

Guide

Anti-Semitism and Nationalism at the End of the Soviet Era

*Institute of Humanitarian-Political Research, Moscow,
'Memorial', Moscow*

*International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam
Second World Center, Amsterdam*



Anti-Semitism and nationalism at the end of the Soviet Era

A documentary exhibition on microfiche prepared and co-ordinated by the Institute of Humanitarian Political Research and "Memorial" (Moscow), the Second World Center and the International Institute of Social History, (Amsterdam).

The material was collected by the Institute of Humanitarian Political Research and "Memorial" (Moscow).

Contents

Beyond the friendship of peoples	2
Anti-Semitism and nationalism in the former USSR	3
Regions and Conflicts	5
I. Daily nationalism	8
II. Epidemic nationalism	10
III. Nationalism of unscrupulous politics	11
IV. Academic nationalism	13
V. State nationalism	13
VI. Militant nationalism	14
Additional exhibited material	15
Appendix A: Readers' Letters to <i>Moscow News</i>	18
Appendix B: Supplementary materials	21
Appendix C: Selection of nationalist newspapers	24
Appendix D: Selection of nationalist books	27
Appendix E: Cartoons from anti-Semitic newspapers	29

Guide to the microform collection

IDC number RM-1

Catalogue and texts of the exhibition

'Beyond the friendship of the peoples'

Anti-Semitism and nationalism at the end of the Soviet era

The Institute of Humanitarian-Political Research - Moscow

'Memorial' - Moscow

International Institute of Social History - Amsterdam

Second World Center - Amsterdam

Amsterdam, 10 september 1992 - 9 october 1992

Editors: Nanci Adler - Second World Center, Amsterdam

 Huub Sanders - International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam

Texts: Boris Belenkin - 'Memorial', Moscow

 Mikhail Gnedovsky, Moscow

 Marina Razorenova - The Institute of Humanitarian-Political Research, Moscow

Beyond the friendship of peoples

National prejudice is one of the most acute problems which the former Soviet Empire has yet to face.

During the last 70 years (in some cases 40 years) no one dared to utter a word about any national (ethnic) conflicts on Soviet territory. When speaking of relations between nationalities the official Soviet ideology recognized only one formula: The Friendship of Peoples. Nevertheless conflicts did exist. Some of them had their roots deep in the past; some were created, indirectly at times, by the Soviet authorities.

In 1985, Soviet totalitarianism began to fall apart. The period took approximately five years and was known as perestroika. Inter-ethnic problems were then felt immediately. The dark side of the Friendship of Peoples has recently become one of the most destructive factors in the political reality of this part of the world.

This Exhibition is intended to show how these conflicts develop in the environment of the decomposition of an empire.

This is a documentary exhibition. The basic data was collected by two Moscow organizations: the library of the "Memorial" Society and the M-BIO Archive of the Institute for Humanitarian and Political Research. All exhibits are from primary sources. In the aggregate, they present a picture of developing nationalism, believable albeit far from complete.

This is also a political exhibition. Even if many of the exhibits are retrospective, the events behind them are still continuing. Places of civil and national strife still exist in North Caucasus, Trans-Caucasia, Moldova, Crimea, the Volga Region, Ukraine and in the Baltic states. Anti-Semitic groups are as active as ever in Moscow, St. Petersburg and many other cities. Data collected in these "hot spots" still burns one's fingers. Irrespective of where one lives--in integrating Europe or in the disintegrating Soviet Empire--it will not leave a spectator unmoved.

The first and introductory part of the exhibition is organized on geographical principles. Its purpose is to locate the main seats of national unrest on the territory of the former USSR, and to give but a short description of the existing conflicts.

The second part treats nationalism as a social disease with no geographical boundaries. Whatever the difference in circumstances, the conflicts we single out are linked by the underlying assumption that the happiness and prosperity of some ethnic groups can be achieved through the misfortune and deprivation of the rights of other groups. This assumption is rooted in philistine consciousness; it multiplies a thousand times when shared by a crowd. Through the efforts of politicians it is cast in political slogans; through the efforts of scholars it is sanctioned by the authority of Science. Now and then national prejudice is transmitted by governmental bodies. Whether it is organized or spontaneous, whether it takes a lot or a little time, whatever forces take part in the process, it results inevitably in suffering and destruction, animosity and bloodshed.

Anti-Semitism and nationalism in the former USSR

The problems of nationalism in the former USSR were not unique to the Gorbachev era. During the whole of the Soviet period official nationalism in one form or another crept out of the cheerful slogans which praised friendship amongst peoples and promoted Soviet internationalism. The borders between republics and autonomous regions were shaped and re-shaped, their administrative status was arbitrarily changed; local national communists, were declared servants of the national bourgeoisie; the Latin and Arabic alphabet were replaced with the Cyrillic; whole peoples were deported; first show-trials were set up against anti-Semites, then "cosmopolitans", (that is, citizens with Jewish names) were harrassed; and citizens were threatened with international Zionism.

Few anticipated then that the national rather than the social policies of the Soviet regime would suffer the first blow. But the process of democratic reform in the USSR was accompanied by the growth of national consciousness and the yearning of people for a national system as a basis of social life. Under conditions of social crisis and political instability, however, this process was accompanied by an expansion of inter-ethnic conflict and the destruction of civil peace. On the one hand, the national movement played a great role in the destruction of the totalitarian state; on the other hand, nationalism and chauvinism became real factors in the destabilization of society. The mismanaged process of development of inter-ethnic and inter-national conflicts in many regions of the former USSR has led to protracted bloody wars. The task of our exhibition is not to present a retrospective look at the theme of nationalism in all the years of the Communist regime. Instead we will focus on the events of the past five years.

We are examining the problem as an established fact. We shall show how perestroika provided the opportunity for nationalism to surface and thrive. It acquired paper, printing presses, public squares and microphones and, finally, arms. In the past 'Beat the Yids' could only be read on bathroom walls or whispered in the streets, on public transportation or in waiting lines; but today anti-Semitism may be openly declared in the press and in full public meetings. Numerous leaflets, newspapers, posters, documents, photographs make up what is called, in legal terms, material evidence. In the preparation of this exhibition we collected approximately 1,000 pieces of such material evidence. This exhibition will display a number of them.

We do not want to show the ethnographic aspect of nationalism, but rather the anatomic aspect. Thus geographic and ethnic materials will function only as background. Nationalism, a social disease, knows no geographical boundaries. Hence the material will be presented thematically rather than geographically. One aspect of nationalism will be dealt with in each section.

1. Daily nationalism; the social/psychological basis of nationalism in general
2. Epidemic (contagious) nationalism
3. The nationalism of unscrupulous politics: the activities of political parties and movements
4. Academic nationalism: relying on the authority of science: appealing to the opinion of scholars, to the facts of history, ethnography and psychology
5. State nationalism: coming from state structures, utilizing state institutions (the government, the parliament, etc.)
6. Belligerent nationalism: an extreme form of nationalism, leading to blood and violence

Since 1988 the M-Bio Archive of the Institute of Humanitarian Political Research (IGPI) and the library of 'Memorial' have collected an enormous amount of material on social, political and national movements. We have thousands of newspapers, leaflets, photographs and other documents on nationalism in the former USSR etc. This material is unique in many ways. It gives an insider's view of the complicated world of Soviet society in the period of perestroika and post-perestroika. Unfortunately, a great deal of these materials remain unknown even to a small circle of specialists, let alone to the public at large. In our view the problem of comprehending the national history of former republics of the territory of the Soviet Union and the perspective of their long-term development became acute after the collapse of the USSR. Therefore it would be inexcusable not to utilize the arsenal of resources on the history of national movements and nationalism in the USSR which the M-Bio Archive and 'Memorial' have at their disposal. This exhibition will present accessible information to a broad range of the public.

The exhibition is both an emotional and a boring spectacle. Boring in the sense that any nationalism is boring. The contents of a number of documents are repetitive in the same way as any racist or nationalist mimics another, from Western Europe to Vladivostok. Our exhibition is as uninteresting as any racist is uninteresting. Moreover, this exhibition does not contain anything spectacular or beautiful, there are almost no materials in color because racism or nationalism of any kind cannot produce anything beautiful. But our exhibition is also heavily suffused with emotion, since nationalism and racism, like any serious and ugly illness, summons horror and loathing in any normal person, compassion for the patient and invariable hope for recovery.

We used only the material in which the nationalistic was derived from the national. The Estonian Declaration of Independence does not say that the Russian population of this republic should be discriminated against. But

Russians in Estonia today are faced with discrimination. Present day fighters for national independence and statehood should remember the words of the famous Russian publicist Nikita Struve: 'To love your country means to achieve its freedom and know how to use it'. How much time has to pass before the people who are shaking off the shroud of totalitarianism understand that Russians cannot be free unless there is also freedom for Jews, Tatars, Germans, Ukrainians...? Freedom cannot be national; freedom is a human concept. How much blood has to flow for people to understand this simple truth? In the meantime people are killing each other in Moldavia, Georgia, Azerbaidzhan, Armenia, Central Asia and in the Caucasus. In the fever of war no one can understand who is right and who is wrong. A suitable epigraph to this exhibit would be the words of the Apocalypse XIV, 12: 'Here is the suffering of the sacred'

The Scientific-Information and Enlightenment Center (NITS) of Memorial was created in 1990. The Center has three units: an archive (approximately 20,000 units of information), a museum (about 7,000 units of information, including a collection of graphics, paintings, objects of applied art, etc.) and a library. The Center works on on four scientific projects:

1. The history of the Gulag: the compilation of a data bank on victims of repression; an archive of personal documents; the compilation of a reference book on the punitive politics of the Soviet period; the compilation of a map of the Gulag system; individual scientific research.
2. People who spent World War II on German soil : a compilation of a data bank, the compilation and processing of an archive based on 400,000 letters which 'Memorial' has received; interviews.
3. The history of dissent in the USSR from the fifties to the eighties: the compilation of a bibliographic dictionary on activities of the dissent movement; the compilation of a composite catalogue of samizdat; an archive of personal documents from the 1950's to 1980's.
4. The history of totalitarian regimes in eastern Europe; contrasts and comparisons of fate.

