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Blahoslav S. Hrubý  
Executive Director and Editor

September 1982

Dear Reader:

The enclosed issue of RCDA, Nos. 10, 11 and 12, conclude Volume XX (1981). Nos. 1, 2 and 3 of V. XXI and Index to V. XIX are now in the press and will be mailed in November. We hope that during the first half of 1983 we shall be able to resume a regular schedule of publication.

As most small periodicals, we are particularly vulnerable to the inflation and its consequences which have been the major cause of delays in the publication of RCDA. Moreover, we have been overwhelmed recently by the influx of documentation on violations of human rights in the Soviet orbit where the situation is deteriorating rapidly. It would be unrealistic to expect any spontaneous improvement; the only hope is in planned, systematic actions of the Free World. We are encouraged especially by the interest expressed by certain members of Congress in the issues of human rights and religious freedom in closed societies. In July we had the honor and privilege to testify before the Congressional Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations whose Chairman, Representative Don Bonker, is very attentive to these problems and determined to take action. In our opinion, this should be done in the form of defense of the persecuted as well as by offering captive nations authentic information and ideological alternatives to the monopolistic dogma of Marxism.

In this conjunction we should like to call your attention to a discussion of Rep. John Le Boutillier with Alexander Solzhenitsyn concerning U.S. broadcast to the USSR, the text of which we present in this issue. Solzhenitsyn's criticism and proposals merit consideration of all persons interested in aiding captive nations.

Important documentation presented in this issue of RCDA offers insight in the developments in Poland. The Solidarity movement has outdistanced by far any preceding outbursts of opposition against Communist totalitarianism in Eastern Europe, because by the mediation of the Catholic Church the overwhelming majority of Polish people, workers, peasants, intellectuals and students, have joined the reform movement which threatens the inertia of the corrupt, spiritually exhausted Communist leadership of that country.

We continue our efforts to enable the Siberian Seven, the Vashchenkos and Chmykhalovs, to emigrate. Bill H. R. 2873 which would give them permanent resident status is now pending in the House Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees and International Law whose Chairman Romano Mazzoli seems unwilling to release it for further action. The bill may be reintroduced in the next session, however, it is hard to predict how much more can the two families endure, physically and psychologically, after more than four years in a twilight zone. Letters to Rep. Mazzoli should be sent to Rayburn H. O. Building 2137, Washington, D. C. 20515. We urge you to contact in this matter Rep. Peter W. Rodino, Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary (same address) as well as your congressman.

Thank you for your support and interest

Sincerely yours,

*Rev. & Mrs. B. S. Hrubý*  
Rev. & Mrs. B. S. Hrubý  
Editors, RCDA

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# RCD A

RELIGION IN COMMUNIST  
DOMINATED AREAS

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Paul B. Anderson, Editor Emeritus. Published monthly by

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The purpose of this publication is to make available and to analyze information on the attitudes and practices of Communist Parties with respect to the life, work and vital concerns of believers in Communist countries. Particular attention is given to the violation of religious freedom and other human rights in all closed societies.

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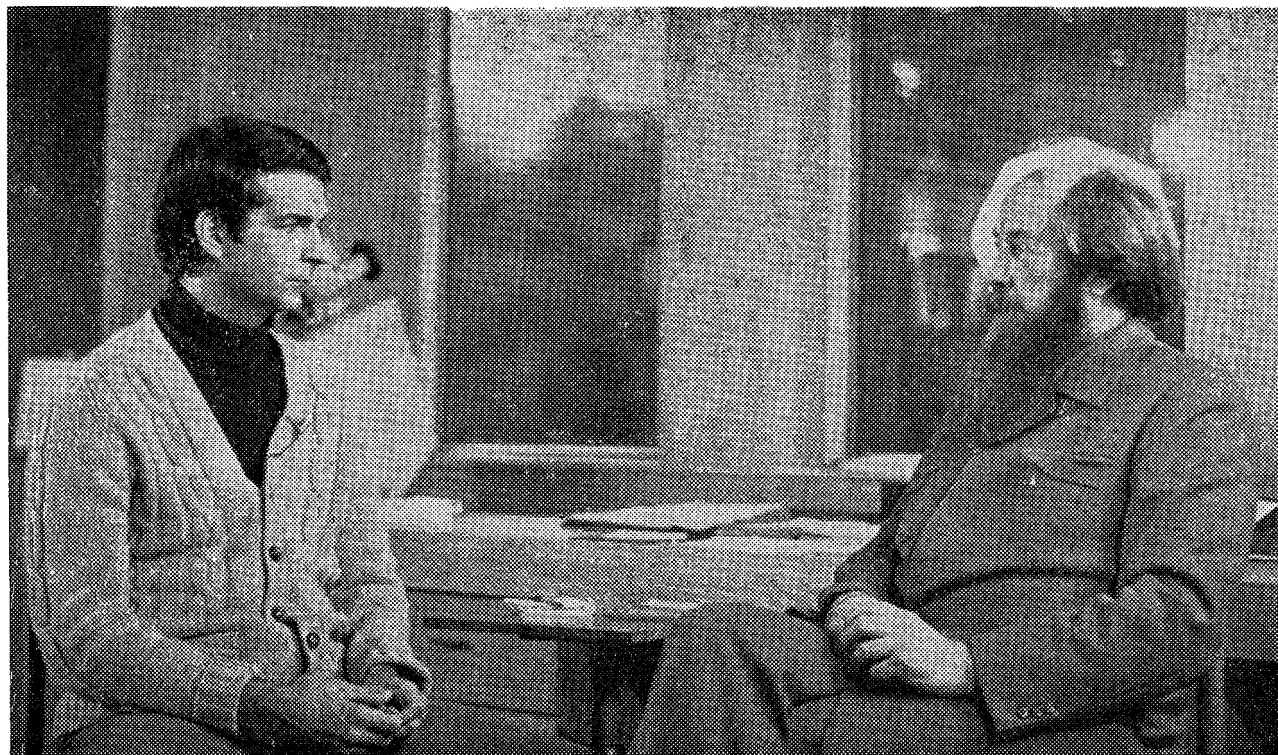
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## USSR and USA



**Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn Interviewed by U.S. Congressman John LeBoutillier**

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Editors: Blahoslav Hruby and Olga S. Hruby

Editor Emeritus: Paul B. Anderson

Contributing Editors: Kent R. Hill, Mihajlo Mihajlov, Casimir Pugevicius,  
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## SOLZHENITSYN CALLS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF U.S. BROADCASTS TO SOVIET UNION

BLAHOSLAV HRUBY

**W**E always consider it a great honor and privilege to publish A. Solzhenitsyn's penetrating observations and comments on critical issues of our time and, in particular, on attitudes of the USA and the Free World toward the Soviet Union and other Communist countries and toward Communism in general.

We have supported him from the beginning of his courageous struggle for his freedom for the freedom of all oppressed and persecuted. Today, there are many self-appointed prophets proclaiming false moral and political ideas. They sap the will of the people in the Free World to stand up and defend their freedom and help the oppressed and persecuted by the Communist governments. They are selective in their protests and are concerned solely with the situation in non-Communist totalitarian countries.

It is, therefore, refreshing, inspiring and encouraging to listen to a genuine prophetic voice of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn who miraculously survived long years of Soviet persecution was expelled from the USSR. Thus, he was able to present to the USA and the Free World an uncensored, most detailed and devastating report about the most crushing terror perpetrated on millions of innocent citizens. It seems, however, that his shattering testimony on the brutal character of Communism and his warnings to the Free World not to trust the Soviet Union and other Communist countries did not find a sufficient response which they deserve.

In Congressman John LeBoutillier's interview published in this issue Solzhenitsyn analyzes the U.S. broadcasts to the Soviet Union on the Voice of America and Radio Liberty and comments on U.S. policy toward the USSR and People's Republic of China. These broadcasts reaching millions of listeners deprived of basic news by the Communist media have a tremendous impact. It is, therefore, of utmost importance that they be prepared by people who understand the spiritual, social and political climate in the country. Unfortunately, according to Solzhenitsyn who followed closely U.S. broadcasts to Russia, they have many shortcomings. Solzhenitsyn and many listeners in the Soviet Union became therefore disillusioned.

"The West, the entire West, including the United States, seems to be bewitched — doomed eternally to have an incorrect idea about the situation in Communist countries, doomed to draw for itself pleasant pictures, illusions, and to be guided by and follow these illusions," Solzhenitsyn complains. "I want to remind you that in the 30's, during

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*the most dreadful time of Stalinist terror, when Stalin destroyed many millions — during that particular time, your editorials proclaimed the Soviet Union to be a country of global justice, where the best truth on earth could be found. And at the same time your President Roosevelt extended helping hand to Stalin, and your businessmen jumped over there with technological assistance, without which Stalin could not have built his industry. And subsequently at the end of the war, the American administration, without any need, made Stalin a gift of all of East Europe, and gave away China to Communism."*

*Solzhenitsyn stresses the fact that the Soviet government is the enemy of the Russian people and this applies to all Communist countries. In his opinion Roosevelt made a great historical mistake in the 30's and 40's and the same mistake has been repeated all these years. "That is the fatal historical mistake of liberalism, not to see the enemy on the left, to consider that the enemy is always on the right, and that there is no enemy on the left," Solzhenitsyn comments. "It is the same mistake which ruined Russian liberalism in 1917. They overlooked the danger of Lenin. And the same thing is repeated today — the mistake of Russian liberalism is being repeated on a worldwide scale everywhere."*

*Solzhenitsyn does not believe that the USA should arm People's Republic of China. He regards Communist governments as cancerous tumors whose main concern is to consolidate their power and expand their boundaries. In his opinion, American leaders "have for decades been nurturing illusions and false impressions, especially in relation to countries opposing America. They constantly paint a more rosy, pleasant picture than is actually the case."*

*Voice of America, according to Solzhenitsyn, believes that it has the right to broadcast only in a way which will not irritate the Communist leaders. After a Voice of America announcer read in 1973 an excerpt from Solzhenitsyn's "Gulag" and the Radio Moscow protested that the VoA had no right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union and spoil the international atmosphere, the U.S. Department of the State prevented further reading from "Gulag."*

*Answering a question about the life in the USSR Solzhenitsyn paints an appalling picture of physical and spiritual degradation. "We are poisoned morally, because for 65 years we have been inculcated with Communist lies. The combination of all this has brought people to a state close to death, to spiritual and physical death. All memory of our past, our history of the last century has been wiped out." Solzhenitsyn does not believe that U.S. broadcasts offer to the Russian people an adequate message in such a tragic situation.*

*American broadcasts to the USSR should inform the listeners about the situation of Soviet workers and peasants as well as about Soviet provinces and the "cruel situation" in the army. The devastating problem of veterans from the Great Patriotic War, exiled to remote northern islands and hidden from society, "disabled veterans who have lost their health in defense of this country and are persecuted, constrained," should receive some attention.*

*There is such information available but it was not broadcast because it could violate the policy of the U.S. Department of State and irritate Moscow leaders*

*so that they would refuse to purchase from USA the modern electronics "without which they cannot live." "The greatest need of our people is to become aware of themselves as what they really are," says Solzhenitsyn. "If during these 30 years you had helped our people remember who they were, to help them to rise spiritually to their feet — the entire world situation today would be different."*

*The Soviet average citizen needs to know the truth how the peasantry and the working class were destroyed by Communist terror. In Solzhenitsyn's opinion the general goals and general programs of U.S. broadcasts are run by ideologists influenced by false myths about Russia whose first originator was Karl Marx. According to Marx the Russian people were, in general, "reactionary." The label of reactionary was put on Russian history, traditions and even on the Russian Orthodox Church. Solzhenitsyn complains that Radio Liberty and the Voice of America cancelled a broadcast on the 70th anniversary of the murder of Prime Minister Stolypin. Stolypin was, in Solzhenitsyn's opinion, the greatest Russian statesman of the 20th century who in 5 years succeeded in pulling Russia out of complete chaos and disintegration. Solzhenitsyn criticizes both radio stations that they cancelled these programs though they had been announced in advance to the listeners in the USSR.*

*During the past 65 years the Russian Orthodoxy suffered its Golgotha and in Solzhenitsyn's words the Russians "experienced persecution which surpassed in dimensions all the persecution of Christianity in ancient times." He emphasizes the urgent need to broadcast to the USSR divine services and special religious broadcasts for children who are most of all deprived of religion. He is severe in his criticism of ideologists in Radio Liberty and Voice of America who think that Russian Christianity is "reactionary," and that all these 30 years U.S. broadcasts "systematically aimed at not allowing Russian Orthodoxy to rise up and become an organized social force in Russia."*

*Asked whether he noticed any improvement of U.S. broadcasts to the USSR under the Reagan Administration Solzhenitsyn answered that time was too short for President Reagan for any action. In Solzhenitsyn's view the Russian program of Radio Liberty "degenerated to such an extent, is so bad that, if things continue in the same direction, it would be better to do away with it altogether, because it harms the relation of the Russian and the American people even further." He does not call for an increase of the budget but for a change of the fundamental direction of Radio Liberty and Voice of America.*

*As in the past Solzhenitsyn warns the USA not to repeat a historical mistake "when you gave away the other half of the Earth. Do not repeat today this same mistake, and by trusting China, give away the other half of the Earth; for now I see as the main threat in the foreign policy of the present American administration its trust in China. This is impossible! They are exactly the same Communists with the same methods, and with the same policy of annihilation."*

*Solzhenitsyn's hope of returning some day to Russia is not fading: "God willing, I still have some time left . . . And besides, a writer always has a way out — if he himself does not return to his Motherland, his books will."*

*(Continued on Page 191)*

USSR

## INTERVIEW WITH ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN

by JOHN LeBOUTILLIER  
U.S. House of Representatives

(Translation from the Russian of the October 12, 1981, Congressman John LeBoutillier's interview with Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, part of which appeared on the NBC "Tomorrow" show on October 26 and 27 of 1981).

*J. LeB.: Mr. Solzhenitsyn, if you could be director of radio-broadcasting to the Soviet Union, what would you do, and how would you do it?*

A.S. Your question is not a strange one for me. For 30 years I have followed closely the concept of American Russian-language radio broadcasts to the Soviet Union. I am not going to say anything about broadcasts in other languages. I don't know. Perhaps they make the same mistakes, perhaps not, but I know well how it is in the Russian language. Thirty years ago, in 1953, when I had just been freed from the labor camp, I bought a radio receiver with the first money I earned. This was during my exile in Kazakhstan, and it was even considered criminal there — suspicious — why should someone in exile buy himself a radio? But I listened intently through all that horrendous jamming, and tried to understand, to catch some bits of information. And I got to be so expert that even if I could only catch half a sentence, I could complete it from just a few words. For 20 years I listened constantly in the Soviet Union to Western Russian-language broadcasting and rejoiced in all its successes, and made use of its information, and was deeply distressed by its mistakes.

*J. LeB. You mean — you sat there with your ears pressed close to the set and kept twisting dials to understand better?*

A. S. Yes — in order to hear through all that racket, you have to know how to listen. If you hold your ear close to the set, you can sometimes hear better. And so I was saddened by the shortcomings of the broadcasts. And I must say that these shortcomings were a constant factor all those years. It is difficult to overestimate the importance these broadcasts could have if America conducted them properly.

*J. LeB. Do you think that the people of the Soviet Union listen to the radio today and still have difficulty understanding?*

A. S. Of course they listen, but many, like me, become disillusioned. You must understand — I am afraid that those who determine the general tone of American Russian-language broadcasts, did not understand from the beginning, and do not understand today, the main

aims and purposes of these broadcasts. If they understood correctly, the picture over the past 30 years in the Soviet Union and in other communist countries would have changed. That is, I can say without exaggeration that maybe today we would not be thinking that there is danger of another world war. The objective should be to establish mutual trust, warm feelings, and contact with the oppressed peoples, and thus to tear them away, to help them tear themselves away, from their communist oppressors.

*J. LeB. You say that for the past 30 years, America has made mistakes in its broadcasts to the Soviet population, and that a third world war which may be approaching could have been avoided if these mistakes had not occurred?*

A. S. Yes. I am afraid that the theoreticians involved in your broadcasting do not understand this to this day, because today, even in recent years, the line is not only not better, but, as, for example, in *Radio Liberty*, it is worse, much worse. In order correctly to formulate this general direction, one needs a clear answer to at least two questions. First question: what is the situation in those countries to which the broadcasts are beamed? And second question: what is the condition of these oppressed peoples, what are their needs, what kind of spiritual hunger do they have? The West, the entire West, including the United States, seems to be bewitched — doomed eternally to have an incorrect idea about the situation in communist countries, doomed to draw for itself pleasant pictures, illusions, and to be guided by and follow these illusions. I want to remind you that in the '30's, during the most dreadful time of Stalinist terror, when Stalin destroyed many millions — during that particular time, your editorials proclaimed the Soviet Union to be a country of global justice, where the best truth on earth could be found. And at that same time, your President Roosevelt extended a helping hand to Stalin, and your businessmen jumped over there with technological assistance, without which Stalin could not have built his industry. And subsequently at the end of the war, the American administration, without any need, made Stalin a gift of all of East Europe, and gave away China to communism. Question: — with what objective in mind could a strong West sacrifice East Europe? — Today, you are extolling Poland.

*J. LeB. I want to be more specific. Do you think that at the time, President Roosevelt and the American government had a mistaken understanding of the Soviet government? They were people with whom one should not be friendly?*

A. S. It should have been understood that they were enemies of their own people, and this was not understood. The Roosevelt administration, and, for decades afterwards, American public opinion, identified the Soviet government with its oppressed people. While, in actual fact, they are categorically opposed to each other. And so, as I say, today you enthuse over the stoicism of Poland — but why did you hand Poland over to communist slavery — why? Today, it is very fashionable to say that there, for some reason, in that same Soviet Union — why don't they fight? — these slaves, who do not want to fight for their freedom. But I consider slaves not those who sit in prisons, I consider slaves those free people who see how prisons are built, and give their blessing — let them build prisons! Today, recently — the anniversary of the Berlin Wall was marked. Who are the slaves? The East Germans who could not prevent the construction of this wall, or those Western powers who stood by quietly and watched the construction of the Berlin Wall and did not interfere? The slaves are those in West Germany, who today went to demonstrate against the arrival of Haig, that's who the slaves are — who today are stretching out their hand to Soviet shackles, they voluntarily want to go to the Gulag, that's who the slaves are!

*J. LeB. Can you tell our viewers briefly the difference between the Soviet government and the Russian people? In your words, the government — is the enemy of the people.*

A. S. That is a basic fact, which should always be understood as the foundation of something your leaders are always forgetting.

*J. LeB. Does this apply to all communist countries?*

A. S. Definitely to all the communist countries. But the Western conception is: since in the West the government is elected by the people, you think that the government and the people are one and the same. In actual fact, — no, with us, there is a gulf between.

*J. LeB. In your words, then, it appears that we should aim at finding allies among the Russian people against the Soviet government?*

A. S. Yes. Yes. I want to say that Roosevelt made a great historical mistake in the '30's and '40's. This mistake cost the whole world exactly half of the globe — perhaps less than half in terms of territory, but more than half in population. And today, the greatest danger, if you do not resolve it, is that you can repeat the same fatal mistake made by Roosevelt. Strangely enough, the same mistake has been repeated all these years. For instance, with Tito. Tito — was the murderer, the executioner, of his people. Right after the World War, he destroyed, he shot, hundreds of thousands of his citizens, and was longing to seize Trieste. And insolently shot down American civilian planes near the Austrian border. All this is now forgotten and forgiven. And he was held up as a great statesman, a leader of some kind of non-existent "nonaligned" movement.

*J. LeB. In America, right up to his death, he was considered practically a hero. He was what we are wont to call a "good communist". But we know that there are no "good communists". President Carter was even proud that he sent his mother to Tito's funeral.*

A. S. The same thing is being repeated with Cuba. It was proclaimed in the West that what was transpiring in Cuba was a people's revolution. And the same thing is being repeated in North Vietnam. There was a totalitarian gang there which was acting to seize the whole country. And your progressives proclaimed that it was a national movement for freedom. Nicaragua — right before your eyes — a totalitarian group of communists were seizing power, and the Carter administration hurried to help them with money, so as to strengthen its soon-to-be enemy. But the worst of all is China.

*J. LeB. Before talking about China, why, strictly speaking, is it so fashionable among our progressive public figures to praise the régimes in Nicaragua and the partisans in Salvador, and also the régimes in Cambodia and Vietnam?*

A. S. That is the fatal historical mistake of liberalism, not to see the enemy on the left, to consider that the enemy is always on the right, and that there is no enemy on the left. It is the same mistake which ruined Russian liberalism in 1917. They overlooked the danger of Lenin. And the same thing is being repeated today — the mistake of Russian liberalism is being repeated on a worldwide scale everywhere.

*J. LeB. Do you think that our policy of drawing closer to Red China is on the same level as the mistake made by Roosevelt when he became friendly with Stalin?*

A. S. Indeed it is on the same level. Indeed it is. If you repeat that mistake today... Today China is in the same situation as was the Soviet Union in the '30's; it is in need of everything. It needs aid from America. If you now provide it with American economy, and then with weapons, for awhile China will serve as a safeguard against the Soviet Union, but even that is problematical. But if you arm China, then, as a result, you will give it the second half of the Earth, that second half which contains America. And then you will have no one to use as a shield.

*J. LeB. Do you think that the Peking government — Mao's government — disposed of its people as cruelly as the Soviet leaders?*

A. S. Definitely. They acted exactly the same way. And they destroyed millions — even more, probably, in proportion to the population. But China is even more closed to foreigners than the Soviet Union. You know even less about China than about the Soviet Union. That's why the legend has been created about the "good" communism in China. When, in 30-40 years from now you read the Chinese "Gulag Archipelago," you will be amazed: "Oh, what a pity, and we didn't know!" You must know! You must know in time, and not when it is too

late. You need to know now — today! I want to say that in the long run this mistake threatens you with the loss of the existence of America itself.

But — closer to our subject, our talk is not pointless. The thing is — very recently, the Director of the United States International Communications Agency went to China and came back with a rosy impression. He announced that he was amazed at the friendly talk of the Chinese leaders. And how should they talk if they are in need of your technical know-how — how else should they talk? He confidently repeats what he was told there: that China is striving for human rights; that China is trying to become an open society; that the Chinese Communist leadership cares about the development of its people. And your Director of the International Communications Agency is now repeating all this!

*J. LeB. Many levels of society in America are very concerned about the progress of underdeveloped nations, human rights, aid to the needy. Do you think that the leaders of Red China say all this to their American visitors only to derive some benefit from them?*

A. S. It is exactly the same picture, the same hypocrisy shown for decades by the Soviet government. They talk in order to get something.

*J. LeB. We have lots of arguments here in America on questions of human rights in other countries. For instance, when the Iranian Shah was overthrown, it was said in our country that he was a bad ruler, that he violated human rights. Very few of the Shah's critics would maintain that there are more human rights in Iran today. Are there any communist countries in which human rights are observed?*

A. S. When the Chinese government says that is supposedly cares about the development of the people, it is hard to imagine anything more senseless. No communist government ever cares about the rights, the development of its people. Communist governments are like cancerous tumors: they grow senselessly, for two aims only: first of all, to consolidate their power, and, as soon as they consolidate their power, to expand to further boundaries. The Soviet government always had such aims in mind, and the Chinese government has those same aims, and only those same aims. Note that as soon as the *Washington Post* correspondent reported one incident where a Chinese was in prison for defending human rights, he was given a strict warning that he would be expelled. — And with such a government your *Voice of America*, returning to our side, concludes an agreement about a battle against disinformation! That is completely ludicrous. What kind of disinformation can the Chinese radio help you battle? The Chinese radio is busy spreading solid disinformation; it conceals everything going on in its country; it is the embodiment of disinformation. Or, for instance, about Cambodia. Is the Chinese radio really going to help the *Voice of America* find out how the Khmer Rouge forces destroyed their people? Or help to find the mass graves of over 60,000 Cambodians? As I said, Western society seems doomed always to have an incorrect picture of the situation in communist countries.

As for the second question: it is no less difficult to understand the state of the people toward whom the radio broadcasts are directed, to understand their spiritual hunger, their difficulties, their aspirations. Socrates' method has been famous since ancient times: if you want to convince the person with whom you are talking, assume his point of view and develop it further. And a proverb says: if you want to have a friend, first become a friend yourself.

*J. LeB. Don't you think it strange that, just as in communist countries, a gap between the government and the people exists with us too, a colossal difference between those who run the country, and the people?*

A. S. With you the gap is not so hopeless, and it has a different meaning. But I must say, if I compare my impressions of my Vermont surroundings, of the simple folk here, with the New York or Washington press, it grieves me to say that yes, there is a big gap. This gap is not a confrontation, not the relationship which exists in communist countries, not the relationship between oppressors and the oppressed. But even you have differences of opinion.

*J. LeB. Do you think that our leadership is rather more naive than acting with malicious intent?*

A. S. Quite right.

*J. LeB. Does this mean that instead of pointing a pistol at the back of the head and shooting people, we lead them to the slaughter with eyes closed?*

A. S. The root of all this lies in your leaders of public opinion who influence government policy. They have for decades been nurturing illusions and false impressions, especially in relation to countries opposing America. They constantly paint a more rosy, pleasant picture than is actually the case.

*J. LeB. Let us talk now about the internal situation in the Soviet Union. Our population does not know either from magazines or from the press or television what life is like in the Soviet Union.*

A. S. And for those living in the Soviet Union it is even harder to get authentic information. Foreign information in the Soviet papers and on television is distorted beyond recognition. Domestic information is even more distorted. Those who live in the Soviet Union know vaguely, in a general way, what is happening in the world, but they know nothing of what goes on in the neighboring town, in the neighboring country. That is why foreign broadcasts are so important for them — they can get news about themselves — about what is happening to us.

*J. LeB. In America, during the Vietnam War, all Americans could follow military events on their television screen, on the news. But the average Soviet — does he know what's going on in — let's say, Afghanistan?*

A. S. Everything he hears from the government is

distorted. And the *Voice of America's* mistake is that it has limited itself in its sources of information. It believes, for instance, that it has the right to broadcast only in a way which will not irritate the communist leaders and not to use a rich accumulation of anti-communist material. For instance, there is an emigré anti-communist journal, *Possev*, in Frankfurt am Main. It contains plenty of material about Afghanistan; its reporters travel to Afghanistan and meet with Afghan resistance fighters. Never would the *Voice of America* lower itself to broadcast this to the Soviet Union, because it comes from a publication which is too anti-communist. Instead, the *Voice of America* feeds us with some kind of third-rate gossip about what diplomats in Delhi hear third-hand. Actually, instead of effectively giving us news, the *Voice of America*, in general, also helps us to be uninformed. This is tied in with the mistake in principal ascribed to the *Voice of America* — it has to act so as, God forbid, not to violate the policy of the State Department. And so they give us a stone instead of bread, instead of the real information which they could give us.

Here is another example: the famous Novocherkassk rebellion took place in the Soviet Union in 1962, but for over ten years, there was not a word about it on Western radio broadcasts — not one! never! because either they did not know about it, or it was not from “sufficiently confirmed” sources! Because, if they do not have documentary proof, they can't broadcast about rebellions. And so, it was not until ten years later that we heard news over Western broadcasts about our own great rebellion in Novocherkassk.

*J. LeB. Two brief observations: you say that, in order not to irritate the Soviet leaders, our government, our State Department, and the radio stations which they run, deliberately soften the tone of the broadcasts, and do not broadcast news which could displease the Soviet leaders, and broadcast harmless news instead?*

A. S. I can speak from personal experience. In December, 1973, when I was still in the Soviet Union, *Gulag Archipelago* was published in the West. And the *Voice of America*, or, strictly speaking, a *Voice of America* announcer, read an excerpt from *Gulag* on the air. Immediately *Radio Moscow* started screaming that the *Voice of America* had no right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union, that it served to spoil the international atmosphere. And what did the *Voice of America* do? With the agreement of the State Department, it took the announcer off that assignment, and forbade the reading of *Gulag Archipelago* to Russia! More than that: for several years, it was forbidden to quote Solzhenitsyn on the *Voice of America*, so as not to harm communist propaganda. This means: my book was written for Russians, millions of copies were read in the West, but it should not be read to our Motherland because, otherwise, the *Voice of America* would spoil relations with the Soviet Union. In such a way, information for our country is silenced. — I would not want to lose our train of thought, and want to speak of the situation of the people to whom these broadcasts are beamed.

*J. LeB. Yes, it is important to find out what life is like in the Soviet Union.*

A. S. For 65 years, we have been working almost

for nothing. For 65 years, both the mother and the father in the family have worked, and their combined earnings are insufficient to support a family. Their work is never paid for any higher than 10 or 20% of what it is worth. All the surplus is taken by the government in order to prepare weapons and attacks against other countries in the world. Several generations of us have gone hungry for 65 years! It is already becoming close to physical degeneration. We are poisoned with alcohol. Women are carrying a load which men could not manage, a double load. Our birthrate is sharply declining, and infant mortality has sharply risen. We are poisoned both physically and morally. Physically poisoned, because all the military manufacturing is done without any protection of the surrounding environment. There is no one to control water pollution, air pollution. We are poisoned morally, because for 65 years we have been inculcated with communist lies. The combination of all this has brought the people to a state close to death, to spiritual and physical death. All memory of our past, our history, and especially the history of the last century, has been wiped out. The history of the last century is particularly dangerous for the communists, because it was their enemy. Those who are acquainted with history before the revolution, and the history of the revolution and after the revolution — they are already free of the communists. But the communists are carefully destroying all traces of the truth, so that we won't know anything about ourselves. I would compare it with when, in Stalinist times, the father and the mother of a family were both arrested, and little children were sent to an orphanage, and their last names were changed so that they never knew whose children they were, what their origins were, what their past. And our people are in the same situation. They are deprived of any memories about themselves. Our people are like someone fatally ill who is lying in bed, dying, — and the American radio broadcasts are like a visitor who comes by, — not a doctor, — but a visitor, who comes in very self-satisfied, cheerful, beautifully dressed, sits down and starts saying: “Now I will entertain you, now I will tell you how many suits I have, how I dress, what a wonderful apartment I have, what I recently bought, how much money I save, what a good time I have, — you want me to do a little dance for you?” And begins to perform various dances in front of him. That's the way radio broadcasts to the Soviet Union are run today.

*J. LeB. In other words, you say that the contents of our broadcasts to those who are so oppressed only show them a world in which they cannot live anyway, and give them nothing to appease their spiritual hunger, nothing with which to resist the yoke of their government.*

A. S. And not only that, not only that. Yes, they don't offer anything to slake our spiritual hunger. Instead of that a foreign voice reads us lectures on how to understand the world — a suicidal stand for radio broadcasts. Propaganda is conducted on how to understand it from a liberal-democratic point of view, but all propaganda has become repulsive to us after 60 years. And that's only one side; but there is another side, the most important for your people. Your broadcasts give a picture which does not correspond to the spiritual life of your people. Your broadcasts are conducted so primitively that they project a false image of your country, they speak about the most superficial, the most trite things. So that our people have



a lower opinion of the American people than the American people deserve. Your broadcasts are full of rubbish.

If one were to speak, for instance, of the *Voice of America*, one could list many broadcasts on which it is impossible to understand why America spends money, instead of spending it on something worth broadcasting. For instance, I will tell you: there are three different jazz programs; not 3 repetitions of one program, but 3 separate programs; then a separate program of pop music, a separate program of dance music, and a separate youth program, on which all this is repeated. This is such a mistake; perhaps those people who are interested in jazz might turn on their radio five minutes earlier or turn it off five minutes later and hear something besides jazz. But the thing is, we have very few people who are interested in jazz, they don't need your programs, which are jammed, because they have at their disposal all the world jazz programs which no one jams. They can hear these programs perfectly. So you do not attract any listeners that way, you only spend valuable air time on nonsense, on frivolity. Or, for instance, sports. With great importance, with great solemnity, you broadcast programs on sports. But sports is a favorite subject of Soviet radio, it is the only subject which the Soviet radio willingly instills in our youth. Because in the Soviet Union, sports acts as opium for the people. It diverts young people from thinking about their situation, about their origin, and about politics. And here your broadcasts are busy with all this meaningless stuff. Even worse — you find time to broadcast about "hobbies". This program only repels and angers the Soviet listener and makes him turn off the radio and not listen any more; he feels only contempt for such a broadcast, because he is being told how loafers who have lots of time at their disposal collect labels from something or other, or empty bottles. That's just awful! Or, in great detail, it gloats over the conveniences of international travel. And all this time could be spent on subjects which would be valuable for us, which your radio doesn't even think of broadcasting, particularly, history and religion.

*J. LeB. In other words, the contents of our programs to the Soviet Union are unpleasant, irritate people, do not take into consideration the situation in the Soviet Union, and we do not do what America should be doing for oppressed people?*

A. S. I would sum it up like this: your radio broadcasts do not give our people the spiritual help they need. That is one side. The other side — you present yourselves as being lower and less significant than you really are, i.e., you are doing yourselves harm. And in the third place, you limit even simple information about current events. In matters of foreign policy, you are being over-scrupulous about your use of sources — as with Afghanistan. And insofar as the internal situation in the Soviet Union is concerned, you have been concentrating only on material provided by dissidents from Moscow. If tomorrow the dissident movement should be completely destroyed, you would lose such information altogether. But there are great fields of information about the Soviet Union of which we need to hear, and which your radio station either does not have, or does not wish to use for lack of sufficient proof. And what is given instead? Instead,

there is a wide coverage on Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union. That is, half-hour after half-hour is spent on interviews with recent emigrés: how they like America; how they have found work; how much they earn; how they furnished their houses. Not that there is anything bad about this, except that it is disproportionately exaggerated, and replaces information about the situation in the Soviet Union. And what feelings must it arouse in the Soviet listeners? Irritation. No one of the Soviet population can emigrate to the West. Only a certain number of Jews can emigrate to the West. Why then boast about how well they are doing, why irritate those who are left there?

