PIR Feature

Moscow's racist revival: a strategy for world empire

by Luba George

Scheduled for later this summer is what Mikhail Gorbachov and other Soviet leaders have been calling since January the "decisive" Communist Party Central Committee Plenum on "nationality questions." The Russian chauvinists have long been preparing to present their program on how to deal with "nationalist separatist elements" who are trying to break away from the Empire.

In an April 1989 interview with EIR Strategic Alert, Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., responding to the national unrest resulting in Moscow's slaughter of women and children in Soviet Georgia, stressed that Russian chauvinist elements rallied by the mass-based fascist Pamyat Society "are redefining the relations between Muscovy and the rest of the Empire as those of the master and subject peoples. All pretense of the Bolshevik period is now being discarded. In unleashing this kind of thing, they set forth a process which, once unleashed, can no longer be controlled, like the sorcerer's apprentice phenomenon."

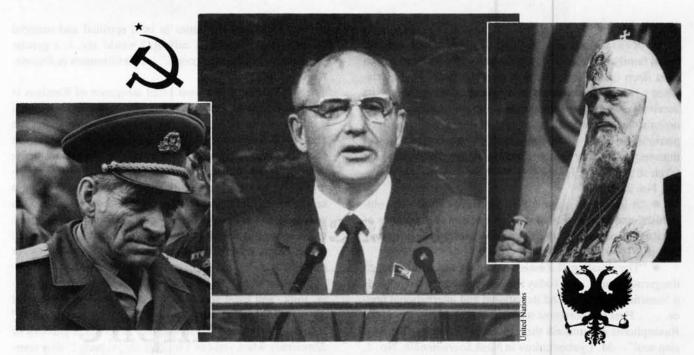
This comes in the context of a deep systemic crisis wracking the Russian Empire. That crisis is highlighted by the specter of mass famine and utter collapse of the civilian economy, the threat of which has triggered a never-ending chain reaction of nationalist unrest throughout Moscow's domains.

What form of rule will appear in the Russian Empire following the end of the Bolshevik Period? The systemic crisis and the Slavophile upheaval unleashed in response guarantee major convulsions. Ironically, but lawfully, this process could sweep aside Gorbachov, himself an ardent Slavophile, who has promoted at every step the very Slavophile revival which could bury him.

Various Pan-Slavic/Great Russian post-Gorbachov options have been mooted. These include a coup by the military or a fascist dictatorship based on the Pamyat (Memory) Society, whose growth over the past two years has been nothing short of phenomenal.

Whatever leadership combination emerges, the danger of desperate Russian aggression will increase dramatically. As the economic breakdown proceeds, the

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When Mikhail Gorbachov visited West Germany in June, Soviet TV coverage played up his entourage, which included top representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Armed Forces. The image conveyed was that of the three traditional pillars of the Russian Empire: Czar, Imperial Church, and Army. Shown here are Gorbachov, Patriarch Pimen, and a Red Army officer observing NATO's "Strike 87" maneuvers in West Germany.

Kremlin leaders will be driven to grab from their neighbors the wherewithal to feed their people and fuel their military buildup. They will not wait until their own economic collapse gives them a decisive military disadvantage vis-à-vis their adversaries. Further, these effects of the economic crisis intersect the ideological demands of Slavophile fascist ideology—a lethal combination. According to the mystical belief structure of the Russian Orthodox Church, Moscow is destined to become the "Third and Final Rome," the seat of a new world empire to take the place of Rome and Byzantium. One of the principal instruments for achieving this is the Red Army, inflamed with the passions of racist demagogy.

In the report which follows, we document the character of the new Slavophile movement, and how it has arisen with the blessings of the "Marxist-Leninist" hierarchy.

'We're the Black Millions'

A Soviet Jewish author, A. M. Norinsky, recently reported his shock at the blatant Russian chauvinism and anti-Semitism displayed at a February Leningrad rally, where he heard Pamyat participants proclaim, "We're not the 'Black Hundreds'... we're the Black Millions!" Pamyat members, he said, openly hailed the pre-1917 Russian chauvinist organizations, the Union of the Russian People and the Association of Mikhail Arkhangel, as the "most humane organizations, which cleansed Russia from Zionism," complaining, however, that these organizations (which conducted pogroms

and massacres against Jews and other non-Russian peoples) "were not able to achieve their goals because of the October Zionist Revolution, when Jews seized power. . . . It was the Sverdlovs, Uritskys, Trotskys, Menzhinskys, Dzerzhinskys who occupied Russia."

