This section of the journal lists (a) significant Romanian press articles on religion and atheism, (b) Romanian unofficial religious documentation, (c) significant Soviet press articles on religion and atheism, (d) selected articles from official Soviet religious publications, (e) samizdat (self-published material) from or about religious groups in the USSR, (f) samizdat from or about religious groups in Czechoslovakia, (g) significant Bulgarian press articles on religion and atheism, (h) selected articles from official Bulgarian religious publications, (i) samizdat from or about religious groups in Poland and listed under the unofficial Polish journals in which it has appeared.

In the present issue of the Bibliography we introduce a section of Polish religious documentation for samizdat documents which have not appeared in Polish journals.

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 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, 1980 covered significant Soviet press articles on religion and atheism for the period October to December 1979. The present issue deals with the period January to March 1980.

RCL No. 3, 1980 covered selected articles from official Soviet religious publications for the period November and December 1979. The present issue deals with the period January to April 1980.

RCL No. 1, 1980 covered significant Bulgarian press articles on religion and atheism for the period August and September 1978. The present issue deals with the period June to August 1979.

RCL No. 3, 1980 covered selected articles from official Bulgarian religious publications for the period April to July 1978. The present issue deals with August and September 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.
Note Because of a clerical problem we did not receive our full complement of Soviet newspapers and periodicals for the first two months of 1980. Therefore the selection of Soviet press articles for January and February 1980 is perhaps less representative than usual.

Romanian Press Articles

Date January 1980

12 Scinteia, p. 2. “Epilogue to speculation with ‘those saints’. Being principled and firm towards individuals who round off their income with spreading mysticism”, by Illie Tanasache. Marin Chirita was found with a pile of “mystic propaganda” in the courtyard of his house. A “witness” accused him of selling these books for 300 lei each. However, further investigation revealed that Ion Comsa, a foreman at a printing press and a member of the Communist Party, had discovered people printing religious literature. Instead of reporting the matter he had accepted a bribe of 15,000 lei from Mihail Ungureanu, a member of the sect. Here and there, there are fanatics who break the law to achieve their ends.

12 Scinteia Tineretului, p. 1. Note on President Ceausescu’s meeting with Jack Spitzer, president of the Hebrew Association “B’nai B’rith”, and Alfred Moses, vice-president of the American Hebrew Committee. Ion Rosianu, head of the Department of Cults, and Dr Moses Rosen, the Chief Rabbi of Romania, were also present.

16 Scinteia Tineretului, pp. 1-2. “Human sentiments explained scientifically”, Or Petre Pufan interviewed by Traian Ganju. Mystic manifestations occur when man tries to satisfy his spiritual needs through a “divine force”. This is wrong because truth can only be found in oneself and those around one. Personality and mental deficiencies, mystic manifestations and “obscurities” are impressed on a person by those around him. Psychology offers an explanation with which we can repel innate religious sentiments. It also helps us to know ourselves and understand our feelings.

25 Scinteia Tineretului, p. 1. “To discover the meaning of life means to place yourself in history”, Dr Stelian Stoica interviewed by Traian Ganju. Man has a fundamental need to explain the meaning of life. The diversity of explanations is due to the attitudes, aspirations and social aims of the community in which the individual finds himself. The meaning of life springs from an atheistic mentality, while its origin and destiny is characterized by a religious hue.

— Era Socialista, No. 1, 1980, pp. 18-21. “Problems of the scientific-atheist education of the young student”, by Professor Toma Mares. Nicolae Ceausescu, in his report to the 12th Congress, stressed that the persistence of mystic concepts and retrograde thinking hindered young people’s full participation in society. It was an anachronism that in the present age there were still people, even some Party members, who believed in supernatural forces. Teachers have a key role in scientific-atheistic education but they often do not know how to go about it. Some misunderstand the concept of freedom of conscience and take it to mean that cults have a right to exist. Instead of intensifying political education to combat religious manifestations, they resort to administrative methods: religious students are admonished in front of the class or young people’s organizations and their grades are lowered. Another aspect of the problem is that some parents teach their children beliefs which are contradicted at school. Parents need to be taught tactfully that their attitudes could result in their separation from the child.

Date February 1980

1 Contemporanul, p. 4. “Humanism, atheism, education”, by Petru Berar. Our Party begins from the premise that there is no political contradiction between communists and Christians. Nicolae Ceausescu urges communists to fight energetically against superstitions and mysticism. Freedom of the cults is guaranteed in the laws of the State, but every citizen, irrespective of religious belief, must respect the laws and participate in the edification of the new socialist order.
Romanian Unofficial Religious Documents

23. **Letter** to Christian Solidarity International (CSI) from Nicolae Traian Bogdan; 30 September. Bogdan gives a few autobiographical notes and then discusses the need for closer participation with CSI. He urges the CSI president to send details of others being persecuted so that Romanian Christians can support them. He proposes Adolpho Perez Esquivel for the Nobel Prize for freedom and hopes that Billy Graham will soon visit Romania. Traian Morar of Timisoara has become a member of the Christian Committee for the Defence of Religious Freedom and Freedom of Conscience (ALRC). Romanian: 8 pp. Handwritten original.

24. **Document** No. 10 to the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party from ALRC; 4 November. Presents problems faced by all religious denominations. The signatories argue that Christianity demands respect because of its contribution to world culture and civilization. Christians have much to contribute to society, yet their role in socialist society is limited to a place in the United Democratic and Socialist Front, which is a puppet organization. President Ceausescu argues that Christians must not interfere in politics, but the Party constantly uses the church leaders in its political games, e.g. against emigration, in support of Most Favoured Nation status etc. The document then lists ten religious prisoners and requests their release. Romanian: 11 pp. Retyped in the West.

25. **Memorandum** to the Council of State and President Ceausescu from the Mihai Bravu Baptist Church in Bucharest; 16 November. The Mihai Bravu Church has been asking for a new location for its dilapidated and outgrown premises since 1962. Land has been bought but permission to build a new church has not yet been received. They ask for one of three solutions: a new church on the present site, a new construction close to the present one or a new building on the plot already bought.

1. **Note** from Radu Capusan; 12 May. Describes an incident in Manastur Baptist Church, Cluj, during the absence of Pastor Husan. Dimitrie Ianculovici was visiting the church and was invited to address the congregation. He spoke on “knowing Christ and the power of His resurrection”. On his return Husan, together with Baptist Union official Barbatei, reprimanded the church, acting in a particularly hostile way to Capusan. The pastor expressed fear that approval for reconstruction of the church might be taken away for such an act. Capusan also mentions that Fr Gheorghe Calciu, in Aiud prison, and Gheorghe Brasoveanu, in Galati, are on hunger strike. Romanian: 6 pp. Retyped in the West.

1. **Appeal** from Greek Catholic workers; March. They recall the great contribution of the Eastern-rite Catholic Church to Romanian civilization. Yet despite this they are now called evil and traitors. They protest at the falsification of church history by modern Romanian Orthodox historians, citing M. Pacurariu. Despite Orthodox claims of a spontaneous and peaceful reunion, they must face the fact that there were some bishops and priests who died or were imprisoned. Recently the Orthodox hierarchy has circulated a questionnaire on the status of former Eastern-rite priests, religious and faithful. Parish priests are asked to obtain personal details of individuals, especially their attitude towards the Roman Catholic Church. One question asks if the priest/believer is successful in attracting former Eastern-rite Catholics to the Roman Church. It is surmised that this indicates a further move in plans to re-unite the Roman Catholic and catacomb Eastern-rite Churches. Such an offer was already made to Bishop Alexandru Todea of Reghin at Christmas 1979. Romanian: 5 pp. Retyped in the West.
Bibliography

Soviet Press Articles

Date January 1980

10 Izvestiya, p. 4. “Facts against lies”, by V. Kassis and K. Rashidov. In Kabul, Afghanistan, the day begins with the mullahs’ calls to prayer. Contrary to the slanders of American imperialism, there is no persecution of the Islamic religion here. Not a single mullah has been arrested; mosques are open to everyone and are full; new mosques are being built. Abdul Aziz, chairman of the Council of Ulemas of Afghanistan, affirms that Soviet friendship and support effectively defends the April Revolution from those who would strangle it. The people of Afghanistan consider the Soviet Union as an especially helpful neighbour.

