

and the sole real representative of Serbian national interests". It accused the Church of seeing the equality of the nations of Yugoslavia as a defeat for Serbanism. *Politika* in a long article on 1 June examined the whole question of the position of the Serbian Orthodox Church, and agreed that on the whole the moderates had prevailed over the extremists and that the Patriarch had behaved with the greatest correctness; it also admitted that there had been irregularities, such as delays in granting permits for church buildings and pressures by some teachers in connection with religious instruction.

Rather unusually the (government-backed) Association of Orthodox Priests of Yugoslavia in the May 1982 issue of its journal *Vesnik* (Herald) supported the position of the Church, although without the melodramatic language of the two appeals. It feared that the historical dimensions of the events in the Kosovo might be overlooked and asserted that the Serbian Orthodox Church was an active factor in the 750-year-old history of the Serbs in the Kosovo; it had an elementary right to express an opinion about matters of historic and contemporary importance to the Serbian people; it was an inalienable element of the national identity, conscience and honour of the Serbian people. The Church was

not political and there was no political purpose hidden behind their words; it was dangerous simply to reject them as hostile.

Although the Association is not simply a creature of the government (it has its roots among a liberal section of the Serbian clergy going back to the 19th century) it has close links with the Serbian authorities and some observers speculated that they might have been given a strong hint to go ahead by some Serbian republican officials. It is in any case a clear indication that the protests of the Church must be taken very seriously. The authorities have been so preoccupied with the simmering nationalism in Croatia and the violent outbreaks among the Albanians that they have tended to overlook the strength of Serbian national feeling. The Albanian attacks have awakened ancestral memories and fears among all Serbs and they will not die down easily.

According to *Politika* (1 June 1982) the Serbian Orthodox Church on the eve of World War II had more than 4,200 churches and 220 monasteries, many of which were entirely or partly demolished. Between the end of the war and 1970 181 churches were built and 841 restored; eight monasteries were built and 48 reconstructed.

STELLA ALEXANDER

The Independent Women's Movement in Russia

The independent women's movement in Russia today has not yet become a movement of the masses. It is concentrated basically in a few large towns, in Leningrad, Moscow and Riga (in Latvia, where Latvian women work together with Russian women who live in Riga). But now, when the élite, exclusive human rights movement, which until recently represented only a few dozen people, has begun to bring together a widespread opposition of the people to the communist régime, the women's movement is one of the most forward-looking in character. Other similar movements include the nationalist movement in the republic-colonies, the workers' movement and the broadest (and to us the most important) religious movement.

It began in Leningrad in September 1979. Several women, all friends who had known each other a long time, decided to get together and publish their country's first inde-

pendent women's journal *Zhenshchina i Rossiya* (Woman and Russia). The first activists in the movement were Tatyana Mamonova, Natalya Malakhovskaya and Tatyana Goricheva, and they were joined by Yuliya Voznesenskaya, Sofya Sokolova and Natalya Maltseva in the course of producing the first issue.

We came by different routes to the decision to speak and act in the name of the women of our country. The only traditional feminist among us, in the western sense of the word, was Tatyana Mamonova, an artist and poetess. Working for many years amongst artists and poets who belonged to the so-called "unofficial culture", she felt mistrust and sometimes even direct non-recognition from her male colleagues. It wounded this talented woman's self-esteem and forced her to enquire into the psychological reasons for such behaviour. One must say that all of us

women who were engaged in creative work had come across such an attitude. Tatyana Goricheva, a talented philosopher, was praised for her "masculine" mind. I was praised for my "masculine" verse. Need one add that such "compliments" were dubious to us? However, Tatyana Goricheva and I had no desire to make the mistrust of women's capabilities a central problem in our activities: these men were our friends and companions, we shared a common aim and suffered the same repression for "independent thought" from the authorities. There was simply no question of arguing and we preferred to treat with irony the almost "racist" attitude. Therefore, when Tatyana Mamonova suddenly suggested producing a feminist journal, based on western feminist theories and designed for publication in the West, the idea did not meet with anyone else's approval. But this unsuccessful idea spawned a more successful one — Tatyana Goricheva suggested producing a journal to highlight the problems of Soviet women and to publish it ourselves in our own motherland. This suggestion was taken up.