There is no exaggeration in Pamyat's boast. For since Mikhail Gorbachov came to power in 1985, the Soviet Union has witnessed a phenomenal growth of a mass fascist movement. Pamyat (as *EIR* reported in our issue of Jan. 8, 1988), with its base in Moscow and Novosibirsk, together with its sister organizations Otechestvo (Fatherland) in Sverdlovsk and Spaseniye (Salvation) in Leningrad, indeed has millions of members, and is growing at an accelerated tempo.

Underneath all the façade of *glasnost* and democratization, Russian society at large is being continuously subjected to a deep and insidious array of Great Russian propaganda. Articles in the mass-circulation official and semi-official Russian chauvinist and Pamyat-linked journals and magazines today regularly contain such fascist venom as the following:

- The "disproportion" of Jewish participation in the political and cultural life of Russia, because Jews, it is claimed, represent 0.69% of the total population, but "their role played in politics and culture is between 15-30%"—Vadim Kozhinov in *Nash Sovremennik*, No. 1, 1989.
- "Whatever the names may be [used by those attacking Pamyat]—'Black Hundreds,' 'Enemies of Perestroika' . . . the Russian spirit will never be crushed"—Molodaya Gvar-

diya, No. 2, 1989.

- "Russia is literally the 'Big Brother' in the multinational family. . . . Today the situation of the Russian nation is in deep crisis. . . . I fear it is at the brink of its existence. . . . All forces must be mustered up to guarantee its survival. . . . Denying love to the Motherland, historic monuments, breaking up families and destroying national and patriotic feelings—is one of the main tasks of the present masons. . . . Many symbols and rituals (of the masons) are taken straight from Judaism"—V. Pikul in Nash Sovremennik, No. 2, 1989.
- "It is time to remove the halo from 'Jewish Revolutionists' and tell the truth about their role in the genocide of the Russian people"—M. Lobanov, in *Moskovsky Literator*, Feb. 10, 1989.
- "The situation of Russian national culture has reached dangerous limits. . . . Today Russian culture seriously needs a 'russification' to defend its national and international honor. . . . First and foremost we must end once and for all the Russophobia and unmask the dark forces strangling the Russian soul"—M. Lyubomudrov in *Nash Sovremennik*, No. 2, 1989.
 - "Russia is the only country that has never known col-

- onies. It was and continues to be a spiritual and material donor! . . . Its universal calling, I would say, is a genetic property of the Russian people"—Ilya Glazunov in *Pravda*, April 3, 1989.
- "The chauvinism and blind arrogance of Russians is the fabrication of those who are playing on your national feelings, esteemed brothers. And one has to say that they are playing on them very skillfully. Russophobia has spread in the Baltic and Georgia. . . . Anti-Soviet slogans are being combined with anti-Russian ones, and emissaries from Lithuania and Estonia travel with them to Georgia, creating a united front, and from there local agitators set off Armenia and Azerbaijan. This is not a struggle against the bureaucratic mechanism; it is something else"—Valentin Rasputin, speech at the People's Deputies Congress, May 1989, televised for millions.

Moreover, as queues and rationing of such basics as sugar, milk, and meat spread throughout the Empire, Pamyat has now initiated a campaign blaming the "cosmopolitan" Jews for the severe food shortages. "Who wants *glasnost* or democracy when you can't wash or eat properly?" they complain.

Meanwhile, "in a short period of time there won't be any

"It's the Zionists who have persuaded the Ukrainians to believe that they are not Russians. It is they who persuaded the Lithuanians to believe that they are not Slavs. The goal of each citizen is to fight till the death for the glory of his Empire. The Zionists have divided us all. . . . In reality, the Germans are our brothers. We are children of one family, and this family extends into Europe. You French, you too, are part of this family. It is the Zionists who have divided us."

—Dmitri Vasilyev, leader of the Pamyat Society, interview with the French magazine Actuel, May 1989



A demonstration by the Pamyat Society on Jan. 23, 1989. Signs read: "The Pamyat movement will win," "Yes to nationalism, patriotism," and "No to rootless cosmopolitanism."

Jews left in the U.S.S.R.," exclaimed Ilya Dvorkin, a 31-year-old Soviet Jew who is researching past and present Jew-ish migration/emigration patterns. In an interview with the French magazine *Actuel* (May 1989), he described the plight of the Soviet Jews: "The Jews have come to fear Pamyat like one fears earthquakes. . . . They fear pogroms. Attacks on them on the streets have accelerated. Requests for leaving the country continue to grow. All the Jews I know who have families in Paris or New York are requesting emigration visas." In fact, the emigration of Jews from the U.S.S.R. is expected to double, if not triple this year. Last year's total emigration figures were at 20,162; in June of this year alone 3,965 Jews emigrated, the highest monthly total since the record exodus year of 1979.