NITS 'Memorial' works with the Samizdat archives of 'Radio Liberty', the Eastern archive in Warsaw, Harvard University (USA), the Geographic Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Keston College, the editors of the journal 'Karta', The Russian State Humanitarian University and individual foreign researchers. The research of 'Memorial' is funded by the Ford Foundation (USA), the Heinrich Böll Stiftung (Germany), the Soviet-American fund 'Cultural Initiative' and individual contributions.

The NITS library has existed since 1989. It contains publications which are in some ways connected to the theme 'The history of Russia in the XX Century'. The scientific council of NITS 'Memorial' intends to broaden its library collection of reference books, research on the history of the penal system of the USSR, the history of the human rights movement (1960's-1970's), memoires, juridical literature, anthologies of documents on the history of the USSR. The library also has another section which includes: the non-traditional press (samizdat) 1987-1992, and approximately 700 newspapers and journals and documents from varies parties and movements.

The Institute of Humanitarian-Political Research (IGPI) was formed September 2, 1990 as a result of the reorganization of the Moscow Public Bureau of Information Exchange (M-Bio). The M-Bio Archive is a structural subdivision of the IGPI. Its main task is to supply information on sociological, political and historical research conducted by members of its institute. The form of the collection of non-traditional press and documentation on the social movement within the M-Bio Archive is connected with the history of the development of its research center. M-Bio was founded by participants of the social movement of August 1988 as a coordination and information center of various informal organizations in Moscow. Cooperation between M-Bio and informal organizations of the entire former Soviet Union was thus natural and mutual.

In the course of two years, M-Bio assisted in the formation and development of the social movement and in the organization of the information structures. The replenishment of the archive of documents on informal organizations, new political parties and groups is a constant process. The traditional connections and sources of the collection were also preserved. One of the main results of the M-Bio was the creation of archives to preserve documents of informal associations, clubs, political parties (over 25,000 units) and about 2,000 titles of non-traditional press (Samizdat). The collection was replenished with new documents and publications from various political organizations. Thus, the M-Bio Archive should remain in the near future one of the most complete collections of independant press and documents of the social movement. It is among the known collections in the former Soviet Union which offer open access to researchers. At this time a program on publication of materials of the M-Bio Archive is in preparation. We are convinced that the introduction into scientific circulation of even a small part of the M-Bio collection will serve to stimulate the study of political and social processes in Russia and the independent republics.

We express our gratitude to the human rights group 'Memorial', Emil Adelkhanov ('Memorial' Tbilisi), 'Novoye Vremya' correspondent Arkady Dubnov, and the 'Independent News Service' (USA).

August, 1992

Boris Belenkin
Mikhail Gnedovsky
Marina Razorenova

Regions and Conflicts mf. 107-108

1. *The Tartar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic* (from August 1990 - The Tatar SSR, after the USSR disintegration - The Tatarstan Republic).

The Tatar national parties and movements call for the independence of the Republic and for the creation of a national (ethnic) Tatar State. Some representatives of these parties and organizations stir national clashes between the Tatars and the rest of the population of the Republic.

2. *The Bashkir ASSR* (from October 1990 - The Bashkir SSR, then - Bashkirostan Republic).

During the last years the social strife between the Tatars, the Bashkirs (there are no more than 30% of ethnic Bashkirs in the Republic) and the Russians has grown. There is much friction between different ethnic parties and movements on the possibility of the creation of an independent national Bashkir State.

3. *The Georgian SSR (Sakartvelo)* (from November 1990 - Georgia Republic; the Supreme Council of the Republic passed the Declaration of Restoration of Georgia as a State in March 1991; The Georgian Parliament announced its independence from the USSR in April 1991).

A number of political parties and movements are engaged in chauvinistic propaganda against the Azerbaijanis; Turks, Ossetians, Avars, Armenians and other non-Georgian population of the republic. This process started in 1989. In 1991 a civil war started in Georgia.

4. *The Abkhazian SSR* (an Autonomous republic within Georgia; the ethnic population comprises about 20% of the whole population of the Republic). In 1990 the Supreme Soviet of the Republic passed the Declaration of Independence of the Abkhazian Republic. The Supreme Soviet of Georgia abolished the Declaration on September 13, 1990.

Georgia decided to temporarily introduce the Constitution of 1921. Then the Supreme Soviet of the Abkhazian republic declared the introduction of the Constitution of 1925 according to which Abkhazia had the status of an independent state (1992). Anti-Georgian attitudes have been getting increasingly aggressive since 1989. All of this resulted in a civil war between Georgia and Abkhazia.

5. *The Uzbek SSR* (after the USSR disintegration - The Republic of Uzbekistan).

In May-June 1989 several attacks on the Turks deported from Georgia in 1944 took place in Fergana valley. After the series of pogroms and bloody clashes part of the Turks were moved to different regions of Russia, the rest were deported from Uzbekistan in 1989-1990.

6. *The Kirghiz SSR* (in October 1990 the Supreme Soviet of the Kirghiz SSR passed the Decree of Independence; in December 1990 the Supreme Soviet voted for a new name: The Republic of Kirghizstan; in August 1991 the Supreme Soviet announced the republic an independent State.

In August 1991 bloody clashes occurred between the Kirgizs and the Uzbeks in the Batken region of the Oshsk province.

7. *The Kazakh SSR* (in October 1990 the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR passed the Decree of State independence; after the disintegration of the USSR the republic took a new name: The Republic of Kazakhstan).

In May 1988 Kazakh youth attacked the workers of the oil industry from other republics in the town of Novy Uzen. Since 1991 strain has been growing between the Kossacks from the Urals and the Kazakh authorities.

8. *The Latvian SSR* (after the Declaration of Restoration of Independence in 1991 - The Latvian Republic).

All the major political movements have been striving for political independence and the building of an independent ethnic Latvian state since 1988. The present tendency is to press non-Latvians both out the republic's economy and its territory.

9. *The Estonian SSR* (from May 1990 - The Republic of Estonia; in 1991 the USSR recognized its independence).

Since 1989 the main political movements fought for the independent ethnic Estonian state. These days all non-Estonians are being pressed out of the political and economic life of the country which makes them leave it altogether. The ethnic clashes are most common in the North-East of the republic where the majority of the population is Russian.

10. *The Lithuanian SSR* (from the spring of 1990 when the Declaration of Independence was passed - The Lithuanian Republic).
There is strain between the Polish Self-Government on one side and the Lithuanian authorities on the other side in the Vilnius region.
11. *The Ukrainian SSR* (after the Declaration of Independence passed in June 1990 and the disintegration of the USSR - The Republic Ukraine).
The radicals are stirring anti-Russian sentiments in this area during recent months.
12. *The Crimean Province within the Ukraine* (from 1921 and to 1945 - the Crimean ASSR within the RSFSR; from 1945 - The Crimean Province within the RSFSR; in 1954 became a part of the Ukraine; in March 1991 the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine transformed the Province into the Crimean ASSR).
The problem of the Crimean Tatars has not been solved. The Tatars were deported from the Crimea in 1944 and now want to return from their own ethnic independent state. The population is pressed to choose between "militant Ukrainian nationalism" and "Moscow's imperial ambitions".
13. *North Caucasus, ASSR; North Ossetian ASSR. Checheno-Ingushian ASSR* (in 1990 the territory on which the Chechens lived declared itself and independent Chechen state). In 1990 relations between Ingushians and Ossetians became more strained, because the region adjoining the capital of North Ossetia, where they had lived closely together until 1944 (the deportation of the Ingushians), came under the rule of Ingushetia. On the other side, the conflict between the Ossetians and Ingushians ripens, because the declaration of independence of Chechenia did not solve the border problem with Ingushetia.
In other autonomously formed territories (republics and provinces) of Northern Caucasia (Dagestan ASSR, the Kabardino-Balkarian ASSR, the Karachevian-Cherchessian province and the Adygeysian province) growing ethno-political tensions, including those connected with territorial claims can be observed.
14. *RSFSR, since 1990 Russia or the Russian Federation.*
Conflicts between nationalities and tensions in interethnic relations are developing in the following regions:
The Saratov province. Part of the local population and administration is coming out against the foundation of the German Volga Republic which was liquidated in 1941 simultaneously with the deportation of the Germans.
Krasnodarsk region. Stavropol region, Rostov province, Volgograd province: there exist tensions, sometimes leading to excesses between the native population, mostly Cossacks and refugees from Trans-Caucasia and Caucasians, living in these provinces. In 1991/1992 there was a wave of market pogroms in various cities of Russia which were the result of conflicts between the local population and Caucasian and Trans-Caucasian merchants.
In *Moscow and Leningrad* (St. Petersburg since 1991) the activities of anti-Semitic groups are increasing.
15. *Armenian SSR (Armenia)*
In August of 1990 the Supreme Soviet of Armenia made a Declaration of Independence and a new name: the Armenian Republic (Ayastan).
Already in 1988 deportations of Azerits and Kurd-Muslims had begun. The inter-ethnic conflict grew into a full-scale war with Azerbaijan.
16. *Moldavian SSR (Moldavia)*
In July of 1990 the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian Republic accepted the Declaration of Sovereignty of the Moldavian SSR, since May of 1991 the Republic of Moldova. In 1989 soon after the formation of the Popular Front (the movement for independence) chauvinistic and racist slogans and appeals could be heard at meetings and in the press. Gradually the tensions between ethnic Moldavians and non-Moldavians began to grow. When Moldavian became the only official language in July of 1989, tensions increased even more. Since 1989 radicals from the National Front have been agitating for the Rumanization of the Moldovians, a change in ethnic self-consciousness and the unification with Rumania. In 1989 a conflict arose with the Gagauz (living in close quarters in the South of Moldavia).
In 1990 separatists proclaim the Trans-Dniester Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. In 1991 military activities begin between Moldova and Trans-Dniestria which escalate into an open civil war in 1992.

