of autocracy. The most important contribution of the Slavophils was their emphasis on Russian national originality.<sup>11</sup>

The next article, however, was more chauvinistic and reflected the opinion of those nationalists closer to the regime and more willing to adapt to Leninism. The title was "The Teaching of the Slavophils — the Highest Achievement of National Consciousness in Russia in the Pre-Leninist Period", and its author was Mikhail F. Antonov. Successive parts of this article appeared in the second and third issues of *Veche*, comprising over a quarter of the total number of pages of

<sup>8</sup>Kheifets, "Russky patriot", *Kontinent*, No. 28, p. 155.

<sup>9</sup>V. N. Osipov, *Tri otnosheniya k rodine. Stat'i, ocherki, vystupleniya* (Frankfurt, 1978), pp. 211-18.

<sup>10</sup>"Na vechel!", *Veche*, No. 1, pp. 2-3.

<sup>11</sup>Ivanov-Skuratov (under pseud. A. Skuratov), "U istokov russkogo samosoznaniya", *Veche*, No. 1, pp. 4-12.

the first three numbers.<sup>12</sup> In the first part, Antonov attacked those who, from the Westernisers of the nineteenth century to the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, linked Slavophilism to “official *narodnost'*”. Paradoxically, he also claimed that Nicholas I himself had sympathies with Slavophilism, which he was politically unable to express.<sup>13</sup> Expounding Khomyakov's views, Antonov praised him for his opposition to *liumpenstvo*, which Antonov identified with the tendency to fawn before the West, and for his support for Russian customs. In this context Antonov approvingly cited Vladimir Soloukhin's attempts to rediscover Russian traditions, which had led to him being accused of “*rusofil'stvo* and of abandoning proletarian internationalism”.<sup>14</sup> The first part of Antonov's article was followed by a rejoinder by “A.S.”, presumably Ivanov-Skuratov. This drew attention to the lack of clarity of the term *liumpenstvo* as used by Antonov, and to the “naïve peasant belief in the good Tsar, surrounded by evil gentry”.<sup>15</sup> The editorial board issued statements that it was not in agreement with Antonov's views,<sup>16</sup> and that the article was being printed “without the sanction of the author”.<sup>17</sup>

In the second part, Antonov discussed Khomyakov's views on philosophy, religion, the Slavs and the *obshchina* and announced: “Again and again we have to underline one thought: in the *obshchina* is the essence of Russia, the Russian people and Leninism.”<sup>18</sup> This last word explained why A.S., in his earlier rejoinder, had criticised Antonov for portraying Lenin as seeing the regeneration of Russia coming from the village rather than the town.<sup>19</sup> Antonov's final part (considerably shortened, according to an editorial note) outlined the views of the Kireyevsky brothers. Emphasising the need to return to Russian ways, he condemned the contemporary attempt of “rootless and cosmopolitan elements” to destroy the old centre of Moscow and make it a copy of European capitals.

The idea of Moscow as the Third Rome, as the New Jerusalem, as the embodiment of Lenin's highest Truth and Justice on Earth — this is what ought to lie . . . as the basis of the General Plan for the Reconstruction and Development of Moscow.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Mikhail F. Antonov, “Ucheniye slavyanofilov — vysshii vzlet narodnogo samosoznaniya v Rossii v doleninsky period”, *Veche*, No. 1, pp. 13-44; No. 2, pp. 4-27; No. 3, pp. 5-49.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, No. 1, pp. 14-17.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 19-44 (quotation p. 43).

<sup>15</sup> A.S., “Mneniye opponenta”, *ibid*, pp. 45-47 (quotation p. 45).

<sup>16</sup> *Veche*, No. 1, p. 47.

<sup>17</sup> “Poyasneniye zhurnala *Veche* po povodu raboty M.F. Antonova”, *Veche*, No. 2, p. 3.

<sup>18</sup> Antonov, *op. cit.*, No. 1, p. 21.

<sup>19</sup> A.S., *op. cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>20</sup> Antonov, *op. cit.*, No. 3, pp. 5-39 (quotations pp. 37, 38). (Yanov, *op. cit.*, p. 78, has

Ivan Kireyevsky could not link the teachings of the Church Fathers with changes in Russian life; only Lenin could do this. An adequate Russian ideology could come only from "the unification of Orthodoxy and Leninism".<sup>21</sup> Communist morality would benefit from an infusion of the teachings "proceeding from the deepest origins of Russian life". In a discussion which contained no analysis of Lenin's real ideas, Antonov declared: "Leninism has incomparably more in common with Orthodoxy and the Slavophils than with Marxism-Catholicism."<sup>22</sup>

Another major article, spanning the second, third and fourth issues, concerned the military and political achievements of the nineteenth-century general M. D. Skobelev.<sup>23</sup> The article was anonymous, but it has since been attributed to Ivanov-Skuratov.<sup>24</sup> It detailed Skobelev's role in the conquests of Khiva and Kokand, in the 1877-78 Russo-Turkish War, and in the capture of Geok-Tepe. Although the author was in other respects a devoted admirer of the general, he blamed Skobelev for the "repulsive scenes" of the massacre of Asians which followed the fall of the city in January 1881. Skobelev justified the massacre on the grounds that otherwise "the Asians would not consider themselves conquered".<sup>25</sup> The article concluded by emphasising Skobelev's support for Ivan Aksakov and Danilevsky.<sup>26</sup>

Having given its readers a view of the early Slavophils and Skobelev, *Veche* carried a series of articles on later Russian thinkers. Those included were Dostoyevsky,<sup>27</sup> Leont'ev,<sup>28</sup> Danilevsky,<sup>29</sup> the contributors to *Vekhi* and *Iz glubiny*,<sup>30</sup> and Rozanov.<sup>31</sup> Of particular interest was the article on Danilevsky, which has since been attributed to Ivanov-Skuratov. The author sympathetically outlined Danilevsky's theory of "cultural-historical types" and his plan for a Slav federation, but criticised his wish to Russify the national minorities of the Russian state. In relation to Russian messianism, the author made

a different version and a misprinted reference [n. 51].)