Official support for Pamyat

Many of the concerns raised by Pamyat have received considerable sympathy, and in many cases, outright support by strong forces in the KGB, Communist Party, military, and state leadership. For starters, since Gorbachov came to power, the Soviet leadership has come to adopt what Pamyat had always advocated, in condemning and halting the destruction of Russian villages and historical monuments.

A major victory for Pamyat was the Politburo's decision to stop work on the plan devised during the Brezhnev years, to reverse part of the flow of Siberian rivers, southward, to provide water for non-Russian Central Asia. This decision was an endorsement of a campaign against the scheme, which had been led by the Siberian writer and ecologist Valentin Rasputin, and other Russian chauvinist elements. They had warned that the river diversion would cause an ecological calamity on *Russian* territory. Another Pamyat sympathizer, Vera Bryusova, a member of the U.S.S.R. Union of Artists and recipient of a State Prize from the Russian Republic (R.S.F.S.R.) led a campaign blaming the "Jewish brain center" for the destruction of village life and the "anti-popular projects to change the courses of the northern rivers [and] the destruction of the Volga."²

Valentin Rasputin, now a deputy in the new Supreme Soviet, exemplifies the gains scored by Pamyat under Gorbachov. As a founding board member of the Soviet Culture Fund, set up in 1986 and chaired by Raisa Gorbachova, he is on the board of an extensive network of official and semi-official organizations promoting extreme Russian chauvinist views.

Most important of all, Gorbachov has not hesitated to order brute force to commit atrocities, to smash non-Russian nationalist rallies and manifestations. The April 9 massacre in Georgia showed the real Gorbachov in action, in ordering Army and Interior troops to butcher scores of innocent civilians. Deaths of civilians caused by Army and police gunfire have occurred since 1986 in Kazakhstan, the summer of 1988 in Armenia, and most recently, in June in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. Since the summer of 1988, mass brutal beatings

of Ukrainian demonstrators by Interior Ministry Special Troops and the KGB have been commonplace in Lvov, Kiev, and other cities.

The rise of Slavophilism

It is important to understand that Pamyat, like the anti-Semitic Black Hundreds of the last quarter-century of czarist rule, is but the cutting edge of a vast, officially sanctioned, Slavophile revival under way in the Soviet Union since 1986, where an entire array of Slavophile currents has been turned loose. The Slavophile revival is neither for nor against Gorbachov per se. Should he succeed in pulling Russia out of its systemic crisis, Gorbachov will be celebrated as a Slavophile "czar." If, as is more likely, he fails, then the Slavophile movement will sweep him aside.

The same pattern, a continually deepening systemic crisis generating an ever stronger Slavophile radicalization, which swept aside many a Russian leader, was characteristic of the late 19th century, the last phase of the Romanov period.

In today's sweeping revival of Slavophilism, Pamyat is its noisiest and crudest expression, and plays an indispensable role in ensuring the success and consolidation of the Slavophile revival. The Slavophile revival, directed from the top, is, however, a far deeper phenomenon, transcending Pamyat. What has taken off in the last year is nothing short of a "Cultural Revolution," simultaneously *Russian* and *Eastern Slavic*, with heavy *Pan-Orthodox* overtones.

Moscow's blending together the Russian nationalist upsurge and a strident campaign emphasizing the "historical," "cultural," and "religious" unity between Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians, emerged with the grandiose State-Church millennium celebrations in 1988 (see *EIR*, June 17, 1988), and have been accelerating ever since. This campaign has constituted Moscow's answer to how it intends to reestablish the relationship between Master Race and subject races, in the new form of an Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire that will ultimately succeed the Bolshevik Period.

Deliberation on such a policy was the subject of the Russian Writers' Union Plenum in December of last year, where ardent Russian chauvinists like Vladimir Lichytin—one of the founders of the Slavic Foundation (see below) sounded the alarm, not shying away from the use of the czarist word *Empire*: "Our Empire is crumbling, splitting at the seams." He added that the "little [non-Russian] nations" must understand that they are eternally bound to the "bosom" of "Great Mother Russia."

There are many useful analogies in what is now occurring, with what the gamemasters of the czarist secret service, the Okhrana, launched, beginning with the 1860s, and on a grand scale starting with the 1890s: the grand revival of Slavophilism (e.g., A.S. Khomyakov, Vladimir Solovyov, Nikolai Danilevsky) and the profusion of Russian chauvinist extremist groups such as the Black Hundreds.

Useful analogies also exist concerning the causes of the

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"Russia was always called the Mother—the Mother of Nations, Mother Earth Russia. . . . Now our Empire is crumbling, splitting at the seams. . . . The small nations have entered into the Earth's bosom, from which they cannot be severed. When the Mother is badly off, then the little nations will always fare ill. For they will only have it better if Russia and the Russian people fare well. These ties are inseparable."

