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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** BLAIR, DENNIS: FILES

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109

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
142645	MEMO	STEVE STEINER TO MEMBERS RE ACTIONS AGREED <i>R 9/5/17 M443/5</i>	2	5/25/1982	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Public Diplomacy 5/13/82

- Memo for Clark to send
- Same plan
- We will provide materials

NATO Force Comparison Paper

- Wide distro - no splash,  
but solid impact

- Nichols said he was  
planning to update  
annually, but not formal  
tasking yet

- No more coverage on  
discrepancies between  
force comparison and other  
published data

- Nuclear freeze

- - The packet now has  
many different pieces -  
needs a single speech

2

(Joanna Bistany working for  
Dave Geiger on the White  
House 'fact sheets')

Big discussion on the  
Speaker's kit

Chronology of U.S. arms  
control initiatives

- A 7-page document is in  
clearance

-

US-ICA has an arm-cont.  
chronology

- ICA working on a longer  
document

- State working on another.

Trying to get together



- New Items

-- Coordinated approach on  
troop withdrawal

-- START. Reaction to Pess's  
proposal

--

- Efforts to form links with  
religious groups

"Institute for Religion and  
Democracy."

\* Check w. Dale's office on  
these contacts

- Terry Callan (sp?) - Dick? (works w.  
Pres. as  
pub. diplomacy)

-

\* Poll data UK → Europe

FOREIGN TRAVEL - U.S. OFFICIALS  
 (PROPOSED - MAY NOT YET BE FINALLY APPROVED)

Current as of:  
 13 May 1982

COUNTRY TO BE VISITED & DATE

TRAVELER

PURPOSE

AUSTRIA

Vienna (May 18-19)

Nyle C. Brady (AID)

Science Ministers Meeting

BENELUX COUNTRIES

Brussels & Luxembourg (May 12-16)

Richard E. Burt (State)

SCG Meeting in Brussels/NATO  
 Ministerial in Luxembourg

Luxembourg (May 16-18)

Alexander M. Haig, Jr. (SecState)  
 H. Allen Holmes (State)

North Atlantic Council  
 Ministerial.

Brussels (Unknown)

William H. Morris, Jr. (Commerce)

Proposed Coal Mission to Eur.

CANADA

Montreal & Ottawa (May 26-28)

Anne M. Gorsuch (EPA)

World Symposium on Asbestos.

Quebec City (May 31-June 3)

Bernard J. Wunder, Jr. (Commerce)

Special International Info  
 Industry Conference

FRANCE

Paris (May 13-15)

H. Allen Holmes (State)

Summit Preparatory Meeting

Paris (May 12-16)

Charles Wick (USICA)

Preparations for public affair  
 aspects of President's summit  
 trip & planning for Atlantic-  
 Pacific Youth Exchanges.

Paris (May 17-18)

Selwa Roosevelt (Chief of Protocol)

Discuss protocol matters in  
 conj. with President's and  
 First Lady's summit travel.

## FOREIGN TRAVEL - U.S. OFFICIALS

COUNTRY TO BE VISITED &amp; DATE

TRAVELER

PURPOSE

FRANCE (Continued)

Paris (May 20-23)

Seeley G. Lodwick (Agric)

Consult w/USSR officials re  
U.S./USSR grain

Paris (Unknown)

William H. Morris, Jr.

Proposed Coal Mission to Europe

Paris (May 21)

Henry E. Thomas (Energy)  
Ken Davis (Energy)IEA Ministerial and dinner for  
Energy Ministers

Versailles (May 20-23)

Robert Hormats (State)  
Beryl Sprinkle (Treasur)  
Henry Nau (NSC)Meeting of the President's  
personal reps to prepare for  
summit.

Versailles (June 4-10)

Alexander M. Haig, Jr. (SecState)

Summit with President.

FRG

Bonn &amp; Munich (May 23-29)

Seeley G. Lodwick (Agric)

Consult with U.S. Agric Coun-  
selors in EC posts and speech  
to International Assoc. Seed  
Crushers.ITALY

Milan (Unknown)

William H. Morris, Jr. (Commerce)

Proposed Coal Mission to Europe



## FOREIGN TRAVEL - U.S. OFFICIALS

COUNTRY TO BE VISTED & DATE	TRAVELER	PURPOSE
<u>SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES</u>		
Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark (May 28-13 June)	Richard Perle (DoD)	Lead U.S. Delegation for bi-lateral discussions with each country's govt. officials on defense and security issues.
Sandefjord, Norway (May 13-15)	Richard Burt (State)	NATO Ministerial
Stockholm, Sweden (late May - early June)	Paula Stern (Inter'l Trade Comm.)	Participation in Seminars re trade.
Stockholm/Goteborg, Sweden (June 22-28)	John B. Slaughter (Nat'l Sci. Fdn.)	Visit Nat'l Swedish Board for Technical Development and the Nat'l Sci. Research Council.
Helsinki, Rovaniemi, Finland (June 28-30)	John B. Slaughter (Nat'l Sci. Fdn.)	Keynote speaker at America Day Celebration.
<u>SPAIN</u>		
Madrid (Unknown)	William H. Morris, Jr. (Commerce)	Proposed Coal Mission to Europe
Madrid (May 25-26)	Henry E. Thomas (Energy) Ken Davis (Energy)	Meet w/Spanish nuclear energy reps and Spanish Sec. of Energy
<u>SWITZERLAND</u>		
Geneva (May 1-18)	Edward N. Brandt, M.D. (Health Dept)	U.S. Delegation to the 35th Session World Health Assembly and WHO Exec Board Meeting.



FOREIGN TRAVEL - U.S. OFFICIALS

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COUNTRY TO BE VISTED & DATE	TRAVELER	PURPOSE
<u>UNITED KINGDOM</u>		
London & Dublin (May 20-26)	Andrew Lewis (SecTrans)	Participate in annual policy review of trans matters and to represent the U.S. at 55th session of the EC conf of Ministers of Transportation.
London (June 22-25)	Herman E. Roser (Energy)	Attend '82 U.S./U.K. Stocktake
Birmingham (June 9-11)	Nancy Harvey Steorts (U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission)	Nat'l Home Safety Conference.
London (June 30-July 2)	John B. Slaughter (Nat'l Sci. Fdn.)	Discussion of increased opportunities between U.S./U.K. Scientists.

18 May 1982

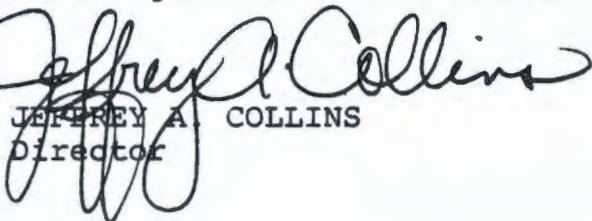
Dear News Directors and Publications Editors:

A major religious happening has just concluded in Moscow: "The World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe." This special EWNS packet will focus on that conference and the events surrounding it.

The following pages contain an EWNS editorial addressed to Dr. Billy Graham, EWNS interviews with persons attending the conference and background information reprinted from various newspapers and publications. When Dr. Graham makes his own public statement, that, too, will be available through our offices.

We know of your interest in this important historic event. I believe that you will find the enclosed material to be of help to you in deciphering the statements made and questions raised last week in Moscow.

Kind regards from our staff,

  
JEFFREY A. COLLINS  
Director

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GRAHAM'S MISSION OF UNDERSTANDING  
LEAVES MUCH TO BE UNDERSTOOD

In hopes that his visit would "make at least a small contribution to better understanding between the peoples of the Soviet Union, the United States and other countries of the world", Dr. Billy Graham announced his plans to participate as an observer at the Moscow "World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life From Nuclear Catastrophe." From the very outset Dr. Graham was warned by Reagan administration officials (one being Vice President George Bush) and countless religious leaders that his very presence at the conference would tend to falsely portray the Soviet Union as being a nation of peace and religious freedom.

