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Priests Are Urged to Boycott Polish Ceremony

Archbishop Calls Memorial to Pope John Not Unity Sign

WARSAW, July 17 (AP) — A Polish Roman Catholic Archbishop today asked priests to boycott a project backed by the Communist regime to erect a memorial to Pope John XXIII.

Archbishop Boleslaw Kominek of Wroclaw (formerly Breslau) warned in a message to priests that the project was designed to undermine church unity. The warning came against a background of renewed assertions by the church that it does not seek a test of strength with the Government.

Archbishop Kominek asked priests not to attend a meeting in Wroclaw on Tuesday at which the cornerstone of a monument will be laid as part of the Government's celebration of the 1,000th anniversary of nationhood. The church, at the same time, is marking the 1,000th anniversary of Christianity in Poland.

The ceremony, the Archbishop said, "is not a symbol of the holy unity of Christ's church in Poland." He added: "We want to state that this event has been organized without knowledge of the church hierarchy and outside its jurisdiction. We have not encouraged and we do not encourage participation in cele-



Associated Press

Archbishop Boleslaw Kominek

brations whose hidden aims are clear."

In a letter to priests, Archbishop Kominek declared that "we have been asking permission for years from the Government Office of Religious Affairs to build a few new churches in Wroclaw and vicinity, which we would like to dedicate to the memory of Pope John XXIII."

"Thousands of people were

Asserts Event Was Organized Without Church Knowledge

worshiping in makeshift churches. The Office of Religious Affairs not only does not give permission but has even ordered that a church under construction be dismantled to its foundation."

Pro-Government priests in Wroclaw organized the memorial project to commemorate a statement by Pope John that the city was in the "Western territories, recovered after centuries." Wroclaw is 185 miles southwest of Warsaw in an area transferred from Germany to Poland after World War II.

Archbishop Kominek spurned a Government move last month to promote him as an alternate to the Polish Primate, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, whose celebrations of the millennium of Polish Christianity have touched off clashes between Catholics and the police.

Speaking in Kielce, about 100 miles south of Warsaw, Cardinal Wyszynski told 20,000 cheering followers last night: "How frivolous are these suspicions of small people who think that we want through our celebrations somehow to demonstrate or want somehow a test of strength."

Catholics to Shun Red Drive to Build Monument to John

NAPLES, Italy (Religious News Service) — Roman Catholics have been barred from participating in a Communist-sponsored drive to build memorials to the late Pope John XXIII.

The first such memorial is planned in Piscinola, a Naples suburb.

Observers here said the Communist initiative stemmed from the party's campaign to establish a dialogue with Catholics.

In Piscinola, where the first monument is to be built, the local chapter of the Communist party distributed the following leaflet:

"Citizens, the Communists of Piscinola wish to start a subscription to raise the necessary funds for a monument to John XXIII.

"To this end, they are addressing themselves to all political parties, to all Catholic associations and to individuals, suggesting the creation of a special commission representing all trends.

"To pay homage of John XXIII, the Pope of peace, is particularly significant in a moment when the resumption of bombings over North Vietnam gravely threatens world peace."

The Roman Catholic chancery office at Naples, informed of the campaign, issued the following statement:

"This Curia has been informed of an initiative by a political movement, which is definitely anti-Christian, to erect a monument of John XXIII . . . Owing to the evident political speculation on which the initiative is based, it is prohibited to the clergy, to the Catholic laity, and to Catholic associations to participate in any way."

Special Information Note

Religion in the Soviet Union

I. The New Anti-Religious Campaign

In the January 1964 issue of Kommunist, the Communist Party's Chief of propaganda, Leonid Ilyichev, announced the broad new atheist campaign. According to Partiynaya Zhizn', No. 2, 1964, an "Institute of Scientific Atheism" has been set up to guide all atheist propaganda in the country. Beginning in the 1964-1965 academic year a new faculty of scientific atheism will be established in some universities and teachers' colleges as well as at Moscow and Kiev Universities. Permanent courses for atheist propagandists are being set up, and atheist propaganda over the radio and television is to be increased. On June 11, 1964 the Central Committee of the Communist Party established an Institute of Scientific Atheism in the Academy of Social Sciences in Moscow "to coordinate scientific atheistic work, train cadres of the highest qualifications, develop topical problems of scientific atheism, hold all-Union scientific conferences and seminars, and establish contacts with scientific atheist centers abroad."

Such drives are nothing new in the Soviet Union, and the beginning of each new drive is heralded by official complaints that the last one was a failure. The reasons for these failures are fairly obvious. First of all, the career of an itinerant atheist propagandist would hardly attract any Communist with any ability. Secondly, the "scientific" pretensions of Communist ideology are continually belied by economic failures; and thirdly, the more troublesome religious groups thrive on persecution, and finally, some are driven underground where they are more difficult to control. An additional reason, mentioned in passing by Ilyichev, is that the peoples of the regions seized by Russia use religion as one form of expressing their nationalism.

The current anti-religious campaign inaugurated by Ilyichev appears to be a response to a definite increase in the number of believers reported in the Soviet press of

many of the Soviet republics. This rise in religious influence coincides with the popular anger over severe economic difficulties experienced in the Soviet Union and thus contributes to an alarming increase in the potential for unrest.

As in past years, these reports blame the laxity of local Communist officials and agitators for the trend. Partiynaya Zhizn' Kazakhstana complained in August 1963 that religion was gaining in Kazakhstan and criticized "those agitators who consider that the most effective means of struggle against religion is to get believers drunk and so compromise them in the eyes of the community." It praised agitators who visited churches to make sure that no children were there and who harassed people who were planning church weddings and funerals. In the Transcarpathian region (annexed by Russia in 1945), complained Pravda Ukrainy on September 4, 1963, indifference to the atheist campaign was such that one girl gave as an excuse for not attending an atheist lecture the fact that the church was having a service at that hour. A former secretary of the Komsomol in the same place worked for the church council at the same time and even became a deacon.

The Soviet Government maintains anti-religious museums in various cities, and has intermittently published atheist periodicals as a guide to anti-religious agitators. The current periodical is Science and Religion. All children are compelled to attend state schools, in the curriculum of which atheism is taught in various courses. In some cases religious children have been subjected to public humiliation and ridicule at school, with grave psychological damage to them.