15 Pravda Ukrainy, p. 4. “With the cross and the trident”, by V. Zots. A review of K. Ye. Dmitruk’s new book S krestom i trezubtom (Moscow, 1979), which exposes the fascist essence of Ukrainian émigré bourgeois nationalists and their spiritual supervisor, the Uniates (Eastern-rite Catholic) Church. As wartime collaborators with the Hitlerite bandits and terrorists, they were responsible for the deaths of “hundreds and thousands” of patriots and civilian non-combatants. Now financed by the CIA, they have joined the Zionists, the Peking hegemonists, the Chilean fascists and all other opponents of peace and progress in an anti-Soviet alliance. The Uniates even use tourists to spread subversion in the USSR.

Rabochy klass i sovremenny mir, No. 1, pp. 71-9. “On certain new trends in the politics of the Catholic Church”, by L. F. Shevtsova. Evaluates the first year of the pontificate of John Paul II. The author concludes that while his training as a “philosopher-moralist” inclines him to hold conservative policies on church affairs and to restrain the social-reformist impulses of the lower clergy (particularly in Latin America), the new Pope has also shown certain progressive tendencies. He understands the need for peace and disarmament and is willing to continue the Ostpolitik of his predecessors. While he remains neutral on the question of socialism versus capitalism, he has severely criticized western “consumer societies” for their inequitable distribution of wealth.

Nauka i religiya, No. 1, pp. 2-4. “Conviction”, by P. Kurochkin, director of the Institute of Scientific Atheism. He emphasizes that two aspects of atheist propaganda work need further development. Firstly, the “moral potential” of atheism needs to be made more apparent. He cites the case of a Baptist girl who was persuaded to leave the sect, but then began to lead an unworthy life. She responded to rebukes by saying, “I am afraid of nothing now and do whatever I want”. Secondly, the churchmen’s claim that religion and national culture are inseparable needs to be actively refuted.

Ditto, pp. 27-9. “‘Miracle’-working cranks”, by Ye. Popok. Ivan Antonovich Skvortsov, a quack “healer”, made enough money from his practice to buy three cars, take long annual holidays, furnish his house with foreign furniture, a piano, television etc., and to donate nearly 10,000 roubles to a church in the village of Chentsova, near Tula. In addition he offered the Pskov-Pechersky monastery 30,000 roubles (his offer was declined). Of course this “healer” performs no miracles, and he was eventually brought to justice.

Ditto, pp. 40-3. “Answer to the soothsayers”, by Khasan Ismailov. The author rejects the charges made by such western writers as Hélène Carrère d’Encausse in her book L’Empire Eclate (Flammarion, 1978) that the growing Muslim population is becoming increasingly restive and may eventually threaten the political stability of the Soviet State. The author points out that 70 per cent of those living in traditionally Muslim areas no longer practise their religion. There is no repression of national minorities in the Soviet Union, nor does the State interfere in the activities of the Muslim spiritual directorates.

attitude towards the results of technological progress, and effectively ignores the
great achievements of socialist countries. The western press portrays the Pope as a
defender of human rights vis-à-vis the communists. If the Pope does talk of a
“situation where only atheists enjoy the rights of citizens in social life, and believers
are tolerated only in principle or considered second-class citizens”, this only shows
that he ascribes his own logic to non-believers. The encyclical does not contain any
compelling reason for socialist States to change their policies on religion and the
Church.

Date February 1980

7 Izvestiya, p. 3. “Freedom of conscience in the USSR”, by I. Timofeyev. Freedom of
conscience and separation of Church from State are guaranteed by the Soviet Con­
stitution (Arts. 52 and 34) and by Lenin’s 1918 decree on the separation of Church
and State. Marx said that physical force would be ineffective against religion but that
the development of socialism would cause it to fade away. People must be free to
profess no religion at all and to escape the dangers of religion. Religious communities
in the USSR are, he claims, free to print religious literature.

Filimonov. Religious extremists engage in anti-social behaviour, spread anti-Soviet
fabrics about the situation of believers in the USSR and encourage their fellow­
believers to violate Soviet laws on religion. Though most often found among unregis­
tered sectarians, religious extremism is also found among the Catholic clergy, the
Uniates, Orthodox and Muslim communities. It is a petty-bourgeois, individualist
phenomenon, a symptom of the crisis of religion. But extremism is also encouraged
by bourgeois falsifiers in the West, such as Voss, Simon and Bourdeaux, and by the
mistaken actions of local authorities who try to struggle against religious ideology by
administrative means. It is especially useful to enlist the support of conscientious
believers in exposing the extremists. An article in the AUCECB’s Bratsky vestnik
(No. 4, 1971) is cited as an example of this.

“revolution” [following the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. Ed.] in 1940, the Catholic
Church in Lithuania played a reactionary role. It has gradually adapted itself to the
new conditions, declaring itself loyal to Soviet power and modifying its theological
positions so as to appear socially universal and peace-loving. There remain, however,
individual elements in the Lithuanian Catholic clergy inclined to religious
extremism.

— Ditto, p. 39. “Who is guilty?” G. Polyanovsky, a doctor and atheist lecturer, writes
from Tashkent to report a case of religious mania which ended in a shoot-out with
police. A sergeant and the 23-year-old mentally-ill son of a Muslim couple were
killed. If the parents had consulted a doctor when their son first showed signs of his
illness, instead of listening to the local mullah who said the young man suffered from
“evil spirits”, this tragedy might have been avoided.

— Ditto, p. 40. “An offence”, by V. Kharazov. Quotes the case of Nikolai Petrovich, a
registered Pentecostal believer whose fellow-workers blamed him when his non­
believing son was sent to prison for hooliganism. They said he had “brought it on with
his religion”. Unable to dissuade him from his faith, they began to take “measures”
against him, depriving him of honours to which his work and military records entitled
him. When Nikolai Petrovich complained to the local newspaper his letter was not
printed but returned to the authorities at the factory. This only made the situation
worse for him. Finally he wrote to Nauka i religiya. Kharazov discussed the matter
with the regional committee of the Party and now, a year later, relations between
Nikolai Petrovich and his fellow-workers have improved. He even participates in
social life and exercises some positive influence in his religious community.

— Ditto, pp. 61-3. “The other side of Zionist piety”, by M. Goldenberg. While it would
be a mistake to equate Zionism and Judaism, their close connection cannot be
ignored. Jewish “exclusiveness” is often justified by the alleged religious superiority
of Judaism as the source of monotheism, but scientific criticism has shown this claim to
be groundless. The doctrine of the Jews as “the chosen of God” is central to Judaism
and is the source of Zionist racism and national chauvinism. The Torah (the five
books of the “mythical Moses”) is used to justify Israel’s aggression. Since Christians also recognize the Old Testament it serves as a tool for enlisting their support for imperialism and anti-Sovietism.

Date March 1980

2 Pravda vostoka, p. 4. “The punishment for slander”, by M. Seitov. Official account of the trial of Reshat Dzhemilev, a Crimean Tatar activist sentenced to three years’ strict regime labour camp for circulating “anti-Soviet fabrications” to the West. Dzhemilev is described as engaging in such activity for profit: though twice previously convicted for his activities, and though his wife and children enjoy the free medicine and education guaranteed to Soviet citizens, Dzhemilev received money from the wife of the renegade Solzhenitsyn. He systematically slandered the Soviet Union, claiming for instance that those in the USSR who adhere to Islam are repressed. Apparently his foreign masters thought his value as a “martyr” was just about exhausted and suggested it was time for him to play the “refugee”, but one has to answer for one’s criminal activities.

11 Pravda vostoka, p. 2. “Clarify, teach, convince”, by O. Akhmedov and V. Altunin. A strong tradition of ideological work was begun in the Uzbek village of Mirzachul in February 1923 with the founding of the “Down with Illiteracy” society attached to the local school. Prejudice against education of women was overcome and the school became popular. Now the local “university of scientific atheism” enjoys similar popularity. Founded ten years ago, it now has over 100 students. The work carried out there has been particularly effective in reducing the number of parents who pass on religious beliefs to their children.