17. *South Ossetian Autonomous Republic* (South Ossetia)

Autonomous region in Georgia. In September 1990 South Ossetia proclaimed itself an autonomous province of the South Ossetian Democratic Soviet Republic. In December of 1990, the Georgian Supreme Soviet abolished the South Ossetian Autonomous Province. The exacerbation of inter-ethnic conflict led to armed clashes which resulted in war and hundreds of killings on both sides.

18. *Azerbaijani SSR* (Azerbaijan)

Already in February of 1988 the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Province of Nagorno-Karabakh decided to unite with the later Azerbaijan Republic, which was founded on the remains of the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan in 1989.

Soon after this event a pogrom against the Armenians took place in Sumgait. This was the start of a massive flight of the Armenian population from Azerbaijan and a compulsory deportation. Soon there was another anti-Armenian pogrom in Kirovobad (Giandzha).

In 1989 acts of war began between the Armenians and Azeris from Nagorno-Karabakh. In 1990, after the next pogrom against the Armenians, the Soviet Army was sent in. A full-scale war between Armenia and Azerbaijan about Nagorno-Karabakh has been going on since that time.

19. *Tadzhik SSR* (later the Tadzhik Republic)

In 1991 armed clashes started between the supporters of the president and the opposition. What started as a clan-war may develop into a full-scale war. The threatening ethnic conflict increased the refugee problem, in particular Russians and Uzbeks from Tadzhikistan.

I. Daily nationalism

1. Who is who and who was who? Moscow, 1990, 2 pp. mf. 109
A list of Soviet authorities and state official which shows their "original" family names and nationalities (i.e. Jew) as well as their links to Masons.
2. Jews! Moscow, 1991, 2 pp. missing
Anti-Christian appeal to Jews.
3. The national make-up of the USSR leadership in 1930-1939: Moscow, The Coordinative Council of "Pamyat" Patriotic Movement. 1990, 9 pp. mf. 109
This leaflet presents a list of members of the Soviet leadership and their ethnic origins. If a member of the leadership is neither Russian nor Jewish, there is a note which says "other nationality", or "nationality is not clear".
4. Rare historical documents. Moscow, 1990, 1 pp. mf. 109
This leaflet quotes the data on distribution of non-Russians on Russian territory in 1951 and poses the question: If there were no Jews in the Northern and Central parts of Russia at that time, "how is it possible that the Jews had not only appeared there by 1990 but succeeded in seizing much of the territory and the majority of the executive offices?".
5. The execution of E.S. Yevseyev by Perun's arrow. Moscow, The World Anti-Semitic and Anti-Masonic Front "Pamyat", 1990, 1 pp. mf. 109
A leaflet written by V. Yemelyanov tells the story of the "Zionist" Yevseyev's death in a car accident, presumably as a result of the Russian God Perun's anger with him.
6. Down with the unjust jury! Moscow, The Public Committee of Support of K.V. Ostashvili, 1990, 1 pp. mf. 109
A leaflet calling for mass media coverage of the trial on stirring up national hatred by the "Union for Proportional Ethnic Representation" leader Smirnov-Ostashvili.
7. An appeal to the Jews of Russia. Moscow, 5 pp. missing
This leaflet contains a text from 1968 by the Sverdlov District Division of the World Union of Israelites and a commentary to the text. The text calls for struggle against the non-Jews of both Russia and the whole world.
8. An open letter from the Crimean Tatars. Belogorsk, The Belogorsk Initiative Group of Crimean Tatars. 1989, 3 pp. mf. 109-110
The letter is addressed to the Moscow newspapers and is reply to a "Pravda" newspaper article. It comments on living conditions in the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.
9. A statement by V.A. Kulametov. Old Crimea, 1989, 3 pp. mf. 111
The author, a Crimean Tatar, tells a story of the difficulties his family met on their return to their "historic Fatherland"--to the Crimea. He demands that the Crimean ASSR be restored, otherwise he threatens to leave the ranks of the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union).
10. Television center in Ostankino--The Empire of Lies. Moscow, "Trudovaya Rossiya" ("Toiling Russia"), 1992, 1 pp. mf. 112
The leaflet is an invitation to join a demonstration against the "Russophobic and Mercenary" television.
11. A Declaration of the Inter-Provincial Conference of the Labor Collective Representatives of the Saratov and Volgograd provinces, 1990, 1 pp. mf. 113

12. The ABC's of a Russian Patriot. Moscow, The Russian National Unity Organization. 1992, 10 pp. mf. 113
A pamphlet offers some information on the RNU Movement and is written by its leader A. Barkashov. All of these materials have a highly anti-Semitic and nationalistic tone.
13. Leaflet. Shusha, Nagorny Karabakh, 1992, 1 pp. mf. 113
"Armenians, get out of here! If you don't leave in three days we shall kill you all, you dogs! Your Cross is shit." These leaflets were delivered to all Armenian households in Shusha, Nagorny Karabakh.
14. What an Anti-Christ is. Moscow, 1991, 1 pp. mf. 113
15. Why Zhirinovskiy mispronounces his R's. Moscow, The World Anti-Zionist and Anti-Masonic Front "Pamyat". 1991, 1 pp. mf. 113
Zhirinovskiy, a leader of the Liberal-Democratic Party of the USSR, is accused of promoting "World Zionism" through propaganda. The democratic newspaper, "Nezavisimaya Gazeta" is called a "Jewish Nazi publication".
16. The interregional group "Democratic Russia", Moscow, 1991, 1 pp. mf. 113
This leaflet says that the leaders of "Democratic Russia" plan to destroy the USSR, Russia and the Russians for the sake of the "Zionist-Israeli mafia".
17. The true names of the Jewish Kahal... Moscow, 1992 1 pp. mf. 113
A hand-written leaflet; the leaders of the October Socialist Revolution are cursed.
18. The text of a radio broadcast "Sekhar" ("Morning"), Baku, Azerbaijan, March 19, 1992, 9:00 AM, 1 pp. missing
This broadcast quotes Mamed-Zmin Rasul-Zade, the founder and the leader of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (1918-1920): "Each time an Armenian mother bends over a cradle you can hear her whispering: "Drink Turkish blood...Turks! Defend yourselves! There is an enemy before you!..."
19. "Pamyat" remembers the limitlessness of Russian enemies. Moscow. The World Anti-Zionist and Anti-Masonic Front "Pamyat". 1992, 1 pp. mf. 113
A leader of Pamyat asserts that Jews seized Russian television (Ostankino) and suggests limiting the number of workers of Jewish nationality in Ostankino to .69% proportional to the amount of Jews in the population of Russia.
20. Young people! Moscow, 1992, 1 pp. mf. 113
A leaflet calls for ignoring summons' to Army service because the country is being governed by a Jewish junta.
21. Leaflet. Kishinev: Activists of the People's Front of Moldova, 1990, 1 pp. missing
This leaflet was distributed among the mail boxes of the "Russian-speaking" population in the capital of Moldova, Kishinev. The authors, threatening reprisals, propose that all Russian speaking people leave the territory of the republic in the course of 3 months.
22. Citizen occupants. Kishinev. 1991, 1 pp. missing
In this leaflet an anonymous author accuses Russians of occupying Moldavia and swears to avenge this.
23. Map of the pogroms against the Armenians in the capital of Azerbaijan, Baku, 13-19 January, 1990. mf. 113
24. Purge Russia from riffraff and other rabble! Moscow, 1990, 1 pp. mf. 113
Leaflet contains a summons to purge Russia from Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Jews, Assiris, and Communists.
25. Open letter to President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Moscow, 1990, 1 pp. mf. 113
The leader of the World Anti-Zionist and Anti-Masonic Front "Pamyat" V. Yemelyanov tells the President of the USSR that Jewish Nazis have virtually seized the government of the country.

26. Series of photographs, "Trial of the leaders of the World Anti-Zionist and Anti-Masonic Front "Pamyat", K. Ostashvili, 1990, (photo A. Dubnov). mf. 113-114
27. Series of photographs. "Pamyat" meeting in front of the US Embassy, 1990. (photo A. Dubnov). mf. 115
28. INDICATOR OF A ZIONIST mf. 116
1. The Zionist as a rule is promoted by patronage, by "privileges" or by other incomprehensible causes. He occupies or will occupy a leading, high-paid, influential or lucrative position.
 2. He is a specialist on all issues, always knows every-thing, is proud of his connections (as a rule, not of those which he really has), feels relaxed when he meddles into a conversation, seizes the initiative in the conversation, many noisy effects, shuffles his feet, talks, hums under his breath, stands up, walks, creaks with his chair, laughs, coughs, blows his nose, interrupts with counter addresses, conversations jokes and shouts, not permitting the speaker to finish his sentence.
- Now that you have found out who Zionists are, what Zionist collectives and Zionism in general are, don't rush! Read once again, think about all that is good, remember who oppressed you and how, what you were not satisfied with at work, read a history textbook, or social science from your son or daughter, walk around the old parts of the city, look attentively at houses, factories, churches, parks and squares, look at towers, go into book stores, try to buy a good book on the history of your people, its language, your MOTHERLAND--compare what you have read on these leaflets with that which you have seen.
- Boiling inside? Not yet? Then speak with your best friend if he is not a Zionist. Give this to him to read. Listen to his opinion!
- And now act: stop drinking wine and vodka soon, assess everything soberly, expose every last Zionist and their entire surrounding organizations, and further...

