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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** DEGRAFFENREID, KENNETH: FILES

**Withdrawer**

LOJ 1/16/2009

**File Folder** SOVIET "ACTIVE MEASURES" 05/01/1982-05/14/1982

**FOIA**

F02-083/1

**Box Number** [ 91786 ] RAC Box 26

PRADOS

9

ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
61726 CABLE	MANILA 4501	2	5/14/1982	B1
61727 SUMMARY	MOSCOW AND....	1	5/16/1982	B1
61728 CABLE	BRUSSELS 07304	2	5/26/1982	B1
61729 CABLE	LAGOS 04981	2	5/27/1982	B1
61730 CABLE	STATE 146813	1	5/28/1982	B1
61731 CABLE	KINGSTON 4704	1	5/28/1982	B1
61732 CABLE	STATE 155133	1	6/5/1982	B1
61733 CABLE	STATE 160559	1	6/11/1982	B1
61734 CABLE	STATE 163091	1	6/14/1982	B1

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61727	SUMMARY  MOSCOW AND....	1	5/16/1982	B1

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61728	CABLE  BRUSSELS 07304	2	5/26/1982	B1

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61729	CABLE  LAGOS 04981	2	5/27/1982	B1

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61730	CABLE  STATE 146813	1	5/28/1982	B1

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61731	CABLE  KINGSTON 4704	1	5/28/1982	B1

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61732	CABLE  STATE 155133	1	6/5/1982	B1

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*Active measures*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

June 9, 1982

Mr. Jim Guirard, Jr.  
Government Affairs Consultant  
1090 Vermont Avenue, N.W.  
Suite 1100  
Washington, D. C. 20005

Dear Jim:

Hope all is well. Thought I would send along a few recent examples of the current US effort on the ideological/information front. If you have time, I would appreciate your reaction. On the same subject, please let me introduce Doug Feith, formerly of our staff, who is now with Dick Perle at Defense. One of his main duties will be to develop ideas on the ideological/information front. You may wish to give him a call (697-2682).

Let us get together sometime and talk about this.

Sincerely,

*Ken*

Kenneth E. deGraffenreid

Enclosures

1. Foreign Affairs Note, April 1982
2. Foreign Affairs Note, May 1982
3. Soviet Propaganda Alert No. 6,  
April 26, 1982

the December 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan apparently once again generated dissension within the WPC. Two months elapsed before the WPC issued a statement endorsing the Afghan invasion.

#### MEMBERSHIP AND ORGANIZATION

The WPC has attracted the support of some prestigious non-Communist figures--literary, humanitarian, scientific, religious, and others--who are motivated by a genuine concern for peace and not dissuaded by the preponderance of Soviet and pro-Soviet personnel in key WPC leadership and decision-making positions. Total membership information has never been made public. Most of the members, moreover, do not belong to the WPC itself, but to affiliates at the national level. The WPC claims that 135 national "peace committees"--e.g., the U.S. Peace Committee, the Soviet Peace Committee, the Syrian Peace Committee--make up its network of local chapters.

Historically, it has been the function of the fronts to mobilize those elements of society not normally reached by local, Moscow-linked Communist parties--for example, sympathizers not wishing to commit themselves entirely to party discipline and those interested only in particular issues or moved by certain emotional appeals. Lenin saw the potential of international mass organizations as a means to marshal public support for party directives. In the 1930s during the "popular front" period, Willi Munzenberg, a veteran Communist organizer working for the Comintern, spoke cynically of international front organizations as "innocents' clubs."

The WPC is organized into four principal bodies.

-- The Council, which meets every 3 years, is the organization's highest authority comprising representatives of cooperating international organizations and national peace committees.

-- The Presidential Committee, elected by the Council, is nominally responsible for running the

WPC between Council sessions. The Presidential Committee has 26 vice presidents (of which 11 are known to be members of pro-Soviet Communist parties) and 146 members. It holds regular annual and occasional emergency meetings. WPC President Romesh Chandra, a member of the Politburo of India's Moscow-line Communist party, chairs the Committee.

-- A Bureau of the Presidential Committee, consisting of the WPC president, vice presidents, and representatives of selected national peace committees, implements decisions and plans future activities and "programs of action." It meets three to four times a year.

-- The Secretariat, a full-time executive staff appointed by the Presidential Committee, is responsible for proposing new activities and for implementing Council, Presidential Committee, and Bureau decisions.

#### FUNDING

The WPC claims to be funded by contributions from national peace committees, donations to its World Peace Fund, and special collections. The evidence, however, strongly suggests that the bulk of its expenses are met by the Soviet Union. In addition, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, and Cuba provide material and financial support to the WPC, usually in the form of airline service and hotel expenses.<sup>1</sup>

According to the Soviet English-language weekly Moscow News (No. 19,

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<sup>1</sup>In a letter published in the New Statesman (October 17, 1980), a correspondent identified as Ruth Tosek, a "former senior interpreter for several of the Moscow-controlled organizations," stated that "all funds of these organizations, in local and in hard currency, are provided above all by the Soviet Union, but also by other East European satellite countries on the basis of set contribution rates, paid by the governments of these countries through various channels."



## WORLD PEACE COUNCIL: INSTRUMENT OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

April 1982

The World Peace Council (WPC) was founded in 1949 as the World Committee of Partisans for Peace and first adopted its present title in 1950. It was based in Paris until 1951 when it was expelled for what the French Government termed "fifth column activities." It moved to Prague and then in 1954 to Vienna, where it remained until banned in 1957 by the Austrian Interior Minister for "activities directed against the Austrian state." However, it continued to operate in Vienna under the legal cover of the newly established International Institute for Peace until its move to its present location in Helsinki in 1968. The International Institute for Peace subsequently emerged as a separate Soviet front with strong links to the WPC.

In recent years, the WPC has expanded its activities while trying to broaden its appeal and sound less like a cold war propaganda vehicle. It has sought support in the Third World by posing as an independent body identifying with such causes as opposition to U.S. "aggression" in Vietnam, anticolonialism, and assistance to "liberation movements." In NATO countries, it has exploited fears of nuclear war by stimulating and/or sponsoring antinuclear rallies and advocating Soviet-supported disarmament policies.

The WPC and similar fronts periodically have faced internal problems because their Soviet affilia-

tion cannot always be reconciled with the desired image of independence and nonalignment. In 1949, following the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform, the WPC expelled its Yugoslav representatives. Similarly, the Sino-Soviet dispute led to the WPC's ostracism of China, which later became a major critic of all Soviet fronts. Nikita Khrushchev's revelations of Stalinist excesses at the 20th Soviet Communist Party Congress in February 1956 and the suppression of the Hungarian uprising by Soviet troops the following November cost the fronts considerable popular support. After the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968, Moscow, in order to restore discipline, replaced nearly all major Communist-front officials. Although opposition to Soviet control occasionally occurs within the WPC, the leaders are usually able to confine dissent to private meetings of commissions or subcommissions. Dissenting views seldom find their way into the large-scale WPC-sponsored public gatherings. When, for example, Soviet human rights activist Andre Sakharov sent a message in 1976 to a WPC-sponsored forum on disarmament in York, Great Britain, it was not read to delegates as Sakharov had requested. At meetings in 1977, non-Communist participants embarrassed WPC leaders by asking questions about human rights violations in the U.S.S.R., but none of this found its way into the official reports. More recently,

1981), the Soviet Peace Fund helps to finance "some" of the WPC's "large public initiatives."<sup>2</sup> Writing in 20th Century and Peace (April 1980), Soviet Peace Fund Chairman Boris Polevoi asserted that his clients include "the leaders of the international democratic organizations working for peace: The Fund regularly gives them assistance in organizing their undertakings." Polevoi also revealed that the Fund works closely with the Soviet Peace Committee, which aims "to render financial aid to the organizations, movements and personalities fighting for stronger peace, national independence and freedom." Referring to the October 1973 World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow, an event organized jointly by the WPC and the Soviet Peace Committee, the November 1973 issue of the WPC's Peace Courier reported that "Soviet public organizations. . . covered all the delegates' maintenance expenses in Moscow. Soviet citizens donated to the Soviet Peace Fund--which covered the delegates' maintenance expenses--about \$200,000. Moscow's Patriarchate also donated 3 million rubles."

At a February 9-19, 1981, session of the U.N. Committee of Non-Governmental Organizations, the WPC was forced to withdraw its application for upgrading its consultative status with the U.N. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in the face of adverse criticism from ECOSOC members. WPC President Chandra

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<sup>2</sup> The Soviet Peace Fund is a nationwide organization with the representatives scattered throughout most of the U.S.S.R.'s cities, towns, and villages. A common method by which money is collected for the Soviet Peace Fund is for individual factories, plants, and collective farms to hold a 1-day "work shift for peace." According to the Soviet publication 20th Century and Peace (December 1981), the Krasnoyarsk Peace Committee received 2 million rubles in donations for the Soviet Peace Fund in 1981.

said in response to questioning that the WPC's accounts were not independently audited but rather were reviewed by the WPC itself. In addition, he reported that the financial statements submitted to ECOSOC represented only a fraction of his organization's actual income and expenditure. Chandra made these statements while avoiding committee questions regarding the source of WPC financial contributions. According to the ECOSOC Report (March 16, 1981), ECOSOC members concluded that the WPC "had received large-scale financial support from government sources, and had gone to great lengths to conceal that fact from the committee."

### EXTENT OF SOVIET CONTROL

In June 1981, at a Kremlin ceremony, Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev presented Chandra, WPC president since 1977, with the Order of Lenin. Citing Chandra's service to the "ideals of peace, his selflessness in the bitter struggle against the forces of militarism and aggression," Brezhnev expressed gratification that the Soviet "peace program" for the 1980s met with "full understanding" from such an "authoritative movement as the movement of peace champions" (20th Century and Peace, August 1981). This act symbolizes the importance the Soviets attach to the WPC: The Order of Lenin is one of the most prestigious Soviet awards and is presented personally by Brezhnev only on rare occasions.

Control is exercised over the WPC by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union's (CPSU) Central Committee through its International Department (ID), which is headed by Central Committee Secretary and Politburo candidate member Boris Ponomarev. The ID maintains a special branch, known as the International Social Organizations Sector, which is responsible exclusively for front organizations. The special branch falls under the general responsibility of Vitaliy Shaposhnikov, a deputy ID chief who is at the same time a member of the WPC's

\*Presidential Committee. Georgiy Zhukov, also a member of the WPC's Presidential Committee, is a candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, a member of the U.S.S.R. Parliamentary Group, a deputy-chairman of the U.S.S.R.-U.S.A. Society, and the chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee--the U.S.S.R.'s national affiliate of the WPC. Through such direct lines to key WPC officials, the CPSU can often control decisions on WPC projects and activities as well as the content of statements, communiques, and resolutions stemming from WPC events.