—Vladimir Lichytin, member of the Slavic Cultural Foundation, letter to Sovyetskaya Rossiya, April 14, 1989

A World War II recruiting poster—"Motherland-Mother Calls!"—summons the viewer to military service. In 1943, Stalin "rehabilitated" the Russian Orthodox Church and drew upon the deepest emotions of Russian nationalism, to rally the country for the war effort.

revivals of mass Slavophilism in the 1860s, 1890s, and the present. The Empire, then as now, was beset—starting with Russia's humiliating defeat in the 1854-56 Crimean War and the Polish national uprising of 1863—with devastating crises. Then as now, breakaway tendencies and movements were rampant among the non-Russian captive populations of the Empire. Then as now, there was the attempt, forced by military imperatives, to modernize the economy at a forced, rapid tempo. In the 1890s it was the mass introduction of industrial capitalism and coerced "depeasantization" (raskrestvanivanie); since the mid-1980s it has been the vast economic modernization attempt, perestroika, associated with the Soviet war plan. The attempt at modernization has produced a predictable confrontation with a culturally backward Russian population, historically resistant to any change, and, as in the 1890s and early 20th century, has touched off an immense social crisis.

The image of 'Holy Russia' revived

A most telling indication of the Slavophile revival occurred during Gorbachov's June visit to Bonn. Western media coverage of the Gorbachov visit to West Germany focused on the trip's effect on the West German population, thereby overlooking entirely the visit's effect on the *Russian* population, through the way the tour was portrayed every evening on Soviet TV.

The Soviet coverage was part and parcel of the Slavophile revival. Every evening, the Moscow evening news program

"Vremya" had 50-minute specials on the trip, featuring footage of: 1) Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachov together with the cassocked Russian Orthodox Metropolitan Pitirim and the uniformed Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev. The image conveyed was that of a traditional Russian—not Bolshevik—head of state and entourage, a bold announcement that "Holy Russia"—czar, czarina, Imperial Church, and Army—had staged a triumphal tour.

The case of Metropolitan Pitirim of Volokolamsk and Yurev—head of the Moscow Patriarchate's Publishing House, who is very often portrayed in the Western press as some kind of Russian Orthodox "liberal"—provides another singular, telling example of Mikhail Gorbachov and Raisa Gorbachova's roles in forging the Russian national and Pan-Orthodox upsurge.

Pitirim has served on the board of Raisa's Soviet Culture Fund since its founding in August 1986. In March of this year, Pitirim for the first time, publicly at least, joined hands with 200 delegates representing the Pamyat Society and other semi-official extreme Russian chauvinist groups, to found the Union for the Spiritual Revival of the Fatherland. The Union issued a desperate appeal to "brother and sister Russians" to take note of the "crisis-ridden state" in which the U.S.S.R. finds itself, with its "moral depravity," "pseudoculture," and "rootless cosmopolitanism." The last is a codeword referring to Jews and Westernizers, used, for example, against Leon Trotsky and others during the years of Josef Stalin's consolidation of his dictatorial power.

Thus, the Metropolitan now sits on the Union's council with one of the most outspoken Russian anti-Semites and chauvinists, Mikhail Antonov. Antonov, already back in 1971, wrote a lengthy tract for the *samizdat* (underground) journal Veche, titled, "The Slavophiles' Teachings-The Highest Level of Popular National Self-Awareness in Pre-Leninist Russia," in which he said that "in all spheres of the Russian people's life there is but one mission: to repulse the attack of rootless and cosmopolitan elements; to throw off the foreign Western forms that have been foisted upon the people, and to return to the immemorial origins of Russia." It is the "rootlessness" of these people that makes them kneel down before the West, he said, and that has led Russia from her true path, turning her into "a colony of the Western powers." The "rootless" economists often attacked by Antonov today are Gorbachov's perestroika architects—Abel Aganbegyan, Nikolai Shmelyov, Leonid Abalkin, Tatyana Zaslavskava.4

Pitirim, along with the other leading Russian Orthodox Metropolitans, was "elected" a deputy in the new Soviet parliament, the Congress of People's Deputies.

There has been a lot of nonsense reported about that "Congress" in the West. In reality, its main domestic *cultural* warfare function has been to advance Russian chauvinist feelings in the population. During its two weeks in session, as scores of millions of viewers saw on Soviet TV, those deputies who received the longest standing ovations were those who denounced "anti-Russian" manifestations in the Soviet Union, and who defended and praised Russia and the Red Army. It was not surprising, when the deputies elected such indefatigable types as Nikita Zherkin, one of the leading Pamyat members in Leningrad who organized the notorious anti-Semitic rallies held at Rumyantsev Square this year and last.