11 Sovetskaya Estoniya, pp. 2-3. “Superstition and natural science”, by A. Uyemov. An attack on superstition and parapsychology. Describes the triumphant advance science has made against religion but concedes that superstition survives where religious belief has ceased. Astrology is discussed as an example. There may be some scientific basis for insights offered by some superstitions and so it is important to fight against superstition in a scientific way.

21 Pravda Ukrainy, p. 2. “Forming atheist convictions”, by A. Okulov and V. Zots. A short exposition on the proper understanding of Lenin’s teaching on religion. Atheist propaganda should be fully scientific. The ideological struggle against religion cannot be abandoned, but efforts to prohibit it by administrative methods are impermissible. Special attention must be paid to believers with children. Anti-Soviet propaganda about the situation of religion in the USSR must be countered.

21 Znamya (Kaluga), p. 4. “Beneath a mask of piety”, by A. Shcheglov. Pentecostal pastor Ivan Fedotov is accused of slandering the Soviet State and social system. A greedy and domineering man, he encourages his unregistered congregation to break Soviet laws on cults. Parents are encouraged to bring their children to religious rites which are conducted in an atmosphere of extreme nervous excitement, exaltation and fanaticism. They are also told to forbid their children to join the Pioneers or to participate in other social activities. Fedotov’s wife, Valentina, and his assistant, Vladimir Murashkin, assist him in passing anti-Soviet material abroad to espionage groups like the Swedish Slaviska Missionen.

- Nauka i religiya, No. 3, pp. 4-6. “A deep glazing”, by I. Achildiyev. Brought up by parents who still observe some tenets of Islam, Rano Ibragimova is able to travel and receive an education — activities which would have been banned and unthinkable to Uzbek women a generation,ago. Although Rano and her friends wear national dress and some of them may pronounce the occasional “amen” after the rituals their parents continue to have performed, religious holidays and prayer have almost totally lost their meaning for such young women.

Soviet Religious Press Articles

Fraternal Messenger (Bratsky vestnik)
Nos. 1-2, January-April 1980 (special issue devoted to reports of the All-Union Congress held in Moscow 18-20 December 1979), pp. 14-34. Report by AUCECB
General Secretary A. M. Bychkov on the activity of the All-Union Council — slightly abridged.

Ditto, pp. 36-42. Report by Ya. K. Dukhonchenko on amendments to the Statutes of the AUCECB — abridged.

Ditto, pp. 43-52. Discussion of reports and speeches by foreign guests — drastically abbreviated. List of all speakers.

Ditto, pp. 56-8. Elections to the All-Union Council and report on the final session. Membership of the All-Union Council, auditing commission and Presidium listed.

Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate (Zhurnal Moskovskoi Patriarkhii)

Russian edition

No. 1, 1980, p. 4. On 4 October Patriarch Pimen sent a greeting to Pope John Paul II on the anniversary of his enthronement. The Pope's reply, dated 8 November, stated that he was “deeply touched”.

Ditto, pp. 7-12. Bishop Ilian of Solnechnogorsk was installed by Patriarch Pimen on 24 November. He is to serve as archpriest of the Czechoslovak Local Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

Ditto, pp. 15-17. Patriarch Pimen, in his address at the annual Speech Day of the Moscow ecclesiastical schools on 30 November, stressed the need for secular virtues such as patriotism and striving for world peace, in addition to specifically Christian witness and conduct. He also emphasized the importance of the ecumenical movement.

Ditto, pp. 17-19. “The 30th anniversary of the re-unification of the Transcarpathian Greek Catholics with the Russian Orthodox Church”, by Bishop Savva of Mukachevo and Uzhgorod. A brief account of the history of the Orthodox Church in Transcarpathia and the union with the Roman Catholic Church which, the author writes, was “forcibly introduced” in 1646 against the wishes of the majority of the people, who were always loyal to Orthodoxy. The union was finally renounced in 1949 at the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin in Mukachevo.

Ditto, pp. 23-8. “News from the dioceses.” On 14 May 1979 P. G. Petrov, the CRA representative for Mogilev province, attended a meeting of local clergy led by Metropolitan Filaret. The meeting took place in the Church of SS Boris and Gleb in Mogilev, Minsk diocese. Petrov remarked with satisfaction on the Orthodox clergy’s observance of the laws on religious cults.

Ditto, pp. 37-44. Communiqué of the session of the International Secretariat of the Christian Peace Conference held in Bad Saarow (GDR) from 30 September to 4 October 1979. Dr Albrecht Schönherr, Bishop of the Evangelical Church of Berlin-Brandenburg and president of the Federation of Protestant Churches of the GDR, spoke of the Federation’s recent activities in support of détente and disarmament. There was a discussion of problems currently threatening world peace and possible ways of solving them. The Secretariat was informed about the sixth Conference of the Heads of Non-Aligned Nations held in Havana, at which 96 countries were represented. Hubert Huske, a member of the Presidium of the Berlin Conference of European Catholics, presented the history, current work and aims of this movement. Various other matters were also discussed.

Ditto, pp. 51-2. Patriarch Pimen’s address to Cardinal László Lékai, delivered in the patriarchal Cathedral of the Epiphany after the all-night vigil on 1 October 1979. This was the first visit by a Primate of the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary to the Orthodox Church in the USSR. Pimen greets him “not only as the Primate of the Catholic Church in Hungary, but also as an honoured guest from a friendly socialist country”. He expresses his hope that this visit will encourage more contact between Christians in socialist countries.

Ditto, pp. 53-4. Theological talks between the Orthodox and Reformed Churches were held in Budapest 11-14 October in the Reformed Church Theological Academy. Papers were read by Metropolitan Filaret and Archbishop Pitirim on the Orthodox
side, and by Professor Hans Esser of West Germany on the Reformed side. There was substantial agreement between the two sides in their understanding of doctrine and of consequent responsibilities for Christians in the modern world. Metropolitan Filaret was made an honorary Doctor of Theology.

Ditto, p. 80. “Bibliography.” A review of the first volume of Izvestia, a recent publication of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. It is a collection of articles, mainly on Bulgarian church history and on scientific research in relation to the Orthodox Church and religious themes.

No. 2, 1980, p. 2. Archbishop Feodosi of Vologda and Veliki Ustyug suffers from the cold climate and is to exchange archdioceses with Archbishop Mikhail of Astrakhan and Yenotayevka.

Ditto, pp. 4-5. An exchange of telegrams between Patriarch Dimitrios of Constantinople and Patriarch Pimen and between Pope John Paul II and Patriarch Pimen concerning the meeting between Patriarch Dimitrios and Pope John Paul II in Istanbul in December 1979. Patriarch Pimen shares the Pope’s desire to see their two Churches attain full communion at a time pleasing to God.


Ditto, pp. 12-15. Igumen Nikanor (yukhimyuk) was designated Bishop of Podolsk by Patriarch Pimen and the Holy Synod on 16 November 1979.

Ditto, pp. 16-18. The opening of the 1979-80 academic year at the Leningrad Theological Academy and Seminary saw the admission of women to the precentor courses for the first time. Whereas previously the students who took the precentor courses were not always able to put their training to use, the men and women now admitted will take only these courses. They will not be ordained and appointments to positions as precentors for church choirs will be made from their ranks. On 9 October 1979 the Primate of the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary, Cardinal László Lékai, was among guests at the celebration of the Feast of St John the Divine.

Ditto, pp. 39-42. Patriarch Pimen and Metropolitan Alexi of Tallinn and Estonia call for the rejection of NATO plans to deploy American cruise missiles and Pershing II rockets in Western Europe and for the earliest possible ratification of the SALT II treaty by the US Senate.

Ditto, pp. 54-7. “Archpriest Professor Georges Florovsky (1893-1979): In Memoriam”, by Anatoli Vedernikov. An appreciation of this outstanding figure in Orthodox theology in the 20th century. Although Florovsky “left his homeland” in 1920 and “began his many years of wandering through the towns and cities of Western Europe and North America”, he nevertheless became “a highly qualified spokesman of Orthodoxy” and was recognized as such in the East as well as the West. One of his great contributions was to affirm the value of the early church Fathers. The article summarizes his theological achievements.