Some of the propaganda is on a high intellectual level, consisting of competent historical analysis of the origins of various religions, but most is on a fairly primitive level (i.e., taking peasants in the twenties on airplane rides to show them there were no angels in the sky, and in the 1960's quoting astronauts as saying that they had found no "paradise" along their orbits).

The Moscow journal Agitator, No. 4, February 1962, describes the use of mobile atheist squads sent into rural areas to conduct anti-religious lectures:

"A special mobile anti-religious exposition -- agitmashina [agitation machine] -- has been constructed in the Volynskaya Oblast Museum. The lecturers and atheist agitators travel with this machine to distant villages, brigades, and settlements where they conduct discussions with the faithful and show atheistic films."

Sovietskaya Latvija, on February 28, 1964, gave an interesting example of how the government inserts atheist instruction into the curriculum of secondary schools. The paper describes atheistic "competitions" arranged in the school:

"The excited Fifth Formers pestered the judges. They refused to agree that only the Eighth Formers should take part in the atheistic competition. Of course they did not know as much, but that was one reason why they worked in the atheists' club of the No. 2 Kraslav Secondary School under the direction of teacher Alekseyev... Seeing the excited faces of the boys and girls, the judges decided to hold an extra competition for them.

"The first questions appeared: 'Name any well-known atheistic works you know.' 'Compose an anti-religious limerick.' 'Write an atheistic greeting to a competing team.' ... Besides that there was homework. Draw up a program for an atheistic concert. Make up two or three drawings of an anti-religious character... The hall was crowded with schoolchildren. They encouraged their own team and wildly applauded clever answers... Klava Artamanova, pupil of No. 5 school, appears on the stage. She acts sketches: 'What happened at the cemetery,' 'What happened in church,' 'How Auntie took the child to the Communion service.' She is followed by singers. They sing merry limericks composed by the school children."

In recent years the Communists have recognized that even many convinced Communists preferred a beautiful and dignified church wedding to the mere "registration" of the union in a dirty office by a bored clerk. The party has therefore established clean and suitable decorated marriage halls where couples might be married in dignified surroundings devoid of religious rites. The journal Agitator, Moscow, No. 4, February 1962, describes the tactics in a rural area:

"Frequently youths participate in religious rituals, not because they believe in God but because they are attracted by their beauty and solemnity. Taking this into consideration, we began paying more attention to publicizing the new traditions, customs, and rituals. Solemn registration of weddings... are now being conducted in the Palaces and Houses of Culture, and in clubs... The newlyweds ride to the club in a specially equipped troyka [three-horse carriage or sleigh] which is decorated with ribbons and flowers. The chairman or a deputy of the village Soviet registers the marriage, congratulates the newlyweds, and gives them presents. Then there is a concert in their honor, and finally, a dinner."

Disturbed by the persistence of religious baptisms of the infants, even of members of Communist organizations, the City Soviet of Leningrad, according to Leningradskaya Pravda, August 29, 1963, had set up two "Palaces of the Newly Born," for "beautiful and solemn rituals" of registration of infants, who are presented with medals showing Lenin in an armored car on one side and the baby's name and birth date on the other. This practice is spreading to other Soviet cities and to the Communist countries of Eastern Europe.

One of the clumsier forms of anti-religious propaganda was the attempt to assert that religious rites were detrimental to health. Though practiced in the most advanced Western countries for hygienic reasons by all faiths, the Russian authorities describe Jewish circumcision as "barbaric." Newspapers constantly warn of the dangers of priests' transmitting germs to infants by breathing in their faces during baptism. One supposedly competent medical journal, the Meditinskaya Gazeta in early 1964 betrayed an ignorance of science as great as that attributed to the religious by pointing out that baptized babies in Vladimir suffered three times the incidence of skin diseases as the unbaptized, and twice as many colds, and attributed this to dirty water in baptismal fonts, the priests' breath, etc. The journal apparently never suspected that the lives of the religious poor are hardly as sanitary as that of the unbaptized atheist aristocracy of the Communist Party.

II. Basic Hostility to Religion

Atheism is a basic principle of Communism. In spite of occasional change in tactics,

There has been no fundamental change in the Communist viewpoint toward religion since the days of Marx and Lenin, who are constantly cited today in the Soviet press to justify and explain the Party's stand on religious questions.

The Communists regard religion as a support of the political systems which they must overthrow to achieve Communist world domination. The practice and propagation of religion is therefore considered "reactionary" by Communists.

While its doctrine towards religion does not change, the Communists have a record of using various techniques as they pursue the goal of stamping out religion in the regions under Communist control. Where the Party wields only minor political influence, where its control of the State is not complete, and where religion plays an important part in the national life, Communists avoid any public avowal of their actual anti-religious program. Instead, the religious question is sidetracked as much as possible; church members are welcomed into the Party; Communists appear to support religious freedom; people are deceived into believing that the Communists will respect their religion. Once the Communist organization seizes political power and controls the State, Party members are forbidden to hold religious beliefs. Religious Communists are eventually expelled from the Party, and only convinced atheists are accepted as candidates for membership.

For the general public, the fiction of Marxist compatibility with religion is dropped only after the Party has consolidated its hold on the political apparatus and can safely withstand widespread opposition to its policies.

As a facade to cover up the basic hostility of the Kremlin towards religion, its leaders when asked about religious persecution in the USSR always point to Article 124 of the Soviet Constitution:

"In order to insure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the USSR is separated from the State and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens."

While this article appears "liberal," a careful reading shows it to be highly restrictive. Freedom of worship only is assured. In other words, churches may do

nothing but conduct services. Only anti-religious propaganda is permitted, and this, moreover, is subsidized by the vast resources of the State and Party.

III. Legislative Restraints on Religion

Science and Religion (No. 5, May 1960), the official Soviet atheist periodical, in an article entitled "Against Infringements of Soviet Legislation Covering Religious Observations," revealed the true extent of religious suppression currently practised in the USSR. In discussing the laws, the article spelled out in detail the restrictions on church affairs in the USSR as they exist today:

Sermons

"Soviet legislation does not forbid the priesthood to read sermons in churches, mosques, etc."