From 'Soviet' to 'Slavic' Culture Fund

March 12, 1989 marked the creation of a new Slavic Cultural Foundation. This very timely event, preceding the Nationalities' Plenum in July, is but a continuation of the work set forth by the Soviet Culture Fund, created in August 1986 (see *EIR*, Dec. 5, 1986). The Soviet Culture Fund was a landmark in initiating Gorbachov's Eastern Slavic "cultural offensive," in reshaping the Soviet mind toward the final political/military "offensive" against the West. In the words of Metropolitan Filaret of Belorussia and Minsk, "The Fund does not concern itself about the 'rational,' but about the spiritual foundation of knowledge."

The following year, 1987, saw the official recognition and rapid growth of the Pamyat Society. EIR was one of the first Western news agencies to report on the development of this mass fascist movement. That same year—also first reported in EIR—was the declaration by the Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate Journal, "The First Millennium was Greco-Roman. The Second Millennium was German. The

Third Millennium shall be Slavonic." This was the first official public pronouncement endorsing Pan-Slavdom, and the perspective of global rule by a Moscow-centered Pan-Slavic Empire before the end of this century.

During the past year, one could discern two phases of acceleration in the Pan-Slavic drive. Phase I was the Church-State June 1988 celebrations of the millennium of the conversion to Christianity of Kievan Rus. These were conducted throughout the major Slavic centers of the U.S.S.R. playing up the anniversary as the "root" of *Russian* culture, uniting the Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Russian peoples.

Phase I took off immediately thereafter with a landmark article in the mass-circulation literary monthly *Novy Mir*, which stressed the messianic-imperial Pan-Slav, Pan-Orthodox idea that "Holy Russia is not an ethnic concept," merely confined to the domains of the Russians, but "a geographical concept," embracing "the geographical unity of all of Orthodoxy."

The lengthy article had been commissioned by Gorbachov and the Soviet Culture Fund. Its author, S.S. Averintsev, a top Soviet Byzantologist and member of the editorial board of *Rodina* magazine ("Motherland," a new publication of the Communist Party organ, *Pravda*), has since been elected to the Congress of People's Deputies. Averinstev is mooted to be the likely successor to the 83-year-old Dmitri Likhachov, the guru of Russian culture and chairman of the Soviet Culture Fund.

Phase II arrived with creation of the Slavic Cultural Foundation on March 12, 1989. Its full title is the Foundation for Slavic Writing and Slavic Cultures.

The launching of the Slavic Cultural Foundation was synchronized with the announcement by *Pravda* the same day, that the Central Committee Legal Commission had taken over the nationality sub-department of the CC, itself first created in May 1988, right before the official millennium celebrations. The Legal Commission is now headed by former KGB chief Viktor Chebrikov, the new czar of internal security. It is his commission which has been entrusted with the preparations for the decisive nationalities Plenum.

Much propagation for the Slavic Cultural Foundation was done by 1) the Research Council on Russian Problems and Culture, created in 1987, and 2) the Association of Russian Artists, created in November 1988. These organizations harbor some of the most hard-core supporters of and/or apologizers for the Pamyat movement.

At their founding conference, the Association of Russian Artists issued an "Appeal to the Artists, Scholars, Cultural Figures, and Toilers of Russia":

Russia is in its most critical state, close to collapse. And the collapse of Russia will inevitably lead to the loss of the unity of the political and state system of the whole country. . . . The once-powerful union of the peoples of Russia joined together by the idea of

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steadfast unity . . . is experiencing a difficult period, during which, under the guise of demagogic slogans, nationalist groups are seeking to break up and destroy the unity of the peoples. . . . All the achievements and exploits of our Great [Russian] ancestors, who were able to unite in one state lands stretching from the Baltic to the Pacific Ocean—would be destroyed.⁶

Their foremost task, the Appeal states, is to stamp out "separatist nationalist tendencies"; their program is the propagation of Russian culture, formation of "committees for the preservation of nature," improvement of "military-patriotic education" of youth, and "the education of people in the spirit of respect for Russian history and the tradition of military duty."

Signers of the Appeal included the popular "village prose" authors Valentin Rasputin; Vasili Belov, who is rumored to be one of the founders of Pamyat; Viktor Astafyev; Yuri Bondarev, a member of the bureau of the U.S.S.R. Writers' Union; Stanislav Kunayev; Mikhail Lobanov; Vadim Kozhnikov; Anatoli Ivanov, editor of the pro-Pamyat youth newspaper *Molodaya Gvardiya*; and Sergei Vikulov, chief editor of *Nash Sovremennik*. Bondarev and Ivanov enjoy

close ties to the Soviet military establishment, and interviews with them regularly appear in such Defense Ministry publications as *Krasnaya Zvezda* and *Sovetsky Voin*.