*J. LeB. So our broadcasts irritate those who cannot leave with tales of how well we live here?*

A. S. It is tactless. Our people want to be told about our workers, how they fare in our country — but your broadcasts do not speak about that. What is the situation of our peasantry? — there is never a broadcast on that subject. The situation in the provinces. The cruel situation in the army. They listen to the broadcasts in the army, there are many shortwave sets there. But nothing is ever broadcast about any of this. And your stations don't even want to know anything about it. For instance, we still have a devastating problem about our disabled veterans from the Great Patriotic War who are hidden from society, so that no one can see them; they are exiled to remote northern islands — disabled veterans who have lost their health in defense of their country and are persecuted, constrained. There is nothing of this on the radio — only tales of happy refugees, how well those who fled from all this are living.

*J. LeB. How about the Soviet army? You say that they have radio sets to which they can listen, and we do not try to communicate with the Soviet soldiers. Is there a possibility of demoralization? Because they say that the troops sent to Afghanistan refuse to shoot at the Moslems, at the civilian population.*

A. S. Unfortunately, you have never been interested in the situation of the Soviet worker, the Soviet peasant, the Soviet soldier. They are all under dreadful pressure, and your radio broadcasts have never concerned themselves with investigating this, with getting such information and airing it. I repeat, there is much such information available in the emigré press, and it could all have been broadcast to the USSR without much effort, but that could violate the policy of the State Department, the Moscow leaders might suddenly get mad at the State Department and refuse to purchase from you the modern electronics without which they cannot live. That is what you are afraid of!

The greatest need of our people is to become aware of themselves as what they really are. If during these 30 years you had helped our people remember who they were, to help them to rise spiritually to their feet — the entire world situation today would be different. All our recent history has been trampled under and distorted beyond recognition, it is saturated with propaganda. I would like very much for the American TV viewer to

imagine this for himself, it is difficult to imagine. Our average citizen in essence knows nothing: what were the causes of the revolution; how the revolution occurred, how it all went over to the Bolsheviks under a totalitarian rule; what great people's movements there were against the Bolsheviks, and how they were suppressed, how our peasantry and our working class were destroyed by terrorist means. We need to know the truth about all this. And if such knowledge were given us, we would become spiritually free of our government — both those in civilian life and those in the army. But the general goals and general programs of your broadcasts are run by ideologists who, unfortunately, are under the influence of myths, false myths about Russia. I must say that the first originator of these myths we find Karl Marx. Marx proclaimed that the Russian people, as such, in general, were "reactionary". And from that it followed: all of Russian history was "reactionary," the monarchy was "reactionary," Russian expressions of tradition were "reactionary," the majority of the Russian leaders were "reactionaries," even our Orthodox religion was "reactionary." And this is what the ideologists of your radio broadcasts do: they ram through our history like a burst of machinegun fire, they shoot down two-thirds of our historical figures, fearful that some of them might be "reactionary." If some American journalist — just one — or a second-rate American scholar — once said about some Russian leader that he was "reactionary" — that Russian leader or philosopher is eliminated from history — he no longer exists. Paradoxically — the ideologists of your broadcasts stretch out their hand to communists. The communist fight against our memory of history, and your broadcasts do the same. I cannot leave out the most recent example: recently, this September was the 70th anniversary of the death, of the murder of Prime Minister Stolypin, the greatest Russian statesman of the 20th century. It is not enough that the very act of his murder inaugurated the terror of the 20th century, but this man in 5 years succeeded in pulling Russia out of complete chaos and disintegration into a state a prosperity.

And so, two of your radio stations, under different management, *Radio Liberty* and the *Voice of America*, both killed a broadcast on Stolypin, the anniversary broadcast. A fine broadcast was prepared by *Radio Liberty*; it was forbidden without any discussion or explanation. And a few days ago, the *Voice of America* announced an 8-minute reading from my chapter on Stolypin. The broadcast was already announced, but it was immediately killed. This shows that it is not a question of different administrators, but of your dominant ideology.

No matter what one thinks of Stolypin — some consider him a liberal, others a conservative — he was a great Russian statesman — how can he be censored? I would like to call attention to the amazing fact that American broadcasts, both radio stations, independent of each other, carry out censorship, moreover, censorship in advance, even in such scandalous circumstances, as when listeners have already been told that the broadcast would take place, and then it is cancelled. This year *Radio Liberty* used censorship in advance only in fundamental Russian-language broadcasts; moreover, they intend to expand their bureaucratic superstructure, to bring in consulting advisors, exclusively for the purposes of censorship. It's

hard to absorb this. To increase expenses, to enlarge the organization for the purposes of censorship.

*J. LeB. Let us talk now about the state of religion in the Soviet Union. Has the Soviet government been suppressing religion since 1917? Do they want to destroy spiritual sources, to destroy the soul?*

A. S. All of Marxism is based on hatred of religion, and Lenin, when he came to power — it seems paradoxical — did not perceive a more dangerous enemy than Russian Christianity, and he carried out violent attacks on it and this continued under Stalin, and Khrushchev, and Brezhnev, in a somewhat different form. During these 65 years Russian Orthodoxy has suffered its own Golgotha. We have experienced persecution which surpassed in dimensions all the persecution of Christianity in ancient times. Limitless efforts were made to destroy Christianity in Russia, to root it completely out of memory and heart. That is the consistent policy of the Soviet government, and it has resulted in tens of millions of people not being able to go to church. Many people live in places where the nearest church is 300 miles away, i.e., they can go, say, to have a child christened, but they cannot get there on Sundays. Our population is in dire need of listening to church services over the radio, to mark, over the radio, our Christian holidays, to have our divine services, our terminology explained, to have a broadcast for children, who are most of all deprived of religion in the USSR. Communist power has deprived us of all this, and your radio broadcasts, your ideologists, proceeding from the stupid thought that Russian Christianity is "reactionary", conduct that same communist line — again, they echo the communist position: i.e., they are suppressing Christianity there, and your people here are trying with all their might to squeeze and force out Russian Orthodoxy.

*J. LeB. You probably find it amusing when you hear that Carter, for instance, said that he thought he could convert Brezhnev to Christianity.*

A. S. Horrible! And so, all these 30 years your broadcasts have been directed at, deliberately directed at, systematically aimed at not allowing Russian Orthodoxy to rise up and become an organized social force in Russia.

*J. LeB. Let us talk briefly about the situation in Poland today, because in Poland there is organized dissidence, opposition to the government. How much do you think this has been helped by a Polish Pope?*

A. S. The Polish Pope has been of considerable inspiration to the Poles. But aside from that, the Catholic Church has never been as demolished as our Orthodox Church. I don't know anything about the American Polish-language broadcasts. I assume that they were excellent. I assume that they supported Polish Catholicism, strengthened it. But for the Russian people, the broadcasts are conducted in just the opposite way, i.e., it is as if you deliberately set up the task of not creating a Polish situation in our country, so that we could not have such strength in the Church, and such religious unification as in Poland.

*J. LeB. In Poland — is there an example of good radio broadcasts in cooperation with the Church, under the sponsorship of a leader like the Pope, which could act for unity? I would like to ask you about reports from the Vatican — that they suspect that the Soviets, the Kremlin, participated in the attempt on the life of the Pope.*

A. S. There can be no doubt that a Polish Pope greatly hampered, and continues to hamper, Soviet communists by his very existence.

*J. LeB. You would not be surprised if through the terrorist network they found out about the Turk who wanted to kill the Pope, and the Soviets told their agents ... ?*

A. S. I don't doubt that; in general, world terrorism is run by the Soviets, yes.

*J. LeB. I would like to sum up what has been said. We are not speaking about large expenditures, we are speaking about a change in the fundamental approach to the direction and the contents of the Voice of America and Radio Liberty. When we held elections last year, we elected a man who holds very clear views in relation to the Soviet government, there can be no doubt about that. He said of the Soviets that they reserve the right to commit any crime, to lie, to cheat, in order to achieve world domination. It is clear that President Reagan understands the Soviet approach. Do you see any difference in our approach to broadcasts to the USSR during the past year?*

A. S. The President cannot have had enough time in this one year, given the numerous branches of such a tremendous government as that of the United States. That is probably why he has not yet been able to do anything about the radio broadcasts. And, paradoxically, I must say, the year 1981 has seen in *Radio Liberty* a sharp turn for the worse. Everything that for years was getting worse was made even more so by the famous memorandum which was accepted for implementation by the radio station *Radio Liberty*. But if they don't stop going in that direction, they will once and for all mess up the Russian Department of *Radio Liberty*. I will not say anything about the 15 other languages in which *Radio Liberty* broadcasts, which I don't know, but the 16th, for Russians, has degenerated to such an extent, is so bad that, if things continue in the same direction, it would be better to do away with it altogether, because it harms the relation of the Russian and the American people even further.

*J. LeB. You pointed out that if 30 years ago we had behaved differently, we might have prevented World War III. But in October of 1981, we are saying that nothing has changed, that everything is only worse. Is it really too late, if we do change, or is a Third World War really inevitable?*

A. S. A Latin proverb says, "Dum spiro, spero" — where there's life, there's hope. Yes, 30 years have gone by, but that does not mean that we should not begin again today. We do not know how much time history will give

us, and maybe it is still possible to accomplish much if you actively undertook to improve your broadcasts. I emphasize that I am not even speaking about an increase in the budget, but about changing the fundamental direction, to sober up, to come to your senses ...

*J. LeB. That is, we should change our broadcasts to the Soviet people? But we must also, I think, change our approach to trade with the Soviet Union — not to give them modern electronics which they will use for arms against the West; that, you know, is a continuation of the Roosevelt policy.*

A. S. We are today concentrating on the problems of radio broadcasting, and, in general, I said yes, a historical mistake was made when you gave away half the Earth. Do not repeat today this same mistake, and by trusting China, give away the other half of the Earth; for now I see as the main threat in the foreign policy of the present American administration its trust in China. This is impossible! They are exactly the same communists with the same methods, and with the same policy of annihilation.

*J. LeB. You said that ever since you left the Soviet Union you have cherished the hope of returning to Russia. Time is passing, and our government has not changed its policy. Is your hope, perhaps, fading?*

A. S. You know — my hope is not fading. God willing, I still have some time left. And in the meantime, I have not wasted time — I am writing constantly. I am now finishing an epos of the history of the 1917 Revolution. And besides, a writer always has a way out — if he himself does not return to his Motherland, his books will.

*J. LeB. Your books, Gulag and others, are for some reason forbidden by our radio stations. If this policy changes, could you in some way change the substance of radio programs to the Soviet people?*

A. S. I have said today much that needed to be said. But I think that all efforts and possibilities are in the hands of your administration.

*J. LeB. I think that the majority of people who see this program will be amazed that our government does not want your words to be heard by your people, that it is not the Soviet Union — it is our government which does not allow it, particularly, when the censorship is by our government — which only does this because it is afraid to distress and anger the Soviet leaders. The majority of our listeners will not only be amazed or shocked, they will want to know why this is so, and why it continues to be so. In appearing on a program such as this, you must know that it is accessible to the average person in our country, to a wide circle of average people, and gives them information which they have never had before.*

A. S. I understand. I will be very happy if we have helped in clearing up the situation.

*A. Solzhenitsyn's answers translated from the Russian by Julia Mansvetov.*

## POLAND

### **IN PRIMATE GLEMP'S VIEW THE "SOLIDARITY," REPRESENTS POLISH NATIONAL FEELINGS**

#### **RCDA Comment**

**T**HE following interview given by Archbishop Józef Glemp, the Primate of Poland, to the Marxist weekly *Polityka* offers an interesting insight into the Primate's views regarding several issues of church-state relations, dialogue and moral, political and social problems in the context of the recent developments in Poland.....

Archbishop Glemp does not agree that a dialogue has been going on in Poland between the Church and state over the past thirty years. Instead of a dialogue, there was confrontation taking place under the slogan of atheization which frequently involved persecution of the faithful and the clergy. The Primate believes that Marxism did not deal with the issue of religion in an honest manner and that there was mutual discouragement and lack of confidence.

Asked about his attitude towards the independent trade movement "Solidarity" the Primate believes that "Solidarity" is "representative of the feelings of the nation, the most broadly conceived working class." However, the Church does not want to be directly involved in it; She conceives Her role towards the society as that of service.

In the Primate's view the Church is strict not only on abortion or divorce, "but also the whole erotization of everyday life, consumerism, hedonism — up to drug abuse and terrorism." He believes that all this is "inter-related with neglect of social duties of man, to which Marxists also have turned attention."

Archbishop Glemp rejects any suggestion of "Khomeinization" of Poland because Christianity is not Islam, and Poland is not Iran. The Church has no political ambitions and there are no prospects in Poland for "the alliance between the altar and the throne." Though the Polish Church supports democracy as "the most beautiful gift of the 20th century," Her structure is hierarchical and Her character is supernatural. The Mass in the Lenin Shipyard at the Solidarity meeting in Gdansk in August 1980 was not a triumph but a demonstration of the workers' religiosity as "their response to their religious need, which is deeply rooted in the Polish working class."

Archbishop Glemp's wish is to continue the work of the "Great Primate" as a "minor primate" with no personal aspirations. He had no schooling during World War II and was a juvenile laborer. He believes, that this can influence his attitude to life and to workers.

From: *ChSS Information Bulletin* (Christian Social Association), No. 9, Warsaw, September 1981.

## **INTERVIEW WITH THE PRIMATE OF POLAND**

**N**ATIONWIDE Marxist weekly, *Polityka*, whose editor-in-chief is Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, at present deputy premier of the Polish People's Republic, published an extensive interview with Archbishop Józef Glemp, Metropolitan of Gniezno and Warsaw, Primate of Poland [*Polityka* No. 31, July 31, 1981]. The interview was granted to Adam Krzeminski, author of many *Polityka* articles on ideological issues. The text here below is a full reprint of the interview published in *Polityka*. We believe that it gives a better picture for evaluations, views and plans of Archbishop Józef Glemp than his first brief press statements.

Subheadings and footnotes by the editors of the *ChSS Information Bulletin*.

### **Dialogue or Confrontation**

**Mr. ADAM KRZEMINSKI:** *Your Excellency. I am aware of the fact that this interview has had no precedent, that we shall only manage to tackle many problems, which would require profound substantiation and subtle analyses. Our paper, however, would like to present as broad a gamut of phenomena and problems as possible, related to the firm position of Catholicism in the Polish society, to the dialogue which has been going on in Poland between the Church and the state for the past thirty years . . .*

**Primate Józef Glemp:** You say it is a dialogue, while it actually was confrontation. As for a dialogue,

the parties missed each other's point too often. Many more effects, apparently adverse, stemmed from confrontation, which on the part of the state consisted in the administrative manner of speaking, limiting the rights of the Church and the believers. This confrontation was taking place under the slogan of atheization, though in practice it frequently involved persecuting the faithful and the clergy. When the Church was organizing any kind of a religious campaign, children were kept on in school under any pretext, competitive campaigns were organized, e.g. civic ventures. I do not know whether you are familiar with the details of parish life, but there were instances of far-reaching interference of local Departments for Religious Affairs in the life of the Catholic community. There were instances of persecuting the faithful, rejecting permission for church repairs, attempts at winning over priests for Caritas...<sup>1</sup>

*Mr. K:* ...which is not accepted by the Church.

*The Primate:* Since the time it was taken away from the Church. This administrative pressure passed, of course, through different stages; it was different during the Stalinist period, and it was different in the 1960's. In the 1970's<sup>2</sup> it was considerably diminished. The Church was given greater freedom, though it is difficult to speak here about a deeper dialogue because of unrelenting atheist propaganda.

*Mr. K:* But there were periods of a far-reaching convergence of positions: in October 1956, after December 1970, as well as following last year's strikes.

*The Primate:* Of course, both in the difficult situation in 1956 and after August of 1980, the role of the Great Primate, the Reverend Cardinal Wyszynski, was clearly evident. The late Primate very much believed in the renewal and was greatly involved in it. It is characteristic of us, Poles, that at critical moments we are able to unite. This has been confirmed in history many a time. When such a supreme value as the nation is at stake we are able to unite. Things are, however, somewhat different in everyday life.

*Mr. K:* What is your evaluation of the spiritual dimension of the dialogue or perhaps the confrontation? Meetings of Marxists with Catholics, mutual penetration of ideas, points of view and world outlooks.

*The Primate:* I am not a philosopher, but I think the dialogue used to be quite insignificant. What was published in liberal papers such as *Po Prostu*<sup>3</sup> or in atheist periodicals like *Argumenty*<sup>4</sup> concerned only the principles of coexistence between the two world outlooks and constituted perhaps only the substantiation of institutional struggles.

*Mr. K:* A similar opinion was once voiced by Kazimierz Kokoł<sup>5</sup> that the dialogue involved only a number of churches instead of a thorough discussion. However, just like socialism must have impressed its presence on the consciousness of priests and theologians, the vital presence of Catholicism had an impact on the thinking of Polish Marxists.

*The Primate:* I would not go too far here. We know that the Catholic philosophy in Poland has not made any comprehensive study of Marxism, although of course phenomenological and neo-Thomist studies took account of the social dimension of religion. On the other hand, I think that Marxism did not deal with the issues of religion in an honest manner. There was mutual discouragement and lack of confidence.

*Mr. K:* But as a layman I think that the firm stress placed by Polish theology on ethics can be regarded somehow as an indirect response to Marxism.

*The Primate:* I would put it differently: as a doctrine Marxism has introduced something new into our life, i.e., a certain postulate of democracy as opposed to the prewar style. To a certain extent it is also true of the Church.

### *The Church in Poland After the War*

*Mr. K:* Might it be said, therefore, that after the war the Church moved more leftward? More in the direction of Laski than of Niepokalanow?<sup>6</sup>

*The Primate:* Left, right — I do not like these expressions. The Church has not so much moved leftward as it has become closer to man, to the working class, although it may sound paradoxical for a Marxist. But since the direction of social transformations in post-war Poland was based on the Marxist doctrine, that is, nationalization of the means of production and collectivization, which was rejected by the majority of the society, it might be said that anyway, Marxism shaped the people. The same people who sought the protection of the Church. In that situation the Church managed to come closer to man in order not to lose the opportunity.

As concerns your counterposition of Laski and Niepokalanów, it is difficult to accept. The pre-war activity of Rev. Kornitowicz in Laski, his dedicated intention to meet half-way atheist or representatives of other religions, such as Jews, was an anticipation of this Christianity which has become fully evident after Vatican Council II. One should not forget, however, that the tradition of mass Catholicism has also remained, although it looks different today. The outside form of the Church depends on characteristics of a society.

*Mr. K:* It is hard to expect intellectually sophisticated Catholicism in a poor and backward country. Are the opinions that Polish Catholicism is conservative justified today?

*The Primate:* Again, you attempt to transfer secular standards to the matters of faith and religion. Every nation gives its own characteristics to its Church, thus also some of its folklore. Speaking the language of the Council — the Church takes roots in the nation, forms a symbiosis with the society. Of course, Polish Catholicism is different, but its conservatism should not be exaggerated. Indeed, sentimental elements do occur in our religious practice, especially in the Marian cult, which are simply in line with the Polish nature, but I do not think it to be as "conservative" as it is sometimes claimed by Western intellectuals.

*Mr. K.: What has changed in Polish Catholicism over the past thirty years?*

*The Primate:* On the one hand, atheization has become more pronounced, though on the other, there are ever bigger and stronger strata of people whose faith is conscious, who are consolidated in their faith, consolidated also intellectually. Polish Catholicism today is no longer only a small village church or traditional urban centres, it is also the work integrating the society, especially in the Western and Northern Territories<sup>7</sup>, it is the work of disseminating the Gospel and the Council documents. The Church in Poland today involves also ministry to doctors, teachers, lawyers. . . Ever more numerous are groups with deeper religious life, e.g., in youth "oases", academic circles, clubs of Catholic intelligentsia, which have recently been quickly expanding. Today, the Church is not involved in simplistic activity, referring exclusively to tradition not underlied with a doctrine, as it happened in certain Catholic groups before the war. Today, the Church in Poland extends its care to man in a personalistic way, that is taking into account the tradition, the mind and the feelings.

### **"Borderland People"**

*Mr. K.: At the same time, a new problem became manifest after the war, namely, that of the "borderland people". The party has known it in the form of proverbial district secretaries, who secretly went to confession or sent their children to religion classes to distant parishes. The Church, on the other hand, has known Catholics who have been observing orders of religion in a very arbitrary manner, who have not accepted sacraments, and still they have remained under Church's influence. In general, a kind of a two-way traffic has evolved between the party and the Church: on the one hand, many people lose their faith, depart from the Church, and many others, disillusioned with socialism, persecuted or lost seek support in the Church. A lot has been recently spoken about this "intermediate zone" . . .*

*The Primate:* I followed the discussion started by Bratkowski<sup>8</sup> with great interest. Obviously, there is a big group of people who externally or marginally feel attached to the Church as an institution which impresses with its durability, its ceremonies. There are also people who seek in Church the experience which they need temporarily. And finally: if there is an issue of "believers in the party," it is quite a different matter of "party members in the Church." It makes no difference for the Church whether a person is a party member or not — what is important is the attitude of faith and conscience.

*Mr. K.: Once there was talk of excommunication<sup>9</sup>.*

*The Primate:* Excommunication has never become a problem in Poland. The Church is open to everybody who needs her. Things are different in the Party, however. Assuming in many cases the confessional character, the Party is of the opinion that Party affiliation cannot be ultimately reconciled with religious faith. It might be said that the Party is more conservative than the Church,

which is tolerant, though She leaves certain things unspoken. Although I have an impression that here the practice is also more liberal than the principles.

*Mr. K.: For some time now, however, certain tightening of discipline has been noticeable in the Church — this is manifested on the occasion of baptisms, weddings, funerals.*

*The Primate:* This is a result of the serious attitude towards the freedom of accepting faith. The Church cannot consent to the practice that through baptism the parents put the child before an accomplished fact, having no intention of fulfilling the obligation of the Catholic education of the child, since they themselves are either non-practicing or outright non-believers. The same concerns weddings. The Church is something more than the ceremonial rite. It is the true, objective value of sacrament understandable through faith.

*Mr. K.: I think, however, that Poland has been reached by the wave of critical Catholicism, that is big independence of believers in accepting and rejecting both the dogmas of faith as well as moral standards propounded by the Church. This is revealed not only by statistics, but is confirmed by everyday observation that Catholics are neither so ethical nor so industrious as it is required by the Church. Otherwise we would be a country of angels.*

*The Primate:* This criticism can be perceived today all over the world, in one country it is more, in another less pronounced. The Church has to be consistent and far from praising moral relativism. But the Church also recognizes the freedom of accepting faith — it does not impose it on anybody. A man who selectively accepts certain truths, and does not accept others, is not — of course — removed from the community in an administrative manner. He places himself on the margin of his own will. The Church cannot regard the doctrine as a jigsaw puzzle, from which everybody would select what is convenient to him. Our attitude towards the "borderland people" — to use your term — is that of persuasion and tolerance.

### **The Church at the Time of Renewal**

*Mr. K.: Excellency, our fresh pluralism in public life results in the phenomenon that ever new groupings, social and political programs make their appearance, which often refer to the authority of John Paul II and the Church, though actually they have their own goals in mind. What is the Church's attitude towards this new role?*

*The Primate:* It is hard for me to talk about the groups and programs, the actual objective and inspiration of which are often obscure. It is also difficult for us to take a stand on every case of reference to the Church, whether we like it or not. Attempts at making the Church instrumental, of utilizing it by extremist groups are nothing new and the Church has always been reserved towards them.

*Mr. K.: What is your attitude towards Solidarity?*

*The Primate:* I already made a statement on this subject in *Tygodnik Powszechny*<sup>10</sup>. I do not think it to be one of the extremist groups. Inasmuch as Solidarity is representative of the feelings of the nation, the most broadly conceived working class, the Church will be present at this movement. It will never want to become directly involved in it, since that is not the task of the Church. The Church conceives her role towards the society as that of service and neither wants to subordinate this movement, which is to be the movement for protection of labor, nor to become its instrument.

*Mr. K.: Would you care to expound on what is the attitude of the Church towards various Catholic groupings. There are several of them: Znak, the Polish Catholic-Social Union, Clubs of the Catholic Intelligentsia, Pax, the Christian Social Association*<sup>11</sup>. *August 1980 has left a lot of changes on this map, too.*

*The Primate:* Catholic groups have been hitherto quite atomized, while today a propensity to act closer together can be noticed. They are no longer so manipulated as in the past and they want to prove they are reliable. This emphasis on reliability is a very positive phenomenon. Hence also these groups, which were inspired by somebody and which had various connections, at the moment want to prove they are reliable and it is on this plane that rapprochement can be reached.

*Mr. K.: Or even unification?*

*The Primate:* I do not think so; they have too many differences: the past, political biographies of their leaders, etc. Anyway, each one has certain defined goals, which are not limited to servicing the Church only. They have different ideological or social concepts and they try to implement them in a different way. I do not think that one Christian organization will evolve in Poland, though they can come closer together. I will have talks with representatives of each one of these groups<sup>12</sup>.

*Mr. K.: What do the talks with the state authorities look like? Which one of the controversial issues needs to be solved most urgently?*

*The Primate:* We have found forms of dialogue instead of confrontation on a number of issues. Today we know what is the joint commission, what are the working teams, among others the legislative team, where in a quiet and methodical way we discuss and settle matters, which were controversial until recently. There is still a long way ahead of us, but we have already elaborated the method of solving serious matters.

*Mr. K.: What method?*

*The Primate:* We look at the Church in Poland as a whole. We employ the legal language of People's Poland, we are discussing the matter of the legal status of the Church, of filling posts and mutual relation between the Church and a relevant organ of state authority, which

will maintain contacts with the Church. We should follow along this road further — while mutual respect of partners is a pre-condition for the correct development of this dialogue.

### *On the Ideological Neutrality of the State*

*Mr. K.: Excellency, there is much talk about the ideological neutrality of the state, while at the same time a postulate is put forward by Catholic circles to abolish the law on abortion. Whereas doctrinal reasons against the liquidation of the conceived life are convergent with humanistic or medical reasons, the pressure on the abolishment of this law does not take into account the fact that this law is a lesser evil than illegal abortions, and secondly that for many non-believers the matter of abortion is the issue of their private conscience.*

*The Primate:* It seems that you are mixing two things here. For us the issue of state neutrality is connected with the equality of the rights of believers and non-believers. A neutral state is the one which does not interfere in the religious attitudes of citizens. The state as such does not have its own morality, it can only be concerned about the morality of citizens. Therefore, if today citizens are of the opinion that abortion is an evil, the state loses nothing of its neutrality. For the Church the matter of abortion is the issue of the concept of man set in faith, that is, in God. Moreover, the law which provides for taking away life violates moral norms from the all-human point of view, since it provides for the possibility of imposing it on a doctor to abort an unborn life. The pressure on the abolition of the law is accompanied by work on shaping such a moral attitude of man that he internally considers abortion as an act of evil. The law deforms conscience in this sense that man accepts as good is compatible with the law.

*Mr. K.: However, these laws are commonly accepted as revealed by the referendum in Italy.*

*The Primate:* This manipulated will of the majority in Italy proved to be a fact; nobody has organized a referendum in our country. It can also happen that the majority is wrong. If we take a glance at this civilization from a certain perspective does not it become evident that it is banished — and it is on the very issue of abortion — since it gives such a superiority of an adult over a helpless being. And in what name?

*Mr. K.: This is a general question whether the course of history does not push our civilization in the direction of liberating individuals and social groups from the rule of imposed norms and prohibitions, towards emancipation.*

*The Primate:* This process is a certain historical regularity and it cannot be halted. Periods of stringent morality are followed by the time of relaxation, we are periodically experiencing the recurrence of renaissance. I believe, however, that today we are witnessing the return — or perhaps the need of returning — to more ethical life, bigger balance and observance of norms. In

this changing world the Church is not a weathervane; it guards permanent values. I think, anyway, that as concerns many issues, e.g. respect for life, the Church is much closer to certain formulations of Marxism than extremely liberal doctrines which voice unlimited freedom of the individual and this leads to disrespect for life, partnership, to spreading selfishness and consumerism. We should not forget that an individual does not always have independent insight to perceive the deep sense of his activity, an individual often yields to schematic thinking — today the slogan of “liberalization”, almost unlimited freedom, thirst for pleasure. This concerns not only abortion or divorce, but also the whole erotization of everyday life, consumerism, hedonism — up to drug abuse and terrorism. All this is interrelated with neglect of social duties of man, to which Marxists also have turned attention.

*Mr. K.: At this moment appeals of the Church against demoralization in TV, cinema, literature come to my mind. Is there no danger that more stringent moral censorship will deprive us of many important literary or cinematic works?*

*The Primate:* This is a question whether drastic concentration on only one aspect of human life can be connected with art? The Church has never opposed nudity — suffice it to make a tour of the Vatican museum — but pornography, showing off sex and reducing man to the level of an object; she was been against turning society's attention to the most important problems. The Church views man in a very humanistic way, integrally, as an entity.

### **Without Political Ambitions**

*Mr. K.: Excellency, nobody questions the strength of Polish Catholicism, but what is going to happen next? Let us assume that renewal will survive; is there any danger involved in it? On the one hand, the Church acted at moments of crisis as an intermediary between the authorities and the society, which, if practiced for a long period of time, may be regarded as an “alliance between the altar and the throne,” and on the other hand, the restoration of natural, democratic mechanisms in the society may result in the fact that many people will no longer seek asylum in the Church.*

*The Primate:* Do not forget, please, that the Church has never had and does not have now any political ambitions. Its role in the political life of the nation stemmed from the country's situation, when the authority was not able to find a common language with the society, but this was only a temporary role: priests do not aspire to political power...

*Mr. K.: ... this is a response to the claim of “Khomeinization” of Poland, which is sometimes voiced abroad.*

*The Primate:* I do not know who formulates such claims. Christianity is not Islam, and Poland is not Iran. I do not think the Church will have to continue its role as an intermediary in Poland, since in a normal social

arrangement, which is being shaped in our renewal, the society and the authorities can reach agreement without intermediation of the Church. The Church has no political aspirations and fortunately there are no prospects for the “alliance between the altar and the throne.” The substance of the Church is to disseminate faith, ministry and religious-social activity, rather than a political one.

### **“The Polish Church Does Not Have to Fear Democracy”**

*Mr. K.: Will the current of universal democratization of social life in the country and public institutions have also no influence on the Polish Church, e.g. in the form of young priests' striving for bigger internal democracy; will there not appear voices — like in France or Holland for relaxation of celibacy, organization of “worker priests,” greater decentralization of church life?*

*The Primate:* The Church is a part of society, which it serves and — as I have already said — she carries a lot of characteristics of this society. The Polish Church does not have to fear democracy, since democracy is the most beautiful gift of the 20th century — it convinced us that people are equal, that they can speak out, and that the will of the majority needs to be accepted. On the other hand, the Church does not feature a democratic structure, she is hierarchical, she has her durable principles, and does not resemble a secular institution due to its supranatural character. In the Church, however, much stress is on brotherhood, neighborly love, collectivity — so in spite of her hierarchical structure the Church has her own deeper democracy. Of course, young priests will impose a new style, this manner of conduct is already noticeable — direct and democratic. I do not suppose, however, that the movement of “worker priests” will occur here...

*Mr. K.: ... with the Marxist orientation on top of this, like in France ...*

*The Primate:* ... since in Poland the attitude of workers towards the Church is very natural. A priest in Poland does not have to look for a worker since he also does not have to seek manual work either — he knows its from daily practice. Such a movement will not be formed here for another reason: we, Poles, are not people able to sacrifice themselves in such an unimpressive way.

### **Religiosity of Polish Workers**

*Mr. K.: With your permission, Excellency, let us tackle the problem of religiosity of Polish workers. The August mass in the Lenin Shipyard<sup>13</sup> came as a shock for the whole world. Of course, it may be explained also in such a way that the strikers were under extreme stress, exposed to danger, that they needed psychological support and they found it in the feeling of security which had been given to them in childhood by the Church. I do not suppose that all the strikers were so religiously minded in their every life as on that dramatic Sunday. Was that triumph surprising for the Church?*

*The Primate:* I would not call that Mass in the



Shipyard triumphal. Demonstration of religiosity by the workers is not a triumph, but their natural need; it was simply their response to the religious need, which is deeply rooted in the Polish working class, even as regards those workers who do not strictly observe the norms of Catholic life. These early experiences from childhood are revived in most of them at important moments. That Mass was neither a political demonstration, nor exclusively a psychological need, it was the Mass which was a profound experience; it is simply in our nature to be able to experience religion deeply, we are simply religious. The fact that the same workers go to church less frequently afterwards does not alter the fact that they are able to experience religious feelings.

