This section of the journal lists (a) significant Romanian press articles on religion and atheism, (b) selected articles from official Romanian religious publications, (c) samizdat (self-published material) from or about religious groups in Romania, (d) significant Soviet press articles on religion and atheism, (e) selected articles from official Soviet religious publications, (f) samizdat from or about religious groups in the USSR, (g) samizdat from or about religious groups in Czechoslovakia, (h) significant Bulgarian press articles on religion and atheism, (i) selected articles from official Bulgarian religious publications.

In the present issue of the Bibliography we introduce a section on Poland, thereby effectively covering all areas of Eastern Europe known to be producing samizdat. Polish samizdat commences with 1976, a year in which an upsurge of social unrest served as a catalyst for the emergence and rapid growth of many dissident groupings which publish an increasing number of unofficial journals. It is in these journals that the bulk of Polish religious samizdat appears. For the convenience of readers, material will be listed under the journals concerned rather than in a general chronological order.

RCL began listing all Soviet religious samizdat from the beginning of 1972, as well as earlier documents as they reached the West. Since RCL No. 3, 1978, this section has become selective. Where no published source is given, a Russian (or other original language) text is available from Keston College unless otherwise stated. Researchers who wish to order copies of these documents are invited to do so, but are asked to observe the following conditions. Where a published source is given, texts should be ordered directly. Texts ordered from Keston College cost 10p per page (plus 15% VAT, UK only); postage will be added to the bill.

Keston College requires full texts of all samizdat documents in readers' possession but not yet received at its office. Please check on the relevant period and country as covered in the Bibliography.


RCL No. 3, 1979 covered selected articles from official Romanian religious publications for the period January to June 1977. The present issue deals with the period January to July 1978.

RCL No. 4, 1979 covered significant Soviet press articles on religion and atheism for the period March to April 1979. The present issue deals with the period May to June 1979.

RCL No. 4, 1979 covered selected articles from official Soviet religious publications for the period January to April 1979. The present issue deals with the period May to September 1979.

RCL No. 4, 1979 covered significant Bulgarian press articles on religion and atheism for the period June to July 1978. The present issue deals with the period August to September 1978.
RCL No. 3, 1979 covered selected articles from official Bulgarian religious publications for the period March to September 1978. The present issue deals with the period January to March 1978.

Please note that the transliteration system used in the Soviet section of the Bibliography is based on the Russian spelling of names and places, except in cases where the original language uses the Roman alphabet.

### Romanian Press Articles

**Date** September 1979

10 *Romania Libera*, pp. 3-4. A report of a speech by Nicolae Ceausescu. Romanians must fight negative ideas from the past and be opposed to those elements that want to abandon their country by emigrating. They must fight against propaganda which slanders and deceives their country. Ceausescu's definition of human rights: to liquidate any force that dominates a people, e.g. colonialism, and assure equal rights in working and social life. Religious freedom is for those cults recognized by the law, but the cults have to respect the laws of the country and help build a socialist State. Romanians, he emphasized, cannot close their eyes to any infringement of the law under the pretext of Christianity.

13 *Romania Libera*, p. 2. “The instructive-educative process and the exactingness of the formation of the socialist conscience.” Through lessons and other instructive activities, students should form a Marxist dialectical worldview based on the truths of science, and should acquire an attitude that fights against the concepts of retrograde mentalities.

### Romanian Religious Press Articles

*Romanian Orthodox Church News* (published in English)

June-July 1978, pp. 3-11. “The contribution of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Transylvania to the development of Romanian culture” by Rev. Professor Mircea Pacurar. Discusses the role of the Transylvanian Orthodox Church in the development of the Romanian language, system of education, printing, and Romanian national consciousness.

Ditto, pp. 27-35. Report on the election and enthronement of the new Archbishop of Craiova, Metropolitan of Oltenia, and the new Bishop of Roman and Husi. A short history of the metropolitanate of Oltenia and a biography of Bishop Nester Vornicescu, the Metropolitan of Oltenia, who was elected Archbishop of Craiova on 20 April 1978. Also gives a short history of the diocese of Roman and Husi and a biography of Bishop Eftimie Luca, who was elected bishop of the diocese on 20 April 1978.

Ditto, pp. 49-54. “The Inter-confessional Theological Conference in Sibiu.” The first Inter-confessional Theological Conference took place at the University’s Theological Institute on 18 May 1978. It was the 32nd ecumenical conference organized in Romania and was attended by several bishops of the Romanian Orthodox Church, leaders of the C.A. (Augsburg Confession) Evangelical-Lutheran Church, S.P. (Presbyterian Synod) Evangelical-Lutheran Church, Reformed Church, Unitarian Church and Roman Catholic Church. The general theme was “Thirty Years Since the Beginning of the Modern Ecumenical Movement”. The main paper was delivered by Professor Dumitru Popescu of the Bucharest Theological Institute and another paper by Professor Lorand Lengyel of the Protestant Theological Institute in Cluj-Napoca.

Ditto, pp. 54-5. “The 20th anniversary of the election and enthronement of Bishop Dirayr Mardichian as head of the Apostolic Armenian Church in Romania”,
by Mihai Radulescu, a lecturer at the Orthodox Institute. The anniversary was commemorated on 14 May 1978. Archimandrite Zareh Baronian, administrative and parish priest of the Armenian Church in Bucharest, gave an address.

Ditto, pp. 66-79. Reports on visiting delegations to and from Romania. Includes the visit of Rev. Professor Ion Bria to Rome to attend the Joint Co-ordinating Group of the Theological Technical Commissions for the Preparation of the Orthodox-Roman Catholic Dialogue, and the visit of Pastor Walter Sigrist to the Romanian Orthodox Church.

Romanian Orthodox Church (Biserica Ortodoxa Romana)

Nos. 1-2, 1978, pp. 13-23. Article on the occasion of President Nicolae Ceausescu's 60th birthday. The President is assured of the support of the Orthodox faithful and hierarchy in the construction of a better society. Their religious duty includes obedience to the State. The Church appreciates the President's respect for the Church's patriotic role.

Ditto, pp. 26-9. Report on the European Council of Churches which met in England, 27-29 October 1977. The Council discussed WCC recommendations for initiatives to monitor human rights. At the suggestion of Bishop Antonie of the Romanian Orthodox Church, action was deferred until the Council received a response from the US National Council of Churches and until funds were available. It was agreed that the new initiative was not sufficiently defined.


Ditto, pp. 167-81. Report on the Holy Synod meeting of 10 December 1977 when the Church's foreign relations, a new pension scheme and internal church discipline were discussed. Several individuals were appointed to monastic orders and new members of the hierarchy were elected.

Nos. 3-4, 1978, pp. 252-66. "Telegraf Roman", by M. Pacurariu. The bi-weekly journal of the metropolitanate of Ardeal has been in existence for 125 years. The author reviews its history. The paper has been an organ for Orthodox and Romanian consciousness and a forum for patriotism.

Ditto, pp. 341-50. Regulations on the pensions and aid scheme for church personnel.

Nos. 5-6, 1978, pp. 378-446. Report on the election and enthronement of Bishop Nestor Vornicescu as Metropolitan of Oltenia, and of Eftimie Luca as Bishop of Roman and Husi.

Ditto, pp. 650-64. Section of reviews includes two new publications by the Romanian Orthodox Church: De la Dunare la Mare (ed. P. I. David) on the church in Dobrogea; and a commentary on the Song of Songs by Ioan Alexandru.


Romanian Unofficial Religious Documents

SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS

RO/1976/ADV

2. Documents; 19 February 1976. Legal warning and charges against the Stan Manta family of Giurgiu. States that the systematic absence of their children Liviu and Mioara is "incompatible with the communist school system". "They were kept home
on Saturdays for religious reasons" states commentator. The family was fined 300 lei. Romanian: 2 pp. Photocopies.

ROMANIAN BAPTIST CHURCH
RO/1977/BAP

RO/1979/BAP
15. Documents from Ludovic Osvath; May. Copies of his letters protesting at his dismissal from work and the charges of parasitism. Includes a copy of the formal charges of parasitism when he was fined 900 lei. Romanian: 5 pp. Carbon copies.


ROMANIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH
RO/1979/ORT
5. Declaration by Steliana Brasoveanu; 7 March. On 7 March she was taken to the police station, where the police insisted that she sign a declaration claiming that her husband Gheorghe was insane and needed to be interned. Romanian: ½ p. Photocopy.