Now we have only to look in retrospect upon the confusion and bewilderment left behind by Dr. Graham's six-day visit to see that his presence and controversial statements did just that.

It is not our intention to belittle Dr. Graham, a man who has for many years championed the cause of world evangelism. But this policy of "dialectical evangelism" with the very enemies of any concept of the Divine is a policy which should and must be challenged. It is that issue that we desire to pursue. And perhaps it is best related in questions for Dr. Graham himself to answer:

1. Dr. Graham, you said in Moscow, "I have experienced total liberty in what I wanted to say. So from my personal experience I have had liberty." However, did you not censor yourself by obviously avoiding statements that would have offended your Soviet hosts? When speaking with key individuals within your organization prior to your arrival in Moscow, we were told that you would word your statements carefully so as not to close any doors for future trips to the Soviet Union. Is this what you term speaking with total liberty?

2. Dr. Graham, speaking at the Evangelical Christian Baptist Church you quoted from the New Testament passage found in Romans chapter 13. In this context you encouraged the believers present to "obey the authorities." But, Dr. Graham, how should these Soviet believers obey their Marxist authorities? Should evangelical believers desist in the printing of Bibles and religious literature because Soviet authorities forbid it? Should believers in the Soviet Union deny Christ's mandate to



Editorial Comment cont'd. . .

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evangelize the lost because their authorities say it is illegal to propagate religious beliefs? Should Christians in that nation deny religious instruction to youth because Soviet law prohibits the teaching of religious concepts to children under 18 years of age? Dr. Graham, what did you mean? when you said without exception to your Moscow audience that they should "obey the authorities"?

3. Dr. Graham, regarding the young Christian woman who silently held a cloth sign from the balcony of the Baptist church with the words: "We have more than 150 prisoners for the work of the Gospel." What did you mean when you said, "Some people can be detained for all kinds of reasons. We detain people in the United States if we catch them doing something wrong. I've had people coming to my services in the U.S. and causing disturbances, and they've been taken out by the police."? Dr. Graham, was this young believer doing something wrong? Was she causing a disturbance? Can you compare her to the protestors who have on occasion sought to disrupt your services in the West?

Dr. Graham, you said you had not time to meet with the unofficial religious groups in Moscow because your Soviet hosts "have got my time blocked out hour by hour." However, your schedule, as distributed by your staff, showed that you had no events scheduled Tuesday evening, Wednesday morning, or all day Thursday, when you were expected to leave. Was there really no time at all to meet with the representatives of these many groups who say they are being mistreated and imprisoned because they preach the Gospel of Christ and are evangelicals just like you? (We gratefully acknowledge the fact that Dr. Graham did meet for a short time with members of the Chmykhalov and Vashchenko families who have been religious refugees in the basement of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow for almost four years, but it is this writer's opinion that the conditions that Graham's representatives placed upon the six Pentecostalists were highly objectionable [see enclosed article "Graham Visits Soviet Pentecostalists"7].)

It is well worth noting that READERS' DIGEST writer John Barron, in his book "KGB--The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents" writes of the utilization of people from the West by the KGB to carry out successful disinformation programs. Such victims of KGB strategy are innocently naive.



Editorial Comment cont'd. . .

We quote from Chapter Eight: "Visiting politicians, scholars, journalists, clergymen and other professionals whose opinions are influential are the most common targets of concerned disinformation efforts. Typically, the KGB strives to control what the foreigner sees while persuading him that he's really seeing what he wishes.

"In practicing what it calls disinformation, the Soviet Union has for years sponsored grand deceptions calculated to mislead, confound or inflame foreign opinion. Some of these subterfuges have had considerable impact on world affairs."

We have just received in our Pasadena office a book sent to us from the Soviet Embassy in Washington, DC. The book entitled "What the Soviet Constitution Guarantees" was just recently printed in Moscow by the Soviet propaganda mill Novosti Press Agency Publishing House. Beginning on page 82 is a chapter titled "Religious Freedom" written by Vladimir Kuroyedov, Chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers--an integral part of the Soviet government.

In the chapter Kuroyedov seeks to establish his claim to absolute religious freedom in the Soviet Union. He does so by quoting one previous guest of that nation--a renown minister of the Gospel. We quote: "General Secretary of the European Baptist Congerence Gerhard Class (sic), who was one of the 660 participants at the World Conference of Religious Workers for Lasting Peace, Disarmament and Just Relations Among Nations held in 1977 in Moscow, said that on returning to their countries the participants would be asked what they had done to defend human rights, and in particular freedom of religious worship.

"Of course, we shall know how to answer that question," said Gerhard Class (sic). "We shall speak about the Conference, the draft of the Soviet Constitution, the religious freedom we saw in the Soviet Union and the leniency so often shown by the Soviet government towards some believers convicted for breaches of the law. I stress--for breaches of the law, and not for their religious beliefs, which is something many people in the West unfortunately do not understand."

Again, we at East/West News Service do not question Dr. Graham's

Editorial Comment cont'd. . .

sincere motives nor his desire to evangelize the lost of Moscow in the name of the Prince of Peace, but we must look at the policy of the dialectic involved and question the practicality of presenting a false impression about the host government at the expense of those who are persecuted for their efforts to evangelize the Soviet Union.

Could it possibly be that the only ones designating a need for spiritual help at the end of this Graham crusade were those who reached out feeble hands to Graham in search of help but found none? Or perhaps the only tears that streamed down distressed faces were those of believers who found bitter disappointment by being ignored by their foremost spiritual leader?

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LUTHERAN BISHOP FINDS HOPE IN  
CONTROVERSIAL MOSCOW CONFERENCE

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., U.S.A. (EWNS) -- Dr. David Preus, presiding bishop of the American Lutheran Church, confronted what could have become an anti-Western trend at the recent "Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe" conference in Moscow. It was Preus who stood before delegates from around the world and said the gathering was on the verge of becoming an anti-Western forum with dialogue which only belongs in the United Nations.

Soon after this warning and several threatened walkouts, the tenor of the conference changed. Preus, who actively promotes his ideas about peace in the west, says the diverse religious leaders were able to come to some specific conclusions, making headway in international church relations. And he says despite the temptation of numerous tangent subjects, nuclear arms and its relation to peace remained the primary focus.

In an interview with East/West News Service Preus discussed the conference, its outcome and the controversy surrounding Billy Graham's statements. The following are excerpts from that interview:

EWNS: What, in your opinion, was accomplished at this conference? Were you satisfied with the results?

PREUS: Yes, I was satisfied with the results. I thought that the accomplishment was in getting a wide-ranging, 600 person collection of religious believers from virtually all of the major religions to agree on a statement (which is directed) to the nations and all religious bodies for a stopping of the nuclear arming and a beginning being made in reducing these weapons.

EWNS: Now that you have attended an international conference of this type, do you think religious groups can work together objectively without government interference?

PREUS: That remains to be seen. But at least a beginning has been made.

EWNS: You challenged the conference delegates at a crucial point in the week. You said that the meeting was on the verge of becoming an anti-Western propaganda ploy. Why did you say this?

PREUS: During the first part of the conference...there was a long sequence of speeches and they were overwhelmingly taking a line that the Soviet Union and its leadership were the peace loving people, and that Western imperialists were the warmongers. The blame was obviously on the west and particularly the U.S. And the White Knight was the Soviet Union.

EWNS: How did Western church leaders react?

PREUS: Well, obviously if that had continued it would have been a failure as a conference. And some of us would have simply had to leave and come home.

EWNS: How was this resolved?