Shortly after its creation, the association, joined by the Russian branch of the Cultural Foundation (headed by Pyotr Proskurin), Nash Sovremennik, Molodaya Gvardiya, Moskva, and Roman-Gazeta, took to the streets and staged a series of rallies—entitled "The Voices and Colors of Russia"—at Krylik Sovetov Sports Palace in Moscow. Placards at these demonstrations read: "No to Rootless Cosmopolitans!"; "The Pamyat Movement Will Win!"; and "Yes to Russian National Patriotism!"

'A new Slavic renaissance'

Over 70 other organizations joined with the Russian Writers' Association and the Research Council on Russian Problems and Culture to support the founding of the Slavic Foundation. They included: the Writers' Unions of the R.S.F.S.R., the Ukraine, and Belorussia; the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences; the All-Russian Cultural Foundation; the Russian Orthodox Church and the Old Believer Russian Orthodox Church; the U.S.S.R. Union of Journalists; the U.S.S.R. Commission on UNESCO affairs; the International Fund for

Soviet press plays up czarist secret service

On June 19, immediately after Mikhail Gorbachov's return from West Germany, the Soviet party newspaper *Pravda* delivered an unmistakeable confirmation that a Pan-Slavic revival has become official policy. *Pravda* published an unprecedented laudatory interview with the most prominent emigré member of the aristocratic Ignatiev family, retired Canadian diplomat George Ignatieff.

The Ignatiev family, Allen and Rachel Douglas of *EIR* documented in their manuscript, "The Roots of the Trust," was one of the Russian oligarchy's families most involved in directing Russian Pan-Slavism and Balkan expansionism in the late 19th century. George Ignatieff's grandfather, N.P. Ignatiev, was a leading light of the Okhrana, the czarist secret service, which helped to put the Bolsheviks in power.

In *Pravda*, the Russian reader was presented a picture of an "aristocratic family" that had made major contributions to Russian and Pan-Slavic expansionism: "My grandfather," George Ignatieff said, "was Nikolai Pavlovich. . . . In November 1860 he signed the Peking Pact, which improved the position of Russia in the Far East [this

was the last of a series of treaties, 1858-60, in which China ceded to Russia vast stretches of territory, and brought the Russian-Chinese border to its present line along the Amur and Ussuri rivers—ed.]. . . . As a future diplomat in Constantinople, he made possible the famous San Stefano Treaty of 1878, which ended the Russo-Turkish War."

The San Stefano Treaty was the Russian-dictated treaty that created, temporarily, a "Greater Bulgaria" Pan-Slavic junior partner to Russia; the vast territorial gains awarded Bulgaria then, embracing most of present-day Yugoslav Macedonia, Greek Macedonia and Thrace, and European Turkey, were overturned some months later at the Congress of Berlin.

Pravda continued by printing George Ignatieff's praise of his father: "My father was Pavel Nikolayevich... the last Minister of Security under the czar. He was considered a liberal." Ignatieff described how his father was very benevolent towards the Bolsheviks and, for this reason, though arrested after the Revolution, he was freed and allowed to leave Russia in May 1919. Pravda then noted George's comment, that in his father's entire life in exile, "he never did anything against \$oviet Russia."

The interest in restoring the reputation of the czarist secret service has also been shown by the popular writer V. Pikul, a Soviet military mouthpiece, awarded the 1988 Defense Military Award for Literature. Pikul (from Riga, Latvia) informed *Nash Sovremenik* (No. 2 1989) that he

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the Survival of Humanity and Non-Nuclear World; the newspaper *Literaturnaya Rossiya*; the magazines *Volga* and *Podyom*; and the Institute of Slavic Studies and Balkan Studies.

The chairman of the new foundation is Academician N. N. Tolstoy, a direct descendent of Old Believer novelist Count Lev Tolstoy. Elected deputy chairmen were Valentin Rasputin, chairman of the Ukrainian Writers' Union; Boris Oleinik; and the Belorussian writer Nil Gilevich. Among the members of the foundation's council are the hard-core Russian chauvinists Yuri Bondarev, Vladimir Krupin, and Yuri Loshchits.

Another prominent founding member of the Slavic Foundation is Sergei Bobkov, one of the leaders of the Russian Writers Union. His appointment underscores the KGB's role in promoting and directing the Pan-Slavic operation. Sergei is the nephew of Filip Bobkov, first deputy chairman of the KGB, the number two man in the KGB hierarchy.