MISCELLANEOUS
RO/1978/M

RO/1979/M

Soviet Press Articles

Date May 1979

13 Izvestiya, p. 5. “What was going on in the bunker of an ‘apostle’”, by V. Kassis and M. Mikhailov. Claims that Vladimir Shelkov, the Soviet Reform Adventist leader, depicted by A. Sakharov and western propagandists as a religious martyr, in fact only used religion as a cover for anti-socialist activities. When the authorities raided the house of Shelkov’s daughter they found slanderous anti-Soviet pamphlets and a journal, The True Witness, in an Adventist “bunker”. Shelkov had lived off funds collected from deluded followers. He had collaborated with the Nazis, discouraged people from taking part in Soviet cultural life, educated children in an anti-Soviet spirit, held illegal meetings and distributed illegal literature. Shelkov had also had dealings with dissidents, e.g. Yu. Orlov, and western correspondents, e.g. Christopher Wren of the New York Times and Kevin Ruane of the BBC.

19 Pravda Ukrainy, p. 3. “By the strength of conviction”, by A. Bondarchuk. A portrait of Yevgeni Yevseyevich Slezko, a senior atheist lecturer of the Znaniye (Knowledge) Society in Volynskaya oblast. A pugnacious debater, Slezko prefers to answer hostile questions from believers directly when he lectures. In answer to the charge that he is an apostate (Slezko finished seminary), he explains that he broke with religion long ago in connection with the murder of his parents by believers after his father, a priest, asked them to cooperate with the Soviet regime after the war. Religious belief has no positive value, according to Slezko.

23 Sovetskaya Kirgiziya, p. 3. “The Constitution of the USSR and freedom of conscience”, by O. Alapayev. Alapayev, the CRA representative in Kirgiziya, assures his readers that the new Soviet Constitution re-affirms long-standing state policies, protecting freedom of conscience, providing for the separation of Church and State, ensuring that believers have the material conditions for satisfying religious needs, and securing the observance of Soviet legislation on religion. In comparison with the 1936 Constitution, the new Constitution guarantees “atheist” as opposed to “anti-religious” propaganda. This signifies that the historical task has shifted from disarming anti-Soviet churchmen to developing a positive atheist worldview. The vast majority of believers have no trouble in obeying Soviet legislation on religion. Only a few sectarian leaders deceive their flocks. The so-called “Council of Churches of Evangelical Christians and Baptists” circulates slanderous charges about the violation of religious liberty in the USSR. To prevent parents from giving their children a religious education against the children’s will, for instance, is not a violation of the UN Convention on Human Rights.

27 Pravda Vostoka, p. 4. “A fanatic in the role of an apostle: told by a former member of the sect”, by Vladimir Illarionov. The author, a former Seventh-Day Adventist, was pleased to see in the 13 May issue of Izvestiya that V. A. Shelkov had been brought to justice. He describes Shelkov’s emergence as a fanatic and ambitious leader of his own sub-sect. Shelkov collaborated with the Fascists during the war. Now he issues slanderous, anti-Soviet publications. His dictatorial control of his sect has alienated many believers and even members of his own family. He once presided over a 20-hour trial of his own daughter and son-in-law. His son Peter has moved to another republic and changed his name. If such a “Christian” and “fighter for human rights” (as western radio stations portray him) were given complete freedom, he would destroy the lives of many thousands of simple, trusting people.

30 Sovetskaya Rossiya, p. 2. “School for atheists—ideological education: problems, practice, experience”, by Yu. Shalayev. A review of atheist work in Omsk oblast. A wide range of propaganda techniques are employed, including a television series called “For believers and non-believers”. Rejecting the view that too much atheist propaganda might arouse interest in religion, the author affirms the positive task of inculcating the materialist worldview. The local House of Atheism runs a night course and many atheist lectures are given in schools and factories, but their effectiveness is questioned. There are a number of religious groups active in the Omsk
area, some of which organize illegal activities, yet many communists and Komsomol members remain indifferent to this problem.

— *Skola un Gimene*, No. 5, pp. 34-5. “An atheist education system”, by V. Našenieks. The system of atheist education in Latvian secondary schools must be unified and supported by thorough sociological research. While some outstanding achievements have been recorded in this field (the work of local Party officials and the atheist lecturer J. Gailums of the Agricultural Academy in Jelgava has brought the proportion of believing pupils down to one per cent), religion cannot be exterminated “in one go”. While Lenin advocated that believers should not be offended, it should be remembered that religion is a harmful, bourgeois ideology. Atheism must become an integral part of school teaching, of social and family life.

— *Lyudyna i svit*, No. 5, pp. 27-31. “Three stages of development of the Orthodox Church”, by M. P. Krasnikov. The Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union has undergone three stages of development in the last 60 years. First, following the Revolution there was a political and social readjustment to prevailing conditions and the Church superficially modernized its teaching. Second, Socialism brought about a more radical modernization of dogma. Third, the Church adopted the position of “communist Christianity”. These developments have all been futile efforts to halt the inevitable decline of religion in the face of the social, technological and moral developments of the people and the Party.

Ditto, pp. 32-5. “Fishermen of souls on the air”, by I. G. Mashchenko. The author attacks the use of electronic media for religious purposes. In the USA even television is used to broadcast propaganda about a capitalist “heaven” under the cover of religion. Now there are plans to use telecommunication satellites to expand incitement to religious fanaticism. The greatest number of such broadcasts emanate from the BBC, with such religious “oracles” as Fr Vladimir Rodzianko (a descendant of a “leading reactionary” of the tsarist Duma), the émigré Latvian Lutheran pastor, Janis Sapiets, and CIA agent pastor Michael Bourdeaux.

---

**Date** June 1979

8 *Pravda Ukrainy*, pp. 1-3. “On the tasks of the Party organizations of the Republic regarding the fulfilment of the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU ‘on the further improvement of ideological work and political education’: report of Politburo CC CPSU member and first secretary of the Ukrainian CP, comrade V. V. Shcherbitsky, at the meeting of the Party aktīv of the Republic, 7 June 1979.”

The Ukrainian Party leader pays more attention to the need for improvement in atheist education than other first secretaries in their official response to the Politburo resolution. (The speech was published during Pope John Paul II’s visit to Poland.) Shcherbitsky notes that the Ukrainian Party organizations have already undertaken a number of measures to fulfil the resolution, e.g. atheist cadres have been improved, new Soviet rites have been introduced and “the material base strengthened”. But he notes that violations of Soviet legislation on cults have been permitted. Various sorts of fanatics, former Banderites, parasites and criminals have found refuge in sectarian organizations. Authorities responsible for atheist education must know the real position of religious organizations and what tactical changes the churchmen are making. The work in Volynskaya oblast has been particularly poor. (Volynskaya oblast is a stronghold of Pentecostal activity. *Ed.*)

10 *Kommunist Tadzhikistana*, p. 3. “1,400 years of Islam”, from APN. According to contemporary Muslim scholars, 19 October 1979 will be the 1,400th anniversary of the founding of Islam. Preparations for the occasion have begun in Muslim countries, and celebrations will include festivals, exhibitions and the issuing of new stamps and coins.

14 *Zarya Vostoka*, p. 4. “Plunderer in a cassock”, by K. Amagloveli. Bidzina Titikovich Keratishvili, recently appointed as secretary to the Patriarch of Georgia, was convicted of stealing and selling on the black market several church treasures and articles of worship. Keratishvili took the name Giaoz when he entered holy orders in 1971. He rose rapidly in the Orthodox hierarchy in Georgia. He was appointed a hierodeacon three days after taking orders, and a hieromonk shortly afterwards.
A year later he was made a bishop and appointed to the diocese of Tsilkansky. After the illness of Efrem II, Patriarch of all Georgia, Gaioz took over much of the direction of the Georgian Orthodox Church. By the age of 30 he had already attained the office of Metropolitan of Urbniz. The article stresses that the theft was more a loss to the Georgian people than to the Church. Gaioz testified that he was given the articles by the Patriarch, but witnesses confirm that the articles were stolen. He was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment with confiscation of property.

15 Sovetskaya Belorusiya, p. 3. "In the interests of peace", own correspondent. A summary of a commentary on the visit of Pope John Paul to Poland by Trybuna Lyudu (the official organ of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party). The Pope spoke of the need for peaceful co-existence and international cooperation between differing political systems, and repeatedly affirmed the Vatican's intentions to promote peace. His visit to Auschwitz emphasized these remarks. Poland and other peace-supporting socialist States applaud the Pope's desire to continue his predecessors' policy of peace. Remaining true to Marxist-Leninist ideology, the Polish United Workers' Party has frequently demonstrated—as during the visit of the Pope—that it strives for harmony and co-operation of all Poles in working for the good of the motherland, irrespective of their attitude towards religion. [Reports on the Pope's visit also appeared in Pravda Ukrainy, 3 June 1979, p. 3 (a one-line announcement that the head of the Roman Catholic Church, Pope John Paul II had arrived in Warsaw on 2 June), and in Kommunist Tadzhikistana, 12 June 1979 p. 3 (under the heading "Roman Pope visits Auschwitz"). Ed.]