Ditto, pp. 59-61. “Theological discussions with the Episcopal Church in the USA”, by Archbishop Vladimir of Vladimir and Suzdal. In response to a 1977 invitation from Bishop John M. Allin, a meeting took place in Greenwich, Connecticut, 15-19 October 1979. The Soviet delegation was headed by Metropolitan Sergi of Odessa and Kherson and included Archpriest Professor Vasili Stoikov, Fr Janis Vaivods, professor at the Catholic Theological Seminary in Riga, M. Ya. Zhidkov, a vice-president of the AUCECB and senior presbyter of the Moscow Baptist church, and the author. The representatives of the Episcopal Church included Bishop John Burt, Bishop Donald J. Parsons, several professors from Episcopal Seminaries, other representatives of the central administration of the Church, and the laymen Dr Harold J. Berman, professor of law at Harvard [a leading expert on Soviet law, Ed.] and Dr Paul Anderson [a leading American specialist on religion in the Soviet Union, Ed.]. Subjects discussed included “the mission of the Church in the USSR and the USA with regard to religious freedom”. The American side showed an alarming lack
of knowledge about the Russian Orthodox and other Churches in the USSR, but after some discussion of the meaning of religious freedom "the Episcopalian delegation was glad to learn of the active life of Christian Churches in the Soviet Union and of the process of the widening of democracy". Certain doctrinal changes among the non-Orthodox confessions, such as the ordination of women, make dialogue more difficult and the possibility of unity more remote.

Soviet Religious Samizdat

SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS
SU/1979/ADV
14. The truth of the paper "Pravda vostoka", or who is Illarionov from the Council of the All-Union Church of True and Free Seventh-Day Adventists; 10 June. Critical response to the article "A fanatic in the role of an apostle" by V. Illarionov which appeared in Pravda vostoka on 27 May 1979 (see RCL Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 70). This was a libellous attack on V. A. Shelkov. Illarionov is not a former member of the sect, as was claimed in the article, but is a convicted criminal. Russian: 12 pp. Carbon copy.

SU/1980/ADV
2. Report from the Council of the All-Union Church of True and Free Seventh-Day Adventists on continued state repression of the Church; 12 March. Arbitrary persecution of believers in the form of searches, arrests, investigations and trials continues and has recently intensified, especially since the death of V. A. Shelkov. Nearly 200 searches have taken place and 36 people have been arrested and sentenced. State cruelty towards prisoners of conscience, such as I. S. Lepshin, S. P. Furlet and Ya. N. Dolgoter, has increased. Russian: 2 pp. Photocopy.

ALL-UNION COUNCIL OF (THE) CHURCHES OF EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS AND BAPTISTS
SU/1975/BAP
1. Decision No. 2 of the administrative commission of the Stepan village sovet; 6 August. Having examined the report on Nikolai Vladimirovich Kazimirets, a presbyter of the ECB Church, who organized an open air baptism on 6 July 1975 without the permission of the district executive committee, the commission resolved to fine him 50 roubles and to inform the regional CRA representative about his violation of the legislation on cults. Two minors were among those baptized. Ukrainian: 1 p. Photocopy.

SU/1979/BAP
1. Elect worthy people, letter to delegates at the 42nd Congress of the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians and Baptists, anonymous; undated (but probably December). The author reminds the delegates of their great responsibility before God and his people to elect worthy people as servants of the Church. He criticizes AUCECB General Secretary A. M. Bychkov for placing morality before faith and salvation, and for encouraging believers to render to Caesar that which is God's. M. Ya. Zhidkov and P. K. Shatrov are also deemed to be unworthy of their high positions in the church leadership. Russian: 1 p. Duplicated copy.

COUNCIL OF (THE) CHURCHES OF EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS AND BAPTISTS (INITSIATIVNIKI)
SU/1979/INI
15. Bulletin of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives, No. 70; undated. Includes a letter from P. T. and V. P. Rytikov and G. V. Vilchinskaya, written from a Special Detention Centre in Lvov, with greetings and assurances that they are well. They have contact with two Azerbaidzhanis, an Armenian and a Tatar, to whom they are witnessing. Russian: 31 pp. Photocopy.
16. *Bulletin of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives*, No. 71; undated. Includes an urgent communication on the arrest of Nikolai Baturin, Olga Pikalova and Mikhail Prutyanyu; news of how N. P. Pozdnyakov was slandered at a public meeting and his wife deprived of her mother-heroine award; details of continued persecution of Moscow believers, with meetings being dispersed and young people beaten. Russian: 37 pp. Photocopy.


18. Testament by Fr Dimitri Dudko; 29 March. A message intended for posthumous publication. His life has been full of the unexpected. As he was lying on the ground after his car accident, he thought how death too would come unexpectedly. He thanks God for the unknown day of his death, which he believes will be a great mercy. He asks those whom he will leave behind to pray for him, naked and helpless before Christ. If God allows, he will plead for them, knowing their situation. "In Christ are all our treasures", he reminds them. Russian in *Novoye russkoye slovo*, 5 February 1980, p. 5. Italian in *Russia Cristiana*, No. 171, 1980, pp. 5-7.

19. (Statement) to the Chairman of the CRA from the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the USSR; 10 October. For about eight years Orthodox believers in Berezno district, Rovno region, have been trying to register their religious community and open the church in the village of Balashovka (see *RCL* Vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 260-1). They recently received another letter refusing their request on the grounds that Balashovka's former dvadtsatka (council of 20) no longer existed and that the church building was in a bad state of repair. The believers deny that these arguments are valid and see this as further proof that the right to establish new religious communities exists only on paper. Russian: 1 p. Photocopy.

20. *Appeal* to Christians in our country from Alexei and Irina Zalessky; undated. All the recent repressive acts—the arrests of Fr Gleb Yakunin, Valeri Abramkin, Tatjana Velikanova and others, the interrogation of Fr Dimitri Dudko and harassment of his spiritual children—are intended to frighten and silence before the Olympic Games those who freely believe in God and want to think, speak and write. Honest Christians cannot abide by laws and rules which contradict their consciences. For every person arrested or dismissed, ten others will take his place. The writers ask all Christians in the USSR to pray for the above-mentioned believers and not to be afraid. They are sure that God will hear their common prayer. Russian in *Russkaya mysl*, 17 January 1980, p. 5. English in *RCL* Vol. 8, No. 4, pp. 292-3.
Bibliography

21. *The Christian Renaissance and Ideology* by Tatyana Goricheva; undated. Criticizes the attitude of some members of the Russian intelligentsia who are turning to religion. Christianity is not merely an ideology; a person needs to be thoroughly integrated into the Church before he is able to do genuinely Christian creative work. The article is the first in a projected series to be edited by Goricheva and Viktor Krivulin, provisionally entitled "Culture, Ideology and Church". Russian: 21 pp. Carbon copy.

3. *Information Bulletin* No. 2 from the Committee for the Defence of Tatyana Velikanova; 17 February. Accounts by individuals questioned in connection with Velikanova's case. The investigator told one of them that Velikanova was being charged with anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. Her request for a Bible seems to have been granted. Includes various appeals in her defence, among them a Declaration to L. I. Brezhnev from Lithuanian priests, news of reactions abroad to her arrest, and a note to say that the total number of signatories to the protest letter "On the arrest of T. Velikanova", published in *Information Bulletin* No. 1, is now 466. Russian: 27 pp. Retyped in the West.

4. (Appeal) to Leningrad City Court from I. F. Martynov, candidate of pedagogical sciences, V. F. Lazutkin, doctor of physics and mathematical sciences, and A. A. Tron; March-April. Their civic conscience moves them to appeal on behalf of Vladimir Poresh. They have known him for several years and have seen him transformed from a naive, nihilistic youth into a citizen deeply aware of his duty to God and his country. They respect the spiritual searchings of young people which should serve as a basis for open discussion and not for judicial persecution. If Poresh is sent to a labour camp he will appear to be a martyr for the Orthodox faith. Russian in *Russkaya mysl*, 22 May 1980, p. 4.