The founding conference heard calls for a "new Slavic Renaissance." Academician Ye.M. Chekharin, deputy chairman of the R.S.F.S.R. Council of Ministers, stressed the "unique character" of Russian culture being "multinationalism." He called for "Days of Slavic Writings and Culture" to take place simultaneously throughout many cities, towns,



Count N.P. Ignatiev

was preparing a new book on the officers of the czarist Russian General Staff and "the Russian secret service and counterintelligence." Pikul's reason for writing the book: "We know nothing about what . . . Ignatiev wrote about it"—a reference to A.A. Ignatiev, George Ignatieff's uncle, who went over to the Bolsheviks and became a Red Army officer.

and villages in Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia. A press conference was held at the *Journal of Moscow Patriarchate*'s Publishing Department, at which Chairman N.N. Tolstoy and members Metropolitan Pitirim of Volokolamsk and Yurev, writer D. Balashov, and Yu. Loshchits spoke.⁸

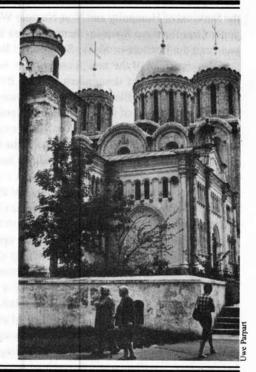
Tolstoy discussed how the foundation will build a mass Slavophile movement. "It will unite all who find Russian Culture dear to their heart. . . . Russian culture was never self-contained. It enriched other Slavic cultures. . . . Our Slavic cultures—Belorussian, Ukrainian, and Russian—are, on the one hand, distinct national cultures and, on the other hand, united. . . . We are also enthusiastically supported by our Slavic brothers living abroad. And we are ready to cooperate with them."

Metropolitan Pitirim declared that the role of the Russian Orthodox Church within the foundation is "absolutely clear" given the fact that "Slavic culture, as a historical phenomenon, developed in the atmosphere of Orthodoxy." He spoke about the "national historic drama" of the Slavs, characterized by "Slavic unity advanced to the fullest," despite "past divisions" caused by "conflicts between Western and Eastern Churches." Pitirim stressed that the aim of the foundation is to show that "the one unifying factor" for all Slavs is "the blood ties among Slavic nations," whatever other "factors may divide them." For the Russian Orthodox Church, the unification of all the Slavs is "especially important, because right now we are living in an unusually difficult period in the history of our fatherland. Perestroika has re-awakened interest in spiritual-historical values and in the conciliarity tradition and comunity of man, whose 'family model' has always distinguished the Slavs from other civilizations."

Dmitri Balashov, one of the initiators of the All-Russian Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments, a predecessor of Pamyat, said: "Our main tasks should be aimed at spiritual rebirth. . . . We have in the last half-century destroyed 95% of our cultural treasures. We have to save our spiritual nature. . . . We will do everything we can to reawaken, defend, and preserve the culture of our great country. . . . The establishment of the new Foundation is an attempt to get out of the crisis situation which we are experiencing. . . . We Russians have to be proud of our efforts . . . for creating a supra-ethnic state, for which there exists no analogy in the world." It would be lamentable, concluded Balashov, "if the miracle of Russian statehood should be consumed by chaos [all emphasis added]."

In an interview with Sovyetskaya Rossiya (April 14, 1989) founding member and chairman of the Research Council on Russian Problems and Culture Eduard Volodin put it this way: "In 1987, as soon as the Council . . . was created, we quickly came to realize the necessity for more wide-ranging efforts in the study and popularization of the great achievements made by Slavic cultures . . . thus the need to create the Foundation of Slavic Writers and Slavic Cultures As we all know, Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian cul-

Mikhail Gorbachov, the top official of the Communist Party, admitted during his visit to France on July 6, 1989, that he and his wife Raisa had been baptized into the Russian Orthodox Church. Asked by a journalist about his views on religion, he stopped for a moment, then replied: "Well, I was baptized when I was a little boy, you know. Why do you look at me? There's nothing peculiar about being baptized, is there?"



A Russian Orthodox Church inside the Kremlin.

tures have emerged from one Eastern Slavic root." Volodin stressed the need to revive the "popular culture of the Russian peasantry," adding that it was the peasantry—still dominating Russian life until the '50s—that provided the social base of the Russian Army. Volodin welcomed the participation of the Orthodox and Old Believers in the new organization.