"But such sermons must have a purely religious content."

"The pulpits of churches must not be used for political and other statements unconcerned with religion and in contradiction to the interests of the Soviet state."

"Members of the priesthood and sectarian preachers often infringe these requirements of the law. They do not confine themselves in their sermons to the treatment of religious questions but refer to the most diverse subjects of a political character, the upbringing and education of children. Cases have been established where events in internal and international life have been described and commented on in these sermons in a distorted way. Some members of the priesthood, trying to kindle religious fanaticism, terrify their congregations with the inevitability of another war, and in doing so grossly distort the causes which give rise to wars and derogate the forces of the people who are fighting for peace. Frequently from the pulpits of churches, mosques and meeting houses of the sectarians, all kinds of fairy tales are spread about the life of the Soviet people, the moral features of the Soviet man and the morals of the future communist society. Preaching of this kind is not allowed."

Holy Places

"Question: In the Central Asian Republics and some other places there

still continue to exist 'holy places' where pilgrims [Muslims] assemble in the hope of being cured of diseases, etc. Why is nothing done against this deception of the believers?"

"Action is taken."

"In recent times many such 'holy places' have been closed and pilgrimages to them have ceased."

Pacifist Sects

"The Soviet Government organs prohibit the activities of the 'Jehovah's Witnesses' and the Pentacostalists."

"Nobody can evade the performance of his public duties on the score of religious convictions."

"The creed and the nature of the activities of these sects are in contradiction with the Constitution of the USSR and other laws of the state."

"The constitution says 'universal military training is a law.' The Jehovahites and Pentacostalists refuse to do military service and forbid the members of their sects to take up arms in defense of the socialist Fatherland. The Soviet state obviously cannot permit the propaganda of such a creed which incites the believers to disobey the constitution."

"The Pentacostalist sect is also banned because its adherents indulge in monstrous practices which injure people both morally and physically."

Licensed Churches

"At the present time right of free celebration of their cult is enjoyed in the USSR by: The Russian and Georgian Orthodox Churches, the Old Believer, Catholic and Armenian Gregorian Churches, the Associations of Mohammedan, Buddhist and Jewish creeds, the sect of Evangelical Baptists, the Seventh Day Adventists and certain others."

"It is necessary to distinguish between two categories or groups of sects. The first is the sects which in accordance with the Constitution of the USSR enjoy the free performance of their religious rites. The second is sects of an anti-state or fanatical character whose activities are prohibited on the territory of the USSR."

"The question is sometimes asked which religion or church is most undesirable at the present time, so that the efforts of our propaganda may be

concentrated against it. The matter must not be put in this way. Every religion, every church, every sect is harmful to the cause of building communism and the ideological war must be directed against any form of religion in general." [Emphasis added.]

Religious Prohibitions

"The priesthood sometimes forbids believers to visit the cinema, schools or clubs, to listen to the radio, or to take part in the work of communal organizations."

"Such actions are an infringement of the laws and regulations of the Soviet Government on religious cults."

Orchestras, Choirs, etc.

"Question: Are the religious associations permitted to form orchestras, choirs, and other artistic self-expression combinations; arrange concerts, excursions, evenings and meetings for young people; and carry on work among children, young people and women?"

"All such activities by religious associations and the clergy are illegal."

"In the churches, mosques and prayer houses the priests often give special sermons for children. Soviet legislation prohibits religious associations to carry on special work among children and young people, to arrange special services for them or to arrange groups, circles or courses for religious instruction."

"Religious associations do not enjoy the right to form circles for artistic self-expression, to arrange concerts, to organize excursions, exhibitions, evenings or assemblies for young people or to undertake other actions which are not connected with the celebration of religious rites."

"Priests and sectarian preachers have no other functions or duties beyond the celebration of religious rites. They cannot perform actions which by their nature are functions of the state organs and communal organizations."

Charitable Works

"Why is the charitable work of the church forbidden?"

"Soviet people do not need the charity of the church."

"Pitiful handouts of the church, lollipops, etc., can have no place in the life of the Soviet people. These trifling sums, handed out by the church from its huge income, can only lower a person's dignity."

"Charity has no relationship with the church and is therefore illegal. It also is in contradiction with the teachings of the church."

"In accordance with the Soviet legislation on religious cults, religious associations are not allowed to establish mutual assistance funds, to give material aid, or to use the funds and property at their disposal for any purpose except satisfaction of religious needs."

IV. The Record of Religious Repression

Although the Government has a long record of steps taken to repress religion, Ilyichev, the Head of the Central Committee's Agitation and Propaganda Department, had to acknowledge in December 1961 that "religious survivals of the past tenaciously maintain their grip on millions of people." (Pravda, December 27, 1961)

While the Government has been opposed to all religion, it has been less severe towards some religions than others. This variance in treatment is apparently determined by propaganda and foreign policy considerations:

A. The Russian Orthodox Church

The German invasion prompted the Government to encourage Great Russian nationalism, which has always been linked with the Russian Orthodox Church in the minds of the people. In November 1942, on the 25th anniversary of the Communist Revolution, Acting Patriarch Sergius sent congratulations to Stalin, whom he addressed as "the God-given leader of the military and cultural forces of the nation." The church offered prayers for victory and blessings to the soldiers at the front. On September 5, 1943, Izvestiya, announced that "Stalin received the acting Patriarch Sergius, Metropolitan Alexius of Leningrad, and Metropolitan Nicholas of Kiev." As a result of this meeting, Sergius was installed as Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia on September 12, 1943. The first issue of the political publication of the newly restored patriarch, the Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate, also appeared on this date.

In October 1943 the Government set up a Council for the Russian Orthodox Church, subordinate to the Council of People's Commissars, under G. E. Karpov, a secret police official. In 1944 Izvestiya went so far as to publish an appeal by the patriarch urging the faithful to attend confession and communion. In August 1944 the Council for the Russian Orthodox Church announced that "priests may go to their parishioners or engage in proselytizing work either in church or outside." In September it decreed that "Parents may religiously educate their children themselves...or send them to the homes of priests for such education. Children of different families may also gather in groups to receive religious instruction." The Government was thus able to take the wind out of the sails of the Germans, who had decreed full religious freedom in the occupied areas.

