

samizdat publications started to circulate. Lithuanian religious dissent attempted to co-ordinate its activities with the general democratic and human rights movement in the USSR. The Lithuanian Helsinki monitoring group recruited its members mostly from Catholic activists.

In the 1970s, the Church felt its strength: popular among the masses, it was the only institution with some autonomy and, was, moreover, crowned with martyrdom. While the hierarchy was under pressure to collaborate with the regime, the rank-and-file clergy, the laity and in particular the intelligentsia constituted the core of the new religious movement. The Lithuanian peasantry and even the working class, only recently urbanized, expressed solidarity with dissenters. The students also demonstrated their support, if for no other reason than that the Church reflected their nationalist anti-Sovietism.

Vardys chronicles in detail the activities of the leaders of dissent and reprisals against them, and assesses the impact of the movement on public opinion, on the authorities and on the Vatican's *Ostpolitik*. His account ends at the end of 1977 but not so the story: a sequel to this volume could easily be written on the events of the subsequent four years.

Two principal themes recur in Vardys's book: the close relationship between religion and nationality in Lithuania; and the paradox inherent in Soviet policy towards religion—a policy which contradicts the alleged separation of Church and State in the Soviet Union. In fact, the Church is not separated from the State, but subjected to secular power not only as far as administrative control is concerned but also in terms of the long-range ideological objective of creating an atheist society.

VASYL MARKUS

Muslim National Communism in the Soviet Union: a Revolutionary Strategy for the Colonial World

by Alexandre A. Bennigsen and S. Enders Wimbush,

Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Publication No. 11, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1979, xxii + 267 pp., \$7.95.

Marxism and Islam are strange bed-fellows; and yet an ideological marriage of the two was engineered by Muslim nationalist leaders in the Soviet Union during the 1920s before Stalin suppressed all forms of "national deviation" in the 1930s. Professor Bennigsen and S. Enders Wimbush, eminent scholars of Islam in the Soviet Union, trace the origins of Muslim national communism and suggest some channels by which these ideas spread from the Soviet Union to almost every corner of the Third World and influenced every national liberation movement. These

ideas are particularly interesting at the present time since the upsurge of revolutionary Muslim nationalism in Iran. For those who see Islam and communism as incompatible, *Muslim National Communism in the Soviet Union* helps explain how Marxism was Islamicized and came to be the ideological motivation of revolutionary groups in Muslim countries. This study breaks new ground and is an important contribution not only to the study of Islam in the USSR but also to the study of revolutionary Islamic movements in general and of national liberation movements. The appendices supply the reader with a number of useful texts, demographic information on Soviet Muslims, biographies of prominent Muslim personalities in the USSR, and short summaries of political parties relevant to the theme of the book.

The Muslim national communists in the Soviet Union, and in particular Sultan Galiev, promoted the idea that the most backward nations could bypass the capitalist stage and leap straight from feudalism to socialism. The oppressed masses, rather than the proletariat, were the most revolutionary element within a society and thus the oppressed, backward Muslim nations of the East would ignite the revolution. The Muslim national communists believed that a national revolution must precede the social revolution and class struggle, and that the country, not the city, would be the scene of revolution.

The manner in which Muslim national communist ideas spread from the USSR is one of the most fascinating aspects of this scholarly study. The authors admit that it is impossible to establish accurately exactly how this happened, but they are able to point to a number of ascertainable facts which indicate some of the channels by which these ideas spread. An important centre in the USSR for the transmission of these ideas was KUTVa (University of the Toilers of the East) which opened in 1921 and which until it was purged in 1924 became the intellectual headquarters for the leading revolutionary cadre of the colonial world. Almost all the national communist Muslim leaders taught there including Sultan Galiev, and among the university's students were the Vietnamese Ho Chi Minh, the Chinese Liu Shao-Shi, and the Japanese Sen Katayama. A number of Iranian Marxist refugees sought sanctuary in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and one wonders what influence they had on the evolution of political groups in Iran and on the development of Muslim revolutionary nationalism there today. Ben Bella, too, was influenced by Sultan Galiev since to the authors' knowledge he read the book published in 1960, *Les Mouvements Nationaux chez les Musulmans de Russie: Le Sultan-Galievisme à Kazan*; and from Ben Bella these ideas may have passed on to other African leaders, for example Libya's Muammar Khadafi.

Since the suppression of Muslim national communism in the USSR after 1928, these ideas have been prevented from "reinfected" Soviet

Muslims and today's Muslim establishment is in no way a threat to the Soviet authorities. But with increasing foreign contacts some of Sultan Galiev's ideas may paradoxically penetrate the USSR from the outside, and with the present rapid growth of the Muslim population such ideas would be extremely dangerous for the stability of the Soviet polity.

XENIA HOWARD-JOHNSTON

The Unknown Homeland

translated by Marite Sapiets,

Mowbrays, London and Oxford, 1978, vii + 247 pp., £4.95

(Keston Book No. 13)

The Unknown Homeland is an example of a particular type of *samizdat* literature which is little known in the West. Spiritually edifying books are known to circulate in typescript among Orthodox believers in the Soviet Union: they are a source of sustenance, in many cases describing the lives of men and women who some would say are the saints of this century. *Father Zacharia*, also published by Mowbrays, and *The Catacombs of the Twentieth Century*, as yet neither translated nor published, are further examples of this type of *samizdat*.

The Unknown Homeland, beautifully translated by Marite Sapiets, is both simply a good story and a profound study of the workings of Divine Providence. The story of Fr Pavel's life is presented vividly with Tolstoyan concrete detail: the reader smells, hears, touches the characters and their physical environment. Fr Pavel, originally intent on becoming a monk, falls in love with a charming girl at a ball, marries and becomes a parish priest. The consequences for his marriage of the October Revolution give the reader some insight into the effect of the Revolution on believers and into the pressure to conform which Nina, Fr Pavel's wife, experiences. As a teacher she joins the "anti-religious movement" and her husband, to protect her, decides on divorce. The icons and religious books in their flat are hidden away and Fr Pavel hides in the kitchen whenever Nina entertains her pupils at home.

But the powerful impact of this book stems from its portrayal of a human life which fulfils a prophecy. Fr Pavel, it appears, was ordained to suffer and find his fulfilment in death as a Siberian exile. At the Novodevichy Convent, long before Fr Pavel's arrest, the Sister Superior, Sister Anisya, while serving her guests, had given Fr Pavel only a piece of cabbage-pie and no knife, fork or plate. She had said: "You'll be glad of such a piece, when you travel down the wide river. . . Take it in your hands, eat it, get used to it!" (p. 174). And so when, on his way by steamer to his place of exile in Siberia, he was given a piece of