The tale of Jerzy Popiełuszko's life can be briefly told. He was born in 1947 in the year when an "election" determined the political future of Poland under a communist government. His parents were poor and he was educated in the local secondary school. He entered the Warsaw seminary in 1965 and was ordained in 1972. Thereafter he served in a variety of parishes, often dogged by ill-health, until in 1980 he became associated with the Solidarity movement. He died in 1984 at the age of 37. Thus baldly stated this could have been the life of any ordinary priest, Roman, Anglican or Orthodox, but as this book makes clear Fr Jerzy was no ordinary priest. He was not a learned man, nor was he endowed with a dynamic personality, but his ministry, whether amongst students or workers, clearly engaged the hearts and minds of those who got to know him. There was something about him which transcended the normal parameters of the priestly office and evoked enormous affection and loyalty. The manner and the consequences of his death were almost implicit in his life. He suffered a brutal death at the hands of the security police, whose deed created such a revulsion of national and international feeling that the regime could not ignore it. The perpetrators were arrested, tried and condemned. The ringleader got 25 years' imprisonment — one year for murdering Fr Jerzy, as the cynics said, and 24 years for making such a mess of it. The author must be right when she says:

The virtually public killing of a Catholic priest — who had courageously and uncompromisingly followed his vocation and preached nothing but love and forgiveness — by members of the security police was probably the greatest personal shock to the Polish people in their post-war history. Many now admit that it was Father Jerzy's cruel death which
made them realise, more than ever before, the evil of the system, with its ideology of confrontation, hatred and contempt for man.

What emerges from this book is not the picture of the political activist in the normally accepted sense, but of a devoted follower of our Lord, who knew his own weaknesses only too well, who was afraid of the physical violence to which he knew he was exposed, but was content in life and death to be a "martyr for the truth". This is a brief, informative, honest account of his life, and you do not have to be Polish to appreciate the enormous influence this frail young man had on the nation he loved.

STUART BLANCH

No East or West

This review appears in lieu of an obituary of Paul Anderson (1894-1985). Some people who knew him consider him to have been too meek and mild a character to play the decisive role which history (God?) really wanted to assign to him. He found himself in some amazing situations (understatement: he actually, as an interpreter for some American left-wing journalists, sat a few feet away from Lenin in the Smolny Institute on 25 October 1917, as the Bolshevik Revolution was being announced), but they say he never quite fulfilled himself.

However, as the years go by my respect for Paul increases. For a man of such a quiet temperament, his influence was amazing. The publication of this posthumous volume makes me think again of the probability that without him there would be no Keston College, or if there were, its form would be very different. I knew Paul only from 1965, when he was already 71 years old, until his third or fourth "retirement" in 1972, though we exchanged occasional letters until his death in 1985 at the age of 91. Incidentally, it is typical of the man that no announcement of his decease reached the UK, thus depriving him of the obituary which The Times should and probably would have published.

This autobiography, No East or West, published over forty years after his only other book, People, Church and State in Modern Russia (1942), fills in many gaps in my own knowledge. Paul did tell me, of course, what it was like in the Smolny (an account of which forms the stunning opening to this book), but I feel humbled before much of the intervening detail up to my first meeting with him. His achievement, quite clearly, surpassed anything he talked about readily. The book will disappoint those who take it up expecting to find a distillation of Paul Anderson's deepest
insights into the history and development of the Russian Orthodox Church, for which he worked and prayed for over seven decades, for there is nothing here which has not been told by others in much greater detail. Neither will it answer the questions which some will want to ask regarding his views on the development of east-west church relations during the later stages of his life, a period during which a new generation arose, some of whom are still building on his insights and method, others of whom act as though sixty years of scholarship, which he inaugurated, did not exist. Perhaps Paul’s instinct to avoid controversy prevented him from reflecting on the current exchanges of the National Council of Churches (New York) with the Russian Church, which he began in 1956. The briefing materials which were prepared for those 260 Americans who participated in this exchange in 1984 astonishingly even omitted Paul’s name, let alone his achievements. Some of this book’s most fascinating pages (pp. 130-39) fill out that lacuna and it should be required reading for all those who participate in such exchanges today. Paul Anderson may have worked for the NCC on a paid basis only for two years, but as a YMCA employee he gave it the benefit of his advice for years before this and stayed on there unpaid for a decade after his “retirement”. For two generations his name was synonymous with Anglican and wider ecumenical understanding of the Orthodox Church.