<sup>21</sup> Antonov, *op. cit.*, No. 3, p. 39.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>23</sup> "General M. D. Skobelev kak polkovodets i gosudarstvenny deyatel'", *Veche*, No. 2, pp. 48-66; No. 3, pp. 75-92; No. 4, pp. 45-68.

<sup>24</sup> See Mario Corti, "Repressive Measures against two Russian Nationalists", *Radio Liberty Research*, 265/82 (30 June 1982), p. 3.

<sup>25</sup> "General", No. 4, pp. 51-52.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

<sup>27</sup> "F.M. Dostoyevskomu — 150 let", *Veche*, No. 4, pp. 6-21.

<sup>28</sup> "Vzglyady Konstantina Leont'eva", *ibid.*, pp. 22-39.

<sup>29</sup> "Rol' N. Ya. Danilevskogo v mirovoi istoriosofii", *Veche*, No. 5, in *Vol'noye slovo*, Nos. 9-10, pp. 8-41.

<sup>30</sup> A. Gaganov, "Chto takoye 'Entsiklopediya liberal'nogo renegatovtsa'?" *Veche* No. 7, pp. 36-77; and his "Iz glubiny", *Veche*, No. 9, pp. 36-66.

<sup>31</sup> "Vasili Vasil'evich Rozanov", *Veche*, No. 8, pp. 24-26; Vasili V. Rozanov, "Rossiya. Tserkov'. Russkoye obshchestvo", *ibid.*, pp. 26-69; Benedikt Erofeyev, "Vasili Rozanov glazami ekstsentrika", *ibid.*, pp. 181-97.

clear his support for the position of Danilevsky rather than for classical Slavophilism.

Danilevsky preserved and developed all the basic positions of the early Slavophils, save only one — Slavophil messianism, the claim to world leadership. The great service of Danilevsky was that he tried to work out a theory which would make absolutely impossible any kind of “rationale” for such claims.<sup>32</sup>

This rejection of messianism and the insistence on the need for pragmatism in Russian foreign policy seems to place the author on the side of the *gosudarstvenniki*. As Yanov points out, Danilevsky’s isolationism was in the context of a considerable expansion of Russian influence in Europe.<sup>33</sup>

A pro-messianist viewpoint was put by the anonymous author of “Thoughts-projectors”, a collection of aphorisms in *Veche* No. 2, which argued that Russia’s sufferings gave her a special position in the world.<sup>34</sup>

Russia is hated, Russia is accused, Russia is said to be going to perish . . . But all the same the main thing is that Russia is not understood. All the judgements about her are human conjecture. Russia is the greatest sufferer, slandered and crucified.

Russia will be resurrected in spite of each and all. Suffering must have some meaning!

Christ achieved victory through suffering. Suffering brings salvation, and the more suffering, the nearer is salvation.

This is our faith. And without faith there is nothing, and nothing is needed. Truly: one can only believe in Russia! [a quotation from Tyutchev]

In Russia a mysterious process is being accomplished, which encouraged the Catholic [François] Mauriac and which gives us the strength not to be depressed! — to bear everything, to conquer, to rise from the dead.

And look at Russia, at the Russian person, at her church. Surely, do you see nothing but crimes?

Surely the sweat and blood of Russian people, surely millions of tormented and thousands of shot people do not signify nothing to you? . . . Surely God will save her?

<sup>32</sup> “Rol’ N. Ya. Danilevskogo”, *passim* (quotation p. 41).

<sup>33</sup> For Yanov’s interpretation, see his *The Russian New Right*, pp. 64-69.

<sup>34</sup> “Mysli-prozhektory”, *Veche*, No. 2, pp. 28-32.

Russia will not perish, Russian culture will not perish, the Russian person, the God-bearing people will not perish. She will not perish, although it would seem that everything has perished and there is no hope . . . the brightest future awaits us! . . . What Russia has understood and what Russia has undergone puts her in a special position. The Russian person is also in a special position.

. . . Christ is risen! — this is heard from Russia.

Religion must be preserved through national feelings, then it will be an organic phenomenon.<sup>35</sup>

Further "thoughts" emphasised the need for nations to have their own uniqueness and national feelings; cosmopolitanism is denounced as "spiritual slavery" and "the preparation for the way of Antichrist". At the same time the author attacked the idea of the "universal person",<sup>36</sup> the term used by Dostoyevsky for the Russians; this is surprising because of his earlier use of Dostoyevsky's "God-bearing people".

The author hinted that the growth of Russian nationalism was linked with the nationalism of the non-Russians.

Why is the creation of Israel greeted throughout the world — and we too say that the Jews must have their own state — . . . but why are our love for Russia and our Russian views maliciously labelled chauvinist and not tolerated?<sup>37</sup>

The same comparison between Israel and Russia was made in No. 7 by I. Starozhubayev. "The springing-up of Russian nationalism in the sense of self-defence and self-preservation is a natural desire for today." He attacked cosmopolitanism, and those shouting for freedom and democracy; he spoke instead of the broad Russian soul, and of messianism — Russia saving all mankind through her example. His main theme was that Russian nationalism was defensive.<sup>38</sup> In a rare statement on a specific foreign policy issue, *Veche* took what could be termed a defensive nationalist position on the Japanese attempts to raise claims against the Kurile Islands. It called on the Soviet government to take a firm stand, and noted that the Chinese Prime Minister, Zhou Enlai, had given support to the Japanese "revanchists".<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29-31.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>38</sup> I. Starozhubayev, "Neskol'ko slov po povodu", *Veche*, No. 7, pp. 78-82 (quotation p.78). The Radio Liberty *Arkhiv Samizdata* copy is illegible in places.