5. (Appeal) to the editorial boards of leading Catholic papers in Argentina, Brazil, Italy, Spain, Mexico and France from Leonid Borodin, Vadim Borisov, Igor Khokhluushkin and Igor Shafarevich; Easter. They wish to appeal through the addressees' papers to all Catholic cardinals, bishops and priests for help in defending Fr Dimitri Dudko. They hope that help given by Catholics to the Russian Orthodox in their great misfortune will be seen as an instance of the drawing together of these two branches of Christ's Church. Russian in *Russkaya mysl*, 24 April 1980, p. 4. English translation available.

6. (Request) to L. I. Brezhnev from T. G. Lebedeva; 22 April. Asks for an end to the persecution to which she has been subjected for the past month by various state authorities. On 27 March she was summoned as a witness in the case of Lev Regelson, but as a Russian Orthodox Christian she refused on religious, moral and ethical grounds to take part in the fabrication of this case. She was summoned for questioning again and again. Officials shouted at her, threatened her and talked for hours about what would happen to her 9-year-old daughter after her arrest. Russian: 1 p. Photograph.

7. Concerning the declaration of Fr Dimitri Dudko by M. Probatov; 27 June. A response to Fr Dudko's statement of recantation. Regrets that when his spiritual father was arrested, he did no more than engage in discussions and write or sign letters. Galileo also recanted, but just as people now remember only his great scientific achievement, so too the pastoral achievement of Fr Dudko will never be forgotten. Russian in *Russkaya mysl*, 17 July 1980, p. 4. English translation available.

PENTECOSTALS

SU/1979/PEN

8. *Open letter* to US Congress from Larisa, Svetlana, Sasha, Vera and Lyuba Gutorov, Vilnius; undated. They appeal for help in emigrating to any capitalist country. Larisa and Svetlana were constantly abused as children by their teachers and schoolfellows because of their faith in God. Even now, as adults, they have to endure the mistrust and insults of their fellow-workers. They wish to emigrate so their younger sisters and brother will not have to suffer the same unpleasantness at school. Russian:
9. Appeal from the Council of Pentecostal Churches; undated. The various Christian denominations in the USSR exist in isolation from one another. Moreover, each one is divided into various unions, fellowships and councils which do not support one another, thereby helping the enemy in his destructive work. The Council of Pentecostal Churches has therefore decided to appoint 30 men who will work to strengthen weak churches, and is planning to discuss with other Pentecostal groups and with Baptists and Adventists the possibility of unification. The authors ask Christians at home and abroad to pray for the unity of the people of God. Russian: 2 pp. Photocopy.

3. Declaration from Vasily Shilyuk, Stanislav Zherdev, Boris Perchatkin and Sergei Anishchenko, Fraternal Council of Pentecostal Christians; February. The situation of believers, especially those who wish to emigrate, is now so bad that they are concerned for their personal freedom and lives. Those who refuse to submit to atheist laws are imprisoned and their children brought up as orphans in atheist institutions. The 1927 (sic) Law on Religious Associations, the 1961 instructions for applying the legislation on cults and further decrees issued in 1968 concerning registration all aid the communists in their efforts to eradicate religion. If they have not succeeded, it is thanks to the influence of the major democratic States and the worldwide human rights movement. Russian: 2 pp. Carbon copy.

4. Communication, anon; March. Last year young Pentecostal and Reform Baptist believers went carol-singing on Christmas Eve in the city of Vinnitsa, Ukraine. The inhabitants responded well to the revival of this forgotten tradition. This year the young people went around the city telling people of the birth of Christ. They were welcomed into homes and asked to speak and sing about Jesus. They also gave out the transmission times of gospel radio broadcasts. On 28 February 1980 the authorities broke up a meeting in Maloyaroslavets, led by Bishop I. P. Fedotov. They noted dawn that Fedotov expressed solidarity with Sakharov and other "fighters for justice". V. B. Bursevich, father of six children, is to be deprived of parental rights. Russian: 1 p. Carbon copy.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

16. Alma Mater, No. 3; July-September. The samizdat journal of Vilnius University. Includes: an article on the national need for Christian morality and education; a report on the visit of Pope John Paul II to Poland, hailing it as a triumph for the Catholic Church; an account of the difficulties of students who are not Komsomol members; an introduction to Bible studies; "Man and Eternity" by E. Svetlov, translated from Russian; extracts from Solzhenitsyn's Harvard speech; an article on the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. Lithuanian: 100 pp. Photocopy. English translation available.

17. Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church, No. 40; 19 October. This issue is dedicated to the prisoner Vladas Lapienius. Includes: the Hungarian Cardinal Léka'i's visit to Lithuania; support for the Declaration of 45 Balts, which condemned the Soviet-Nazi pact of 1939; fears that Bishop L. Povilonis may co-operate too much with the Soviet authorities; possible candidates for consecration as bishops; press attacks on Frs Tamkevičius and Svarinskas; the trial of A. Ramanauskaite for teaching children religion; letters to the Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR from Frs Tamkevičius and Svarinskas defending their activities as priests and members of the Catholic Committee; a youth pilgrimage to Siluva shrine; a protest by 27 priests from Telšiai at atheist intimidation of schoolchildren. Lithuanian: 41 pp. Photocopy. English translation available.
Lithuanian Helsinki Monitoring Group; news of the prisoners P. Plumpa, V. Lapienis, N. Sadunaite; Sadunaite’s letters about fellow-prisoners; Bishop L. Povilonis’s support for the temperance movement; a protest by Lithuanian priests and believers on behalf of the arrested Russian Orthodox priest Gleb Yakunin; a petition to Brezhnev from 148,149 Lithuanian Catholics requesting the return of a confiscated church in Klaipeda; protests by priests and believers in support of Frs Tamkevičius and Svarinskas; CRA official P. Anilionis; discrimination against religious students. Lithuanian: 40 pp. Photocopy. English translation available.

2. Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church. No. 42; 19 March. Includes: the funeral of Fr V. Jaugelis, which was attended by thousands of people; the arrest of V. Skuodis; the interrogation of Fr A. Gražulis after samizdat was found in his home; the terrorization of bishops by the CRA; Catholic Committee Document No. 20, urging believers to prepare to celebrate the anniversary of the Christianization of Lithuania by demanding the return of illegally confiscated churches and exiled bishops; Communist Party disquiet at Catholic involvement in ethnography and temperance movements; Catholics in Moldavia; the intensified KGB campaign against samizdat journals. Lithuanian: 47 pp. Photocopy. English translation available.

MISCELLANEOUS

1. Information Bulletin No. 21 from the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes; 18 February. Contains information on the cases of the following believers: Arvydas Cehanavičius, a Roman Catholic who was sentenced on 4 January for a second time to detention in a Special Psychiatric Hospital, having been free for less than a year; Georgi Fedotov, an Orthodox believer who on 18 January was forcibly interned in Moscow psychiatric hospital No. 14 (Fedotov had telephoned western correspondents to inform them of the arrest of Fr Dimitri Dudko on 15 January); Fyodor Sidenko, a Pentecostal believer who was sentenced in January to compulsory treatment in a psychiatric hospital (he did not appear in court); and Anatoli Runov, a Reform Baptist who was sentenced on 5 December 1979 to compulsory treatment in a Special Psychiatric Hospital. Russian: 25 pp. Photocopy.

2. Declaration of the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers’ Rights, signed by Fr Nikolai Gainov and Vadim Shcheglov; 12 March. The CCDBR has received more than 250 applications for membership and offers of help from Christians of various confessions. The Committee has decided to accept ten new members. Russian: 1 p. Carbon copy. English in RCL Vol. 8, No. 4, p. 298.

Czechoslovak Religious Samizdat

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

CZ/1976/ROM

4. Modus Moriendi, an anonymous theological essay on the dying Czech Church. The title is taken from a remark made by a member of the Roman Curia describing the Vatican’s Ostpolitik in Czechoslovakia as a “modus vivendi et moriendi”. There is no guarantee that a local church will survive till the end of time (e.g. Albania). The persecuted Church is unable to evangelize in the catacombs and begins to die when believers, overwhelmed by the physical disintegration of the Church, lose their spiritual purpose of demonstrating love for God’s sake rather than man’s. Czech in Studie, No. 69, 1980, pp. 265-9. German in Diakonia Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 115-19.