As for me, I was given the task of looking after the problems of women in concentration camps, the so-called "criminals". During three years in exile, in prison and in camps, I had met thousands of women deprived of freedom. Their fates were so tragic that even today I cannot begin to speak of them without pain in my heart. First of all I was convinced that the existence of camps for women was dictated above all not by a growth in female criminality in a "country of triumphant socialism", but simply by the state's practical need for an unpaid work-force: for example, the entire Soviet army has shoes made almost exclusively by women prisoners. And the most terrible thing is that any attempt to appeal to the law is useless — the law is on the side of the slave-owning State. I have seen in what dreadful conditions women are kept in camps and prisons. But often the circumstances which led them to the camps are even more dreadful. Throughout the time of my stay behind bars and barbed wire, I wrote about women — articles, which sometimes succeeded in getting out, books, sketches and even poetry. My friends in the camps knew this and somehow helped me secretly to write my books; some carried these tiny pages of secret writing to freedom, often at great risk to themselves. When I was released from camp at the end of my term of imprisonment, their last words were: "Yuliya! You must write the truth about us. Let the whole world

know how we suffer here." And I promised them that "The Women's Gulag" would be written. In the following years the parting words of these thin, emaciated, ailing women-friends in hell remained my guide. My first article about women in prison, "Letter from Novosibirsk", was published in the first issue of *Woman and Russia*.

Articles by other authors which appeared in the first journal for women told what had until now been hidden from the public behind Soviet propaganda. They wrote of the unbearable conditions in which a woman found herself in our country, after the 60th anniversary of the triumph of Lenin's policies. Women spoke openly and with personal knowledge about what, for over half a century, they had been silent about: the inequality of women in private life and at work, the horror of shared accommodation, the disgraceful state of Soviet medical facilities — primarily at maternity homes and in children's hospitals. They spoke of the growth of alcoholism in this country and its social origins, and even of such carefully concealed evils of a socialist society as female criminality and prostitution.

Although the KGB had known these authors for many years and clearly were aware of their way of thinking, it was not expecting this. Immediately after the first issue, they tried to suppress the anthology. Women were taken in for questioning and threatened with repression if the work continued. Apart from Tatyana Mamonova, who had given the KGB a signed statement undertaking to terminate her work for the journal, all the other editors and authors of the journal were categorically forced to follow the KGB's orders. On the other hand, to many people it seemed that this interest on the part of the repressive political powers breathed life into the work: the KGB's attention to the women's movement showed us that we were on the right road, that the authorities knew better than we the truth of the situation of women in our country and feared that by the growth and development of the women's movement, still newer evils of society would be revealed to the world in the pages of the women's publications. This is what happened next.

At the beginning of 1980 we decided to organize the first independent women's club in this country, "Mariya". Our women's circle was not given the name of the Mother of God by chance. For centuries She has been the only one to whom Russian women could

bring their sorrows and their joys, to whom they poured out their prayers. It is not by chance that the name "Mariya" has become the favourite girls' name in Russia.

We did not seek or invent a religious platform. It was simply that during discussion about which way our young movement would develop, it turned out after the only atheist among us, Tatyana Mamonova, had left the editorial board, that we were all religious, though not all belonging to the same church: most of us were Russian Orthodox, of course, but there were also Catholics and Baptists. We viewed a future Russia through a prism of a religious revival. We did not thirst for a social and political revolution, but for the only important revolution — that of the spirit. For without that, no rebuilding of society can guarantee the emancipation of a person. Only religion, which has defined the goal and form of human existence as a movement of man towards God, gives the theoretical prerequisites for the rebuilding of a just society within the framework of what is possible on earth. We firmly decided that in our work we would not follow the pattern of western feminists, although much of their wide movement was close to our hearts — for instance, concern for women's maternity pay and respect for child care from society and the government. We have a great number of friends in the western feminist groups and there are some religious feminists who are close to us in spirit, but on the whole we decided to go our own way and to develop a women's movement in Russia along Russian lines. The full name of our club clearly defines its programme: "The Russian Women's Independent Religious Club 'Mariya'".

After a month of preparatory work, the founding conference of the Club "Mariya" was held, on 1 March 1980. Soon the *samizdat* (self-published) women's journal *Mariya* appeared. And recently we celebrated the second anniversary of our club. So what has happened during these two years?

There have been six *samizdat* issues of the journal *Mariya*. Secretly printed, on a variety of different typewriters, some very old, and on paper of varying quality, with a very small circulation, these journals were shared among women in Leningrad, Moscow, Riga and other towns. One copy was always sent abroad, where exiled members of "Mariya" (there are already ten representatives of the women's movement abroad) would print them and by various routes and secret channels, or by tourists, would send them back to

Russia. A special edition of *Mariya* is printed abroad on cigarette paper: in tiny print on eight small pages we try to assemble the most important information for Soviet women.