<sup>39</sup> "Po povodu prityazanii partiей Yaponii na Kuril'skiye ostrova", and "Kuril'skiye ostrova", *Veche*, No. 8, pp. 4-23.

In relation to literature, the journal devoted some attention to attacking *Novy mir*, and such *bêtes noirs* of *Molodaya gvardiya* as Aksyonov, Yevtushenko and Voznesensky.<sup>40</sup> Ivanov-Skuratov wrote two articles on Alexander Solzhenitsyn's *August 1914* accusing him of being pro-German and anti-Russian in his portrayal of the collapse of the Russian Army.<sup>41</sup> The fifth issue carried further discussion of the novel<sup>42</sup> and contained two chapters of the memoirs of Solzhenitsyn's first wife, Nataliya Reshetovskaya; and the ninth contained two new chapters from Solzhenitsyn's *First Circle*.<sup>43</sup> The *Veche* editors were clearly split in their attitude to Solzhenitsyn. Osipov was ideologically close to him, as later became clear in his response to Solzhenitsyn's *Letter to the Soviet Leaders*, but Ivanov-Skuratov and the *gosudarstvenniki* considered him to be anti-Soviet. Osipov had sought Solzhenitsyn's collaboration on *Veche*, but he had refused on the grounds that the line of the journal was unclear. According to Kheifets, Osipov was very upset at the prospect of Solzhenitsyn's divorce, because of his central position in the Russian national movement. Like many Russian nationalists, Osipov saw the hand of the Masons in the calamities affecting Russia. He suspected that the Masons were behind Solzhenitsyn's attraction to Nataliya Svetlova, who was to become his second wife. When Osipov went to warn Solzhenitsyn about the Masons, Solzhenitsyn told him that his fears were "exaggerated".<sup>44</sup> The appearance of Solzhenitsyn's chapters in No. 9, with Solzhenitsyn's permission, attests to the continuing strength of the liberal nationalist tendency in *Veche* right up to the end.

The demographic problems of the Russian nation attracted some attention from *Veche*. K. Voronov spoke of the need to take drastic action to end "the catastrophic decline in the birth rate in many districts of the RSFSR", especially affecting rural communities. The situation showed the disadvantaged position of the Russians in the USSR.<sup>45</sup> The protection of the world environment,<sup>46</sup> the Moscow

<sup>40</sup> Georgi Krnev, "Novy mir v 69-m i 70-m godakh", *Veche*, No. 1, pp. 132-36; Mikhail Morozov, "Neskol'ko zamechanii o sovremennom literaturnom protsesse", *Veche*, No. 2, pp. 70-72; "Mal'chik-s-pal'chik ili bard 'seksual'noi revolyutsii'", *ibid.*, pp. 73-78; "Replika", *Veche*, No. 3, p. 149.

<sup>41</sup> "Pisatel' Solzhenitsyn i professor Serebryakov", *Veche*, No. 4, pp. 145-50; "Avgust 14-go chitayut na rodine", *Veche*, No. 8, pp. 200-206.

<sup>42</sup> "Obsuzhdeniye romana Avgust 14-go", *Veche*, No. 5, in *Vol'noye slovo*, Nos. 9-10, pp. 175-83.

<sup>43</sup> Reshetovskaya's chapters were excluded from the *Vol'noye slovo* edition of *Veche*, No. 5, following legal representations on behalf of Solzhenitsyn. His own chapters are in *Veche*, No. 9, pp. 67-99.

<sup>44</sup> Kheifets, "Russky patriot", *Kontinent*, No. 28, pp. 158-65.

<sup>45</sup> K. Voronov, "Demograficheskiye problemy Rossii", *Veche*, No. 9, pp. 115-39 (quotation p. 116).

<sup>46</sup> "Dom, kotoryy my stroim", *Veche*, No. 3, pp. 95-144.

Soviet plan for the destruction of older parts of the capital,<sup>47</sup> and the preservation of historical monuments in general were discussed.<sup>48</sup> The destruction of Moscow monuments was condemned not only for aesthetic but also for political reasons, in view of the perceived Chinese threat. “On what patriotic feelings will it be possible to win the approaching war?”<sup>49</sup> Osipov’s article on Glazunov particularly praised his role in fighting to preserve historical monuments and the architecture of Moscow, and in the establishment of VOOPIK and the Rodina clubs.<sup>50</sup>

*Veche* carried a considerable amount of material on religion and church affairs. The anonymous “Russian Christian” in the first issue spoke of the link between patriotism and Orthodoxy. He also made two positive references to Stalin, which attracted a special disclaimer from the editorial board.<sup>51</sup> The second issue included an attack on the modernist theology of Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad, written by a collective which included Felix Karelin, Lev Regel’son and Viktor A. Kapitanchuk.<sup>52</sup> Of particular interest was the appeal to the Sobor of 1971, held to elect Pimen as Patriarch, by Georgi Petukhov, a priest from Zagorsk, Hierodeacon Varsonofi Khaibulin from Vladimir *oblast'*, and a Moscow layman, Pyotr Fomin. This was a call for greater trust between church and state — a trust which was allegedly being threatened by Satanism and Zionism. “The agents of Satanism and Zionism . . . artificially create tension between the church and the state with the aim of weakening them.” They were promoting “anarchical liberalism”.