Paul was an “enabler” rather than a great scholar in his own right. His scattered articles and two slim volumes are only incidental to his life’s work. In inspiring others and creating the opportunity for them to publish, he perhaps achieved more for the Russian Church outside its territory than any other non-Orthodox in history. In truth, when one surveys his achievement, so modestly recorded here, one is prompted to express the hope that he will acquire a biographer who will recount his life more dramatically. Deep down inside, there was a much tougher man than anyone ever thought after a few meetings with him. I am not surprised he fell off a roof in his eighties and lived to tell the tale (though not in this book).

In a very real sense I — and therefore more recently Keston College — can be counted among his spiritual children. Perhaps Paul Anderson’s greatest achievement was to co-found and administrate the Russian YMCA Press in its earliest days (Prague, then Paris), which enabled the publication of the seminal writings of Berdyayev and Bulgakov, an activity which developed through Solzhenitsyn and to the continuing vitality of which this book is a testimony (though one which could have benefitted from better proof-reading).

Virtually single-handed, Paul read the Soviet atheist press between the two world wars and published a quarterly chronicle as a result for London University in its Slavonic and East European Review. Even in those days Britain was ahead of other countries in its expressions of concern for the
persecuted church — see the account (p. 70) of the rally which packed the Royal Albert Hall in 1930 and received support from the leaders of all the churches. One could not achieve that today.

A direct descendant of this was *Religion in Communist Dominated Areas*, a unique documentation service which Paul Anderson founded with the Rev Blahoslav Hruby for the NCC in 1962. Unfortunately the book does not tell this story, though it is listed under his published works. It was, nevertheless, another fine achievement. The bibliography is slightly less than accurate in stating that it is “published semi-monthly by the National Council of Churches”. Actually, the NCC withdrew its sponsorship in 1972, an act of disservice to the Russian Church which was perhaps too painful for its founder to mention in these pages. Nevertheless, it lives on: in fact and by name under the tutelage of Blahoslav Hruby; in spirit in *Religion in Communist Lands*.

Paul Anderson was a key adviser to Dr William C. Fletcher who, as head of the short-lived “Centre de Recherches et des Etudes des Institutions Religieuses” in Geneva, gave me my first ecumenical job, working on published Russian sources on the life of the church. The demise of this institute in 1969 led straight into the founding of what became Keston College. Paul Anderson’s early advice and encouragement were a stimulus to which I am proud to pay this public tribute. His honesty and integrity, visible in every page of *No East or West*, form a yardstick by which we must all be judged.

MICHAEL BOURDEAUX

*The Revival of the Larch (Voskreseniye listvennitsy)*

If you break a twig from a larch tree and let it wither, then place it in a bowl of warm tap water, it will put out fresh shoots. If the twig has arrived by airmail from a hard-labour camp in northern Siberia, and revives in a Moscow apartment months after the sender had been maltreated and starved to death — as in the last story from this new selection of Varlam Shalamov’s writings — the event carries all the more stirring associations.

Readers of Shalamov’s *Kolyma Tales* will recall a remarkable series of brief dispassionate sketches drawn from life in prison camps in some of the toughest and most horrifying conditions imaginable. Shalamov was first arrested in 1929 for involvement in political opposition to Stalin’s

regime. Except for a brief reprieve between 1934 and 1937, he continued to be held in labour camps until 1954. The last 17 years of his sentence were spent in Kolyma, a vast area of north-eastern Siberia known for having rich mineral deposits and the coldest temperatures in the northern hemisphere. Three million people are estimated to have died there mining gold, coal, tin or uranium in temperatures as low as 60 degrees below zero.