Since its original "Stockholm Appeal" for "banning the bomb" in 1950, the WPC has consistently advanced Soviet positions on controversial international issues.

For example, in conjunction with other front organizations, it established the "Stockholm Conference on Vietnam," active from 1967-68 until the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Indochina in 1973. It supported the "International Commission of Inquiry into U.S. War Crimes in Vietnam," created in 1970 as a subsidiary of the Stockholm Conference. Throughout the Vietnam war, the WPC sent many "peace" delegations to North Vietnam and regularly issued statements supporting Soviet policy on the war. More recently, in March 1979, the WPC staged an "International Conference on Vietnam" to condemn the Chinese, and in May 1980 it organized a "special conference" in Hanoi to mark the 90th anniversary of the birth of Ho Chi Minh.

The anti-"neutron bomb" campaign initiated by the Soviets in mid-1977 provided the WPC and affiliated fronts with an opportunity to revive ban-the-bomb agitation and to claim that the United States was pursuing military policies which disregarded the interests of its European allies. The WPC proclaimed August 6-13, 1977, a Week of Action against the bomb and organized and helped orchestrate several peace and anti-bomb demonstrations in Europe, Africa, Latin America, and

the Near East. President Carter's decision to postpone development of the neutron warhead was then touted as a victory for world "peace forces."

The December 1979 NATO decision to modernize its intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) in response to the deployment of Soviet SS-20 missiles targeted on Europe now serves the WPC as the focus of a vigorously conducted campaign for "peace, disarmament and detente" designed to influence European public opinion against NATO's plans. At the same time, the WPC avoids criticizing or even discussing Soviet and Warsaw Pact military deployments. Instead, during the past year, it has promoted Brezhnev's proposals for negotiations, organized "peace" rallies, and issued formal condemnations of NATO defense policies.

Some 200 representatives of 85 organizations from 30 European countries, the United States, and Canada, as well as from 13 international organizations, attended a WPC-organized "International Conference Against the Arms Race" in Stockholm, June 6-8, 1981. Discussions focused on the modernization of medium-range U.S. missiles in Europe, the "neutron bomb," and the consequences of nuclear war; Soviet SS-20 missiles were not mentioned. The conferees proposed sending a delegation to the United States to "report the mood of European public opinion" regarding U.S. nuclear policies; a conference communique also condemned NATO's INF plans.

WPC's Chandra and representatives of a number of other Soviet-controlled international fronts staged a September 12-13, 1981, "International Organizations Meeting" in Prague on "ways of averting nuclear war."

Some 60 participants, representing peace committees from 21 European countries, attended an October 2-4, 1981, "European Peace Committees Meeting" in Kosice, Czechoslovakia. Held under the slogan "For a Europe of Peace and Without Nuclear Arms," the meeting was organized by a WPC affiliate, the Czechoslovak Peace Committee, as a continuation of the June 1981 Stockholm Conference on Disarmament

and Military Detente in Europe.

Chandra told a press conference in New Delhi on November 30, 1981, that the WPC was seeking a "winter offensive" in support of the "mass movement for disarmament" in Europe.

The current priority of Soviet diplomacy is to prevent INF modernization in Western Europe, and the WPC is expected to concentrate its efforts on this issue. Nevertheless, in line with its past record, the

WPC will seek to operate however Soviet foreign policy interests dictate. As Romesh Chandra put it when speaking in Moscow in 1975: "The Soviet Union invariably supports the peace movement. The World Peace Council in its turn positively reacts to all Soviet initiatives in international affairs."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> New Times, Moscow, July 1975.



United States Department of State  
Washington, D.C.

## RELIGION IN THE U.S.S.R.: LAWS, POLICY, AND PROPAGANDA

May 1982

*There is no and cannot be any compromise or peaceful coexistence between the scientific, materialist, and religious world outlooks. We must not forget V.I. Lenin's thoughts on the danger of religious theories, the reactionary sting of which is shielded by the "thin, spiritual idea of dear God clothed in the most beautiful costume" (Minsk Zvyazda, January 21, 1982).*

*It is no secret that our laws, while protecting and guaranteeing freedom of conscience, at the same time establish certain limits in the work of religious communities. . . . This is quite natural because there is no social system in the world that is indifferent to the violation of laws and generally acknowledged regulations under the cover of religion. This is not permitted in socialist society either. (Vilnius Radio in Lithuanian to North America, February 26, 1982; Commentary by Patras Anilionis, representative of the Lithuanian Council for Religious Affairs.)*

This paper examines the official position and views of U.S.S.R. authorities toward religion, as reflected in Marxist-Leninist doctrine, constitutional guarantees, legislation, and press commentaries. Analytical comment is kept to a minimum, although explanations are occasionally provided for ambiguously or innocuously worded articles of law. In most instances, however, the Soviet text speaks for itself, documenting the conflicts between the U.S.S.R. constitutional guarantees and Soviet legislation and policies affecting religion.

No attempt is made to examine how Soviet authorities implement their laws, how Soviet administrative practices place additional restrictions on religious believers, and how authorities deprive believers of what rights they have under Soviet law by violating their own laws. Evidence on these points is voluminous and cumulatively persuasive, although much is based on unofficial reports and personal testimony and therefore is open to dispute. The record does, however, demonstrate that the levers of coercion, persecution, pressure, intimidation, and harassment available to a totalitarian state are formidable. Nevertheless, the stubborn survival of religious beliefs for over 60 years in an atheist state and the continuing active affirmation of faith by believers in the U.S.S.R. illustrate the limits of totalitarian power where fundamental human aspirations are concerned.

Soviet media never contain material in defense of believers. Believers cannot state their views publicly, and the constitutional right of Soviet citizens "to conduct atheist propaganda," is not balanced by an equivalent right "to conduct religious propaganda," but only by the right "to conduct religious worship."

### BASIC ATTITUDE TOWARD RELIGION

Atheism is a fundamental tenet of Marxism-Leninism. No substantive changes have been made since the days of Lenin in Soviet hostility toward religion, its customs and traditions, and its adherents (so-called "believers"). Indeed, Lenin's classic statement on the subject is regularly cited by contemporary Soviet sources to justify the Party's stand on religious questions:

Religion is the opium of the people. Religion is a kind of spiritual gin in which the slaves of capital drown their human shape and their claims to any decent human life (Lenin, "Socialism and Religion," 1905, *Selected Works*, Vol. XI, p. 658).

At the same time, however, Marxist-Leninist dogma contends that a Communist state accords essential rights and privileges to all. In practice this translates into a fundamental contradiction between (a) constitutional guarantees delineating basic rights of individuals and (b) civil and criminal legislation which restricts and/or prevents the exercise of what are technically superior constitutional rights. This contradiction is most evident in religious life. In no area have Soviet propagandists tried harder over the years to explain the contradiction inherent in Soviet legislation and propaganda targeted specifically at religious groups and believers:

The Soviet state of the whole people is equally concerned about the rights of all its citizens—both atheists and believers. While insuring the real conditions for the satisfaction of believers' religious requirements, our society at the same time helps them to realize the utter untenability of their delusions and voluntarily, without any coercion, rid themselves of them. This is one of Socialist democracy's great advantages over bourgeois democracy (Yerevan *Kommunist*, October 30, 1980).

Although they guarantee complete freedom of religion, Soviet laws reject the clerical demand for freedom of religion; i.e., the demand for unlimited freedom of activity for religious organizations and for the arbitrary rule of priests, for in fact that would lead to the abridgment of the freedom of conscience of nonbelievers (*Sovetskaya Litva*, March 30, 1969).

### CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES UNDER BREZHNEV

The latest U.S.S.R. Constitution (adopted October 7, 1977) defines the status of religion in Article 52:

Citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed freedom of conscience, that is, the right to profess or not to profess any religion, and to conduct religious worship or atheist propaganda. Incitement of hostility or hatred on religious grounds is prohibited. In the U.S.S.R., the church is separated from the state, and the school from the church.

Article 34 of the Constitution also guarantees:

Citizens of the U.S.S.R. are equal before the law, without distinction of origin, social or property status, race or nationality,



sex, education, language, attitude to religion, type and nature of occupation, domicile, or other status. The equal rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed in all fields of economic, political, social, and cultural life.

Earlier constitutions did not guarantee citizens equality before the law "regardless of attitude to religion."

Although the current Constitution is theoretically the U.S.S.R.'s "fundamental law," the 1929 "Law on Religious Associations," which remains in force, as well as administrative practices and Soviet penal and criminal legislation, effectively supersede these constitutional guarantees and circumscribe the practice of religion in the Soviet Union.

## THE "LAW ON RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS"

The "Law on Religious Associations" originated in the wave of religious persecution in 1927-28. It was, in part, a manifestation of Stalin's fear that the 1918 Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Constitution had given religious groups, through the dissemination of "religious propaganda," the potential ability to subvert the Party's absolute authority over all aspects of Soviet life. Stalin revealed his thoughts on religion 5 years after the "Law" was published:

... The Party cannot be neutral toward religion, and it does conduct antireligious propaganda against all and every religious prejudice. ... The Party cannot be neutral toward the bearers of religious prejudices, toward the reactionary clergy who poison the minds of the toiling masses. ... (Stalin, *Leninism*, Moscow-Leningrad: Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, 1934, Vol. I, pp. 386-387).

The provisions of the Law on Religious Associations indicate that its two principal aims were: to place religious associations under full state control by making them dependent upon state authorities for the exercise of their activities (indeed, for their legal existence), and to undermine the organizational integrity of each religious denomination. The legal requirements placed on religious groups are not consistent with the explicit separation of church and state guaranteed by the RSFSR Constitution of 1918 and the U.S.S.R. Constitutions of 1936 and 1977.

Religious denominations do not have the status of public organizations as defined by the Soviet Constitution and do not acquire the juridical status of a person-at-law. Instead, the law reduces church-state relations to a local-level relationship between the state and each primary unit of believers (at least 20 persons acquiring official recognition through registration). This initial legal premise thus avoids the concept of an institutional church transcending a local area. Leaders of a religious denomination properly designated through the denomination's own internal procedures have no recognized status under the law, nor does the law require state authorities to deal with them, although in practice they may do so to the extent it serves regime interests. The law, moreover, is structured to inhibit church leaders from exercising effective control over affairs of the church, its hierarchy, or members. Church organizations cannot own property or inherit funds or property as other Soviet public bodies may. Religious "cults" have no specific legal right to maintain seminaries, publishing facilities, or other institutions, such as monasteries—they exist only by special permission.