PREUS: At the point where I thought it important and I happened to have the microphone I indicated that if that was the direction we were to go...all



PREUS.....continued

purpose of our coming together would be lost. (Approximately half of the people there applauded the statement with vigor.) From then on I think it became clear that unless an evenhandedness prevailed, that as far as east and west were concerned, there was no successful conclusion to the meeting.

EWNS: Did this evenhandedness become part of the conference? If so, then how?

PREUS: In the speeches themselves people quit that kind of propagandizing. And then secondly, in the drafting committee which produced the statements which were ultimately put before the conference.

EWNS: Are there elements in the conference's conclusions which can now be used by the Soviets for propaganda purposes?

PREUS: There is no question that if they want to lift particular statements out of the documents they can do so. There is no way to avoid that possibility. But if the documents and statements themselves are distributed at all, then I have confidence that anyone reading them will recognize that this is not a call simply to the west to find ways to reduce their nuclear armaments, but to the east as well.

EWNS: Did you raise the question of religious rights and its accompanying issues at any level, either during the conference or outside?

PREUS: Not in the public assemblies....We made a serious effort to stay off any subject but the nuclear issue itself. And hence, there were only tangential references to human rights. We did include in the draft a reference to the necessity of the countries honoring...the Helsinki agreements. We tried, not completely successfully, to keep both religious rights and political concerns with a low profile. Afghanistan, the Middle East or Poland--anyone of those could have dominated the conference if you had started taking the focus off nuclear arms.

EWNS: Did you see any evidence of religious repression in the Soviet Union?

PREUS: I had no opportunity to see personally anything except the conference itself...to see things out and beyond. I've had enough conversations with believers from the east...to know that religious freedom as we understand it in this country simply does not exist in the Soviet Union.

EWNS: Billy Graham has been quoted as exhorting the Baptist congregation to obey government authority--he reportedly used the text from Romans. Were you at that service?

PREUS: No, I was not.

EWNS: What is your personal view about that text being used?

PREUS: That would be one of those things where I would have to know the context. It is hard for me to imagine what the purpose of that particular statement in that setting would be. But I do not know what else he (Graham) said.



AMERICAN EVANGELIST "COMPARES"  
CHURCHES IN MOSCOW, HOMETOWN

MOSCOW, U.S.S.R. (EWNS) -- Billy Graham, ending a controversial visit to the Soviet Union, declared May 12 that he had seen no evidence of religious repression. He offered a comparison that suggested that in the churches he had visited in Moscow, religion was faring at least as well as in Charlotte, N.C., his hometown, Evangelical Press News Service reports.

Graham also seemed to play down the arrest of a young woman who during an officially sanctioned Baptist service that he attended May 9, unfurled a banner protesting the imprisonment of Christians. The 63-year-old evangelist, in reply to an American reporter who asked whether he was making inquiries about the woman, said he had only the reporter's word that the woman was detained, and added: "Some people can be detained for all kinds of reasons. We detain people in the United States if we catch them doing something wrong. I've had people coming to my services in the U.S. and causing disturbances and they've been taken out by the police."

The reference to Charlotte came when a reporter from a television station there asked whether the evangelist agreed with a ranking figure from the Orthodox Church in India. Metropolitan Paulos mar Gregarios, the official, told the news conference earlier that the religious leaders' conference on nuclear weapons that Graham came to attend had been "very significant in dispelling the false notion that there is no religious freedom in this country." Graham replied, "Not necessarily. I'm just telling you I don't know all about it. I've only been to Moscow and I've been in all these meetings and I haven't had a chance, but Saturday night I went to three Orthodox churches that were jammed to capacity. You'd never get that in Charlotte, N.C."

Referring to two sermons he gave Sunday, one at the Baptist church and the other at the Russian Orthodox Patriarchal Cathedral, Graham went on to say that "on Sunday morning the same was true. And it would seem to me that the churches that are open, of which there are thousands, they seem to have liberty to have worship services."

The news conference was one of the last events in a six-day visit Graham undertook against the urging of senior Reagan administration officials, including Vice President George Bush, who spoke to the evangelist before he left to voice their fears that his trip would be exploited by Soviet authorities for propaganda purposes. Graham came anyway, saying the need to curb the nuclear arms race surmounted other considerations.

The concern in Washington presumably was that the Soviets would use Graham's presence to bolster a "peace campaign" that the Kremlin has launched, the main purpose of which has been to persuade world opinion that the United States is responsible for increasing the risks of nuclear war.



GRAHAM URGES WORLD LEADERS TO  
TAME "MINDLESS FEVER" OF NUCLEAR CONFLICT

MOSCOW, U.S.S.R. (EWNS) -- Billy Graham urged U.S. and Soviet leaders May 12 to hold a get-acquainted summit and tame the "mindless fever" of nuclear conflict that threatens to destroy the world. Graham's speech, welcomed with the longest ovation yet heard at a Soviet-sponsored conference of world religious leaders, included a brief plea for religious freedom in the world without mentioning the Soviet Union, Evangelical Press News Service reports.

"We should urge all governments to respect the rights of religious believers," Graham said. But Graham, 63, told reporters he was making private appeals on behalf of the two families of Pentecostalist Christians who have been taking refuge at the U.S. Embassy for nearly four years.

In a speech to the religious leaders from more than 100 countries, Graham proposed a five-point peace plan to steer the world away from war, whose risk he said was greater than ever before. In an 11-page speech studded with biblical references, Graham called on President Leonid Brezhnev and President Reagan to hold a summit and open wide exchanges between their two nations. Graham said his summit proposal was intended to encourage a meeting where Brezhnev and Reagan would "simply to get to know one another as human beings."

In contrast to leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church who used the conference May 11 to endorse political proposals of the Soviet government and attack the United States, Graham did not speak about specific U.S. policies. The American evangelist had said earlier he was concerned about the excessively political atmosphere at the conference, whose first session May 11 was marked by a series of strongly anti-American speeches.

The conference broke into controversy May 11 when two American clerics appealed from the rostrum for Soviet and third world delegates to abandon attempts to turn the meeting into a propaganda attack on the United States. There was strong applause from a few dozen delegates from Britain, the United States and other Western countries when Bishop David W. Preus, a 59-year-old Lutheran from Minneapolis, opened his stint as the conference's presiding officer with a strongly worded warning that the gathering was "in danger of becoming a political forum heavily tilted against" the United States and other Western countries.

However, Bishop Preus appeared to speak for a minority of the 1,000 or more delegates who packed the Congress Hall in the new International Trade Center here. Many of the foreign delegates, including an unknown number who were brought here at Soviet expense, had applauded earlier when speakers attacked American policies on the Middle East and nuclear arms in terms that closely paralleled Soviet propaganda. Bishop Preus said that he came to the meeting believing that the delegates could rise above "national, ideological, political and religious differences" and unite behind a common appeal to all nations to halt the nuclear spiral. But, he added, after "basically theological statements" by hierarchs from the Russian Orthodox Church, organizer of the meeting, "we have been treated mainly to a series of political speeches better suited for the United Nations."



16  
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**GRAHAM VISITS SOVIET PENTECOSTALS**

MOSCOW, U.S.S.R. (EWNS) -- American evangelist Billy Graham surprised Christians with a one-hour, fifteen-minute visit with six Siberian Pentecostals who have taken refuge in the American Embassy here. Criticism of the Soviets by Graham has been lean and, prior to Graham's arrival here, some media reports predicted only the slightest mention of religious rights at all during his current visit. Graham preached in two Soviet churches and participated in the Soviet-sponsored religious conference on nuclear disarmament.

The Vashchenkos and the Chmykhalovs, known as the "Siberian Seven" before one member returned to Siberia earlier this year, prayed and read the Bible with Graham in their embassy quarters. But they later told of stringent preconditions for the meeting and of dissatisfaction over the outcome.

"Many people have come to visit us, some very high officials, during our three years and ten months here (in the embassy)," Lyuba Vashchenko told Danny Smith, campaign organizer for the Campaign to Free the Siberian Seven. "But this was the hardest visit in terms of preparations."