II. Epidemic nationalism

29. The Russian republic: A map, Kazan, 1990. mf. 116
A letter sent from the capital of Tatarstan gives the following explanation: this map is "passed around in Kazan public organizations. It is said to have been worked out by some outstanding scholars in the Tatar movement and other national groups (even Russians)."
30. "Perestroika": a poster. Moscow, 1991, 1 pp. A home-made Russian national-patriotic poster. St. George--the patron of Russia. mf. 116
31. "The Ukrainian"! - Vinitsa: The Ukrainian People's Self-Defense. 1992, 1 pp. mf. 116
A leaflet calls for joining the ranks of the UPSD.
32. An address of the Lezgin people to the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation. 1992, 1 pp. missing
The Lezgin residents of Azerbaijan call for the unification of all Lezgin lands in the Russian Federation.
33. Azerbaijanian fascists should assume responsibility! Baku, 1992, 1 pp. mf. 116
A leaflet issued in connection with the massacre of 12 elderly Armenians in the House for the Aged in Gyandzh, Azerbaijan.
34. An Address of the Tiraspol Toilers' Collectives to the Toilers of Moldavian SSR, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia, to the Presidium and Deputies of the Supreme Soviet of Moldavian USSR, to the People's Deputies of the USSR. Tiraspol, 1989, 2 pp. mf. 116
The address calls for employing Lenin's methods in solving national conflicts. The meeting at which the address was made was gathered in response to the Decree "On the Status of the Moldavian Language" and "On the return of the Moldavian language to Latin graphics" by the government of the USSR.

35. Zinaida...we are giving you a term, in which you and your traces will vanish from here in a decent way within a month. It is better if you do not perish on strange soil. Don't think we're joking. mf. 116
36. Citizen occupiers, mf. 116
 You have occupied our Fatherland. You are guilty of all acts against our people.
 By the remains of our forefathers we swear to take revenge on you.
 For every Moldovian who is forced to look for work some-where in Magadan, because you moved there and occupied their seats and posts.
 For every young family whose spirit is broken in a dark communal building, because you received the spacious apartments here.
 For every sick child, for the poisoned earth and water, that you desecrated, "raising our living standards".
 For the Gagauz autonomy, for the "Trans-Dniestrian Republic".
 For everything you received.
 Do not forget Fergana.
 Nothing can save you from our revenge.
 - text copied from the original and handed to the KGB of the Moldovian SSR.
37. All Russian-speaking people in this house must remember this and pass it on. We will give you the possibility for three months to save your life and your belongings. Get away from the Dniester. In one month your working-place must be free and in three months your apartment must be empty for its owners, the first and legal owners of this land and these riches. mf. 116
 There will be no further warnings; there will only be action, every Russian occupier will be registered; they will be banished in the course of one night, as was the case with our fellow countrymen in the last years of repression.
 If in response to this warning you turn to the official organs, do not wait for help--you can only expect relentless violence.
 May God help you heed our sensible warning!

Activists of the National Front of Moldova

III. Nationalism of unscrupulous politics

38. A declaration of the Patriotic Union "Pamyat". missing
 This states that there is a slander campaign against "Pamyat" in response to the "Appeal of the Patriotic Union "Pamyat" to the Russian people and to the patriots of all countries and nations" of December 8, 1987. Moscow, "Pamyat", 1989, 8 pp.
 This leaflet claims all accusations against "Pamyat" are Zionist attempts to provoke nationalistic pogroms in Russia.
39. When the whole world unites, is it wise to disintegrate Russia? Kazan, 1992, 2 pp. mf. 116
 The leaflet reads: "Yes to the independence of Tatarstan within Russia, no to the disintegration of Russia in the name of the new khans".
40. Referendum on the 21st of March. Kazan: The Tatar Division of the Democratic Party of Russia. 1992, 1 pp. mf. 116
 "Tatars and Russians! Our force is in our unity! No to the RSFSR disintegration".
41. If you don't want them to come to power in Tatarstan, vote "no" at the March 21 Referendum. Kazan, 1992, 1 pp. mf. 116
42. Citizens of Russia, St. Petersburg: The People's Democratic Party of Russia. 1992, 1 pp. A leaflet promises to return the past glory to Russia, to make all feel respect for the Russians by means of military force, if necessary. missing
43. The Crimea Inhabitants! Simferopol, The Crimean Organization of the Ukrainian Republican Party. 1992, 1 pp. mf. 116
 A leaflet was issued in connection with the Referendum on Autonomy of the Crimea. On it was the slogan: down with the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic--a crippled creation of the Communist mafia.

44. To the citizens of Crimea. Simferopol: The Crimean Krai Rukh, 1992, 1 pp. mf. 117
 A leaflet asserts that the isolation of the Crimea from Ukraine could lead to an exacerbation of inter-national and inter-republican relations.
45. The German question in Russia. Marx, 1992, 10 pp. mf. 117
 Anti-autonomy brochure, published in the Saratov province, calls for giving political and legal evaluation to the actions of Russian Germans propogating separatism on Russian territory".
46. Thank you perestroika or why are we in black shirts? Moscow, Russian National Unity, 1992, 1 pp. mf. 117
 The leader of the organization A. Barkashov explains that the black shirts signify: "Russia or death". "We do not want to live in an American colony nor in a common European home, nor in the CIS, only in national Russia..."
 All of today's events are for the Russian people graphic illustrations, graphically confirmed by total war which has been declared on them by so called "civilized peaceful association". Other peoples, both close and distant ones are not horrified by what was done with Russia for 74 years and try to take advantage of the situation to seize more of the "Russian pie".
 Our black shirts and militarized form is a nationally determined act! Today when all allegiances are destroyed, wearing a black shirt is as if we are showing allegiance to the fatherland and the nation with the words: "Russia or death!"
 "Russia or death!" because we do not want to live in an American colony, not in a common European house, not in a commonwealth of independent states, but only in national Russia, built by our ancestors! And we know that Russia is wearing our black shirts and repeating our oaths.
 Repeat and become free! Glory to Russia!
 A. Barkashov
47. Vote "No" in the March 21 referendum, you will prevent the disintegration of the Russian Federation: Poster. Kazan, 1992, 1 pp. mf. 117
 Inscription "Tatarstan" (in an explosive state) on the map of the "Russian Federation".
48. Regarding Russian pogroms in Azerbaijan: declarations of two congresses of the union "Christian Revival", Moscow, 1990, 1 pp. mf. 117
 This leaflet warns "People's Front of Azerbaijan: do not test the patience of the Russian people. It is not infinite".
49. Charter of the People's Movement "Gagauz Khalki". Komrat. 1989, 4 pp. mf. 117
 The charter defines the goals of the movement: the creation of an autonomous Gagauz republic in Moldavia and the formation of a national self-conscious Gagauz people in Lenin's sense of the word.
50. Series of photographs, "Dictator". Photos were made in Georgia during the reign of President Z. Gamsakurdia, 1991 (photo Y. Mechitov). mf. 117-118
51. Dear brothers and sisters! mf. 119
 This is a historic moment. We are on the threshold of the restoration of Red Kurdistan, about which we have dreamed for a long time and for which we have fought tirelessly.
 Our enemies not only robbed us of our country, but also humiliated our national honour and pride, took elementary human rights from us and violently assimilated an important part of our people.
 The numerous Kurdish population of Lachin, Kubatly and Kelbadzhar ceased to exist because we were all registered in our passports by the Azerbaijanis. The enemy and his deeds are perfidious. Do not yield to his provocations, do not leave your villages and do not let a historical chance slip through your hands.
 We, your children, fight and spill our blood in order to make our beloved Kurdistan free so that our long suffering people do not feel helpless.
 Today the question of our existence as a people is being solved. The holy task of everyone living on this territory must be the defense of his home against the Azerbaijani aggressor, like our brothers who fight in Turkey to bring the hour of freedom nearer. In a free Kurdish autonomous country, we will be the guards of our fate, our country and our consciousness. We will have the possibility to teach our

children their mother tongue and to develop our own culture and literature.

We will, at last, have our own free Motherland.

We call on you to refrain from leaving your villages and we will create all circumstances for our real freedom.

General Meeting of the Kurds of the Lachin district and the plenipotentiary representatives of the Kurdish communities in the CIS.

52. We have V.V. Zhirinovsky!

mf. 119

His words were interrupted many times by applause, especially, when he declared, that the inhabitants of the Trans Dniestrian republic realized their constitutional right to develop their statehood in a beautiful, legal and European way. As president of the LDP, and in the case of success after the presidential elections of the Russian Federation (of which he has no doubts), he will always support the Trans Dniestrian Moldavian SSR, and recognize her immediately by one of his decrees. V.V. The best solution for the national problems will be the return to the partition of the country in governments; the first governors will be appointed in Moscow, to prevent localist tendencies. An overwhelming majority of the participants of the meeting gave an ovation to Zhirinovsky, people thanked him and many expressed their wish to join the LDP.

IV. Academic nationalism

53. Shirayev, Y.Y.

mf. 119-121

Belarus: Rus White, Rus Black and Lithuania in maps, Minsk, 1991.

In the anthology is a map of Belorussia, the territory of which expands into Russia and Lithuania.