Notable provisions of the Law on Religious Associations include the following:

- No individual may belong to more than one "religious cult group" (Article 2).
- Religious associations may not function unless they register with local authorities (Article 4). The procedure for registering and satisfying all other official requirements is com-

plex and allows authorities—by refusing to register a group—to deny legal status not only to individual groups but collectively to an entire religious denomination; such has been the experience of the Eastern Rite (Uniate) Catholic Church. Some religious denominations are denied registration on the grounds that they do not accept the limitations imposed on believers by the Law on Religious Associations. A legally functioning religious group ceases to exist if authorities withdraw registration. In effect, Article 4 can prevent a Soviet citizen from practicing the faith of his or her choice.

- Individual religious groups may organize general meetings or participate with other groups in conferences or councils only with official permission (Articles 12 and 20). By withholding such permission, state authorities have prevented denominations from holding a general conference (e.g., the Jews) or establishing central administrative bodies (e.g., Jews, Moslems). In other instances, authorities have required such meetings to be held for specific regime purposes (e.g., the irregularly convened Council (Synod) of the Russian Orthodox in 1961 and the irregularly convened Congress (*sobor*) of the Eastern Rite Catholic Church in 1946, which approved the union of the Church with the Russian Orthodox Church).

- Registered religious groups must elect their executive body by open ballot (Article 13). Individual members of a group may be removed "by the registering agencies" (Article 14). These two articles provide authorities with the necessary leverage to control the composition and membership of each religious group and to manipulate its choice of leaders—hence, its activities and policies as well.

- The law regards members of the clergy as persons hired by individual religious groups only for the performance of religious rites, a status which prevents the clergy from exercising a leadership role in a religious community. They also are wholly dependent on the authorities for permission to practice their calling. Soviet law and administrative practices place at a special disadvantage those denominations (such as the Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches) where the priesthood is regarded as a sacrament, since official interference in ordination and appointment of clergy and in the discharge of their duties infringes on canon law.

- The list of restrictions and regulations the law imposes on the activity and rights of religious groups and members of the clergy is lengthy: They may not engage in charitable, social, or "political" activities, nor may they give religious instruction to children or organize prayer or study groups for adults; they cannot proselytize, establish children's playgrounds, kindergartens, libraries, reading rooms, mutual aid societies, cooperatives, or sanatoriums (Article 17).

- The activity of priests of a "cult" is restricted to the residential area of the religious association's members and the location of the "prayer premises" (Article 19).

- Property necessary for the functioning of the "cult" is "nationalized" and under state control (Article 25).

- Religious associations are denied property rights and may use "cult buildings" only by contractual agreement with Soviet authorities (Article 28).

- Such buildings used by the "cult" are subject to compulsory insurance to be carried by members of the religious association (Article 30).

- "Prayer buildings" not under state protection as "monuments of culture" may be used and reequipped for other purposes or demolished by Soviet authorities (Article 41).

- All "cult property" is subjected to compulsory inventory by Soviet authorities (Article 55).

- The performance of religious rites and ceremonies is not permitted in state, social, or cooperative institutions, although these rites and ceremonies may be held in "especially isolated premises" as well as at cemeteries and crematoriums (Article 58).

- Permission must be obtained from Soviet authorities before religious festivals can be held under an "open sky" or in the apartments or houses of believers (Article 59).

- "Supervision" of religious associations is entrusted to the registering agencies (Article 64). Before the "Law" was amended in 1975, "surveillance" of religious associations, not "supervision," was entrusted to the "appropriate" Soviet authorities, and not to "registering agencies."

Taken together, these and the other 46 articles that comprise the "Law on Religious Associations" place all-encompassing administrative and institutional restrictions on religious activities. (The full text of the "Laws" are found in Appendix 1.)

### **THE DECREE ON "ADMINISTRATIVE LIABILITY FOR VIOLATION OF LEGISLATION ON RELIGIOUS CULTS" (MARCH 18, 1966)**

The brief text of the decree of March 18, 1966, enumerated prohibited activities by religious cults which were punishable by a fine not exceeding 50 rubles: refusal to register; violation of established legislation on the conduct of religious meetings; processions and other "cultic ceremonies"; and the organization of meetings "having no relation to the practice of the cult," such as meetings for children or literary groups.

The substance of the decree is perhaps less significant than the timing and symbolism of its promulgation. Four months earlier, on December 8, 1965, the Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Council for the Affairs of Religious Cults merged into the Council for Religious Affairs, headed by Vladimir Kuroyedov. Commenting on this reorganization, Kuroyedov declared that "the role and responsibility of the Council in the control over the legislation on cults had been significantly increased and corresponding rights granted to it" (*Izvestiya*, August 30, 1966). Thus, the decree may have represented the initial attempt of the Council to assert its authority. (For the full text of the Decree on "Administrative Liability" see Appendix 2.)

### **THE RSFSR CODE ON MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY**

Parents who raise children in a religious spirit may be charged with the violation of several provisions of the RSFSR Code on Marriage and the Family. Article 52 requires parents to bring up children as "worthy members of a Socialist society" (i.e., as worthy members of an atheist society) and not to "contradict the children's interests." Evasion of parental responsibilities, cruelty, or "harmful influence" may result in deprivation of parental rights (Article 59) and the transfer of children into the custody of state agencies (Articles 60 and 61). (The relevant articles from the Code on Marriage and the Family are found in Appendix 3.)

### **RSFSR CRIMINAL CODE**

Soviet believers who incur official displeasure may face criminal charges for alleged transgressions having little or nothing to do with their profession of faith. But some articles of the criminal code are especially suitable for framing a case against believers. The most serious political charges are brought under Article 70 (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda) carrying a maximum sentence of 7 years in labor camp plus 5 years of internal exile. Equally political but somewhat less serious charges under Article 190-1 (circulating knowingly false fabrications defaming the U.S.S.R.) can bring up to 3

years in labor camp plus 1 year of internal exile. Religious believers have been prosecuted for infringement of citizens' rights under appearance of performing religious ceremonies (Article 227); organizing public actions which violate public order (Article 190-3); violation of laws on separation of church and state (Article 122); hooliganism (i.e., disorderly conduct—Article 206); and engaging in a prohibited trade (for example, operating a private printing press—Article 162). (The relevant articles from the RSFSR criminal code are found in Appendix 4. Criminal codes of other Soviet Republics contain similar provisions.)

### **ANTIPARASITE LAWS**

Religious believers are vulnerable to charges of parasitism (willful refusal to work) because loss of employment is a common form of official harassment. Believers who find themselves without a job then discover that no state enterprise will hire them. The fact that the resulting unemployment may be a direct consequence of blacklisting of the believer by the U.S.S.R.'s only employer—the state itself—is an unacceptable defense in court. Conviction on charges of parasitism is punishable by up to 1 year in labor camp. (The full text of the antiparasite laws are found in Appendix 5.)

### **ANTIRELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA**

In addition to legislative constraints on religious practice, antireligious propaganda, together with so-called "atheist propaganda," has long been an important instrument in the Soviet effort to "eradicate religious prejudices." Antireligious propaganda is widely disseminated by the Soviet media; letters to the editor published in central and regional periodicals from ostensibly private citizens, for example, provide "evidence" that the regime's antireligious policies enjoy broad popular support. For example:

Dear Editor: I am a believer. . . . I am worried about the behavior of our pastor. . . . He loves to drink and consorts with several women. He threw his former housekeeper . . . out of the house; she could no longer work because of her age. Our pastor drinks not only with his own funds, but with church funds too. Could not a surprise audit of the church's fund be carried out, as is done in stores? Help us please (Letter to the editor of *Sovetskaya Latvija*, December 1, 1962).

Propaganda in most cases is targeted at specific groups and religious denominations, despite the fact that "incitement of hostility or hatred on religious grounds" is prohibited by Article 52 of the U.S.S.R. Constitution. The following are some of the most prominent and frequently employed antireligious themes.

**Unfavorable Comparisons With Communism.** Communism is always portrayed as the correct path to life, with religion likened to slavery, ignorance, and "darkness" and attacked for its "antiscientific" nature.

**Religion as "Anticommunism" and Crime.** Religion is often linked with "anticommunism" and "antisovietism" to depict it as basically hostile to the Soviet state, with members of the clergy portrayed as inciting crime and providing refuge to criminals.

**Deleterious Effects Upon Individuals.** Parents are asked to shield their children from "spiritual violence" and the deforming effects of the "narcotic" of religion; religious women are depicted as semiliterate and responsible for declines in state productivity.

**Textbook, Classroom Admonitions.** School children are reminded of the unsanitary and unhealthful aspects of religious rites, that religion is a "bulwark of ignorance."

**Ridicule of Religious Jewelry.** "Religious paraphernalia" (e.g., crosses worn around the neck) are described as "symbols of a world outlook that is alien to us."

**Glorification of Atheist "Education."** So-called atheist education is frequently juxtaposed with attacks on the clergy; allegations that "fanatics, spongers, and criminals" seek refuge in sectarian organizations; and with calls for the eradication of "religious prejudices."

**Negative Effects of Religion.** These include ignorance, social disorientation, obscurantism, and the need to combat them for the "sake of the people."

### Attacks on Evangelical Sects

Vladimir Kuroyedov, chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs at the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, recently identified the Jehovah's Witnesses, Pentacostalists, and Free Baptists as "black sheep . . . religious extremists . . . who pursue careerist, selfish aims often motivated by vainglory." According to Kuroyedov, "they try to evade the law and to provoke dissatisfaction among believers with the policy of the Soviet state and the Communist Party with regard to religion and the church" (Moscow, TASS International Service, in Russian, March 28, 1980).

**Jehovah's Witnesses** are regularly linked by the Soviet press to the CIA, accused of political hostility, antisocial activity, maltreatment of children, stealing state property, espionage, draft dodging, and, on occasion, even murder.

**Pentacostals** are generally admitted by Soviet sources to be zealous in their worship and evangelization. "Pentacostalism is one of the most active and fanatical religious sectarian movements" (*Questions of Scientific Atheism*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1966). As a result, propaganda attacks on the movement are among the most severe. Pentacostalists regularly are accused of violating Soviet laws, collaborating with the Nazis during World War II, draft dodging, antisocial and anti-Soviet behavior, and disseminating so-called holy letters or chain letters. One scene in the Soviet film "Thunderclouds Over Bor-skoye," produced during the Khrushchev era antireligious campaign, showed the leaders of a Pentacostal sect attempting to crucify a young girl (*Kommunist*, No. 9, 1962, p. 100).