Graham aides met with the two families prior to the evangelist's arrival. They told the Vashchenkos and Chmykhalovs that no photographs could be taken and asked that the curtains be drawn. This was to prevent reporters outside from snapping photos.

The Pentecostals say Graham, himself, asked them not to talk with reporters about the visit until after he had returned to the United States, the Los Angeles times (12 May 1982) reports. They refused.

As for the actual visit itself, Vashchenko told the Los Angeles Times: "It was nothing special: It was as if we were visited by an ordinary pastor."

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## GRAHAM VISITS SOVIET...continued

"He said he understood our situation. I asked what he will do when he goes back. He said he would call on people and ask them to pray."

Soon after the visit Graham told reporters, "I had a wonderful time... I came here as a pastor, and that's all I can say."

Graham aides indicated that the evangelist hopes to return someday and be permitted to preach to larger crowds in the Soviet Union. They further suggested that a solution to the Pentecostals' dilemma might be forthcoming if he conducts himself discreetly. He has met with top Soviet Officials.

Western Christians have espoused mixed opinions about Graham's trip. Some firmly opposed the visit, while most called upon Graham to raise the question of religious rights. While his public comments have not criticized the Soviets at all, it is unclear how this visit with the Siberian Pentecostals will fit in.

Jane Drake and her organization S.A.V.E. have been working on behalf of the Vashchenkos and Chymkhalovs. At the recent Christian Solidarity International/USA awards banquet Drake conveyed the Siberian Pentecostals' displeasure over the conditions made by the Graham staff before the visit.

There were four which included: No news media coverage; no cameras or photographs of any kind (not even Poloroid); the curtains on the window had to be closed; and that all discussions with Graham would be confidential. The Pentecostals were not pleased by the restraints, according to Drake. They said they had never kept any "secrets" before, so why should they now.





## Graham's Comments on Soviets Challenged

*From United Press International*

Moral Majority leader Jerry Falwell and other religious leaders Thursday questioned the Rev. Billy Graham's claim that he found religious freedom in the Soviet Union during his six-day visit.

Said Falwell: "I have difficulty believing he said it. I sincerely hope he was misquoted or taken out of context because there is no religious liberty in the Soviet Union.

"Everything the Soviets do is for propaganda purposes and for their own advantage. I think Dr. Graham went there for the expressed purpose of teaching the Gospel. I don't think he had any wrong intentions whatever. I think the Soviets had all the wrong intentions."

Graham, affirming his claim of religious freedom in the Soviet Union, told reporters at Moscow airport as he left for home Thursday, "I think there is a lot more freedom here than has been given the impression in the States because there are hundreds, thousands of churches open.

"In Great Britain they have a state church," he said. "In other countries you have state churches. . . here (in the Soviet Union) it is a free church, in the sense that it is not headed officially, as the Church of England is headed by the queen."



# Saw No Soviet Repression of Religion, Graham Says

By ROBERT GILLETTE, *Times Staff Writer*

MOSCOW—Evangelist Billy Graham said Wednesday that he has seen no evidence of religious repression in the Soviet Union, and he expressed pleasure that the Moscow churches he visited were jammed to capacity.

Graham also praised the hospitality that Soviet government and church officials have shown him during his six-day visit to the Soviet capital.

"I go back to the United States with my head full of new thoughts and ideas and with my heart also—in some respects, as John Wesley said two centuries ago—strangely warm," Graham told a news conference.

Asked to what extent he thought religious freedom exists in the Soviet Union, the Baptist evangelist replied: "It is relative. There are differences, of course, between religion as it is practiced here and, let's

say, in the United States. But that doesn't mean there is no freedom."

In all of the more than 50 countries he has visited, Graham said, he found that "various kinds of restrictions . . . laws and formulas" are applied to the practice of religion.

Of his experiences in the Soviet Union, Graham said:

"I have experienced total liberty in what I wanted to say. So from my personal experience I have had liberty. It seems to me that churches that are open, of which there are thousands, have the liberty to hold worship services."

Graham, whose aides have said that he hopes to come back to preach to large audiences in a Christian crusade, qualified his remarks by noting that the Soviet Union is a large and complex country with many religious denominations and that it "would be impossi-

Please see GRAHAM, Page 22

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ble for me to come to Moscow for six days and make my personal evaluation."

His cautious but generous remarks will nevertheless provide the Soviet Union's domestic propaganda apparatus with potent ammunition against Western charges of religious persecution. His statements

may also come as a surprise to his many followers among the country's estimated 500,000 to 1 million Baptists—Graham's denomination—and the largest Protestant group here—who as active proselyters of the Christian faith have long felt the sting of official restrictions on religious practice.

Although no precise count is available of Soviet Baptists in prison or labor camps for violating laws on religion, Western experts generally accept an estimate of several hundred.

One indication of the number was provided last Sunday when a young woman unfurled a banner in Moscow's Baptist church just as Graham finished delivering a guest sermon that made no mention of religious freedom but urged the congregation to "obey the authorities" and to work hard.

The banner read in English: "We have more than 150 prisoners for the work of the Gospel."

## Seen Being Led Away

Graham later told an American reporter that he saw the banner but did not have a chance to read it because he was concentrating on what he was going to say next. The young woman, whose identity could not be learned, was later seen being led away by plainclothes police agents who blocked a reporter from approaching her. Baptist sources said she was detained for investigation.

Asked Wednesday about the incident, Graham at first refused to respond, then said: "Some people can be detained for all kinds of reasons."

"We detain people in the United States if we catch people doing things that are wrong. I've had people come to my services in the U.S. and causing disturbances, and they have been taken away by police."

Graham's perspective on the incident contrasted with that of a Soviet clergyman who approached a Times reporter earlier in the week and asked whether he saw anything at the Baptist church. Told of the banner incident, the clergyman smiled broadly, said "Good," and hurried away.

## Trouble for Students

Soviet authorities do not arrest believers explicitly for their beliefs. But regular attendance at church can jeopardize a student's chances of being admitted to a university or institute or otherwise damage his career.

Under Soviet law it is illegal to give religious instruction to persons under the age of 18—except for one's own children—but atheist education is a mandatory part of the school curriculum. Religious services may be conducted legally only by clergy selected and trained by the state, in deliberately small numbers, and they may serve only those congregations that are also officially sanctioned by and registered with the state. All church buildings are state property.

The state severely restricts the quantities of Bibles and other religious material it publishes, generating chronic shortages. Ironically, Graham is well known among Soviet Baptists, partly through the illicit labors of clergy and laymen who painstakingly translate his books, retype them in multiple carbon copies on onion-skin paper and circulate them at risk of imprisonment.

## 'Never in Charlotte'

After Graham said he was pleased to see that the several churches he visited in Moscow last weekend were filled to capacity, he added:

"You'd never get that in Charlotte, North Carolina," a joking reference to his hometown.

It was not clear whether he understood that in Moscow, a city of 8 million people, only about 40 churches and two small synagogues are allowed to operate. There is only one Baptist church, with room for about 1,500 people.

In his news conference, Graham said he spent about three hours Wednesday with Boris Ponomarev, head of the Communist Party Central Committee's international department and a ranking ideologist. Graham said they had a "very friendly exchange of thoughts and ideas."

Graham also echoed criticism of some other Western participants in the "Worldwide Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe," organized by Soviet church officials. He urged participants to rise above "ideological differences and political confrontation" and to "stay on the subject of peace."



# Bless you, Billy, but you've been spreading the wrong word

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## WILLIAM SAFIRE

In preaching the Gospel two millennia ago, did the Apostle Paul challenge the dictatorship of the Caesars? The Rev. Billy Graham told ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley" yesterday that the answer was no: the first evangelist "never lifted a finger against Rome."