— Lyudyna i svit, No. 6, pp. 36-41. "The contemporary Orthodox apologetic concerning the miraculous", by M. S. Gordienko. In the first of a series of articles, the author attempts to explain the renewed zeal with which the Moscow Patriarchate affirms the importance of the miraculous for the Orthodox believer. Miracles are at the very basis of Orthodox belief, states the author, establishing the "divine" authority of religious teaching and discouraging the faithful from a scientific approach to the world and to religion's role in society. But scientific investigation has proved that miracles are fraudulent.

Ditto, pp. 46-51. "False prophets cover their tracks", by V. V. Konyk. An attack on the Jehovah's Witnesses and their New York leadership. Rutherford, Knorf and Franz have prophesied the end of the world for 1958, 1960, 1961 and 1975. Each time Armageddon fails to materialize a new interpretation appears on the pages of Watch Tower and Awake, the Witnesses' publications. The author names 17 Soviet citizens deceived by the Witnesses into, for example, slaughtering their cattle and failing to prepare for winter because they expected the end of the world.

Soviet Religious Press Articles

Fraternal Messenger (Bratsky Vestnik)

No. 3, May-June 1979, p. 67. "Meeting of choir leaders." More than 30 choir leaders gathered in Moscow 26-27 April 1979 for a discussion of choral work. They expressed the desire for a department for choir leaders to be established as part of the Bible Correspondence Course, and for the publication of a collection of music for choirs.

Ditto, pp. 71-2. In March 1979 the latest group of students graduated from the Bible Correspondence Course. Since the course was established in 1968, four groups totalling 270 students have completed it successfully.

Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate (Zhurnal Moskovskoi Patriarkhii)
Russian edition.

No. 8, 1979, p. 11. "A delegation of the Russian Orthodox Church in England." Archbishop Pitirim of Volokolamsk, chairman of the Moscow Patriarchate's publishing department, and Protodeacon Vladimir Nazarkin, visited England 1-8 June. They met members of their host organization, the GB-USSR Association,

Ditto, p. 12. “On the Dalai Lama's visit to Moscow.” On 12 June the Dalai Lama passed through Moscow on his way to Ulan-Bator for the Fifth General Conference of Buddhists for Peace. A reception was held in his honour by Patriarch Pimen.

Ditto, p. 20. “Ten years of the precentors’ class at the Moscow Theological Academy.” Fifty people have completed this course, which includes conducting, theory of music, harmony, solfeggio, choir-leading, voice production, piano, score-reading, arrangement, history of church choral music, and violin (optional).

Ditto, p. 28. “Orthodoxy in the Mogilyov area and the Church of SS Boris and Gleb in Mogilyov.” Historical survey of Orthodoxy in Mogilyov, which received Orthodoxy from Kiev before other areas of Russia. The parish of the Church of SS Boris and Gleb was formed at the beginning of the 17th century. In the church is an icon of the Mother of God, thought to have been brought from Kiev in the 13th century, which gave off a powerful light, thus giving a name to the nearby settlement —Belynochi.

Ditto, pp. 50-51. “Fifth General Conference of Buddhists for Peace, 16-19 July 1979, Ulan-Bator, Mongolian People's Republic. Message from His Holiness Patriarch Pimen to the participants in the conference.” The Patriarch is glad of the opportunities presented by the conference and wishes its participants success. A new and positive climate—a result of détente—is being established and this can be helped by the contribution of Christians and Buddhists.

No. 9, 1979 pp. 12-13. “The academic year ends. In the Moscow Theological Schools”. 11 June marked the ending of the 31st academic year of the Moscow Theological Academy, the 33rd year of the Seminary, the 16th year of the correspondence course and the 8th year of the precentors’ course. Liturgies were held in Zagorsk's cathedrals, and diplomas were awarded at a meeting attended by Patriarch Pimen. Master of Theology degrees were awarded to Professor Archbishop Vladimir, the Rector, for his dissertation “Ecclesiology in Russian theology in connection with the ecumenical movement”, and to Archimandrite Yevlogi (Smirnov) for his dissertation “Orthodox monasticism in the service of the Church and the world”.

Ditto, pp. 16-18. “Pilgrimages by students of the Leningrad Theological Schools.” Accounts of visits by students to Moscow and the Holy Trinity Monastery of St Sergius at Zagorsk (1-3 June); Kiev, the “Mother of Russian cities” (11-13 June); the ancient Monastery of the Caves at Pskov (27 April-1 May); and the northern Caucasus (Easter).

Ditto, p. 27. “Obituary.” Archpriest Afanasi Petrovich Miroshnikov died 12 September 1978. He was born into a peasant family in 1884, and left the parish school in 1895. He wished to serve the Church from his earliest years. He educated himself and attended church frequently. He was made deacon in 1918 and until 1929 served in St Vladimir's Church in Stary Oskol province. [A gap in the obituary until 1943 is an indication that he was arrested and imprisoned during this time. Ed.] He was ordained in 1943 and served in churches in Kursk region.

Ditto, pp. 38-9. “Meeting of the clergy of Krasnodar diocese.” The meeting of 20 June was opened by Archbishop Germogen of Krasnodar and Kuban. A lecturer from the Znaniye (Knowledge) Society read a paper on the international situation and answered questions. The executive secretary of the Krasnodar krai committee for the defence of peace presented the Archbishop with the certificate of an “Activist in the struggle for peace.” The krai's representative of the CRA gave a lecture on “The new Constitution of the USSR and freedom of conscience”. Archbishop Germogen called on the priests to fulfil both their ecclesiastical and civil roles worthily.

Ditto, p. 67. “Tenth anniversary of the journal Muslims of the Soviet East.” The journal is published quarterly in Uzbek, Arabic, French and English. A conference to mark its tenth anniversary was held in Tashkent 3-4 July, and was attended by two members of the publishing department of the Moscow Patriarchate.
Soviet Religious Samizdat

SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS
su/1978/ADV
19. Information on Valentina Zaporozhets from the All-Union Council of True and Free Seventh-Day Adventists; 23 October. The home of Valentina Zaporozhets was searched on 13 August, and all religious literature, various personal items and a typewriter were confiscated. On 13 September her son was arrested for alleged hooliganism and held for 18 days. Her daughter is constantly threatened with imprisonment and the removal of her three young children. On 29 September 1978 Valentina Zaporozhets was arrested. She is currently under investigation in Pyatigorsk prison, charged under Art. 190 with distributing anti-Soviet literature. Russian in Documents of the Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers’ Rights in the USSR, Vol. 6, pp. 818-9.

20. Declaration to the Procurator of Tashkent from E. P. and E. K. Darguzys; December. On 17 March 1978 KGB workers searched their home and confiscated religious literature and personal items. The search was carried out in connection with the case of V. A. Shelkov. They ask for the return of all their confiscated goods and for an end to persecution of sincere religious believers. Russian in Documents of the Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers’ Rights in the USSR, Vol. 9, pp. 994-7.

21. Report from the All-Union Council of True and Free Seventh-Day Adventists; December. In May 1978 a military tribunal sentenced A. V. Mikhel to three years’ deprivation of freedom. His parents have not been informed of his whereabouts and are very alarmed. A copy of the sentence and of the answer sent to Mikhel’s parents in reply to their appeal are attached. Russian in Documents of the Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers’ Rights in the USSR, Vol. 9, pp. 998-1003.


ALL-UNION COUNCIL OF (THE) CHURCHES OF EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS AND BAPTISTS
su/1978/BAP
1. Lofty Flight by an anonymous group of Baptists in Kharkov; undated. A leaflet with extracts from a talk given by US astronaut James Irwin on 20 June 1978 at an ECB prayer-house in Kharkov. Irwin was not officially welcomed in Kharkov, but the believers arranged a meeting which was attended by over 1,000 people. Russian: 18 pp. Photocopy.

COUNCIL OF (THE) CHURCHES OF EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS AND BAPTISTS (INITSIATIVNIKI)
su1979/ini
4. Declaration to the Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers from L. V. Shmidtko; undated. She asks that her sister, A. V. Chertkova, who is of sound mind, be released from Tashkent Special Psychiatric Hospital and allowed to emigrate from the USSR on the basis of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Agreements. Russian: 1 p. Photocopy.