Distrust and doubt relating to all spiritual and national values, cosmopolitanism, the spreading of debauchery and drunkenness, the extreme proliferation of abortions, forgetting and neglecting the fulfilment of family, parental and patriotic duty, hypocrisy, betrayal, falsehood, money-grubbing and other vices — this is how they try to seduce our people and all humanity . . .

It has now become a generally obvious truth that world Zionism is conducting an artful struggle against our state from within and without.

Realising its holy mission of saving humanity from sin and its consequences, the church is a moral strength and buttress of the state in its noble struggle against the forces of violation and chaos.

<sup>47</sup> “Sud’ba russkoi stolitsy”, *Veche*, No. 1, pp. 71-113.

<sup>48</sup> Speech of Pyotr Dudochkin, in “Vtoraya Kalininskaya oblastnaya konferentsiya VOOPIK (27 marta 1968g.)”, *Veche*, No. 6, pp. 94-100.

<sup>49</sup> “Sud’ba”, pp. 112-13.

<sup>50</sup> Osipov, “Russky khudozhnik”.

<sup>51</sup> “Zametki russkogo khristianina”, *Veche*, No. 1, pp. 48-51.

<sup>52</sup> “Ser’yozye i svoyevremennyye voprosy”, *Veche*, No. 2, pp. 34-47.

What was needed, the authors concluded, was the coming together (*sblizheniye*) of the church and the state, on the basis of “complete non-intervention in the internal life of the church”.<sup>53</sup> Such positions were aimed against both the general human rights movement and those dissidents within the church who sought to distance the church from the state.

In an article for the London journal *Survey*, published in 1973, Dimitry Pospielovsky reviewed the first and third issues of *Veche*. While sympathetic to the Russian national trend, he criticised the journal and Osipov for including the work on Slavophilism by Antonov, whom he described as a “neo-fascist”, and warned of the danger of racism and anti-Semitism developing into genocide, citing in particular the above-mentioned appeal.<sup>54</sup> An article by “O. M.” in the ninth issue rejected these criticisms. It reported that Antonov had married a Jew, while Fetisov had admitted that his childhood had lasted forty years, but his sole interest now was religion. As far as genocide was concerned, the Americans allowed 20 million people to starve every year in the world, despite their wealth, and this was as bad as the Nazi Holocaust. Pospielovsky had ignored the positive proposals of the appeal to the Sobor, commenting only on the link made between Satanism and Zionism.<sup>55</sup>

The appeal of Petukhov, Khaibulin and Fomin was not typical of *Veche*'s material on the church. The fourth issue reprinted Pimen's Christmas message.<sup>56</sup> Solzhenitsyn's “Lenten Letter to the Patriarch” (1972), criticising the church leaders for not speaking out against persecution, appeared in the fifth issue in full, together with two critical responses, one anonymous and the other from Father Sergei Zheludkov. The latter, while expressing respect for Solzhenitsyn's struggle against censorship, accused Solzhenitsyn of overestimating the ability of the hierarchy to act against the wishes of the state. The Patriarchate had to compromise to survive, and for this reason it was unable to answer Solzhenitsyn's charges.<sup>57</sup> *Veche* also carried appeals by Orthodox believers for their rights. One was by Father Gleb

<sup>53</sup> Georgi Petukhov, Varsonofi Khaibulin and Pyotr Fomin, “Preosvyashchenny Vladyka, bogomudry arkhiepiskop, pastyri i vse dostochimyye chleny Velikogo Sobora!”, *Veche*, No. 3, pp. 63-67 (quotations pp. 63-64).

<sup>54</sup> Pospielovsky, “The Resurgence of Russian Nationalism in *Samizdat*”, esp. pp. 65, 71-72.

<sup>55</sup> O. M., “Survey o russkom natsionalizme”, *Veche*, No. 9.

<sup>56</sup> “Rozhdestvenskoye poslaniye Patriarkha Moskovskogo i Vseya Rusi Pimena”, Christmas 1971-1972, *Veche*, No. 4, pp. 3-5.

<sup>57</sup> “Po povodu pis'ma Solzhenitsyna patriarchu”, *Veche*, No. 5, in *Vol'noye slovo*, Nos. 9-10, pp. 42-55. Zheludkov's letter is AS 1107. Solzhenitsyn's and Zheludkov's letters, together with Solzhenitsyn's response to Zheludkov, AS 1144, are in “Vokrug pis'ma Solzhenitsyna”, *Vestnik RSKhD*, No. 103 (1972), pp. 145-72.

Yakunin against his dismissal.<sup>58</sup> Two others opposed a new education law, which would oblige parents to bring up their children in the "spirit of lofty communist morality". Yakunin, Kapitanchuk and Karelina signed one of these.<sup>59</sup> In the other Gennadi M. Shimanov proposed to amend the law so as to read

in the spirit of the LOFTY MORALITY OF SOVIET PATRIOTISM and a careful relationship to socialist property TO INSTIL IN THEIR CHILDREN A FEELING OF DEEP LOYALTY TO THEIR PEOPLE AND ITS CULTURE, AND ALSO A FEELING OF TRUE RESPECT TO ALL OTHER PEOPLES OF OUR PLANET . . .<sup>60</sup> [capitals in original]

The belief in the need for respect for other nationalities was reflected in the article in the sixth issue, entitled "The Russian Solution of the National Question", dedicated to the fiftieth anniversary of the USSR. In contrast to the position of *Slovo natsii*, it was a defence of Soviet federalism. "The new federation of peoples was created in the Russian manner." It preserved

the tradition of respect to other peoples, the UNIVERSALITY of the Russian person, to which Dostoyevsky pointed, universality as compassion and love for others . . .

The union of equal republics, preserving their national uniqueness, by its very structure shows what distinguishes internationalism from cosmopolitanism.