Focus on the central moral dilemma of the man who must operate in this world to preach of other worlds: to what extent should he abandon principle to teach principle?

The Apostle Paul dealt with that dilemma directly. Despite Christianity's substitution of baptism for circumcision, he ordered the circumcision of Timothy to recommend his ministry to the Jews,

*William Safire is a Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist.*

A noble motive. Why cannot a master preacher — who must reach vast audiences to carry out his life's mission — make a few practical compromises with secular authority to make possible his evangelism?

*The person who purports to represent Truth with a capital T ... does not have to go out of his way to offend the authorities in a dictatorship, but he must not offend or undermine the martyrs.*

After all, he would not be the first religious leader to work out such a truce with Caesar. In Israel today, orthodox winks at Sabbath football. Throughout the ages, religions have worked with cruel secular regimes, muting militancy

explaining (I Corinthians 9:22) "To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak; I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some."

In the same way, the evangelist of today who obviously identifies with the first evangelist is trying to ingratiate himself to the leaders of the Soviet Union.

While in Moscow, Graham only reluctantly agreed to meet with the

*The evangelist of today who obviously identifies with the first evangelist is trying to ingratiate himself to the leaders of the Soviet Union.*

half-dozen Pentecostal Christians who have been holed up in the basement of the U.S. Embassy while seeking to migrate. No pictures, he stipulated, not even a Polaroid for their album; although Graham explains that his restriction was intended to avert a "media

to endure; in Poland today, the Catholic Church must walk a tightrope between the government and Solidarity. What is wrong, then, in Billy Graham's turning a blind eye to religious repression in Russia if — by so doing — he is able to win approval to encourage religion there?

That ancient dilemma cannot be answered with a platitude like "the ends never justify the means." Sometimes the ends do just that: an ethical man might sacrifice one innocent life to save a thousand. But the argument that the ends justify the means is made all too often by political powers; the necessary counterargument — that evil means usually determine ends — must be made by the keepers of the moral flame.

That is where Billy Graham, in his zeal to make a deal to spread the Word, spreads the wrong word. The person who purports to represent Truth with a capital T has a special responsibility to bear the embarrassing burden of truth and to turn no blind eye to the reality and extent of a religious persecution. He does not have to go out of his way to offend the authorities in

event," it is logical to assume that he wanted to avoid publicity primarily because it would anger his Communist hosts.

Despite a request from Vice President Bush, who called at the direct behest of the president, Graham lent his prestige to the propaganda festival; he insisted again yesterday that "there is more freedom than some Americans might think" in the U.S.S.R.

Graham is willing to alienate many of his own followers, and to dismay his many admirers by kowtowing to this Kremlin. Why? Let's assume that he is not suddenly gone so soft-headed as to buy the Soviet peace-propaganda line. What other reason can he have for jeopardizing his ministry at home?

His motive is to induce Moscow to allow him to carry his crusade to the Soviet peoples. If he can persuade the Kremlin that he will not encourage any dissidents who challenge its authority, Graham evidently believes the Soviet leaders will permit him to carry his crusade to Luzhniki Stadium in Moscow where he can then enkindle religious fervor in tens of thousands.

a dictatorship, but he must not offend or undermine the martyrs in that land.

God's word is remembered in Russia today thanks to the example set by religious dissidents. Seventh-day Adventists and Pentecostals ennoble their beliefs by paying for them dearly; in gulags, members of Jehovah's Witnesses secretly disseminate the texts of "The Watchtower" from forbidden broadcasts.

If an evangelist from abroad wants to "preach the Gospel of Christ in atheistic Russia," he may decide that Pauline expediency permits him to bypass and thereby supplement their work. But he cannot know of their suffering and deny or denigrate it by professing to see freedom; that would bear false witness.

Graham should read Michael Novak's "The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism." Religious freedom can no longer be separated from economic and political freedom. The evangelist can no longer righteously be "all things to all men" to save their souls; he must recognize the martyrdom of those of his and other faiths who dare to "lift a finger against Rome." ■



# Graham Offers Positive View of Religion in Soviet

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, May 12 — The Rev. Billy Graham said here today, at the end of a visit to the Soviet Union, that he had seen no evidence of religious repression and that the churches he had visited were at least as full as those in his hometown, Charlotte, N.C.

At a news conference, he also seemed to play down the arrest of a young woman who had unfurled a protest banner during an officially sanctioned Baptist service that he attended on Sunday.

The banner said there were people in the Soviet Union who were being imprisoned for evangelistic activity.

When asked by an American reporter whether he was making inquiries about the woman, the 63-year-old evangelist said he had only the reporter's word about the case, and added:

"Some people can be detained for all kinds of reasons. We detain people in the United States if we catch them doing something wrong. I have had people coming to my services in the United States and causing disturbances and

they have been taken out by the police."

Mr. Graham came here to attend a Soviet-sponsored conference of religious leaders on nuclear weapons. Earlier at the news conference, another participant, Metropolitan Paulos Mar Gregorios of the Orthodox Church of India, said the conference had been "very significant in dispelling the false notion that there is no religious freedom in this country."

When a Charlotte television reporter asked Mr. Graham whether he agreed, the evangelist replied:

"Not necessarily. I am just telling

## Continued From Page A1

you I don't know all about it. I have been only in Moscow and I have been in all these meetings and I haven't had a chance, but Saturday night I went to three Orthodox churches that were jammed to capacity. You would never get that in Charlotte, North Carolina."

Referring to two other visits the following day, to the Baptist church and the Russian Orthodox cathedral, where he preached, Mr. Graham added:

"And on Sunday morning the same

was true. And it would seem to me that the churches that are open, of which there are thousands, seem to have liberty to have worship services."

The remarks fell into a pattern set since his arrival here. Although his crusades in the 1950's contained a strong element of anti-Communism, he has seemed at pains not to offend Soviet sensibilities and has stuck closely to an official schedule.

As a result, he has had only one encounter with members of a religious group operating outside official approval, a prayer session on Tuesday with a

group of Siberian Pentecostals who have found refuge in the basement of the United States Embassy here.

Mr. Graham's aides said that he is keen not to upset his chances of returning for a full preaching tour, possibly using stadiums, an opportunity that no religious figure has been granted. On the Soviet side, he has been treated as a major dignitary.

The evangelist alluded to this treatment at the news conference in replying to a question about the changes he has noted since his last visit, as a tourist in 1959. He said people were better clothed

and Moscow had impressive new high-rise suburbs. And then he spoke of the food.

"The meals I have had are among the finest I have ever eaten," he said. "In the United States you have to be a millionaire to have caviar, but I have had caviar with almost every meal."

Western reporters' questions about religious freedom and American responsibility for the nuclear confrontation dominated the news conference, at which Mr. Graham occupied a podium alongside Soviet religious leaders, including Patriarch Pimen, head of the Russian Orthodox Church, which organized the conference.

Mr. Graham, who came to the session from a meeting with Boris N. Ponomarev, a member of the Soviet leadership,

said that it had been an "enlightening experience" for him to come to Moscow and exchange views with Soviet officials and religious leaders.

The first questioner at the news conference, citing the Indian cleric's praise of the Soviet Union's leadership in the search for peace, asked Mr. Graham how he would rate the contributions of the United States and the Soviet Union.

"I think they are both searching for peace," he said, declining to say which nation was doing more. "I think that all of the countries of the world are searching for peace, and I would not want to put one above the other."

When a reporter asked for the first time whether he agreed with the Indian metropolitan's assessment that religious freedom existed in the Soviet

Union, Mr. Graham said:

"That is a relative term, I think, because in the various countries I have been to in the world — and I have gone to over 50 — there are various kinds of restrictions, various kinds of laws and formulas. It would be impossible for me to come to Moscow and in six days make a personal evaluation."