Shalamov was one of the few to survive the experience and report on it. The stories in the Kolyma collection prompted a much quoted tribute from Solzhenitsyn, acknowledging that only to Shalamov had it been given “to touch those depths of bestiality and despair to which life in the camps dragged us all”. The Revival of the Larch includes a number of camp sketches not previously published in the Kolyma Tales: but the bulk of the book is devoted to autobiographical pieces on Shalamov’s childhood and early youth, written shortly before he died in 1982. These help to shed light on the formation of a personal philosophy which saw him through more than twenty years of imprisonment and hard labour. Shalamov’s father was an Orthodox priest attached to the Cathedral of St Sofiya in the northern Russian town of Vologda. He was also an authoritarian and ambitious man of the world who valued prestige, possession and power, loved hunting, and saw religion as a platform for intellectual and aesthetic display, serving to consolidate the strength and moral fibre of Russian society. He confined his personal religious practice to one minute’s prayer each night and was, in Shalamov’s view, the epitome of a pagan who had “quite naturally exchanged his tambourine for a censer”. He shied away from the contemplative life, and no doubt saw it as a suspect venture into the unknown recesses of the mind, just as he disliked and “feared” the thoughtful lyrical verse his son lived for and wrote throughout his life.

Varlam Shalamov was by nature a poet and a contemplative, whose earliest experience of religion proved an affront to the three values he most treasured: creativity, freedom of spirit and independent human dignity. He rejected formal religious practice as a child, and as an old man continued to declare “with pride that from the age of six until the age of sixty” he never once turned to God for help “either in Vologda, or in Moscow, or in the Far North”.

The conflict with his father apparently gave rise to his rebellion against any form of authority which threatened the creativity, freedom and dignity of the human personality. The tension in their relationship taught him to see the very principle of individual resistance as an affirmation of personal liberty, and to regard any form of capitulation to the will or opinion of others as an abuse of human stature.

Life in Stalin’s prison camps exacted absolute capitulation. It demanded that the prisoner should trade his values and his dignity in
exchange for physical survival, and — as Shalamov illustrates in the story “To Heel” (*U stremeni*) — the transaction generally took place with astonishing ease. A prisoner could suffer the most savage ill-treatment at the hands of a camp official, yet remain his eager and willing bondman. Slavery is a state of mind determined by the slave as much as by his master, the story suggests, and breaking the human spirit into slavery is what hard labour is all about. The greatest test the prisoner faced was the temptation to capitulate before his own instinct to survive at the cost of his perception of his own humanity. If and when he gave way (as, according to Shalamov, nearly everyone did) all that remained was a sense of loathing and contempt towards himself and all his fellow inmates.

Nevertheless the camp stories show how the creative spirit, freedom and dignity are not always irretrievably lost. At a gleam of hope they can revive, irrespective of personal will or desire, as naturally as the dead larch twig sprouts fresh needles from brief contact with a little warmth and water. Rebirth is a law of life itself, and for Shalamov the analogous rebirth of the human spirit is to be equated with a reawakening of the ability to see, to recollect and to create.

Shalamov’s art is in itself a reflection of that reawakening. At its best, his prose is a contemplative evocation and re-evaluation of experience from the perspective of a man who has preserved his capacity to see and apprehend, even in circumstances where the temptation to hide behind protective psychological blinkers must have seemed overwhelming. “I was never at liberty” he writes in the story “Unconverted” (*Neobrashchenny*) in the *Kolyma Tales*, “but I was free throughout all the years of my adult life.” For Shalamov, freedom was measured by a capacity to retain his creative perception through the kind of detachment which the contemplative disciplines aim to develop and reinforce. It was by means of such detachment, his writings show, that he kept sight of human dignity and stature, even as he watched himself and others lose it. He continued to believe in the beauty and wisdom of the natural world, and of the creative impulse permeating it, which — his bitter experience revealed — only Man, who has allowed himself to lose sight of his own nature, is able to corrupt and destroy.

*The Revival of the Larch* is about the writer, his motives and his beliefs — all so conspicuously unobtrusive in the *Kolyma Tales*. If the quality of the writing is muddled and repetitive at times, it is remarkable for its hard-hitting honesty. As a supplement to the *Kolyma Tales*, it is an informative document and an enlightening read.

IRENA KORBA
Islamic Peoples of the Soviet Union

Dr Akiner’s concern in this book is with the Muslim ethnic groupings contained within the Soviet Union, in particular with their numbers, location and identity. In pursuit of this objective she examines over one hundred different peoples in a varying degree of detail, ranging from the better known nations of Central Asia to the less familiar Tats, Godoberins and Yagnobis.