5. Bulletin of the Council of Prisoners’ Relatives, No. 64; undated. Contains information on fines, personal oppression and the confiscation of religious literature; the dispersal of a meeting of a registered congregation in Peresyp near Odessa; the breaking-up of a wedding in Yanakiyevo; the detention and unwarranted treatment in psychiatric hospital of O. I. Sevalneva, Moscow region; the harassment by the authorities in Yakutsk of O. G. Nikora, who is ill and in exile there; pressure being put on the churches in Vladivostok and Shakhty to register; and petitions from churches in Nikolayeva, Kherson, Odessa, North Caucasus and Krasnodar krai against registration. Russian: 41 pp. Photocopy.
6. Bulletin of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives, No. 65; undated. Contains information on the arrest of Rumachik, Gordiyenko and Shaptala in Makeyevka, Ukraine; a petition for the Yudintsevs (parents of 11 children, expecting another) who are threatened with arrest; the dispersal of meetings in Moscow, Dedovsk and Kharkov; the breaking-up of weddings in Kharkov, Yenakiyevo and Kishinev; fines and slander against Ye. K. Pushkov; and searches and confiscation of religious literature in Ryazan and Merefa. Russian: 43 pp. Photocopy.

7. Bulletin of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives, No. 66; undated. Contains information on the arrest of Ivan Antonov; the removal of a child from Galina Ivashura of Lisichansk, Voroshilovgrad region; the problems of Pavel Pavlovich Rytikov in the army; the release of Rumachik after a 15-day sentence; the threat of prosecution of F. Gordiyenko from Gorlovka; the dismissal of Siemens (Zimens), a former prisoner; the dispersal of meetings in Dedovsk, Liov, Paltava and Novoshakhtinsk; the threat to confiscate the meeting place of the church in Krivoi Rog; the breaking-up of a wedding in Yenakiyevo; a letter from prisoner Grigori Kharchenko; the poor health of prisoner Raisa Goncharova. Russian: 42 pp. Photocopy.

MUSLIMS

su/1978/ISL

1. The Self-Immolation of Mussa Mamut by Mustafa Dzhemilyov; undated. On 23 June 1978 Mussa Mamut immolated himself in front of policemen in protest against the treatment of Crimean Tatars. A Crimean Tatar himself, he had been striving for the right of his people to return to their historic homeland. All reminders of the Crimean Tatars are being obliterated from the Crimea; mosques have been demolished, cemeteries defiled and demolished, literature destroyed and all Turkic place names renamed. Russian in Novoye Russkoye Slovo, 26 November 1978. English in The Samizdat Bulletin, No. 67, November 1978.

2. The Trial of Mustafa Dzhemilyov, anonymous; undated. Account of Dzhemilyov's trial, 6 March 1979, at which he was sentenced to four years' exile. Relates violations of legal procedure. Russian: 4 pp. Retyped in the West.

RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

su/1977/ORT

46. Four Documents describing the unsuccessful attempts of a group of Orthodox believers to re-open another Orthodox church in Gorky; 22 August, 14 September, 22 November, 23 November. Russian in Documents of the Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights in the USSR, Vol. 4, pp. 433, 470, 479.

47. Eight Documents describing the corruption of various members of the Parish Council of the Church of the Assumption (Uspenskaya) in Pavlograd; 13 August, 28 August, 21 September, 17 October, 2 October, 10 November, 14 November, undated. The parishioners complain that members of the council and the priest drink, curse, steal church funds and neglect their duties. The parishioners call for the election of new administrators and a new church warden as well as the recall of the city official who disrupts the parish. The local authorities refuse to authorize repairs or even a good cleaning of the church building. Russian in Documents of the Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights in the USSR, Vol. 1, pp. 59-60, 67-8, 61-4; Vol. 2, p. 232; Vol. 1, pp. 65-6, 50-58 (Italian in Russia Cristiana, No. 160, 1978, pp. 67-8), 69-70, 71.

su/1978/ORT

7. Twelve Principles of the Russian Movement: A Letter to Russian Patriots from Sergei Soldatov; March. Lists the 12 principles on which the contemporary Russian movement ought to be based. Two of the principles he lists are "the renewal of the Russian faith" and "the strengthening of the Russian family". Stresses the necessity for the rebirth of Church, school and family. Russian in Russkaya Mysl, 22 June, p. 5 and 29 June 1978, p. 5.

9. **Three Documents** describing the need for the opening of at least one more Orthodox church in Gorky. There are many Orthodox churches in the vicinity which could be restored. The third document is a reply to two articles published in *Gorkovskaya Pravda* on the believers’ attempts to open another church in the city. Russian in *Documents of the Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers’ Rights in the USSR*, Vol. 4, pp. 473-4, 476-7; Vol. 7, pp. 858-63.

10. **Eleven Documents** describing the indifference and arbitrariness of the present Parish Council of the Church of the Assumption (Uspenskaya) in Pavlograd; 1 March, 30 March, 5 April, 5 April, 13 June, 28 July, 15 September, 21 September, 4 November, 17 December, undated. Members of the Parish Council are being kept in office against the wishes of the majority of believers through the connivance of the local authorities. After fruitless efforts to join the Parish Council, believers were subjected to various forms of intimidation when they attempted to initiate civil action. Believers have made several appeals for the reinstatement of five parishioners, who were excommunicated by Archbishop Leonti of Simferopol and Crimea for trying to bring order into church life. Russian in *Documents of the Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers’ Rights in the USSR*, Vol. 4, pp. 456-60, 452, 463-7, 461-2, 434; Vol. 7, pp. 866-88, 869, 870-73, 874-6, 833-4; Vol. 5, pp. 692-4.

---

5. **Appeal** to the Head of Department 1, Krasnoyarsk Province Psycho-Neurological Hospital from Yu. Belov; 29 January. Belov appeals on behalf of V. G. Shipilov, who has been undergoing compulsory treatment in the addressee’s department for over a year. Shipilov has spent over 20 years in psychiatric hospitals and suffers from epileptic fits as a result of ill-treatment and repeated physical assaults. When released, he would like to spend the rest of his life in the monastery at Zhirovitsy. Russian: 2 pp. Retyped in the West. (Appendix 4 of *Information Bulletin No. 16 from the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, 30 April 1979.*) Russian in *Religiya i ateizm v SSSR*, August-September 1979, p. 3.

6. **Letter** to His Holiness Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, from Yevgeni Pashnin; 18 March. He has had difficulty in the past trying to obtain an Orthodox church calendar from the editorial board of the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*. He has been thinking about the situation of the Russian Orthodox believer and finds that many priests give a great deal of attention and energy to vain temporal matters, rather than to church matters.

7. **Document No. 88 from the Moscow Group to Promote Observance of the Helsinki Agreements in the USSR, “The Life of Political Prisoner Igor Ogurtsov is in Danger”; 13 May.** Igor Ogurtsov was sentenced to 20 years’ deprivation of freedom in 1967 for founding the All-Russian Social Christian Union for the Liberation of the People (VSKhSON). His health has been completely ruined by seven years in Vladimir prison and five in camp. The writers call on the public and doctors, all heads of governments, who are signatories of the Helsinki Agreements, to use all possible means of saving the life of Ogurtsov. Russian: 4pp. Retyped in the West.

---

**PENTECOSTALS**

SU/1978/PEN

14. **Letter** to President Carter from 18 Pentecostal families; May. In April they sent him a list of believers wishing to emigrate. They are now sending an additional list of 18 families, comprising approximately 74 people, with names, dates and places of birth, and present addresses. They request permission to enter President Carter’s free, democratic State as permanent residents. Russian: 4 pp. Photocopy.
15. Declaration: Request for Help to the United Nations Organization and its Commission on Human Rights, the 35 signatories of the Helsinki Agreements, and eight international human rights, medical, labour and religious organizations from CEF Pentecostals and Baptists; 25 August. They protest against all types of cruelty and tyranny and request help in emigrating. They renounce their Soviet citizenship and ask for political-religious asylum. The USSR’s refusal to allow them to emigrate is enslavement and should be discussed at the next opportunity by the UN. Russian: 4 pp. Photocopy.

16. Letter to Pentecostals and Baptists of the USA, Canada, Argentina, Great Britain, France, Denmark, Belgium, Sweden, Holland, Norway, Finland and Australia from 970 Pentecostals and Baptists; 30 October. The authors greet the addressees as beloved brothers and sisters in the faith and ask for assistance in leaving their atheist country. They have been waiting for permission to emigrate since February 1977. They ask for petitions to be sent to the Soviet government and for finances to be provided to cover the cost of emigrating. Russian: 1 p. Photocopy. English translation available.

3. Request from Mariya Chmykhalova; 12 March. She is one of the Pentecostals living in the US Embassy in Moscow and asks that this appeal for help in emigrating be widely published. Her family has undergone every kind of repression since they renounced their Soviet citizenship in 1962. Her husband has served two sentences. She has spent 17 days in a detention cell and was threatened with psychiatric internment. Return address: US Embassy. Russian: 2 pp. Photocopy.