The news conference was one of the last events in a six-day visit that Mr. Graham undertook against the urging of United States officials, including Vice President Bush, who voiced fears that the trip would be exploited by the Soviet authorities for propaganda purposes.

2 BACKGROUND/NEW YORK TIMES/14 MAY 1982





**BILLY GRAHAM**  
... "experienced total liberty"

## Graham Says Soviets Didn't Curb Talks

By Dusko Doder  
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, May 12—The Rev. Billy Graham said today that he encountered no restrictions on what he said during a six-day visit to Moscow and that, while there were differences in how religion is practiced here and in the United States, "that does not mean there is no religious freedom" in the Soviet Union.

The 63-year-old American evangelist, once an outspoken critic of communism, started a news conference by asserting that he found Moscow churches packed to capacity and adding, "You would never get that in Charlotte, North Carolina."

The churches in which Graham preached were filled with security agents. Only about one-third of the congregations were local believers, and most of them were women. Foreign visitors, including persons attending the same religious conference on disarmament Graham came for, also made up about a third of the congregations.

When U.S. reporters asked Graham whether he had attempted to learn the fate of a young Baptist woman who was taken into custody after she unfurled a banner from a balcony at the end of his ser-

See GRAHAM, A22, Col. 1

# Graham Says Soviets Never Restricted Talks

**GRAHAM, From A1**  
mon Sunday at Moscow's Baptist church, he replied:

"Some people can be detained for all kinds of reasons. We detain people in the United States if we catch them doing things wrong. I have had people coming to my services in the United States and causing disturbances and they have been taken out by the police."

The young woman quietly brought out the banner after Graham had finished his sermon and held it up for about two minutes before folding it again. The banner, in English, read, "We have more than 150 prisoners for the work of the Gospel."

Baptist sources said today that the woman was still in detention.

During the news conference, the evangelist said his visit here was "the most intensive period of time in my entire ministry" and that he was departing from here with his heart "strangely warmed." He said he was "going away with a great many positive viewpoints," convinced that both the United States and the Soviet Union were "searching for peace."

Commenting on the treatment he has received, Graham said, "The meals I had are among the best I have ever had," Graham said. "In the United States you have to be a millionaire to have caviar and I have had caviar with almost every meal I've had here."

A four-ounce jar of caviar, which is available only at Moscow's hard currency shops, sells for about \$55, or roughly one-fourth of an average monthly wage in the Soviet Union.

Graham was the most prominent figure at the disarmament conference, which was sponsored by the Russian Orthodox Church.

The American evangelist was also received today by Boris Ponomarev, an alternate member of the ruling Politburo. At a joint news conference later Graham was asked for his reaction to a statement by Metropolitan Paulos Mar Grigorios of the Orthodox Church of India who had praised the gathering as being "significant in dispelling the false notion that there is no religious freedom in this country."

Asked whether he agreed with that statement, Graham said: "That is a relative term, I think. Of the various countries I go to in the world, of which there are over 50, there are

various kinds of restrictions, various kinds of laws and formulas.

"It would be impossible for me to come to Moscow and in six days make any kind of evaluation. There are many differences in religion here and in the way it is practiced in the United States. But that does not mean there is no religious freedom" in the Soviet Union. Graham added: "I have experienced total liberty in what I wanted to say."

His aides earlier said privately that Graham did not want to do anything that might embarrass his hosts and that he wanted "to develop this relationship." There has been speculation that he expected to be permitted to return here for a preaching tour.

However, religion has an ambiguous place in an atheist state that does not tolerate competition with its official Marxist-Leninist ideology. There are no official figures on church affiliation in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, some analysts estimate that among this country's 265 million people there may be as many as 30 million Russian Orthodox Christians, 5 million Roman Catholics, about 3 million Jews, 2 million Evangelicals and 30 million Moslems.

Comparatively speaking, organized religion has had an easier time during the past 15 years after almost five decades of unrelenting antireligious struggle conducted by the state.

During the period since President Leonid Brezhnev came to power, the state and church seem to have established a tenuous compromise under which organized religion, and specifically the Russian Orthodox Church, have been allowed to function provided they do not engage in proselytizing or work against the state.

The church, in turn, has offered public support to Soviet foreign policy initiatives. The disarmament conference is one example of such activities.

The Soviet media has continued almost daily attacks on religion, and scientific atheism is promoted throughout society, ranging from schools to factories. Authorities also confiscate religious books and have established an elaborate system of regulations, checks, and informal discrimination against believers.

Religious groups seeking to operate outside the framework of the officially sanctioned religion have been harassed persistently and their leaders imprisoned.



*George F. Will*

## Let Us Pray for a Little Skepticism

When Vladimir Bukovsky, a Russian dissident, was being sent into exile, a KGB agent noted that the handcuffs on Bukovsky's wrists were made in America. But handcuffs are not America's most embarrassing export.

Billy Graham's sojourn as guest of the masters of the Gulag coincided with the anniversary of the Nazi surrender, so he said (according to *The New York Times*): "I want to remind you that the United States and the Soviet Union were allies at the time against a common enemy. Now we have another common enemy—the possibility of a nuclear war."

Graham did not remind anyone that the Soviet Union and the Nazis began the war as allies, and their falling-out was not a Soviet idea. But Graham's delicacy is less interesting than his "common enemy" formulation.

Is it his notion that the threat of nuclear war is a mysterious "third force"? Or the result of some odd misunderstanding, some mutual mistake? Whatever, his language suggests a moral symmetry between his country and the Soviet Union. Evidently they are equally innocent victims—but of what? Physics?

The Kremlin is sponsoring the—take a deep breath—World Conference of Religious

Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe. The Kremlin's audacious cynicism is wondrous. A "gift"—from whom? Marx? And when did the Kremlin begin speaking of "the sacred"?

This travesty, this exploitation of clergymen's vanities and naiveté, is designed to strengthen the "peace movement"—but only in the West. In East Germany, a new law makes it a crime to wear a button saying "Swords into Plowshares." In Moscow, "Ground Zero Week" lasted the minutes it took the police to pounce on the handful of people who unfurled a banner.

The *Washington Post* reports that when Graham spoke in two churches, both "were heavily guarded with police sealing off all roads leading to them. Hundreds of KGB security agents . . . were in the congregation." Graham told one congregation that God "gives you the power to be a better worker, a more loyal citizen because in Romans 13 we are told to obey the authorities." How is that for a message from America?

According to *The Post*, Graham is "a star attraction" at the conference and "is being driven around Moscow in a Chaika limousine while others are shepherded around in a fleet

of buses." He has conferred with Georgy Arbatov, the Kremlin's foremost stroker of Americans. Graham calls Arbatov "wonderful."

Graham is America's most famous Christian. Solzhenitsyn is Russia's. The contrast is instructive.

When advocates of a "nuclear freeze" recently showed their movie (the one that says war would be terrible) to some Senate wives, Jane Denton, the wife of the Alabama senator, noted that there would be no showing for the wives of Politburo members. Not to worry, Jane. The *Baltimore Sun* recently reported on two local "peace" activists:

"When the Rev. Hope Harle-Mould and his wife, the Rev. Linda Harle-Mould, returned nearly a year ago from a trip to the Soviet Union, they were struck by the strength of a 'grass roots' movement there against the nuclear arms race."

The Washington Cathedral (Episcopal) has Gothic architecture but trendy politics. One service last Sunday was a prayerful rally for ERA. And here is Bishop John Walker preaching at the Cathedral last November: "We must know that all we did between 1900 and the independence of Cuba was designed to make Cuba turn away from us. Perhaps if we had the strength and security of who we are, we might say we were wrong. We might reach out a hand of brotherhood and forgiveness to the Cuban people even as we seek their forgiveness of us."