In her introduction she addresses herself to the important question of what the term “Muslim” actually means in the Soviet context. Soviet writers have for many years rejected the idea that these peoples are Islamic in any real sense, and in recent years a number of western scholars have also started to debate the complex relationship between religion and nationality in these parts of the Soviet Union. Whilst Dr Akiner would almost certainly be among the first to warn against any facile identification of the two phenomena, in this book she does adopt a broad definition of the term “Muslim” to denote “a community’s traditional perception of itself” (p. 2). In other words, the understanding fundamental to the purpose of the book is that in so far as these ethnic groupings have anything in common, it is a link of some kind with Islam.

After a brief introduction to the history of the lands occupied by these “Islamic peoples” and Russian or Soviet involvement in their affairs, Dr Akiner turns to a detailed description of the major ethnic groups. Within each chapter the ethnic groups of one major area of the Soviet Union are discussed under six headings: historical background; numbers and distribution; status within the Soviet Union; language; religion; and distribution and numbers outside the USSR.

Occasionally the book is inclined towards a rather formalistic approach, as in the sections on status which are usually limited to the comment that the group in question enjoys equal rights within the USSR. One might also have wished for a little more detail, for example, in the section on the Turkmen which quite rightly stresses the importance of tribal groupings yet makes no reference to the Awlad or “Holy Tribes” who have played a key role in the preservation of both Islamic and more syncretist practices and whose activities have been discussed in some depth by the more scholarly among Soviet authors such as Basilov and Demidov. Yet these are minor points when set against the overall value of a work which makes sense of a vast quantity of information and which, though not a book to be read from cover to cover, will prove an invaluable reference guide to anyone interested in what Soviet writers call “the peoples formerly confessing Islam”.

JOHN ANDERSON
Life in Russia
(First published by Hamish Hamilton, 1983)

Russia. Broken Idols, Solemn Dreams

Among the Russians

In 1976 Hedrick Smith and Robert G. Kaiser, two American ex-Moscow correspondents, brought out their highly popular books The Russians, and Russia, The People and the Power. Binyon, Shipler and Thubron, writing in the same genre, are ample proof that many more correspondents-cum-journalists will continue to write about their Moscow and Soviet Union experiences. Many will ask: How helpful are they, and which ones should I read?

Thubron introduces us to individual people in the Soviet Union. Without claiming to say definitely "what the Soviet Union is like" he "photographed" a fascinating variety of individuals in his journal (which caused him some problems when crossing the border to leave). The reactions, comments and behaviour recorded here open a little further the much-needed door to understanding the Soviets, with portraits of a nameless Belorussian fellow-camper; Nikolai, a professor of languages; Olga, a Moscow mother; Lyudmila, the ex-wife of an English friend; Lucia and Anatoli of Leningrad; Sergei, a young religious enthusiast who wants to become a pop musician; and Yuri, the author's KGB-sponsored guide. Here they are — not simply "the Russians", but persons, with widely differing views and ideas about all sorts of subjects. That sounds like a cliché, but it bears repeating. It is personal encounters like this which force persistent and damaging stereotypes gradually to give way.

Binyon's book will still be useful to anyone who hasn't waded through Smith or Kaiser, and will read faster. There is less detail, less analysis, few anecdotes. Information is updated since Binyon left the country in 1982. Otherwise the topics and the tone are much those of his predecessors from Washington, with their encyclopaedic notes on everything from Five Year Plans to crime, nationalism and religion.

Analysis and interpretation are strong suits of Shipler, who attempted to probe the assumptions which seem to govern the way things are done in the Soviet Union. There is less information than in the earlier books and Binyon's, but more of a search for what makes the whole system tick — the kindergartens, say, or the distribution of privilege in a "classless" society, or the relation of fathers and sons to each other and Soviet reality. It's the one book of these three which this reviewer feels should be
reread, and which might ultimately be most useful.

