own country," points out Edward L. Keenan, professor of Russian history at Harvard University. "The Russians are the only people in the former Soviet Union who don't have anything to feel good about." What's more, they are often made to feel bad. Many of these new governments see the Russians as occupiers, and have no use for their former overlords. The Baltic countries have already passed highly restrictive citizenship laws that limit the rights of Russian residents. "We're going to suffer for our history, as the Germans did," says Muscovite Nikolai Formozov. "Maybe one day, like the Germans, we'll even hesitate to show the colors of our national flag." That, in turn, could intensify the antiforeign backlash.

Could Russia turn its back on the West again? Technological advances have made that harder than in the days when a czar could squelch a book or a speech by decree. And damping the consumer frenzy would prove hardest of all. The main source of Russia's westward yearnings is economic hardship, and until Russian nationalists can offer a convincing program for prosperity, they stand little chance of widespread support. In the meantime no one else seems able to cure Russia's economic woes, either. And a proud people cannot tolerate forever the feeling that they're the bottom of the heap. ■

PHOTOS BY DAVID BRAUCHLI—SYGMA

The Face of a Massacre

Azerbaijan was a charnel house again last week: a place of mourning refugees and dozens of mangled corpses dragged to a makeshift morgue behind a mosque. They were men, women and children of Khojaly, an Azerbaijani village in the war-torn enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh overrun by Armenian forces on Feb. 25-26. Many were killed at close range while trying to flee; some had their faces mutilated, others were scalped. Azerbaijanis retaliated quickly, shooting down an Armenian helicopter with 40 people aboard. Troops of the former Soviet army were perhaps the last safeguard against civil war—and they were withdrawing from the region.