### Prognoses

*Mr. K.: And finally my last question. While Cardinal Wyszynski was called "the Primate of the Millennium", his successor might be called "the Primate of the 21st century". With what premonition do you intend to introduce the Polish Church into the next millenium: of the approaching catastrophe or of the chance for the general renaissance of mankind?*

*The Primate:* Well, we still have a lot of time before the 21st century starts. I do not suppose that I myself will introduce the Polish Church into the next millenium. My only wish is to continue the work of the Great Primate. I, a minor primate, would like to follow His footsteps, if possible, in new conditions. I would like to develop collectivity, to listen to what happens in the nation. I do not want to impose my personality, but I shall try to be faithful. I am aware of the fact that the times are difficult, and I am a man of the Church who believes and knows that actually there should be neither difficult nor easy times for the Church. Any time is good for sowing what we have to sow. I have no personal aspirations, I think I am a simple man. I think I would like to retain this simplicity. I was brought up in different times, I had no schooling during the war, I was a juvenile laborer, and this can influence my attitude to life, to workers. I would also like to be close to what is going on.

*Mr. K.: Thank you very much for the interview.*

### FOOTNOTES:

<sup>1</sup> In 1950 establishments run by Caritas, as an organ of the Catholic Church in Poland, were taken away from the Church and subordinated to the newly established Caritas Association of Catholics, which was not subject to Church jurisdiction. Here, Dr. Glemp speaks about the Caritas Association.

<sup>2</sup> Archbishop Glemp uses here the chronology of the three periods in the post-war history of Poland, climaxed with violent social unrest. "The Stalinist period" — its symbolic end was the year of 1956; "The 1960s" — their end was marked by the December 1970 events in Gdansk; the period of "the 1970s" symbolically ended with mass-scale strikes in the summer of 1980.

<sup>3</sup> The weekly *Po Prostu* [In Simple Words] was founded in 1947; from 1955 it published bold, matter-of-fact appraisals of the then situation in Poland, it was a manifestation of the approaching wave of the liberalization of the intellectual life in Poland. It ceased to appear in 1957.

<sup>4</sup> The weekly *Argumenty*, organ of the Association of Polish Atheists, now of the Society for Disseminating Secular Culture, founded in 1957.

<sup>5</sup> Kazimierz Kakol, former minister — head of the Office for Religious Denominations in the years 1975-1980.

<sup>6</sup> Laski near Warsaw, a house of Franciscan Sisters, a well-known educational center for blind children. Intellectual center, before World War II related to the person of Rev. Wladyslaw Kornilowicz (1884-1946) and the *Verbum* monthly. It carried out active missionary work, primarily among the confessors of Mosaism. Niepokalanów near Warsaw, a monastery of Conventual Franciscans founded by blessed Maksymilian M. Kolbe (1894-1941). Before World War II a large publishing center of the Catholic press. The counterposition of these two centers of religious life by Adam Krzeminski stems from different concepts of their goals and different forms of religious activity.

<sup>7</sup> The territories situated on the Odra river and on the Baltic coast acquired by Poland in the issue of the 2nd World War (Potsdam Agreement). Integrated with the west of Poland in the first post-war years.

<sup>8</sup> Discussion in press, initiated by Stefan Bratkowski, party member, president of the Association of Polish Journalists, on the place of believers in the Polish United Workers' Party, took place in March this year. A reverberation of that discussion was an article of Ada Szubowa published in the *Slowo Powszechne* daily (No. 139, July 10-12, 1981) "Faith — Believers — the Church. Before the 9th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party".

<sup>9</sup> Pius XII.

<sup>10</sup> *Tygodnik Powszechny*, No. 25, June 21, 1981.

<sup>11</sup> Three out of the groups mentioned by Adam Kzemieski — the Christian Social Association, the Polish Catholic-Social Union and the *Pax* Association — have the character of associations and participate in public life (i.e., they are represented in the Sejm). The remaining ones: the Cracow *Znak* group, clubs of the Catholic Intelligentsia and the group around a Warsaw monthly *Wiesz* — the latter not mentioned by Krzeminski — concentrate on club, intellectual and publishing activities.

<sup>12</sup> Archbishop Józef Glemp has already met with representatives of the following associations: on July 16th, with representatives of the Christian Social Association; on July 20th, with the representatives of the *Pax* Association; on July 21st, with the representatives of the Polish Catholic-Social Union.

<sup>13</sup> In Gdansk.

## POLAND and USSR

# POLAND WITHOUT ILLUSIONS

JIRI LEDERER

**T**HE leader of Polish Communists staged a successful military coup, which came as a surprise to the Poles, East Europeans and to the West. The leader of the coup declared that he wanted to prevent chaos and civil war.

Democratic statesmen expressed in one way or another their condemnation of the coup; the Communist governments of the USSR and East European states welcomed it.

There are two things we must do:

1. To see reality as it is, with no illusions.
2. To communicate the recognized reality, and to witness to the truth.

The purpose of the military coup was to liquidate the Solidarity trade unions, to stop the process of Polish renewal and to restore the totalitarian Communist regime. It would be childish to expect that the martial law in Poland would soon be abrogated and that the interned individuals would be released expeditiously. It would be highly naive to believe that some dialogue could begin between the government and the Solidarity movement. Return to the period preceding December 13, 1981, is impossible. Whatever will happen will be just a game played to help the West swallow more easily yet another Soviet bitter pill — after Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan and many others.

Those who rule Moscow and East Europe are convinced that though the West might kick and scream, it cannot lift a finger. I had heard this assertion time and again from high officers of the Czechoslovak secret police.

Moscow succeeded in stifling the workers' riots in the GDR (East Germany) in 1953, massacring the Hungarian nation in 1956, attacking Czechoslovakia in 1968, occupying Afghanistan in 1979 — and we should be so reckless as to pretend that the Kremlin should not be blamed for the military coup in Poland in 1981? Should we try to tell our people that we do not believe that Moscow had anything to do with it?

Policy-making is no child's play. It shapes the destiny of nations and at this stage we may say that it affects the destiny of our planet. To assure peaceful life for the world — that calls for formidable policy-making skills, for seeing the world without illusions, for speaking the truth about the world and for courage to make bold decisions.

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*Jiří Lederer, a Czech journalist, civil rights activist and former political prisoner, now in exile, has closely studied the Polish situation since the 1940s. His book "My Poland Lives" was published recently. Lederer is a frequent contributor to RCDA.*

Moreover, it requires a clear perception of the essence and the role of the USSR in today's world. The prime strategy of the Soviets is to break down or at least, to weaken the alliance of West Europe with the USA. For that purpose they aimed a battery of SS 20 rockets toward the West in order to intimidate its citizens. For that purpose Moscow insisted on Brezhnev's visit in Bonn at a time when the military coup in Poland had already been prepared. For that purpose Chancellor Schmidt received a friendly welcome in the GDR. For that purpose writers from both German states held their meeting in West Berlin. Without Moscow's benediction that could never have happened.

As a young man I began my involvement in politics as a member of the Social Democratic Party and ever since I have followed with interest the actions of the socialist and social-democratic parties which are in power in many countries and which therefore bear considerable responsibility for the future. Too often I feel at a loss to understand the utterances of certain socialist leaders who are spreading illusions about the Soviet state and its leadership, presenting Soviet leaders as though they were trembling anxiously about peace on earth. Anyone can see that precisely the rulers in the Kremlin sent their troops to Afghanistan to kill — they dispatched them without any trepidation or mercy. I feel profoundly disappointed by socialist leaders who are equating the USA with the USSR. Their statements prove that they do not understand basic social and political problems.

The peace policy cannot be equated with the so called détente which has been used to camouflage Soviet oppression. Détente failed because the agreements between the East and the West had not ensured greater freedom for the citizens of totalitarian states. Whether we like it or not, the principles of détente did not succeed.

East Europe, a zone of tension and unrest, endangers peace in the world. The fulcrum of the danger is Moscow which, as a result of Yalta, considers itself the master of East Europe. Having enslaved its citizens and robbed many nations of their independence, the USSR represents the greatest menace for the world today.

This is not a clarion call to organize a holy war against the USSR but an appeal to be fully aware of that danger and to recognize its specifics. On the basis of our historical experience we must search for means to reduce that danger to an absolute minimum.

Some statesmen say that nothing more can be done because of Yalta which has become an indelible factor in shaping Europe's destiny. However, Helsinki is also integral factor of Europe today. The Helsinki Final Act set the outlines for relations among states as well as new opportunities for all European nations. The Final Act is

an indivisible unit whose success depends entirely on the implementation of its letter. Economic and any other cooperation among states can serve the spirit of Helsinki only if it goes hand in hand with the fulfillment of the articles on observation of human rights as specified in the Final Act, otherwise Helsinki would be a fraud committed against every nation in Europe and against peace.

We know that the Soviet power cannot be impressed by beautiful pronouncements but by considerations of its own interests. Moscow fully realized that its military intervention would endanger its main strategic objective, which is to break down the alliance of West Europe with the USA. For that reason already in the spring of 1981 the Kremlin considered another Polish solution: military dictatorship, which needed a long period of incubation. The first step was to find appropriate traitors among the Poles.

Thus, the Communist coup against the Polish people who are represented by the Solidarity trade unions came

into being. The Polish Communist Party was in a state of disintegration and the army under the leadership of the Communist Party chairman had to carry out the *putsch*. Those who regard the perpetrator of the coup as a Polish patriot fail to comprehend any of the current realities of Poland and of East Europe in general.

What happened in Poland is not a lesser evil but the greatest evil possible because there are some Poles willing to strangle their own nation in defense of Moscow's imperialism.

From these difficult times the Poles will always remember the name of one man, Ronald Reagan, as the only statesman willing to do something more than a verbal protest. He took steps to protect the innermost interests of the Polish people. We hope that he will remain in the future as steadfast as he appears at present.

*Translated from the Czech by Olga S. Hrubý*

From: *Zycie i Mysl* [Life and Thought], monthly, No. 3, Warsaw, March 1981.

## POLAND

# A MEETING BETWEEN THE PRIMATE AND REPRESENTATIVES OF INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONS "SOLIDARITY,,

**T**HE Press Bureau of the Polish Episcopate announced that, on February 6, 1981, the Primate of Poland, Stefan Wyszynski, received, in the private residence of the Archbishops of Warsaw, Lech Walesa, head of the National Committee for Reconciliation of the NSZZ Solidarnosc [Solidarity], and Patrycjusz Kosmowski, head of the NSZZ Solidarnosc for the Podbeskidzie region, together with other activists of that region.

The delegation thanked the Primate for help given by the Episcopate, especially by the Episcopate's Secretary, Bishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, in reaching the agreement of February 6, 1981, in Bielsko-Biala, between the Governmental Commission and the Inter-factory Strike Committee of the NSZZ Solidarnosc for the Podbeskidzie region. The delegation reiterated its dedication to the Church.

In a short address to the delegation the Primate of Poland expressed his satisfaction with the relaxation of the tensions in the Podbeskidzie region and with the accords reached. It will contribute to the improvement of the situation in the entire country. Then the Primate appealed to the representatives of NSZZ Solidarnosc to observe in their actions the principles of common sense

and justice. He also emphasized that the main objective of the trade unions is to protect interests of the working class, to ensure proper working conditions and to secure adequate living standards for the workers. The Primate of Poland reiterated his recommendation that the NSZZ Solidarnosc form structures which would help the trade unions in properly fulfilling their task. It is necessary that the union movement remain authentically Polish and that its actions be guided by the interests of the Polish state. The tensions all over the country should be resolved expeditiously.

Finally, the Primate of Poland stressed once more the need to educate union cadres to work for the good of the workers and the nation.

The meeting was attended by the Secretary of the Episcopate, Bishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, his Deputy and the Head of the Episcopate Press Bureau, F. Alojzy Orszulik.

The Primate of Poland with Bishop Dabrowski gave blessings to all those present at the meeting.

*Translated from the Polish by Agnieszka Preibisz*

**POLAND****POLISH EPISCOPATE VALUES HIGHLY THE FOUNDING OF FREE TRADE UNIONS "SOLIDARITY,"****RCDA Comment**

**T**HE following communiqué of the Supreme Council of the Polish Episcopate which met in Warsaw on August 13, 1981, presided by the Polish Primate, Archbishop Józef Glemp, illustrates very succinctly the scope of the Catholic Church's involvement in Polish national life and, in particular, in the present crisis. The leaders of the Catholic Church refer to the "memorable" days of August 1980 when the Polish workers "launched the protest against the then political and state leadership and demanded their legitimate rights, to which they and our society were entitled." The Church leaders declared that the agreements between the workers and the state (Solidarity) signed on August 31, 1980 "marked the beginning of the process of renewal in all areas of life in our country." They believe that the emergence of new, independent self-governing trade unions of both blue- and white-collar workers as well as of private farmers and craftsmen represent a great asset for the Polish nation.

Both the government and the governed "must observe law and order, work honestly, fulfill the concluded agreements, and respect human rights."

The Catholic leadership emphasizes that the Church had been warning for years against manipulation of mass media and demands that access to the radio and television be granted to the new trade unions, the Church and the centers of public opinion in Poland.

They call upon all citizens to act prudently and to abstain from inciting emotions, and underline that national renewal must start with a change of attitudes in personal life and towards one's fellow men.

There is no doubt that the important role which the Catholic Church plays, and will continue to play, in the present Polish crisis will exercise a considerable impact upon General Jaruzelski and his masters in Moscow as well as upon other Communist-dominated countries.

From: *ChSS Information Bulletin* (Christian Social Association). No. 9, Warsaw, September 1981.

**COMMUNIQUE OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE POLISH EPISCOPATE**

**I**N CONNECTION with the situation in our country, which has aroused considerable justified anxiety about our future, the Supreme Council of the Polish Episcopate met in Warsaw on August 13, 1981. The meeting was chaired by the Polish Primate, Archbishop Józef Glemp.

The situation in our country forced the Supreme Council to take a stand on certain issues in our public life.

1. A year has elapsed since the memorable August days, when the workers on the Coast and then the working people of other regions of our country launched the protest against the then political and state leadership and demanded their legitimate rights, to which they and our whole society were entitled. Those were the days of tension and fear, but also of prayer and great hopes. The question was whether Poles would be able to solve their problems themselves, without foreign intervention, and whether those who were wielding authority would meet society's expectations. The day of August 31, 1980, constitutes a great event in relations between the authorities and the society. The social agreements signed in Gdansk,

Szczecin and Jastrzebie marked the beginning of the process of renewal in all areas of life in our country.

2. No renewal is without difficulties: the old is struggling with the new. That is why tensions occurred due to a lack of confidence between the authorities and social groups organized in trade unions. Mechanisms of evil, lawless incompetence in ruling the country and leading it to economic catastrophe were disclosed.

This past year was a lesson for our society, which felt free and at the same time responsible for the proper direction of our country's development. This past year was also a lesson for the authorities. They had to realize that it was no longer possible for a narrow social group to rule the country. In spite of difficulties and conflicts this past year was very important for Poland and it will undoubtedly pass down in history as a watershed in reformation of the Republic. It witnessed the emergence of new independent self-governing trade unions of both blue- and white-collar workers, as well as of private farmers and craftsmen.

This is a great asset for the Nation. We believe that

the force of the new trade unions will be used both to defend workers' rights as well as to lead our country out of the crisis. The society sets great hopes on the new trade union movement. These hopes cannot be disappointed.

3. We all realize how difficult it is to overcome a crisis, especially an economic crisis, which is painfully experienced by our families, individuals and the entire society. How many sacrifices and self-denials are still necessary? We believe that our society is ready to make these sacrifices, providing it is certain that its efforts are not wasted; if the desired structures of workers' responsibility and of labor management are created, if all social forces take part in the preparation and implementation of economic reform and if the program is acceptable for the entire nation. Our working people voice a legitimate request to be able to control what has been worked out in common effort, and the way the fruits of joint efforts are distributed.

The existing crisis, both economic and moral, cannot be overcome except by the common effort of our entire nation.

Co-responsibility for the fate of our country requires that all — both the government and the governed — observe law and order, work honestly, fulfill the concluded agreements, and respect human rights.

Attempts at exploiting the existing situation and increasing tensions to organize fractions and political struggle should be firmly opposed, regardless of where they occur.

4. In this difficult situation the society is particularly sensitive to information conveyed by mass media. The Church has for years warned against manipulating mass media. They constitute the property of the whole nation. They must serve all in truth. Those who use them should refrain from stirring up the feelings and from irritating propaganda.

A matter of grave importance involves granting access to the radio and television to the new trade unions, the Church and all centers of public opinion in Poland.

5. We have lived through many difficult days in the

past period. We have always managed to overcome difficulties by reaching agreement on the basis of honest talks between the parties concerned. This makes it possible to be hopeful that the present tension will be resolved and the efforts of the authorities, the trade unions and our whole society will be combined in the production of goods so necessary for leading our country out of the crisis.

Therefore, we call upon everybody to act prudently, to abstain from inciting emotions and to do what is most important for the whole nation and the state.

So far we have given the world an evidence of considerable maturity and culture in putting the matters in our own home into order.

6. In view of the growing apprehension and anxiety about the fate of our homeland, mindful of numerous encouragement by the Holy Father and the late Great Polish Primate, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, let us follow the roads of renewal they had paved. Every renewal must start with a change of attitudes in personal life and towards fellow man.

Let no one of us clench his fist. On the contrary, let everybody abandon hatred and the feeling of revenge as well as the will to have an upper hand by all means. We are a nation which in the face of historic events was united in the defense of the most sacred causes.

In our homeland, the month of August brings the feasts of St. Mary, so dear to our hearts.

In May the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Madonna of Czestochowa unite us in a common ardent prayer at Jasna Góra, in parish churches and in new centers of ministry.

Thus, may the August celebrations not only manifest but ardently call to God through Mary for peace and order in the hearts and in the public life of our baptized nation.

Let us call with pure hearts that she defend the Polish nation. Let us trust Her that She will lead us on straight roads of justice and love in our public life.

Warsaw, August 13, 1981

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## POLAND

# A COMMUNIST REFORMIST FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE

RCDA Comment

RICHARD T. DAVIES

**B**EFORE the imposition of martial law last December, the Warsaw café wits used to say that the euphemism employed as the name of the Polish Communist Party, "United Polish Workers' Party," was 25% correct. The Party, they said, was faction-ridden, not united; the vehicle for Soviet, not Polish, interests, and contained few, if any, workers. These days, however, not even the word "Party" appears to be fully accurate. By definition, Marxist-Leninist parties are supposed to play the "leading role" in governing "socialist" states of the Muscovite persuasion. But in Poland today the "leading role" is played by the Military Council of National Salvation, the junta cobbled together by General Jaruzelski to impose martial law on December 13, 1981.

Despite the interest aroused among students of Communism by the employment of a military council to run a "socialist" state, the same small clique of apparatchiki sits today atop the Polish volcano as perched there, somewhat more precariously, before December 13. Sooner or later, more "normal" forms of Marxist-Leninist political life will return.

The article below by Jerzy J. Wiatr should be read in the light of that prospect.

Dr. Wiatr is Director of the Institute of the Foundations of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party. During the 16 months of the "Polish August," he was active in propounding reformist solutions for the crisis which began in the Lenin

Shipyards in Gdansk. For example, early in December, 1981, speaking in Krakow, Dr. Wiatr proposed that the Party renounce its monopoly of power, reach agreement with "Solidarity," and devise new ways of providing for popular representation in government and the economy. Characteristically, the text of Dr. Wiatr's speech was published in *Gazeta Krakowska*, the newspaper of the provincial Party committee, just three days before the proclamation of martial law. It is worth noting that, in his speech, Wiatr said the only practical alternative to renunciation by the Party of its monopoly of political power was military government, which, he said, would last "not one year or two, but several years at least, or even decades."

Having stuck his neck out during the 16 months of Poland's peaceful revolution, Dr. Wiatr is now trying to re-establish his credentials as a reliable Party theoretician.

The article below was written in the spring of 1981, before the holding of the IX [Extraordinary] Congress of the Polish Communist Party in July. Of particular interest is Dr. Wiatr's treatment of the desirability of "cooperation between state and [Catholic] Church authorities concerning all questions of importance to Poland," a view widely held among reformists in the Party leadership as well as by such leading fellow-travellers as the non-Party sociologist, Dr. Jan Szczepanski. Regrettably, the insecure Party leadership has chosen another road that of declaring war on the Polish people.

From: *Review of International Affairs*, Belgrade, Yugoslavia, April 5, 1981 [Pp. 20-21]

## CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF POLISH CRISIS

(Not edited by RCDA)

JERZY WIATR

**T**HOUGH the Polish crisis still continues, one may nonetheless draw some of the main theoretical conclusions to which it has given rise.

First — the Polish crisis has shown that in the development of a socialist society it is essential for the

political and legal superstructure to adjust to the distinctions of the changing socio-economic structure. The absence of such adjustment and petrified political structures inevitably lead to conflicts which tend to become increasingly acute. This means that a road of evolution in the direction of a reform, based on socialism, is the best way to stabilize the system, and certainly not a conservative adherence to the institutionalized forms of the past.

Second — the crisis has shown that there are societal conflicts in socialism and that their roots are to be found in the internal process of change, so that they must be

Richard T. Davies, former U.S. Ambassador to Poland (1973-1978), is member of the Board of Directors of the Research Center for Religion and Human Rights in Closed Societies, Ltd.

settled in a way which I called at the time the "strategy of optimal compromise". Never before has such a formidable and profound crisis in a socialist country been resolved with so much compromise, in the spirit of agreement, without the use of force.

*Third* — this crisis has confirmed that in Poland's political and social life one must take into account the broadbased representation and articulation of the interests of the working class and the working people in general. Long ago in Poland we started writing about the need for a broadbased and authentic representation of interests. So far it has been too confined, though certain conditions were created in the past for the expression of stands and the finding of certain solutions. However the boundaries of political and social pluralism have so far proved to be far too narrow and therefore had to be expanded naturally. It would have been better had this expansion taken place without clashes and crises, as the result of a steady advance in socialist democracy.

*Fourth* — the Polish crisis has pointed up the great role which religion and the Church play in the life of this country. During the strikes, the religious symbolism was obvious. It is clear that the new trade union movement, though not officially a movement with set views on the world, gladly seeks religious substance and symbols. The authority of the Church, its ability to influence the Polish people came to full expression. Ever since he visited Poland in June 1980, Pope John Paul II became a charismatic figure. All this may lead one to conclude that, at least under Polish conditions, the hypothesis does not apply that the religious attitude wanes parallel with industrial progress and other socialist changes. The workers employed in modern industrial plants, striking under the aegis of the cross, are empirical proof that this hypothesis has not been confirmed in Poland. One might well ask why this is so? As I see it, the answer should be sought in two directions. On the one hand Catholicism and the Church have an unusually important role in Poland's national life, among other things also because the Church was the Polish institution of a nationwide character at the time when Poland was not independent, and also because Poland is the furthest Eastern outpost of the Catholic Church in Europe. "Polonia semper fidelis", the watchword of the Catholic Church in Poland, has a history of many centuries. The changes of the postwar years could not efface this history. On the other hand one should note that in the course of the Polish crisis a rule was confirmed even by Marx. Marx linked up the strengthening of religious feeling with the process of alienation. The alienation of the Polish worker, their feeling of importance in the face of the state's bureaucratic machine not subject to any kind of control, is in my opinion an important circumstance in strengthening the religious factor. In this light one can paradoxically say that the workers kneeling before the altar during the strike were confirming the theoretical portion of Marxian interpretation of religion, though not confirming the Marxist forecast concerning the future of religion under conditions of socialism. These problems will be of formidable importance for the further political development of the Peoples Republic of Poland. Since the year 1956 relations between the socialist state and the Catholic Church in Poland developed either satisfactorily or favourably, albeit with some phases of tension. The 1980

crisis definitely indicates the need to intensify partnership relations between the state and the Church in the spirit of joint action for the well-being of Poland, as so powerfully manifested last year. What is needed is greater activities of the Catholics in state and party life, and in managing the economy, a greater share of the Church and Catholic groups in influencing public opinion, above all so that cooperation between state and Church authorities concerning all questions of importance to Poland, would be a daily rule, and not an emergency form of reaction to a deep crisis.

*Fifth* — the crisis has clearly shown that under conditions of a socialist state, it is the conditions in the working class party which are decisive for conditions throughout the Polish system. The Party's internal ideological life, democratic activities, collective management at all levels, free discussions, but also ideological unity and discipline in relationship to the jointly accepted tenets — all these are conditions without whose realization the Party's leading role in the country might or even would necessarily become transformed into the power of a professional party apparatus. It is already evident today that the changes taking place in the Polish United Workers Party and which will find expression in the decisions of the IX Congress, represent an unusually important aspect of the process of socialist reconstruction.

*Sixth* — the experiences of the Polish crisis in 1980 and of the entire development of socialist Poland definitely confirm the correctness of Lenin's tenet that national distinctions must be given due account in laying down the strategy of socialist construction. Poland should certainly take advantage of the experiences of all the other socialist states, it should learn from them, and introduce what has proved to be good in other countries. But at the same time one should always take into consideration the national context, i.e. analyze the measure to which a given solution suits specific Polish conditions. The mechanical transfer of other peoples' experiences and solutions may well result in the emergence of institutionalized forms unadapted to the conditions prevailing in the country, to the latter's traditions and culture, and often this then becomes the cause of tension and crises. International solidarity among socialist states, political unity among the members of the Warsaw Pact, these are the lasting, unassailable principles of Polish policy. However, these principles do not mean identical political or economic solutions to be applied in individual countries. On the contrary, experience has taught us that the more a road in building socialism is adjusted to the specific traits in national development, the better the socialist integration of the people will progress and the stronger its links will be with the entire socialist community.

*Seventh* — one clear conclusion emerges for political science and other social sciences, drawn from the 1980 crisis. They must be the real source of knowledge on the socio-political life of the country, they must be the foundations in formulating realistic estimates and bold propositions for a reform. In this spirit the Polish political circles have long formulated their tasks. Under the conditions created by the 1980 crisis and its resolution, the engagement of political science in creating the scientific foundations for socialist reform will be and must be the increasingly pronounced distinction of Polish politology.

## USSR and POLAND

# SOVIET PROPAGANDA DENIGRATES POLAND'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

### RCDA Comment

**T**HE Soviet regime is deeply worried about the increasing struggle of the Polish people for freedom and independence. Moscow is concerned about the impact of this unique phenomenon in the history of Communism upon captive nations, including various nationalities of the USSR who want to be free. The spiritual power of the Catholic Church which is one of the leading forces in the struggle for Poland's survival and freedom and the political power of the free trade union movement, Solidarity, with more than 10 million members as well as Polish peasants and intellectuals present a far more serious challenge to Soviet colonialism and to Communist dictatorships than the Hungarian uprising in 1956 and the Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

It is, therefore, no wonder that the Soviet propaganda is trying very hard to discredit the Polish struggle for freedom and to present it solely as a movement manipulat-

ed by CIA and other Western intelligence services, foreign broadcasting stations as well as by Polish exiles in London, Paris, New York and other places. "The U.S. subversive centre Freedom House, notorious for its activity against the socialist countries and progressive regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America" and one of its active members Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's adviser on national security affairs, are singled out in this context.

The martial law declared in Warsaw on December 13, 1981, by the new dictator, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, a Moscow puppet, and dissolution of Solidarity represent a serious blow to the Polish liberation movement. However, considering the courage and resilience of the Polish nation and its Catholic Church in their perennial struggle for survival, it is to be expected that their resistance will not be stopped by terror and threats.

From: *New Times*, 38, Moscow, September 1981 [Pp. 22-23]

## WHO BENEFITS BY THE CRISIS IN POLAND

VALERY KUZAVKOV

[Not edited by RCDA]

**W**HITHER Poland?\* is the title of a booklet published recently in Luxemburg. Based on materials carried by Western newspapers and periodicals, it conclusively shows that the present developments in Poland have been provoked by anti-socialist forces and imperialist special services. Under cover of demagogic disquisitions about "social renewal," the enemies of socialism in Poland are brazenly seeking to paralyze the functioning of state and party bodies, to undermine the authority of the government chosen by the people. Particular zeal in this is displayed by the so-called Workers' Defence Committee (KSS-KOR) and the Confederation for an Independent Poland. The leaders of these organizations, men like Kuron, Michnik, Moczulski and others, have made it plain, both indirectly and directly, that their aim is to replace the socialist system with a system of bourgeois socio-economic relations.

The booklet underscores the fact that forces inimical to the people appeared on the Polish political scene long

before August 1980. They particularly stepped up their activity in the late seventies, seizing every opportunity to stir up anti-state actions and disorders. They organized anti-socialist meetings, marches and rallies on diverse pretexts, in particular ostensibly to celebrate historical and religious anniversaries. Early in 1978 self-styled "free trade union committees" were set up in Katowice and Gdansk, and these espoused the concepts advanced by KSS-KOR. It was their activity that led to the emergence of the Solidarity trade union association in the autumn of 1980.

The booklet cites a number of revealing statements by the present leaders of the counter-revolutionary organizations. Kuron, for instance, told a *Spiegel* correspondent in September last year: "The strike at the shipyards was thoroughly prepared by KOR. . . Stocks of food, medications, and paper were laid in and contact established with the enterprises all along the coast. In Gdansk KOR people found a worker who became something of a symbol of the strike. Lech Walesa was the lieutenant in the trenches, but the general staff was KOR, which gave advice to the strike committee in each concrete situation,

\*Où va la Pologne? Coopérative Ouvrière de Presse et d'Éditions, Luxemburg, 1981.



and drew up the texts of documents for negotiations with the government.”

Another KSS-KOR leader, Miroslaw Chojecki, said that it was thanks to KOR that the workers were persuaded to join the “independent” trade unions and to take strike action. “In every strike centre,” he said, “there were groups of advisers: economists, sociologists, lawyers, who helped to formulate the various demands and to conduct talks with the authorities.”

Leszek Moczulski, another ideologue of the counter-revolutionary forces, said in September 1980 that the Confederation for Independent Poland took an active part in the organization of the strikes in Gdansk, Szczecin and Silesia. He personally advised Walesa. Members of the Confederation had been in the “front line of the strikes.”

The anti-socialist groups and elements in Poland are in effect an instrument used by the CIA and other Western intelligence services to create a conflict situation in the country.

To spread anti-socialist views so-called “flying universities” were organized. The lecturers, who included not only home-grown dissidents, but also Western “scholars” such as the notorious anti-communist Oxford University Professor Charles Taylor, grossly distorted the theoretical principles of scientific communism and of proletarian internationalism.

Another Oxford University professor, one Leszek Kolakowski, figures among the ideologues of KSS-KOR. His anti-socialist activity against Poland, which he left in 1968, has long been well known. Kolakowski invested a great deal of effort into whipping up social tension in the Polish People's Republic, especially in 1956 and 1968. Ever since he left for the West he has supported the actions of the counter-revolutionary elements in Poland, rendering them ideological, political and material assistance.

Among other things, Kolakowski had a hand in the drawing up of the programme statement of the anti-socialist forces in Poland published in the émigré newspaper *Dziennik Polski* put out in London. This document, put together by the most diehard Polish counter-revolutionaries associated with Western secret services and in particular with the CIA, denigrates all that the Polish People's Republic has accomplished. The anti-socialist forces have made it their programme and guide to action in their struggle against people's government in Poland.

The booklet contains documentary evidence that from its very inception the KSS-KOR has been directed by Western subversion centres. The Polish counter-revolutionaries have been backed by Western mass media.

The Paris monthly *Kultura*, published by Polish émigrés in France, not only became a mouth-piece of the counter-revolutionary forces in Poland, but also organized the collection of funds to finance them. It was in Polish émigré quarters close to *Kultura* that the “theory of evolutionism” was evolved by means of which the counter-revolutionary forces hope to transform the socialist system in Poland. Its substance boils down to the capture of position after position from socialism.

Recommendations for KSS-KOR are carried also by the London journal *Aneks*, which is closely connected with the U.S. subversion centre Freedom House, notorious for its activity against the socialist countries and progres-

sive regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America. This centre has arrogated to itself the right to “supervise” the observance of human rights in other countries. Incidentally, one of its active members is Zbigniew Brzezinski, former U.S. presidential national security aide.

Another important “ideological source” of KSS-KOR is the North American Centre for Polish Affairs operating in the United States. Set up in May 1976 on the initiative of the CIA, it brings together all Polish émigré “theorists” in the U.S. and Canada. They include Professor Jerzy Lerski, one of the authors of the above-mentioned London “programme.” A group of Polish Zionists is also using it as a base. All the activities of the Centre are directed by American political operators, including Brzezinski and the “Polish lobby” in Congress.

KSS-KOR activity is directed also by the so-called Polish “government in exile” set up in London and headed by Edward Raczynski, who was at one time the ambassador of bourgeois Poland to Britain. He and his team co-ordinate the activities of the numerous enemies of People's Poland in Britain. These include the Polish Research Centre, the Polish Ex-Combatants' Association, the Polish Jewish Refugee Fund, the Polish National Fund, the Polish Educational Society, the Polish Cultural Foundation, the Polish Youth Centre, the Information Centre for Polish Affairs, and so on. They all are united by hatred for socialist Poland.

There are a good many subversive anti-Polish centres in other countries as well. It is they that have given KSS-KOR access to the Western news agencies, radio, television, and press. Statements by Kuron, Michnik and others are printed in the French *Le Monde* and the West German *Der Spiegel* and *Stern*, and circulated by France-Presse and UPI. Nor should it be forgotten that many Polish renegade émigrés who are actively helping KSS-KOR are working for Radio Free Europe, which is a CIA subsidiary.

Revanchist quarters in West Germany, the booklet shows, have also actively helped to whip up anti-socialist sentiment in Poland. When the strikes began in that country, the Silesian German Fraternity, the West Prussian Fraternity, the Danzig Union, and similar revanchist organizations rushed to the aid of the counter-revolution.