Readers of *RCL* may wonder what coverage of religion there is. All three books touch on the topic, but in quite different ways. Thubron simply shares what he heard or experienced, with little effort to supplement this with other material. Nikolai told him that “Russians are hopelessly religious”, and then went on to list analogies between communism and Christianity. Sergei of Leningrad related his dream of swimming underwater to Helsinki, thus escaping from his country to “sing for Christ”. In Estonia Thubron discussed the difficulties of the Methodist churches with Jaan and his wife. Thubron also described in some detail his experiences while attending the morning liturgy at the Monastery of St Alexander Nevsky in Leningrad (now closed as a monastery: presumably he means the Holy Trinity Cathedral which is still open for worship).

Shipler attempted no survey either. Instead he remarked on the “intertwining” of Christian notions and communist profession, and what it is actually that attracts people to the church, “revealing and masking motives in a complex game” (p. 270). He also touches on some of the difficulties of Christian communities, with basically accurate information, but all of it at least five years old.

For a general picture, even in broadest outline, one must go elsewhere. Binyon, in a more ambitious discussion of religion (a whole chapter), agrees that “Russians are naturally a religious people”, and writes about “a remarkable revival” of religious life in the country as a whole. He uses the figure of 35-60 million as the total of believers, while Shipler cited official statistics of 32 million. Western calculations tend to raise even the larger figure by at least fifty percent.

Binyon concludes: “Bitterly persecuted in the twenties and thirties, and again by Khruschchev, the Church is enjoying a quiet revival, now, tolerated as a conservative moral force, and as part of the immemorial personality of the Motherland” (p. 85). If this implies that pressures of the severest sort are a thing of the past — and he gives no further interpretation of what “toleration” might mean in this setting — then these words are at best ambiguous, and at worst simplistic and even misleading.

One need not complain as much about the overall picture Binyon provides as about inaccurate details. Mentioning “a few” Lutherans and Catholics in the Baltic area seems demeaning to several million believers in this area, and several million more Ukrainian Catholics not mentioned at all. The All-Union Council of “the Baptists” as Binyon calls it, which, he says, includes the Pentecostals, Mennonites and Methodists, in fact includes only some Mennonites and some Pentecostals, not Methodists, and also Evangelical Christians who are one of the two major components of it, alongside the Baptists. His focus on the wealth of
the Russian Orthodox Church is curious, and the reference without qualification to priests "living well" is misleading. One could note as well that Leningrad now has at least nine Orthodox working churches, along with a worship centre each for the Catholics, Baptists, Muslims and Jews.

These writers are not specialists on religion as they are on general reporting; those looking for new and up-to-date material in their books will be disappointed. However, given their limitations, each book is worth reading once, and Shipler's twice.

LAWRENCE KLIPPENSTEIN


In the early 1960s, the Roman Catholic Church undertook a rapprochement with the Soviet government, which was in the midst of an anti-religious campaign. No longer condemning communism, the Vatican sought dialogue with the USSR and ecumenical contact with the Russian Orthodox Church. Although otherwise in conflict, the Soviet government and the Moscow Patriarchate appear to have had a common interest in offering the Vatican improved relations on condition that the issue of the suppressed Ukrainian Catholic (Uniate) Church would not be raised. In his brief outline of Vatican Ostpolitik, Professor Moroziuk shows how the Roman Curia complied with this condition. In Part I, the author sketches the history of the Rome-Moscow dialogue. In Part II, he describes its impact on the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Professor Moroziuk discerns four stages in these "ecumenical" relations: (1) the Vatican distances itself from the exiled Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy's public statements about its suppression by the Soviet government and the Moscow Patriarchate; (2) the latter institutions pressure the Vatican to restrain the Ukrainian Church's speech and actions in the West; (3) the Vatican carries out the Kremlin's will against this part of the Catholic Church; (4) with some exceptions, the Ukrainian Catholic leadership accepts the Roman Curia's "dubious explanations" of its actions. He concludes that the Ukrainian Catholic Church has been "sacrificed on the altar of Vatican Ostpolitik", a victim of the "politicised 'ecumenical dialogue' of Rome with Moscow."