**Baptists** are subject to constant media attacks, accused, *inter alia*, of antisocial behavior, religious fanaticism, violating Soviet laws, and improperly raising children. Baptist parents have been sentenced to prison for allegedly exposing their children to religious "prejudices" and failing to train them for "socially useful work."

### Attacks on Jews

Soviet media carefully avoid outright anti-Jewish references, focusing instead on the evil of "Zionism." Zionism is equated with every conceivable blight—racism, imperialism, capitalist exploitation, colonialism, militarism, crime, murder, espionage, terrorism, prostitution, and even Hitlerism. This root evil, however, is traced to Judaism; the Torah and Talmud are presented as works preaching racism, hatred, and violence. In the fall of 1974, the CPSU Central Committee formally adopted a directive which confirms the official character of the effort to "combat" Zionism—a seven-point "Plan of Measures to Strengthen Anti-Zionist Propaganda and Improve Patriotic and National Education of the Workers and Youth." It called on every district committee to "intensify the struggle against (the)

anti-Soviet activity of Zionism." In the process, the distinction between Jew and Zionist is often blurred.

### Attacks on Moslems

Islam has been a Soviet target since the earliest days of the regime, getting into full swing with the antireligious campaign of 1927–28. Press treatment has concentrated chiefly on accusations about harmful traditions that have survived amongst Moslem groups, particularly with respect to the subjugation of women. Aside from ridiculing the Moslem attitude toward women and attacking the practice of *kalym* (payment of dowry), other recurrent themes include the blood feuds allegedly required by the Moslem religion and the antihygiene and unhealthful aspects of Moslem rituals. An article in *Science and Religion* (March 1970, pp. 62–66) lists among the diseases that may be contracted through the observance of Islamic rituals syphilis, malaria, arteriosclerosis, and cancer. (A sampling of antireligious propaganda on the above themes is found in Appendix 6.)

## APPENDIX 1

### LAW ON RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS<sup>1</sup>

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR decree:

1. Churches, religious groups, groupings, religious movements, and other cult associations of all denominations shall come within the effect of the *Decret* of the RSFSR Council of People's Commissars of January 23, 1918, on the separation of church from state and of the school from church (*SU RSFSR* (1918), no. 18, item 263).

2. Religious associations of believing citizens of all cults shall be registered as religious societies or groups of believers.

Each citizen may be a member of only one religious cult association (or society or group).

3. A religious society is a local association of believing citizens who have attained 18 years of age and who are of one and the same cult, faith, orientation, or grouping, numbering at least 20 persons who have united for the joint satisfaction of their religious requirements.

Believing citizens who by virtue of their small numbers cannot form a religious society shall be granted the right to form a group of believers.

Religious societies shall have the right to acquire church utensils, articles of the religious cult, means of transport, and to lease, construct, and purchase structures for their own needs in the procedure established by law.

4. A religious society or group of believers may commence its activity only after the adoption of a decision concerning registration of the society or group of believers by the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.

A decision concerning the registration of a religious society or group of believers and the opening of a prayer building shall be adopted by the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers upon the recommendation of autonomous republic councils of ministers or executive committees of territory, regional, and city (or cities of Moscow and Leningrad) soviets of working people's deputies.

5. In order to register a religious society, its founders, numbering at least 20 persons, shall send a petition for registration of the religious society and the opening of a prayer building (or church,

<sup>1</sup> Originally published in *Sobraniye Uzakoneniye i Rasporyazheniy* No. 35 (1929), Text No. 353. Amended January 1, 1932 (*Sobraniye Uzakoneny RSFSR*, No. 8, Text 41) and June 23, 1975 (*Verkhovnogo Soveta RSFSR*, No. 27, Text 572). The above text is based on the 1975 amendments.

kostel, kirkh, mecheta, synagogue, and others) to the executive committee of a district or city soviet of working people's deputies.

The executive committee of the district or city soviet of working people's deputies shall send the petition of the believers which it has received with its opinion to the autonomous republic council of ministers or the executive committee of the territory, regional, or city (or cities of Moscow and Leningrad) soviet of working people's deputies.

6. In order to register a group of believers, a petition signed by all the believers of this group shall be submitted to the executive committee of the district or city soviet of working people's deputies, which shall send this petition with its opinion to the autonomous republic council of ministers or executive committee of the territory, regional, or city (or cities of Moscow and Leningrad) soviet of working people's deputies.

7. An autonomous republic council of ministers or executive committee of a territory, regional, or city (or cities of Moscow and Leningrad) soviet of working people's deputies, having received the materials concerning registration of the society or group of believers, shall consider them within a month and send their recommendations with them for decision to the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.

After considering the materials concerning the registration of the society or group of believers, the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers shall adopt a decision concerning the registration or refusal of registration of the religious society or group of believers and notify them thereof.

8. A register of religious associations, prayer houses, and buildings shall be kept by the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers which shall establish the procedure for the submission of the respective data concerning the religious society or group of believers and their executive and auditing agencies and priests.

9. Only those believers who have expressed their consent thereto may be entered in the lists of members of religious societies or groups.

10. In order to satisfy religious requirements, believers who comprise a religious society may, by decision of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, receive a special prayer building for use free of charge on the conditions and in the procedure provided by a contract concluded between the religious society and an authorized representative of the executive committee of the district or city soviet of working people's deputies.

In addition, believers who comprise a religious society or a group of believers may use other premises for prayer meetings granted to them by individual persons or the executive committees of district or city soviets of working people's deputies by lease. All the rules established by the present decree for prayer buildings shall extend to these premises; contracts for the right to use such premises shall be concluded by individual believers upon their personal liability. Moreover, these premises should satisfy construction, technical, and sanitary rules.

Each religious society or group of believers may use only one prayer premise.

11. Legal transactions connected with the management and use of cult property, such as: contracts to hire watchmen, for the delivery of fuel, for the repair of prayer buildings and property of the cult, for the acquisition of products and property for the performance of religious rites and ceremonies and similar activities, and closely and directly connected with the teachings and ritual of the particular religious cult, and also for the hire of premises for prayer meetings, may be concluded by individual citizens who are members of the executive agencies of religious societies or authorized groups of believers.

Such legal transactions may not have contractual relations as their content which even though connected with the cult nonetheless pursue trade or industrial purposes, such as: leasing a candle plant or a printing establishment for the printing of religious books, and the like.

12. The general meetings of religious societies and groups of believers (except prayer meetings) shall take place with the permission of the executive committee of the district or city soviet of working people's deputies.

13. In order to directly fulfill the functions connected with the management and use of cult property (Article 11), and also with a view to external representation, religious associations shall elect, by

open ballot, executive agencies from among their members at the general meeting of believers: three persons in religious associations, and one representative in a group of believers.

14. The right to remove individual persons from membership of the executive agency of a religious society or group of believers shall be granted to the registering agencies.

15. An auditing commission comprising not more than three members may be elected at a general meeting of believers from the members of the religious associations in order to verify cult property and money received from donations and voluntary offerings.

16. Meetings (or sessions) of the executive and auditing agencies of religious societies and groups of believers shall take place without informing or without the permission of agencies of authority.

17. A religious association shall be prohibited from:

(a) creating mutual aid societies, cooperatives, production associations, and in general using the property at their disposal for any other purposes except the satisfaction of religious requirements;

(b) rendering material support to their members;

(c) organizing either special children's, youth, women's, prayer, and other meetings or general bible, literary, handicraft, labor, religious study, or other meetings, groups, circles, sections, and also arranging excursions and children's playgrounds, opening libraries and reading rooms, or organizing sanatoriums and medical assistance.

Only the books necessary for the exercise of the particular cult may be kept in prayer buildings and premises.

18. The teaching of any religious teachings in educational institutions whatever shall not be permitted. The teaching of religious teachings may be permitted exceptionally in ecclesiastical educational institutions opened in the established procedure.

19. The area of activity of the priests of a cult, religious preachers, teachers, and so forth shall be restricted to the place of residence of the members of the religious association which they serve and the place where the prayer premises are situated.

The activity of the priests of a cult, religious teachers, and teachers who permanently serve two or several religious associations shall be restricted to the territory on which the believers in the said religious associations permanently reside.

20. Religious societies and groups of believers may convoke religious congresses and meetings only upon the authorization in each individual instance of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.

Religious centers, ecclesiastical boards, and other religious organizations elected at meetings and congresses shall direct only the religious (or canonical) activity of the associations of believers. They shall be supported from assets deducted by religious associations exclusively on a voluntary basis.

Religious centers and diocesan boards shall have the right to produce church utensils, articles of the religious cult, and to sell them to societies of believers, and also to acquire means of transport and to lease, construct, and purchase buildings for their own needs in the procedure established by law.

21. Repealed.

22. Repealed.

23. The executive agencies of religious societies and groups, and also of religious congresses, may use stamps, seals, and blank forms which designate their name, but exclusively for matters of a religious character only. These stamps, seals, and blank forms may not incorporate emblems and slogans established for institutions and agencies of Soviet authority.

24. Repealed.

25. Property necessary for the exercise of the cult, both transferred by contract to the believers who comprise a religious society or newly acquired by them or donated to them for the needs of the cult, shall be nationalized and recorded at the respective executive committee of the district or city soviet of working people's deputies and shall be for the use of the believers.

26. Premises serving especially as a dwelling for the watchman and located on the grounds of a prayer building or near a prayer building shall, together with other cult property, be transferred under contract for the use of the believers free of charge.

27. Prayer buildings and cult property shall be transferred for the use of the believers who comprise a religious society on the conditions and in the procedure provided for by the contract concluded by the religious society with the authorized representative of the ex-

executive committee of the district or city soviet of working people's deputies.

28. The building of a cult and property situated therein shall be received under contract from the representation of executive committee of the district or city soviet of working people's deputies by not fewer than 20 members of the religious society in order to grant the said property for the use of all the believers.

29. It shall be provided in the contract that the persons who have received the cult building and property for use (Article 28) shall be obliged to:

- (a) keep and care for it, as state property entrusted to them;
- (b) repair the cult building and also bear expenses connected with the possession and use of this property, such as: heating, insurance, protection, payment of taxes, charges, and so forth;
- (c) use this property exclusively to satisfy religious requirements;
- (d) compensate damage caused to the state by the deterioration of defects of the property;
- (e) have an inventory of all cult property in which all newly received (by purchase, donation, or transfer from other prayer buildings, and so forth) articles of the religious cult which do not belong to individual citizens by right of personal ownership, and in which articles which have become unfit for use are excluded with the knowledge and consent of the executive committee of the district or city soviet of working people's deputies with whom the contract was concluded;
- (f) admit, without hindrance, at any time except when religious rites are being performed, authorized representatives of executive committees of district, city, or rural soviets of working people's deputies.