CZ/1977/ROM

23. Letter to the members of Charter 77 from Karel Soukup; 11 January. Greets the birth of the movement and points out that by defending human rights they defend the truth about man created in the image of God. If this dimension is taken away it is
only natural that the world becomes a prison and people slaves. Humanist governments will always treat people as tools and should not be so incredulous when people remind them of such an obvious truth. Czech in Křesťané a Charta 77, Köln, 1980, pp. 100-1.

24. Letter to the President of the Republic et al. from Marie Růt Kržková; 13 January. She wants to join Charter 77 not in order to regain her job as a historian of Czech literature [a motive suggested by the smear campaign against Chartists in the press, for the majority of them lost their jobs in the purges that followed the Soviet invasion. Ed.] but because the right to believe must be defended. A recent convert to Christianity and the mother of three children, she knows only too well how children are indoctrinated even in the nursery. Czech in Křesťané a Charta 77, Köln, 1980, pp. 101-2.

25. Letter to the editors of the Party daily Rude právo from Fr Josef Zvěřina; January. Protests at the article smearing Charter 77 signatories. "Why do you search for foreign instigators of the movement when you can read the signatures?" He sees the purpose of the campaign as being the same as that of the terror of the '50s: to erect a barrier between the present-day oppressors and the silent millions of intimidated, humiliated and powerless people so that whenever someone speaks out he is threatened and isolated. "However, by showing the whole world the true face of your democracy, you have probably achieved more than Charter 77." Czech in Křesťané a Charta 77, Köln, 1980, pp. 102-3.

czl/I978/ROM

30. Letter to the President of the Republic from Ivan Medek; 9 February. An appendix to the letter of 1 October 1977 from 55 Catholics to Cardinal Tomášek, President Husák and the Federal Assembly of the CSSR (see RCL Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 138). Analyses the repression of Catholic clergy in Czechoslovakia who are underpaid, under constant pressure to leave the priesthood or transferred to remote parishes in order to break their will to remain priests. Medek names 88 priests banned from their ministry and states that these are only a fraction of the overall number of clergy of all denominations deprived of their state licence. Czech in Křesťané a Charta 77, Köln, 1980, pp. 178-80.

31. Essay, "In Praise of Spontaneity", by Eva Kanturková; 5 April. Describes the installation of Bishop František Tomášek as the new Archbishop of Prague at St Vitus Cathedral. Compares the cruel events surrounding the founding of the Prague bishopric in 974 with the present oppression of the Church and stresses the Church's continuous history. Recalling her childhood, Kanturková explains how she was torn between an atheist mother and a Catholic grandmother and rejected the faith. However, under the pressure of later years her attitude changed: "We come together uprooted from the outdated certainties of our times to search for the unknown and to grope for the things we had once rejected." Czech in Křesťané a Charta 77, Köln, 1980, pp. 256-9.

32. Statement by Václav Benda about the detention since 28 February of two Slovak priests, Fr Gombik and Fr Zajiček; 20 April. They were later charged with "subversion of the republic" for disseminating Charter 77 declarations. Although they were released on 3 March, the charges against them remained in force and the religious literature and typewriters confiscated during the house searches had not been returned. Czech in Křesťané a Charta 77, Köln, 1980, pp. 185-6.

czl/1979/ROM

33. Essay, "Catholicism and Politics — The Origins of the Present Situation and How it May Develop", by Václav Benda. Outlines the present position of Catholics and Protestants vis-à-vis the totalitarian State. Benda sees a great possibility for the revival of Catholicism in Czechoslovakia and shows that Catholics in particular have a political mission to defeat communism. To do so they must realize, however, that "a struggle for one's own soul is decidedly political activity" and not be content with mere acts of individual charity. They have a great task for the future as they do not harbour any illusions about present socialism or the possibility of a future paradise on earth. Their involvement with the world (and even failure) makes them better
able to find particular solutions to the present crisis. Benda thinks the new approach to politics should be “radically conservative”. Concern for human rights, principles of democracy and demand for social justice should all be obvious in this new approach but ideology is alien to and incompatible with such fundamental political pragmatism. Throughout the essay Benda uses the Greek term *polis* to invoke the idea of the Greek city state where elected elders met to discuss politics in “a normal way”, i.e. without reference to a particular ideological scheme for the future. Czech in *Krestané a Charta 77*, Köln, 1980, pp. 265-79.

**Bulgarian Press Articles**

**Date** | **June 1979**
---|---
15. *Otechestven front*, p. 12. “More about the Madara Horseman”, by Slavi Donchev. The possible Buddhist origins of the statue of the horseman in Madara are the subject of much discussion. There is some evidence of the presence of a Buddhist cult in Bulgaria during the Middle Ages.

**Date** | **July 1979**
---|---
11. *Otechestven front*, p. 2. “Is there no room for building?” Dobril Nenov urges the restoration of many old and architecturally interesting buildings in Sofia. One of these is the house near the (presumably Catholic) Church of St Frantsisk, No. 2 Atanas Stoykov Street, where Pope John XXII lived between 1926 and 1938.
24. *Otechestven front*, p. 4. “Legends about Ivan of Rila”, by Rumyana Georgieva. Review of *National Legends about (St) Ivan of Rila* by Ivan Fekeldzhiev. The author worked on the book for 30 years and it contains most of the stories which have grown up during the last thousand years about St Ivan, who was a hermit. They are grouped according to which part of Bulgaria they come from, so that the particular characteristics of legends told in different parts of the country can be easily perceived. The legends about Ivan of Rila are said to have awakened and preserved Bulgarian nationalist feelings during the period of Ottoman rule.

**Date** | **August 1979**
---|---
3. *Otechestven front*, p. 12. “A Cyril and Methodius Museum”, by Professor Stoyan Petrov. Bulgaria has built churches, reading rooms, schools and universities in honour of SS Cyril and Methodius who devised the Cyrillic alphabet. The writer considers it is now time for a national Cyril and Methodius museum to be built to house all the material available: documents by and about the two saints, photographs, works by eminent scholars, exhibits reflecting the nation’s love and gratitude to the two brothers, the results of their work both in Bulgaria and abroad, bibliographical information in Bulgarian and foreign languages, etc. The museum would be closely linked with the National Library, the Centre for Bulgarian Studies at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia University and other higher educational establishments both in Bulgaria and abroad.

**Bulgarian Religious Press Articles**

**CORRECTION:**
Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 82, second item under 21 February 1978 should read: “An article by Archimandrite Neofit commemorating the 105th anniversary of the death of Vasil Levsky (Hieromonk Ignati)…”

*Church Gazette (Tsurkoven vestnik)*

1 August 1978, pp. 5-6. “Ecumenical forum in Sofia”, by S. Vulchanov. A WCC commission met in Sofia from 29 June to 6 July to study the problems of develop-
ment and the role of the Churches in this process. The BOC was represented by Professor T. Subev (a regular member) and Professor Dr I. Panchovsky and A. Khubanchev (observers). Pastor I. Zarev of the Sofia Pentecostal Church also had the status of observer.

1 September 1978, p. 2. Announcement of Patriarch Maxim's forthcoming trip to the USA and Canada to visit the Bulgarian dioceses of New York and Akron (from 1 September to 10 October). He will be accompanied by Metropolitans Pankrati of Stara Zagora, Filaret of Vidin and Kalinik of Vratsa, Protodeacon V. Velyanov and Professor T. Subev.

Ditto, p. 2. Texts of the telegram to Patriarch Maxim from the Vatican announcing the death of Pope Paul VI, Maxim's reply expressing sympathy and the Vatican's acknowledgment.

Ditto, pp. 2-3. “Outstanding hierarch of the Roman Catholic Church”, by Professor T. P. Koev. An appreciation of the life of Pope Paul VI with special reference to his desire for and efforts to achieve good relations with Orthodoxy in general and the BOC in particular.

Polish Unofficial Journals

Biuletyn Informacyjny (Information Bulletin)

No. 26, December 1978, pp. 31-2. Address by Cardinal Wyszynski delivered on 29 May at the Catholic Academy in Warsaw on the 15th anniversary of Pope John XXIII’s encyclical Pacem in Terris. The Cardinal commented on the sections of the encyclical dealing with human rights and relations between citizens and the authorities, which were deleted by the Polish censors. “It is a pity that the Polish authorities, who erected a statue of John XXIII with the inscription ‘Pacem in Terris’, have not allowed the document to be printed in full, even though it has frequently been quoted by Party and government members. It is sad when the authorities approve of the encyclical yet refuse to carry out its recommendations.”