All publications of *Mariya* are devoted of course particularly to the problems women face. So is the club narrow-minded? Women worry about the situation of the country, international politics, world problems, religious problems and much, much more. The woman and mother is responsible for everything, for all aspects of life on earth — and there is no problem in the world which is not equally a problem for women, for women in their nature feel a great responsibility, and they have a feeling of responsibility for the world. We can look at any political, social or religious question from a woman's point of view. What does this mean in practice? For instance, let us take Soviet aggression in Afghanistan. We put it like this: the Kremlin leaders send our husbands and sons into battle in order to spread their corrupt ideology throughout the world, by means of seizure of direct power, in the name of the whole nation — and that means in our name, in the name of each of us, Yuliya, Masha, Natasha, blood is shed daily and crime is committed on alien soil. We demand that the government reject the politics which allow this criminal seizure to continue. This is a problem for us women. We demand a rejection of external expansion and the turning of all society's and the State's forces to the solution of the country's internal problems. This is our form of struggle for peace — a fight against war where it blazes now. In this respect we differ not only from the yes-men and -women of our country, but also from the blind pacifist movement in the West, which affects not to know who is fighting and where, and who is struggling for peace. Hunger, alcoholism and crime are growing in this country, child mortality is increasing — these problems will not be solved for us by the Afghans or the Poles. And no amount of tanks or rockets can help our nation rise out of its misery and inequality. We demand an end to the government's anti-social, anti-human and anti-feminist policies. And we do not stop at protests and appeals, to which the brazen "pedlars of communism" have long failed to react, even if these protests go beyond our borders — only the opinion of the West influences them! We have been forced to protest by more active methods. With the help of young people, who are disposed to be hostile, we have collected truthful testimonies

about what is really happening in Afghanistan — the young people were questioned on their return from military service in Afghanistan — and then we published this information in *samizdat* and in our journal. We appealed to our women not to let their sons go to the evil war and to prefer an honourable prison sentence to the evil death of an aggressor at the hands of Afghan patriots. All the mothers in our club opposed the call-up of their sons to the army and were able to defend their young lives. Other Russian mothers followed our example. This is what we call a fight for peace!

The "Mariya" club carries out its work consistently by studying the true situation of Soviet women. Interviews with readers of the journal *Mariya* give us a wealth of material, and reveal to us more fully the unknown facts which hitherto have been obscured by empty slogans about the equality of women in our country. The journal will publish material on workers' hostels and buildings, on women's camps and prisons, on children's institutions, and it is producing statistics collected with some difficulty from different districts of Leningrad and the provinces. The club is producing a large piece of research using official statistics on the situation of women and articles from the Soviet press. Liars nearly always let something slip — even in the Soviet press. One has only to read between the lines. We shall seek these grains of truth and shall find them. Amongst us there are professional journalists — their past experience will help them to find the truth even in the most untruthful publications — in *Pravda* (Truth) where there is hardly any truth, in *Izvestiya* (News) which has hardly any news, and so on.

Naturally all this provokes the authorities to hatred and subjects the fate of our activists in Russia to the constant danger of repression. The latest acts of repression took place in March 1982. On 8 March the USSR celebrates International Women's Day. At countless meetings speakers read slogans from prepared papers about the quality and happiness of Soviet women. At this time, the KGB had already prepared the next pogrom against the independent women's movement in Leningrad and Moscow. Only five days after Women's Day the first victim was arrested — Natalya Lazareva, a theatre artist and one of the founders of the "Mariya" club. Natalya Lazareva is 34 years old. She had already been arrested in September 1980 for participation in the independent women's movement and was sentenced to ten months' im-