30. Prayer buildings having historical, artistic, or archeological significance and which are on the special register of the RSFSR Ministry of Culture shall be transferred in the same procedure and on the same grounds, but with obligatory observance of the rules established for the registration and protection of monuments of art and antiquity.

31. All local inhabitants of the respective faith, orientation, or grouping shall have the right to sign a contract concerning the receipt and use of cult buildings and property, and after the cult property is transferred, acquire thereby the right to participate in the management of such property on the same basis as the persons who initially signed the contract.

32. Each signatory of the contract may cancel his signature on the said contract, filing an appropriate application therefor at the executive committee of the district or city soviet of working people's deputies, which, however, shall not relieve him of liability for the integrity and preservation of the property during the period before he filed the said application.

33. Buildings of a religious cult shall be subject to compulsory insurance at the expense of the persons who signed the contract for the benefit of the executive committee of the district or city soviet of working people's deputies on whose territory the building is situated.

The insurance amounts for burned prayer buildings shall be used by decision of the autonomous republic council of ministers or the executive committee of the territory, regional, or city (or cities of Moscow and Leningrad) soviet of working people's deputies, agreed with the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, for the restoration of burned prayer buildings or for cultural needs of the district or city in which the burned prayer building was situated.

34. If petitions are not received from believers concerning the granting of a cult building and property for use to satisfy religious requirements on the conditions provided for by Articles 27-33 of the present Decree, the autonomous republic council of ministers or executive committee of the territory, regional, or city (or cities of Moscow and Leningrad) soviet of working people's deputies shall decide the future purpose of the prayer building and all property therein in accordance with Articles 40 and 41 of the present Decree.

35. Repealed.

36. The transfer of a cult building in the use of believers for other needs (or the closing of a prayer building) shall be permitted exclusively by decision of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers upon the recommendation of the autonomous republic council of ministers or the executive committee of the territory, regional, or city (or cities of Moscow and Leningrad) soviet of working people's deputies if this building is needed for state or social needs. The believers who comprise the religious society shall be notified of such a decision.

37. Repealed.

38. Contracts for the lease of premises of nationalized, municipalized, or private houses for the needs of religious associations (Article 10, para. 2) may be dissolved before the expiry of the period of the contract in an ordinary judicial proceeding.

39. The closing of prayer buildings in the respective instances shall be only by decision of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers upon the recommendation of the autonomous republic council of ministers or executive committee of the territory, regional, or city (or cities of Moscow or Leningrad) soviet of working people's deputies.

40. When a prayer building is closed, the cult property shall be distributed as follows:

(a) all articles of platinum, gold, silver, and brocade, and also precious stones, shall be subject to being entered in the state fund and transferred to the disposal of local financial agencies or the disposal of the RSFSR Ministry of Culture, if these articles are on their register;

(b) all articles of historical, artistic, or museum value shall be transferred to agencies of the RSFSR Ministry of Culture;

(c) remaining articles (icons, clerical vestments, gonfalons, palls, and so forth) having special significance for the exercise of the cult shall be transferred to the believers for being carried over to other prayer buildings of the same cult; these articles shall be entered in the inventory of cult property on the general grounds;

(d) everyday articles (bells, furniture, carpets, chandeliers, and so forth) shall be subject to being entered in the state fund and transferred to the disposal of local financial agencies or to the disposal of agencies of the RSFSR Ministry of Culture if they were registered with the latter;

(e) so-called transient property, money, and also frankincense, candles, oil, wine, wax, wood, and coal having particular special significance for fulfilling the conditions of a contract or for the performance of religious rites of the cult, shall not be subject to withdrawal if the religious society retains its existence after the prayer building is closed.

41. Prayer buildings subject to closure which are not under state protection as monuments of culture may be used and reequipped for other purposes or demolished only by decision of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers upon the recommendation of the autonomous republic council of ministers or executive committee of the territory, regional, or city (or cities of Moscow or Leningrad) soviet of working people's deputies.

42. Repealed.

43. Religious associations may be removed from registration if they violated legislation on cults.

Religious associations shall be removed from registration by decision of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers upon the recommendation of the autonomous republic council of ministers or executive committee of the territory, regional, or city (or cities of Moscow or Leningrad) soviet of working people's deputies.

44. If a religious association fails to observe a contract for the use of the prayer building or cult property, this contract may be dissolved by decision of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers upon the recommendation of the autonomous republic council of ministers or the executive committee of the territory, regional, or city (or cities of Moscow or Leningrad) soviet of working people's deputies.

45. The construction of new prayer buildings with the efforts and assets of the believers shall be permitted in individual instances at the request of religious societies with the authorization of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers upon the recommendation of the autonomous republic council of ministers or the executive committee of the territory, regional, or city (or cities of Moscow or Leningrad) soviet of working people's deputies.

46. If a prayer building, by virtue of dilapidation, threatens to collapse completely or partially, the executive committee of the district, city, or rural soviet of working people's deputies shall be granted the right to propose to the executive agency of the religious association or to a representation of a group of believers that the holding of services and meetings of believers cease temporarily until the building is inspected by a special technical commission.

47. Simultaneously with the proposal to close a prayer building, the officials who have made the proposal shall notify the executive committee of the district or city soviet of working people's deputies.

If a cult building having historical, artistic, or archeological significance is subject to protection as a monument of culture, the proposal to close the prayer building shall be sent to the respective agency of the RSFSR Ministry of Culture.

48. A representative of the religious association shall be involved in the technical commission (Article 46) formed by the executive committee of the district or city soviet of working people's deputies.

49. The opinion of the technical commission set forth in its examination report shall be binding and subject to execution.

50. If the technical commission recognizes that the building is threatened with collapse, then it should be specified in the act drawn up whether the building is subject to being demolished or whether only appropriate repairs will be sufficient. In the latter instances the act shall establish precisely the necessary repair for the prayer building and the period sufficient for the repair. Until the repair is completed, religious associations shall not have the right to be admitted to the building for either prayer or any other meetings.

51. If the believers refuse to carry out the repairs specified in the examination report, the contract concluded with them for the use of the building and property of the cult shall be subject to dissolution by decision of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers upon the recommendation of local agencies of authority.

52. If the technical commission deems the building to be subject to being demolished, the contract concluded with the believers for the granting and use of this building shall be dissolved by decision of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers upon the recommendation of local agencies of authority.

53. Repealed.

54. Religious societies and members of groups of believers shall have the right to make donations and gather voluntary offerings in the prayer building among members of the particular religious association and only for purposes connected with the maintenance of the prayer building, cult property, hiring of cult priests, and support of executive agencies.

55. All cult property, both donated and acquired by voluntary donation, shall be subject to compulsory entry in the inventory of cult property.

Voluntary contributions (or donations) made with a view to beautifying the prayer building with a donated article or with a view to beautifying articles of the cult shall be entered in the inventory of all cult property in the use of the religious society free of charge.

All remaining types of voluntary donations in kind made without mentioning the above purposes, and also cash donations either for the needs of the religious society for maintenance (repairs, heating, etc.) of the prayer building or premises and for the benefit of priests of the cult shall not be subject to entry in the inventory of cult property.

Voluntary cash donations of believers shall be accounted for by the treasurer of the religious association in the daily account book.

56. The expenditure of donated amounts in accordance with the purposes relating to the management of the prayer building and cult property may be made by members of the executive agencies of the religious societies and authorized representatives of groups of believers.

57. Prayer meetings of believers united in groups or a society shall take place without informing or without the authorization of agencies of authority in buildings of the religious cult or in specially adapted premises which satisfy the construction, technical, and sanitary rules.

Prayer meetings of believers shall take place in premises not specially adapted with notification in rural localities of the executive committee of the rural soviet of working people's deputies and in urban settlements, of the executive committee of the district or city soviet of working people's deputies.

58. The performance of any religious rites and ceremonies of a cult, as well as any articles of a cult, shall not be permitted in all state, social, and cooperative institutions and enterprises.

The present prohibition shall not extend to the exercise of religious cult rites in especially isolated premises, nor to the exercise of religious rites at cemeteries or crematoriums, at the request of dying or gravely ill persons who are in hospitals or places of confinement.

59. Religious festivals, the performance of religious rites and ceremonies under an open sky, and also in apartments and houses of believers, shall be permitted with the special permission in each case of the executive committee of the district or city soviet of working people's deputies.

Petitions for the issuance of permits for religious festivals and the performance of religious rites under an open sky shall be submitted not less than two weeks before the period of the said ceremony.

The exercise of religious cult rites in apartments and houses of believers at the request of dying or gravely ill persons may take place without the authorization or notification of the executive committee of the district or city soviet of working people's deputies.

60. Special permits or notification of agencies of authority shall not be required for religious festivals which are an integral part of services performed around the cult building or in cities or rural localities on condition that such festivals do not disturb normal street traffic.

61. Religious festivals, and also the performance of religious rites and ceremonies beyond the place where the religious association is situated, may be permitted with the special authorization in each instance of the agency which concluded the contract for the use of the cultural property. Such authorization may be issued after agreement in advance with the executive committee of that local soviet of working people's deputies in whose district the performance of the festival, rite, or ceremony is proposed.

62. Religious societies, and also groups of believers, shall be registered by the executive committee of the district or city soviet of working people's deputies.

63. The autonomous republic council of ministers or executive committee of the territory, regional, or city (or cities of Moscow or Leningrad) soviet of working people's deputies shall communicate information concerning religious associations according to the established form to the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.

64. Supervision over the activity of religious associations, as well as over the preservation of the building and property of the cult transferred for their use on the basis of the contract, shall be entrusted to the registering agencies, in rural localities such supervision also being entrusted to the rural soviets.

## II

65. All religious associations actually existing on the territory of the RSFSR on the date of issuance of the present Decree shall be obliged to be registered within a year at the place where they are situated in the procedure and at the agencies specified in the present Decree.

66. Religious cult associations which have not fulfilled the requirements of the preceding Article shall be considered closed with the consequences provided for by the present Decree.

## APPENDIX 2

### THE DECREE ON "ADMINISTRATIVE LIABILITY FOR VIOLATION OF LEGISLATION ON RELIGIOUS CULTS"<sup>2</sup>

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR decrees that the following activities are violations of the legislation on religious cults:

- The refusal of leaders of religious associations to register such associations with the authorities;
- The violation of established legislation on the organization and conduct of religious meetings, processions, and other cultic ceremonies;
- The organization and conduct by ministers of the cult and members of religious associations of special meetings of children and youth, as well as of labor, literary, and other circles and groups, having no relation to the practice of the cult;
- And carry with them a fine not exceeding fifty rubles, to be levied by administrative commissions or executive committees of the district or city Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

<sup>2</sup> Originally published in *Vedomosti Verkhovnogo Soveta RSFSR*, No. 12, (1966), Edict 219.