Drawing on the support of all these “centres” and “associations,” the KSS-KOR leaders embarked in mid-1980 on an open struggle against governmental authority in Poland and the Polish United Workers' Party. “What the people must do now is organize against the leadership,” Kuron said in an interview to the Swedish television on September 24 last year. And in a KSS-KOR bulletin he wrote: “We shall be obliged to coexist for a time, perhaps for a long time, with the apparatus of the party and the state.” In other words, the present state and party apparatus must, in the opinion of KSS-KOR, sooner or later be destroyed and abolished.

The instrument KSS-KOR chose for this is the trade union organization Solidarity, which, acting on KSS-KOR orders, has plunged Poland into deep crisis and forced confrontation upon the Polish United Workers' Party and government leadership.

The law enforcement agencies — the militia, courts, and the security service — have come under particularly heavy fire from the leaders of KSS-KOR and Solidarity.

In a number of localities, such as Bydgoszcz, Radom and Katowice, the functioning of these agencies has been made extremely difficult. Plainly, the object is to disarm the socialist system in Poland and make it defenceless.

The authors of the booklet show how KSS-KOR activists have seized the leading position in the local organizations of Solidarity and taken over its direct leadership. The new "leaders" are threatening those who are not prepared to follow their lead with dismissal from work and physical violence.

According to their calculations, the economic collapse towards which they are impelling Poland should be followed by a political collapse, the downfall of the people's

power. Recent events leave no doubt that the counter-revolutionary forces in Poland are continuing to intensify their anti-socialist activity. Although the present booklet was written in the beginning of the year and deals mostly with the events of the summer and autumn of last year, its conclusions and the warning it contains remain timely to this day.

The congress of Solidarity held some days ago in Gdansk — an assembly in effect of full-time functionaries of that organization and representatives of the counter-revolutionary, anti-socialist groups KSS-KOR and the so-called Confederation for Independent Poland — demonstrated that the enemies of People's Poland do not intend to lay down arms.

From: *New Times*, No. 38, Moscow, September 1981  
[p. 23]

## LETTER FROM WORKERS OF MOSCOW AUTO PLANT TO POLISH WORKERS

**D**EAR COMRADES,

Like all Soviet people, we closely follow the events in fraternal Poland. If the forces fomenting anarchy and chaos in your country at first disguised it with talk about the need to "improve" and "renovate" socialism, we now see that they have doffed this camouflage and openly urge a counter-revolution. All their actions pursue one aim — to undermine the foundation of socialism in the Polish People's Republic.

We are uneasy about Poland's destiny and our uneasiness has been made all the greater by the Solidarity congress. It is bitter to see that this congress is denigrating the results of the heroic struggle of the Polish working class which has rebuilt the country from ruins and ashes and brought it to a new, free life with the assistance of fraternal nations. Only the enemies of the working class can stoop so low as to slander the allies and friends of People's Poland. The decisions of the Gdansk congress do not contain the slightest hint of a desire to build socialism in Poland. On the contrary, they are full of malignant joy at the fact that in the past year the crisis has assumed nationwide proportions and of threats that it will soon be even worse. That is where the gentlemen bossing Solidarity are leading.

We were especially revolted by the so-called "appeal to the peoples of Eastern Europe" adopted at the congress. We familiarized ourselves with it and see that there is absolutely nothing but spite against socialism in it. And it is from such position that attempts are being made to teach us Soviet workers how to live. The authors of the appeal urge us to disavow ourselves, the results of our labour and our struggle, to betray the millions who fell in battle against imperialism, to betray our communist future.

Such provocations have always evoked wrath and protest among Soviet people. No other feelings can be expected by those who raise their hand at the country and the heroic people to whom Poland and the leaders of Solidarity themselves, if of course they are not aliens on Polish soil, owe their existence.

It is amazing that the Polish worker, our class brother, allows the enemies of socialism, his class enemies, to use words like "trade union," "workers" and "people's interests" as cover. How come shameless adventurers and provocateurs have wormed their way into the working class and act in the name of the workers? For these people are pushing Poland on to the road to capitalism and want to impose the yoke of exploitation upon the worker.

And here is one more thing we must say. All that has been done in the Soviet Union, in People's Poland and in other fraternal countries is the result of our peoples' intensive creative labour. Labour and only labour has always been and will be the basis of our successes, the foundation of our security. The demagogues who hamper people from working and sow discord and distrust in people's government are in the first place robbing ordinary people — workers, peasants, honest intellectuals. Ask yourselves: have you become richer, has your food become more plentiful, has your house become warmer in the past year as a result of the concern allegedly shown by Solidarity?

We workers of the Likhachov Plant would like to believe that the Polish working people will have the strength, courage and determination to defend the gains of socialism and check the class enemy. In this you can always rely on the solidarity and support of the Soviet people.

*Adopted by the 70,000 workers of the Likhachov Auto Plant in Moscow at meetings in workshops and departments on September 11, 1981.*

# in defense of human rights

## USSR and USA

### SOVIET VIOLATION OF FREEDOM OF RELIGION AND EMIGRATION:

## TESTIMONY IN SUPPORT OF BILL S. 312 BEFORE THE U.S. SENATE JUDICIARY SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE POLICY

BLAHOVLAV HRUBY AND OLGA S. HRUBY

**M**R. Chairman, distinguished members of the U.S. Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Refugee Policy, ladies and gentlemen:

We consider it a great honor and privilege to testify in support of bill S. 312 for the relief of members of the Chmykhalov and Vashchenko families, courageous Pentecostals from Siberia, who have been living for more than three years in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

We are proud that the idea for this bill originated in our organization. As a matter of fact, we have been involved in the case of these believers long before their arrival in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow: since the early 1960's we publicized their persistent efforts to obtain permission for emigration from the USSR because of demonstrable religious persecution.

Documentation concerning the Christian emigration movement in the USSR was just one part of our work — compilation of records, processing, translating and publishing authentic documents — from official sources and from underground or *samizdat* — concerning the situation of human rights and religious freedom in the Communist countries. We do not focus on Evangelical Christians alone; we are equally concerned about the Jews, Catholics, Russian Orthodox, Moslems, Buddhists and other believers as well as nonbelievers persecuted for their convictions. Our interest in human rights is particularly keen because of our personal experience with Nazism, fascism and Communism. I myself have been three times a refugee and for that reason, I am grateful to God for having found freedom and home for myself and my family in this country.

Since 1962 I and my wife championed human rights and religious freedom in our publication *RCDA—Religion in Communist Dominated Areas*, published now under the auspices of the Research Center for Religion and Human Rights in Closed Societies, Ltd. Thus, we promoted the case of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Andrei Sakharov, Rev. Georgi Vins, Anatoly Shcharansky, Ida Nudel, Father Gleb Yakunin, Alexander Ginzburg — to

name just few of the best known dissidents in the USSR. However, we are working just as assiduously for religious and political dissidents in other totalitarian countries, particularly for individuals who are less known, less glamorous and less likely to attract international attention.

The objectives of our efforts are not always correctly understood. Many people believe that quiet diplomacy is far more efficient than publicity of violations of human rights; of course, those people have never been inmates of prisons, psychiatric hospitals and labor camps in Communist countries. The victims of persecution are less than enthusiastic about quiet diplomacy; they regard publicity in the West as their only hope for survival. Here I should like to point out the testimonies of Vladimir Bukovsky, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and others. We should remember the millions of Jews herded into gas chambers by the Nazis during World War II. They went silently and perished. The survivors, however, learned not to accept martyrdom without protest. Thus, shortly after Stalin's death the Jewish emigration movement was launched in Leningrad in 1958 and challenged Soviet anti-Semitism. The Christian emigration movement was organized along the same lines in the early 1960's. The two efforts are parallel, not contradictory, and many of their participants cooperate. Their results, however, are most dissimilar.

Emigration of Soviet Jews is progressing steadily, despite many obstructions, problems, suffering and sacrifices, while Christian emigration from the USSR is practically nonexistent. An expert of the Department of State estimates that there are some 50,000 Soviet Evangelicals who have applied for exit from the USSR. To the best of our knowledge, less than ten (10) families emigrated since 1962. Even if ten times or hundred times as many were permitted to leave the USSR during those years, those numbers would still be insignificant.

One of those families, the Gorelkins, were permitted to emigrate to Canada about 2 years ago. Please note that Vasily Ivanovich Gorelkin was born in Harbin, China, and naturalized in Canada. In 1955 he came to

visit his family in the USSR with the intention to spend there one month, but was detained against his will for 24 years. During that time he married and raised ten children. Prior to Gorelkins' departure, one of their sons, Simon, married Ludmila Malamura who has been trying to join her husband in Canada since 1979. Her whole family in Tapa, Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, applied for exit visas and have been refused emigration on a number of occasions, despite the fact that at least in Ludmila's case it is a question of family reunification.

The Soviet Office of Visa and Emigration (OVIR) frequently insists that only those individuals who have blood relatives in the West apply for exit visas. This regulation is not always considered; we have numerous examples among Jewish refuseniks (including Ida Nudel, the piano virtuoso Vladimir Feltsman and others) as well as among Soviet Christians. For instance, the wife of Peter Vashchenko's cousin, Gregory, has a sister and several other relatives residing in West Germany. The Gregory Vashchenkos have been petitioning for emigration for the past nine years. The OVIR fails to consider the fact that Olga Ludvigovna Vashchenko is ethnic German and thus, eligible for emigration. The overriding factor in their case is the fact that the Vashchenkos are Evangelical activists.

There are cases where blood relations are not required for exit permit. Here we should like to mention the family of Mr. and Mrs. Stanislav Zherdev, sculptors and Pentecostal believers. Slava Zherdev, one of the leaders of the Pentecostal emigration movement, decided to protest against religious discrimination by refusing to vote and by announcing a hunger strike at the occasion of the Moscow Olympics in the summer of 1980. This action prompted the OVIR to issue the family permit to emigrate to Israel — although the Zherdevs have no kith nor kin outside the USSR. There was, however, Catch 22: the night before their scheduled departure Mrs. Zherdev's mother, a Communist fanatic, abducted the eldest of the Zherdev's seven children, 10-year old Sergey. The Soviet authorities, obviously aware of the plot, refused to locate the child.

The Zherdevs were faced with a dilemma: their passports listed seven children and without Sergey, the family would not be permitted to leave. On the other hand, if they stayed in the USSR, they would never get another chance to emigrate and in all probability, would never see Sergey again; moreover, they might be deprived of their parental rights to their other children. In their predicament they accepted the offer of a fellow Christian, Galina Ukhtomskaya, who let them take abroad her 10-year old son, Pavel, instead of Sergey. Thus, she jeopardized her future in order to enable Pavel to live in the free world. The switch went unnoticed at the airport and the Zherdevs safely reached Vienna and later Sweden.

Galina Ukhtomskaya held a press conference at which she explained the grounds for her decision and expressed her desire to emigrate with her older son, a victim of cerebral palsy. The attention and support of their friends in the West, including our Research Center, resulted in Mrs. Ukhtomskaya's emigration. She and her two sons are now living in Sweden. Unfortunately, young Sergey Zherdev is still in the USSR, subjected to inten-

sive Communist indoctrination, or "re-education in the spirit of Communism" which many children from Christian families have to endure.

Thus, three of the Vashchenko girls were separated from their family for six years. Two years ago, Galina Rytikova, a member of the Baptist church in Moscow, lost custody of her children because she had been teaching them religion. In the autumn of 1980 Maria Drumova, a Baptist from Izmail, province of Odessa, was deprived of her 12-year old daughter Maria and her 4-year old son Alexander for the same reason. There are many more similar tragedies on record.

Even when left with their parents, children of believers are victims of particularly harsh treatment in school. Communist indoctrination begins early, in the kindergarten, and compulsory study of atheism soon follows. It is the teacher's duty to "persuade" both students and their parents of the fallacy of religious faith. Teachers get demerits for each pupil in the class known to be a believer or the child of believers, and it is up to the teacher to convert the whole family to Marxism-Leninism. This means visits to the family on "person-to-person" basis, in other words, an additional burden for the teacher who then uses with impunity every means of less than gentle persuasion. Children are humiliated in the classroom. Teachers frequently entice their fellow students to gang up against the believers, torment them and beat them. Thus, young Ivan Migashkin of Tapa, Estonia, had lost hearing in one ear following assaults and stoning by his classmates. His older brothers were seriously injured by their fellow students and beaten severely by their school principal. The Migashkins have joined the Christian emigration movement.

The cruelty against children helps intimidate many parents. Another factor weighing heavily on their minds is the future of their children: all but elementary education is closed to them. Thus, they are doomed to menial labor, inferior housing, and poverty.

Even mutual assistance or Christian charity is prohibited by law. Soviet authorities classify it as "religious propaganda" which, unlike atheistic propaganda, is strictly forbidden. Thus, Lilia Belysheva, a 30-year old Christian from Nakhodka in the Far East, took a group of 10- and 12-year old girls from Pentecostal families to clean the house of an 82-year old Pentecostal lady. They were scrubbing the floors and washing the woodwork when a whole detachment of police arrived and arrested them all. After hours of interrogation in the police station the girls, frightened out of their wits, were released with warning, and Lilia was fined 50 rubles "for violation of the Regulation on Religious Rituals, namely, for help to an old woman," as specified on the official receipt.

There is no appeal. Laws and regulations are interpreted arbitrarily by the officials in charge.

Christians do not face adversity and persecution only at a young age. The old and disabled are not exempt from brutality perpetrated by the Soviets. Last year 59-year old Pentecostal bishop Nikolai Goretoi was tried for his religious activity and sentenced to 7 years at hard labor to be followed by 5 years in internal exile. Goretoi is blind.

Rev. Vladimir Shelkov, the leader of the Adventist church, had spent 25 of his 83 years in prisons and labor

camps. In his last years he lived in seclusion, writing purely religious sermons and prayers. In March 1979 he was brought to court on charges that while living in a basement room without electricity he had forged Soviet passports. There was no official explanation of this exceptional accomplishment — 83-year old man forges passports in an underground cubicle, in the candlelight! The absurdity of such charges aside, Rev. Shelkov was sentenced to 5 years at hard labor. He served only 5 months in the labor camp. He died in Yakutsk, Siberia, in January 1980 at the age of 84.

Among the inmates of Siberian labor camps are numerous practicing Christians, particularly conscientious objectors who refuse induction in the Red Army because they would not pledge allegiance to an atheistic government. The penalty is 3 years and up at hard labor. In the camps conscientious objectors are handpicked for special punishment. Thus, for instance, the Vashchenkos' son, Alexander (Sasha), was assigned to a group of homosexual prisoners, the most despised and ostracized inmates in the camp. The idea was to humiliate Sasha and expose him to physical brutality.

For the slightest infraction of the rules, more frequently imagined or invented than real, Christian inmates are subjected to additional penalties, especially incarceration in the dreaded "solitary," unheated cubicles without beds and bedding, with food rations consisting of less than one lb. of bread and one pint of tepid soup issued every other day. In Siberia prisoners usually succumb to TB and other chronic diseases after several weeks of this treatment. To name just one: young conscientious objector Vladimir Frolov, an Adventist, contracted TB in the solitary in the Siberian camp of Khairiuzovka.

Last year the same camp was decimated by anthrax-like epidemic allegedly brought in by a group of prisoners transferred from the Sverdlovsk area following the very much discussed incident possibly connected with preparations for biological warfare.

Service in the armed forces does not necessarily guarantee Christians and Jews humane treatment. Again, believers are subjected to various kinds of torment. In 1972 Ivan Moyseyev, a practicing Christian eager to share his spiritual belief with his fellow soldiers, died under mysterious circumstances, his body horribly mutilated.

Christians and Jews in the USSR cannot associate freely. If they meet privately for prayer or worship, the home of their host may be confiscated. In most cases the police just collect fines from the participants, usually 2 weeks' salary of the breadwinner, but pensioners may lose a considerable part of their annual income for nothing more than praying with their friends.

Yet the Soviet Constitution guarantees every citizen the right to believe or not to believe. It also guarantees the right of antireligious propaganda, but not of religious propaganda or teaching. The Constitution allegedly separates the church from the state and the state from the church, which should prevent any intervention on the part of the state and government in the matters of citizens' faith, family and worship. In reality it is not so. Soviet laws put the churches in complete servitude and control all their activities. They demand that every congregation be registered with the state and supervised by the authorities, i.e., the Communist party. Clergymen and all em-

ployees of the church, members of boards of deacons and trustees, elders and other church officials must be approved by the State Council on Religious Affairs which is staffed from top to bottom by Communist officials trained in atheistic propaganda. It censors in advance sermons of the clergy and approves every church program. Its decisions cannot be appealed.

The extent of the strangulation perpetrated by this official body comes to light in the secret report to the Presidium of the CPSU written by V. Furov, deputy chairman of the State Council on Religious Affairs. The report which has been smuggled out from the USSR last year is published in our journal *RCDA—Religion in Communist Dominated Areas*.

Many Christians reject this control of churches and insist on the letter of the law according to which the state is separated from the church and vice versa. These believers are defying the authorities and take enormous risks. Since a new atheistic campaign was announced in the USSR in 1979, numerous leaders and members of Evangelical churches were arrested and sentenced on charges of religious activities (often presented as "anti-state activities" or "subversion"). The campaign is broad-based and very costly and those involved in it must show some results. Thus, a new wave of persecution and harassment has been unleashed, yet the system cannot annihilate all religious congregations. It is evident that the hardship has made the believers much stronger and determined to demand their rights.

The campaign against religious believers, whether from the registered or unregistered churches, uses extremely dirty tricks; it recycled the worn-out anti-Semitic myth about ritual murder and adapted it to Evangelicals. The sad thing is that many Soviet citizens actually believe it.

For instance, the mother of Nadia Zherdev became hysterical when she learned that her daughter and son-in-law were converted. The old lady, a dedicated Communist, sincerely believed that as Christians, the Zherdevs would sacrifice their babies to God.

A young Pentecostalist from Moscow wrote in a letter smuggled from the USSR: "You may already know about our desire to emigrate from the USSR because of religious persecution. My husband was expelled from an art college for his belief, and barely avoided expulsion from the Institute of Art in Moscow, again for being a Christian; by God's grace he managed to graduate, though with lower marks. Three other members of the same group of Christians were thrown out in their fifth year of study.

"We Christians have no right to profess our faith, no right to bring up our children in Christian faith; we are like outcasts and lepers to the people around us. Official propaganda portrays us as a debilitating, dangerous sect that makes sacrifice of children's blood, etc. At the same time we are living behind an iron wall. We are not allowed to leave the USSR, to emigrate.

"I do not know if you've heard about the demonstration on March 8th when 11 women expressed their wish to emigrate and protested against the discrimination of Christians. Yet we were not granted permission to leave the USSR. On several occasions I went to the Department of Visa and Emigration (OVIR) without any success.

Officials told me more than once that in order to get exit visa I must have an invitation from relatives abroad. If your church would accept us strangers in the name of Christ, I'd be delighted beyond measure. I should like to ask for an invitation for another Christian sister, Galina, a teacher of disabled children. Because of her religious persuasion she has been banned from her profession and is working as a washerwoman."

It is axiomatic that all Soviet Christians, or even Evangelicals, cannot emigrate, but neither do all Soviet Jews wish to emigrate. Once their grievances are made known and their human rights upheld in the free world, the Soviet system will be forced into recognizing them and their demands.

Those 50,000 wishing to emigrate should be given the opportunity to leave the USSR. Many of them would like to go to Israel, Canada, West Europe or other countries in the West, not necessarily the USA. They would be an asset for any society. These are very diligent, upright, honest, courageous, highly moral people who do not seek economic advantages but religious freedom.

Please note that the Soviet Jews who emigrated to the USA have become valuable members of our society. The same applies for Soviet Christians. They may not be glamorous but it is certain that they would not contribute to crime, illegitimacy, alcoholism or juvenile delinquency, nor would they become a burden for us.

This hearing concerns only two families among many, the tip of an iceberg. These seven persons have lived in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow since June 1978 not because of their own will but due to circumstances. They cannot go back and expect that they will survive. Two Soviet citizens, Nazorov and Lesnov, who had recently entered the Moscow Embassy without Soviet permission, have

been imprisoned after a very brief meeting with U.S. officials. The Vashchenkos and Chmykhalovs issued statements and provided information which the Soviets regard as damaging to the USSR, in other words, as treason. The punishment is death — sometimes by execution, some times by slow agony, as in the case of Anatoly Shcharansky and the two Christian defendants in the infamous Leningrad trial, Alexey Murzhenko and Yuri Fedorov.

The bill under discussion, so eloquently proposed by Senator Carl Levin, will ensure the five Vashchenkos and two Chmykhalovs a modicum of security and raise their chance that the Soviet government will finally realize how counterproductive it is to hold these people against their will. They are not essential for the glorious future of the Soviet empire. In the midst of their profound economic and spiritual crisis the Soviets must come to grips with reality and adopt the code of civilized behavior in terms of human rights and religious freedom. It does not come naturally to them but they learn if they have to.

We must come to grips with reality just as well and realize that the Soviets will never make concessions on their own. We must support the believers in the USSR — the Orthodox, Catholics, Protestants, Evangelicals, Jews, Moslems, Buddhists — because they adhere to non-Marxist ideology despite more than 60 years of intensive and often extremely ruthless religious persecution.

For that reason bill S. 312 is a landmark in our legislation. It will not serve as a precedent — from the very inception it was articulated so as to avoid that — but as a clear statement of the magnanimity of the USA, an inspiration to captive nations and to the Confessing Church, and a light of hope to those languishing in Gulags and other places of human degradation.

### Summary

Our testimony attempted to outline some of the problems facing religious believers in the USSR. We offered random examples and case histories encountered in the twenty years of our research and work for human rights and religious freedom in totalitarian countries.

Even diligent study of official and underground materials, however, does not answer all questions about the actual situation of religion in the USSR. No accurate data are available on the numerical strength of individual denominations. On the basis of estimates and extrapolation the number of Soviet citizens practicing religion is set at more than 100 million, i.e., at least ten times more than the membership of the Communist Party, yet the Communist Party holds all the power and the believers have no representation in any of the governmental or elective bodies. We do not know of a single practicing Christian, Jew, Moslem or Buddhist serving in federal, state, provincial or local offices, teaching in colleges and universities, engaged in scientific research, and so on.

Thus, the believers lack their ombudsman or paraclete who would defend them and champion their constitutional rights. They are victims of arbitrary officials who tend to interpret the Constitution and laws to the benefit of the system, i.e., of the Communist Party.

Atheism is an integral part of Marxist-Leninist ideology and as such, it is imposed on every citizen in the place of work, in school, in the media and even in private. A staff of professional propagandists of atheism has the duty to "work" with the believers who must admit such officials to their homes and listen to their harangue. Anti-religious propaganda is organized and underwritten by the government which does not spare funds and manpower in its effort to eradicate religious faith of Soviet citizens.

The struggle against religion, however, frequently assumes more violent forms than persuasion. Stalinist methods of "education in the spirit of Communism" practiced in Gulag Archipelago have not been abolished to this day. Our report mentions the case of an 83-year old Adventist leader, Rev. Vladimir Shelkov, sentenced to 5 years at hard labor for purely religious activity. There are other clergymen victimized recently by the Soviet system, above all, several Catholic priests murdered in Lithuania where religious persecution is at its peak. The Soviet government is trying to prevent the religious infection in Poland from spreading to the USSR. Thus, two years ago it announced an intensive atheistic campaign to be carried out in every area of the Soviet Union. Next to Lithuanian and Ukrainian Catholics, its particular tar-

get are the Evangelicals who refuse to submit to state control.

Since 1962 we have followed their plight and their effort to emigrate which we documented in our publication *RCDA—Religion in Communist Dominated Areas*. Unfortunately, it was very difficult to interest our public, media and even our denominations in the Soviet Christian emigration movement.

Shortly after the arrival of the seven members of the Vashchenko and Chmykhalov families in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow we took up their case and tried to find support for them, but it was not until Senator Carl Levin had visited them in their basement room in the Embassy that we found a man of stature, influence and generosity who was willing to help not only in word but also in deed. He addressed an appeal to Chairman Brezhnev requesting emigration permits for the Siberian Seven and their families. The letter was signed by 50 senators, yet the Soviet leader failed to acknowledge it, and thus, it was evident that any further action would have to be initiated by the USA. At that point we suggested the possibility of a special bill and Senator Levin graciously considered that idea and authored a bill for the relief of the Chmykhalovs and Vashchenkos.

All those involved in the formulation of the bill were extremely concerned about one thing—not to set a precedent. Also, it was established that there are no other solutions available, barring a miracle. The prospects for the Seven were explored: what would happen to them if they returned to their hometown in Siberia? Would they be able to apply for emigration?

The answer is negative. Having lived for more than three years in the U.S. Embassy, they would have to re-establish domicile in Chernogorsk in order to be able to apply for exit visa. It is highly unlikely that the local KGB and CPSU officials would welcome these people who could contaminate the community with "capitalist propaganda."

Moreover, during their stay in the Embassy the Vashchenkos and Chmykhalovs released information which the Soviet system considers classified, for instance, various details about the labor camp in Khairiuzovka, Siberia, where the eldest son of the Vashchenkos served a 3-year sentence as a conscientious objector. Inmates of that camp are working on construction projects which are off limits to Soviet citizens, even local residents, such as the Siberian gas pipeline. Therefore, any information concerning the situation in the camp is state secret and its disclosure is regarded as treason.

One of the very relevant facts revealed by the Vashchenkos was an epidemic of anthrax-like disease spread in the camp by prisoners transferred from the Sverdlovsk area where allegedly a mishap in a secret institution testing or manufacturing chemical and biological weapons led to a major epidemic. It would be overly optimistic to expect

that the penalty for disclosing this secret would be no less than 10 years at hard labor.

The KGB has another option — psychiatric hospitals where political and religious dissidents disappear for years or forever. Soviet psychiatry considers it axiomatic that whoever believes in God is mentally unbalanced, and who wishes to emigrate from the USSR is a lunatic.

Soviet spokesmen declared that the Vashchenkos and Chmykhalovs are not their, Soviet, problem — they are an American problem. In a way, they are right; the Americans were unable to resolve the problem, only to prolong the status quo. The Soviets enjoy watching the frustration of the Embassy officials and the suffering of the Siberian Seven. They keep their eye on them — about 200 Soviet nationals are employed in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow and all of them must report to the KGB what they do and what they see and hear in the compound. Next door to the Siberian Seven is a barbershop and beauty parlor manned by Valentina, a Soviet woman reputed to be colonel of the KGB. Her extracurricular activity is to make the life of the Siberian Seven as miserable as possible. She also keeps tabs on their visitors.

The Soviets are not interested in terminating the protracted misery of the two families in near future. However, bill S. 312 can persuade them that it is counterproductive as well as damaging to their image to continue their callous game. By now millions of people throughout the world know about the Siberian Seven. The defeat of this bill would mean a serious psychological blow not only to the Chmykhalovs and Vashchenkos or to all of us who are trying to help them but also to millions of believers on both sides of the Iron Curtain. It would gravely hurt the credibility of the United States policy concerning the defense of religious freedom and human rights. By the same token, it would encourage the Communist governments to intensify repression of religious freedom and human rights.

Supporters of the Siberian Seven in Scandinavia and West Europe would interpret the defeat of this bill as a symptom of moral weakness of the USA. It would have political ramifications even in this country.

The passage of S. 312 will not only help improve the very precarious situation of the Siberian Seven but also strengthen the faith and hope of all persecuted and demonstrate the determination of the Senate to defend and protect human rights wherever and whenever they are violated.

In this spirit we ask you, Mr. Chairman and members of this Subcommittee, to endorse this bill. By doing so, you will vote for human rights and freedom of religion everywhere.

"Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me" (Matthew 25:40).

Thank you for the privilege and honor of permitting us to testify before this Subcommittee.

## LITHUANIA and USSR

### SOVIET ATTEMPT TO INFILTRATE THE LITHUANIAN CATHOLIC EPISCOPATE

RCDA Comment

BLAHOSLAV HRUBY

**F**ROM the secret report about the Russian Orthodox Church written by V. Furov, the Deputy Chairman of the Council on Religious Affairs, for the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (published in RCDA, Vol. XIX, Nos. 10, 11 and 12, 1980 and Vol. XX, Nos. 1, 2 and 3, 1981 and Nos. 4, 5 and 6, 1981) we have learned some appalling details about the tight control and manipulation of that church (and other churches) by the Communist Party. The following review of events in the Lithuanian Catholic Church indicates that the Soviet authorities would like to extend complete control of churches to other captive nations.

According to "The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania," the Soviets attempted to infiltrate the Catholic episcopate of that country by three new bishops with the help of KGB's collaborators in the Lithuanian Catholic Church. The approval of these three candidates by the Holy See was expected, allegedly under the Soviet promise that two Lithuanian bishops living in exile for more than 20 years would be permitted to return to their country.

This was an extremely distressing news for all faithful Catholics in Lithuania because in the postwar period the Church suffered at the hands of bishops and priests who collaborated with the KGB. Lithuanian Catholics

persecuted for the church and their country are opposed to priests who speak to foreign audiences about religious freedom and say nothing about the persecution in Lithuania. These believers are also antagonistic to the Communist-manipulated "peace" movements. "The believing citizens of Communist countries know the worth of such 'peace' — it is trickery and deceit — and consider a traitor anyone who supports such an obscene lie."

According to the review printed below, "The Soviet government's purpose in choosing the candidates for bishop was not only to have suitable collaborators for many years to come, but also to destroy the prestige of the Holy See and undermine the militant spirit of priests and believers."

The Lithuanian Catholic priests collaborating with the KGB did not succeed in obtaining the Holy See's approval of three candidates for bishop who were willing to cooperate with the Soviet regime. This is an important, though possibly only temporary victory for the Lithuanian Catholic Church struggling for freedom. At the same time, it is a welcome encouragement to all churches in captive nations which Communist governments want to control and manipulate and use them as propaganda tools promoting policies of the USSR and Soviet-inspired "peace" campaigns.

From: *The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania*, No. 50, December 8, 1981.

### A BRIEF REVIEW OF EVENTS FROM OCTOBER THROUGH DECEMBER 1981

**M**OSCOW "consented" this year to reinstate Bishop Julijonas Steponavičius of the Archdiocese of Vilnius and Bishop Vincentas Sladkevičius of the Diocese of Kaišiadorys, held in exile for over twenty years without a trial. Foreign diplomats often trust Moscow's good will, but in Lithuania, where believers daily endure the deceit and hypocrisy of state atheism, every gesture of "good will" from the Soviet government arouses concern. In this instance, the concern was aroused by special circumstances.

Moscow demanded, as a condition for reinstating the exiled bishops, that three new candidates, handpicked by the Soviet authorities, be consecrated bishops: candidates chosen not by Church authorities but by the Soviet

government and submitted to the Holy See. It remained only to convince the Holy See that the new candidates were suitable for the posts and that the plan to reinstate the exiled bishops and appoint new bishops was a positive step and would be beneficial to the Catholic Church in Lithuania. Collaborators with the KGB performed this task well and in July, following the Eucharistic Congress in Lourdes, it became apparent that the Soviet government has nearly attained its goal: the candidates they selected for bishops had been, or in the very near future would be, named bishops by the Holy See. This news was perhaps the most distressing to reach the Catholics of Lithuania in the entire postwar period. The Catholic Church in Lithuania had experienced every possible perse-



cution during the postwar years: bishops were imprisoned and even shot, hundreds of priests travelled the roads of the Gulag, the Soviet press slung mud at priests and the Church, the Soviet government's administrative machine quashed any religious activity as if with pincers, however, the Church did not perish but proved quite viable.

The most painful experience of Lithuanian priests and believers during the postwar period was the Church's destruction from within at the hands of bishops and priests who collaborated with the KGB. This was worse than imprisonment, dismissal from office and other repressive measures.

The priests of Lithuania will never forget how the Chanceries used to convey the Soviet government's orders to remove children from the altar and from processions, to renounce catechizations and to stop visiting the faithful. Also, Lithuania's Catholics who suffered for the Church and homeland will never understand how a priest could speak to foreign countries about religious freedom or remain silent about persecution in Soviet Lithuania, how a priest wearing a cassock could "defend peace" in various peace movement forums. The believing citizens of Communist countries know the worth of such "peace" — it is trickery and deceit — and consider a traitor anyone who supports such an obscene lie.

Ever since the Eucharistic Congress [Translator's note, 1976] more astute priests have felt that the godless were planning a new blow against the Catholic Church in Lithuania. Certain clergymen zealously assisted in bringing these plans to fruition. It seems that the delegation of Lithuanian priests the Religious Affairs Commissioner's agency sent to Lourdes served Moscow well by misinforming the Holy See about episcopal candidates.

In September the news spread that Bishop Liudvikas Povilionis was going to Rome in a week or two and would defiantly bring back a Papal Bull authorizing the consecration of new bishops. When there seemed barely any hope of warding off this disaster, Priests' Senates and groups of clergy in all the dioceses again appealed to Bishop Povilionis, voicing their grave concern and explaining that the plan presented by the godless would certainly not serve the welfare of the Lithuanian Catholic Church.

When Bishop Povilionis left for Rome on September 23, priests who collaborate with the KGB stated:

"Now we'll teach Bishop Steponavičius and the 'activists'!... The 'activists' are going against the Pope... They divide the unity of Lithuania's priests..."

Hasty preparations were immediately made to consecrate the bishops, *but not a word about reinstating the exiled Bishops Steponavičius and Sladkevičius*, as if the problem of these exiles had been solved in Lithuania.