V. State nationalism

54. Plugaru Anatol, minister of national security, Moldova. In an interview A. Plugaru says that the ethnic make-up of the Moldovan KGB staff will be proportional to the ethnic make-up of the country.

mf. 121

"If we acted any different, we would be even bigger Bolsheviks than the Bolsheviks themselves...". Kishinev, 1991, 23 October.

The rather intensive process by which the Ministry of National Security returns to its normal course has already started and is now under way. The ethnic structure of the ministry is directly related to the ethnic structure of the population of the republic. From my analysis follows, that in the last years of struggle for national rebirth, no one has been put into prison by the state security forces. Of course, many people have undergone "preventive measures" but no one suffered by them (taken from an interview with the Moldovan Minister of National Security, Anatol Plugaru).

55. To the residents of the village Chaikend and Martunashen of the Khanlar region of the Azerbaijan republic.

mf. 121

In accordance with numerous petitions from residents of the villages of Chaikend and Martunashen on moving to a permanent place of residence in other regions, the Khanlar executive committee guarantees: in strict observance of the law to secure the filling out of documents for the sale of personal homes and property and carry out the distribution of a monetary sum within three days thereafter.

56. Witness to presidential lies. Our opinion: Independent Information Leaflet. Saratov, 1992.

missing

Photographs were published in the newspaper with the inscription: "in this megaphone the President of Russia B.N. Yeltsin declared on January 8, 1992 that German autonomy would not be realized on Saratov soil".

57. Azerbaijanian republic: calender, 1991.

mf. 121

In the calender there is a map of Azerbaijan from 1918-1920, including Nagorno-Karabakh.

VI. Militant nationalism

58. Letter from Baku. 1992. missing
In the letter an Azerbaijanian refugee from Yerevan, the capital of Armenia, describes the impoverished situation of her family who ended up in Baku.
59. Treaty on inter-national reconciliation. Shusha. 1991, 4 pp. mf. 121-122
This is an agreement between the inhabitants of Armenian and Azerbaijanian villages to cease military activities. Photographs.
60. Series of photographs "War". The photographs were made in Nagorno-Karabakh and Southern Ossetia (photo T. Markin, N. Kamenkin). mf. 123-125
61. "Photographs of war", Film (directed by M. Krylov). mf. 125
The materials used in the film are taken from a chronicle of events in Nagorno-Karabakh and Georgia (Tbilisi, Southern Ossetia).

Additional exhibited material

1. Ostashvili is dead. His murderers are alive / "Russkoye Voskreseniye". Moscow N7 (15). mf. 126
2. The "April" Society / Cartoon. Moscow, 1 pp. mf. 126
3. "Pamyat" demands! / Leaflet. Moscow 1991, 1 pp. mf. 126
4. Series of anti-Semitic cartoons from "Russkoye Voskreseniye", a daily. Moscow 1991-92. mf. 126
5. Series of anti-Semitic cartoons of the period of the Third Reich in Germany. mf. 126
6. Lodygin A., Petrov S. "How a Negro baby can be born to white parents". / "Russkoye Voskreseniye", Moscow 1991. mf. 126
7. "Ivashko!" / Leaflet, Moscow 1 pp. mf. 126
8. Views of World-famous people on Jews / Moscow 1990, 3 pp. mf. 126
9. Memorandum for Russian workers / Leaflet, Moscow 1992, 1 pp. mf. 126
10. Zionists are the source of all misfortune in the USSR. / Leaflet, Moscow 1 pp. mf. 126
11. Recommendations for a Russian / The Russian national movement, Moscow 1991. mf. 126
12. Diagnosis: Jew / "Nakanune", Zlatoust, 1992, N4. mf. 126
13. The Russian Market / Newspaper announcement, Moscow 1992, 1 pp. mf. 126
14. The main amateur Zionophile formations in Moscow / Moscow 1989, 3 pp. mf. 127
15. "Pamyat" knows! / Leaflet, Moscow 1989, 6 pp. mf. 127
16. Slavs! Be vigilant! / Leaflet, Moscow 6 pp. mf. 127
17. A curious Document / Leaflet of the series "Pamyat" remembers!" Moscow 1989, 1 pp. mf. 127
18. Vladimir Yakovlevich Begun is dead / Obituary notice, Moscow 1 pp. mf. 127
19. ROD: Russian Liberation Movement / Newspaper of the St. Petersburg Men's club. 1991, N1. mf. 127
20. Articles from the newspaper "The Tiraspol Worker". mf. 127
21. Was Great October a Russian revolution? / Leaflet, Minsk, 1992, 1 pp. mf. 127
22. The Russian / Anti-Zionist Leaflet. Moscow 1991, 1 pp. mf. 127
23. From the Reference book of a Black-Hundred patriot / Moscow 1992, 1 pp. mf. 127
24. Measures in the fight against the Zionist danger / Moscow 20 pp. mf. 127-128
25. Series of exhibits devoted to I. Shafarevich. mf. 128
26. Who is to be considered a native. / "The Tiraspol Worker, 1991, Jan., 9. mf. 128
27. Azerbaijan, Socio-political weekly / Baku, 1989, N 12/13. mf. 128
28. Appeal of the Extraordinary session of the Council of People's deputies of South Ossetia / 1991. mf. 128

29. Declaration of the President of the Trans-Dniester-Moldavian Republic / Tiraspol, 1991, 2 pp. mf. 128
30. Referendum law of the Republic of Tatarstan / Kazan, 1992. mf. 128-129
31. Appeal of the Kazan municipal organization of the Democratic Party of Russia / 1992, 1 pp. missing
32. "The Georgian Word" - Newspaper of the Georgian community in Moscow. / Moscow 1991, N1 - 4 pp. mf. 129
33. We call on everybody to take part in the Referendum of January 28 ! / Poster. Moscow 1992. mf. 129
34. Romanian Fascists! leave the Trans-Dniester region alone! / Leaflet, Moscow 1992. mf. 130
35. Series of documents dealing with the events in the Trans-Dniester-region / 7 pp. mf. 131
36. Dear Kurdish brothers! / Leaflet, Sadval, 1992, 1 pp. mf. 131
37. Series of Ukrainian nationalist leaflets. / Kiev, 1991-92, 3 pp. mf. 131
38. Appeal to the Georgian people / "Georgian Youth", Tbilisi, 1990, March, 16. mf. 131
39. What we need is a Russian republic. / "The Pulse of Tushinn", Moscow 1989, Dec. mf. 131
40. Program of the Republican Democratic Party. / 1992, 1 pp. mf. 132
41. Shamiyev V.K.: Election leaflet, Moscow 1990, 1 pp. mf. 132
42. Compatriots! Leaflet, Moscow: Russian National Unity, 1992, 1 pp. mf. 132
43. Draft Program of the Russian Party / Moscow 1991. mf. 132
44. Dear Russians! / Leaflet, Moscow 1 pp. mf. 132
45. The All-World Russian Government demands, / Leaflet, Moscow 1989, 1 pp. mf. 132
46. Union for proportional national representation "Pamyat" / Political program, Moscow 1989. mf. 132
47. A Leader's authority / Soglasiye, Vilnius 1989 N4. mf. 132
48. Series of leaflets of the "Pamyat" Society / Moscow 1989, 6. exhibits. mf. 132-133
49. V. Zhirinovskiy: "I will defend the Russians on any territory of the country" / Moscow 1991, 1 pp. mf. 134
50. "Dyen" (The Day) - Newspaper of the spiritual opposition / Moscow 1992, N1. mf. 134
51. "Russkoye Delo" (A Russian Affair) - the National Democratic Party / Petrograd 1992, N 1. mf. 134
52. It was a hot summer / "Free Sakhalin, 1991, N3. mf. 134
53. Appeal of inhabitants of Armenian villages in the Azerbaijan SSR. / 1991, 3 pp. mf. 134
54. Series of letters from Azerbaijanian refugees, 1991-92. mf. 134
55. Documents on criminal cases connected with the exacerbation of inter-ethnic relations, Kishinev, 1990, 14 pp. mf. 134
56. Series of death-certificates of Armenian citizens of Sumgait / Baku, 1988. mf. 134

57. Series of anti-Semitic leaflets / Moscow 1990-91. mf. 135
58. "Otechestvo"- Newspaper of the opposition / LRPD (Liberal Russian Democartic Party)
"Fatherland", Moscow 1992, N 5. mf. 135
59. Series of leaflets calling to join the manifestation at Ostankino / Moscow 1992, 4 pp. mf. 135
60. Letter of Armenian refugees from the Azarbaijan SSR to Mr. Perez de Cueliar /
Moscow 1989, 1 pp. mf. 135
61. Declaration of I.G. Akhmedov, inhabitant of an Armenian village / 1989, 2 pp. mf. 135
62. Series of anti-Armenian cartoons from Azarbaijan, periodicals. mf. 135
63. Fly away in Aeroflot planes! / "Georgian Youth", Tbilisi, 1990, N27. mf. 135
64. Touva. The Russians are leaving / "Sobessednik", 1990, N4. mf. 135
65. What happened in Breta. / "Georgian Youth", 1990, Aug. 24. mf. 135
66. Statement from citizens of Crimean-Tatar nationality / Byelogorsk, 1989, 2 pp. mf. 135

APPENDIX A

Readers' Letters to *Moscow News*

Dear editors of Moscow News,

I am an inhabitant of Moldova. My nationality is -- as they like to stress nowadays -- Russian; by profession I am a physicist. I was born and raised in the town of Bendery.

All the trouble here is believed to have started with the language law. This is partially true. As long as I can remember, Bendery has always been a Russian-speaking town with a Jewish contingent. People of the Moldovian nationality were regarded by us as somehow second-rate. We ridiculed their accent and their, in our opinion, low intellectual level.