## APPENDIX 3<sup>3</sup>

### THE RSFSR CODE ON MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

#### Article 52. The Parental Obligations in the Upbringing of Their Children.

Parents are required to bring up their children, to show concern for their physical development and education, to prepare them for socially useful labor and to raise worthy members of a Socialist society, and to defend their rights and interest. Parental rights may not contradict the children's interests. [Ved., No. 49, item 1197 (1979), Edict 4.]

#### Article 59. Deprivation of Parental Rights.

The parents or one of them may be deprived of their parental rights if it is established that they are evading the fulfillment of their obligations to bring up the child, or are misusing their parental rights, or are treating the child cruelly, or are having a harmful influence on the child by their immoral, antisocial conduct, or if the parents are chronic alcoholics or drug addicts.

The deprivation of parental rights shall only be carried out in a judicial procedure.

Cases concerning the deprivation of parental rights shall be considered on the petition of state or social organizations, or of one of the parents or the guardian (curator) of a child, or upon an action by the procurator.

Cases concerning the deprivation of parental rights shall be considered with the participation of the procurator.

Upon rendering a decision concerning a parents' deprivation of parental rights, the court shall simultaneously decide the question of the exaction of alimony from this person.

#### Article 60. Consequences of the Deprivation of Parental Rights.

Parents who are deprived of parental rights lose all rights which are based on the fact of relationship with the child, with regard to whom they were deprived of parental rights, including the right to receipt of support from their children.

The deprivation of parental rights does not release the parents from the obligation to support their children.

If a parent, who is deprived of parental rights, makes it impossible by systematic violation of the rules of Socialist society for the child to mutually reside with him, and measures of warning and social pressure turn out to be without result, then this parent may be evicted in accordance with Article 333 of the RSFSR Civil Code without an authorization for other housing.

#### Article 61. Arrangements for the Children of Persons Deprived of Parental Rights.

Upon the deprivation of parental rights of both parents, the child shall be transferred to the care of the agencies of guardianship and curatorship.

dangerous crimes against the state, or circulating for the same purpose slanderous fabrications which defame the Soviet state and social system, or circulating or preparing or keeping, for the same purpose, literature of such content, shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term of six months to seven years with or without additional exile for a term of two to five years, or by exile for a term of two to five years.

The same actions committed by a person previously convicted of especially dangerous crimes against the state or committed in war-time shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term of three to ten years, with or without additional exile for a term of two to five years.

#### Article 74. Violation of equality of rights of nationalities and races.

Propaganda or agitation for the purpose of arousing hostility or dissension of races or nationalities, or the direct or indirect restriction of rights or the establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens depending on the races or nationalities in which they belong, shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term of six months to three years, or by exile for a term of two to five years.

#### Article 122. Malicious evasion of payment for support or maintenance of children.

The malicious evasion by parents of payment, in accordance with a court decision, of the means for maintenance of minor children or of maintenance of adult children incapable of working who are dependent on them, shall be punished by deprivation of freedom, for a term not exceeding three years, or by correctional tasks for a term not exceeding one year.

#### Article 142. Violation of laws on separation of church and state and of church and school.

The violation of laws on the separation of church and state and of school and church shall be punished by correctional tasks for a term not exceeding one year or by a fine not exceeding fifty rubles.

The same acts committed by a person who has previously been convicted for a violation of laws on separation of church and state and of church and school, and also organizational activity directed to the commission of these acts, shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term not exceeding three years.

#### Article 143. Obstructing performance of religious rites.

Obstructing the performance of religious rites, insofar as they do not violate public order and are not accompanied by infringement of the rights of citizens shall be punished by correctional tasks for a term not exceeding six months or by social censure.

#### Article 151. Crimes against property of associations not constituting Socialist organizations.

Crimes against the property of associations not constituting Socialist organizations, committed with respect to property situated on the territory of the RSFSR, shall be punished in accordance with the articles of the present chapter.

#### Article 162. Engaging in a prohibited trade.

Engaging in a trade concerning which there is a special prohibition, if such act does not entail administrative liability or if it is committed after imposition of an administrative penalty for such act, shall be punished by correctional tasks for a term not exceeding one year or by a fine not exceeding two hundred rubles.

Engaging in a trade concerning which there is a special prohibition, committed on a significant scale or by using hired labor, or committed by a person previously convicted of engaging in a prohibited trade, shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term not exceeding four years with or without confiscation of property.

## APPENDIX 4

### SELECTED ARTICLES FROM THE CRIMINAL CODE OF THE RSFSR<sup>4</sup>

#### Article 28. Consequences of evasion of correctional tasks.

In the event that a person evades serving correctional tasks at the place of work, the court may replace (the sentence) by correctional tasks at places determined by agencies in charge of application of such punishment. In the event of evasion of correctional tasks in the places determined by the designated agencies, the court may replace (the sentence) by deprivation of freedom, with every three days of the unserved term of correctional tasks to be replaced by one day of deprivation of freedom.

#### Article 70. Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.

Agitation or propaganda carried on for the purpose of subverting or weakening Soviet authority or of committing particular, especially

<sup>3</sup> Published originally in *Vedomosti Verkhovnogo Soveta RSFSR*, Aug. 7, 1969, No 32.

<sup>4</sup> Articles 28, 70, 74, 122, 142, 143, 151, 162, 186, 190-1, 190-3, 206, 209, and 227 published in *Ugolovnoye Zakonodatelstvo Soyuz SSSR i Soyuznykh Respublik* (Moscow 1963), and originally in issues of *Vedomosti Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR* and *Vedomosti Verkhovnogo Soveta RSFSR* from January 1, 1961 to July 15, 1965. Decree of March 18, 1966, On the Application of Article 142, originally published in *Vedomosti Verkhovnogo Soveta RSFSR*, No. 12, 1966.

#### Article 186. Escape from place of exile.

Escape from a place of exile or en route to a place of exile shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term not exceeding one year.

#### Article 190-1. Circulation of knowingly false fabrications which defame the Soviet state and social system.

The systematic circulation in an oral form of knowingly false fabrications which defame the Soviet state and social system and, equally, preparation or circulation in written, printed, or in any other form of works of such content, shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term not exceeding three years, or by corrective tasks for a term not exceeding one year, or by a fine not exceeding one hundred rubles.

#### Article 190-3. Organization of or active participation in group actions which violate public order.

Organization of and, equally, active participation in group actions which violate public order, or which are attended by clear disobedience of the legal demands of representatives of authority or which entail the violation of the work of transport or of state and social institutions or enterprises, shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term not exceeding three years, or by corrective tasks for a term not exceeding one year, or by a fine not exceeding one hundred rubles.

#### Article 206. Hooliganism.

Hooliganism, that is, intentional actions violating public order in a coarse manner and expressing a clear disrespect toward society, shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term not exceeding one year, or by correctional tasks for the same term, or by a fine not exceeding fifty rubles, or by social censure.

Malicious hooliganism, that is, the same actions committed by a person previously convicted of hooliganism or connected with resisting a representative of authority or representative of the public fulfilling duties for protection of public order, or distinguished in their content by exceptional cynicism or impudence, shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term not exceeding five years.

Petty hooliganism committed by a person to whom measures of social or administrative pressure for petty hooliganism have been twice applied in the course of a year shall be punished by correctional tasks for a term not exceeding one year or by a fine not exceeding fifty rubles.

#### Article 209. Systematically engaging in vagrancy or in begging.

Systematically engaging in vagrancy or in begging, continued after warning given by administrative agencies, shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term not exceeding two years or by correctional tasks for a term of six months to one year.

#### Article 227. Infringement of person and rights of citizens under appearance of performing religious ceremonies.

Organizing or directing a group, the activity of which, carried on under the appearance of preaching religious beliefs and performing religious ceremonies, is connected with causing harm to citizens' health or with inducing citizens to refuse social activity or performance of civic duties, or with drawing minors into such group, shall be punished by a deprivation of freedom for a term not exceeding five years or by exile for a similar term with or without confiscation of property.

The active participation in the activity of a group specified in paragraph one of the present article, or systematic propaganda directed at the commission of acts specified therein, shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term not exceeding three years, or by exile for the same term, or by correctional tasks for a term not exceeding one year.

**Note:** If the acts of persons indicated in paragraph two of the present article, and the persons themselves, do not represent a great social danger, measures of social pressure may be applied to them.<sup>5</sup>

### DECREE ON THE APPLICATION OF ARTICLE 142 OF THE CRIMINAL CODE OF THE RSFSR

In connection with questions arising from the practical application of Article 142 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, on the basis of paragraph "C" of Article 33 of the Constitution of the RSFSR by way of clarification, ex-

plains that the following shall be understood as violations of the laws on separation of church and state and of school and church, involving criminal responsibility under Article 142 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR:

- The compulsory taking of collections and taxation for the benefit of religious organizations or ministers of the cult;
- The preparation for mass dissemination, or the mass dissemination of written appeals, letters, leaflets, and other documents calling for the nonobservance of the legislation on religious cults;
- The commission of fraudulent actions for the purpose of inciting religious superstition among the masses of the population;
- The organization and conduct of religious meetings, processions, and other cultic ceremonies which violate the social order;
- The organization and systematic conduct of religious instruction to minors in violation of established legislation;
- The refusal to employ citizens or to admit them to educational institutions, their dismissal from work or expulsion from educational institutions, their deprivation of rights and privileges established by law, as well as other essential limitations of the rights of citizens on the grounds of their religion.

## APPENDIX 5

### ANTIPARASITE LAWS

#### Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR: On Strengthening the Struggle Against Persons Who Avoid Socially Useful Work and Lead an Antisocial Parasitic Way of Life.<sup>6</sup>

Our country, under the leadership of the Communist Party, has entered the period of expanded construction of communism. Soviet people are working with enthusiasm at enterprises, construction projects, collective and state farms and institutions, performing socially useful work in the family, observing the law, and respecting the rules of Socialist community life.

However, in cities and in the countryside there are still individuals who are able to work but are stubbornly opposed to honest labor and lead an antisocial parasitic way of life. On collective farms such persons, enjoying the benefits established for collective farmers, avoid honest labor, undermine discipline, and thereby harm the artel's economy.

The parasitic existence of these persons as a rule is accompanied by drunkenness, moral degradation, and violation of the rules of Socialist community life, which have an adverse influence on other unstable members of society.