On October 16th, the candidates for bishop visited Bishop Krikščiūnas, the exiled bishops and the Latvian bishops to invite them to the consecration ceremonies. The exiled bishops Steponavičius and Sladkevičius wrote the following letter to the Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Kaunas:

"Your Excellency:

"I sincerely regret to inform you that I will be unable to attend the ceremonies to which you have kindly invited me.

"The fundamental reason is that our situation —

mine and that of Bishop Julijonas [Steponavičius] — remains unchanged and we are still held under conditions of exile. It is improper to pretend we are free when we still are not. By attending the ceremonies we would create the impression that our situation has already been regularized, when unfortunately it still has not.

"The urgency of the consecration forces us to suspect strongly that the intention is simply to use us and again brush our cases aside.

"Undoubtedly, it would be a fine and meaningful gesture of brotherly solidarity if all three of you were to demand officially that the consecrations be postponed until your banished brethren resume their assigned duties.

"With respect and brotherly love,

Bishop Vincentas Sladkevičius

October 20, 1981"

On October 14, Father Franciškus Juozapavičius, pastor of the Kaunas Archcathedral, informed eight deans at the Telšiai Chancery that Vatican Radio would announce on October 16 the names of the new bishops and the date of their consecration, and an announcement of the consecrations would be made in the Kaunas Cathedral on October 17. With great trepidation, priests and more active believers awaited that Saturday's Vatican Radio broadcasts.

Priests announced at the Panevėžys Cathedral, St. Michael's Church in Vilnius and elsewhere that the new bishops would be consecrated on October 25 at the Kaunas Archcathedral.

On October 17, the bishops-elect began their retreat in Paluše, but terminated it several days later because it was learned that Bishop Povilionis did not bring back the bulls of consecration. The news immediately spread through Lithuania: everyone rejoiced that the plans of the godless had probably collapsed. Prayers of thanksgiving were offered to God for saving the Catholic Church in Lithuania from great misfortune whose consequences were difficult to predict. Moscow had wanted to set off a big bomb: to stun Lithuania's priests and believers with the fact that the Vatican blesses not those who fight for the Church, but KGB collaborators.

The Soviet government's purpose in choosing the candidates for bishop was not only to have suitable collaborators for many years to come, but also to destroy the prestige of the Holy See and undermine the militant spirit of priests and believers. If carried out, Moscow's plan would have eloquently declared that the Holy See does not value the blood of Lithuanian bishops spilled for the Faith, does not value all those who trod or are still treading the Gulag's road of suffering, does not value the persons through whose efforts the Catholic Church in Lithuania is again reviving, but supports those who, caught in the KGB's web, are not shepherds but hirelings, and cause unimaginable damage to the Church and the faithful.

"Why fight, why try, if the Holy See does not champion the fighters but upholds those who betray the holiest values?" the question, like a terrible temptation, would have sprouted in many a mind. Would many have understood that the guilty party is not the Holy See, but the KGB collaborators who, under the guise of Lourdes "pilgrims" and other names, continually deceive the Holy See?

Furthermore, it appears that the Soviet government

did not seriously intend to reinstate the exiled bishops, its primary goal being to obtain as rapidly as possible new bishops to its advantage. If the Soviet authorities wished and had decided to allow the exiled bishops Julijonas Steponavičius and Vincentas Sladkevičius to resume their duties, they should have informed them of their decision before Bishop Povilionis left for Rome. However, not a single Soviet government official made any mention of this. Only an occasional priest collaborating with the KGB spread disinformation that the exiled bishops were already able to resume their posts, but did not wish to do so.

The Soviet government's plan was probably as follows: exploiting the Holy See's desire to have the bishops reinstated, to promote the candidates for bishops it con-

siders useful, and then "bargain" with the exiles: *we'll allow you to work if you work for us.* Obviously, the exiled bishops would never have agreed to such conditions: after so many years of suffering to degrade themselves before the nation and the faithful, to act against their consciences, to betray their most sacred convictions! And the 1969 history of the exiled bishops' "reinstallation in Lithuania from great misfortune whose consequences" would probably have repeated itself. Twelve years ago, the Soviet authorities also promised to allow the exiled bishops to resume their duties, but demanded a tribute of lies and obedience.

*Translated from the Lithuanian Information Center, Brooklyn, New York, USA*

## FREEDOM HOUSE AT FORTY

**F**REEDOM HOUSE's "twofold fight for freedom" — against totalitarianism abroad and for freedom at home — began five weeks *before* America was bombed into the war in 1941. The Freedom House prophecy became the nation's consensus. The organization continues to say and do things it hopes will strengthen free institutions at home and abroad — by turning controversy into consensus.

After the defeat of Nazism and Fascism, Freedom House stood as firmly against the extreme left. The organization fought the Communist Party's infiltration of the American labor movement, and supported the Baruch Plan for mutual inspection of atomic armaments. Soviet refusal to consider the plan was regarded a grim warning, as was Stalin's rejection of the Marshall Plan for both the USSR and the Eastern bloc.

Freedom House also approved American military aid to Greece and Turkey — the Truman Doctrine — following communist guerilla threats to those countries. The brutal subjugation of Czechoslovakia and the efforts to drive Western allies out of Berlin solidified Freedom House's stand and its endorsement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

The prestigious Freedom Awards went to Baruch, Marshall, Truman and others who held the line for human freedom.

The group also recognized that personal freedoms and responsible, effective opposition to communism were hampered by Senator Joseph McCarthy's distortion of the communist presence in the United States. A Freedom House trustee became the first to debate McCarthy and attack McCarthyism on a nationwide broadcast and in a mass magazine.

Freedom House supported the civil rights struggle of the 1950s: the *Arkansas Gazette* for its stand in the Little Rock desegregation crisis; Alan Paton for his opposition to apartheid in South Africa; and Roy Wilkins, America's leading civil rights organizer, a Freedom House trustee. Indeed, under his direction, Thurgood Marshall and other colleagues planned the desegregation cases at the Willkie Memorial Building of Freedom House — for many years the headquarters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Freedom House Award went to the *Gazette*, Paton and Wilkins.

Today, Freedom House has diversified its programs to meet far more complex challenges to human freedom.

The Comparative Survey of Freedom assesses the level of political rights and civil liberties in all countries and dependencies. This is used by governments, mass news media and scholars around the world. The findings appear with essays on related issues in the organization's yearbooks, *Freedom in the World: Political Rights and Civil Liberties*, and in its bimonthly magazine, *Freedom at Issue*, that carries analyses and views on many foreign and domestic issues.

It also publishes *Freedom Appeals*, a bimonthly carrying unedited communications from persons still in oppressive countries on the political left and right. This is a function of the Center for Appeals for Freedom, which also provides a lecture circuit for dissidents who come to the United States to help lift the oppression in their homelands.

The Afghanistan Information Center and Caribbean

*(Continued on Page 191)*

USSR**TWICE-TOLD TALES OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA****RCDA Comment**

OLGA S. HRUBY

**I**VAN Fedotov and Vladimir Murashkin, Soviet Pentecostal activists and leaders of the Christian Emigration Movement launched in 1962, are recent victims of anti-religious persecution raging at present in the USSR. The description of their arrest and trial by Fedotov's mother needs no further comment. However, one interesting aspect in this case should be pointed out: the reappearance of an old publication, "In the Web of a Nightmare," based on a 1962 film of the same name.

The film was among the first audio-visual aids in the arsenal of Soviet atheistic propaganda against Evangelicals, particularly Pentecostals, whom it portrayed as frenzied fanatics performing rituals of human sacrifice. They were charged with murdering their own children. According to our sources in the USSR, the film was recently reintroduced on Soviet television. This illustrates the

sterility of Soviet anti-religious propaganda which after 20 years is unable to present a more convincing and intelligent argument against religious faith and has to resort to pathetic superstitions of ritual murder. Over the past 20 years the average Soviet citizen has become far more sophisticated and skeptical as concerns the official dogma. Moreover, the attitude of Soviet believers has also changed in the past two decades; they are more open in their faith, more persistent in demanding their rights, more realistic about their opportunities under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Those considerations led to the organization of the Soviet Christian Emigration Movement in 1962. Its activists Fedotov and Murashkin may never see the Promised Land, however, they advanced the cause of religious freedom in the USSR and set an example for others to follow.

## REPORT FROM MALOYAROSLAVETS, PROVINCE KALUGA

ALEXANDRA FEDOTOVA

**O**N AUGUST 18 of this year, a public meeting was held in the Maloyaroslavets Palace of Culture for presentation of evidence against Pentecostal Church leaders Ivan Fedotov and Vladimir Murashkin. Objects confiscated during a search of the homes of seven believers on April 21, 1981, were exhibited. Many believers were invited to attend this meeting, but since they were denied the right to speak, their presence served merely as a sort of spectacle for those assembled. After the meeting, the latter, who had been antagonistic toward the believers to begin with, called them names and shouted, "Crush them! Throw them all in jail!"

At the end of the meeting, an examination of the confiscated objects was conducted. These included Bibles, typed spiritual literature, photographs of a baptism and weddings — in short, of the entire life of the Christian community. The atheist publication "In the Web of Nightmare," twenty years old, was also exhibited. In glass cases labelled "Aid From Abroad" were: a Sony taperecorder obtained in the Soviet Union, an invitation from Canada to attend a congress of Pentecostals addressed to Fedotov, congratulatory postcards from Sweden, and several Bibles published abroad. During the examination, one of the

young believers, Alexei Semeryanov, was arrested. The reason for his arrest was that he took from a table his box of slides which had been confiscated earlier during a search of his house. He was immediately seized and rudely dragged across the room toward the exit. One of the women believers ran toward him and she was taken as well. She was released after interrogation at the police station, but charges were pressed against Alexei Semeryanov for alleged violation of Article 90, "Open Theft of Government or Public Property," and Article 191, "Resistance to a Police Officer."

An investigation of the case is being conducted at the present time. A. Semeryanov meanwhile is incarcerated at the Kaluga pre-trial isolation ward.

A. Semeryanov is an active member of the Maloyaroslavets community. He is twenty-four years old and the father of two young children, aged one and five years.

In his address to the public meeting, the commissioner of religious issues of the Kaluga region, F. P. Ryabov, announced, "If this sect does not register their church, then in the future their leaders and all active participants will be imprisoned."

## OPEN LETTER

I, the widow Alexandra Fedotova, mother of Ivan Fedotov, the Pentecostal bishop sentenced on July 28 of this year, turn to you for help.

I am seventy-four years old. My husband perished in the first days of the Second World War and I was left alone with three children. Vanya was the oldest; he was twelve at the time. It is difficult to describe all I had to endure and suffer in those hard, long years. My work was backbreaking and dirty and nights I sewed just to make ends meet. We lived in a barrack and our neighbors indulged in every sort of vice — drunkenness, debauchery of every description. For me, a mother, the most important thing was to raise my children to be law-abiding and honest people. From childhood I taught them to work. They picked up after themselves, cooked dinner, worked in the garden. As the oldest, Vanya had to be as responsible as I for the care of the younger children. Our neighbors were constantly amazed by Vanya's honesty and industriousness. He never lied or dissembled — that was his nature from the time he was born.

My children had to begin working outside the home at an early age: Vanya went to work at sixteen, the second son, Leonid, at thirteen. Ivan became a carpenter. It was with great joy that he began to earn a living and to help his mother. Vanya was well-liked in the neighborhood: he made little wooden stools for all the neighborhood children and never forgot, come payday, to buy sweets, passing them out to all the little boys and girls in our courtyard. Ivan loved children very much, although the Lord gave him none of his own.

He never received so much as a reprimand when he served five years in the Baltic fleet. In those years, I came to know the Living God and, when Vanya came home from the army on leave, I couldn't hold back my joy and told him about my new life in Christ. Being sensitive and attentive, Vanya immediately became interested and responded wholeheartedly to the call of God's salvation. Returning to the army from vacation, and knowing very little himself about Christ, he began to testify to others concerning salvation. This missionary zeal characterized him throughout his entire life and service. He loved people, and he had a heart big enough to accommodate Christians, the poor, the lowly thief, and the drunk.

Having returned from the army, Vanya began actively to work for God in the Moscow Community of Evangelical Faith (the Pentecostals). The flame of God's spirit was kindled in Moscow and all of the surrounding region, and many souls found salvation and joy in Jesus Christ. This did not suit the atheist authorities, however, and persecution raged against the young Moscow church. Several fellow worshippers suffered, including my son.

When there was nothing with which to incriminate the Son of God, false witnesses were found. The tactics of the enemies of the human spirit have not changed: false witness — and so rude and shameless: "Instigator to murder." He, who was incapable of harming a kitten, even as a child, "instigated a mother to sacrifice her grown daughter." Ten years of camp, ten years struck out of a young life, ten years away from the society of honest and enlightened people! But even there in the camps, in the north, Vanya remained the same as he was when a free man. Not one of the witnesses can tell without weeping

about how Vanya served as a beacon for him, shining in the dark night of his sinful soul. Many former criminals, drunks and hooligans found salvation in Jesus Christ. Repeatedly Vanya was punished for preaching the Gospels in the camps. Once, when a group of young people secretly met for prayer in a tumbledown shack they were suddenly surrounded by guards. All of them managed to scatter, but Vanya remained on his knees praying and continued to pray. Three and a half months in a punishment cell on near starvation rations — two hundred grams of bread and two hundred grams of water! I hardly recognized him when I was allowed to see him.

How difficult it was for me to collect money for the journey. Meanwhile, at home, my second son had received occupational injuries to the head and needed treatment at a psychiatric hospital. He is now completely disabled. Vanya was always our support, and how hard everything is for us without him!

My son returned from camp in 1970, after ten years of imprisonment. He could in no way find a situation for himself in Moscow. The police and KGB made his life completely unbearable. They hounded him constantly, prevented him from registering in Moscow with me, his mother, and forced him to settle more than 120 kilometers from Moscow with his wife (also a prisoner for Christ whom he married immediately after his imprisonment) in the town of Maloyaroslavets. But even there he was constantly harassed by the police and KGB. He was repeatedly dismissed from work, and when they saw that a church was beginning to grow they put him in prison a second time for three years.

And now a third time! For what? Five years of hard labor! I thought my poor heart, which had endured and suffered so much already, would not withstand this terrible trial. They didn't want to let me into the courtroom, they pushed me out the doors, but I stood my ground and begged the police to let me see my dear son, a sufferer, one more time. We may never see one another again. I am already advanced in years and Ivan's health has also been destroyed by those frightening and difficult thirteen years of torture in the camp torture chambers.

For fifteen hours of court session, from 9 a.m. to midnight, "due process" was carried out. Out of seventeen witnesses, only six or seven knew the defendant personally. The basic charge against the defendants was only that they did not bow their heads to state atheism and refused to register their church, that is, they refused to submit their church to the control of the godless.

Dear Christians! I beg you to hear the prayer of a mother, a widow, and the supplication of a brother, a disabled man. Lift your voices for my son Ivan Fedotov, whom they condemned to another five years of hard labor, five years of suffering and tortures! Maybe the camp will be his last earthly home. He has an ischemic disease of the heart and a hernia from hard labor in the camps. He is only human, flesh and blood.

I ask you to petition our government to free Ivan Fedotov. Pray for the sufferers for Christ! An old mother, a widow, begs you. An unfortunate, disabled brother begs you. For whatever you do for us, you do for Christ Himself and your efforts will not be in vain.

August 31, 1981

*Translated from the Russian by Nancy Ruttenburg*

## UKRAINE and USSR

### THE SOVIET GOAL: ERADICATION OF RELIGION

#### RCDA Comment

BLAHOSLAV HRUBY

**T**HE following article in "Pravda," the official daily of the Communist Party of the USSR, illustrates the ambiguity of the Soviet attitude toward religion. The author emphasizes that any slackening of ideological opposition to religion and revision of the Marxist interpretation of religion as the opiate of the people cannot be tolerated. At the same time he says that Communists "resolutely condemn any assault upon the feelings of believers, any attempts to place people under political suspicion for their religious beliefs." Religious persecution in the USSR documented in RCDA over the past 20 years contradicts very clearly the fallacy of this statement. However, Soviet spokesmen deny vigorously any religious persecution in the USSR and emphasize that all citizens enjoy full religious freedom. The Soviet goal to eradicate all religion has not changed but the Communist Party which has complete control over the Russian Orthodox Church and other churches\* is using them for political propaganda, in particular for "peace" campaigns.

The author points out that according to a sociological research carried out in the Zhitomir region of the Ukraine, atheists comprise approximately 97% among the youth of 20 years of age, and 92-94% of the 21-30 years range. Eradication of the last traces of religious delusion especially among the workers, in his opinion, remains an urgent task. He complains about the lack of attention to the

facts that Party members take part in religious ceremonies, about the fashion of wearing crosses and collecting icons.

Describing intensive atheistic propaganda in the Zhitomir region the author underlines the importance of new Soviet holidays and celebrations which "satisfy the diverse spiritual demands of the Soviet people and in this way fulfill the most important function of the atheistic education of the population." He points out that several Party organizations do not pay sufficient attention to the new scientific methods of atheistic education and that they underestimate the influence of the clergy and of sectarian preachers. He accuses several Party organizations and local soviets [councils] of being profoundly ignorant of local religious conditions and of the fact that a still sizable network of religious communities continues to function in their districts. Declaring that Soviet social structure "liberates man once and for all from the mystifying veils of religious dogma," he calls for improvement of atheistic education and of its effectiveness.

\*See the Secret Report on the Russian Orthodox Church, written by V. Furov, the Deputy Chairman of the Council on Religious Affairs for the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR in RCDA, Vol. XIX, Nos. 10, 11 and 12, 1980 and Vol. XX, Nos. 1, 2 and 3, 1981 and Nos. 4, 5 and 6, 1981.

From: *Pravda* [Truth], daily organ of the Communist Party of the USSR, October 21, 1981.

## ATHEISM—THE STRUGGLE FOR MEN

**A**N "imaginary sun": this is what Karl Marx called religion, having remarked that "man makes religion, religion does not make man," and that religion is but the "self-awareness and the self-consciousness of man who either has not yet found himself or who has already lost himself." (See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 1, p. 414, 415.) Atheism, criticism of religion according to a Marxist understanding, has always been and is still a question of man's liberation from illusion, the raising of man to such a height of self-awareness that he can think, act, and base his life on a foundation of real knowledge about the real world.

This is why atheistic education occupies such an

important place in the overall system of educational work of our Party. It is inseparable from the most basic tasks involved in the formation of the new man, fully defined by his active life in the real world and by his irreconcilability with any manifestation of an ideology and an ethics foreign to us.

The triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideology in the consciousness of the masses, and the consequent alteration of the spiritual make-up of the Soviet man, came to be regarded as the primary triumph of a mature socialist society. Sociological research, carried out, in part, in our region, shows that among the youth of up to twenty years of age, atheists comprise approximately 97%; from 21-

30 years, 92-94%. And although among the older age-groups the actual number of believers is not negligible, religiosity even here is more and more losing the marks of a carefully thought-out, systematic worldview.

However, problems connected with the formation of a scientific-materialistic worldview in all citizens are still not solved. As in the past, the task remains urgent of eradicating the last traces of religious delusion in the sphere of consciousness, especially among the workers. We cannot and have not the right to forget that religion is for us the manifestation of an alien ideology, and that it is precisely religion that our enemies actively try to use in their attempts to weaken the magnetic appeal of communist ideals.

Of course, we have reality, as they say, on our side. But at the same time we cannot hope that religious beliefs will die out of themselves, simply through the influence of a socialistic way of life and the achievements of scientific-technological progress. Religion does not voluntarily yield its position in the minds and hearts of the people. Today we must struggle with it skillfully, scientifically, seriously. In atheistic education there are no minor tasks; everything is of major importance.

Communists look upon the religious convictions of man with understanding. We resolutely condemn any assault upon the feelings of believers, any attempt to place people under political suspicion for their religious beliefs. But at the same time, speeches which urge a slackening of ideological opposition to religion, let alone a revision of the Marxist interpretation of religion as the opiate of the people, cannot be tolerated.

This posing of the problem is dictated by Leninist tradition. The Party always proceeds from the instructions of V. I. Lenin concerning the fact that "the elucidation of our program necessarily involves an elucidation of the pure historical and economical roots of religious obscurity," and that we should struggle with this obscurity "with ideological weapons only." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 12, p. 145.)

We must recall all of this because from time to time one still encounters an entrenched, but insufficient and hostile, atheistic propaganda. This insufficiency is, in part, manifested by the liberal attitude of several Party organization toward the transgressions of communists who take part in religious ceremonies. "But what's so unusual about that?" some reason. "After all, this is a communist, a non-believer, a confirmed atheist, right?" This stance undoubtedly plays into the hands of the clergy, just as does the fashion of wearing crosses around one's neck and of collecting icons in one's apartment, the fashions, in short, to which we sometimes simply close our eyes. Meanwhile, we are not objecting to mere decorativeness, although the items involved are made of valuable metals. Rather, these are symbols of a worldview alien to us.

This fact, that religion, the church, actively strives to become part of the age of scientific-technological revolution, to attach itself to a socialist reality, cannot be ignored in ideological work, in the struggle of communists and Komsomol members with religious prejudices. To preserve, so that all anti-religious work will be most suitable to the times, to strive to make its forms most fully answerable to the contemporary needs and demands of the Soviet people, to take into account changes in the conditions in

which we live and work — these today are the indispensable criteria for success of atheistic education.

It is important to start with the tremendous changes in man himself, the growth of his erudition, the change in the nature of his inquiries that was especially noticeable at the 26th CPSU Congress. It is very likely that today we must speak about the necessity of revising traditional ideas about believers. As a rule, these people are literate, involved in socially useful work, and interested in domestic as well as international affairs and in scientific information. A considerable number of them betray a characteristic tendency to try to substantiate their beliefs on rationalistic grounds and even to attempt a rapprochement of the principles of their dogma with the ideals and slogans of communism. It is obvious that the elementary, narrowly-conceived anti-religious propaganda intended for a vanishing breed of uneducated believer is absolutely not effective in this sphere. Here it is far from sufficient to present conclusions and generalizations which have become the axioms of a scientific worldview. Today, such propaganda must challenge people to an active polemic and must be able to emerge victorious from this polemic, conducted not with an overbearing voice, but with vast knowledge and irrefutable arguments.

Speaking of increased demands for ideological work in general and atheistic education in particular, it should be remarked that the ability of Party leaders to deal with this uncommonly important issue is the most fundamental prerequisite to the successful realization of atheistic education. With this in mind, we would like to refer to the accomplishments which the citizens of Zhitomir gained in scientific-atheistic work for the Party organization.

First and foremost, we worked out and are implementing a complex plan of atheistic propaganda, designed for a five-year period. The most important aspect of Party, Komsomol, and trade union organization work are stipulated, along with the creation of a society called "Knowledge." They are coordinated and directed by a sector for scientific-atheistic education at the Committee of Ideology of the Regional Party Committee. This sector studies and analyzes the religious situation in cities and counties of the district by conducting sociological research, which facilitates the organization of atheistic education for the various social strata and groups. Questions of atheistic education are regularly discussed in plenary sessions, office meetings, in Party committees and local Party organizations. Moreover, we aim to take them into consideration in connection with other efforts in ideological work.

Principal importance is attached to the selection and training of personnel, capable of skillfully carrying out their work with a deep knowledge of the subject, and on a suitable emotional level. They give us invaluable help with both the atheism department of the University of Marxism-Leninism along with the Regional Party Committee and in the people's universities of atheism. For example, the People's University in the city of Zhitomir has earned positive recognition. By recommendation of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Municipal Party Committee, they are including in their training programs representatives from industrial enterprises, institutions, buildings, and also schools and special secondary educational institutes.

What is especially important in the training of pro-

pagandists and organizers of atheistic work is the use of an active form of training. Already the students in the first class of the University of Marxism-Leninism, as well as in the people's universities, are charged with conducting sociological research in working collectives, villages, settlements, and in mini-districts of cities, to study the effectiveness of individual work with believers as well as of popular atheistic measures. In counterbalance to the sermons of the clergy, students prepare and review texts of popular readings and discussions, and take part in the implementation of legislative measures which promote the establishment of new Soviet holidays and celebrations. Several schools have established young atheist clubs.

We attribute great importance to the councils for conducting atheistic work which function with Party committees, local Party organizations, industrial enterprises, collective farms, and state farms. They coordinate and direct the work of all activists participating in the scientific-atheistic education of workers and they occupy themselves with discovering the newest and most effective forms and methods, based first and foremost on work in the labor collectives.

For example, in the Zhitomir furniture manufacture, main enterprise of the "Zhitomirdrev" company, a working seminar for agitators, an atheist lecture circuit, continually functions. Members of the coordinating council together with lecturers and agitators appear for lectures and discussions at the industrial sections and also at the workers' place of residence. They maintain a close contact with the schools where the children of believers study. Activists in the women's council carry on educational work with young mothers. This made possible the reduction practically to a minimum of the number of industrial workers who observe religious holidays.

They noticed, and for good reason, that carrying out atheistic work in the labor collective is significantly easier than at the place of residence. It is impossible to deny this. It is well known that, when a man finds himself outside of the labor collective, he is more likely to submit to the influence of the clergy or sectarians. In connection with this, individual work with believers takes on special importance. We strive to attract the most

ideologically active members of the Party to such work. We consider that only by such means can we obtain the desired results.

An overwhelming majority of believers regard with interest popular political measures and especially the new Soviet holidays and celebrations. Therefore, we must today turn primary attention to the atheistic functions of socialistic ceremonies. New holidays and celebrations are connected with the various aspects of the life of our society; they satisfy the diverse spiritual demands of the Soviet people and in this way fulfill the most important function of the atheistic education of the population.

By employing traditional and seeking out new forms and means of atheistic education, we strive to perfect our handling of this important matter. It is necessary to declare outright that several Party organizations are not making full use of the enormous opportunities, of the entire diversity of forms and methods of ideological activity for the education of confirmed atheists, and are not giving proper attention to different approaches for the various population groups and to individual work with believers. For example, in Ovruchsky, Olevsky, Emilchinsky, Berdichev and Lyubarsky regions, they hardly trouble themselves over the improvement of scientific-atheistic propaganda and they underestimate the influence of the clergy and of sectarian preachers. Several Party organizations, executive committees of local *soviets* [councils], are profoundly ignorant of religious conditions in their locales, and do not consider the fact that a still sizable network of religious communities continues to function in their districts.

Our social structure liberates man once and for all from the mystifying veils of religious dogma. But in order to realize this objective as quickly as possible, it is necessary to perfect continually the atheistic education of workers and to maximize its effectiveness.

V. OSTROZHINSKY, Secretary  
Zhitomir Regional Committee  
Communist Party of the Ukraine

*Translated from the Russian by Nancy Ruttenburg*

USSR

## A TRIBUTE TO A FRIEND

BABETTE WAMPOLD

**M**Y FRIENDSHIP with Boris Schein really happened because of an incident during the Korean War thirty years ago. An American officer rescued a young Korean teenager from the battlefield and brought him to the United States. This young Korean grew up to be a university mathematics professor. In 1973, the young professor went to Hungary to a mathematics seminar where he met an outstanding young Soviet Jewish mathematician from Saratov in the Russian Republic. The Soviet Jew was Boris Schein. The two young men became friendly and the Korean asked Schein if there was any way to find out if his natural parents in North Korea were still alive. Boris found out that they were alive and well and he became a conduit for messages between the Korean-American professor and his North Korean parents. The friendship of the two mathematicians continued on both a personal and professional level for many years.

In 1979, Boris decided that because of growing anti-Semitism and because he was feeling his lack of freedom more and more, he would emigrate from the USSR. He applied with his wife and young daughter and when OVIR (the emigration office) refused to give him an answer, Boris asked his American friend for help. The American professor then called me and asked if I would join in his crusade to help his friend in Saratov. I began to write to Boris and soon I began to get letters back. I knew immediately that here was a man who understood freedom even though he had never had it. When he explained the Kafkaesque feeling of being told that the illegal refusal to answer him was the result of an unpublished secret law which he could not be told about, I felt that I had entered his soul. The crusade for Boris Schein was joined by professional colleagues from all of Western Europe and the United States and by people like me who just wanted to help.

Meanwhile, Boris began to go to OVIR and explained to Jews in the long lines their legal rights. He went to the one synagogue in Saratov and instructed people there how to apply. He filed suit against the Rector of his university for illegally firing him. In other words, he became a thorn in the side of Soviet officialdom. All of

this time, Boris was mailing his books to the West to various friends in hundreds of packages. He was withdrawing his life savings from his savings accounts so that he could distribute the money to various needy causes before he left. Seven months after he applied to leave, Boris was given permission. He gave half of his money to Irina Ginzburg for the Solzhenitsyn Fund for families of Prisoners of Conscience, he gave some for the Prisoners of Zion, and he gave some for various refuseniks to pay for their visas when and if they got them — and he flew out to Vienna, leaving his Bible in Saratov because he said it would be a sin to take such a rare item from a country which had so few. He was amazed, when he arrived in Vienna and was offered a Bible, to find that it was exactly the same edition which he had left behind.

Boris arrived in the United States in January, 1980, and within a few days, he had a complete physical breakdown caused by the build-up of extreme stress, but he soon recovered and began his new life. In his first letter to me from the United States while he was still sick, he discussed the plight of the dissidents and Jewish refuseniks and asked himself, "How can I help them all?". By his third letter a few weeks later, he sent me a report on the terrible anti-Semitism in the University of Novosibirsk in the mathematics department and had started a campaign to help his friends who were victims of the purge of Jews from Soviet mathematics.

By August of 1980, Boris had been appointed Distinguished Professor of Mathematics at the University of Arkansas and was sending me translations of the poetry of Anna Akhmatova which he himself had read many years before in "samizdat". He took special delight that when Akhmatova died, she left a special request to be buried in a church cemetery instead of a state cemetery — much to the chagrin of the Soviets. He discussed Akhmatova's husband, Nikolai Gumilev, who had been shot by the Soviets, and her son, Lev, who had been imprisoned by Stalin. He then wrote about the martyred poet, Osip Mandelstam, and the poetry that had been annotated in the hand of Nadezhda Mandelstam, which he had borrowed. And then, he wrote the paragraph below which I have named "A Tribute to Man from a Soviet Jew". The tribute could have been written about himself even though he now lives in the United States and it makes him "feel new to this planet." He never, for one minute, forgot those who have stayed behind and those who have been left behind, because as Boris says, "It seems there is something basically good in human nature".

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*Babette Wampold is president of the Alabama Council To Save Soviet Jews. She is a director of the Research Center for Religion and Human Rights in Closed Societies and a contributing editor of "RCDA".*



**A TRIBUTE TO MAN FROM A SOVIET JEW**

**H**OW COULD they survive with their humanity intact? I often wondered. It seems there is something basically good in human nature, and no new "humanism", be it Communist or Nazi, may uproot it. One cannot but recollect how "God created man in his own image". Lots of people who dared to protest are leaving Russia now. In fact, when I left I had a feeling I committed an act of betrayal. Who will be left in Russia? However, I am quite confident one shouldn't worry. Decent people and daring people wouldn't disappear, and if the Soviet government hopes all the "troublemakers" would emigrate, this is a vain hope. Such people appear again, and again, and again, as long as there are people on this earth.

*Boris M. Schein*

**EXCERPT FROM "REQUIEM"**

I remember them always and everywhere,  
And if they shut my tormented mouth,

Through which a hundred million of my people cry,  
Let them remember me also...

And if even in this country they should want  
To build me a monument

I consent to that honor,  
But only on condition that they

Erect it not on the sea-shore where I was born:  
My last links there were broken long ago,

Nor by the stump in the Royal Gardens,  
Where an inconsolable young shade is seeking me,

But here, where I stood for three hundred hours  
And where they never, never opened the doors for me.

Lest in blessed death I should forget  
The grinding scream of the Black Marias,

The hideous clanging gate, the old  
Woman wailing like a wounded beast.

And may the melting snow drop like tears  
From my motionless bronze eyelids,

And the prison pigeons coo above me  
And the ships sail slowly down the Neva.

*ANNA AKHMATOVA*  
Leningrad, 1938-40

**USSR and USA**

**APPEAL TO PRESIDENT  
BREZHNEV TO RELEASE  
PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE**

December 22, 1981

His Excellency Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev  
President of the USSR  
Kremlin  
Moscow  
USSR

Your Excellency:

At the occasion of your birthday we respectfully request you on behalf of our organization that you reassess the situation of persons who are in disfavor with your government and that you show them compassion.

Specifically, we should like to ask you to terminate the enforced exile of Academician and Mrs. Andrei Sakharov, to allow the Vashchenko and Chmykhalov families, who have been living in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow since June 1978, and their relatives in Chernogorsk, province of Krasnoyarsk, to leave the USSR, and to grant amnesty to Reverend Fathers Gleb Yakunin and Vasyl Romaniuk, to Rev. Rostislav Galetsky, Anatoly Shcharansky, Yuri Orlov, Tatiana Velikanova, Tatiana Osipova and all other prisoners of conscience, and to permit all those who so desire to emigrate.

Your humanitarian gesture will assure the American public and the whole world that your government honors the Final Act of Helsinki, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international covenants. At the same time, it will enhance the spirit of détente and good will between our nations, and advance the current negotiations in Geneva dealing with reduction of nuclear armaments.