Most of these measures of relaxation were abolished after the war, but some religious instruction of minors was permitted until 1964, when Leonid Ilyichev denounced this laxity as a Stalinist violation of the Leninist attitude toward religion.

The Orthodox Church emerged from the war in a privileged position, having been found by the regime to be indispensable to the nationalist Russian feeling which had weathered the ordeal of the German invasion and whose further encouragement was deemed desirable after the war. The Orthodox Church had for centuries been associated closely with the glories of Russian imperial expansion now inculcated in the young in rewritten history books, and the domes of some Orthodox churches were regilded as a reminder.

Although the Orthodox Church enjoyed favored status both with respect to foreign contacts useful to the Soviet Foreign Ministry and in internal activities for a long time, it appears to have suffered almost as much as the other faiths in recent years within the USSR. Eight seminaries and two religious academies were operating in 1958, but the Zhurnal Moskovskoi Patriarkhii, No. 10, 1962, reveals that only three seminaries were operating in 1962-1963. Orthodox Church leaders had given foreign church leaders a figure of 20,000 churches, 30,000 clergy, and 50,000,000 believers in the Soviet Union. All these figures appear exaggerated, but in any case the true number must have been reduced in recent years, probably by the same proportion as the seminaries.

The government press campaign of exposes of alleged immorality, embozzlement, dishonesty, and other reprehensible behavior on the part of priests indicates that the Orthodox Church is under great pressure.

As an instrument of the Russian state, free of suspicion of foreign or particularist ties, the Orthodox Church enjoys the position of a kind of unofficial department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, entrusted with foreign assignments better conducted in a cassock than a double-breasted suit. There are a number of Orthodox monasteries and other small religious communities in the Middle East traditionally affiliated with the Russian Orthodox Church of the Tsars to which delegations of Russian churchmen, bearing Soviet passports hardly ever issued to members of other faiths, make periodic visits. The solicitude of the atheist Soviet state for the spiritual health of a few thousand Christians in the region puzzles the governments of these countries. Some observers interpret the exchanges of religious visits with the Ethiopian Coptic Church to a Russian desire to build it up as an African competitor to a more dangerous African rival of the Soviet Union -- Islam. The Russian Orthodox Church has also waged a struggle of many years to regain control of branches of the church in North and South America which became independent when the Church in Moscow fell under the control of the Soviet authorities.

B. The Minority Religions

It is not always clear whether a measure taken by the Russian authorities against the religion of a non-Russian people was due to actual religious observances, "bourgeois nationalism" (a Russian expression denoting the desire of a non-Russian people in the USSR to free itself from Russian control), or "cosmopolitanism" (admiration for culture outside the Soviet Union), or a combination. The Muslims, Catholics and Jews are particularly subject to charges of "bourgeois nationalism," while Russian Orthodox clergymen are of course immune to this charge.

1. Islam The historically Muslim peoples conquered by the Russians in the 19th Century number about 30 million, of whom about 5 million still practice their religion. Islam has always been the rallying point of the peoples of Central Asia against the Russian conquest, and later for rebellions against Russian rule. When Soviet Russian armies reinvaded Central Asia in 1918

to crush the newly independent Muslim states, the long Basmachi Rebellion ensued, continuing intermittently until the thirties. It was effectively crushed by 1931, when the last important rebel leader, Ibrahim Beg, Commander of the Muslim Liberation Army of Bukhara, was captured and shot; but between 1930 and 1933 alone, according to Kommunist Tadjikistana, February 16, 1956, sixty-six Muslim rebel bands were exterminated.

As in Algeria, the link between Islam and suppressed nationalism is both subtle and strong. An article in Kommunist Uzbekistana, No. 10, 1963, complained:

"One of the favorite methods of the Muslim priesthood in adapting the religion of Islam to socialist reality is their attempt to endow all religious-reactionary traditions, rites and customs with the appearance of 'national' traditions... Some intelligent people, often even Communists although they consider themselves to be atheists, observe religious rituals inside their families, mistakenly considering that these are 'national' rituals."

The celebration of the Muslim holy season of Ramadan and other feasts is periodically condemned by the Russian authorities because it takes workers away from production. Nearly all the cotton produced for Russian industry is grown in the predominantly Muslim republics.

The suppression of Islam is more difficult because of the strong solidarity of its predominantly Asian adherents against the European colonists, and Russian ignorance of the native languages. One reads of mosques being closed "at the request of believers" (Kommunist Tadjikistana, March 17, 1961), but other articles in the press reveal popular collusion to keep mosques operating secretly. The January 1964 issue of Kommunist, Moscow, complained that many Muslim religious leaders were operating illegally, that some mosques officially "not in use" were being used, pilgrimages to noted "mazars" (mausoleums) were continuing, and mosques were secretly operating disguised as tea-houses, clubs, and museums. The February 1964 issue of the atheist journal Science and Religion reported the discovery of an illegal "medressah" (religious school) in Andizhan, Uzbekistan, where children learned prayers and verses from the Koran. Also, "the official Muslim clergy is only a fraction of the real clergy operating among the people," according to L. Klimovich in Nauka i Religiya, No. 3, 1962.

The Muslim clergy has suffered almost as much as the Christian from the campaign of defamation conducted by the press. A typical article in Turkmenskaya Iskra, on June 12, 1962, said:

"...from the beginning of the rise of the Islamic religion, all actions of the 'holy' prophets of Allah were determined by profit motives, the struggle for power, and the pursuit of wealth... Mollah Aga Guseyn, Mollah Fattakh, Mollah Karakhan, Alla Kuli Mollah and Mollah Ramazan are the most thorough charlatans."

The article accuses these mullahs of "crimes." Mollah Aga Guseyn was accused of "stealing" six sacks of sugar, some tea, and reading the sacred book aloud near a tavern. Other articles accuse mullahs of drunkenness.

An edition of the Koran in Arabic, planned for 1958, did not appear until 1960, and then only in 4,000 copies. On September 1, 1963, in an apparent attempt to curry favor with Middle Eastern Muslims, the Soviet news agency Tass announced that a new edition of the Koran had been published under the auspices of the Peoples of Asia Institute headed by B.G. Gafurov. Since this edition is in Russian, however, it can be read by few of the Muslims in the USSR, and was therefore probably planned as a reference work for Russian atheist agitators in their propaganda against Islam. No mention was made of any editions in the languages of the Muslim peoples.