4. Document No. 11 to the Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR from the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers’ Rights; 10 February. The Catholic Committee has been asked by Mrs Judeikiene of Veisiejai to defend her son Mindaugas Judeikis from security man Algis Gylys, who warns him against friendship with priests and believers and is putting pressure on him to become an informer. This is the year of the child. The rights of children and parents should be defended against the methods of A. Gylys. Lithuanian in Documents of the Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers’ Rights in the USSR, Vol. 10, p. 1020.


6. Document No. 13 to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR from the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers’ Rights; 18 April. The Catholic Committee asks for the Catholic Church in Lithuania to be given permission to print 100,000 catechisms and prayer books annually, as they are essential to Catholic children preparing for First Communion and Confirmation. If, as in the past, the government bans catechisms and prints only a few prayer books, believers are forced to print them underground, which does not help the State. Russian in Documents of the Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers’ Rights in the USSR, Vol. 10, p. 1057.

MISCELLANEOUS

SU/1977/M

31. Documents on the discriminatory character of state taxes against the clergy and workers in religious organizations in the USSR, compiled by Fr Gleb Yakunin; 1 July. Summary of cases of economic discrimination, notably in taxation and rent, against the clergy and other workers in religious organizations. Russian in Documents of the Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers’ Rights in the USSR, Vol. 1, pp. 31-5.


SU/1978/M

5. Letter (with three appendices) to Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia from the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers’ Rights in the USSR; 16 December. One of the methods of anti-Church activity used by the authorities is to undermine the Church from within by priests who disrupt church life and turn away believers. They ask the Patriarch to protect his flock from such priests. Russian in Documents of the Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers’ Rights in the USSR, Vol. 7, pp. 831-2; appendices, pp. 835-44.

6. Appeal to Christians of the world from the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers’ Rights in the USSR and members of the Christian Seminar on Problems of the Religious Renaissance; undated. Russia has entered on the path of return to faith and needs millions of copies of the Holy Scriptures. Statements by church leaders that sufficient supplies of religious literature are available in the USSR are false. If each tourist took in just one Bible, it would be a great help. Russian in Russkaya Mysl, 27 September 1979, p. 4.

SU/1979/M

3. Appeal to Pope John Paul II, Patriarchs of Local Orthodox Churches, heads of Churches and religious organizations, the WCC and Christians of the whole world from the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers’ Rights in the USSR and the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers’ Rights; Easter. They describe the difficulties facing religious prisoners. A Protest is attached, giving instances of anti-religious discrimination against Alexander Ginzburg and Fr Vasili Romanyuk.
The Committee appeals to Christians to protest on their behalf and to write to them. 

4. Open Letter to His Holiness Pope John Paul II, anonymous (but from internal and external evidence probably written by the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers’ Rights in the USSR); undated. Warns that the Vatican’s *Ostpolitik* may founder if it aims for a purely mechanical union with the Moscow Patriarchate. So far *Ostpolitik* has been greatly dependent upon the personal pro-Catholic stance of the late Metropolitan Nikodim and his adherents. The authors fear that these hierarchs, though sincere, are being used to further the ends of Soviet policy towards the Vatican. Russian in *Documents of the Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers’ Rights in the USSR*, Vol. 10, pp. 1007-10.

**Czechoslovak Religious Samizdat**

**EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF CZECH BRETHREN**

*cZ/1975/cZB*

2. Essay, “Entfremdung in der Sprache der Oekonomie und Theologie” (Alienation in the Language of Economy and Theology), by Jakub Trojan. This Protestant theologian attempts to criticize both the Marxist concept of “alienation” as well as the traditional Christian rejection of the world in the light of the evolving eschatological perspective. German: 64 pp. Teoltryk, Aarhus, 1977.


*cZ/1978/cZB*


20. Essay, “Christians Today and Tomorrow”, by Miloš Rejchrt. A short portrayal of Christian perspective on the world. While the world today ignores the individual, in both totalitarian and consumer-orientated societies, Christianity puts people in the centre. While the powerful rule and the weak are regarded as failures, Christianity vindicates suffering and weakness. From an eschatological perspective, the future belongs to those who “show solidarity with those who suffer”. Czech in *Zebra*, No. 2, October 1978, p. 8.

*cZ/1979/cZB*

1. Essay, “The Beginning of the Independent Czechoslovak Republic and Human Rights”, by Jan Malina. An attempt to show that the Czech concept of a sovereign nation is rooted in the Reformation. The ideals of democracy and human rights are based on freedom of conscience and are therefore incompatible with the absolute sovereignty of the State. Czech in *Spektrum*, No. 3, 1979, pp. 6-17.

**ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH**

*cZ/1975/ROM*

5. Essay, “Charles IV in Czech Spiritual History”, by Zdeněk Kalista. The historian portrays the emperor as a man of wisdom with a personal ideal of holiness, who saw his rule as service to God. He was to build the Czech State on these foundations. Czech in *Spektrum*, No. 3, 1979, pp. 19-34.
cz/1977/ROM


cz/1978/ROM

29. *Essay, “Festivity, Game, Subjectivity”*, by Zdeněk Neubauer. Written on the 50th anniversary of the death of the Czech philosopher Ladislav Klíma, the author attempts to vindicate Klíma’s provocative statements (e.g. “I am God”) by reference to “ontological subjectivity”, the “world of game”, and “the uncreated wisdom” which is foolishness to men. Neubauer sees the greatness of Klíma in his rebellion against the technocratic civilization of manipulated “objectivity”. Czech in Spektrum, No. 3, 1979, pp. 163-82.

cz/1979/ROM

7. *Essay, “Pope Káro1 Wojtyla, the Catholic Church and the World”*, by Václav Benda. In his profile of the new Pope the young philosopher outlines some of the disastrous effects of the Vatican’s *Ostpolitik* in Czechoslovakia. He hopes that this strong man of truth will move the Church beyond compromise with “the world of money and the police”. By relying on his strong faith and the spiritual tradition of the Church, the Pope will be able to resolve the conflicts between “progressives” and “conservatives” within the Church and to challenge the contemporary world. Czech in Cverec, No. 1, January 1979, pp. 22-48.


9. *Memorandum* to Fr Oskar Formánek from the regional office of the State Security, Košice; 12 February. The investigating officer, Stefan Fedor, informs the priest (who has been charged under Art. 178 with “obstructing state supervision of the Church”) that Dr Halečka, Dr Bilas and Dr Sidon of the Department of Scientific Atheism of Prešov Philosophical Faculty, have been authorized to assess the illegal religious literature published abroad, which Fr Formánek disseminated with the help of Mrs Maria Kožárová. Slovak in Hlasy z Rima, No. 10, October 1979, p. 21.

10. *Letter* to the regional office of the State Security from Fr Oskar Formánek; 18 February. He objects to the legality of calling upon “experts”, who are not court specialists and can at best provide evidence in the field of Marxist philosophy and atheism, but cannot judge scholastic philosophy and Catholic theology. Moreover, according to Art. 107, even court specialists cannot judge the purpose of the evidence, whereas in this case the “experts” are supposed to “assess the anti-socialist nature of the religious literature”. Researchers from the Department of Scientific Atheism can hardly be said to be without prejudice. Fr Formánek also denies the accusation of illegal activity, referring to the constitutional guarantee of freedom of expression. He points out that all the literature he received from abroad came by post. Slovak in Hlasy z Rima, No. 10, October 1979, pp. 21-3.

11. *Review* of essays written by the philosophers Jan Patočka and Václav Černý on Masaryk by Jiří Němec. He shows some shortcomings in both of their approaches to Masaryk’s religion. It was the same link that Masaryk made between Puritanism and scientific empiricism which lay behind the industrial revolution and the modern totalitarian State. Němec states that Masaryk was not an existentialist, and that his concept of personal piety did not include the need for repentance. He therefore could not appreciate the historical importance of Orthodoxy and Catholicism. Czech in Spektrum, No. 3, 1979, pp. 128-32.
Bulgarian Press Articles

August 1978

19 Rabotnichesko Delo, p. 5. “The Opinion of Ordinary People.” An extract from a letter to US News and World Report from Chris Rose, in which the writer says that many young people in the West commit suicide because they can no longer find refuge in religion—they cannot find a true God.

September 1978

3 Rabotnichesko Delo, p. 4. “On a Visit to the USA and Canada.” Reports the arrival of Patriarch Maxim in New York on 2 September 1978 at the commencement of his visit to the Bulgarian Orthodox dioceses in the USA and Canada. He is expected to consecrate the churches in Akron and Lorraine, and to meet representatives of the other Orthodox Churches in the USA as well as other ecclesiastical, social and political figures.