Respectfully yours,

The Reverend Blahoslav S. Hrubý  
Executive Director and Editor

Dr. Constantin H. Kallaur  
President

Research Center for Religion and  
Human Rights in Closed Societies,  
Ltd., publishers of RCDA—Religion  
in Communist Dominated Areas

USSR

## THE "NEW RIGHT" IN SOVIET INTERPRETATION

## RCDA Comment

OLGA S. HRUBY

**N**OBODY in the world would expect a Soviet journalist to present an objective, balanced view of the American way of life, of U.S. institutions and system of government. It is an accepted fact of life that any discussions of the USA in Soviet press must stress the negative and for that purpose use biased criticism, hypocrisy and suspicion.

Comrade Gudkov, special correspondent of the English-language weekly "New Times" and of other Soviet publications, is no exception. He is known to seek eagerly access to American centers of democracy in action, including churches, but he does not permit himself the liberty of appraising objectively what he sees. Such audacity would cost him his job and a future as an America-watcher for which position he seems to be groomed.

Thus, Gudkov must present the New Right, Moral Majority and Christian Voice in the darkest possible hues, without balancing his story with a discussion of a similar phenomenon on the left, represented by ultra-liberal intellectuals, artists and clergymen who are vociferously supporting and promoting the Christian-Marxist dialogue, Soviet-manipulated peace campaigns, theology of liberation and other trends in line with the objectives of the Kremlin. Gudkov does not hint that precisely the copious publicity afforded to the U.S. Left provoked its opponents to organize the New Right as an antidote to the one-sided and often hypocritical criticism of the U.S. system.

Gudkov has assumed the prerogative to score the U.S. political establishment, naturally, without comparing its pluralism and openness to the arbitrariness and mono-

poly of the political systems in the USSR and other closed societies.

Furthermore, he incorrectly refers to the New Right as "neoconservatives," which terms has been attributed to a group of liberal intellectuals, including Norman Podhoretz, Midge Decter, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Irving Kristol, Daniel P. Moynihan and others, whose political attitudes have changed with their reappraisal and recognition of the new realities of the late 70s and 80s. These neoconservatives are among the most effective critics of Communism and of its advocates in the Free World. Naturally, Comrade Gudkov would not wish to engage in an open debate with them.

As for the New Right, Gudkov alleges that it harbors sinister aspirations, such as "to give generous tax concessions to Big Business, free it from government controls and provide it with cheap and obedient labor power . . . . It fights for restoration of prayers in schools and comes out against the constitutional amendment on the equality of women and against the SALT-2 Treaty." These charges are relatively mild in the light of Soviet rhetoric. Even more surprising is the absence of charges of anti-Communism as the force motivating these conservative organizations.

What Gudkov cannot recognize is the fact that the New Right represents a certain segment of American people and thus, its freedom of expression should be respected no less than freedom of expression accorded to the Left. Democracy can survive only if it engages in continuous discussion, criticism and reappraisal of its functions and objectives. It cannot act as a domain of a single group and single interest, left, right or center.

From: *New Times*, No. 4, Moscow, January 1981 [Pp. 25-27]

## THE BASTIONS OF NEOCONSERVATISM

YURI GUDKOV

**S**TRIPPED of its coating of demagogy, the ultimate aim of the neoconservatives is to give generous tax concessions to Big Business, free it from government controls and provide it with cheap and obedient labour power. Such prospects are certainly attractive to the U.S. financial and industrial moguls. And they already have political organizations seeking to secure mass support for the practical implementation of these ideas. We have in mind the political movements of the so-called New Right and Moral Majority.

## Business in Politics

Four names stand out in the leadership of the New Right — Paul Weyrich, Howard Phillips, Terry Dolan and Richard Viguerie. In the opinion of many, notes Harper's Magazine, "The New Right is nothing but Viguerie." This is, of course, an exaggeration, an attempt to minimize the political role of a collection of retrogrades which is highly odious to the "champions of democracy." However, Viguerie does occupy a special place among

them — in large measure owing to his ability to recruit supporters and raise money.

Viguerie has set up his headquarters in the town of Falls Church, where he rents three floors of a white brick building. Falls Church is a suburb of Washington inhabited by people with higher than average incomes. The house is closely guarded. In one of its rooms are two powerful computers, several high-speed typewriters and ten taperecording systems. In the room next door are shelves with thousands of reels of magnetic tape containing the names, addresses and other information about tens of millions of Americans. The figure was given by the host himself. Judging by everything, however, the real figure is less. The Wall Street Journal considers it more probable that in his "files" are the names of 4-4.5 million people who not only share the views of the New Right but are ready to give them financial assistance. "The conservative movement," Viguerie says, "has always been good at producing writers and debaters, but it never had anybody who knew how to market ideas to the masses. Well, that's what I am doing."

The technique of "marketing ideas" is fairly simple. Viguerie sends letters to private individuals containing, in addition to an appeal to support his stand on this or that issue, also a request for a donation. The important thing is to send the letters to people who are likely to respond.

This idea emerged in 1964, when after Barry Goldwater's debacle in the presidential elections, the big donors, the "fat cats," began to turn their backs upon the Right-wing Republicans. That was when Viguerie started to set up his computerized organization, which made possible the appearance and existence of the New Right. He dilligently registered 12,000 names and addresses of people who had sent donations for Goldwater's election campaign. Gradually the list grew. In 1975, for instance, Viguerie inherited the card index of the racist George Wallace, former Governor of Alabama.

The magnetic tapes are of great value in themselves: their owner leases them at 5 cents per name to conservative candidates wishing to know who is on their side.

However, Viguerie's main business is the writing and mailing of letters, his services to the cause that has made him a millionaire, which, it must be said, has confirmed him still more in his conservative views. Investing \$300 in this business in 1965, he founded a company which now employs 300 people. It sends out 100 million letters a year, and they bring \$15-20 million in contributions.

"The purpose of our mail," Viguerie says, "isn't just to raise funds. We are building a movement. Direct mail is a way to get people involved, to educate them, to turn out the vote."

### **Do You Prefer the White Flag?**

The New Right must be credited with a knack for brainwashing. The letters are usually of a confidential nature. The machine printing the letters makes "mistakes" and corrects them to create the impression that a human being has worked on it. For the same purpose, the machine pastes on the postage stamps unevenly. To get the addressee "involved," he is offered membership of

some consultative committee, initiated into the secrets of some "confidential report" and asked for some data needed in connection with some "special opinion poll." The data thus obtained are processed by the computer and remain for ever in its memory.

The letters are also calculated to evoke strong emotions. "We didn't invent playing to fears," Viguerie explains. "People aren't interested in sending money for good government . . . They will give money quicker to defeat someone who is opposed to their beliefs."

Here is how it is done. After being elected to the House of Representatives Jack Cunningham signed, as a token of gratitude for the financial assistance given to him during the elections, a letter prepared for circulation by Viguerie. It began with the following words: "I was just elected to Congress two weeks ago. I arrived in Washington one week ago. And I must warn you. What I found when I arrived here was unbelievable." (At that time Congress was in the Democrats' hands.)

One more example of the individual approach:

"Dear Friend! I think you will appreciate, more than most Americans, what I am sending you. I have enclosed two flags: the red, white, and blue of old glory — and the white flag of surrender. I want to show you, by these two flags, what is at stake for America under the SALT-2 Treaty with Russia . . . You and I must choose — and Senate must decide — whether we will personally accept the white flag of surrender as America's banner."

The electoral reform restricted contributions by private individuals to \$1,000 and those by organizations, to \$5,000. But there are no limits to financing a campaign against a candidate. This gave the New Right the idea of mounting crusades against persons not to their liking. In the past elections Senators McGovern, Church, Culver and several others were the principal objects of such efforts. The campaign against them was notable for an assortment of dirty tricks rare even for America. Here is what the above-mentioned Terry Dolan said about "his" candidate in the elections to the Senate: "Symms will never have to say anything negative about Frank Church. We will talk about all the negative stuff. By 1980 there will be people voting against Church without remembering why." That is precisely what happened.

### **And the "Word of God"**

Political campaigns are carried out by several organizations set up by the New Right not in the last place thanks to the money obtained by Viguerie. One of them, the National Conservative Political Action Committee, headed by Terry Dolan, specializes for the most part in election campaigns, supporting some candidates and working to defeat others. The mission of the Conservative Caucus headed by Howard Phillips is somewhat broader. It organizes mass campaigns against or in support of one or another government act. For instance, the Conservative Caucus headed the New Right's fight against the Panama Canal and SALT-2 treaties.

Every week the New Right leaders meet at a lunch in the conference hall of Viguerie's house in Falls Church to devise strategy and plan actions. It may be assumed that the idea of augmenting the coalition with religious preachers was born precisely at these conferences.

The thing is that there has emerged in the United States a whole industry engaged in spreading the "word of God." It includes 36 TV channels and 1,300 radio stations which transmit sermons. This religious telepropaganda penetrates into the homes of 30 million Americans and nets its sponsors an annual income of more than \$200 million. Last summer Paul Weyrich, the ideologist of the New Right, made the acquaintance of Jerry Falwell, the rising star among the telepreachers whose Sunday sermons are listened to by an audience of four million. Following this meeting, Falwell began to touch upon political questions in his sermons.

The meeting between Weyrich and Falwell resulted in the emergence of the Moral Majority, a political organization with about 300,000 supporters. It fights for the restoration of prayers in schools and comes out against the constitutional amendment on the equality of women and against the SALT-2 Treaty.

The Moral Majority is adjoined by the Christian Voice, a religious-political organization which boasts of having spent \$3 million in the past elections and of having 16 well-known conservatives on the trusteeship board.

### Pressure from the Right

In this way a broad and active alliance of Right forces possessing extensive propaganda possibilities is being built. The neoconservative intellectuals are preparing an ideological basis for it, while the New Right is organizing the mass support needed to carry these ideas into life. Even before the presidential election in November 1980, Weyrich said "the opportunity exists to put together a national conservative coalition that endures as long as Franklin D. Roosevelt's."

The Right had their own presidential candidate, Philip Crane, but he dropped out of the race after failing to secure the Republican Party's support. Now the Right hope to have their way through the Reagan Administration. A propaganda campaign has already been launched to show that Reagan owes his success in the election to the conservatives. Things went so far that the new Vice-President, George Bush, was compelled to make a special explanatory statement. "First," he declared, "Governor Reagan is not an extremist. His whole record in California demonstrates that, second, he will not be the captive of any particular group."

It is perfectly clear that Reagan's victory became possible primarily because of Carter's failure to fulfil his promise to put an end to inflation, unemployment and social injustice, as well as a result of disagreement with his foreign policy. But it is also obvious that the current resurgence of the Right is not due to their programme being attractive to the majority of Americans, but to the failure of the Democratic Party as a whole and the liberals in particular in the social sphere. And the Right are firmly resolved to fill the "political vacuum." As James Wigheart, a noted columnist, pointed out, they "offer Americans, in essence . . . the replacement of New Deal liberalism with what is, in most major respects, a new version of the Old Deal conservatism that dominated American politics during the first part of this century until it was swept away by Franklin D. Roosevelt."

This "deal" is bound to bring about new economic and social perturbations. The Right are a longstanding and irreconcilable enemy of the American working people.

*New York*

## CHINA (PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC) and VIETNAM

From: *Beijing Review*, No. 26, Beijing, June 29, 1981  
[P. 8]

### MORE VIETNAMESE PROVOCATIONS

**V** IETNAMESE troops have in June continued their provocations along the Sino-Vietnamese border, intruded into Chinese territory, attacked frontier stations, killed and wounded Chinese frontier guards and inhabitants.

On June 1, the Vietnamese armed forces shelled Pingxiang, an important border town in China's Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. They shelled the railway station, destroyed civilian buildings and disrupted railway communication.

The town of Pingxiang used to be an important place from where China delivered its aid materials to Viet Nam. In 1973, the late Vietnamese President Ton

Duc Thang awarded the workers of the Pingxiang railway station the title of "model of military exploits, first-class" and praised them for their help to the Vietnamese people in the fight against the U.S. aggressors and in socialist construction.

On June 10, the Vietnamese armed forces shelled a border village in Ningming County. The houses of 39 families, a school, several warehouses and cattle pens were levelled to the ground, killing one villager and wounding another.

The atrocities of the Vietnamese authorities have aroused the indignation of the Chinese people.

## CHINA (PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC) and VATICAN

From: *Beijing Review*, No. 26, Beijing, June 29, 1981  
[Pp. 7-8]

### REFUTING THE VATICAN

"IN DISREGARD of the sovereignty of the Chinese Catholic church, the Holy See appointed Deng Yiming archbishop of Guangdong Province. This is illegal. We firmly oppose it."

This statement was made on June 11 by Yang Gaojian, a leading member of the China Catholic Bishop College. Yang is currently a leading member of the Chinese Patriotic Catholic Association and the National Administrative Commission of the Chinese Catholic Church.

Deng Yiming was released from jail last year after he had shown repentance for his serious crime in subverting New China on instructions from the Vatican in the early 50s. The Chinese Government later approved his application to go to Xianggang (Hongkong) for medical treatment and to visit his relatives. Without any sense of dignity, the statement said, Deng Yiming went to Rome to receive the post of so-called archbishop. He also went to other places to engage in activities harmful to the dignity of the Chinese clergy and Chinese people, violating the principle of independence of the Chinese church.

The statement stressed that the Holy See's act constitutes a grave infringement on the sovereignty of the Chinese church and therefore cannot be tolerated.

The statement went on to say: The Holy See has always adopted a hostile attitude towards the Chinese people, having resorted to various means to subvert and sabotage New China. To safeguard China's independence and dignity and to free themselves from the control of the Holy See, the Chinese clergy and congregation found

ed the Chinese Patriotic Catholic Association in 1957 to run their church independently.

A leading member of the Bureau of Religious Affairs under the State Council on June 15 expressed his support for this statement and protested against the Vatican for interfering in China's internal affairs. Vice-chairman of the Guangdong branch Ye Yinyun and Bishop Zhang Jiashu, chairman of the Shanghai branch of the Chinese Patriotic Catholic Association, also issued statements refuting the Vatican for its hostility towards the Chinese people.

Catholicism was introduced to China in 1582 by the Italian missionary Matteo Ricci in the form of disseminating Western culture and science. But it was after the Opium War of 1840 that the number of Catholics rapidly increased. By 1949, on the eve of the founding of New China, there were around 3 million Catholics in China.

#### Celebration

On June 7, more than 100 Chinese Catholics in Beijing were confirmed in celebration of the feast of Pentecost at the Church of the Immaculate Conception. Bishop Fu Tieshan said: "Now we have restored all the seven sacraments." It was the first time since the "cultural revolution" that so many believers had been confirmed. On the same day similar activities took place in the Church of St. Joseph. Altogether, several thousand Chinese and foreign Catholics attended the services at the two churches.

#### **NOTICE TO READERS:**

*Please advise us promptly of any change of address. We must pay very high postage for returned mail, which is a strain on our budget. Your cooperation in this respect will be appreciated.*

**RCDA, 475 Riverside Drive, Suite 448, New York, NY 10115, USA**

## USSR

From: *Moscow News Weekly*, No. 51, Moscow, 1981  
[P. 3]

### **PATRIARCH PIMEN: THE THREAT OF A GLOBAL CATASTROPHE MUST BE ELIMINATED**

"RELATIONS between the Church and the civic authorities have been normal for a long time in our country," said Patriarch Pimen, head of the Russian Orthodox Church, during an interview with Pedro Galindo for Spanish radio and television. "Freedom of conscience, the right to profess any religion is guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR to all citizens. Incitement of enmity or hatred on religious grounds is prohibited (Article 52). The state creates the necessary conditions for exercising freedom of religion. It does not interfere in the internal affairs of the Church. At the same time, the state provides religious communities with churches free of charge. The Church also receives the necessary materials for construction, for making icons, religious objects and dress, candles — all out of state funds. Paper is also provided for the Church's various publishing needs, i.e., printing the Holy Book, calendars and periodicals."

Expressing concern over the turn the East-West relations have taken recently the Patriarch said:

"We deeply regret that in recent years the enemies of relaxation of international tensions, the militarist circles which strive for domination over other countries and peoples in pursuance of their own egotistical interests have sharply stepped up their activities in the West. The dangerous, vain policy of attaining military superiority,

the desire to deploy new American medium-range missiles in Europe, and the decision to produce neutron bombs, are all part of this drive.

"We are convinced," stressed the head of the Russian Orthodox Church, "that in order to eliminate this danger, all people of goodwill, both the believers and the non-believers, should increase their efforts to preserve world peace. Honest and constructive bilateral and multilateral talks among countries are, we think, a step in the right direction."

"In our desire to increase the believers' participation in eliminating the deadly nuclear war threat, we initiated the holding of a World Conference next spring titled "Religious Workers for the Salvation of the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe". The idea has won support and understanding from a broad spectrum of religious circles in various countries. The recently organized International Preparatory Committee is doing everything possible to assure the success of this conference to be held in Moscow on the invitation of the Russian Orthodox Church from May 10-14, 1982. We hope that its conclusions will be welcomed by the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly and will contribute towards friendly brotherly relations between East and West and, indeed, among all the countries and peoples of the world," said the Patriarch.

### **LEONID BREZHNEV: SOVIET POLICY IS SUBORDINATED TO THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE**

"THE DOMINATING factor in the Soviet Union's foreign policy was and remains the concern for how to preserve peace, to avert the threat of a nuclear war and to strengthen the security of the nations."

So said Leonid Brezhnev to a group of scientists from the Pontifical Academy of Science whom he received in the Kremlin at the request of Pope John Paul II, the head of the Catholic Church and the Vatican State. Members of the group — J. Lejeune, professor of fundamental genetics, and G. B. Marini Bettolo, professor of chemistry — spoke of the results of the research done by the Academy on the consequences for mankind of a nuclear war, and presented Leonid Brezhnev with a copy of the "Declaration on the Consequences of the Use of Nuclear Weapons" containing the results of the research.

Leonid Brezhnev stressed the importance of public knowledge of the innumerable calamities a nuclear war could bring. That is why the warnings coming from politicians and scientists of various countries merit the greatest attention. This idea underlies the proposal put

forward at the 26th CPSU Congress on the formation of an international committee which would bring home the vital need for averting a nuclear catastrophe. The louder the authoritative voice of the scientists, the more conscientious the activities of the millions of people who work for the achievement of this goal.

"A sign of the times," Leonid Brezhnev said, "is that to rid mankind of the danger that threatens it, states, political parties and movements, public and other circles, irrespective of different ideological and philosophical views, unite, aware of their common vital interests.

"To prevent a nuclear war — such is today the supreme responsibility of heads of state to posterity. The Soviet leadership realizes this responsibility in full. The USSR subordinates its foreign policy to this task.

"There is room for all states, large, middle-sized and small, for all political, public, scientific, religious and other peace-loving forces in international contacts and dialogue aimed at improving the world political climate and strengthening peace."

USSR

From: *Moscow News*, No. 40, Moscow, October 11-18,  
1981 [P. 4]

## HOW TO GET THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN THE USSR

SERGEI NENASHEV

**A**UGUST is the time for the entrance examinations to the Leningrad Theological Seminary. Its annual competition rate is 2-3 persons per vacancy.

Sergei Trukhachov, now 21, went through that kind of experience two years ago. He comes from a religious family and attended church since early childhood. So, when the time came, at his request his parson unhesitatingly gave him a letter of recommendation to the Seminary. His parents also gave their blessings for their son's studies.

The Seminary provides secondary theological education, with its curriculum scheduled for four years. However, it took Sergei only two years to complete the course. True, he had to work hard: every day he stayed up late in the library of the Seminary, which boasts of 200 thousand volumes in all European languages. He also frequented the Saltykov-Shchedrin Leningrad Public Library, which belongs to the five largest libraries in the world.

Sergei Trukhachov graduated with a first-rate certificate and entered the Leningrad Theological Academy without examinations beginning with September this year, in accordance with the existing regulations.

The Theological Academy gives preference to the best graduates from the Seminary. Should persons with higher secular education apply with a request to be accepted, they are being interviewed. On an average, the annual enrollment to the first course of the Academy is 25 students and to the Seminary — 60 students. Three theological seminaries — in Moscow, Leningrad and

Odessa, and two academies — in Moscow and Leningrad, with a total number of two thousand students, are now functioning in the Soviet Union.

Here is some information about the Leningrad Theological Academy. Founded back in 1801, it has among its graduates almost half of the Russian episcopacy and many prominent Orthodox leaders in other countries, including Metropolitan Dorofei, head of the Czech Orthodox Church, Petr Teoferri Iassu, Bishop of the Orthodox Ethiopian Church, Archimandrite Timofei Margaritis, Secretary to the Jerusalem Patriarch. About 50 students from close to 20 countries are now studying in the Academy, including students from Argentina, Hungary, the US, Finland, etc.

When a Seminary student, Sergei became friends with Father Feofan, Secretary of the Leningrad Theological Academy. They both are keen on theology, but their other hobbies are different. Father Feofan goes in for sport, he regularly attends the swimming pool leased by the Academy and Sergei is quite indifferent to sports, but he loves theatre and especially opera.

Sergei plans to become a monk, like Father Feofan, which could be done in the second or third course, if the Academy Council solicits for his consecration before the Metropolitan of Leningrad. However, prior to that Sergei would have to do his mundane duty and serve for two years in the army. Protection of the peaceful life of the state is a duty and an honorary right of every Soviet citizen irrespective of his education or religious beliefs.

USSR

From: *Krokodil* [Crocodile], No. 10, Moscow, April  
1981. 5,810,000 circulation [P. 12]

### PARADISE POLL

*Caption:* And the last question: do you believe in god  
[sic]?

Cartoon by E. Milutka



(Continued from Page 177)

Basin Program similarly enable Freedom House to describe the freedom struggles in those respective areas.

The organization widely circulates such pleas — and its own advisories on foreign and domestic issues. It also examines the responsibility of the news media. Its seven-year study of the American press, *Big Story*, is a definitive analysis of the functioning of the U.S. news media. Freedom House is a leading defender of the free press on the world scene. It seeks to improve Third World journalism while resisting encroachments on press freedom.

Similarly, Freedom House defended the university in the United States and abroad when it suffered physical disruptions and philosophical attacks in the 1960s. It helped found the International Council on the Future of the University. Scholars of 20 free countries are now enlisted in the regular defense of scholarly integrity and academic freedom.

It entered the struggle to preserve and encourage the "freedom radios" — Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty — voices of freedom talking to millions of people under Soviet control. These radios frequently broadcast reports originating at Freedom House. Some of the present "revolution from below" in Poland can be credited to the work of these radios.

Through Freedom House/Books USA thousands of volumes are given each year to potential leaders of developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

\* \* \*

Forty years ago, the founders of Freedom House understood that the future was unknowable, but unless the advocates of freedom mobilized in defense, the future would be closed to freedom. Only freedom keeps the future open.

(Continued from Page 147)

"I think that the majority of people who see this program will be amazed that our government does not want your words to be heard by your people," Congressman LeBoutillier commented in conclusion of his interview with A. Solzhenitsyn, "that it is not the Soviet Union — it is our government which does not allow it, particularly, when the censorship is by our government — which only does it because it is afraid to distress and anger the Soviet leaders. The majority of our listeners will not only be amazed or shocked, they will want to know why this is so, and why it continues to be so."

Congressman LeBoutillier rendered a great service to the cause of freedom and human rights letting the A-

merican public know through this interview with Solzhenitsyn about very serious shortcomings in U.S. broadcasts to the Soviet Union.

It is unfortunate and perhaps symptomatic for the current moral and political confusion in our society that Solzhenitsyn's prophetic warnings receive less attention than hollow voices of those who ignore the violation of religious freedom and human rights in the USSR and propagate the Soviet-inspired détente, appeasement and unilateral disarmament.

We salute Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn as one of the foremost champions of religious freedom and human rights, and pray and hope that, God willing, he will see the rebirth of freedom in Russia and in all captive nations.

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# The MESSENGER

of The Men's Class of The Riverside Church  
490 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027

VOL. 51

JUNE  
No. 6 1982

## BIBLE STUDY CLASSES - WEEKLY - FREE

The Rev. Dr. Kenneth W. Linsley, an ordained Baptist minister, teacher at the New York School of the Bible, and legal counsel for the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., will conduct weekly Bible Study classes. Starting Friday, May 28th, at 6:30 p.m. in Christ Chapel, classes will go right through the summer, every Friday evening. Come and join us - start any Friday.

## THE MEN'S CLASS DINNER - OCTOBER 28th

We are proud to announce that the outstanding Civil Rights leader and humanitarian,

MR. BAYARD RUSTIN,

will be this year's recipient of the

Charles Evans Hughes Award.

For the Men's Class dinner, we are joining with the noted research publication R.C.D.A. (Religion in Communist Dominated Areas), which celebrates its 20th year of reporting on the Violation of Religious Freedom and Human Rights.

Other speakers and honored guests will be announced in the months to come. Plan to join us, make a note now:

## THE MEN'S CLASS DINNER - OCTOBER 28th.

The OPEN FORUM will resume programs in the fall.

---

William Coles, President, The Men's Class  
Mrs. Janet Stanley, Secretary, Riversiders for  
Cooperation and Progress.  
Rev. Blahoslav Hruby, Chairman, OPEN FORUM

O TEMPORA, O MORES!

Churches do not always succumb to every novel suggestion that comes along. We have just read that the General Synod of the Church of England by a narrow margin decided *not* to include in the *Book of Common Prayer* a new "Abortion Prayer" to be used by doctors and clergy upon the occasion of a "medical termination of pregnancy." In part the prayer, which was approved by the lay delegates to the synod but rejected by the bishops, 20 to 13, would have read: "Into Your hands we commit in trust the developing life that we have cut short."

Somehow that reminds us that in Ohio a formal suit for divorce has been filed in Cuyahoga County Common Pleas Court by Beverly Irwin, who is seeking to be separated from Carol Lupardus. The suit says that the two women were married on June 7, 1972 and ever since have lived together in marriage. The suit charges that Miss Lupardus treated Miss Irwin with extreme cruelty and grossly neglected her, wrongfully inflicting mental suffering. It further states that no children were born to the union.

*(Across the Editor's Desk, "The Presbyterian Journal")*

EGG-ON-FACE DEPARTMENT

One of the Riverside Church's newfound functions has been the so-called DRAFT COUNSELING. Now we all know that that is not at all what it does. The law says that an eighteen-year old must notify the government of his whereabouts. Simple? Of course! But not at Riverside.

The Riverside Draft Counseling ill-advises, lectures, marches, protests, and prints leaflets, opposing the law. REGISTRATION leads to DRAFT which leads to WAR, is their war cry.

Now we have a war in the Falklands - and who is fighting??? Why, Argentina - a Junta, or Soviet (Council) style dictatorship, and Great Britain, which has neither REGISTRATION, nor DRAFT.

Riverside Church Draft Counseling, wipe the egg off your face, it makes you look foolish.

B.B.S.

THE SOVIET UNION AS WE SAW IT

by Janet and Roger Stanley

(conclusion)

Vladimir had told us to get in touch with the commandant of the airport when we reached Moscow and show him the letter he had written. Of course, at that hour we were told that the Commandant wasn't there. Obviously, someone had to be in charge; but no one wanted to admit it. The letter had been thoroughly scrutinized by everyone by now.

So now that we had a room, what about getting to this hotel? Well, you see, there is a commercial bus, and you should get on it. Aeroflot would not pay for more than that. Roger said, "With six big pieces of luggage, how are we going to get on a commercial bus?" The woman as much as said, "That's your problem".

So what about a taxi? Well Aeroflot would not pay for a taxi. We don't care, we would just like a taxi. She waved us in the direction of a taxi stand--it was quite cold and windy, and as usual we were not dressed for it (we left our coats in Tbilisi!) They had indicated that there would be no problem to get a taxi, but there were none. We waited and waited. Finally, one pulled up and a man behind us in line, grabbed it. He must have seen the look of despair on our faces, for he motioned to us and spoke to the driver. We then joined him in the cab and were dropped off approximately two thirds of a mile at the airport hotel.

By now it was nearly 11:00 PM. At first we were told we would have to leave our big pieces of luggage down in the lobby. While waiting for the exchange of documents, etc., we noticed an Oriental looking man go to the door, obviously wishing to go outside. The doorman definitely forbade him to leave. An argument ensued, but the doorman was unrelenting. The clerk behind the desk spoke English and turned out to be quite nice. He decided that we could be trusted to take our own luggage upstairs after all (maybe they wanted to search it?) Of course, there were no porters. He said we must be hungry, and gave us a voucher to go up to the snack bar on the eighth floor as fast as possible; so we could get some food.

Our room was more-or-less alright, but COLD, to be sure. His advice was very good because the snack bar

consisted of one table with four chairs and a bar with four stools. We sat down speedily and almost immediately a long line formed to wait their turn. We had some salami, cheese, bread, hard boiled eggs and Turkish coffee.

Our new friend came in to warn us about 11:30 PM that there is a curfew in this hotel - at midnite or 1:00 AM the lights all go out! Now you don't know what to do first - what's more important; do you unpack, take a bath, what? Well, I found out that the water was hot; and, of course, we were frozen; so I drew a bath. Roger said, "You're not going to get in that, are you?" The water was dark brown. I said, "Oh yes I am!" It seemed to me it was the first time I had been warm since I could remember. Sure enough, at 1 AM the lights went off, and that was that!

At the desk we had asked for a wake up call at 7 AM; so we were awakened at 5 AM! The way it worked out, they did us a favor. We didn't know what to expect would happen to us; so we decided to go ahead and pack up and get to the airport. When we tried to leave the hotel, the person at the desk gave Roger a note that said we had permission to leave the hotel and go to the airport. The only slight problem was that we had to walk. With six pieces of luggage, 2/3 of a mile on a super highway, in the rain on a cold day! There were no taxis, and the desk refused to call one. There were buses picking people up, but we weren't supposed to get on them.

Roger made up his mind to get to the airport and get a taxi and come back for me and the luggage. Somehow he talked his way on to a bus provided by Aeroflot and guarded by the Government police - the bus was full of Oriental people. Roger subsequently learned that all the people on this bus had passed through customs the night before and were going to East Berlin. There he was herded in with the rest of them to go to Berlin. When they saw Roger, he looked a bit out of place; so they told him to stand aside. He was interrogated by the woman in charge and an officer.

After explaining to them why he was there and showing them the note from the hotel, he was taken to another officer, who in turn read the note, and said he could not permit him to leave this area which was beyond customs.

He was not the Commandant. The woman then took him to another officer to whom Roger had to explain again why he was there and show the note from the hotel. He was asked to wait - and closely supervised to see that he did; and after ten minutes or so of waiting, another officer came down who seemed to be in charge of everything.

Roger had to go through the whole explanation one more time, and show him the note. Roger actually told him that he was very sorry to have caused him so much trouble. I don't believe that's exactly what he meant at that point! He finally escorted Roger to the other area where he was permitted to get a taxi cab if he could find one. Fortunately, there were some cabs there; and all the drivers were asleep...it was early in the morning. He got a cab driver to take him back to the hotel, collect me and the luggage, and go back to the airport.

We got back to the airport at 7:45 AM - our flight was to depart at 10:55 AM. We decided to have some breakfast at the lobby cafeteria: we had some sort of juice, several slices of cucumber and salami; Roger took a chance and got some sort of hamburger or cutlet. It tasted terrible, but it came with rice; so I ate the rice.

We should have had a lot of time, but we were pretty apprehensive. The next adventure was Moscow customs. Whenever there is a question of any sort, one is told to wait while a uniformed man goes and gets someone else who presumably knows more than he does. Whenever there is any sort of question, four uniformed men surround you from every possible angle: you feel your back being surveyed and every motion you make being surveyed. So the first man came back with another uniformed man. Certainly once again Vladimir's letter is read. Now, however, we have an additional problem. That woman at the Aeroflot desk the night before had taken the liberty of taking us off our Air France flight to Istanbul that Vladimir had arranged for us; and put us on her blasted Aeroflot (saying, "That's better anyway") So our tickets not only read the wrong day, the wrong city, but also the wrong air line.

Now the second uniformed man went back and found yet another, and again the letter was read and each time the same questions were asked and the same answers given. Finally they went back and got the man who apparently

was the Commandant. Again the letter was read and we were interrogated. We got very weary of all this, but were extremely grateful that we had Vladimir's letter as we clearly would have gone nowhere at all without it.

Finally the Commandant decided we could go. The only question he asked re: customs, was, where are the two gold rings which we had declared on the way in. We held up our hands, and that was okay. We got most of the bags over to the luggage loading area for Istanbul when I made a serious mistake. I thought we were getting late for our flight; so I half ran to pick up the last carry-on and the rug. The Commandant who had been walking away saw this, and called me back with my bags. He ordered us to open the big package that contained the rug - it was wrapped in brown paper and bound with wire. The ends were open; so one could see what it was and further more, I had declared on my list "One native rug". Nothing would do but we had to open it. We thought that he suspected that we had something concealed inside it. There was nothing inside it. Well, perhaps he had to justify himself, I don't know; but he queried its origin and kept feeling it and looking at it.

He called over a woman who, judging from the amount of braid she wore, was probably in charge of that area. She looked at it and felt it and shrugged her shoulders and walked away. But his eyes really had a gleam in them - he liked the rug. He told us that since it was a native product an official of the Department of Agriculture would have to look at it and assess the proper amount of tariff. I asked whether that gentleman just happened to be on the premises. Well, no. We would have to stay another day. We explained that it was a wedding gift, we hadn't even purchased it - but that didn't matter. Roger had to go with a uniformed man back into a little glassed in cubicle to get a receipt for the rug, which of course, was supposed to make it possible for my brother-in-law to fly to Moscow and claim the rug if he came within one month - maybe two. And this is further to assume that that receipt would ever reach him in their censored mail. Roger said you should see the pile of receipts they had on the desk of confiscated items; so obviously it's a pretty good business.