It is necessary to wage a resolute struggle against antisocial, parasitic elements until this disgraceful phenomenon is completely eradicated from our society, creating around such persons an atmosphere of intolerance and general condemnation.

Taking into account the many expressions on the part of the

<sup>5</sup> Article 227 of the Soviet Criminal Code is juxtaposed with the following crimes:

Article 224—Preparation and distribution of narcotic substances . . .

Article 225—Growing opium poppies . . .

Article 226—Maintaining dens of depravity . . .

Article 227—Encroachment on the individual and on the rights of citizens under the guise of performing religious rites . . .

Article 228—Preparation and distribution of pornographic materials . . .

Article 229—Desecration of a gravesite . . .

Article 230—Intentional destruction of cultural monuments . . . (Ibid.)

<sup>6</sup> Originally published in *Vedomosti Verkhovnogo Soveta RSFSR*, No. 11 (May 18, 1961), Decree 273, as amended in *Ibid.*, No. 38 (September 23, 1965), Decree 932.



working people that the struggle against antisocial elements be intensified, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR decrees:

1. To establish that adult able-bodied citizens who do not wish to perform a major Constitutional duty—to work honestly according to their abilities—and who avoid socially useful work, and carry on an antisocial parasitic way of life, shall be subject upon the order of an executive committee of a district (or city) Soviet of Workers' Deputies, to socially useful work at enterprises (construction sites), located in the region of their regular place of residence or in other localities within the boundaries of the given district, region or autonomous republics.

Individuals who refuse socially useful work and carry on an antisocial, parasitic way of life, and who reside in the city of Moscow, the Moscow district, or the city of Leningrad, shall be subject, upon the order of a district (or city) people's court, to exile in specially designated localities for a period of from two to five years, and to enlistment in work at the place of exile.

The decision of the executive committee of the district (or city) Soviet of Workers' Deputies on the enlistment of socially useful work or the order of the district (or city) people's court on exile shall be carried out only after an individual, who has refused socially useful work and has carried on an antisocial parasitic way of life, for the period of a month does not go to work in spite of warnings of the police authorities or social organizations.

2. The decision of an executive committee of the district (or city) Soviet of Workers' Deputies or the order of the district (or city) people's court on the application of coercive measures against a person who is avoiding socially useful work and who is leading an antisocial parasitic way of life shall be final and shall not be subject to appeal.

3. The exposure of persons avoiding socially useful work and leading an antisocial parasitic way of life, and the verification of all relevant circumstances shall be carried out at the initiative of state and social organizations and the declarations of citizen by organs of the police on the basis of materials in their possession. Upon completion of this verification, the organs of the police shall notify those persons involved of the necessity of going to work within a month. For the same purposes, organs of the police can send materials to social organizations for consideration.

If after notification these persons do not follow the path of a life of honest labor, organs of the police shall send materials about them to the executive committee of the district (or city) Soviet of Workers' Deputies, and in cases provided for in part 2 of Article 1 of this Edict, with the agreement of the Procurator, to the district (or city) people's court.

4. If during the verification and examination of materials concerning a person who is leading a parasitic way of life signs of a criminal offense are established in his actions, his case shall be sent to agencies of the Procuracy.

5. The orders of the district (or city) people's courts on the exile of persons avoiding socially useful work and leading a parasitic antisocial way of life shall be executed by organs of the police which also shall be entrusted with the responsibility for execution of decisions of the executive committees of the district (or city) Soviet of Workers' Deputies on sending such persons to work.

Administrative and social organizations of enterprises (construction sites) where these persons are sent to work are obliged to insure that they are sent to work, and are to carry on educational work with them.

If a person sent to work by decision of the executive committee of the district (or city) Soviet of Workers' Deputies, or exiled by order of the district (or city) people's court in a specially designated locale, does not go to work, or having been put to work in fact does not work, then this person, upon representation of the organs of the police or of administrative and social organizations of enterprises (construction sites), is subject to corrective tasks imposed by the district (or city) people's court for a period of up to one year with retention of 10% of his earnings. In case of evasion of corrective tasks by such persons, upon representation of the organs for the preservation of social order the court may under the procedure provided in Article 28 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR make substitution for their deprivation of freedom. The term of corrective tasks or deprivation of freedom shall not be considered a part of the term of exile.

Escape from the place of exile or en route to it shall be punished in accordance with Article 186 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

6. If a person who has been exiled proves by his exemplary conduct and honest attitude toward work that he has reformed, he may,

after expiration of not less than half of the term of exile, be released in advance upon the petition of social organizations to the district (or city) people's court at the place of exile.

7. To instruct the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR to adopt a decree on carrying out the necessary measures stemming from this Edict.

## APPENDIX 6

### ANTIRELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA

#### Unfavorable Comparisons With Communism

It must not be forgotten that the quarrel with religion currently centers on the problems of morality. . . . Therefore, it is necessary to counterpose our Communist morals to religious morals, reveal their profound opposition, and mold in the consciousness of believers a belief in the lofty moral qualities of the man of Socialist society free from religion. . . . The revelation of the full majesty and beauty of the moral ideals of communism contributes to the further expulsion of religious remnants from Soviet people's everyday life and consciousness (*Pravda Vostoka*, December 20, 1979).

Two opposed ideologies, two opposed views of life, two opposed moralities; they are as incompatible as freedom and slavery, as light and darkness. One of them brings man happiness, the other puts fetters on his heart and mind, trying to persuade him that he is only "God's slave" (*Kommunist Tadzhikistana*, March 23, 1972).

. . . Despite all the efforts by theologians to preserve religion and to keep the people's consciousness the prisoner of fancy, the laws of the development of human society doom religion to destruction. Sooner or later reason will finally triumph over ignorance (*Sovetskaya Rossiya*, March 1, 1972).

. . . A religious person cannot in principle be free in his thoughts and actions since they are nourished by a false and distorted interpretation of reality and by ideas of the dependence of everything real on the will of a nonexistent creator. . . . this dependence destroys the possibility of genuine human freedom. In itself religious faith infringes upon a person's freedom. He loses it to an even greater extent by becoming an element of the religious and ecclesiastical system—a parishioner, member of a sectarian society, and so forth. . . . our state (is not) indifferent to the church's influence on the consciousness of people. It reserves the right to protect them from the influence of anti-scientific religious ideology. . . . those whom we can wrench from the clutches of spiritual slavery to religion will be won over for vigorous activity for the good of society (*Izvestiya*, September 15, 1971).

#### Religion as "Anticommunism" and Crime

The 20th century, the century of the greatest social and scientific revolutions, has left the church without prospects or a future. Western television, radio, and press and speeches of political figures there constantly ring out the words "religion," "God," "defense of faith," and so forth. Taking cover behind religious phraseology, the ideologists of anticommunism and antisovietism, together with their "holy fathers," offer believers their own interpretation of international politics. . . . Religious camouflage is necessary for the defenders of imperialism in order to shield, with God's name, their anti-Soviet, anti-Socialist and anti-Communist aims (*Minsk Zvyazda*, January 21, 1982).

. . . Not even the most fanatically disposed religious preacher at present can ignore the achievements of science and culture and reject them completely. To strengthen faith, some preachers prompt rank-and-file adherents to violate the Soviet law on cults. For example, they call upon the faithful to forbid their children to attend school on the Sabbath and, instead, to bring them along for "communion with God," that is, to a prayer meeting. There occur instances in which some preachers incite the faithful to violate public order and add to their sermons slanderous attacks on representatives of the authorities. And when the perpetrators of such deeds are made accountable for them, their inciters impress on them that they are suffering for the sake of their faith and call upon them to "suffer lovingly," inasmuch as they supposedly "suffer for Christ" (*Kommunist Moldavii*, No. 11, November 1981).

## Deleterious Effects Upon Individuals

The atheist agitator must always remember that religion most frequently intrudes into the life of the young person through the family. A large amount of attention is devoted to work with pensioners, housewives, and adolescents. . . . Special concern is shown for families of believers. Teachers come to them and have long and convincing conversations with the parents, defending the souls of the children from the narcotics of religion (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, May 8, 1981).

. . . Religion survives not only because of traditions and customs but also because not all women participate in social production, and this in turn is associated with the underdevelopment of consumer services and the shortage of kindergartens (*Kommunist Tadzhikistana*, October 31, 1980).

A religious upbringing can have a negative influence on a child's character, primarily on his psyche, and produce such negative, adverse effects on both the child and on those around him as an unsociable disposition, taciturnity, lack of self-confidence, indecisiveness, etc. (*Nachal'naya Shkola*, May 1976).

The victory of socialism in our country . . . has considerably undermined the positions of the religious world outlook and have led to the liberation of the overwhelming majority of Soviet people from the influence of religion and the church. At the same time . . . there are still many people who believe in God, who observe religious rites and festivals, and who try to adapt religion to changed conditions. What reasons lead people to a sect and keep them there? The overwhelming majority of the members of sectarian communities are elderly, barely literate women, pensioners, and housewives. But there are among the sectarians people of working class origin and even young people. . . . The sectarian community provides a false, illusory satisfaction, (one) which is achieved by rejecting civic and public interests. Here lies the enormous spiritual harm of religious sectarianism. It deprives people of their bright dream and correct reference point in life (*Trud*, December 30, 1972).

We cannot and must not remain indifferent to the fate of the children on whom parents, fanatical believers, are in reality inflicting an act of spiritual violence. We cannot allow blind and ignorant parents to bring up their children like themselves and so deform them (*Kommunist*, No. 1, 1964, p. 30).

## Textbook, Classroom Admonitions

The church became rich through fraud and swindling, exploiting the backwardness and ignorance of the people . . . (*History of the Middle Ages*, 6th form textbook, for 13-year olds, Moscow, 1975, p. 90).

The spread of morbid bacteria in former times used to be assisted by various religious rituals, carried out by people who believed in God. . . . Having caught an infection during baptism, many children fell ill with dysentery, infectious skin diseases, colds, and inflammation of the lungs. The rite of communion was also a source of infection. . . . The ritual of kissing the cross and icons was a source for the spread of infectious disease. . . . It was only with the establishment of Soviet power in our country that the number of infectious diseases began to decrease year by year (*Botany*, 5th and 6th forms textbook for 12- and 13-year olds, Moscow, 1974, p. 205).

Religion is a fantastic, distorted reflection of the world in a man's consciousness; religion and the church poison people's consciousness, hamper their spiritual and moral development, and hinder their social participation. Even in socialist countries religion is a bulwark of ignorance . . . religion corrupts the will and consciousness of believers (*Sociology*, 10th form textbook for senior pupils, Moscow, 1969).