At all higher schools in Kishinev only Russian was used in the teaching process; only at the entrance exams were Moldovians permitted to use their native language. And when it was demanded that we Russians speak the language of the Republic which had become our second Motherland, everyone was opposed to it. Do you not find it strange that I. Smirnov, President of the People's Republic of Moldova, cannot speak Moldovian? I do not think that he is going to learn it either.

It hurts me to see that because of the whim of some defective politicians, people who have always been brothers are now becoming deadly antagonists, blood is being shed, and there is no one to offer us help, because they are also floundering in their imperfect foreign policy.

I feel ashamed when I overhear elderly women discuss the problem while in line at stores: "Those Moldovians," they say, "were walking about in sandals, we built everything for them here, and now they are opening their mouths," etc. I want you to see that I am far from dividing people into good and bad categories, I just feel frightened by the fact that people who are aware of the power of their position can show their superiority over others. This is a disgusting human feature, and it may still develop further. What are we to expect then? What is to become of us?

Sincerely yours,

Marina Yevgenyevna

If you were not chewing American bread, you Russian Vanyas and Mashas would have starved long ago. And we foreigners would never shed a tear over the starving out of your parasitic Russian ethnos whom no lesser person than Lenin himself called "Great Russian chauvinists, villains and oppressors".

In the Caucasus, including its Northern areas, there is not even an inch of Russian territory. Kuban and Stavropol have since time immemorial been the lands of Adygeys, Cherkessians, Kabardinians, Balkars and Nogayevs, but have never belonged to the Cossacks of Zaporozhe, Vorenezh and Tambov. Those robbers.

So that, my dear Vanyas and Mashas, you will have to repay in full all that your ancestors, those conquerers, robbed us of.

I fail to understand you Russians. You seem to be rather clever people. What if I tell you that your children and grandchildren are more close to me than my own children and grandchildren--would you believe that?

If I assure you that the Russians seem closer to me than my own Nagayan people, would you believe such an obvious lie? But then how can you, a nation of 150 million, believe that you Russians are closer to the Chechens than their own people, and how is it possible that Russia should be ruled by a Chechen? A Chechen in whose very genes you find falsehood, perfidy, thievery, and hatred of you Russians! I have known myself for sixty years, and for almost that long I have known these people. I have dealt with quite a lot of them. Never have the Russians had greater enemies than the Chechens. When are you Russians finally going to judge people by their deeds, when will you see actions behind words and analyze them to draw conclusions? Are you really a people of fools? It won't be long before we see a Chechen ruling Russia. You have already had a Georgian in Russia--does that not suffice to draw a certain conclusion? Maybe you Russians are man-eaters, devouring each other? Trampling on yourselves and letting others like those Chechen villains do the same to you?

I did not mean to hurt anyone. If my words sound harsh, forgive me, but it hurts to watch all these goings on. They will tear you Russians to pieces, you will be slaves in your own home, on your own land, land that has been yours for a rather long time; a few decades, maybe more, will pass and there will be left of you only a handful of degenerates (like the American Indians today), and my people will possibly vanish altogether.

Bisbolotov Adelkhan,
Nogayan district

To the People's Deputies of Russia and Journalists
for consideration

It is a shame to watch the smaller nations humiliating a great nation that used to be proud and freedom loving.

I propose ousting these nations together with their territories. For those in the Volga region leave a corridor to Kazakhstan and prevent them from getting back into Russia with the help of our pride, the Cossacks. They have time-honored traditions and will dutifully guard the borders of our Homeland, the Russian state. Let us put an end to their milking our Rus; it is high time that these foreign states left our troughs.

I propose expelling the following nationalities:

The Turkic group:

	area in thousands square kilometer	Population (in thousands)	Russians
Chuvash	18,3	1,600	230
Tatars	68,0	4,000	1,340
Bashkiria	143,6	4,000	1,546
Altayans	92,6		
Khakassians	61,9		
Karachaevo-Cherkessian	14,1		
Adygey	7,6		
Touva	170,5	300	80
Daghestan	50,3	1,500	210
Kabardino-Balkarians	12,5	650	219
North Ossetia	8,0	700	200
Checheno-Ingushetia	19,3	1,300	300

All these people are stirring up trouble in Russia and if they are left there, it will be 1917 over again. Let them go along their Moslem road, Amen. Russia for the Russians! Three cheers to Russia!

...and we are now eye-witnesses to inter-ethnic conflicts (4/5 of our peoples are at the brink of a cruel war over land, territory, borders). Soon Daghestan with its conflicts (2-3 different hotbeds) will replace the Karabakhs and the Trans-Dniestrians on the radio and television. Our people are valiant. They are used to arms and blood.

They regard as their motto the inscription on the saber of legendary Shamil, the great Avarian: "He who bothers about consequences is not a brave man".

Mikhailov Kazbek Shikhabudinovich

To the Minister of Internal Affairs

OPEN LETTER

... From the newspapers we are learning about the miserable status of the Militia which is deprived of rights and very often deprived of the possibility to guard the safety of the civil population. In Kazakhstan, Armenia, Azerbaizhan and Georgia this has been brought about by Zionist provocations.

Such an unbearable situation cannot be endured any longer. Peaceful citizens are no longer sure of their safety from Zionists and criminals (which is the same). The Zionists have now turned from moral terror to physical aggression in the spirit of the newspaper appeals of Losoto.

Should there be further terroristic attempts of the Zionists, the National Patriotic Front "Pamyat" will begin organizing detachments for the protection of civil security.

We expect your active assistance in this vital matter.

May 21, 1989, Moscow

National-Patriotic Front "Pamyat"

APPENDIX B

Supplementary materials

1. Chronicle of Kirovobad Events: Testimony of Witnesses. Yerevan, 1989, 27 pp. mf. 72
2. Conclusions on the compulsory deportation of the Armenian population from Armenian villages located on the territory of Azerbaijan. Procurator of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Yerevan, 1991, 4 pp. mf. 72
3. Appendix to document no. 2. Yerevan, 1991, 32 pp. mf. 72-73
4. Petition to all peoples and parliaments. Tiraspol: Councils of People's Deputies of the Trans-Dniester Moldavian republic, 1991, 1 pp. mf. 73
5. Appeal to Jews in Russia. Sverdlovsk, no year, issue 12, 5 pp. mf. 73
6. Declaration of the Ukrainian People's Rukh. Kiev, no year, 1 pp. mf. 73
7. Rebuff Anti-Semitic Provocaters! Kiev: secretariat Rukh, no year, 1 pp. mf. 73
8. Petition to Russian patriots. Moscow: "Pamyat" movement, 1989, 1 pp. mf. 73
9. Sherbatyuk Anatoly. Declaration on the dissemination of propaganda on Russian Nazism by official means of the mass media, Kiev, no year, 2 pp. mf. 73
10. Declaration of the resident of the city of Kishinev V.S. Nosov to the Procurer of the USSR. Kishinev, 1990, 2 pp. mf. 73
11. But "Pamyat" remembers. Yemelyanov, Moscow, 1990, 1 pp. mf. 73
12. Russian National Council: Decision. Nizhny Novgorod, 1922, 1 pp. mf. 73
13. Address to the people. Moscow, National Patriotic Front "Pamyat", 1992, 2 pp. mf. 73
14. Fundamental documents accepted by the first and second extraordinary congress of representatives of the Gagauz people. Komrat, 1989, 21 pp. mf. 73-74
15. Purge. Moscow, National Patriotic Front "Pamyat", 1988, 8 pp. mf. 74
16. Petition of delegates of the extraordinary congress of toilers of Trans-Dniestria to political parties and movements of the CIS, the UN and the CSCE. Tiraspol, 1992, 1 pp. mf. 74
17. Petition to anti-Zionists of the world: Series of documents. Moscow, 1989, 23 pp. mf. 74
18. Russians! Pamphlet. Moscow: Russian Party. 1992, 1 pp. mf. 74
19. Crimeans! Pamphlet. Simferopol: Crimean organization of the Ukrainian republican party. mf. 74
1992, 1 pp.
20. Petition. Moscow, National Patriotic Front "Pamyat", 1990, 2 pp. mf. 74
21. "Pamyat" warned! Do not allow provocation! Moscow, 1988, 4 pp. mf. 75
22. Program of the Ukrainian People's Rukh for perestroika: draft. Kiev, 1989, 3 pp. mf. 75
23. Jews! Moscow, Peilan organization, 1991, 1 pp. mf. 75

24. Resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Trans-Dniestrian Moldavian Republic. Tiraspol, 1992, 2 pp. mf. 75
25. Dear editors: letter to "Moscow News". 1992, 1 pp. mf. 75
26. Yagubali Yosif. Open letter to Gorbachev. Baku, 1990, 2 pp. mf. 75
27. Shabbath: caricature. Moscow, 1991, 1 pp. mf. 75
28. It's my turn. Pamphlet, Moscow, no year, 1 pp. mf. 75
29. Testimony from citizen A.G. Grigoryan, resident, city of Sumgait. Sumgait 1988, 1 pp. mf. 75
30. Pluralism: caricature. Leningrad, 1989, 1 pp. mf. 76
31. Documents accepted at the first and second extraordinary congress of plenipotentiary representatives of the Gagauz people. Komrat. 1989, 23 pp. mf. 76
32. Petition to the people. Moscow, National Patriotic Front "Pamyat". 1992, 4 pp. mf. 76
33. Petition to the Russian people. no city, organizational committee of the Russian National Council, 1992, 1 pp. mf. 76
34. Address of scientists of the Crimea to their fellow citizens. Simferopol, 1992, 1 pp. mf. 76
35. Petition to all deputies and Crimean voters of People's Deputies of the Crimea, initiators of the convocation of the deputy's Congress, "For Peace and Agreement", Simferopol, 1992, 1 pp. mf. 76
36. What are the possible consequences of a Ukraine separate from the USSR? Kiev, GK Communist Party of Ukraine, no year, 1 pp. mf. 76
37. Yes to the Union Treaty! Kiev, Voroshilov provincial party organization, 1991, 1 pp. mf. 76
38. Indictment on criminal case no. 7490862 on the accusation of T.G. Kulushbekovo. Tbilisi, 1991, 78 pp. mf. 76-77
39. To the president of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic I.A. Karimov from the socio-cultural association "OKO". Samarkand. 1991, 9 pp. mf. 78
40. Declaration for the press. Moscow, Informative working group of the National Movement of Crimean Tatars (NMCT), 1992, 1 pp. mf. 78
41. Declaration of the Congress of representatives of deputies (delegates) from the Polish national community, formed by the will of the population on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR. Vilnius province, 1989, 2 pp. mf. 78
42. Program and Charter of the Armenian general national movement: draft. Yerevan, 1989, 16 pp. mf. 78
43. The travelled road. Yerevan: Committee of the Karabakh movement of Armenia. 1988, 36 pp. mf. 78-79
44. Series of documents in connection with the movement of Turk-Meskhets. Tbilisi, 1990, 18 pp. mf. 79
45. Reference of the Georgian MVD. Tbilisi, 1991, 12 pp. mf. 79
46. To the president of Russia B.N. Yeltsin, to the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR: Petition. no place, the democrats of Ossetia, 1991, 1 pp. mf. 79

Excerpt from:

MANIFESTO
OF THE NATIONAL-PATRIOTIC FRONT "PAMYAT"

1. We demand freeing our Power from the status of a colony, from serving as a raw-material appendix of the world-wide Zionist oligarchy and restoring to her the status of spiritual, political and economic priority bequeathed to her by her ancestors.

2. Great Russia is everlasting.

... 28. We demand the creation of national bodies for mass propaganda. Any mass propaganda where national proportions in the body are not observed cannot be considered as Russian, but are only Russian-speaking, which should be indicated in its name.

... 40. Any compromise with a Zionist state, created and existing on the doctrine of Jewish fascism is unthinkable on the part of decent people. We are opposed to the establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel.

... 43. We demand proportional national representation in the ruling structure as well as in the sphere of art, science and education.

... 48. We demand putting an end to artificial assimilation and the mechanical merging of nationalities as this is resulting in the loss of the feeling of Motherland, of Home and finally in the creation of a degraded mass, a source of criminality, prostitution, drug addiction and alcoholism.

... 50. We consider all cases of separatism and inter-ethnic hostility in the country as dirty Zionist-Masonic provocation and demand that the real names of the initiators be exposed and that they be punished.

... 59. We demand exposure and unconditional abolition of all kinds of pseudonyms. An honest person does not need to conceal his real name.

APPENDIX C

Selection of nationalist newspapers

1. "Rodniye Proston", Istoriko-culturnaya Gazeta, Siberia, 1990, nos. 4, 6, 8; 1992, no. 2 (15); mf. 80
2. "Tsara", Izdaniye Narodnogo Fronta Moldovy, Kishinev, October 1991, no. 41 (53); mf. 80
3. "Otechestvo", Oppozitsionaya Gazeta Russkogo Patrioticheskogo Dvizheniya, Leningrad, nos. 4 (Dec. 1991), 1 (October), 3 (December); 1992 nos. 9 (May), 10 (June), 11 (August), 8 (April), 7 (March); mf. 80-81
4. "Volya Rossii", Ekaterinaburg, June 1991, no. 5-6; 1992, nos. 5, 6; mf. 82
5. "Zemshchina", Russkaya Gramota Soyuz, Moscow, 1991, nos. 10 (27, April), 26 (43), 33 (50), 30 (47), 31 (48), 54, 32 (49), 25 (42), 24 (41), 55, 23 (40), 19 (36), 18 (35), 17 (34), 16 (33), 13 (30), 12 (29), 2 (19), 8 (25); 1992, nos. 79, 80, 81, 71, 70; mf. 82-83
6. "Istoricheskaya Pamyat", Russkaya Patrioticheskaya Gazeta, St. Petersburg, 1992, nos. 1, 2; mf. 83
7. "Narodnaya Gazeta", Vse-Soyuzny Yezhedelnik Fonda Sotsialnykh Initsiativ, Moscow, 1992, no.1 (4);
8. "Nashe Mneniye", Nezavisimy Informatsionny Listok, Saratov province, 1991, no. 7 (September); 1992, no. 11-12 (March); mf. 84
9. "Istoki", Vse-Soyuznaya Gazeta and Nezavisimaya Voennaya Gazeta, Moscow, 1990, no.1; 1991, nos. 3 (May), 4 (July), 5; 1992, nos. 3 (9) March, 5 (11), 4 (10), 2 (8), 1 (7), 6; mf. 84-85
10. "Golos Rossii", Gazeta Respublikanskoy Narodnoy Partii Rossii i Rossiiskogo Obshchenatsionalnogo Dvizheniya, Petrograd, 1991, nos. 1 (6), 2 (7); 1992, no. 3 (8); mf. 85
11. "Velikoross", Vestnik t.o. "Russky Tsentr" pri SP SSSR, Moscow, 1991, January-February; mf. 86
12. "Vestnik Yuzhnoy Osetin", Tskhinvali, 1992, no. 2 (19); mf. 86
13. "Vestnik Kryma", June 1992, no. 1; mf. 86
14. "Otchizna", Za Poitiku Narodnogo Soglosiya i Rossiskogo Vozrozhdeniya, Leningrad, 1990, nos. 8, 6 (September), 2, 3, 4 (August), 7, 1 (July); 1991, nos. 11, 1 (9) January, 2 (10) April; mf. 86-87
15. "Moskovsky Traktir", Gazeta Russkogo Natsionalno-Osvoboditel'nogo Dvizheniya, no. 1; mf. 87
16. "Nakanune", Russkaya Gazeta, Zlatoust, 1992, nos. 6 and 7 (March), 5 (February), 8 (April); 1991, nos. 1, 2 and 3 (December); mf. 87
17. "Narodnoye Delo", Narodno-Sotsialnaya Partiya, St. Petersburg, 1991, no. 1; 1992, no. 2; mf. 88
18. "Nashe Vremya", Gazeta Natsionalno-Respublikanskoy Partii Rossii, Petrograd, 1990, nos. 3, 4; 1991, nos. 5, 6, 9-10, 7-8, 11-12; mf. 88
19. "Russky Stag", Moscow, probny nomer, no. 1; mf. 88-89
20. "Russkaya Gazeta", Moscow, 1992, no. 1 (July); mf. 89
21. "Russkoye Znamya", Moscow, nos. 1-4; mf. 89

22. "Russky Put", Izdaniye Soyuzo Dukhovnogo Vozrozhdeniya Otechestva, Moscow, 1992, nos. 1, 2, 3; mf. 89
23. "Polozheniye Del", Popechitelsky Fond Kazanskoy Bozhey Materi, Moscow, 1991, nos. 1 (May), 2 (July), 3; 1992, nos. 4-5 (1992); mf. 89-90
24. "Russkoye Delo", Natsionalno-Demokraticeskaya Partiya, Petrograd, 1991, no. 3; 1992, nos. 1 (4), 2 (5), 3 (6); mf. 90
25. "Rod", Gazeta Sankt-Peterburgskogo Muzhkogo Kauba, Russkoye Osvoboditelnoye Dvizheniya, St. Petersburg, 1991, nos. 2 (March), 2 (April), 3 (March); mf. 90
26. "Russky Zov", Pravoslavno-patrioticheskaya Gazeta, Nizhni Tagil, 1991, nos. 1 (December), 2; mf. 91
27. "Russky Vestnik", Moscow, 1991, nos. 28-29 (November), 30 (December); mf. 91-92
28. "Russky Golos", Nezavisimaya Gazeta Patrioticheskikh Sil, Ulyanovsk, 1991, nos. 6 (July), 3 (June), 1 and 2 (May), 6-7 (April), 8 (August), 11, 5 (July), 4 (June); 1992, nos. 1-2; mf. 92-93
29. "Pamyat", Izdaniye Natsionalno-Patrioticheskogo Fronta "Pamyat", Moscow, 1991, nos. 1, 2; mf. 93-94
30. "Russkiye Vedomosti", Moscow, 1991, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; mf. 94
31. "Pamyat", Gazeta Patrioticheskogo Dvizheniya "Pamyat", Novosibirsk, 1990, nos. 10, 9, 13; 1991, no. 19; mf. 94
32. "Russkoye Voskreseniye", Gazeta Russkogo Natsionalno-Osvoboditelnogo Dvizheniya, Moscow, 1991, nos. 5 (13), 4 (12), 2 (10), 3 (11); 1992, nos. 7 (15), 8 (16); mf. 94-95
33. "Russky Puls", Moscow, 1991, nos. 1, 2; 1992, nos. 3, 4; mf. 95
34. "Spektr", Tbilisi, 1990. mf. 96
35. "Osvobozhdeniye", Natsionalno-Demokraticeskaya Partiya Petrogradskaya Regionalnaya Organizatsiya, 1990, no. 2 (August); mf. 96
36. "Rus", Gazeta Russkogo Natsionalnogo Dvizheniya, no. 1; mf. 96
37. "Russkoye Delo", Novosibirsk, 1990, no. 6; mf. 96
38. "Rus", Politichesky Yezhedelnik, Leningrad, 1929, no. 1; mf. 96-97
39. "Russky Klich", Gazeta Soyuzo Za Natsionalno-Proporsionalnoye Predstavitelstvo, 1990, no. 1; 1991, nos. 3, 2; mf. 97
40. "Puls Tushina", Moscow, 1989, December; 1990, nos. 11, 10, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14; 1991, nos. 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28; mf. 97-99
41. "Slavyansky Vestnik," Fond Slavyanskoy Pismennosti i Kulturi, Moscow, 1990, no. 3 (November), 4 (December); 1991, nos. 11 (16), 10 (15), 12 (17); mf. 99
42. "Sivtsev Vrazhek", Moscow, 1992, no. 3; mf. 99-100
43. "Stolichnaya", Moscow, 1991, no. 3-4 (April); mf. 100
44. "Spetsialny Vypusk press-tsentra Verkhovnogo Soveta Respubliki Armeniya", 1991; mf. 100
45. "Informatsiya dlya Razmyshleniya", Leningrad?; mf. 100
46. "Dnestrovskaya Pravda," Tiraspol, 1990, no. 299; mf. 100