After all that, we proceeded once more to the check-in

line with the conveyor belt for Istanbul. The woman looked at the airplane tickets, and it started all over again. She chased us out of the line. Once again we had to go and get some sort of an official. There was a woman parading back and forth: Roger went to her explaining the situation. She said, "Well, you'd better stay overnite in Moscow and leave the next day because your tickets are out of order". We started again with the letter. Roger was getting angry, surprisingly enough. They went back to that glass cubicle. There were two older women sitting there, and they both had to read the letter. I guess they over-ruled the other woman, because they waved Roger back that we should get on the airplane. We actually did this time, and the plane left at 11:10 AM after a harrowing 3 hours and 45 minutes at that Moscow airport.

As we were soon to learn, Roger caught cold again in dear old Moscow. One rather curious thing - the Russians don't stamp passports. There's no way to prove you were ever in that country. Unhappily, we were still in the clutches of Aeroflot.

When we landed at Ankara, Turkey, at 2:07 PM, we were instructed to leave our hand luggage and get off the plane for a one hour lay over. We were confronted by soldiers carrying machine guns, and a little walkway cordoned off so one couldn't stray from the straight and narrow. Somehow everyone else got boarding passes, but we did not.

When it came to getting back on the plane, a man asked us to produce our passes. Of course, we didn't have them. Well, we couldn't get on the plane. But our luggage is on the plane; therefore, we must have been. Reluctantly he let us board; and then came on board himself with an officer and pointed to us. They stared at us for a while and discussed whatever it was they were going to do with us while we waited nervously. That plane finally took off with us on it.

Apparently when flying to another country, Aeroflot has a change of heart; for miracle of miracles we were served a meal. They were willing to sell drinks, too; but, you see, you have to buy the whole bottle! We arrived at the Istanbul airport at 4 PM. The place is thick with men in khaki carrying submachine guns; but for some reason that didn't worry us nearly as much as it had in Russia where everyone was an under cover agent



whether they were wearing a uniform or not. If I were on Russia's border, I'd carry a gun a lot too. Roger said only after 15 minutes in the cab on our way to the hotel did he actually believe we were out of the U.S.S.R. I think they thought we were crazy at the hotel. Exhausted though we were, we were just hysterically happy to be out of the Soviet Union. Once again to breathe free air.

\*\*\*\*\*

TEUNIS G. B. CORTELYOU, JR.  
(May 19, 1981 - April 22, 1982)

IN MEMORIAM

Teunis Garrett Bergen Cortelyou, Jr., a descendant of an old Brooklyn and New York family, and a long-time member of the Holland Society of New York, was born May 19, 1891. His mother's maiden name was Ella Rowan. He never had the joy or tribulation of dealing with a brother or sister. In his early years he lived on West 94th Street in Manhattan and went to Trinity School from 1902 to 1906, when he left, at the age of 15, to "enter business." The reason for his departure from the school can only be surmised. His father died in 1923 and his mother in 1947. He, himself, a bachelor, passed away on the 22nd of April about a month before his 91st birthday. He died in the West 75th Street apartment where he had lived for fifty years.

Teunis, known to many of his friends as "Cort", saw service in France in the army during the First World War. In the 1920's he worked for the United States Mortgage and Trust Company. In 1929 Chemical Bank and Trust Company became his employer. At the time of his retirement in 1964 he was a cost accountant at Horn and Hardart. His expertise in accounting and finance is well known, and it is not surprising that he served as Treasurer for the Alumni Association of Trinity School and as Treasurer, and frequently auditor, for The Men's Class of The Riverside Church.

He joined the Men's Class in 1941, although he was then and he remained a member of Trinity Church. The Men's Class relied on Cort to supervise the bowling activities of the Class. He was on hand on bowling evenings to make sure that any member who wished to

bowl could do so; he kept all the records and was captain of the bowling team. It is not well known that Cort was a golfer. He played in New Jersey, in Haworth, and only stopped in the 70's when failing eyesight and arthritic joints became handicaps beyond his control. Few persons know that he was a member of the Hole-in-One Club. Even fewer know that he played in right field for the Mortgage and Trust Company's baseball club in the 1920's.

Cort, however, was much more than a six-foot, athletic, business man. He grew up before the Boy Scout movement reached the United States, yet he exemplified its laws. A scout is trustworthy, loyal, helpful, friendly, courteous, kind, obedient, cheerful, thrifty, brave, clean, and reverent. Cort was a Christian gentleman, especially reliable, courteous and helpful. One friend, dying of cancer, wrote to him: "If anyone can give me courage it is you."

In his later years he gave much of his time to the work of the Uptown Branch of the YMCA and served for some years on its governing body. In 1969 he received its Man of the Year award. The previous year he had received a similar award from The Men's Class. His good deeds will long be remembered.

George B. Schoonmaker

---

"Hain't we got all the fools in town on our side?  
And ain't that a big enough majority in any town?"  
(Mark Twin, Huckleberry Finn.)

---

The following letter and article were hand-delivered to the Riverside Church, and by Friday, May 28th, we had received no reply. Once more a lack of communication.

FROM: THE MESSENGER, of the Men's Class

TO: Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Jr.;  
Ernest Lorch, Chairman, Board of Trustees;  
Rev. Elinor Galusha, Chairman, Board of Deacons

THE MESSENGER plans to run the enclosed story on the proposed budget. We think that it is correct, and fair. We submit it to you for your corrections, if any, and some illumination you may be able to furnish on some of the questions posed.

We plan to go to press by the 26th of May, thus we would appreciate your earliest reply. Should we not hear from you in writing by the above date, we will assume that you either do not wish to comment, or that you find the facts correct as presented.

Sincerely,  
Bryan Sterling  
Editor-pro-tem

May 20, 1982

#### A LACK OF CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY!

On May 16th, 1982, beginning at twelve-thirty o'clock of the afternoon, an almost 5 million dollar budget was whisked past a well-meaning, but mis-, ill-, or un-informed membership. While surely not one of them has handed the Riverside Church a blank, signed personal check, 179 of the members voted the church 5 million of someone else's money without knowing where the money was going. Everyone was given a 5-page budget condensation, and some printed information - but not a dozen of them had ever seen the REAL budget, which contained 35 pages. A staff member, appalled by what it contained, had smuggled a full copy to us about ten days earlier. Yet as late as the Sunday preceding the vote, no member was allowed a full budget. Only on the last 5 weekdays, when most of us are at work, could one come - theoretically - between 9 a.m. and 4:30 p.m. and ask for the 35 page budget. When we tried to obtain a copy, we were sent from pillar to post; not even Mr. Gladstone's secretary - he is the Church's business administrator - wanted to give us one. Finally, after 20 minutes, we were reluctantly handed a copy. We are not surprised that there was such hesitancy in having us see this budget, for there are errors, omissions, and highly questionable appropriations. None of these show up in the 5 page condensation.

How 179 members, supposedly functioning adults in today's world, voted a disbursement of practically 5 million dollars (the budget is just \$64,000 short of

that total) without knowing the facts, is truly distressing. How the leadership of the Riverside Church can effect this secrecy, is disturbing. But, as Puck says in act III, scene 2 of Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream: "Lord, what fools these mortals be!" Can anyone imagine 179 completely rational people giving away 5 million dollars without asking a single question? Not one? It was a study in modern psychology to observe 179 men and women vote for something they knew absolutely nothing about.

Let us prove to you that these 179 members of the Riverside Church knew nothing about the budget, or they surely would have been puzzled by these facts:

POINT # 1. On the information sheet available in the Assembly Hall, it stated that 'Arts in Religion' was funded "\$8,600, an increase of \$800." That is not true!

On page #2, it clearly states that this program is funded by \$10,600 - not \$8,600, - which is an increase over 1981-82 of \$1,800 - not \$800. WHY DID NOT ONE PERSON ASK FOR AN EXPLANATION?

POINT # 2. On the reverse side of this same information sheet, we are told: "SALARIES WERE INCREASED 8% to 12% BASED ON THE LEVEL OF STAFF SALARIES." Let us look at the truth:

	<u>1981/82</u>	<u>1982/83</u>	<u>Increases</u>
p.7 Public Worship			
Salaries*)	125,267	152,396	+ 21.7%
Pensions	10,848	16,643	+ 53.4%
p.18 Communications & Publ.			
Info. Salaries	53,700	62,600	+ 16.6%
Total compensation	63,188	74,144	+ 17.3%

\*This includes the Senior Minister and his staff, which is identical to his staff of last year. It does not look well when the staff of this Church takes such unwarranted increases, and then tries to hide that fact!

POINT # 3. See page # 18. In the past two years 'Communications and Public Information' has increased its budget by 53%, i.e. \$49,000, while at the same time this Church has increased its contributions to such deserving institutions as the UCC Home for the Aged,

and the ABC Home for the Aged, by an embarrassingly measly \$300 - in two years! We spend an additional \$49,000 on communication - certainly not to the members--and only \$300 on the elderly! (p. 14).

POINT # 4. Two brand new positions are budgeted on page #20. Listed under 'Stewardship' we are asked to pay \$71,588 for one DEVELOPMENT OFFICER - whatever that is - plus his secretary. What a suspicious, outrageous suggestion! This will be a fund-raiser, we were told by a Trustee. FUND-RAISER? For what? At \$71,588, this fund-raiser will raise money for Disarmament? For the Institute for Policy Studies or other purpose? And why was this not disclosed to the meeting? There was no indication of this new position in the 9 page summary. Why is Riverside looking for a fund-raiser? Why were the members kept in the dark about this? And to let the membership vote blindly for a new position paying \$71,588 per annum is deceitful!

POINT # 5. On page # 15, under "D" there is an omission of \$1,300, making the total wrong. Surely a budget should be correct.

POINT # 6. On page # 16, there is a \$950 error in addition.

POINT # 7. On page # 24, there is an item called GAS. Like a yo-yo, this item keeps going up and down over the years. We have no idea what it is, but we complained about it last year, and that seems to have had a beneficial effect:

	<u>1980/81</u>	<u>1981/82</u>	<u>1982/83</u>
GAS	\$1,000	\$17,000*	\$5,000

\* Please note increase from \$1,000 to \$17,000

POINT # 8. On page # 21, under the heading of 'General Administration' we find a budgeted expenditure of \$12,000 on postage, which is approximately \$6 per membership home, or equal to 30 times a 20 cent stamp. This Church has a special, non-profit franking privilege, which allows for an even lower postage rate. What is this huge sum used for? It certainly is not used to communicate with the membership at the rate of \$6 per home.

POINT # 9. This Church spends a total of \$179,522 on benevolences, special offerings, Christian action,

etc. (see pages 14/15.) At the same time, this Church spends almost twice that amount, namely \$356,336 on its own defense and protection. While the senior minister berates the federal government for increasing the defense budget, this Church, dedicated supposedly to ministering to the needy, spends twice as much to protect its property as it spends to help the needy. It is also ludicrous to note that this Church budgets \$136,200 for the purpose of getting the United States to disarm, while it budgets almost three times that much for a para-military force to defend itself. A classic example of the senior minister saying: "Do as I say, not as I do!"

Security expenses:

page 1, Morningside Alliance	\$ 29,000.
" 23, Auto alarm & watchman	42,000.
" 26, Security exp. & suppl.	5,000
" 27, Security compensation	180,080.
Security, part time	50,138
prorated benefits, etc.	43,225.
prorated overt. & subs.	6,893.
	<u>\$356,336</u>

POINT # 10. Expenditures and designations have been shifted, or changed, making it more difficult to compare one year against another. No ulterior motive is implied, but there are no logical reasons for these changes. For example:

a) Director of English Conversation (p. 10), is now listed under 'Christian(?) Education' where before it was listed under 'Outreach'. (1981/82 p. 16)

b) On page # 9, under the heading of 'Christian Education Ministry,' subheading 'Other Programs,' we find an item: BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL STUDIES, as having received \$2,000 during 1981/82. This was not listed under this heading in last year's budget.

c) Also on page # 9, we find 'Adult Ministries,' suddenly renamed 'Adult Education,' and attached to a listing of Study/Action.

d) The Church School Program of Christian Education used to carry SUMMER CHILD CARE, which has now been shifted to just 'Child Care,' under PUBLIC

WORSHIP (?). This is hardly the same thing.

e) Library purchases and English Conversation are now under 'Christian Education,' where before they were under Outreach, where they belong.

POINT # 11. There are some unexplained new expenditures planned, which should have been given some clarification, for example:

a) p. 6, Inspirational Choir planning \$ 1,300.  
b) p. 6, Chancel decoration - Christmas 800.  
c) p. 15, under 'Outreach' we find expenses totalling over \$10,000 which are not explained and lend themselves perfectly for any other operation, to be shunted around, to be used for other than the suggested purposes.

# 2, Conferences and Meetings	\$ 2,500.
# 3, Materials	1,000.
# 5, Volunteer Expenses	1,000.
# 8, Personnel (student, field	3,000.
Increases:	
# 7, Celebrations +480%	1,900.
"C" Conference fees +58%	<u>700</u> \$10,100

POINT # 12. On page # 6, there is a humorous budget increase, which defies rational explanation. It is not the size of the increase that is being argued, but simply what prompted a deliberating body to come up with this amount.

	<u>1981/82</u>	<u>1982/83</u>
Chancel Flowers, Memorial		
Day & Mother's Day	\$1,300	\$1,304
		INCREASE: <u>\$4</u>

That's what we like to see - financial restraint, but why parsimony at the expense of America's fallen braves, and our mothers?

---

RESPONSE TO 'CHAIRPERSON' GALUSHA'S STATEMENT THAT THE "ANONYMOUS LETTER BY BELFREY (sic) BAT IS IN EXCEEDINGLY POOR TASTE AND GROSSLY UNFAIR."

A chairperson recently startled me;  
She called me a name, " Anonymity."

I searched in Mr. Webster's Dictionary -  
Immediately located "Belfry" - (one 'e').  
My family name is intact;  
Mr. Webster confirms the fact!  
A bat is a bat, and that's that.  
If you look at my family "tree,"  
One fact you can plainly see  
Is the real definition of "Belfry" -(one 'e'):

Mr. Webster: BELFRY, derived from Old High German,  
meaning "Protector of Peace," a movable tower used in  
ancient warfare for attacking walled positions." So I  
searched and squinted and peeked but could not find  
"Chairperson." Webster did not include this brand of  
slanguage in his use of the English language!

I'm in the dictionary; 'tis you that's fictionary -  
Mine are only words of truth that trickle down from  
the roof.

As for the bat's veracity; it never lies, it sometimes  
flys.

Resident Belfry Bat

---

VICTIMS OF RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION  
IN THE USSR NEED OUR HELP

Senate bill S. 312 for relief of the Siberian Seven  
has been passed by the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee for  
Immigration and Refugee Policy chaired by Senator Alan  
K. Simpson of Wyoming. Now it must be approved by the  
full Judiciary Committee and sent to the Senate. The  
chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Senator Strom  
Thurmond, is known to oppose the bill. We urge you to  
organize a letter campaign requesting expeditious action  
on bill S. 312 which, if approved, would grant the  
Pentecostal refugees (the Vashchenkos and Chmykhalovs)  
in the Moscow U.S. Embassy a permanent U.S. residence  
status. Write to: Hon. Strom Thurmond, Chairman,  
Committee on the Judiciary, Dirksen Senate Office  
Building 2226, Washington, D.C. 20510 (Tel: 202-224-5225)  
and ask President Reagan (The President, The White House,  
Washington, D.C 20500) and your senators to support the



bill S. 312 to help the Siberian Seven and their families who have suffered so much for their Christian faith.

Twelve members of the Vashchenko family living in Chernogorsk, Siberia, staged on April 23, 1982, a peaceful demonstration, demanding emigration. Local police responded immediately, beat them all, including a 12-year old girl and an 8-year old boy, and caused them serious injuries. Now the family is under 24-hour police guard interrupted only for occasional visit by local thugs who come to harass the family, to trample their garden and to display in various ways what is called "Communist humanism."

*Blahoslav and Olga Hrubý, Editors  
of "RCDA-Religion in Communist Dominated  
Areas" 475 Riverside Drive, NY, NY 10115  
Tel: 212-870-2481*

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**FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF THE MEN'S CLASS ACTIVITIES**  
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NOTE: if you prefer to receive *THE MESSENGER* as first class mail please send \$3.00 to the Men's Class, The Riverside Church, 490 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027 to cover the cost (per year).

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# The MESSENGER

of The Men's Class of The Riverside Church  
490 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027

.....

VOL. 52

MAY  
No. 5, 1982

## O P E N F O R U M

sponsored by The Men's Class and Riversiders for Co-operation and Progress continues to offer informative and stimulating lectures and discussions on international, national, urban, economic and church affairs. All meetings are being held on Sundays at 12:30-1:30 p.m. in Room 411 South Wing, Riverside Church, Riverside Drive at 120th Street, New York, N.Y. 10027. Everyone is welcome.

MAY 30, THE POLITICIZING OF OUR CHURCH, Part II;  
Speaker: Mr. William Peck, Director,  
Independence House, NYC.

JUNE 13, VIETNAM UNDER THE NEW SYSTEM,  
Speaker: Mr. Tu Nguyen, Institute  
for Vietnamese Studies.

JUNE 20, USSR, A WORKER'S PARADISE?  
Speaker: Mr. Frank Alstrom.

JUNE 27, To be announced.

FREE - - EVERYONE IS WELCOME

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William Coles, President, The Men's Class  
Mrs. Janet Stanley, Secretary, Riversiders for  
Cooperation and Progress.  
Rev. Blahoslav Hruby, Chairman, OPEN FORUM

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SOVIET WEEKLY REPORTS ON THE RIVERSIDE CHURCH AND  
"CANON" COFFIN

*"New Times", a Soviet propaganda weekly published in the English language, is well known for its vicious attacks against the USA and its "imperialism" and "militarism." In its issue No. 42 of October 1981 we were surprised to find an article "A Unique Responsibility" by Y. Gudkov, its own correspondent, who covered the "Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the people of Southern Africa" held at the Riverside Church. We reprint 3 paragraphs of Gudkov's article. - Ed.*

A UNIQUE RESPONSIBILITY  
by Y. Gudkov

The Riverside Church is situated on the Hudson bank, in the western part of Manhattan. Standing on top of a hill, it towers over the neighbouring 20 and 30-storey blocks of flats. The church grounds occupy two whole blocks, a rare thing in overpopulated Manhattan. You have only to cross neighbouring Broadway to find yourself in the midst of the squalor of Harlem, with its shabby overcrowded tenements, its mass of unemployed living on the verge of despair.

Perhaps this proximity explains the readiness of the Riverside Church to support progressive measures. It was in this Church that its dean, Canon Coffin welcomed on October 9 the delegates to a conference in solidarity with the liberation struggles of the people of southern Africa. The spacious nave of the church was filled with representatives of trade union, religious, women's and other mass organizations, who had arrived in New York from all the 50 states, and by guests from other countries....

The local big press and television gave no publicity to the conference. Neither the New York Times, nor the Washington Post carried any information whatever about this international event. The State Department tried to deny a visa to Alfred Nzo and to bar a delegation of the Soviet Afro-Asian Committee from taking part in the conference. Despite all these obstacles the conference was a success. It laid the groundwork for rallying all honest Americans to the struggle against Washington's reactionary policy of suppressing the liberation movement of the peoples of southern Africa.

THE SOVIET UNION AS WE SAW IT

*by Janet and Roger Stanley*

(continued)

In the Iveria Hotel, strangely enough, our activities were scrutinized even more closely than they had been in Moscow. Leaving the room we passed the floor lady first, then the man stationed at a desk by the elevators directly opposite a table where continually sat three men with newspapers in front of their faces, then the man at the desk, the security men prowling around the lobby, the man standing at the refreshment bar, the door man, and the two who constantly stood in front of the hotel. As I mentioned before, the security check calls to our room got so bad that I finally took the phone off the hook; and naturally the room was bugged.

We met the next morning to start the caravan to the airport. While we were waiting for everyone to arrive, we stood in groups and talked in the courtyard. The KGB got so curious that two of them had the nerve to get in their car and drive up right behind us, stop the motor and lower the window; so they could listen to what we were saying! I met his eyes and stared at him, but he couldn't have cared less.

At the airport, Intourist people wait in a separate room. Since there were only two of us (with our families), it was only necessary to assign two KGB to sit at a table and watch us. I would have loved to take a goodbye picture; but by now I knew much better. The goodbyes were tearful, and many thought final, as they are not allowed to come to the U.S. Mercifully, the plane was only an hour and 23 minutes late taking off.

Our arrival at the Lybia Hotel went smoothly. Kiev is a pretty city with its eleven lane wide boulevards and treelined streets. The city was rebuilt in the 1950's after the Nazis destroyed it in World War II.

The Intourist ladies were very friendly and arranged a cab and tour guide for us; so that we could see a little bit of the city before we left the next day. One lady had to take us into the dining room and speak to the hostess on our behalf, so that we might be served. Naturally, we had caviar and borscht with pampushki, which turned out to be garlic biscuits. We hadn't much time, so we thought we would have a late dinner when we returned. The restaurant advertised that it served until 11:00 PM.

Our Ukrainian guide started out with the party line: he told us proudly that in the Soviet Union there are 35 doctors for every 10,000 people and medical care is free to everyone including tourists. He stopped us in front of St. Sophia built in 1037 and noted for its icons and mosaics; but, no, we were not permitted to go in-that was not included in this tour. They're doing a lot of reconstruction in preparation for Kiev's 1500th anniversary in the spring. We began to get through to our guide, and he took us to the beautiful EIEVO PECHERSKY monastery where monks had lived until 1961. This is considered "Mecca" for the Russian Orthodox Faith. There are caves below where many are buried. The Nazis destroyed the main Cathedral. There were other beautiful onion domes to be seen while a carillon played an ancient scale every fifteen minutes. Slowly we began to realize our guide was a Christian, and we told him about Riverside Church. He was so surprised: he thought all American churches were modern, simple structures! After that, we did more talking than anything else; he wanted to know everything about America. Roger asked him why the Russians are spending all their money on armaments while the people have very little. He said, "We are afraid". Of course, we asked, "Of what?". We disarmed and kept the Salt Treaty - the Soviets had not. We have everything we need in our own country, why would we want to attack them--etc. We could actually see his mind bending.

He was fascinated to know about music in this country; and we must have talked for half an hour. Finally, we asked him to come in and join us for dinner. He looked uncomfortable and said very regretfully that he could not. In the lobby we managed to buy the only two jars of caviar they had and went upstairs. This hotel was built in 1971 and looks fine on the outside, but they kept certain idiosyncrasies on the inside. This time our square shower stall had a curtain which was almost long enough-didn't quite make it. But the water was ice cold. It was, however, drinkable, for which we were thankful.

We came down for supper at 10:00 PM. A typical KGB dominated our path and demanded something in Russian. "Passport?", "Nyet", "Plane tickets?", "Nyet", "Vouchers?", "Nyet". "Room Number?", "Da". We were permitted to enter then, but no one wanted to wait on us and the orchestra was playing Auld Lang Syne.

(That was brave-we thought they were supposed to play Moscow Nights!) Finally we found out the bar was closed and all we could get was cold chicken or salad. So we went upstairs and ate Georgian hazelnuts.

We arrived in Kiev airport without incident at 10:25 AM for a 12:20 PM Flight to Istanbul via Bucharest. We were greeted by a very nice Intourist man by the name of Vladimir. Roger immediately told him what a wonderful time we had had in the Soviet Union and how great everything was. (It's a good thing he's not Pinocchio!) He very cordially saw us through customs: I was able to say a few words of Georgian, mostly in the old fashioned way; and when he asked me to do something and I responded "Diach Pobano" (Yes, sir), he and the customs officer flipped. Vladimir said he hadn't heard that in years and he was going to go home and tell his wife from now on she should say "Diach Pobano" to him! Well, we really didn't have any problem with customs. Prior to that, the customs officer did ask whether we were taking out any antiques, icons, works of art - I responded quite frankly that we hadn't seen anything worth taking out. I don't think he was a terribly devout Communist because he laughed heartily.

Usually on the other side of customs yet another Intourist representative is there to take over, but this time there was no one. We proceeded to where one presents airline tickets and checks in baggage, only to be told we were not "on the list". We guessed that this list should have come from the hotel- we didn't know, but we were held there in limbo. We were very thankful to see Vladimir reappear (it turned out that he was chief in control). He had several discussions and looked embarrassed, and said to wait - he would take care of it. He reappeared in about fifteen minutes saying not to worry, everything's alright, Airoflot overbooked from Moscow where the flight originated so that there was only one seat available and he was sure we didn't want to be separated - we heartily concurred, but he said he would take care of it.

After two hours of waiting, we were put on board the plane at 1:40 PM. We waited on board the plane for one and one half hours; it was now 3:10 in the afternoon when someone came on board the plane and called our names and took us, and our luggage off the plane. Vladimir was there and explained that they had tried to bump one passenger, which we saw; and when we had

seen that, we thought that everything was alright. Vladimir explained that this was the only person traveling alone and that he turned out to be a Vietnamese who had only a twenty-four visa to be in Moscow; and if he did not make that flight, his visa would expire. So they took him back on board and took us off. (We subsequently wondered why it wasn't important that our visas also expired? Now Vladimir said very apologetically that they would try to put us on a flight the same day to Moscow where we would probably stay over-night and then fly from Moscow to Istanbul the following day, making us one full day late to arrive in Istanbul, provided all went well. He suggested that Aeroflot should provide us with a meal, and he would get back to us after he went about making his arrangements for our flight and accommodations to Moscow.

After sitting in the airport waiting a long time, Roger finally went up to Vladimir's office and said in effect "When do we eat?" He said there were all kinds of officers lounging around there who immediately vanished when they realized they might be in trouble with Vladimir because they hadn't carried out his orders to take us to the restaurant. All during this delay, I had my eye on some caviar in a case at the gift shop. For some reason they refused to sell it. At the hotel we had been able to purchase four ounce jars for \$27 US each; but they only had two, and one is allowed to carry out five. Perhaps some things are only meant for display?

Vladimir personally ushered us into the locked "public" restaurant in the airport of Kiev via all kinds of back corridors. He graciously permitted me to use his employees' WC. which to my horror, was every bit as bad as all public accommodations. It seemed that we were now the problem of Aeroflot, since they had overbooked, and Intourist had no further official responsibility. He encouraged us to stay in the restaurant as long as possible for our comfort. We were offered a set meal which Aeroflot would provide; if we wished alcohol, of course we would have to pay for it-this time in rubles. One never knows which currency they're going to accept. This meant Roger had to go back downstairs and change some dollars back into rubles again. They brought us borscht, salad and veal cutlets - it was a good meal, augmented by our various Vodkas. It was our first meal

in over 24 hours, unless you count hazelnuts. We were not permitted to linger over our food as after 55 minutes, a capacity group came in and we were asked to leave.

In the meantime, Vladimir came and gave us an official letter (in Russian) from him explaining what had happened to us, and why we weren't in Bucharest or Istanbul by now. He told us we were booked on the 8 PM flight to Moscow where Aeroflot would provide us with a room at a hotel near the airport and transportation to and from the airport. The only incident going through customs from Kiev occurred when a gal in effect asked me what was in the carry-on bag that made it so heavy- I responded, "Mouraba". She smiled and waved us through. "Mouraba" is the Georgian word for preserves and we were carrying eight large jars for ourselves and friends. Miraculously only two were broken.

After spending 9 hours and 33 minutes in the Kiev airport, we actually boarded at 8:18 PM. Whatever was left of us did arrive in Moscow; of course with Intourist having washed their hands of us, there was no one to meet us or give us a clue as to how to proceed. Roger went directly to Intourist and dispatched me to Aeroflot. The girl at Aeroflot in response to my query said that there was no room available at the airport hotel. I said, "How can that be - arrangements were just made for us in Kiev?" She asked me who made the arrangements and I indicated Intourist. Well then it was Intourist's responsibility and not theirs. Roger got the same story from Intourist - it's Aeroflot's responsibility and not theirs.

I went over to Intourist only to find Roger was missing. He eventually came back: he had been trying to find our luggage. We were so preoccupied with our arrangements that the luggage had all come and gone, and now we had to go to a remote area of the airport where there was an old woman at a desk by a big door. She wore a white uniform with epaulets and spoke absolutely no English. From time to time some sort of a truck would arrive with two or three pieces of luggage on it. Time dragged on and we were sure we would never see our bags again, but eventually they did arrive. Of course, there is no cart, no porter, no nothing-so with our six big pieces of luggage we had to transport ourselves back across that big airport to the Aeroflot desk. Roger had really to give this girl hell in order for her to admit that there might be a room at the hotel for us to stay.

*(Final installment next month)*



SIXTY WONDERFUL YEARS  
MARGARET HELEN CAMERON GARSIDE, 1893 - 1981  
IN MEMORIAM

*B. A. Garside*

I began to fall in love with Margaret Cameron from the moment I first looked into her blue eyes in the summer of 1914, down in southeastern Oklahoma where we both were born and grew up. But at that time both of us were too young, and had our minds too full of plans for the future, to think seriously of the binding commitments of marriage.

As we taught together for two years in Pittsburg, Oklahoma, we became the best of friends. Then she went to Maryville College in Tennessee, and on to a remarkable combination of study, teaching, athletic achievements and coaching in Ada, Oklahoma. Meantime, I studied for a year in Hartford, spent two World War I years with the U.S. Navy in Brest, then more years of study in Teachers College, Columbia, and in teaching and family responsibilities back in Oklahoma.

I kept in touch with Margaret during those years, and as soon as I returned to Oklahoma I began to drive the family Ford more and more frequently to her home in Pittsburg. When I urged her to marry me and go with me to China, it caused her a long and painful struggle. She was very close to her mother and the other members of her family, and shrank from the thought of separation from them. Also, she was very popular in her circle of friends, and there were other ardent suitors who were offering her far more than I could.

But, to my eternal happiness, she finally accepted, and for the next 60 years she was the center around whom my whole life clustered. We were married - "in the glory of the setting sun" - on September 10, 1921, and immediately boarded a train to New York City. She not only made our year of studying in New York a happy one, but it was she who attracted the interest and support of the influential educational and religious leaders who arranged for our appointment to higher educational work in North China.

It took all her courage and loyalty to bid farewell to her closely-knit family and friends, and to accompany me on the long train ride to Seattle and on by slow steamer to Shanghai. We arrived at the soggy end of a

destructive typhoon and an epidemic of cholera. The prevalence of poverty and hunger so appalled her she wanted to re-board our steamer and head back to the States. But she stayed, despite the homesickness which never fully left her. We had an interesting year in Peking studying Chinese; then six months in a rural mission station; then two-and-a-half fruitful years at Cheeloo University in Shantung's capital city, Tsinan. Later my mother courageously traveled alone all the way from Oklahoma to China, and Margaret helped to make her two years with us very happy ones. Our daughter was born in Tsinan on December 17, 1925.

In the summer of 1926 we returned to the States to do promotional work for Cheeloo and later for the other Christian Colleges in China. Margaret said that the happiest day in her life was the one when she brought our daughter back to her family in Pittsburg, Oklahoma.

We were back in New York in the fall of 1926, and for the past fifty-five years our lives have been busily spent in this area. Not only was Margaret always helpful to me in my work, but she was constantly engaged in making her own fine contributions to many kinds of useful service. She had a rare gift of personal friendship with every one associated with her.

As a young woman Margaret had been unusually strong and vigorous. But after the birth of our daughter she picked up a tubercular infection which flared up soon after our return to the States. She had to spend much of the next ten years in the Trudeau Sanatorium in Saranac Lake, where the doctors warned me she could not survive very long. But through some remarkable efforts on her part the disease was finally arrested, although her lungs had been so damaged that for the rest of her life she lived with greatly reduced lung capacity.

During the forty-one years we lived at 635 Riverside Drive in New York we always kept open house for the visits of numberless relatives and friends. There we cared for her father and mother until her father's death in 1956. Then she kept close to her mother, first in our home and later in the homes of her brothers and sisters, until her mother's death in 1976. Also, she always maintained close ties with all of her family and a wide circle of friends.

When I retired from the executive directorship of ABMAC in 1979 we moved to the Williams Memorial Residence

at 720 West End Avenue, where Margaret and I hoped to spend many retirement years happily together. We did have many happy months here, but her health began to fail, and the range of her activities was increasingly restricted. Several times she collapsed suddenly with brief blackouts, but fortunately did not experience any visible after-effects. I tried to be always with her as she moved about; and if I had to be out of the apartment for a short time I saw to it that she was either taking a nap in her bed or was comfortably seated on our living-room couch.

On the morning of August 29th, when I left the apartment briefly to pick up the morning paper, she was seated comfortable on the couch. But while I was away she got up and went into the bedroom. As she glanced toward something on her bed she lost her balance and fell heavily backward. As she struck the floor she cracked a lumbar vertebra and bumped her head severely. When I returned a few minutes later she was lying half on the floor and half on the side of her bed, and was in great pain. We called our family doctor, who came and, after a quick examination, sent her to St. Luke's Woman's Hospital in an ambulance.