Relations With Muslims Abroad The Russian authorities regard the Pan-Islamic movements of the Middle East with apprehension, since, carried to its logical conclusion, it would imply the secession of the Russian-held Muslim states. One of the past justifications of the Russians for their continued retention of their Muslim possessions is the alleged danger that otherwise these areas would fall into the clutches of the Turks, the British, or the Americans. N.A. Smirnov's Ocherki Istorii Izucheniya Islama v SSSR, Moscow, 1954, states:

"The task confronting Soviet investigators of Islam is...unmasking the contemporary role of Islam as a support of the exploiter classes and the colonial regime disclosing the reactionary essence of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism, which is against the people and is used primarily by the American imperialists to enslave the peoples of the East."

Political developments in the Middle East soon made this line sound exceedingly fool-

ish, and a new one was developed: The chairman of the Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge, M. B. Mitin, gave the following guidance to Soviet propagandists in Voprosy Filosofii, No. 5, 1957:

"In demonstrating the anti-scientific character of Islam, we must at the same time take into consideration the part it is playing under present-day conditions, when, under its banner, a number of movements of great progressive importance are proceeding... From this it follows that our lecturers must have great political insight, a profound grasp of contemporary social processes, in order to carry on a proper fight against Islam."

In other words, do not offend foreign Muslims friendly to the Soviet Union. Thus in three years Islam passed from a "support for the colonial regime," etc., to "great progressive importance." But the rise of Nasser and the failure of pro-Russian elements to seize control of Iraq has disillusioned Moscow. The new life breathed into slumbering Islam by vigorous nationalists is considered particularly alarming. An article in the No. 10, 1963 issue of Kommunist Uzbekistana states:

"Important theologians, public figures, scholars, and men of letters are now busy modernizing Islam in the foreign countries of the East. They are sparing no effort to make the dogmas of the Koran and the Hadithi of the 'Prophet' Mohammed accord with the contemporary life of society and the economic and political conditions of these countries. Philosophizing Muslim theologians abroad, while adapting Islam in the interests of the reactionary hierarchy of the national bourgeoisie and depicting Islam as a 'particular form of socialism,' have in recent years been stepping up their attacks on the theory of scientific communism and are coming out under the flag of anti-communism... Bourgeois nationalists, in making use of the Muslim religion, are awakening among the toilers suspicion and hatred of the countries of the socialist camp and communists, and are justifying 'theoretically' the persecution of Communist parties and the physical destruction of their leaders in certain countries of the East today."

(1) When used to refer to persons outside the Soviet Union, this term means those who oppose Communist parties affiliated with the USSR.

In order to prevent such dangerous ideas from penetrating the Russian Muslim possessions, only a few trusted Soviet Muslims are allowed out of the country each year. Only 11 were permitted to make the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1963. Akhmitjan Babakhan, described as the Imam of the Moscow mosque, which exists primarily for the benefit of foreign Muslim diplomats since there are few Muslims from the Russian southern possessions resident there, makes broadcasts to the Middle East in support of Russian policy there, and occasionally travels to Muslim conferences abroad.

To make doubly sure that Soviet Muslims remain cut off from their foreign coreligionists, the teaching of Arabic was forbidden decades ago--except to certain persons to be sent on foreign assignments, and the importation of periodicals from the Muslim Middle East is forbidden, except to restricted Russian government libraries. A member of the Pakistani Ulema, Maulana Abdul Wahab, wrote in the newspaper Dawn, August 2, 1957, after his return from the USSR: "No Muslim owns a printing press or journal... Muslims have no freedom to import Arabic, Persian, or Turkish books from the Muslim countries."

2. The Position of Jews In addition to purely religious restrictions, anti-Semitism among Russian Communists was formerly attributable partly to the prominence of Jews among the Menshevik wing of the Social Democratic Party, which was persecuted after the revolution:

"...One of the Bolsheviks (Comrade Aleksinsky, I think) jokingly remarked that the Mensheviks are a Jewish faction and the Bolsheviks a genuinely Russian faction, so that it would seem not out of order for us Bolsheviks to hold a pogrom in the Party."

---Stalin, J.V., Sochineniya (Works), Moscow, 1946, Vol. II, page 50.

The nationalistic Soviet education which assigns a unique cultural and political role to the Russian people alone in ages past, reinforces the popular image of the minorities, particularly those with foreign connections, as "alien" and suspect. The Jews, scattered throughout the Slavic population, are the largest such group. Furthermore, the exercise of their religion has been subject to somewhat greater restrictions than most others.

A Russian statement to the United Nations in 1956 gave a figure of 450 synagogues in the Soviet Union, and a Moscow radio broadcast late in December 1963 gave a figure of only 96. In the greater part of the Soviet Union, state bakeries refused several years ago to bake the unleavened bread (matzohs) required for the Passover feast, thus shutting off the supply to most religious Jews, who may not prepare it in the non-kosher kitchens shared with other tenants in their apartment houses. The sympathy of many Soviet Jews for Zionism, their desire to emigrate, and their American connections have added to the government's suspicion of them. Contacts between Soviet Jews and visiting foreign Jews are greatly feared by the Russian authorities as a source of reports of anti-Semitism in the USSR, which offends persons in Europe and America who might otherwise be favorably disposed toward the Soviet Union. The Soviet government has discouraged such contact by a series of trials which equated such contacts with treasonable espionage. Trud, on January 19, 1962, announced the arrest of 20 Jews for espionage and linked them with "Israeli 'intelligence agents,'" who, for additional intimidating effect, were in turn linked with the American Central Intelligence Agency. The article mentions actual (in the non-Communist sense--or "understood" in the Western World) espionage only twice and fails to state that the accused actually delivered such information to the "agents." The true nature of the "espionage" is mentioned four times: "Vile slanders of Soviet reality," i.e., complaints of discrimination and persecution. The Trud exposé attempts to frighten Jews away from the remaining synagogues by describing the latter as nests of spies: "...It was proved by documents that the Israeli diplomats use synagogues for meetings with people whom they need for giving instructions and directives and for obtaining espionage and slanderous information."