6 Otechestven Front, p. 3. “The Death of Metropolitan Nikodim.” Announces the death of Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod while visiting Pope John Paul I in Rome.

Bulgarian Religious Press Articles

Church Gazette (Tsurkoven Vestnik)

2 January 1978, p. 1. “New Year Greetings from Patriarch Maxim.” Maxim summarizes the work of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church (BOC) in 1977 (“its saving mission, its patriotic task and its duty as peacemaker”), mentions some of the main events of 1977, and exhorts his flock to continue to grow in Christian virtues and patriotism in the coming year.

Ditto, p. 2. “A Blessed and Hopeful Road” and “For the Task of Christian Peace-making.” Two speeches by Metropolitan Pankratiy of Stara Zagora, delivered at the session of the Working Committee of the Christian Peace Conference (CPC) in Arnoldsheim, West Germany (7-11 November 1977). The first deals with the importance of all peace and ecumenical activity; the second is a reply to Bishop Toth the General Secretary, approving his speech and stressing that the immediate task before the Conference is preparation for the Fifth Assembly of the CPC due to take place in Prague in June 1978.

Ditto, p. 3. “The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness.” Archimandrite Metodiy speaks of the way God can transform the spiritual wilderness in a human soul into paradise and the “voices” God uses to call souls to Himself.

Ditto, p. 6. “The Feast-day of the Russian (Church) Legation in Sofia.” The feast-day (6 December, St Nikolai Mirlikiyski’s Day) was celebrated in the Legation Church by Bishop Ioan, Rector of the Sofia Theological Academy, after an all-night vigil on 5 December.

11 January 1978, p. 7. “Old Bulgarian Vocal Music and Bulgarian Ecclesiastical Chants.” The origins and development of this type of music.

21 January 1978, pp. 5-8. “The Bulgarian Clergy and our Church Public are living in accordance with the ideas of the Moscow World Peace Forum of Religious Workers”, by Fr Anton Vulchanov. As a follow-up to the above conference, which was held in Moscow in June 1977, conferences of the clergy were held in early September and late October in all the dioceses of Bulgaria “in the presence of believing Christians”. These meetings were either addressed by members of the BOC delegation to Moscow or heard a report entitled “Peace; peace near and far off”. The article lists the districts in all the dioceses in which meetings were held and summarizes what was said by the main speakers at each gathering.
1 February 1978, pp. 1-2. “Patriarchal and Synodal Message to the Spiritual Children of the BOC on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the Liberation of Bulgaria.” A brief summary of the situation in Bulgaria under Turkish rule, with special reference to the role of the BOC in preserving Bulgarian culture and supporting the various uprisings. Readers are urged to remember those who died in the War of Liberation. Special mention is made of the part played by Russia.

11 February 1978, p. 1. A declaration made by representatives of the Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Eastern Catholic, Armenian Apostolic and Evangelical (Pentecostal, Baptist, Adventist, Methodist and Congregational) Churches, and the religious associations of Muslims and Jews of Bulgaria after a protest meeting of Bulgarian believers against the neutron bomb. The meeting was held in Sofia on 27 January 1978. The declaration expresses the solidarity of believers with secular society in condemning the bomb in the name of life, man and God.

Ditto, pp. 1-5. The opening speech and further details of the above meeting. Statements were made on behalf of the various religious associations: Metropolitan Pimen of Nevrokop spoke for the BOC, Apostolic Exarch Metodiy for the Catholics, Chief Mufti M. Topchiev for the Muslims, Pastor I. Zarev of Sofia for the Pentecostals, G. Chomonov of Varna for the Baptists, and Onik Aslanyan for the Armenians.

21 February 1978, pp. 1-2. “Solidarity and Co-operation” and “Contribution to the Work of Friendship and Mutual Understanding”. Two speeches by Metropolitan Kalinik of Vratsa. The first was made during a demonstration in Athens (9 February, 1978) to express solidarity with the peoples of Cyprus and Palestine. The demonstration was connected with the Conference for Peace, Security and Co-operation in the Mediterranean (9-12 February 1978) at which Kalinik was a delegate. The second is Kalinik’s report on the conference to a representative of Radio Sofia.

Ditto, pp. 6-7. “The Sweet-Voiced Apostle of Freedom.” An article by Hieromonk Ignatiy commemorating the 105th anniversary of the death of Vasil Levsky, the great Bulgarian freedom fighter who was also a monk. Special reference is made to Levsky’s fine singing voice, and the words and music of his favourite church chant, “Worthy Art Thou”, are given. The writer says that this chant was first performed by the St Ivan Kukuzel Vocal Ensemble on 22 May 1974, and that in 1976 a record entitled “Worthy Art Thou” was issued by Balkanton, which received great acclaim from both historians and music critics.

14 March 1978, pp. 3-4. “Prayer Meeting for Christian Unity”, by Angel Krustev. The meeting was held on 3 February 1978 in the chapel of the Sofia Theological Academy. Representatives of various Christian Churches and associations assembled. The theme was the text: “Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners . . .” (Ephesians 2:19).

Polish Unofficial Journals

Biuletyn Informacyjny (Information Bulletin)

Published since 1976 by the Social Self-Defence Committee, known at first as the Committee for the Workers' Defence (KSS-KOR).

No. 3, November 1976, p. 5. Excerpt from Bishop Tokarczuk’s sermon delivered in Przemysl Cathedral on Ash Wednesday. In a direct attack on the political system in Poland, the bishop states: “The tragedy of the Polish situation is not only that we have to live with lies—but that one thing is said, another written, and yet another put into practice. We are told about elections but this involves only confirming candidates . . . We have equality, but some people are more equal than others. There are declarations about normalization of church-state relations while we cannot build freely or publish freely and believers are under pressure to give up
their faith ... We have a worse system than capitalism because it is state capitalism. Under private capitalism workers can strike or go to court if exploited. Here, the employer controls the unions and the courts, in short everything.” On the question of what should be done the bishop replies: “Live in truth; overcome fear and do not be intimidated; give up personal advancement for the sake of the common good.”

**Bratniak**

The title refers to the pre-war students’ brotherhood society. The first issue appeared in Gdansk in October 1977. The editors’ only programme is to establish a platform for young people searching for their political philosophy.

No. 2, October 1977, pp. 5-7. Essay on the relationship between ideas and life by Fr Bronislaw Sroka. In a world of passing ideas, Christianity is the only set of eternal truths and unchangeable moral values. Christianity brings “true humanism, tolerance and the spirit of freedom into the life of a nation”. In Poland particularly, where Christianity has been established for over 1,000 years, the Church has proved to be the only guardian of national culture. To impose Marxist ideology or some “fashionable western ideas” would “ruin our people”. It is only by strengthening the bond between Catholicism and patriotism that the future of Poland can be assured. Sroka appeals for more young people to participate in church life.

No. 3, December 1977, pp. 14-17. Reply to Fr Sroka’s essay from Jan Lipski and Wojciech Ostrowski (members of the Warsaw Catholic Intellectuals Club). While recognizing the positive role which the Church has played within Polish history, particularly with regard to shaping the moral and cultural well-being of the people, the authors point out that Catholics were not the only ones to contribute to this development. They express their deep concern lest Christianity become the only alternative to Marxism. “Although Poland is often described as a Catholic country, not every Pole is a believer.” They argue that Christianity should not be considered as only an ideology. Catholic universalism implies not only openness to all men irrespective of their ideology, but also willingness to be influenced by positive developments outside Poland. Western influence is as vital as the separation of Church and State for the democratic future of Poland.

Nos. 4-5, January-February 1978, pp. 16-19. A commentary on Lipski’s and Ostrowski’s article published in *Bratniak* No. 3 by Alexander Hall. While upholding Lipski’s and Ostrowski’s view that Poland should be open to western influence, he nevertheless criticizes them for distorting the meaning of Catholic universalism. “They do not understand that Christianity must be in conflict with all ideologies which try to turn people into slaves of the State.”

Nos. 6-7, March-April 1978, pp. 18-21. Reply to Lipski’s and Ostrowski’s article by Jacek Bartyzel. In his opinion, Marxist ideologies and western secular ideas are alien to the Polish nation which is steeped in Catholicism. Poland should be open to the West, not in order to absorb materialistic ideas but in order to offer its Christian values to the world.

**Opinia (Opinion)**

Published since April 1977 by the Movement for the Defence of Civil and Human Rights.