ANDREW SOROKOWSKI
The Challenge of Marxist and Neo-Marxist Ideologies for Christian Scholarship

The chapters consist of papers originally presented during the first part of the Third International Conference of Institutions for Higher Education (ICICHE) held in Sioux Centre, Iowa, from 13 to 20 August 1981. North American contributions are supplemented by participants from Continental Europe (Dr Saner Griffioen, Free University of Amsterdam), and particularly the Third World (e.g. Dr Roelf L. Haan, Instituto Superior Evangelicio de Estudio Teologicos, Buenos Aires, and Dr Tom Tuma, Secretary of the Conference of African Theological Institutions, Nairobi).

Students of Marxist-Christian dialogue will recognise Dr Klaus Bockmuehl of Regent College, Vancouver (“Marxism and Education: A Survey Report”), and may wish to read the treatments of “Human Freedom and Justice in Poland” (Dr Alice Catherine Carls, Sterling, Kansas), as well as the keynote address by Dr Griffioen, with the same title as the book. A strong critique of Liberation Theology is offered in the papers on that subject; and Marxism is criticised both in the keynote address and in Dr Roelf L. Haan’s Study “Christian Belief, Marxism and Rich and Poor Countries”.

What then is the challenge of Marxism to Christians in education? That, simply put, is the question addressed in the final essay. Dr Hendrik Hart, from the Institute of Christian Studies in Toronto, Canada, says: “It is the challenge of Christ — to see the hopeless crowds in our world and to liberate them by suffering for and with them.” He agrees with Dr Bockmuehl and Dr du Plessis that Marx and Marxists were and are deeply aware of their calling in education. Education for liberation means that educational processes themselves must be freed from their bondage to big governments and big business. It must help to overcome the ideological fragmentation which dominates the world, and make clear that Christian education is the learning of a life, and not just the understanding of a general doctrine or code of ethics. Such education must not ally itself with any power or regime, and the corrupting influences that beset them, either Marxist or Christian.

All the essays are well-documented, and the total collection is a rich source of thought-provoking ideas.

LAWRENCE KLIPPENSTEIN
Books Received

Listing of a book here neither implies nor precludes review in a subsequent issue of RCL.


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John Anderson is a member of the research staff at Keston College, specialising in the religious situation in the Soviet Union.

Lord Blanch of Bishopthorpe was formerly Archbishop of York.

Rev. Michael Bourdeaux is the Founder and General Director of Keston College.

Mikael Doulos has lived in Ethiopia for more than twenty years.

Professor Mark Elliott is a professor of history at Asbury College, Wilmore, Kentucky.

Jane Ellis is a member of the research staff of Keston College, specialising in the situation of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Father Peter Fleming SJ, of the Korean Region (Society of Jesus), is writing his doctoral dissertation on the California Province Jesuits in China, 1928-1957, at the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, California.

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Father Sergei Hackel is Reader in Russian Studies at the University of Sussex and an archpriest of the Russian Orthodox Church in Great Britain (Moscow Patriarchate).

Karel Kaplan is a writer and historian who worked in the ideological department of the Czechoslovak Communist Party from 1960 to 1964, when he was dismissed for political reasons. He returned to the party apparatus during the “Prague Spring” but was dismissed again on political grounds in 1970. His posts in the 1960s gave him access to archives which have remained closed to other researchers. He has been living in Munich since 1976, and has been working on the post-war history of Czechoslovakia for over thirty years.

Lawrence Klippenstein has recently completed two years as a member of Keston College’s research staff, seconded by the Mennonite Central Committee, and is now researching on the subject of Mennonites in the Soviet Union.

Irena Korba is a freelance writer and translator.

Haile Larebo is an Ethiopian doing research on history at London University and the author of a number of articles on the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Andrew Sorokowski is a member of the research staff at Keston College, specialising on the religious situation in Ukraine.

János Wildmann, a Hungarian, is a close associate of Father Bulányi. He is currently studying theology in Switzerland, where he helped to found the recently-formed Hungarian Centre for Theological and Pastoral Studies.

Father Ismael Zuloaga SJ is the China Delegate for the General of the Society of Jesus, Father Peter-Hans Kolvenbach SJ.
Keston College

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The Information Department produces the fortnightly Keston News Service and a Telex service and provides information on current events. Enquiries should be directed to the Information Director.

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