The teaching of Hebrew to a minor is illegal. No Hebrew prayer books were published between 1917 and 1958, when an edition of 3,000 was issued for the use of several hundred thousand religious Jews.

Foreign outrage at anti-Semitic incidents in 1963-1964 apparently led, in early 1964, to a relaxation of Soviet Government pressure against Jewish cultural activities. The Government prepared to publish some Yiddish books, and a number of well-attended Yiddish

cultural events were permitted in towns with a large Jewish population. One Yiddish theater is said to exist in the Ukraine, and there is one Yiddish journal, Sovetische Heimland, which, however, is devoted largely to denunciations of foreign charges of Soviet anti-Semitism, polemics against Zionism, and the advancement of other Soviet policies.

Official suspicion of Jews has led to their exclusion from certain sensitive types of employment in the government. The Russian defector Igor Gouzenko recalls that the ruthless purge of Jews from the ranks of the diplomatic service and other government bureaus began under Stalin. The Yugoslav Communist Djilas (in Conversations With Stalin, New York, 1962, page 170) relates the following incident during his official visit to the USSR after the war:

"Lesakov (a Russian official)...boasted of how 'Comrade Zhdanov purged all the Jews from the apparatus of the Central Committee.' ...Lesakov told me...about the Assistant Chief of the General Staff, General Antonov: 'Imagine, he was exposed as being of Jewish origin.'"

The continued presence on the Central Committee (until dismissed in 1957) of Lazar Kaganovich, despite the above comments, showed that by completely renouncing all Jewish affiliations and possessing a good political background, a Jew could overcome the discrimination. When questioned by journalists in Paris on April 8, 1964, concerning official discrimination against Jews, Alexey Adzhubey, editor of Izvestiya, listed a number of prominent Jewish scientists, writers, theatrical artists, and a Jewish Vice-Minister, Dymshits. He was evasive, however, when asked to name a single young Jew in the diplomatic service, in an important scientific position, or in the army officer corps.

Discrimination is facilitated by the internal passport, required at age 16 of all persons living in or near towns. This passport lists the bearer's "nationality" on page 5. All such Jews therefore must bear a passport with the designation "Jew." Various reliable Soviet sources have admitted in interviews that there is a quota on the number of Jewish applicants to university study in certain preferred professions, but point out that Jews are still greatly over-represented in higher education with respect

to their proportion to the total population. By virtue of their higher incomes and concentration in cities, Jews enjoy a "natural" advantage in access to universities, resulting in an accidental disadvantage to non-Jews which the Soviet Government feels it must correct to a certain extent. Although these disabilities apply irrespective of religious practice, the religious Jew suffers additional discrimination.

Though offset considerably by the prominence of Jews in the early Russian Communist Party, the traditional trading and lending vocation of the bulk of the Jewish population of Europe made them the natural targets of Communist ideology. Among Karl Marx's many denunciations of the role of Jews in society is the following:

"What is the world basis of Jewry? Practical need, avarice. What is the world religion of the Jew? Haggling. What is his earthly God? Money. ... The emancipation of the Jews in its final meaning is the emancipation of mankind from the Jews."

---Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels: Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Im Auftrag des Marx-Engels Instituts, Moskau, herausgegeben von D. Rjasanow, I. Abt. I, 1, page 601.

This quotation appeared in the anti-Semitic book Judaism Without Embellishment by T. Kichko, published in December 1963 by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and withdrawn in April 1964 by the Soviet Government after world-wide protest. The book repeated attacks against Judaism, Zionism, and alleged blackmarketing by Jews which had appeared in dozens of Soviet provincial newspapers in recent years. Similar books have been published which vilify other religious groups as well, but Kichko's work drew immediate foreign attention because of the offensive Semitic facial features in the manner of Nazi caricatures.

Two other attacks against Judaism, The Reactionary Essence of Judaism and Conversation in the New Year had appeared previously in Russian.

A synagogue was burned by a mob in Malakhovka, near Moscow, in 1962, the wife of its caretaker apparently killed, and anti-

Semitic leaflets scattered. A visitor to the Leningrad synagogue in 1962 noticed that all the windows on one side had been replaced and additional replacements were stacked inside in case of emergency. Gang attacks on synagogues have also been reported from other parts of Russia.

The Economic Trials The traditional commercial experience of most Jews naturally resulted in their concentration in the state trading network of the Soviet Union — the weakest area of the Soviet economy. The high prices and shortages of consumer goods have tended to focus popular exasperation against the government, particularly in recent years. The authorities have attempted to divert popular anger to more convenient scapegoats -- dishonest employees of state trading outlets selling merchandise "out the back door" on the black market, etc. The Soviet press strove to emphasize the Jewish background of the defendants in most cases. In the case of some Georgian Jews whose exotic names would not indicate even to a Russian that they were Jews, the press emphasized the discovery of Jewish religious articles and publications among their possessions.

The reasons for this emphasis are obscure, but it is common knowledge that there has been a phenomenal rise in "economic crimes" in the Soviet Union by all sections of the population. Last year 16,000 officials were sacked in Kazakhstan alone for corruption. Some observers believe that the government is attempting to discourage Russians and Ukrainians from speculation by branding such activity as "Jewish" and hence unpatriotic and "alien."

3. The Protestants and "Sectarians" The largest protestant group in the USSR is the Baptists, who, in conversations with foreigners, have claimed a membership of 4,000,000, mostly in Russia, grouped in 5,400 communities. There are thought to be about 1,000,000 Lutherans, who have absorbed the smaller Methodist groups. Both of these live mostly in the Baltic States. There are several million "Old Believers," an aggregate of offshoots from the Orthodox Church. All of these protestant groups are licensed as legitimate religious organizations by the government. In addition, however, there are some small sects, known as "Sectarians," which have been refused licenses as religious

organizations and have been designated anti-state organizations because of beliefs which challenge the authority of the Soviet Government. The most important of these is the Jehovah's Witnesses, who seem to thrive on the most severe persecution meted out to any religious group in the USSR. The mysterious ability of the Witnesses even to operate clandestine printing presses — in a country where printing or reproduction equipment must be registered with the police — is especially annoying to the police. The Jehovah's Witnesses' open rejection of the authority of any state, and the location of their headquarters in Brooklyn, USA, casts them in the role of an anti-state underground political organization in the eyes of the Soviet Government. The Soviet press contains frequent mention of trials of Jehovah's Witnesses, including the seizure of their children (a fate suffered by other sects as well). The following article in Trud, December 26, 1962, reporting the arrest of some Jehovah's Witnesses is typical of many:

"The sect of Jehovah's Witnesses is actually not a religious but a political organization. Its heads in Brooklyn (New York, USA) worked out special instructions for strict secrecy in regard to all the work of the Witnesses and arranged for coded reports covering all their day-to-day work... Detesting Soviet rule and the socialist camp, the heads of the Jehovah's Witnesses sect order its members to collect political and economic information for the Witnesses' center in Brooklyn, USA, and to spread lying, panic rumors. ...They established underground printing presses in the villages of the Irkutsk and Trans-Carpathian Oblasts. There they reproduced the 'literature' which they received from the USA."

A case was reported on February 8, 1964, in Kazakhstanskaya Pravda. Four members of a religious sect known as the True Orthodox Believers had been sentenced to terms of 3 to 7 years' imprisonment in "a corrective labor colony of strict regime" for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation, and the manufacture, storage, and distribution of literature of a slanderous nature, for leadership of an underground sect, the work of which, done under the guise of the exercise of religious rites, involved injury to the health of, and infringement of the rights of, citizens." The phrase "rights of citizens" usually means the "right" of children not to have religious instruction.

In such cases, and the case of some members of an "outlawed fanatical sect of Reformed Adventists" arrested in Kutaisi (Zarya Vostoka, October 25, 1963), the culprits are tried under the laws applicable to political criminals.

Some "Old Believers" and a few Orthodox monks fled decades ago into the Siberian taiga, there to live their version of the Christian life without giving trouble to anyone or suffering hindrance themselves. There they led a pioneer existence, cut off from the world. But recently some of these settlements were discovered by Soviet aerial reconnaissance in the forests and bogs along the remote Dubches River, and presumably liquidated.

The Soviet press is not above twisting a news story in order to damage the reputation of the sectarians:

"...S. Zagoruyko, special correspondent of the newspaper Sovetskaya Kul'tura, has studied only superficially the case of the murder of the militant atheist Bel'kov in Biysk by his neighbor, the wild fanatic Shegurov, and called the murderer a sectarian and his teachers -- sectarian preachers. And yet it was obvious that the crime was committed by a fanatical member of the [Russian] Orthodox faith. ...Such approaches as this only give our enemies a chance to discredit our propaganda."

---I. Uzkov in Nauka i Religiya, Moscow, No. 3, 1962.

The regime seems embarrassed by the fact that the sectarians and religious people generally, are better behaved than the rest of the population. Izvestiya on December 11, 1963 reported "disgraceful rumors (which turned out to be unjustified) in a certain plant that one of the workers was a sectarian, and quoted his accusers as follows:

"A sect member! A really inveterate one! And all his habits are those of sect members! Judge for yourselves: He doesn't drink; he can't stand tobacco; and, thirdly, he doesn't curse. So what more do you need? He's obviously a sect member!"

The Soviet press contains many reports of Baptists gaining influence over youth, particularly in rural areas. Leninskaya Smena

complained on February 25, 1964, concerning Baptist proselyting in Karaganda, that "We are losing while they are gaining." Reports of such religious activity in rural areas are usually coupled with charges of laxity on the part of the local officials, some of whom are accused of sympathizing with the religious groups. Occasionally groups of Baptists break away from the "official," licensed Baptist organization in order to escape close surveillance of their missionary activity. Komsomolets Uzbekistana on February 27, 1964, described a trial of Baptists in Tashkent:

"...a group of Baptists which had split away from the official community met secretly in apartments and organized group-listening to radio broadcasts from abroad. From abroad they also received illegal literature: pamphlets, all sorts of messages and 'divine' poems and songs which contained slanders of Soviet reality, and calls to unite and take action under the banner of religious convictions against the existing order."

"Slanders of Soviet reality" (i.e., criticism of conditions within the USSR) is a cliché which crops up frequently in charges against minority religions, although there is no law containing this phrase. These Baptists were accused of reproducing religious sermons on tape and in manuscript form. Despite the Constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech, one of the most serious crimes in the Soviet Union is the unauthorized possession of the means to print anything, even if the material printed in itself violates no law. Sovetskaya Kul'tura, on February 3, 1962, reported that a group of evangelists were sentenced to exile in "a special, remote place with obligatory assignment to work at the place of settlement." They were sentenced under the sweeping "Parasite" law, which, though generally applicable to unemployed persons who refuse to accept jobs provided by the state, has been used to exile anyone incurring the displeasure of the Communist officials. In this case the article admitted that the accused did work, but "only for the sake of appearances." Again the reason for the severe sentence seems to have been the acquisition of tape recorders, even though the content of the tapes and confiscated literature was said merely to have been "pessimistic...anti-social, and religious."

4. The Roman Catholics As a result of the Russian military occupation of foreign territory after World War II, between 7 and 8 million Roman Catholics are now under Russian rule, nearly all in former eastern Poland (West Ukraine) and Lithuania, which is 81.2 per cent Catholic. Soviet policy toward these two areas is strikingly different. In the West Ukraine, the Catholics were members of the Uniat branch of the Catholic Church, which shares some of the rites of the Russian Orthodox. The Soviet Government simply abolished the Uniat Church and transferred its members and property to the Russian Orthodox Church. It demanded that the Uniat clergy renounce allegiance to Rome and submit to the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church. While some priests did in fact abjure Rome, many, along with their bishops, refused and were arrested along with the Uniat archbishop Slipyi, who was eventually released to Rome in late 1963. Many churches were closed and priests shot or deported, usually without the lip service to Soviet law practiced elsewhere. This policy of repression continues to this day.