The article attacked Russification, recalling Lenin's attack on Stalin for great-power chauvinism, and claiming that the latter was mainly instigated by non-Russians. It rejected the idea of a single Soviet nation (*natsiya*), pointing out that S. Kaltakhchian had denounced this in *Pravda* (17 March 1972). Paraphrasing the state anthem, the article expressed pride that Great Rus' had gathered together a multinational great power.<sup>61</sup> A similar position was expressed in the anonymous article in No. 7, "The Struggle with so-called Russophilism [*rusofil'stvo*], or the Path to the Suicide of the State". This was an attack on Alexander Yakovlev's anti-nationalist article in *Literaturnaya gazeta* and defended the importance of national traditions for the Soviet state. While citing Berdyayev, Dostoyevsky

<sup>58</sup> "Prosheniye svyashchennika G. Yakunina", *Veche*, No. 5, in *Vol'noye slovo*, Nos. 9-10, pp. 65-70.

<sup>59</sup> "K prinyatiyu 'Osnov zakonodatel'stva Soyuza SSR i soyuznykh respublik o narodnom obrazovanii'", *Veche*, No. 8, pp. 89-94, in *Vol'noye slovo*, Nos. 17-18, pp. 74-81 (quotation p. 79).

<sup>60</sup> Gennadi M. Shimanov, "V Sekretariat Prezidiuma Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR", 10 June 1973, *Veche*, No. 8, pp. 94-106.

<sup>61</sup> "Russkoye resheniye natsional'nogo voprosa (k 50-letiyu SSSR)", *Veche*, No. 6, pp. 6-10 (quotations pp. 6-8).

and Solzhenitsyn, the author also defended the *gosudarstvennik* Sergei Semanov. Praising Lenin's internationalism, based on respect for the nation, the article linked Yakovlev with cosmopolitanism, national nihilism and Trotskyism.<sup>62</sup> Both these articles reflected the *gosudarstvennik* trend within *Veche*.

The *Veche* editorial board took the opportunity to put its position on the Jewish question in response to an open letter from Mikhail Agursky. The latter was a Jew who had converted to Orthodoxy but also remained a Zionist. He appealed for support from Russian nationalists for Zionism, as a Jewish national-liberation movement. *Veche*'s response was largely friendly. While it claimed that the Jews had the "best material conditions" in the USSR, it went on:

"Russian" does not at all mean "anti-Semite". On the contrary, the Jewish national movement, where it does not claim a privileged position for the Jews in Russia, is not infected by racism and does not hope for the world domination of the "chosen people", evokes from us the warmest sympathy, like any other national movement.<sup>63</sup>

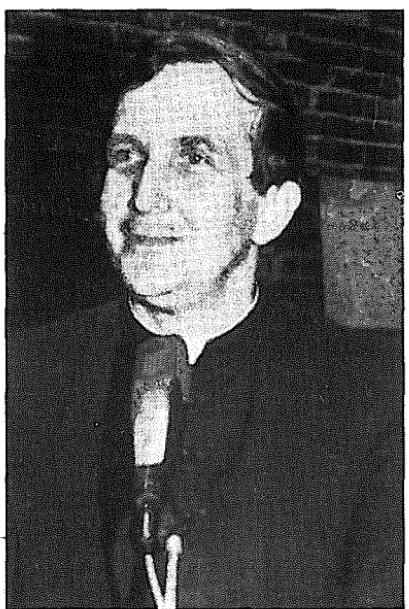
*Veche* No. 10 carried on the dialogue, with both Agursky and *Veche* expressing their opposition to the assimilation of the Jews.<sup>64</sup>

Kheifets's account of the last months of *Veche*, based on what Osipov told him, cannot be considered first-hand, but in the absence of other information it seems worth summarising. With *Veche* coming under pressure from the KGB, Ivanov-Skuratov suggested that the journal, to try to prove its loyalty to the Soviet state, should publish an article supporting the Palestine Liberation Organisation. Svetlana Mel'nikova, who was the Moscow link between Osipov and official cultural figures and who, according to Khaibulin's account, was the co-editor of issues 3 to 10, had an additional reason for supporting such an article. Kheifets says that Mel'nikova thought that a pro-Palestinian article might attract outside funding from the Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gadaffi. Osipov opposed the article, saying that the journal was concerned with internal Russian affairs, and, furthermore, he was opposed to terrorism. Borodin agreed with him, and the editorial board split evenly, two-two. After this, Osipov became suspicious that Mel'nikova was a provocateur. He accused

<sup>62</sup> "Bor'ba s tak nazyvayemym rusofil'stvo, ili put' *gosudarstvennogo samoubiistva*", *Veche*, No. 7, in *Vol'noye slovo* Nos. 17-18, pp. 19-57. Extracts are translated in Dunlop, *The Faces of Contemporary Russian Nationalism*, pp. 327-44. Yakovlev's article *Protiv antiistorizma* appeared in *Literaturnaya gazeta* on 15 November 1972.

<sup>63</sup> Mikhail S. Agursky, "Otkrytoye pis'mo v zhurnal *Veche*", AS 1481, with *Veche*'s answer, in *Veche*, No. 9, in *Vol'noye slovo*, Nos. 17-18, pp. 130-50 (quotations pp. 149-50); also in *Vestnik RSKhD* Nos. 108-110 (1973), pp. 77-91.

<sup>64</sup> Mikhail S. Agursky, "Otvet zhurnalu *Veche*", 19 February 1974, *Veche*, No. 10, in *Vol'noye slovo*, Nos. 17-18, pp. 151-54.