Forgive Walker's mussy language. (Surely he does not mean "designed.") Forgive the hyperbole ("all" that we did?) in the service of facile guilt-mongering. But don't forgive the intellectual vacuum at the core of his thought—the idea that dealings would be with "the people" of Cuba, rather than with the regime that is their jailer.

People pray for different things. There was a London church where, between performances, an actress prayed to be delivered from the attentions of Edward VII. I pray that some of today's clergy, on the left and the right, will stop acting as though pious intentions are substitutes for intelligence, and excuses for irresponsibility. A crusty 19th century Briton, A.W. Kinglake, wanted skeptical words inscribed on all churches: "Important If True." Skepticism becomes more necessary as churches become more political.





# Billy Renders Unto Caesar

He was not the first American preacher to mount a Russian pulpit, nor was he the only U.S. churchman at the Soviet-sponsored peace conference in Moscow last week. But he was Billy Graham, world evangelist and symbol to persecuted Soviet evangelicals of what religious freedom is all about. Christians came from as far as Siberia, hoping to witness a modern-day Joshua trumpeting God's truth at the Kremlin's walls. But all most of them saw of Graham was brief flashes of his suntanned face as government officials whisked him in a black Chaika limousine through a round of lavish lunches and official meetings. And all they heard from him, apart from predictable pleas for peace, was cautiously phrased exhortations to follow Christ—and to obey government authorities. "I don't see any difference between Dr. Billy Graham and our own timid churchmen, who are scared to death to offend the authorities," complained one disappointed Soviet Baptist. "We hoped for better things from him."

**Propaganda:** Graham had come to Moscow over the protests of White House and State Department officials who warned that the Soviets would only use him for their own propaganda purposes. He discounted such fears, counting on the power of God's Word to strike at the heart of communism. "If the Gospel is not more powerful than anything I'll hear over there," he said before leaving home, "then I ought to quit preaching." But from the moment Graham stepped on Russian soil, he found himself being manipulated by practiced Soviet hands. His hosts treated him like a visiting diplomat, restricting his access to the Christian dissenters who pressed to catch his ear. The Soviet media made no mention of his arrival or of his speaking schedule. After the Voice of America announced when Graham was supposed to conduct a Baptist service in Moscow, government officials quickly changed the time.

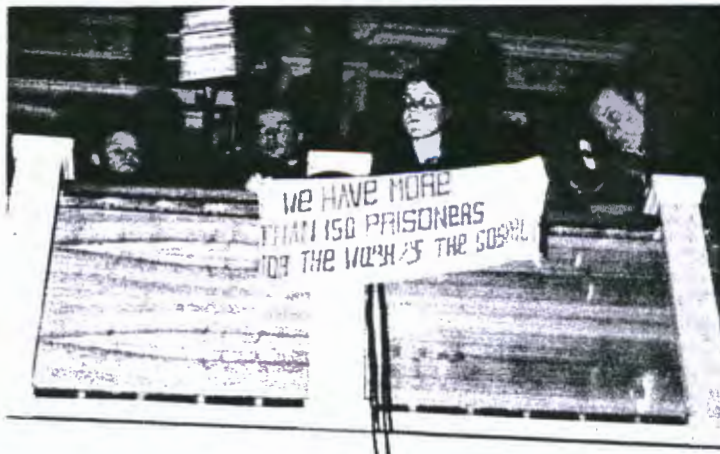
In fact, Graham proved to be his own most effective censor. In an hour-long sermon at the modest Church of Evangelical Christian Baptists, he denounced sin and nuclear war, reminding his listeners that man "could create a paradise on earth" or "destroy the world in a matter perhaps of one hour." Ignoring the plight

of Soviet Christians who are not free to worship as they please, Graham cited Saint Paul's dicta on obedience to the state. God "gives you the power to be a better worker, a more loyal citizen," he declared, "because in the thirteenth [chapter] of Romans we're told to obey the authorities."

Graham's message went down well with his audience of 1,000—two-thirds the church's usual Sunday crowd—which consisted mainly of KGB agents, foreign reporters and peace-conference delegates

Graham at Baptist service: His own best censor

Valery Plotnikov



Protestant protest: Billy didn't want to get involved

who had been issued special tickets for the service. Some regular members of the Baptist congregation had hoped officials would open adjacent church rooms so that non-ticket-holders might hear Graham over loudspeakers. When the doors remained closed, more than 200 of the faithful boldly chanted hymns in the street for 40 minutes—a breach of Soviet law that, under normal circumstances, might have brought swift arrest.

The commotion was not restricted to the street. In the church after Graham finished his sermon, a young man briefly held up a sign proclaiming, "Deliver those who are drawn away to death." Moments later a young woman draped a banner over the balcony rail; it read, "We have more than 150 prisoners for the work of the Gospel." As Graham departed, another woman tried to raise a third sign, but a plainclothesman ripped it from her hands. The evangelist later insisted he had read none of the signs. "I was too busy thinking about what I was going to say," he said. He remained unruffled even after being told that one of the sign holders had been detained by the authorities. "We detain people in the United States if we catch people doing things wrong," he said. "In a host country like this, it's been my practice through the years never to take political sides and get involved in local problems," he explained at another point, "because then it means that my own ministry is limited."

**Jammed:** Graham's second church appearance in Moscow, at the Orthodox Patriarchal Cathedral, was even less impressive. At the end of a three-hour service, Graham was allowed to speak for only a few moments, without a microphone, and the soft voice of his translator did not carry beyond the first few rows. When word spread through the cathedral that an American was preaching, some congregants began shouting, "We can't hear."

Throughout his six-day visit, Graham gave no hint that he knew just how limited a view of Soviet life his hosts were permitting him. After a Saturday-night tour of three Russian Orthodox churches, he marveled that "they were jammed to capacity. You never get that in Charlotte, N.C." Graham also said he found it "a wonderful thing that in a country that officially professes atheism, so many churches are open." And on his departure from Moscow, he even managed to conclude that the church is freer in the Soviet Union than it is in Britain. "In Great Britain they have a state church," he told startled reporters at the airport. "Here the church is not a state church. It



is a free church, not headed officially as the Church of England is headed by the Queen."

In fact, only a small minority of the estimated 2 million Soviet Protestants are permitted to maintain churches. On the eve of Graham's visit, Baptist sources reported, authorities raided the homes of about 50 Baptist families, confiscated their Bibles and placed more than a dozen of them under house arrest. One Moscow Pentecostalist, Vasily Barats, was confined by the KGB to a mental hospital, then released at the last minute before the peace conference. "They said they would deal with me later," he reported, "after Graham leaves."

**Political Forum:** Graham was undisturbed by the overtly pro-Soviet tone of the peace conference he had come to Moscow to attend. Though the tenor of the meeting was clear from the start—Patriarch Pimen of the Russian Orthodox Church opened the gathering by assailing the West for "blackening the honest and open peace-loving policy of our fatherland"—Graham seemed determined to ignore it. In an eleven-page speech he again decried the threat of nuclear holocaust, mentioning the issue of religious freedom only once. In contrast, Bishop David W. Preus of the American Lutheran Church in Minneapolis angrily warned that the gathering was "in danger of becoming a political forum heavily tilted against the [United States] and the West in general." And the Rev. Arie Brouwer of the Reformed Church in America insisted—to no great effect—that "many governments" must bear the burden of the churchmen's criticism.

The closest Graham came to challenging his Soviet hosts was his decision to spend 75 minutes praying with six Siberian Pentecostals who have spent the last four years in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, demanding permission to emigrate. The Pentecostals, who had urged Graham not to come to Moscow in the first place, were less than impressed by him. After the prayer session one of them described the evangelist as "like other religious visitors we have had—nothing special."