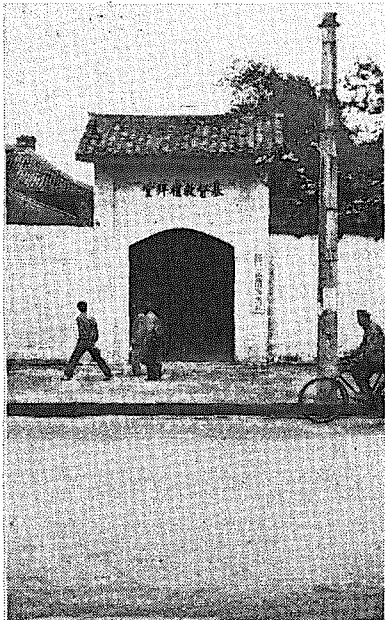
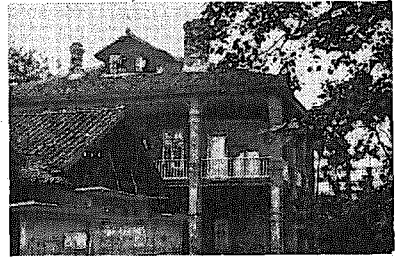
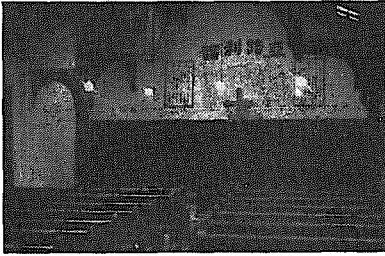
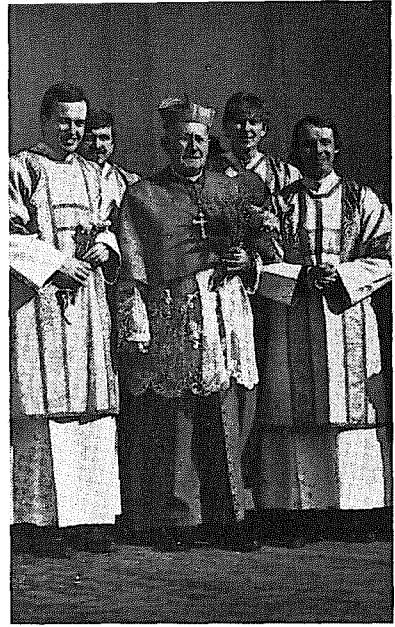
prisonment. After completing the period in a concentration camp, Natalya once again became active in the work of the "Mariya" club. Her work included photographic reporting of the life of Soviet women, drawings, poetry and design for the journal *Mariya*. Overseas readers of "Mariya" publications are familiar with the club's emblem — the "flower of life", which she has depicted on the cover. In the first issue of the journal some of her poems were printed — they were unsophisticated, frank and utterly truthful, describing her life, her youth in a children's home. In them there is not one word which is untrue, nor a call for the forcible overthrow of Soviet power. But at her first arrest she was accused of spreading "deliberately false and slanderous thoughts, discrediting the Soviet government and social order", and at her second arrest, of "anti-Soviet propaganda". The accusations were more than absurd, because all Soviet propaganda claims that our women enjoy all citizens' rights, which means the right to speak freely of one's troubles and problems. In western countries, where the feminist movement has developed in many directions and in many places, no one has heard of a case where a woman has been deprived of her freedom purely for taking part in feminist activities. No other régime is so afraid of its own women!

On the same day that Natalya Lazareva was arrested, the KGB arranged a variety of searches in Leningrad and Moscow. In Leningrad there was a search at the home of Galina Grigoryeva, a mother of four who participates in the movement. The youngest of her sons, twins of only a few months, were still babes-in-arms. But such things do not stop the KGB.

Tatyana Yudkovskaya's home in Moscow was searched on 13 March, and on 24 March Natalya Voronina's and Yekaterina Zhukova's. Under the threat of arrest a new branch of the "Mariya" club appeared in Moscow. Evidently, the spread of the women's movement beyond Leningrad frightened the authorities more than anything. Fearing arrest, Natalya Voronina was forced to hide. Now this twenty-year-old girl finds herself living illegally.

The Mariya club turns to all women's movements in the world and to all people of goodwill, asking that they help our friends to resist the KGB's repression and work with us for the release of Natalya Lazareva.

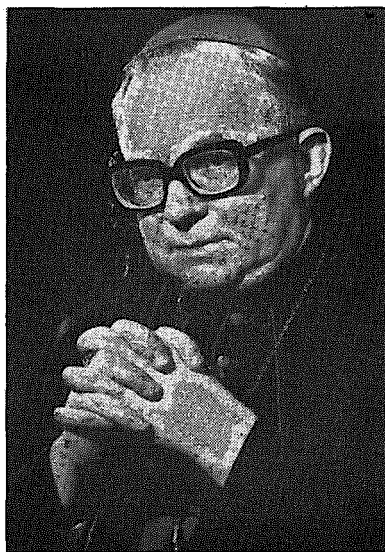
Cardinal František Tomášek, Primate of Czechoslovakia (*right*), flanked by newly-ordained priests in 1982. Since 1980 the 83-year-old Cardinal has been at the centre of the growing conflict over the state-controlled priests' organisation "Pacem in Terris": see article on pp. 275-82. (*Photo courtesy of Keston College*).