47. "Pravda o Pridnestrove", Spetsvypusk gazety "Dnestrovskaya Pravda", Tiraspol; mf. 100
48. "Yedinstvo", Informatsionny Byulleten Soveta Interdvizheniya Sovetskoy Sotsialisticheskoy Respubliki Moldova, Kishinev, 1991, no. 7 (25); mf. 101
49. "Trudovoy Tiraspol", Organ Obedinennogo Soveta Trudovykh Kollektivov, Pridnestrovskaya Moldavskaya Sovetskaya Sotsialisticheskaya Respublika, Tiraspol, 1991 nos. 1 (January, 2); mf. 101
50. "Ekho", Izdaniye Vologodskoy Pisatelskoy Organizatsii, Vologda, 1991, nos. 4 (28), 19; mf. 101
51. "Respublika no. 5", Nezavisimaya Gazeta, vyrazhdayushaya interesi Tatarskogo Natsionalnogo Dvizheniya, Kazan; mf. 101
52. "Hepryadva", Moscow, 1988, edition 3; 1989, editions 10, 11. mf. 102-106

APPENDIX D

Selection of nationalist books

1. *O Tak Nazyvayemom Armyanskoy Genotside*, Vestnik AN Azerbajjanskoy SSR: Istoriya, Filosofiya, Prava, Baku, 1988. mf. 1-2
2. Balayev, A., *Azerbajjanskoye Natsionalnoye-Demokraticeskoye Dvizheniye 1917-1920*, Baku, 1990. mf. 2-3
3. *Sobitiya Vokrug NKAO v Krivom Zerkale Falshifikatorov*, Elm, Baku, 1990. mf. 3-4
4. Shakhdin, I., *Kashnaktsyuyun na Sluzhbe Russkoy Byelogvardeytsiny i Angliiskogo Komandovanniya na Kavkaze*, Baku, 1990. mf. 4
5. Mansurov, A. *Beliye Pyatna Istorii i Perestroika*, Baku, 1990. mf. 5-7
6. *Biblioteka Obshchestva Rustaveli*, first edition, Tbilisi, 1990. mf. 7
7. *Pravda o Nagomom Karabakhe: Materialy i Dokumenty*, Yerevan, 1989. mf. 7-9
8. *K Istorii Obrazovaniya Nagorno-Karabakhskoy Avtonomnoy Oblasti Azerbajjanskoy SSR: Dokumenty i Materialy*, Baku, 1989. mf. 9-12
9. *Nagorny-Karabakh: Istoricheskaya Spravka*, Yerevan, 1988. mf. 12-13
10. Khurshugyan, L.A., *Istina--Edinstvenny Kriterii Istoricheskoy Nauki*, Yerevan, 1989. mf. 13-14
11. *Azerbajjanskaya Argumentatsiya i yeyo Oproverzheniye*, Yerevan, 1989. mf. 14
12. Barsegyan K., *Istino Dorozhe. K Probleme Nagornogo Karabakha. Artsakha*, izdatelstvo AN Armenian SSR, Yerevan, 1989. mf. 14-16
13. *O Sovyetskom Patriotizme*, Gosudarstvennoye izdatelstvo politicheskoy literatury, Moscow, 1950. mf. 16-21
14. Pankratova A., *Velikii Russkii Narod*, Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1948. mf. 21-23
15. Orlov, V., *RSFSR--Pervom v Semye Ravnykh*, Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1951. mf. 23-24
16. Paletskis, Y.U., *Velikii Oktyaber i Torzhestvo Sotsialisticheskikh Natsii*, izdatelstvo "Znaniye", Moscow, 1967. mf. 24
17. Metelitsa, L.V., *Torzhestvo Leninskoy Natsionalnoy Politiki v SSSR*, gosudarstvennoye izdatelstvo "Vyshaya Shkola", Moscow, 1962. mf. 24-25
18. Lenin, V.I., *CPSU o Borbye s Natsionalizmom*, izdatelstvo politicheskoy literatury, Moscow, 1975. mf. 25-29
19. Ivanov, Y., *Ostorozhno: Zionism!*, izdatelstvo politicheskoy literatury, Moscow, 1970. mf. 29-31
20. Anoshkin, I.F., *Internatsionalisticheskiye Printsipy Vnutrenney Politiki CPSU*, dissertatsiya, Moscow, 1973. mf. 31
21. *Sovetskoy Patriotizm*, Moskovskii Rabochii, Moscow, 1946. mf. 32-33
22. Matyuskhin, N.I., *Shto takoye Sovetskii Patriotizm*, gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1955. mf. 34
23. Gubanov, N.I., *Otochestvo i Patriotizm*, gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1960. mf. 35-36
24. Sobolyev, A., *O Sovyetskom Patriotizme*, Moskovskii Rabochii, Moscow, 1954. mf. 36-37

25. Mayorov S., Mikhailov N., *Velikaya Rossiskaya Federatsiya*, gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1947. mf. 37-38
26. Brutyan, L.A., *Proletarskii Internatsionalizm protiv Ideologii Natsionalizma*, Ts K, VLKSM, Moscow, 1979. mf. 38-39
27. Shevchenko, F.R., *Nerushimaya Druzhba Ukrainskogo i Russkogo Narodov*, gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1954. mf. 39-40
28. Gaibov, B., Sharifov, A., *Neobyavlenaya Voina*, izdatelstvo Kommunist, Baku, 1991. mf. 41
29. *O Polozhenii v Armenii i Artsakhe (Nagornom Karabakhe)*, Vilnius-Leningrad, 1990. mf. 42
30. *Sumgait...Genotsid...Glasnost*, Yerevan, 1989. mf. 42-43
31. Mosesova, I., Ovnanyan, A., *Vandalizm v Baku*, izdatelstvo "Gitelik", Yerevan, 1991. mf. 43-46
32. *Glazami Nezavisimyykh Nablyudateley: Nagorny Karabakh i Vokrug Nego...*, Sbornik Materialov, izdatelstvo Yerevansky Gosudarstvenny Universitet, Yerevan, 1990. mf. 47-50
33. Arytyunyan, V.B., *Sobitiya v Nagornom Karabakhe*, izdatelstvo AN Armenian SSR, Yerevan, 1990. mf. 51-52
34. *Yuzhnaya Ossetia. I Krov I Pepel*, Moscow, 1991. mf. 52-54
35. *Osetino-Russkaya Tema Etnoperestroichnykh Urokov*, Purudzhn, 1991. mf. 54-55
36. Shafarevich, I.R. *Belaya Kniga Rossii*, tovarishchestvo Russkykh Khudozhnikov, Moscow, 1991. mf. 55-57
37. ed. Kanashkin, V.A., *Kuban*, 1991. mf. 58-59
38. *Simvol Dostoinstva*, izdatelstvo Kartya Moldovenyaskie, Kishinev, 1990. mf. 60
39. Ostretsov, V., *Chernaya Sotnya i Krasnaya Sotnya*, Voennoye Izdatelstvo, Moscow, 1991. mf. 60-61
40. Arakelov, R., *Nagorny Karabakh: Vinovniki Tragedii Izvestny*, "Sharg-Garb", Baku, 1991. mf. 61-62
41. *Nagorny-Karabakh Vesna-Oseni 1990*, Yerevan, 1990. mf. 62-64
42. *Cnemy Yanvar*, izdatelstvo Azerneshr, Baku, 1990. mf. 65-68
43. Barkashov, A., *Era Rossii*, Russkoye Natsionalnoye Yedinstvo, 1991. mf. 68
44. *Pravda O Chaikende i Ne Tolko O Nom*, izdatelstvo "Azerbaijan", Baku, 1991. mf. 68-69
45. Gamsakurdia, Z., *Dukhovnaya Missiya Gruzii*, Tbilisi, 1990. mf. 69-70
46. Galbov, I., Sarifov, A., *Armyansky Terrorizm*, izdatelstvo "Azerbaijan", Baku, 1991. mf. 71

APPENDIX E

Cartoons from anti-Semitic newspapers

1. - from the anti-Semitic newspaper *Russkoye Voskreseniye*:
"Let's get rid of the vermin!", "The Jews are seducing Russia";
- 2 - anti-Semitic portrayal of sweeping away the dirt (Jews);
- 3 - Russia being carved up like a cake by Jews, "Dreams in vain";
- 4 - from *Russkoye Voskreseniye*: "...whose leaving for America?
Yids. Let them go and take with them their Jewish organizations...";
- 5 - Cartoon refers to Jewish control over the Russian government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union