No. 2, May 1977, p. 55. Note on the protest fast held 24-30 May in the Church of St Martin, Warsaw, for the release of the workers who were still under arrest after the strikes at Radom and Warsaw in June 1976 and for the release of KOR members arrested in their defence. “We choose this non-violent way of protesting against all violence in our struggle for law and justice in order to uphold human dignity ...” The authorities waged a slanderous press campaign against the protesters while public opinion in Poland and the rest of the world was deeply moved.
No. 3, June 1977, pp. 69-70. Note on “Caritas”, the government-run “Catholic” charity removed from the control of the Church in 1950. The editors emphasize that this association has been condemned by the bishops and has nothing to do with the Church. Its main activity is “grouping priests against their bishops” while charitable work is kept to a minimum. The Catholic Association “Caritas” tries to lure priests by offering them a retirement pension which is “no more than an attempt to buy off their consciences”. “It is time to dispose of this relic of the past and return the organization to the Church, if the government’s policy of better church-state relations is to be taken seriously”, add the editors.

Ditto, pp. 76-9. Note on the celebration of Corpus Christi, 9 June, with excerpts of sermons by Cardinals Wyszynski and Wojtyła. The editors stress that this is the only feast when believers can demonstrate their faith publicly. A record number of people took part in the street processions this year. In Krakow, Cardinal Wojtyła made an indirect reference in his sermon to the recent murder by the police of Stanislaw Pyjas, a student, and the subsequent hysteria in the press when the students proposed turning the annual students’ festivities (15 May) into a day of mourning. While praising the students for their responsible behaviour, the Cardinal attacked the press for one-sidedness and for not seeing that young people long for social justice and respect for human and national rights. “When human rights are not respected”, he said, “people rebel. This is not surprising. People have their dignity ... One cannot solve human problems by relying on police methods or imprisonment ... To dominate is not in the essence of rule. To rule is to protect human, civil and even national and religious rights.”

Ditto, pp. 79-80. Note on the meeting between the Minister for Religious Affairs and students of Lodz University. The Minister described Poland as “an oasis of harmony and peace” and claimed that church-state relations were “idyllic”. However, he refused to answer students’ questions such as why there was an increase in the number of seminarists being conscripted and why he had attacked the Church in May 1977. The editors point out that the next meeting the Minister had with the public was better organized—this time the audience was carefully selected.

No. 4, August 1977, pp. 93-4. Note on letter to Fr Ludwik Wisniewski OP, chaplain to students at Lublin Catholic University, from the Ministry for Religious Affairs. The letter informs Fr Wisniewski of the opening of legal proceedings against him because of his “harmful activities directed against the Polish Republic” but does not give any details of the offence.

Ditto, p. 94. Note on the harassment of young people taking part in summer camp retreats as part of their “Oasis” spiritual formation. (“Oasis for New Life” is a renewal movement for young people within the Church’s official structure but not recognized by the State.) The editors list eleven cases of police attempts to close down the camps on orders from Bafia, head of the Nowy Sacz administration. On 30 June Bafia declared all camps not organized by the local educational committee as illegal. Dabrowski, the secretary of the Polish episcopate, protested to the Ministry for Religious Affairs at the “brutality of using police against children”.

Ditto, pp. 112-14. Commentary on the speech made before the Polish Parliament on 30 June by Janusz Zablocki, a member of the government-sponsored Znak faction. While noting his courage in raising the discrepancy between the Polish Constitution and the Helsinki Agreements on human rights, the editors attack him for distorting the social teaching of the Church. According to Zablocki, “human rights depend on the citizen fulfilling all his duties to the State”. However, Cardinal Wyszynski considers that “any attempt to relate human rights to the fulfillment of civil duties is to negate their intrinsic value”. The editors attack the argument that the implementation of human rights depends on détente. It should be quite obvious, they say, that peace can only be sustained when human rights are respected.

Ditto, pp. 123-4. Letter to the Nobel Prize Committee from 26 members of the Movement for Human and Civil Rights (ROPCiO); 5 May. Supports the nomination
of Cardinal Wyszynski for the Peace Prize, describing the Polish Primate as the “spiritus movens” behind the episcopate’s attempt to bring about a rapprochement with the German hierarchy in 1965. This led to the signing of a peace agreement between Poland and Germany in 1970. The Cardinal is considered the highest moral authority in Poland. He has become a symbol of the struggle for freedom and for the dignity of man.

No. 5, September 1977, pp. 24-5. Letter to the Polish Parliament from the Polish Bishops’ Conference; 7 June. Discusses the proposal to change the law regulating agricultural holdings. The new law would allow the State to confiscate all “unproductive” farms and those needed for “special purposes”. Farmers would have to surrender both their houses and the land. The bishops claim that over 100,000 farmers could be made homeless. This would have grave consequences for the social stability of Poland and would also result in severe food shortages since individual farmers produce 90 per cent of Poland’s food. If the new law came into force it would constitute a breach of Christian morality and of the government’s declarations on justice. The editors add that the bishops forced the authorities to postpone the new legislation for “an indefinite period of time”.

Ditto, pp. 36-8. Sermon delivered 17 September 1974 by Fr Jan Zieja in St John’s Church, Warsaw, on the anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Poland in 1939. Fr Zieja emphasized the fate of Polish soldiers who perished in Soviet captivity instead of dying on the battlefield, but went on to stress that Poland’s bitter experiences with her Eastern neighbour should not stand in the way of the Christian’s deep desire for reconciliation. “Let us hope that one day the representatives of our free countries will be able to meet one another on the basis of full historical truth.”

Ditto, pp. 38-9. Note on the 266th annual pilgrimage from Warsaw to Czestochowa which began on 6 August. A record number of over 25,000 people participated in the nine-day pilgrimage, including several hundred Italians. It was estimated that 80 per cent of the pilgrims were under the age of 30.

Ditto, p. 40. Report that the Polish authorities refused entry visas to over 500 Italians wanting to participate in the annual pilgrimage from Warsaw to Czestochowa. “It is difficult to find any reason for such behaviour”, comment the editors, “since Poland is, after all, a party to the Helsinki Agreements.”

Ditto, p. 40. Report that the Bialystok censors prevented the printing of three essays commemorating the 500th anniversary of “the crowning of Our Lady” in Vilnius (Lithuania). The essays had already been set up in print. The editors comment that the banning of scholarly studies on Marian Cult in Medieval Lithuania and on the origin of the Ostra Brama icon reflects the concern of the Polish authorities to avoid any reference to the Catholic Church in Soviet-controlled Lithuania.

No. 6, October 1977, p. 55. News of discrimination against Cywinski and Mazowiecki, editors of the Catholic journals Znak and Wiez. They were not allowed to take part in the Congress of the Catholic Press in Vienna. The only explanation given by the Ministry for Religious Affairs was that such a visit would be “undesirable”.

Ditto, pp. 65-6. Note on “Sacrosong”, the festival of religious songs held in Kalisz under the patronage of Cardinal Wojtyla 15-18 September. The theme of the festival was “Strength and Courage” and most songs concentrated on the virtue of valour. The aim of the recitals was to show the development of the awareness of human rights since the Decalogue. During the intervals the Christian tradition of defending human dignity was emphasized. The editors stress the importance of organizing such events in contemporary Poland. “Christianity can enrich our culture” which would otherwise be exclusively under the influence of the official mass media.

Ditto, p. 66. Note on the pilgrimage to the shrine at Czestochowa by members of
the Social Self-Defence Committee (KSS-KOR) and workers from the factories at Radom and Warsaw who suffered severe police reprisals after striking in 1976. The pilgrimage on 23 September marked the first anniversary of the founding of the Committee. The pilgrims offered Our Lady a metal cross with the inscription: “Let the lying lips be put to silence; which speak grievous things proudly and contemptuously against the righteous” (Psalm 31:18).

Ditto, pp. 75-6. Article by Jozef Celinski on “Oasis for New Life” summer camp retreats for young people. Celinski distinguishes between youth work based on moral ideals and youth work based on the atheistic policies of the State, which are pursued regardless of the moral costs. “Oasis” retreats have grown more popular over the years despite harassment of priests, parents and even children. In 1977 over 15,000 young people took part in “Oasis” retreats.

Ditto, pp. 84-6. Excerpts from Cardinal Wyszynski’s pastoral letter written for the “Week of Christian Charity”. In a clear reference to the oppressive policies of the Polish government, the Cardinal underlines the Church’s role in opposing any form of injustice. Second only to its pastoral mission, the Church in Poland defends social justice, freedom of conscience, and the Christian national heritage. “This is why we have to defend everyone who has lost his job on account of his faith, every parent whose child is denied religious education, everyone who is evicted from his home so that the State can build another useless plant, every woman who has to spend hours queuing for food, and every worker who is forced to work in an unhealthy environment.”