The West Ukrainians resisted the Soviet occupation--often violently--and guerrilla bands led by Stepan Bandera (eventually murdered by Soviet secret police assassin Bogdan Stashinsky in Munich in 1960) fought in the forests for some years. Religious feelings stiffened West Ukrainian opposition. The feeling between the Russian Communist authorities and their new West Ukrainian Uniat subjects is best illustrated by the following bit of evening "entertainment" broadcast by the Lvov radio January 12, 1957 in reply to an anonymous threatening letter from a Uniat Catholic:

"In the tone of your warning is felt a hint to the fate of Yaroslav Galan, murdered by a nationalist Uniat bandit... 'We have received an order to kill Galan,' answered the bandit to the question of the prosecutor, 'because he was dangerous to the Vatican.' The bandits we mean are the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, the members of the Bandera organization which in the mind of every decent man long ago became closely associated by their criminal relationship with the black Jesuit and Uniat ravens... I probably make no mistake if I take it you also belong to the Vatican breed of the enemies of the people... But, alas, you are too weak and your hands are too short and our people have a formidable deadly stick for you snakes. Try

to bite and you will be grasped by your loathesome neck and things will be all over for you."

There were about 800 former Uniat churches in operation in 1962. Of the 25-30 Catholic churches in Lvov in 1946, there are now three. The population is still far more religious than that of any other part of the USSR. The weekly Moscow magazine Ogonyek reported in its No. 46 November 1963 issue the discovery of a secret cloister containing ten nuns in Lvov. The article alleged that flags of the Ukrainian nationalist partisan leader Bandera were found there.

On the other hand, in Lithuania, after an initial persecution in which about 1,200 priests were shot or deported, its severity was reduced, perhaps because of a Russian fear of provoking the population to the violence experienced in the West Ukraine, particularly in view of the much greater proportion of Catholics in Lithuania. According to the Elta Press, a news service of the Lithuanian College of St. Vladimir in Rome, greater freedom of religion became noticeable in 1959. On April 19, 1957, Tass reported that fourteen Catholic priests had graduated from a local seminary, claiming that it was the twelfth such graduation since the war. A Lithuanian Soviet broadcast at that time claimed that 1,000 priests and five bishops were working in Lithuania. This is about 1/4 the ratio of priests to Catholic population in the United States. In 1962 this number had dwindled to about 800, with about 500 churches in operation. There is one seminary at Kaunas. Only two priests have been allowed to travel to Rome since 1944, and contacts are virtually cut off.

The Soviet authorities have stressed more subtle means of reducing religion in Lithuania in recent years. In addition to the usual propaganda and restrictions on the activity of the clergy, they have tried to promote a rump "National Lithuanian Catholic Church" independent of Rome. It has thus far been unsuccessful.

As in the case of the other minority religions, nationalism appears to be the main worry of the occupying Russian authorities. "The Catholic priests now drag in the thesis that the concept of a 'Lithuanian patriot' necessarily includes his Catholic conscience and sentiments," complained Sovetskaya Litva on December 19, 1963.

Both at home and abroad, Soviet propaganda attempts to discredit the Catholic Church by associating it with the Nazis and their allies in World War II.*

5. Buddhists Little is known about the condition of the Buddhists in the USSR. The Kremlin, for external propaganda purposes and to show that religious freedom is granted to Buddhists in the USSR, occasionally has the abbot of Ivolga Lamasery, the abbot of Aginsk Lamasery, and Bandido Khambo Lama Eshi-Dorji Sharapov (Chairman of the Central Buddhist Religious Board) attend international meetings of Buddhists. The three went to the Fourth Conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists held in Katmandu, Nepal, in November 1956. They also attended the ceremonies in New Delhi venerating the 2500th anniversary of the death of Buddha. Sharapov led a delegation of Buddhists to Ceylon in 1960 and extended his trip to Burma and Cambodia, assuring everyone that "the Buddhists in the USSR have their own monuments, temples and other places of worship where they carry out their rites, led by lamas... Monuments and shrines are carefully preserved."

Policy towards Buddhism has been one of fluctuation. A Congress of Soviet Buddhists was actually held in Moscow the winter of 1926-27. Good relations, however, came to an end during the period of collectivization and political purges, when Buddhist doctrines were attacked on the ground that they were against the doctrine of dialectical materialism. These attacks, how-

(*) Such charges are best refuted by a list of the titles of some of the propaganda books issued in the Third Reich: "Jesuitism As a Peril to the State," "Rome Against the Reich," "The Catholic Church As a Peril To the State," "Hail Germany! Out With the Jesuits!" (cited in Der Nationalsozialismus; Dokumente, ed. by Walther Hofer, Frankfurt, 1957, pages 162-163). The Munich Gestapo referred to the circular of Pope Pius XI read in German Roman Catholic churches in 1937 as containing "highly treasonable attacks against the national socialist state." (Ibid., page 153)

ever, eased off by 1930 since too many Mongolian lamas began to emigrate to China. Another cycle of persecution began in 1937, and during World War II, the Kalmyks in European Russia suffered the most among the Buddhists in the Soviet Union. Currently, Soviet propagandists continue to assert that Buddhism has quite a large following in the USSR and that the Buddhists' ideals for peace are the same as the peace policies of the Communist Bloc.

6. The Armenian Orthodox The Armenian Orthodox Church is currently never criticized by name, since it is the subject of an important Soviet campaign to induce Armenians to resettle in the USSR and to gain control of Armenian clergy abroad. In 1955, using the numerous obedient "votes" of Soviet Armenians, the Communists succeeded in arranging the election, with the participation of non-Soviet Armenians, of a Soviet puppet priest in Rumania as the new Katholikos, or head, of the Armenian Church. His dead predecessor, though no puppet, was resident in the USSR.

The Armenian Orthodox Church received a substantial financial gift some years ago from the Soviet Government for operating expenses and for restoration of the cathedral at Echmiadzin. Rich foreign Armenians, including Americans, have also contributed large sums to the Soviet Armenian Orthodox Church. The favoritism shown the Armenian Church is reflected by the fact that such donations in the past by rich foreigners to the Protestant groups have been regarded by the Communists as signs of treasonable connections.

A broadcast in May 1956 reported an interview with then Premier Bulganin in which the Katholikos discussed closer ties with Armenians abroad in ecclesiastical and "other" matters. Bulganin commented: "Very good. This fully corresponds with the present policy of the Soviet Union."

There is a religious higher school which the Katholikos claimed would have 100 students by 1958. The present attendance is not known.