What at first did not seem too serious an injury was the beginning of an agonizing four months, during which she gradually grew weaker and passed through one crisis after another. After three weeks at St. Luke's she was moved to the Florence Nightingale Nursing Home in hope of securing helpful physical therapy. But three weeks later she suffered a severe heart attack and was rushed to Lenox Hill Hospital where a team of doctors worked for five hours to save her life. After three weeks at Lenox Hill, with constant medical attention and around-the-clock nursing care, she had improved to where the doctors thought she could convalesce best in our own apartment at Williams. Home surroundings seemed to help a little, but despite around-the-clock nursing and all the loving care we could give, she continued to grow weaker until she had to be rushed back to Lenox Hill. This time all the drastic measures of tubes, electrical devices and constant medication were employed, but they only prolonged her suffering until, just at dawn on December 16th, she slipped peacefully away.

Her daughter Jean and I accompanied her on her last

journey back to the familiar places in Oklahoma where her early years had been spent until I took her away to China. There she was laid to rest beside her father and mother and my mother, and among many other relatives and friends whom she always loved.

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#### NUCLEAR ARMS FREEZE

*by Bryan Sterling*

The Office of Diminishing Defenses (ODD) of the Riverside Church - or is it its Department of Unilateral Disarmament (DUD) - has a new idea, called 'Nuclear Arms Freeze.' On May 16th, 1982, the Religious Society will be asked to vote on a resolution, asking elected officials to consider a freeze on our present nuclear arms.

Have you noticed that it seems to be just the clergy of the free world that tries to scare us to death with the supposed threat of nuclear holocaust? Our military men make no such claims, nor do our responsible politicians; only opportunists are jumping on a bandwagon, most vigorously pushed by militant members of the clergy. Do they ask us to pray, to believe, to put our trust in God? Do they try to bring us back to God? No! They only want us to protest, march and pass resolutions!

And this time ODD and DUD have really come up with a brilliant idea - the trouble is that it is more than three years old, and was already rejected by Brezhnev; so that makes our resident think-tank on the fifth floor look pretty much behind the times, and naive.

President Carter, not exactly famous for his great administration, was at least astute enough to be ahead of the political and military experts of the Riverside Church. Not just once, but twice, did President Carter suggest to the Soviet Union that they put a freeze on nuclear arms - - and not once, but twice, did the Soviet Union reject the suggestion.

Now, three years later, the fifth floor of the Riverside Church labored, and brought forth a mouse - and a dead mouse, at that. But, you see, the Riverside Church, built to celebrate the glory of God, has left the Scriptures, and has gone into politics, and now even makes military judgements as well. We are blessed with such creative minds at Riverside, that they can dig up dead issues, three years after they were killed - twice.

So let the Religious Society - or at least the two hundred who may show up for the vote - adopt a resolution on nuclear freeze. It will have no more impact than a gun-control law in the city of New York.

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RIVERSIDE UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT PROGRAM, PLEASE NOTE!

Three newspaper items within the past weeks clearly show how naive supporters of the Riverside Unilateral Disarmament Program really are. There is no way in which the Soviet block of nations will either foster disarmament, or will allow its captive citizenry to even consider it.

#1

MOSCOW, April 11 (Reuters). Twelve dissidents have been arrested by security police in a coordinated series of raids here. Their apartments and 50 of their relatives and friends were searched. The police removed religious material, Bibles and icons.

#2

MOSCOW, April 19 (Reuters). Two Frenchmen, two Spaniards, two Italians and a Belgian attempted to unfurl a hand-lettered banner, bearing the Russian words for "Bread, Life and Disarmament." The incident took place at 1 p.m. in front of the Lenin mausoleum, when several hundred people were on hand. The seven, all in their twenties and thirties, were pounced upon by the KGB, the state security police, and taken away.

The Soviet Union supports and encourages disarmament demonstrations, provided they take place in the West, where Pravda calls such efforts "World-wide Reactions Against American Militarism!"

#3

BONN, April 11 (NY Times, 4/12/82, p. A3). A letter read in East Berlin by Protestant ministers at Easter Sunday services, accused the Communist authorities of refusing to allow young people to wear badges and armbands advocating disarmament. Communist sources claimed that the disarmament symbols were undermining military service in East Germany.

HELEN HOWARD

A Memorial

*Gilbert H. Baker*

Helen Howard, a longtime member of Riverside Church and a generous benefactress of The Men's Class over many years, passed from our view and hearing late in 1981, well advanced in years. Both Helen and her surviving sister Margaret were strong supporters of a number of the Class projects.

Helen was a native of Geneseo, Illinois, and came to New York in her childhood when her father became associated with the Cushman Bakery, which he eventually owned. While they lived at Sixth Avenue and 46th Street, both sisters joined the Sunday School of the nearby Fifth Avenue Baptist Church, and thus began a lifelong fellowship with this church which later became the Park Avenue Baptist, and eventually the present Riverside Church.

They went regularly to the Lighthouse School for the Blind on 59th Street where they danced with the blind girls, and they went to the Judson Memorial to tell stories and read books to children, and to the West Side Youth Center to work with children. Helen studied the piano and became quite a fine musician. Both went to Hunter High School and then to Hunter College. Helen decided on a teaching career. She taught Grades 1 and 2 in the Williamsburg School and later at the school at 89th St., and Amsterdam Ave., Manhattan. She retired in 1947 after 30 years of teaching.

Having time to donate, the two Howard sisters became part of Riverside's Fellowship Work Group. They had been used to sewing cooperatively; Margaret cut and Helen stitched. At Riverside they came into a formidable team of sewers: Marian Marhew who designed the dresses, Annabelle McKerrar and Lydia Vaughn who did the cutting. Helen became a fast stitcher. And thus began her primary career as a production line dressmaker. She finished two or three garments a day, and both sisters took work home so that their estimated output would be ten to twelve garments a week.

The sisters liked to travel and each May they spent in Daytona, Fla. They went to Europe 13 times and many times to Hawaii, up and down the West Coast from Alaska to Panama, and all over the East Coast from Nova Scotia to the Florida Keys.

In the memorial service held in Christ Chapel, Dr. Laubach said that Helen throughout her life was a church

person. She attended worship and at Riverside served on the Council on Public Worship, the Benevolence Committee and for a number of years on the Music Committee.

"She was, from childhood to her death, a clown," he said, "She loved the wisecrack or the funny or unexpected answer. She had a fine sense of humor and enjoyed a good laugh. Because of this she was easy to know and fun to be around.

"She and Margaret have been that rare thing among sisters," Dr. Laubach continued, "they were fast friends and truly enjoyed each other. Although it was possible for them to have lived wherever and however they wanted, they chose to continue a comfortable but modest life-style and to do things for people in need. She had talked a good deal about her death in recent months and when it came it was, as she had hoped it would be, a swift passing and no lingering suffering.

"Although we cannot know what happens beyond the event of death, our minds cannot but help seek a continuity of the best we have known in a person's life. So one of the images I have is Helen already at work on a production line making spotless garments for a choir of unruly cherubs. She will be doing it cheerfully and, I suspect, with a joke and a good deal of loving laughter."

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#### "SPEAKING WILDLY"

*In his "Forum Letter" of December 18, 1981 Rev. Richard J. Neuhaus, a noted Lutheran theologian, wrote the following comment:*

*The Living Church reports erstwhile friend William Sloane Coffin's remarks at a Trinity Institute (NYC) conference. "It seems to me that all of the major hangups of the Roman Catholic Church are related to sexuality. Whether it is the ordination of women, celibacy, homosexuality or the question of authority, Roman Catholics have been oppressed, and people who have been oppressed themselves become oppressors." On another front, he went on to note that "it is part of the Good News that our system and that of the Russians is breaking down. It is a necessary ingredient for*

the realization of the Christian community." I think it was Marty's *Context* that picked up the insightful typo that Bill Coffin "has been speaking wildly around the country.

*This kind of "wildly speaking" violates the ecumenical spirit which used to be one of the strongest characteristics of the Riverside Church. - B. H.*

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A FABLE

*contributed by Kenneth Linsley*

It was said in the old days that every year Thor made a circle around Middle-earth, beating back the enemies of order. Thor got older every year, and the circle occupied by gods and men grew smaller. The wisdom god, Woden, went out to the king of the trolls, got him in an armlock and demanded to know of him how order might triumph over chaos.

"Give me your left eye," said the king of the trolls, "and I will tell you."

Without hesitation, Woden gave up his left eye. "Now tell me."

The troll said, "The secret is: WATCH WITH BOTH EYES!"

\* \* \* \* \*

"The church is in politics more than the politicians. Our preachers are doing our principal legislation for us now. A preacher just can't save anybody nowadays. He is too busy saving the nation. In the old days those fellows read their Bibles. Now they read the Congressional Record.

If Congress met on Sundays, why, there would be no services anywhere - all the ministers would have their eyes on Congress." WILL ROGERS, February 17, 1929



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EXCERPTS from the Directory for Baptist Churches, the Baptist Convention, under which the Riverside Church is incorporated:

"Whatever its members may do in their individual capacity as citizens and members of society, the Church as such must confine itself to the mission for which it was founded - the spread of the Gospel, and the advancement of the Kingdom of God in the world. It cannot become a corporation for mercantile or manufacturing pursuits; it cannot become a political organization."

(p. 152)

BIBLE STUDY CLASSES, conducted by Rev. Kenneth S. Linsley meet every Friday at 6:30 sharp, in Christ Chapel.  
PLAN TO ATTEND --- FREE.

Remember: OCTOBER 28, 1982 is the date for our DINNER  
MARK THE DATE RIGHT NOW.

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The OPEN FORUM, sponsored by the Men's Class, and Riversiders for Cooperation and Progress, will continue in September to offer informative and stimulating lectures. Watch this space for announcements.

William Coles, President, The Men's Class  
Mrs. Janet Stanley, Secretary, Riversiders  
for Cooperation and Progress  
Rev. Blahoslav Hrubý, Chairman, OPEN FORUM

#### THE AMERICAN WAY?

Norman Lear is to politics pretty much what Jerry Falwell is to theology. They are both television preachers with a natural capacity for packaging the pieties of their separate worlds.

Lear, in fact, is far and away the more successful "prime-time preacher" of the two of them; perhaps it was inevitable that he would square off against upstart Falwell. In any case, he has organized "People for the American Way," a group dedicated to counter the influence of the new religious right.

Lear spoke about this effort not long ago at a luncheon sponsored by the National Council of Churches' Information Committee, and he didn't do a very good job. He was amiable, to be sure, but in good liberal fashion he eschewed challenging the substance of the religious right's platform and complained, instead, about the way that Falwell and Company went about their business. Said Lear: the right employs emotion and fear to manipulate people. Yet by the end of his address, Lear was himself arguing in favor of a "visceral" appeal to people in defense of all the good causes (of course). People are too beset with their everyday lives, he explained, to deal with complexity. The message had to be delivered suitably coated with emotion and entertainment.

This was probably said in defense of his "I Love Liberty" television extravaganza, a kind of "Let Poland Be Poland" for the First Amendment. But it may also explain the unfortunate character of People for the American Way's recent advertizing. Those advertisements are aimed at "the moral majoritarians," a group that is never identified but is held accountable for the most outrageous examples of book-burning and even found guilty of wanting to establish a dictatorship in America. The ads combine tabloid-style headlines and a few shocking examples or quotations with a list of vague charges that might apply to a much wider group of Americans. It is a technique that a clever copy-writer could use against the woman's movement or the nuclear disarmament movement. It is, in fact, very much like the technique that the religious right employs against "secular humanists" or atheistic liberals." The only excuse for this sort of thing is the old line about fighting "fire with fire,"

and we don't think that's good enough. Some of the fair-minded people that Lear has signed onto his Board of Advisors - Theodore Hesburgh, Martin Marty, Marc H. Tanenbaum, and others - ought to raise objections.

*("Commonweal", a Catholic liberal biweekly, May 21, 1982)*

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REVERSE THE ARMS RACE!

*by Bryan B. Sterling*

On Palm Sunday, a quite elderly, fragile lady approached the Men's Class table in the Cloister lounge. She seemed a sweet old thing, one of those numerous elder citizens Riverside is fortunate to attract. But this dear soul was somewhat different. She wore a yellowish T-shirt with a message exhorting readers to 'Reverse the Arms Race;' and while the T-shirt may be fashionable, it brought to mind the Will Rogers observation that fashion oftentimes induces women to go much further than their physical attributes would allow.

But this dear old lady went further still; she also sported a huge button which suggested: "Make Love, not War!" The little, bent woman seemed, however, disinclined to indulge in either - she merely scowled.

One of the attendants at the Men's Class table tried to engage her in conversation: "We are showing a film in room 411," the attendant said. "It's on the Crucifixion and the Resurrection."

The dear old lady drew back in horror: "I wouldn't attend anything presented by the Men's Class," she hissed, and stalked off.

All it would take to make some folks atheists, Will Rogers had said half a century ago, is to tell 'em that the Lord belonged to the opposite persuasion. After that they would never see any good in Him again.

This poor old lady had obviously been misled into believing that she had taken drink from the Fountain of Goodness and Light, while the members of the Men's Class and the Riversiders for Cooperation and Progress, were sustained by the Powers of Darkness. What had she been led to believe about us? and by whom? and why?

Can anyone imagine what this dear old thing expected to happen in room 411? What could possibly take place at the showing of the historically most correct film ever made, portraying the most important events in Christendom, the Crucifixion and the Resurrection? This was Palm Sunday, and while she was politicizing at the beginning of Holy Week, the Men's Class, and the Riversiders for Cooperation and Progress, were observing the spirit of the day, by meeting in Christian fellowship. She didn't care what day this was, she was out to Reverse the Arms Race!

We, too, want to reverse the arms race. We are all for it. One cannot imagine that any sane human anywhere, would ever advocate war, especially nuclear war. Yet the leadership at Riverside misrepresents the truth when it claims that there is but a single path to peace - that America stop arming herself further, and lay down her weapons, or reduce her defenses - without the Soviet Union doing the same at the same time.

That is the exact program of the Communist Party, which suggests again and again that the only reason the Soviet Union has armed, is because she is afraid of the United States. And, so the Communist illogic goes on, once the United States has disarmed, the Soviet Union will no longer be afraid, and we shall have peace everlasting. Nobody has ever bothered to explain just what it is that the Soviet Union is afraid of. What is it that she guards so jealously? What does she have that we may want?

There isn't a single thing the Soviet Union has that we would want, or would risk a war, to obtain! But is it not a fact that there is much the Soviet Union would want from us? Why else do they constantly spy on us, try to steal our technological advances, infiltrate our industrial and military complexes, and steal our defense blueprints? Why, they even needed spies to steal the secrets of the first atom bomb from us.

What would we want from a country that has to build a wall around its citizens, to keep them from running away? What has a country to offer that has so far killed 60 million of its citizens to keep them from thinking independent thoughts? Do we envy them their Siberia, their political jails, their internal exile, their censorship, their scarcity of consumer goods,

their shortages of food, their militarism, their censorship, their dictatorship? Anyone who believes there is anything in the Soviet Union that the United States would ever risk a nuclear war to get, must also believe in the tooth fairy.

It is far more logical to believe that the Soviet Union would want what we have, and which they lack. And what keeps the Soviet Union from taking what she wants? It is the threat of instant retaliation!

It is that threat of American retaliation that keeps the lowliest farmer on the most meager farm in western Europe from being overrun by the Soviet steamroller! Just take a look at Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, all gobbled up, and subjugated in the name of glorious Communist 'liberation and peace!' And who can forget the rape of Afghanistan, committed in the name of 'protection.' It is true they all had arms, BUT THEY WERE WEAKER than the Soviet Union - and that is why they are no longer independent and free.

And what do you think keeps the Communist hordes on their side of the West German border? Good will? No! Respect for international law? Don't make us laugh! It is the absolutely positive knowledge and fear that nuclear holocaust would follow any Soviet transgression. It is that certainty - and only that certainty - that keeps the Communists on their side of the barbed wire, mine fields and the wall they erected.

Should it ever appear to the Soviet hierarchy that our retaliation would be so weak as to inflict only minimal damage, the Soviet Union may take the risk and attack us. If you knew that for snitching a piece of pie, your punishment would be a mere slap on the wrist, would you not take the whole pie? As long as the Soviet Union knows fully well that the punishment is total destruction - not a slap on the wrist - the Kremlin will abide by treaties.

So let us not even consider such foolishness as unilateral disarmament; indeed, let us REVERSE THE ARMS RACE, for there has only been one single racer this past decade: the Soviet Union. She has been racing like mad to surpass us, and she has done it. There are currently, for example, 300 SS-20 nuclear missiles (with 3 warheads each) pointed at western Europe, with not a single western European nuclear

missile pointing at the Soviet Union! Not one! If you lived in western Europe, would you feel safe? What type of attack does the Soviet Union expect from a European front? Since there is no nuclear missile there, it would have to be a conventional land attack. Yet all of Europe's land forces combined cannot match the might of the Warsaw Pact nations - and never will. Why then are 900 Soviet nuclear warheads pointed at the heart of Europe? Out of fear? Surely not! Why then? To intimidate!

REVERSE THE ARMS RACE? Yes, indeed! Let America reverse the Soviet's arms race of the past decade. President Carter proposed an arms freeze - twice, and the Soviet Union rejected the offer - twice. Then President Carter allowed this country to become vulnerable by unilaterally scrapping plans for the B-1 bomber and the MX missile system. And still the Soviet Union merrily went ahead with the arms race - all by herself.

President Reagan offered to forego placing Pershing and Cruise missiles on western European soil, provided the Soviet Union were to withdraw their SS-4s, 5s, and 20s behind the Ural mountains. It was a most promising step towards an arms build-DOWN. But the Soviets rejected this idea also. It was an age-old axiom: why should the Soviet Union dismantle a system that could lay waste all of western Europe at a moment's notice, when the west had nothing to counter it?

So let us REVERSE THE SOVIET'S ARMS RACE! Let us send a strong signal to the Soviets that we are prepared to make any sacrifice to retain our freedom. To speak of the lion and the lamb lying down together, is to hide behind platitudes. It may be spiritually stimulating, but we are not dealing with men of good will; we are dealing with godless murderers, assassins, and liars, who will break every Commandment decreed by God, and any law devised by man. Until the Soviet Union realizes that it cannot out maneuver a determined America, only then will she discuss true peace. We do not wish to dominate her, but neither do we wish to be dominated. If it takes an optimum effort to remain equal with the Soviets, so be it. But we must REVERSE THE SOVIET'S ARMS RACE NOW.

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SPEAKING WILDLY

"But I'm afraid what you see in the churches today is a very sharp line between the churches that are centers for courageous, creative thinking and others that have become sanctuaries for frightened Americans - recruiting grounds for authoritarian figures and movements that already bear the earmarks of an emerging fascism."

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"Riverside is rather unusual - it's kind of fun ... [Before I was hired] I always thought it looked frosty and rather Establishment - but my friends told me it was the one established church in New York City that could really make a difference. As you can see, it's not a humble Baptist tabernacle. The endowment is so generous that poor folk can now run the church; all the money we raise goes for staff, program and outreach. The original, rather wealthy members have been carried off into the suburbs but what we do have is a very dedicated group of people, very serious about their religion."

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"I think most of the people in the congregation feel [homosexuality] is not that big a deal. There are quite a few 'black gays, and for other blacks, there are so many other problems that are so much more important, they're not about to get hung up on homosexuality - unless they're fundamentalists. And the rest of the congregation is basically very tolerant, so they haven't made it much of an issue.

There was a time when it looked as if we might have a national program coming out of this church, similar to the disarmament program. The deacons were ready to OK it, but the group never got organized enough. I was a little sad - I thought, a national religious gay organization and a national disarmament program emanating out of Riverside Church, those two would go rather nicely together."

*William Sloane Coffin  
(from an interview "Speaking Out on  
Gay Rights" with James Saslow, New  
York editor of "The Advocate", May  
27, 1982)*



### DEMOCRACY AT WORK?

On May 16th, 1982, the Riverside Church voted to go on record whether it wanted an 'Arms Freeze.' The senior minister and Cora Weiss moved heaven and earth they labored, prodded, preached, cajoled, wrote, mailed, and implored.

The result? 178 members, 6% of Riverside's membership voted for such an arms freeze. The rest didn't even bother to show up. They realized that such a vote by a measly 6% is as meaningless as the Soviet Union's signature on the Helsinki Accord. BUT...

.... you will see that because of those 178 men and women, who may or may not have been members, it will be claimed that "the Riverside Church membership endorsed a nuclear arms freeze." 2,800 members now find themselves committed to a ridiculous idea they did not endorse. Thus 6% spoke for the silent 94%.

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### CHURCH FOLK MOBILIZING FOR DISARMAMENT

*by Jacob van Rossum*

A recent Op-Ed piece in the Wall Street Journal, entitled "War, Peace, and the Institute for Policy Studies," had alerted me to it: I.P.S. is hoping that this year's UN Special Session on Disarmament, and all the activities around it, will mark the beginning of a European-sized anti-nuclear protest movement in the US itself. Many of those who would like to see this country disarmed, for reasons either noble or obscure, want nothing so much as to witness a similar massive campaign paralyze the government here. And some are making themselves available to let it happen.

The Riverside Church in New York is an excellent bellwether to check the progress being made towards the goal. The congregants on Sunday, February 21st were presented with the following announcement in their order-of-service bulletin: "PEACE AND DISARMAMENT TASK FORCE MEETING, room 430. Congressman Ted Weiss will give a briefing on the situation in El Salvador and what individuals can do about it, and Cora Weiss will discuss volunteer work of the task

A double feature! And for those not yet familiar with the "Task Force," the attraction of a real-life congressman at the church, speaking on a dramatic subject, might be a drawer. Some sixty people turned out, but Ted Weiss didn't. Pressing business, we were told. However, one of his staffers would present a prepared statement on his behalf. The usual platitudes to let America sit idle while yet another country may go Moscow's way. The statement called for letters of support (no, not to Ted Weiss or Charles Rangel - they already agree - but through your folks in Georgia and Nebraska to tell it to their congressmen). The evening's chairperson got up. "How many of you have never yet urged your relatives in other states to write to their congressman?" A good many hands went up. They got the message, and that was that. On to the main event (at least, that is what I suspected it to be). Ted Weiss' representative was off; as soon as she stepped out of the room she was approached by the Soviet UN delegate whom I had seen at more of these meetings, and they talked for quite a while in the hallway. But in the meantime the real business for the evening was on: Cora Weiss was speaking on the UN disarmament conference.

She began by warming her listeners up to the importance of that event, using a few illustrations. 260 dollars a year are spent to feed one child; 19,000 to equip one soldier. Fear reigns all over; more and more patients tell their psychiatrists about nuclear nightmares they are experiencing. That is why the UN Special Session is so important, and must not be ignored by the media the way the first disarmament conference in '78 was. "And that is why every one of you is going to be on your feet walking..." The audience listened meekly. They were told that "our weapon" - the only one we have - would be a massive outpouring of public opinion, demanding disarmament! Ronald Reagan would hear of it. Ideally, he should come to the UN himself in June. "If he does not come, it would surely be honest and true to form - he'd rather be watching football on tv instead. But if he does come, even if it were only to take Jean Kirkpatrick out to lunch, it would at least be an acknowledgment of the American people's sentiments (that they want disarmament)."

The audience had been warmed up. Now Cora could do

business. She grabbed a piece of chalk and wrote "Step 1" on the blackboard behind her. Listeners readied their notepads. "Write to Ronald Reagan." Pause. And Leonid Brezhnev. Ask that they come to the UN themselves. ("It must be bilateral," she added, snickering. "If there are any spies here from the Men's Class, you can report that we want it to be bilateral." This was in deference to the church's Men's Class - known to be strongly opposed to the Coffin-Weiss-I.P.S. line at Riverside - which would demand at least balance in some of these activities. But Cora knew as well as many of her listeners that any letters to Brezhnev would make for a pointless exercise. The target was Reagan, which is consistent with the I.P.S. goal of unilateral US concessions.)

Step 2. "Talk to everyone." Every one must know about the Special Session: "This is the best chance for you to do something to preserve life." Every one in the room should be able to contribute something too. Maybe a bed, for one of the many peace-seekers sure to come in from abroad. One thousand Japanese for starters. ("For only they can tell us what it is like to get nuked." She affected solemnity, claiming to get chills whenever she thought of this.) Maybe one could sell buttons announcing the Special Session. Maybe talk to other residents in one's apartment building. As long as the word got around. To young and old, rich and poor. ("Tell them that this is to help them get their foodstamps back, which are now in the Pentagon.")

Step 3. "New York welcome to the peacemakers." This was especially important, according to Weiss. True, Mayor Koch had just said terrible things about the UN, but he could be convinced that this conference mattered. Letters should be sent to him stressing even such basics as the money made for the city by the inflow of foreigners for the occasion. He should offer the city to the Peacemakers!"

Step 4. "Money." All of the activities inevitably had to cost something. But there already were plans to stage any number of fundraisers while publicizing the cause of disarmament in the process - e.g., the forthcoming "Musicians for Disarmament" concert at the

Symphony Space.

The above four steps were the strategy. In each case those in the room could start making a contribution forthwith, so they were given to understand. On March 7 there was going to be a performance by the pianist George Bennett. So specifically who would be selling the five-dollar tickets? Hands, please! And who would be preparing the buffet for after the event? Ditto. "Remember," Cora said, "it is all beginning to happen. Feel good about it. It's happening everywhere. I spoke to a group of older ladies last night - and they wanted to help afterwards. People in Santa Fe and Los Alamos, they heard me about the Special Session, and they are going to come! A group of Methodist ministers in New Jersey - they already are planning for beds and buses! So enjoy it. Get somebody to provide a bed for a visiting peacemaker from out of town or abroad. Accumulate lists with names of those willing, nearby or in the boroughs and suburbs. We need to house at least ten thousand!"

There was energy in the room. People began to volunteer, sign up for various projects. They were told that a mighty coalition for peace was already in the making - ecologists, trade union types, intellectuals, religious groups - it was all coming together around this paramount issue for the first time. Such unity was unprecedented; it couldn't even have happened two years ago, according to the speaker (who surely would know).

She sat down, mission accomplished. A visiting minister from Britain (whose congregation had been "twinned" by Cora - an agnostic herself - to the Riverside Church in the joint endeavor toward peace) read an ancient peace prayer.

She looked satisfied. The harvest for the day was in.

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#### MORE ON CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY

In last month's issue we printed some pertinent questions and comments concerning the Riverside Church's budget. We sent advance copies of the article to the senior minister, and the chairmen of the Deacons and the Trustees. We asked that we receive their written comments or corrections by May 26th, the date on which we were to submit the copy

for our June issue to the printer.

By May 26th we had received no response. Wishing to be as fair as possible, we waited an extra six days. When we still had not heard from any of the three church leaders, we closed the June issue on June 1st.

On June 4th, we received the letter reprinted in its entirety below. You will note that the date is May 26th, while the envelope in which it arrived bore the date June 3rd, 1982. We have since received two telephone calls from the church's Communication Department, claiming that it was responsible for this delay due to some "snafu."

We sincerely believe that that is the case - - but still, no letter dated May 26th could have reached us on that same day, unless hand delivered. We gratefully acknowledge the response of Chairman Galusha, to which we add our comments below her letter.

May 26, 1982

The Editor  
The Messenger

Mr. Sterling's May 20, 1982 letter and proposed article on the 1982-83 budget have been received. I share his surprise that church members did not raise questions on so complex a matter at the Annual Corporate Meeting. The article raises a number of issues on which church members may well have differences of judgment and on which questions could have been legitimately raised. Now that formal action has been taken specific unanswered questions can best be raised with the Administrative Officer or with members of the Budget Committee. The details of budget administration can hardly be adequately dealt with in a brief publication. Readers of The Messenger may want to know that the budget-building process involves many people. It includes hearings by the Deacons Budget Committee with representatives of each of the program councils, hearings on the budgets of the auxilliary organizations by the Church Budget Committee, review of the program budget by the full Board of Deacons, approval of the entire budget by the Church Budget Committee, and formal approval by the Board of Trustees for submission to the Corporation. In this process, the Joint Committee sets the salaries for ministerial members of the Collegium,

while the Salary Committee of the Board of Trustees recommends all other salaries. The 1982-83 salary of the Senior Minister was set at slightly over 6% above the 1981-82 figures.

I hope very much that in the future questions on the budget can be raised prior to action by the Corporation.

cc: E. Lorch

W. S. Coffin

Sincerely,

Elinor G. Galusha, Chair  
Board of Deacons

#### RESPONSE TO CHAIRMAN GALUSHA

We thank you for the courtesy of a response. We also note with satisfaction that you, too, were surprised that there is not a single member among the 179 who voted for the budget, who wanted to know anything about the details of the expenditure of \$5 million.

While we appreciate the work involved in preparing the budget, it does not explain why the members of this church were kept in darkness about the details. Since not a single copy of the 35 page budget was available to the voting membership, perhaps it is not surprising that no questions were asked. One could also wonder whether perchance that was the intent. If the membership has no information on the details, no questions can be asked.

Chairman Galusha writes that "The 1982-83 salary of the Senior Minister was set at slightly over 6% above the 1981-82 figures." This is most interesting, especially in light of the fact that the senior minister's staff (which includes him) had an increase in salary of almost 22%, and an increase in pension contributions of over 53%. An explanation is most certainly in order, as the supposed 6% salary increase does not fall within the range submitted to the membership. Page 2 of the yellow sheet handed us on May 16th, 1982 clearly read: "Salaries were increased 8% to 12% based on the level of staff salaries." Should this not have read: ... increased 6% - 12%....? And if this statement is in error, how many others are as well? Or if Chairman Galusha is in error, perhaps the salary range given to the membership was correct after all, or too low. Does anyone know the answers?

It should also be noted, that while Chairman Galusha was courteous to answer, the chairman of the Board of

Trustees, whose responsibility this budget is, did not communicate with us. Perhaps it is wrong to deal in personalities, but the chairman of the Board of Trustees MUST be responsive. His silence in this matter is ominous; perhaps he feels that it is wiser to keep silent than to answer probing questions. But it does not speak well for the chairman of the Board of Trustees to be discourteous and evasive. Nor indeed, does it speak well for the entire Board of Trustees to avoid its responsibility. If the Board refuses to answer questions regarding financial matters, which are its primary concern, one must conjecture just how well informed the Board is. The chairman of the Board of Trustees has once again shown himself to be disdainful of civil questions in his field. Such arrogance does not become an officer of the Church, and his own Board should take him to task.

That we would not hear from Reverend Coffin, was expected; he had stated under oath that he "had no head for figures."

*B.B.S.*

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FLORIDA HERE WE COME

*by Gus Roesch*

Finally we got off on a typically rainy May morning and got as far as Charlestown, West Virginia. Econo-Travel Motel had clean rooms at a reasonable rate, and we got a good night's sleep. The next day Monticello proved to be hard to find, but when found, it was worth all the trouble. Thomas Jefferson had absorbed Europe wholeheartedly and built a habitat on a mountain top fit for a philosopher king, where he entertained royally. His neighbors and friends, as well as visiting dignitaries, were his guests, who kept his genius stimulated to his final days. It seems that the presidency was only an interlude for this man, as he was always busy inventing and advising others to create a truly democratic society.

On to Florence, South Carolina and then Penny Farms, Florida, a retirement haven for ministers and lay persons. Started by J. C. Penny in the Thirites, it is now a completely independent non-subsidized home on many acres,

with golf course, garden plots and innumerable community activities which keep everyone active and in a happy frame of mind.

On to our friend's condominium situated on Ana Maria, the northernmost Florida Key below Tampa, near Bradenton. This is a dream of a South Sea Island with perfect sandy beaches and cooling breezes sweeping in from the gulf of Mexico. The 80° water was so tempting, I swam in it twice a day. A tropical garden furnished papaya, lemons and fresh vegetables. I learned to dig sand clams for a delicious stew, and the fishing village offered shrimp and fish at low rates. On a trip to nearby Sarasota, we passed through Longboat Island, where the scenery is truly magnificent. For the three Ringling Museums located there one should take at least a week. In addition a botanical garden lured us before we even got to the museums. Mr. John Ringling carted whole shiploads from Italy and built a Venetian palace, incorporating the many statues and pillars into a version of the Greatest Show on Earth, which is also commemorated in a separate circus museum. After a week of idling, we began the trek north. We stopped with friends on the Eastern Shore. To get there we went by way of the Chesapeake Bay bridges and tunnels. We were at sea for sixteen miles. This great engineering feat we appreciated at sunset.

Our friends welcomed us with open arms and we were overwhelmed by the southern hospitality of friends and relatives. We visited Assateague Island, the home of a large herd of wild ponies. Because it was foaling time, they had moved way down on the Virginia side and could not be seen. They are, most likely, already aware that the annual round-up in July will decimate their numbers as the local firemen auction them off to the highest bidders.

With only a minor battery problem, we reached home after a 3,000 mile journey, glad to have had the experience and glad to be back.

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FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF THE MEN'S CLASS ACTIVITIES

will be appreciated. Participation in its activities is free of charge but donations are needed to cover the fees to the Open Forum speakers and other expenses including production and mailing of the Messenger. Contributions to the Men's Class are tax deductible and should be mailed to: The Men's Class, The Riverside Church, 490 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027.

BIBLE STUDY CLASSES, conducted by Rev. Kenneth W. Linsley, meet every Friday at 6:30 p.m. sharp, in Christ Chapel. Plan to attend, there is no charge.

THE BRIDGE CLUB meets on Fridays at 7:00 p.m., 19th floor, Riverside Church. All are welcome!

Dr. George McGovern, Director

CHESS PLAYERS are also invited to play on Fridays at 7:15 p.m. at the Riverside Bridge Club.

NOTE: If you prefer to receive the Messenger as first class mail please send \$3.00 to the Men's Class, The Riverside Church, 490 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027 to cover the cost (per year).

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