Ditto, pp. 33-4. Quotations from Cardinal Wojtyla’s address to teachers at Jasna Góra on 2 July. The Cardinal criticized the authorities for rewriting Polish history and literature and for demanding that Catholic teachers educate children according to atheist ideology. “It is insulting to force a teacher into a position where there is a huge discrepancy between what he believes and what he has to teach.” He also condemned the practice of recruiting new Party members just before school-leaving examinations. “One should not take advantage of the exams to recruit young people to the Party and favour the new Party members when allocating university places. This practice is incompatible with human self-respect and is very harmful to the morale of Polish young people.”

Ditto, pp. 34-5. Report on the official refusal to allow publication of Cardinal Wyszynski’s pastoral letter for the “Week of Christian Charity”. The letter discusses the shortcomings in official policies and presents a plan for renewing Christian family life. The Cardinal protests publicly against this absurd interference by the censors.

Ditto, p. 36. Quotations from Cardinal Wojtyla’s sermon in Nowa Huta on 17 September, when he addressed thousands of believers. “Public institutions which are owned by the nation—the whole nation—should not be used for the benefit of a single ideology, a single political party. . . . and joining the Party should not determine the quality of people’s lives, their role in society; membership of the Communist Party must not be a criterion for dividing people into two classes, privileged and second-class citizens. . . . and above all, young people must not be pressurized to join the Party just before their school-leaving examinations, as has often been the case. I say this in the name of justice. Christ’s cross forces me to say it. On this cross man has been raised up once and for all . . .”

Ditto, pp. 36-7. Letter to Mr Kakol, Minister for Religious Affairs, from Bishop
Boleslaw Pylak of Lublin, supporting a protest by 565 of his priests about the refusal of a transport company to hire a bus for pilgrims. The Bishop also points out other areas of conflict in his diocese: two 17th-century churches are being allowed to deteriorate as the authorities refuse to restore them, despite the Bishop’s numerous appeals; a wooden church in Horodle has been turned into a warehouse; a church in Hrubieszów has been confiscated and the authorities refuse to return it; the authorities have refused to allow catechetical centres to be set up for children and have attempted to close the one already existing in the village of Szastarka; the authorities have refused permission to build a church on the new housing estate in Lublin, although over 50,000 people are going to live there, or in the village of Korytków, although building materials were bought 25 years ago. “All this is going on while the Minister for Religious Affairs boasts publicly about the good relations between Church and State.”

Polish Religious Documents

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

PO/1975/ROM

1. Indictment against Stanisław Kruszynski, a theology student at Lublin Catholic University, for “subversion”; 24 December. Kruszynski is accused of “spreading false information” about Poland’s economy and politics on the basis of his private letters. Issues of Kultura and Polish samizdat found in his flat constitute further proof of his anti-socialist attitude. [Kruszynski was found guilty and sentenced to 10 months’ imprisonment. Ed.] Polish in Kultura, No. 5, May 1976, pp. 82-3.

PO/1976/ROM

1. Letter to Stanisław Stomma, leader of the Catholic parliamentary group “Znak”, from 30 students and academics at Lublin Catholic University; undated. They urge him to vote against the proposed amendments to the Polish Constitution of 1952 pointing out that the changes would enshrine “the Communist Party monopoly in the Constitution and would subordinate Poland de jure to the Soviet Union. By making human rights dependent on the fulfilment of duties towards the State, a person’s right to express any other than a socialist viewpoint is denied.” Polish in Kultura, No. 3, March 1976, pp. 31-3.

2. Letter to Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the ad hoc committee for constitutional amendment, from the Conference of the Polish Episcopate; 9 January. The bishops strongly oppose all three amendments to the Constitution on the grounds that a separation should be made between the Party and the State. The government should work for the wellbeing of all citizens according to the principle of the common good, and no Party should appropriate the State for its own ends. Instead of the amendments emphasizing “a citizen’s duties to the one-Party State”, the Constitution should acknowledge the right to form trade unions, the right to an independent judiciary and the right to free elections. Polish in Kultura, No. 5, May 1976, pp. 70-5.

3. Letter to the “Znak” members of Parliament from the government-sponsored Catholic Centre for Documentation and Social Studies (ODiSS); 15 January. The “Znak” deputies are asked “to act in accordance with the interests of the Polish people and the Catholic Church”. [The letter’s vague and ambiguous tone suggests that it was written in order to ward off any criticism of ODiSS’s dependence on the Party. Ed.] Polish in Kultura, No. 4, April 1976, p. 109.

4. Letter to Henryk Jablonski from the editors of the Catholic journals Znak and Wiez and chairmen of various Catholic Intellectuals Clubs; 17 January. They criticize the proposed amendments to the Constitution arguing that to assert “the leading role of the Party” threatens the equality of all citizens and, in particular, the rights of believers. “We do not expect any privileges. All we want is our right to play an integral part in Polish culture.” Polish in Kultura, No. 4, April 1976, pp. 107-9.

5. Letter from the secretariat of the Polish Episcopate to believers explaining the Church’s standpoint on the new Constitution; March. Discloses that two letters were
sent to the authorities by the bishops (on 9 and 26 January) criticizing the proposed changes. Lists seven proposals for the new Constitution recommended by the hierarchy: the State should respect human and civil rights and these rights should not be linked to the fulfilment of civil duties; the State should respect the special rights of the family, and the family unit should have priority over any other social or political group; the Constitution should protect the development of the nation in accordance with its culture and history to prevent the nation being absorbed into any supranational or supra-State organization; the Church should have the right to fulfil its mission freely, and freedom of conscience and belief should be fully respected; the State should carry out its duties through a freely-elected Parliament, a government free of Party control, an independent judiciary and free trade unions; farmers' rights, especially those of individual farmers, should be better secured; and the Constitution should guarantee Poland's cultural, national and economic independence. Although these suggestions were largely ignored by the Commission preparing the draft of the new Constitution, the Episcopate will continue to make Catholics' demands known to the authorities. Polish in Kultura, No. 6, 1976, pp. 97-9.

6. Letter to Waclaw Auleytner, one of the Catholic members of Parliament, from the leaders of the “Znak” movement; 12 March. They protest at the retention of the title “Znak” by the parliamentary faction of which he is a member, since it no longer represents the “Znak” movement and has been neither elected nor accepted by the majority of the movement's members. Polish in Kultura, No. 5, May 1976, pp. 80-1.

7. Letter to the leaders of the “Znak” movement from the members of the Catholic parliamentary faction “Znak”; 25 March. They reject the movement’s request that the faction change its name. The self-appointed representatives argue that three of their members were previously members of Parliament and that changing the name of their group would create the impression that they were breaking away from the “Znak” tradition. They propose meeting the leaders of the “Znak” movement with a view to reconciliation. Polish in Kultura, No. 6, June 1976, pp. 99-101.

8. Statement of Lublin regional court on Stanisław Kruszynski, a theology student at Lublin Catholic University, sentencing him to 10 months' imprisonment for “spreading false information about socialist Poland and disseminating émigré publications”; 27 March. The evidence of his subversive activities “undermining state authority” is based on his opinions expressed in private letters to his friends and family intercepted by the security police. The particular “leniency” of the sentence is explained by the defendant’s clean record, the respect he enjoys in the neighbourhood and his need to support his wife and child. Polish in Kultura, No. 10, October 1976, pp. 88-91.

9. Letter to the members of the Catholic parliamentary faction “Znak” from the leaders of the “Znak” movement; 24 April. They reject the MPs' claims to represent Catholic opinion on the grounds that the three MPs serving another term had refused to take part in the discussion of the extraordinary meeting of the Warsaw Catholic Intellectuals Club (KIK) of which they are members. Moreover, the genuine candidates of the move have been rejected by the authorities, and the MPs are silent about the rift caused by their unwillingness to vote against the constitutional amendments. The new parliamentary faction therefore cannot represent the democratic traditions of “Znak” (founded in Kraków in 1946) whose name they have appropriated in order to mislead public opinion in Poland. Polish in Kultura, Nos. 7-8, July-August 1976, pp. 126-9.