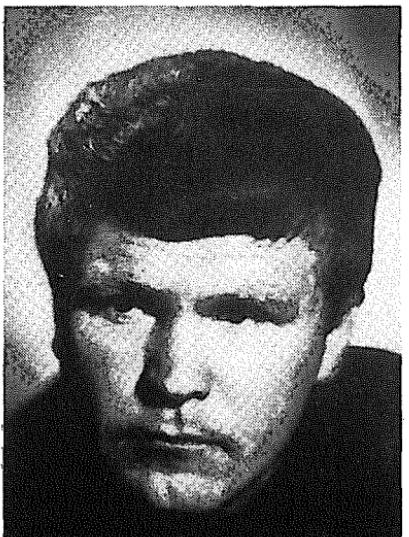


Fr Wojciech Czarnowski, priest of the  
Divine Mercy Church, Warsaw.

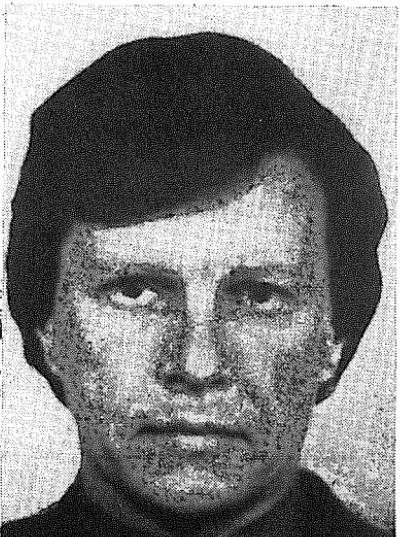


Jacek Czaputowicz and Joanne Landy,  
Coordinator of the Peace and Democracy  
Movement of New York.

See article on pp. 4-20 (*Photos © Voice of Solidarity*).

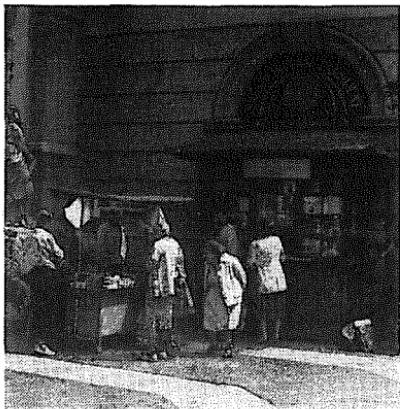


Vladimir Osipov, editor of the first nine  
issues of *Veche*.



Leonid Borodin, who played an important  
role in the production of *Veche*.

See article on pp. 36-53. (*Photos © Aid to Russian Christians*).



Bookstall selling Catholic publications outside the Franciscan Church, Budapest.



Display of Catholic books, organised by the Saint Stephen Society, in a major underground station, Budapest.

Christian Literature on Sale in Hungary.  
See book review on pp. 54-56. (*Photos courtesy Keston College*).



Bookstall selling Protestant publications outside the Kálvin Tér Reformed Church, Budapest.

her, but found himself isolated. Rumours then spread among Osipov's collaborators that the Masons had got control of him. To save *Veche*, he persuaded Borodin to become editor. Unfortunately, Borodin's home then burned down, making it impossible for him to fulfil the editorial responsibilities. Khaibulin insists that no-one in *Veche* was working for the KGB, and the disagreements arose only from personal failings.<sup>65</sup>

On 7 March 1974 Osipov announced that the KGB were preparing false charges of anti-Soviet activity against him, although he had occupied a loyal position in relation to the Soviet system. He warned supporters of *Veche* that the journal had ceased publication with No. 9.<sup>66</sup> In March and April 1974 the KGB carried out searches at the homes of people connected with Osipov.<sup>67</sup> On 25 March the editorial board announced that Osipov had been replaced as editor.<sup>68</sup> On 17 April, Naidenovich, Ovchinnikov and nine other members of the editorial board, although not (perhaps for tactical reasons) Ivanov-Skuratov and Mel'nikova, issued a statement that Osipov had betrayed the journal and made unfounded attacks on its collaborators.<sup>69</sup> *Veche* No. 10 was dated 19 April 1974 and included articles by Ovchinnikov, Kapitanchuk and Ivanov-Skuratov, and Patriarch Pimen's Easter message. It appears to have been compiled before the split with Osipov.<sup>70</sup>

In July the new board announced that it was ceasing publication because a criminal case had been brought against the journal.<sup>71</sup> Osipov, however, assisted by Rodionov, produced two issues of a new journal, *Zemlya* (The Land). They were dated 1 August and 25 November 1974.<sup>72</sup> The first issue included a programmatic

<sup>65</sup> Kheifets, "Russki patriot", *Kontinent*, No. 28, pp. 143, 166-73; V. Khaibulin, "Otkrytoye pis'mo redaktoru *Kontinenta*", August 1981, *Kontinent* No. 32 (1982), pp. 369-72.

<sup>66</sup> V. N. Osipov, "Ekstrennoye zayavleniye dlya pechatii", 7 March 1974, *AS* 1705 (*MS* 23/74).

<sup>67</sup> Anonymous report, early April 1974, *AS* 1793 (*MS* 32/74).

<sup>68</sup> *Veche*, No. 10 (19 April 1974), *AS* 2452, pp. 1-3.

<sup>69</sup> A. Naidenovich and ten other friends and supporters of *Veche*, "Po povodu vystupleniya V. Osipova protiv zhurnala *Veche* (Zayavleniye sotrudnikov zhurnala *Veche* i lichnykh znakomykh V. Osipova)", 17 April 1974, *AS* 1787 (*MS* 32/74).