The other main task of the foundation, he said, should be "to establish cultural ties with co-patriots abroad, bringing within their reach the culture of the Mother country." And last but not least: "The Slavic Foundation should reflect fully F.M. Dostoevsky's idea of the all-humanitarian man [vse-chelovek], as the unifying factor in the world." This expresses the messianic idea that the quality of the Russian Man is such that he alone transcends the personal and even national, and has been uniquely endowed by God with the mission to unify All Mankind.

The expansion of the Empire

The 19th-century Pan-Slavism of Khomyakov, Solovyov, Danilevsky, Konstantin Leontyev, Dostoevsky, et al. was the precursor of the Russian Revolution. During the second half of the last century (accelerated under the reign of the "reformist" Czar Alexander II, during a period of forced rapid industrialization), the "Russian Party" of Mikhail Katkov, like the Russian chauvinist Pamyat elements today, resurrected the ideal of the Pan-Slavic Union, mobilizing the masses into a frenzy against both the "Romano-German" West and the "heathen" Turks.

Books like Slavdom and the World of the Future were published, in time for the Moscow Slavic Congress of 1867,

calling for the "unification of the Slavs under Russian leadership," with Moscow to be the capital, Russian to be the language, and Orthodoxy to be the religion. Thus the idea of a violent, irreconcilable conflict between the Slavic and Western worlds was propagated. It proved quite effective in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-88, in rallying the mass support for a successful war effort. It served as a brutal doctrine which channeled off unrest and uprisings in the Empire and resentments against Russian rule into hatred (leading to massacres in some cases) of Jews, non-Slavic "foreigners," and others. It played on classic Russian chauvinist hatred of not only the Turks, Germans, and Jews, but also the Poles as western Slavic "traitors," and the Hungarians as "Asian interlopers" in Eastern Europe.

This was the period when the Pan-Slavs also harkened back to the old Russian imperial project of reconquering Constantinople. They advocated the formation of a "federation of Slavs" (no true federation has ever been possible in any empire), an entity which would also include such non-Slavic peoples as the Greeks, Romanians, and Hungarians. Such a project, they said, was needed because of "the inevitability of Western European aggression against the Slavs." The Slavs, they argued, must form an "original civilization" which could defend itself against the West—hence, the Russian Revolution and the formation of the Soviet Empire.

Today, as in every preceding crisis period facing the Russian Empire, the idea of irreconcilability with the West and the "exclusivity" of Slavdom has reemerged. Until now, this had only occurred briefly under Stalin in the 1940s—e.g., with the All-Slavic Congress in Moscow in August

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1941, soon after Hitler's armies had attacked, and with Stalin's dissolution of the Comintern and the re-establishment of the Moscow Patriarchate in 1943. Today, we see the opening of a total of 22,000 Russian Orthodox churches. Russia is resurrecting the Pan-Slavic ideal and once again seeking "friends" among her kin beyond her borders.

Averinstev's *Novy Mir* article makes clear the point that "Orthodoxy," to Moscow, is defined not in terms of populations who are Orthodox, but encompasses the *ecclesiastical boundaries* of the various Eastern Orthodox patriarchates. This is a blatant admission of expansionist intent; it would add to the domains of "Holy Russia" most of Yugoslavia, all of Greece and Albania, at least parts of Turkey, including Istanbul and the strategic Turkish Straits, Syria, the Levant, Israel, and other regions of the Near East.

To be sure, expansionist aspirations of Muscovy will not stop at the gates of Istanbul, the shores of the Adriatic, or Anatolia. *Novy Mir* issued a "death sentence" against the Catholic Church and Pope John Paul II, stating Holy Russia's misson as ensuring that "all the Christians shall be under one rule." In another swipe at the Polish pontiff, Catholic Poland and Lithuania were singled out as having historically exemplified the Western "enemies" of Holy Russia along its western frontier.

The coherence of contemporary Slavophile hatred of Western culture is evident in Vladimir Lichytin's "historical observation" about the origins of Russophobia. According to him, Russophobia was invented by the Roman Catholics, who passed it down to Czar Peter the Great and other Westernizers in Russia's history.

Last but not least, the *Novy Mir* piece, which denounced the "decision of compromise" at the Council of Florence—which momentarily reconciled the Catholic and Orthodox churches on the theological issue of the *Filioque*—minced no words in saying that the intended territorial expansion would embrace *all* of Christian Europe. What we know and cherish as Europe and Western Civilization would dissolve into a western extension of a Muscovy-ruled Eurasia.

Gorbymania in the Western world has blinded people from seeing that the Soviet Union is entering a phase of outright fascism, which, with the "Black Millions," the revival of the Pan-Slavic imperial drive, and the latest Soviet military advancements, represents the most dangerous threat to Western civilization ever.

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Moscow's ugly future, with or without Gorbachov

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