10. Record of a session of instruction held for newspaper editors; April. Topics banned by the censors include the pastoral work of university chaplaincies, the Church’s “unorthodox activities” (e.g. organizing various exhibitions, festivals of religious songs and Bible study circles), the nomination of bishops, and charitable work for the Third World. The long list of prohibitions also includes notices of religious services and processions, the topic of beatification, the positive role of the Church in national affairs etc. Journalists must not make any distinction between an ideological and philosophical point of view or refer to pluralism of opinion in Poland. All information on church-state-Vatican relations must be submitted to the office for censorship. Polish in Kultura, Nos. 7-8, July-August 1976, p. 129.

11. Address by Fr Jacek Salij to participants in the annual students’ pilgrimage to
Czestochowa; May. Criticizes anthropocentric humanism. By placing man at the centre of the universe, humanism reduces him to a mere biological and social being. Once deprived of the transcendental dimension, man indeed is conditioned only by his social milieu and his morality becomes relative. Rejection of the Christian command to love leads to people being evaluated as good or bad and to hatred of the bad being accepted as right. "Man is more than a value, he is a child of God, he is unique and irreplaceable. He is God's alone and must not be used as a means towards an end, no matter how noble the end may be." Polish: 5 pp. Photocopy.

12. Excerpts from a speech by Mr Kakol, Minister for Religious Affairs, to journalists and Party activists; 5 May. "I have to be ashamed when communists from other countries ask me what is happening in Poland that so many people still go to church and when western visitors even congratulate me on the splendid revival of faith... If we cannot get rid of the Church, we should make sure that it does not interfere in the progress of building communism. Freedom of religious expression applies only in the church building - with the exception of Corpus Christi processions. We shall never allow any sort of evangelization outside the churches or religious education in our schools." Kakol admits that the long-term objective is total secularization, but the old method of fighting religion openly does not work, it produces the opposite result. The best way to defeat the Church is to establish a consumer society modelled on the West, with an easy and comfortable life. Polish: 3 pp. Photocopy. French in Documentation Catholique, 15 August 1976, pp. 727-9.

13. Open letter to Party leader Edward Gierek from Fr Ludwik Wisniewski, chaplain to Lublin Catholic University; 7 November. Comments on Gierek's public pronouncements that "there is no church-state conflict in Poland" and that "tolerance towards the Church and believers has always been the Party's firm policy". These statements have nothing to do with reality and only make sense as a possible Party programme for the future. To implement such a programme, the Party must give up its attempts to secularize society and fully respect the right to believe. Tolerance towards the Church must also include the Church's right to defend the poor and oppressed. Polish in Dokumenty: Ruch Oporu, Biblioteka "Kultury", Vol. 276, pp. 135-42.

PO/1977/ROM

1. Statement by 14 protesters on the opening of the protest fast in St Martin's Church, Warsaw, for the release of workers arrested after the food riots in June 1976 and the people who spoke up in their defence; 25 May. Polish: 2 pp. Photocopy.

2. Pastoral letter for Mass Media Day (19 September); June. The bishops criticize the government's abuse of radio and television to "further a godless ideology and cult of mindless work, to justify violence, oppression and class hatred". They urge believers to protest publicly whenever their faith and morals are insulted or religion and the Church are attacked. To avoid this responsibility ought to be regarded as burdening one's conscience with guilt. Polish: 3 pp. Photocopy.

3. Letter to Party leader Edward Gierek from Fr Leon Kantorski, organizer of the summer youth camp in Bobrki; 26 July. The camp was closed down by the authorities for "conspiracy and subversion". Fr Kantorski demands that the good name of the organizers and the children be restored and the Church allowed to organize summer camps for children freely. Polish: 5 pp. Photocopy.

4. Appeal to the authorities from 80 young people at the Bobrki summer camp; August. They demand respect for their religious convictions and the right to organize Christian summer camps. The camp was closed down a week before it was due to end for "conspiracy and subversion". The young people appeal to the public for prayer and support. Polish: 1 p. Photocopy.

5. Pastoral letter by Cardinal Wyszynski for the "Week of Christian Charity" (2-8 October); August. The need for charity has not abated despite all social reforms. "Time and again there have been social upheavals in the name of justice and equality for all, and yet we are as far away from the ideal dreamt of by the social reformers as we always have been. The Church did not need to wait for the outcome of the human struggle for progress. It was always on the side of justice by leading people to God, the only fundamental justice. Today people are denied the means of subsistence for their courage to be themselves, people are often treated only as a means of production,
children are denied their right to religious education... However, the Church cannot carry out its mission to help all these people without the active participation of lay people.”

6. _The Church and Believers in Communist Poland_; undated. Analysis of church-state relations in post-war Poland by the Polish Independence Concord (PPN). [PPN is an anonymous opposition group formed in May 1976. It includes people with differing political and economic views but who share two basic aims: to regain Poland's independence and re-establish democracy. The maturity and range of content of its programme, published in May 1976, made it one of the most serious political documents ever to be published by the opposition in Poland. PPN sees its role as a publicist and educator of the nation. Since its foundation it has issued a number of documents analysing different aspects of the communist regime and advancing new political ideas._ Ed._] Gives a detailed account of violations of freedom of conscience and belief and of the principle of equality of all citizens which are guaranteed in the Constitution. “It is evident that Catholics are barred from participating in the government of the country... All senior posts, even in the army, are reserved for Party members. Believers who openly take part in the Church’s life, e.g. in processions or pilgrimages, frequently lose their positions despite their professional qualifications. Teachers are officially forbidden to take part in religious retreats... 

Graduates from the two Catholic universities face almost certain unemployment... In 1960 children were deprived of religious instruction at school [it was cynically alleged that this was the wish of the majority of parents._ Ed._]... There is a severe shortage of churches in rural and newly created urban areas, but the authorities are very reluctant to grant building permission, hence the phenomenon of ‘illegal churches’ [built without the authorities’ permission._ Ed._]... Allocation of paper for Catholic journals and books has been constantly decreasing over the years, and all the items are heavily censored. Papal social encyclicals and communiqués from the Polish Episcopate are banned from publication. There is a great demand for hymn books, Bibles and catechisms, while warehouses are crammed with Marxist literature which nobody wants to buy. The true policy towards the Church was openly revealed on 5 May 1976 by Mr Kakol, Minister for Religious Affairs, who said: ‘We shall never allow the Church to go outside the sacristy. We shall never allow the Church to educate children and young people. We shall not tolerate any influence by the Church on cultural life.’ To ensure their monopoly over the ideological life of the country, the authorities forbade the re-instatement of any of the pre-war Catholic organizations. ‘Znak’ [comprising five Catholic Intellectuals Clubs, the journals _Znak_ and _Wiez_ and a publishing house._ Ed._] the only Catholic lay movement tolerated since 1956, fell into disfavour after open opposition to the changes in the Polish Constitution. The ‘Znak’ Catholic parliamentary group was dissolved and a new pro-government faction created in its place. This was to teach ‘Znak’ members that the Party approved only of ‘obedient’ Catholics... To demonstrate their power over Catholic citizens, the authorities have frequently forced believers to work on Sundays. In rural areas priests have often been harassed for reading out pastoral letters in church, and severe administrative measures have been taken against some of them. This unscrupulous ‘war’ with the Church does not stop the authorities from seeking the help of the Church at difficult times. The Church has not been allowed access to the mass media, yet one exception was made in 1956 when Cardinal Wyszynski was asked to address rioting Poles on the radio. Quite often the Church has been used in even more cunning ways. After the food riots in 1976, the press published a number of distorted quotations from episcopal communiqués so that harsh criticism of the government became commendation of the authorities. At the same time, copies of forged sermons by Cardinal Wyszynski were widely distributed. Only pro-government patriotic priests and conformist ‘Catholic’ organizations like PAX and ODiSS have always been approved of and praised for their ‘healthy approach’ towards faith and the Church.” This clearly indicates that the Party aims at gaining total control over the Church and creating a new model of Catholicism—detached from the reality of everyday life, Catholicism in name only. Polish in _Polskie Porozumienie Niepodległościowe_, Biblioteka “Kultury”, Vol. 294, pp. 54-61.