<sup>70</sup> Kheifets, "Russki patriot", *Kontinent*, No. 28, pp. 173-74. See also "O vykhode 10 nomera zhurnala *Veche*", 20 April 1974, *AS* 1706 (*MS* 23/74); V. V. Ilyakov and six other former political prisoners who had known Osipov, "Zayavleniye po povodu vykhoda tak nazyvayemogo 10-go nomera VECHE", 25 May 1974, *AS* 1790 (*MS* 32/74); *Veche* editorial board, "Ot redaktsii zhurnala *Veche*", 12 June 1974, *AS* 1791 (*MS* 32/74).

<sup>71</sup> *Veche* editorial board, "Soobshcheniye redaktsii zhurnala *Veche*", 9 July 1974, *AS* 1792 (*MS* 32/74); *Chronicle of Current Events*, No. 32 (17 July 1974), pp. 68-69; V. N. Osipov, letter to Minister of Internal Affairs N. A. Shcholokov, 25 May 1974, *AS* 1845 (*MS* 7/75).

<sup>72</sup> *Zemlya* No. 1 (1 August 1974), *AS* 1909 (*MS* 13/75); No. 2 (25 November 1974), *AS* 2060 (*MS* 25/75); substantial extracts are in "Iz zhurnala *Zemlya* No. 1 i 2".

statement by the two editors, entitled "To the Land!". This made three major points:

1. Nationalism separated from Christianity is unthinkable;
2. The chief task of Russian nationalism today is the resurrection of the people's morality and of the national culture;
3. The absence of *glasnost'* and constitutional guarantees blocks the realisation of national tasks.

This final point reaffirmed Osipov's closeness to the human rights movement. The statement went on to stress continuity with the Slavophils and Dostoyevsky. The choice of the title *Zemlya* deliberately referred both to "native land" and to the land as the nourisher of the people.<sup>73</sup> Of the 170 pages of the first issue of *Zemlya*, one hundred pages were devoted to Dudko's conversations, and a further 35 pages to an article by Levitin-Krasnov on Dudko. The second issue included more of Dudko's conversations. In these, the priest compared Russia's suffering with the suffering of Christ at Golgotha, and expressed his faith in a Russian religious resurrection.<sup>74</sup>

In September, two of those involved with "*Veche* No. 10", Ovchinnikov and Ivanov-Skuratov, sent a letter to a Western radio station denouncing Osipov and *Zemlya*.<sup>75</sup> On 28 November, three days after the appearance of *Zemlya* No. 2, Osipov was arrested. Rodionov issued a statement promising to continue with the journal, but no further issues were produced.<sup>76</sup> On the day after Osipov's arrest, sixteen prominent dissidents, including the mathematician Igor Shafarevich and the physicist Yuri Orlov, signed a protest against it, and more followed.<sup>77</sup> In September 1975, however, Osipov was sentenced to eight years in a strict-regime labour camp.

The moves against *Veche* took place against the background of the decline in influence of Politburo member Dmitri Polyansky, who some observers believe had given it protection. The closure of the journal coincided with the expulsion of Solzhenitsyn from the USSR and the publication of his *Letter to the Soviet Leaders* and the collection *From Under the Rubble*.<sup>78</sup> It may be that the wide

*Vol'noye slovo*, No. 20 (1975).

<sup>73</sup> V. N. Osipov & V. S. Rodionov, "K zemle", *Zemlya* No. 1, *Vol'noye slovo*, No. 20, pp. 30-31 (quotation, p. 30).

<sup>74</sup> The English translation of Dudko's conversations is D. S. Dudko, *Our Hope*, trans. P. D. Garrett, foreword J. Meyendorff (Crestwood, N.Y., 1977).

<sup>75</sup> I. V. Ovchinnikov and Ivanov-Skuratov, Open letter, Aleksandrov-Moscow, n.d. but soon after 5 September 1974, *AS* 1966 (*MS* 6/75).

<sup>76</sup> V. S. Rodionov, "Zayavleniye", 15 December 1974, *AS* 2061 (*MS* 10/75).

<sup>77</sup> "Obrashcheniye po povodu aresta Vladimira Osipova", 29 November 1974, *AS* 1993 (*MS* 6/75).

<sup>78</sup> A. I. Solzhenitsyn, *Letter to the Soviet Leaders*, trans. Hilary Sternberg (London, 1974); *idem et. al.*, *From Under the Rubble* ([Glasgow], 1974).

circulation given to Solzhenitsyn's nationalist views made the Brezhnev leadership more determined to clamp down on unofficial Russian nationalism. Clearly the regime was hostile both to Osipov's combination of human rights activity and Christian nationalism and to the idea of an uncensored regular *gosudarstvennik* journal, such as *Veche* might have become without Osipov.

An attempt to create a successor to *Veche*, without the participation of Osipov, was made by Borodin. The title *Moskovsky sbornik* (Moscow Compendium) evoked the periodical of that name published by the Slavophils in the 1840s. Borodin's introduction to the first issue, published in September 1974, conveyed the intention of publishing materials on religious and national issues which were already in *samizdat*.<sup>79</sup> The second issue, January 1975, failed to reach the West but the *Chronicle* reported its contents.<sup>80</sup> After this, the KGB moved in, confiscating the third issue and giving Borodin a stern warning.<sup>81</sup>

What happened to Russian nationalism after this? The Christian Seminar established by Alexander Ogorodnikov in 1974 was influenced by Dudko, and two former *Veche* contributors — Khaibulin and Kapitanchuk — joined Father Gleb Yakunin in the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the USSR, established in 1976.<sup>82</sup> Another former contributor, Gennadi Shimanov, was able to circulate in *samizdat* his controversial views about the Soviet state being "pregnant with theocracy". He expected the Communist Party to become the Orthodox Party and create in Russia the "ideal state". This would lead to the conversion of the whole world to Orthodoxy.<sup>83</sup> While in 1980 and 1981 most other Russian nationalist and Orthodox dissidents were being arrested, he was able to produce at least two issues of a *samizdat* journal, *Mnogaya leta* (Many Years).<sup>84</sup>

Meanwhile, in party circles, Russian nationalist ideas were gaining ground. Even Brezhnev and Suslov by some accounts became sympathetic (both had their portraits painted by Glazunov). Some of the work of the nineteenth-century Slavophils was published for the first time since the revolution. The Union of Writers of the RSFSR

<sup>79</sup> *Moskovsky sbornik*, No. 1 (September 1974), AS 2050.