**Uncontroversial:** Indeed, Graham, who seemed to have decided to trim his sails to win the Kremlin's approval for a full-scale crusade at some later date, provoked widespread disappointment among Russian Protestants. "I'm sure our authorities are very reassured by what they heard today," said one disillusioned Soviet woman after Graham's sermon at the Baptist church. "If they could trust him to be so uncontroversial every time, they'd probably let him have his crusade and then use it to prove that there is freedom of religion in our country." Graham acknowledged as much himself. "I would like to come back and preach in many places throughout the country," he said, "if I'm invited and all things work out." But at what price, Soviet Christians are now asking, and to whose profit?

KENNETH L. WOODWARD with  
ANDREW NAGORSKI in Moscow

Evangelist Billy Graham, criticized for saying he found a measure of religious freedom in the Soviet Union, said reports of his trip contained distortions and misquotes. Graham, in a statement released in London, said freedom is relative and that there are restrictions on prayer and Bible use in U.S. public schools. "Looking back, I would not have done anything different," he said. "I was able to preach the Gospel, and if there had been any restriction on what I wanted to say, I would not have gone." Graham said he issued the statement to "clarify" unspecified reports that he said contained "apparent distortion and actual misquotes of what I said concerning religious freedom."

AT PRESS TIME DR. GRAHAM HAD NOT FULLY RESPONDED TO QUESTIONS ABOUT THESE ARTICLES AND QUOTES ATTRIBUTED TO HIM. HE HAS, HOWEVER, SCHEDULED A PRESS CONFERENCE TO BE HELD IN NEW YORK LATER THIS WEEK.

DETAILS FROM THE PRESS CONFERENCE AND A SPECIAL REPORT FROM A CHRISTIAN WRITER IN MOSCOW WILL BE FEATURED IN THE NEXT REGULAR EWNS PACKET.

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# Graham Missed His Calling in Visit to Soviet Union

By EDMUND W. ROBB

My friend Billy Graham is wrong if he truly believes what he told reporters last week in Moscow: "There are many differences in religion here and in the way it is practiced in the United States, but that doesn't mean there is no religious freedom."

Even a modest familiarity with Soviet religious life reveals a dozen reasons why Graham's statement doesn't ring true. So now his fellow American evangelicals are asking one another, "What's gotten into Billy?"

When Graham announced recently that he would make a trip to Moscow for a nuclear disarmament meeting sponsored by the quasi-official Russian Orthodox Church, there were many in religion and government who urged him not to go. He went out of a legitimate desire to preach the Gospel of Christ in the Soviet Union. But the conference was widely recognized to be little more than a propaganda opportunity for bolstering Soviet foreign-policy goals.

Many of his evangelical friends, however, had hoped that at least he would spend some of his time in Moscow pointing out the miserable treatment of religion and religious believers there. We were disappointed. Except for a few weak gestures, he did little in Moscow to improve the condition of his fellow believers.

In his sermon at Moscow's Baptist Church, for example, he exhorted his listeners, as good Christians, to obey the state. He could fully expect that this particular crowd would do just that—American reporters traveling with him reported that at least one-third of the congregation were actually KGB security men. Another third were foreign delegates to the conference that Graham was attending. No more than a third were local believers, mostly older women, who had been hand-picked to participate.

Packing churches with security men is a common practice in the Soviet Union, where the atheistic state has great fear of the power of Christian dogma. But one wonders if the few Russian Christians actually present weren't surprised to hear that sermon. How could a Christian from democratic America in good conscience ask Soviet believers to obey the edicts of an atheistic, totalitarian government? Most Christians agree that when the laws of the state contradict the demands of their convictions, they have no biblical mandate to obey.

I've visited a few churches in Moscow myself, including the Baptist church that Graham attended. I know that it's the same one—the authorities allow only a single

Baptist church in that city of more than 8 million souls. Before the 1917 Revolution, when the city had 1 million people, there were more than 500 churches. Now there are only 44 Russian Orthodox churches, two Protestant churches and one synagogue. The rest were closed during the several anti-religion campaigns, dating from 1928, that have persecuted Christians there.

The churches that remain are little more than helpless clients of the regime. Though the Soviet constitution officially guarantees religious freedom, that assertion has little to do with actual practice. The "Law on Religious Associations," first instituted by Stalin and still in force today, regulates almost every aspect of religious life. For example, all religious groups must register with the state. All churches, mosques and synagogues are state-owned.

Clergymen cannot be appointed without the approval of the state. They are forbidden to carry out any functions, such as prayer meetings and preaching services, outside the walls of their churches.

Evangelism, Sunday schools and charity work are strictly forbidden. Ministers are forbidden to speak out against social evils, such as human-rights abuses, since that would be construed as "slandering the Soviet state."

Those who refuse to collaborate with the state pay a steep price. More than 100 pastors of the unregistered Evangelical Christian Baptists, for example, are at present languishing in Soviet labor camps and psychiatric hospitals. These brave souls are charged with such vague crimes as "hooliganism" and "parasitism." Their families have been left destitute, and some go hungry.

Lydia Vins, who was imprisoned for three years at the age of 64 for trying to help the families of prisoners, states that in recent years religious persecution has dramatically increased.

Persecuted with equal vigor are Lithuanian Roman Catholics, Jews, Muslims, Pentecostals and all others who dare to practice their faith as they see fit.

Many American Christians have known about such persecutions for decades. We grieve for our fellow believers in the Soviet Union. We pray for their deliverance. And we speak out.

Why was Billy Graham silent?

*Edmund W. Robb, a United Methodist evangelist from Marshall, Tex., is chairman of the Institute on Religion and Democracy in Washington.*

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TO: Members of Interagency Group on European Public  
Diplomacy

FROM: EUR/P - Steve Steiner SES

SUBJECT: Actions Agreed 5/20; Agenda for 5/27

At 5/20 meeting, after the briefing on Poland, the following areas were covered:

-- Vietnamese Workers in USSR: It is reported that as many as 500,000 workers may end up in USSR, staying as much as 5-6 years. They are reportedly volunteers (?) from overpopulated areas of Vietnam. There are no signs to date of massive departures from Vietnam. There are said to be some 14,000 Indochinese workers in Czechoslovakia, including some Lao.

Other reports indicate that as much as 60% of the wages of Vietnamese workers in USSR may be deducted from their pay. EUR/P and S/P to check this further and to ascertain in what ways this situation violates international labor standards. EUR/P also to stay in touch with AFL-CIO concerning this issue.

Finally, it was stated that Senator Armstrong may hold hearings on this issue, particularly in regard to whether such labor being used on pipeline project. EUR/P and H to check this, and to touch base with EA.

-- Nuclear Issues: PA reported that speakers packet not yet ready. It is hoped that some of the fact sheets to be issued by the White House will be ready by middle of week of 5/24-28. A complete Q/A packet with up-dated themes, including START, will also be put together. PM has done a longer discussion paper on nuclear issues, which also should be ready week of May 24-28.

START gameplan for Europe to be developed. Could ICA brief 5/27 on impact thus far of President's speech, Brezhnev's Komsomol address and our response to Brezhnev? (Kallas?)

PA reported that its historical study of US arms control initiatives is undergoing interagency review. PM spoke approvingly of ICA draft in same area. Need for coordinating these projects, and ACDA's effort, emphasized once again.

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It was also reiterated that force figures made available publicly should be consistent with those in the NATO Force Comparison study.

Agenda for 5/27:

1. Follow up on Vietnamese workers (EUR/P, S/P, INR, CIA)
2. Nuclear issues -- coordination of papers (PA, ICA and ACDA)
3. START -- readout on European reaction (ICA)
4. NATO Force Comparison paper -- follow-up, including Congress, Greece and UK.
5. Visitors and speakers in Europe -- follow-up? (NSC, ICA)
6. World Peace Congress wrap-up, including contacts with Americans.. who attended (EUR/SOV)
7. Status report on:
  - Crime and Punishment (EUR/SOV)
  - Marshall Plan anniversary activities (EUR/P and ICA/EU)

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