The inside of the Three-Self Church in Chengdu (*top left*), formerly the Sheng Gong Hui (Anglican) church. The church was unoccupied and unused during the ascendancy of the Gang of Four, but was not used as a storehouse; the original pews remain. The inscription over the cross reads "Alleluia" and the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer are on either side. The church occupies one room in the lower left-hand corner of a house, formerly belonging to the church (*above*). Over the entrance (*bottom left*) is the inscription "Christian Worshipping Hall". See the article on contemporary worship in China on pp. 283-91. (*Photos courtesy of Keston College*).



This year the annual pilgrimage of Polish Catholics from Warsaw to Częstochowa took place as usual despite the hardships of martial law. See *Chębnice*, p. 342. Above a group of pilgrims' in 1975 joining in prayer at the end of a day's march.



Polish Catholic bishops have given a strong lead to their flocks under martial law. At a pilgrimage attended by 200,000 people on 30 May, Bishop Bednorz of Katowice (*left*) demanded an end to arrests, detentions and dismissals from work. In Wrocław Cathedral on 6 May, Archbishop Henryk Gulbinowicz (*above*) prayed for freedom and peace to return to the country. See *Chronicle*, p. 340. (*All photos courtesy of Keston College.*)

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Editor's Postscript

The KGB has continued its repressive activity against the women's movement throughout 1982. Natalya Lazareva was sentenced on

1 July to four years in strict régime camp and two years' internal exile on a charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" (article 70 of the Criminal Code). The international MLF (Women's Liberation Movement) in Paris issued an appeal on her behalf, asking that telegrams of protest be sent to Soviet Embassies. Few if any active members of the women's movement are now known to be at liberty in the USSR.

The Moscow Peace Conference, May 1982

Man has always lived with the knowledge of his own individual death, but since 1945 the possibility of the extinction of the entire species has entered the world. The awareness that we have the capacity to incinerate ourselves in a global holocaust is still sinking into the collective imagination.

The interfaith conference held in Moscow from 10 to 14 May under the cumbersome title of "A World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe" was a contribution to this growing awareness that mankind has come to a point of decision so grave that all other debates and disputes must be seen in relation to it. "I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing: therefore, choose life that both thou and thy seed may live."

The conference was convened, however, in an atmosphere of suspicion that it would be a mere propaganda exercise in which the Russian Orthodox Church would serve as a compliant handmaid of Soviet foreign policy. The United States State Department tried, unsuccessfully in most cases, to persuade individual delegates not to attend and particularly strong appeals to stay away were made to the most notable American participant, Dr Billy Graham. The Vatican decided not to be directly represented at episcopal level and instead there were two observers from the Secretariat for Unity. In the end there were nearly six hundred participants — 401 Christians, 106 Muslims, 57 Buddhists and a number of Jews, Hindus, some admirable and articulate Sikhs, a Shintoist and a Zoroastrian. The interfaith dimension was rather disappointing. The only common worship was a rather perfunctory silence at the beginning of each day's work and language difficulties compounded the divide, especially between Christian and Muslim.

Any conference held in the Soviet Union

has certain resemblances to an ancient Greek drama. The plot is known by most of the audience in advance. The interest comes in the artistry with which the old themes are treated in word and symbol. If you are listening with these expectations, changes in formulae and departures from the conventional course of events reverberate in a way which is hard to appreciate if you have been reared on less tightly orchestrated western productions. Like Aeschylus, the Soviet conference is highly stylized. We sat in a superb modern hall, dominated by a vertiginous podium on which the principal characters were enscenced and from which the lengthy rhetorical speeches were delivered. Most of us were in the body of the hall in the chorus of peace-loving workers, whose chief role was to endorse and to applaud. The really exciting and significant action happened off stage. This is not intended as mockery of a very different tradition. It does no good to seethe with the anger of incomprehension and to neglect the means that do exist to give the process some reality. In the hands of a master such dramas can achieve an impressive grandeur and generate powerful emotion, but they can also easily degenerate into tedious and prolix insincerity. Most of the participants in the Moscow conference submitted to the tradition cheerfully enough. Many of them knew very little in detail about nuclear weapons or disarmament negotiations and it was easy to fall under the spell of the size and complexity of everything.

Granted the stylized form, however, this was in many ways an unusual conference. It was an achievement to hold it at all at a time when uncertainties generated by the question of who is to succeed Mr Brezhnev naturally induce caution, but it was also an organizational triumph. One of the leading laymen of the Russian Orthodox Church, Dr Rjevsky,