Ditto, p. 86. Note on the takeover of “Libella”, a firm owned by the Catholic Intellectuals Club (KIK), by ODiSS, a government-sponsored group of Catholics, on 26 September. The Catholic monthly, Wiez, published by KIK, had to be reduced in size when it lost its subsidy from “Libella”. There remained a danger that attempts might be made to subordinate KIK to ODiSS by manipulating KIK’s frozen assets in “Libella”.

No. 8, December 1977, p. 150. Commentary by Leszek Moczulski on the first official meeting between Gierek and Cardinal Wyszynski in October 1977 (the only other meeting between the Polish Primate and the communist leader took place in 1957) and on Gierek’s visit to the Vatican in December 1977. Moczulski argues that by asking the Church for assistance, the Party admits that its 40-year policy of atheism has been a complete failure.

No. 9, January 1978, pp. 36-7. Note on the 24-hour fast in Holy Cross Church, Warsaw, for the release of Kazimierz Switon’s two sons. The fast, started by Switon, his wife and their two daughters on 30 December 1977, was soon joined by hundreds of sympathizers. The police attempted to stop the fast by abducting Switon’s wife and daughters, but their action had the opposite effect and attracted more believers.

No. 10, February 1978, pp. 9-12. Sermon delivered on 6 January by Cardinal Wyszynski in St John’s Cathedral, Warsaw. Speaking of the conflict between “the reality of the Gospel” and the “materialistic doctrine” within Polish society, the Cardinal emphasized the positive role of the Church in trying to solve the human problems caused by subordinating man to “the machinery of the State”. The Cardinal referred to the meeting between Gierek and Pope Paul VI in December 1977, reiterating the Pope’s statement that the Church was prepared to work to strengthen moral values for the good of the country, but in order to do so needed free access to the mass media and freedom to organize Catholic associations. In an unprecedented attack on censorship the Cardinal said: “... under the pretext of safe-guarding state secrets, censorship in fact places blinkers on the eyes of the people, misinforms them and, worst of all, relieves them of their responsibility to society”.

Bibliography
Ditto, p. 12. Letter to the Minister for Religious Affairs from the diocesan conference of parish priests in Zdunska Wola. Protests at the conscription of 17 students from Wroclaw Theological Seminary. This contravenes the church-state Agreement of 1950.

No. 11, March 1978, p. 19. Tribute to Wiez (Bond) on its 20th anniversary. Published in Warsaw, Wiez, one of the two Catholic monthly journals, attains a high intellectual standard and is written with great moral integrity, despite the stifling effects of censorship. Since 1977, when the authorities decided to allocate less paper to Wiez and “Libella” (a firm owned by KIK) was expropriated by ODiSS (a pro-government group of Catholics), the editors have faced many problems and the size of the journal has been reduced.

Ditto, pp. 27-8. Letter to the editors from Janusz Zbaraski. Attacks the commonly held view that the Church constitutes political opposition to the regime. Although the Church as a moral authority is an obvious barrier to totalitarianism, since its main mission transcends the world it cannot be taken as merely one more element among the opposition groups.

No. 12, April 1978, pp. 9-12. Essay by a Fr Peter (pseudonym) on the meaning of true patriotism based on the Church’s social teaching. Attacks the government’s narrow concept of patriotism which subordinates citizens to the ultimate good of the State. Also discusses two other distorted concepts of patriotism, namely chauvinism and internationalism. Chauvinism presents nationalism as an ultimate good while internationalism fails to see in it any value whatsoever. The true teaching, he says, is that of the Church, in which human progress is seen in the context of man’s natural community.

Ditto, pp. 22-4. Reply by Wojciech Ziembinski to the article published in the Party weekly, Polityka, 25 March, by its editor Rakowski. Ziembinski expresses his incredulity at Rakowski’s criticism of Catholics for “not trusting the new approach of the State towards the Church”. “Has he forgotten the post-war history of the Church which was continually punctuated by harassment, slander and empty promises?” asks Ziembinski. Rakowski’s concept of the separation of Church and State, which does not allow any substantial concessions to be made to the Church for fear that the rights of non-Catholics might thereafter be threatened, is ludicrous, continues Ziembinski. The real separation exists not so much between Church and State but between the State and the overwhelmingly Catholic population of Poland.

No. 13, May 1978, p. 16. Note on the Fourth Week of Christian Culture which took place in churches in Warsaw 15-25 April. The editors emphasize the extensive participation of young people in preparing the 70 courses, which consisted of lectures, poetry and prose readings.

Ditto, pp. 16-17. Letter to the Polish Parliament from 65 supporters of the Social Self-Defence Committee (KSS-KOR); 30 April. Demands an end to all restrictions imposed on the Church. Catholics must be free to form their own associations, to build churches without restrictions, and have access to the mass media. The Church should be accorded legal status. The abortion laws should be changed.

No. 14, June 1978, pp. 14-15. Fragments of Cardinal Wyszynski’s letter to the chaplaincy of Warsaw University on the chaplaincy’s 50th anniversary. The Cardinal reassures students of the Church’s deep concern for the young and their problems, particularly the continuing discrimination against Catholic graduates applying for jobs.

Ditto, pp. 15-17. Essay on Christianity and politics by a Fr Paul (pseudonym). Christians in Poland cannot avoid “political involvement” if they wish to testify to the truth for which Christ sacrificed his life. It is impossible to wage the struggle against evil in private.
Zapis (For the Record)

A literary quarterly. The first issue appeared in January 1977. Page references given in the Bibliography are taken from the issues reprinted by Index on Censorship, 21 Russell Street, London WC2B 5HP.

No. 2, May 1977, pp. 166-8. Article by “NN” on censorship of religious publications. Gives a factual account of the main limitations imposed by the authorities. It often takes years before a book receives imprimatur. Every year between 40 and 60 per cent of books submitted are not accepted for publication. When a book is accepted, the authorities decide how many copies will be printed. This results in a shortage of copies as soon as a book has been published and encourages the black market. It is very difficult to subscribe to Catholic periodicals, particularly if one lives in the country, since the number of would-be subscribers exceeds the number of copies printed (as is the case with W drodze). Religious libraries exist only in some large cities, while public libraries stock only religious literature published by PAX. In school libraries religious literature and any books with the slightest hint of a religious outlook are strictly prohibited, while atheist literature abounds. Censorship regulations have placed a total ban on church youth work, “Sacrosong” and any similar events, and the persecution of Uniates. Until recently it was forbidden even to mention abortion. Censorship interferes so much with a text (for example, “all men are sinful” would be changed to read “Catholics are sinful”) that editors practise auto-censorship, but the unpredictable character of ever-changing censorship instructions does not make their work any easier. People cannot subscribe to religious periodicals from the Soviet Union, nor is it possible to send the Protestant fortnightly, Zwiastun, to Poles in the Silesian part of Czechoslovakia. The Protestant Bible Society bookshop in Warsaw can sell Bibles in any language except Russian.

No. 4, October 1977, pp. 37-57. A detailed account by Joanna Szczesna of the week-long protest fast held in the Church of St Martin, Warsaw, for the release of the workers arrested after the strikes in June 1976 and for the release of KOR members arrested in their defence. On 24 May a group of Catholic and left-wing intellectuals began a week of prayer and contemplation. This was an unusual experience for some. Szczesna recalls her difficulty in trying to remember the Lord’s Prayer.

Ditto, pp. 131-8. A polemic against the liberal principles implicit in Michnik’s book The Church, the Left and Dialogue by Fr Jacek Salij. Salij attacks the liberal view of “faith” which is tolerant towards God only as long as his objective existence is not asserted. The extreme individualism and moral relativism of liberalism has particularly negative consequences when it fails to consider the “moral” influence of legislation on abortion or divorce. English translation published in RCL Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 42-6.

Ditto, pp. 207-8. Note on Cardinal Wyszynski’s closing address in St Anne’s Church, Warsaw, at the end of the Third Week of Christian Culture; 30 May. The Cardinal emphasized that it was more important to defend national culture than to build new factories. He encouraged the artists present to find refuge in the Church alongside the priests, “for only here can you defend man, peace and culture... only here can you express your heart’s longing. Try to understand one another’s role. A nation which has lost the sense of greatness perishes.”

Ditto, pp. 209-10. Note on “Sacrosong”, the festival of religious songs held in Kalisz 15-18 September under the theme of “Strength and Courage”. Thousands were inspired “to give witness of courage and solidarity with the defenders of human rights in everyday life”.

No. 6, May 1978, pp. 215-16. Summary of the 162nd Bishop’s Plenary Conference. The bishops urged the authorities to trust people and put an end to censorship, which “thwarts the human spirit”. “The Church will support every initiative for the authentic development of national culture because the people have the right to know the truth about themselves.”