<sup>80</sup> *Moskovsky sbornik*, No. 2 (January 1975), summarised in *Chronicle of Current Events*, No. 35 (31 March 1975), p. 148.

<sup>81</sup> Ye. A. Vagin, "Religioznoye inakomysliye v segodnyashnei Rossii", Rome, 1977, in *Russkoye vozrozhdeniye*, No. 1 (1978), p. 64.

<sup>82</sup> For these bodies, see past issues of *RCL* and J. Ellis, *The Russian Orthodox Church: A Contemporary History* (London, 1986).

<sup>83</sup> G. M. Shimanov, "Moskva — treti Rim", 7 August 1974, in "Protiv techeniya", AS 2086, pp. 106-112, and "Ideal'noye gosudarstvo", 29 May 1975, AS 2218.

<sup>84</sup> Nos. 1 and 2 are at Keston College. See J. B. Dunlop, "Mnogaya leta: Advocate of a Russian Church-Soviet State Concordat", *RCL* Vol. 11 No. 2, pp. 146-60.

and its journal *Nash sovremennik* (Our Contemporary) became a Russian nationalist stronghold. The six hundredth anniversary in 1980 of the Russian defeat of the Tatars at the Battle of Kulikovo occasioned an unprecedented outbreak of Russian nationalism in the official media. Between 1982 and 1985, however, under Yuri Andropov and Konstantin Chernenko, there were attacks on cultural manifestations of Russian nationalism. At the same time some former *Veche* contributors who had been left alone were arrested. Ivanov-Skuratov received a short sentence in 1982, and in 1983 Borodin received a harsh sentence — ten years' camp and five years' internal exile.

Since Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985, many of the concerns raised in *Veche* have been considered sympathetically by the party. The destruction of monuments has been condemned. The spread of *glasnost'* in culture has allowed Russian nationalists a considerable opportunity to put forward their ideas, and Sergei Zalygin's appointment as editor of the literary monthly *Novy mir* is a particular gain. A major victory is the Politburo's decision to stop work on the plan to reverse part of the flow of Siberian rivers to provide water for Central Asia. This was after a campaign against the scheme by Valentin Rasputin and other Russian nationalists, who warned of an ecological calamity. Gorbachev's anti-alcohol campaign is aimed particularly at the Russians and other Slavs. His campaign against corruption (building on Andropov's efforts) likewise answers a concern of the Russian nationalists. As the riots in Alma-Ata in winter 1986 showed, he and Yegor Ligachev are ready to override the feelings of Kazakhs and Uzbeks, and place Russians in key positions formerly occupied by the indigenous population, if this is necessary to restore discipline.

Echoes of some of the currents in *Veche* are found in the unofficial group *Pamyat'* (Memory), based in Moscow and Novosibirsk. Similar groups are *Otechestvo* (Fatherland) in Sverdlovsk and *Spaseniye* (Salvation) in Leningrad. These are among the hundreds of unofficial and semi-official clubs which have appeared in the USSR under Gorbachev. While supposedly being devoted to fostering patriotism and the preservation of monuments, *Pamyat'* has promoted Black Hundred-style ideas\* about Russia being threatened by a conspiracy of imperialists, Masons and Zionists. They are "for Leninism and against Satan", consider Moscow "the Third Rome", and claim to support Gorbachev's *perestroika*. They have held demonstrations in Moscow (at least two in May 1987) and were received by Boris Yel'tsin

\*The "Black Hundreds" were an extreme right-wing group which was active in the 1905 period of unrest; they were involved in the beating and killing of Jews, liberals and other intellectuals — Ed.

when he was Moscow City Party leader and a candidate Politburo member (although what passed between them is not clear).<sup>85</sup> While some liberal Soviet citizens want *Pamyat'* banned because of its chauvinism and anti-Semitism, others see its existence as an unavoidable consequence of *glasnost'*. The Soviet press has been hostile to the group.<sup>86</sup>

*Glasnost'* has not extended to the publications of the Moscow Patriarchate, as far as discussion of religious freedom in the USSR is concerned. But the millennium of the Russian Orthodox Church offers a major challenge to *glasnost'*. If the present policy continues, there will be nothing to prevent a major upsurge of interest in Orthodoxy and its role in Russian history. The treatment of Russian nationalist dissidents may provide some clues to official attitudes. After campaigns in the West, the authorities gave early releases to Ogorodnikov and Borodin in February and July 1987. Osipov has completed his sentence but is reportedly being harassed, apparently because of his desire to resume Russian nationalist activity.

It is likely that a key figure in formulating policy towards the millennium will be Alexander Yakovlev. This man, who was demoted to the post of Ambassador in Ottawa after his attack on Russian nationalism, has been made Gorbachev's propaganda chief in the Central Committee Secretariat, and since June 1987 a full member of the Politburo. Whether the sophistication which has marked Soviet propaganda under Gorbachev will continue through 1988 remains to be seen.

<sup>85</sup> *USSR News Brief* 31 May 1987, item 10-14.

<sup>86</sup> For example, A. Cherkizov, "O podlinnykh tsennostyakh i mnimykh vragakh", *Sovetskaya kul'tura*, 18 June 1987.