About two thousand years ago legends appeared saying that God had come down from Heaven to Earth and lived here in the form of a man by the name of Jesus Christ. Although these legends were false, people believed them (*History of the Ancient World*, 5th form textbook for 12-year olds, Moscow, 1972, p. 30).

## Ridicule of Religious Jewelry

. . . One sometimes still encounters an underestimation of systematic, militant atheist propaganda. "What does it matter?" some people argue, "for this Communist is himself an unbeliever and a convinced atheist." This stance undoubtedly plays into the hands of churchmen. As does the fashion of wearing little crosses around the neck and collecting icons in your apartment—a fashion to which we sometimes

simply close our eyes. Yet these are not simply decorations albeit of most precious metal. They are symbols of a world outlook that is alien to us (*Pravda*, October 21, 1981).

Somehow, it's hard to imagine an atheist with a cross around his neck. But, fashion is fashion. For many young people, wearing a cross is linked with bravado, with a desire to stand out, to be different, to get attention, as if to say: "Look, aren't I something! . . ." The craze for religious paraphernalia attests to a rather confused world view in the heads of some people, to a lack of taste—or, more precisely, to philistine tastes—and to what is now customarily referred to by the stylish word "kitsch" (*Izvestiya*, October 9, 1981).

. . . Is it not immoral when . . . a young man or woman adorns his or her chest with a gold crucifix or other cross, the meaning of which is to stand as a symbol of the Christian faith? The crosses are not bought at the jeweler's; they are made at home by handicraftsmen: As always, demand generates supply. And the blame for all this is the fashion which makes its precipitous flight into frivolous young heads from the covers of foreign periodicals, from movie screens, and even from the mass medium itself—the blue television screen. Millions of girls who yearn to keep up with the fashion squeal with delight when they behold the shining cross on the chest of a famous foreign singer. . . . The television workers have no conception of the difficulties entailed in instilling atheistic propaganda in the localities where religious vestiges still exist and where the cross is not only seen on the dome of the church but still has magnetic power in the hands of the priest (*Nauka i Religiya*, No. 10, 1979).

## Glorification of "Atheist Education"

The intensification of atheist education of the population remains a topical task. New Soviet ceremonies are being increasingly practiced. . . . At the same time, there are instances when Soviet legislation concerning cults is being violated. Various types of fanatics, spongers, and criminals have found refuge in some sectarian organizations. . . . Shortcomings in atheist education occur where people responsible for this sector do not go deep enough into the state of affairs, do not know either the true situation in religious organizations or the changes taking place in the tactics of churchmen (CPSU CC Politburo member Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, *Pravda Ukrainy*, June 8, 1979).

Atheist education is an essential condition of the formation of Communist consciousness. Religion is the irreconcilable antithesis of communism. It frequently interacts with other vestiges of the past and intensifies and maintains them. . . . We must not count on religious vestiges disappearing of their own accord (*Sovetskaya Kultura*, June 14, 1975).

The problems of unmasking religious morality and asserting the moral principles of those who are building communism should occupy the central place in atheist education in schools. . . . The idea of preaching love for everyone—including the exploiters of workers in slave-owning, feudal, and capitalist societies—is hypocritical (*Narodnoye Obrazovaniye*, No. 3, 1975, p. 124).

The foreign defenders of religion assert that any attack on religion is an insult to the feelings of believers and a violation of the freedom of conscience. But this is completely untrue. Not every piece of advice to a person that he change his opinion in some way or even his behavior need be insulting to him. Let us imagine the following case. You are walking along the road and meet a man who asks you how you get to some village or other. You calmly explain to him that he is going in the wrong direction and that he must go in the opposite direction and describe in detail how to get there. Surely there is nothing insulting in explanations of this sort? (*Selskaya Zhizn*, March 10, 1972).

Carry newspapers, comrade agitator, to your shop, brigade, or group; acquaint your listeners with the articles. Let the incontrovertible documents and facts about the crimes of the sectarians and priests reach the mind and heart of everyone who is misled, who still believes the clergy (*Agitator*, No. 20, 1960).

## Negative Effects of Religion

Religion is still quite an influential form of ideological opposition. Therefore, all ideological workers and means of mass information must more actively join the fight against it. This is a fight for the sake of the people (*Riga Cina*, January 19, 1982).

As is known, Communists have a negative attitude toward religion as an antiscientific ideology signifying for the masses ignorance,

obscurantism, social disorientation, and passiveness. Religion prevents believers from participating more actively, purposefully, and consciously in the building of the Communist society. For this reason, our party and its Central Committee consider atheistic education an inseparable part of Soviet people's Communist education and an important condition of their increased consciousness and activeness in the building of a new life (*Sovetskaya Kirgiziya*, December 27, 1981).

Unfortunately, some of our people harbor the illusion that religion and its traditions are harmless. Even among atheists, one still encounters people who deviate from the Leninist principals of militant atheism and underestimate the need for an active struggle against religious prejudices, on the assumption that religion will die out of its own accord. They forget that, no matter what sophisticated forms religion may take in today's conditions, the essence of religion as an antiscientific world view remains the same. Religion hampers the development of man's creative and public activity . . . (*Izvestiya*, October 9, 1981).

## Attacks on Evangelical Sects

**Jehovah's Witnesses.** We have repeatedly seen persons who have committed crimes attempting to use religious motives as justification. It is considerably more attractive to appear in the eyes of narrow-minded people to be some "fighter" for some divine ideals than to reveal one's true antisocial face. Extremely unseemly in this respect were the attempts to whitewash, for example, the unlawful actions of V.M. Zhitnikov following the recent trial in Frunze and to portray him as a "sufferer for the faith." What was this 33-year old man with the deceptively kindly face involved in? . . . The police discovered in the trunk of Zhitnikov's Moskvich 274 copies of *From Paradise Lost to Paradise Found* and zinc mats. Knowing that such zinc is used only for special printing orders and is not on sale to the general public, Zhitnikov, to vindicate himself, lied shamelessly . . . the just finding of the court found Zhitnikov guilty of criminal acts under Article 217 of the Kirgiz SSR Criminal Code, which provides for punishment under criminal law for the "knowing criminal acquisition or sale of property." . . . This literature (was) related to the Jehovah's Witnesses religious movement. Jehovahism, as it is usually called, is one of the most reactionary beliefs (*Sovetskaya Kirgiziya*, January 9, 1982).

What are these people (Jehovah's Witnesses) like in our country? . . . "Servants of Jehovah" who manage to attach themselves to treasuries of the organizations, enjoying absence of control, take for themselves contributions of believers and purchase ostensibly for "theocratic" purposes motorcycles, tape recorders, cameras, and the like. . . . Joining the organization not only does not lead believers to the solution of social problems but diverts them from the struggle of social progress through the channeling of their efforts toward illusory, false goals; Jehovah's Witnesses try to have their followers oppose the basic revolutionary forces of contemporaneity. Instead of the promised liberation "from all human woes," believers are deprived of time, money, and the right to family happiness, earthly pleasures; they are instilled with constant fear of Armageddon, Jehovah, Satan, and demons. The preachers delude the believers and practice an antihuman attitude toward people. The prophecies on the destruction of the Earth's entire population except for Jehovah's Witnesses are also antihuman. Their entire system of missionary work is permeated through and through with fear and deceit (*Sovetskaya Kirgizia*, August 19, 1979).

The Jehovah's Witness organization has not been registered in our country. This is because its leaders, influenced by centers abroad, refuse to recognize the legislation on religious cults. They distribute literature from abroad that frequently contains anti-Communist and anti-Soviet attacks, and they induce ordinary believers to break certain Soviet laws, such as the law on compulsory military service. Jehovah's Witness pastors assure us that their organization is neutral with regard to the "antagonistic East and West bloc of nations." But is this so? Their teaching reeks a mile off, as the saying goes, of an anti-Communist, anti-Soviet spirit (*Selskaya Zhizn*, August 9, 1978).

**Pentecostals.** The Donetsk Province Court has heard the case of P.A. Akhterov. He was accused of a crime covered by Article 62, Part 1 of the Ukraine Republic Criminal Code—agitation and propaganda for purposes of undermining and weakening Soviet power; the dissemination for the aforesaid purposes of slanderous fabrications that defame our state and social system; and the manufacture, possession, and distribution for the aforesaid purposes of literature of

this nature. In an attempt to escape responsibility, Akhtertov resorted to every maneuver he could think of, lying that he was being tried "for his faith!" Clearly addressing himself to the believers who were present in the courtroom, he unblinkingly declared: "I am God's representative!" But the court established with complete clarity whose representative (or more precisely, whose lackey) he really is. . . . It is appropriate to recall that our press has repeatedly exposed the criminal past of people like Akhtertov, religious people who have incited Pentecostals to violate Soviet laws. V. Tarasyuk, who served in the (Nazi) occupiers police force (during World War II) and drove his countrymen into Hitlerite slavery, subsequently operated among believers in the city of Konstantinovka, Donetsk Province. I. Shabura, who was a guard in fascist concentration camps, turned up later in the settlement of Taromskoye, Dnepropetrovsk Province. . . . Without the slightest twinge of conscience, Akhtertov acted in concert with those whose belief in God by no means prevented them from serving the foreign invaders and staining their weapons with the blood of their fellow citizens. Then he reared his son Filipp in such a way that the latter refused to perform the sacred duty of a U.S.S.R. citizen—to serve in the Army that liberated mankind from the fascist plague. . . . The court set a severe but just penalty for (Akhtertov) . . . (*Pravda Ukrainy*, January 31, 1982).

I am forwarding to you a "holy letter" which I found in my mail box. I am outraged to the depths of my soul over the activities of the religious who attempt in this way to dupe people. . . .

G.K. Gerasev, Gomel'

Recently I received through the mail a "holy letter." It is a collation of a lot of nonsense. You could not call it by any other name. The sender of this missive did not affix his name. Did the sorry writer really think that his religious trash would influence me or other people? . . .

N.A. Komarov, Borisov

These and other readers have sent similar letters to the editorial office of the newspaper *Sovetskaya Belorussiya*. They are indignant about the actions of religious preachers, who through deceit and blackmail try to influence people. . . . The content of "holy letters" is primitive and at first glance harmless. But the fact is that religious preachers engage in their composition and dissemination not as a joke. Especially if you take into account that such activities are illegal. The disseminators of such (letters) are certain believers from communities of . . . Pentecostals. They believe that the Holy Spirit can be embodied in any believer and speak through him in an unfamiliar language. . . . Such a "descent of the Holy Spirit" does great damage to the health of believers and has a pernicious effect on the psyche (*Sovetskaya Belorussiya*, September 4, 1979).

He grew up as a cheerful and inquisitive boy. He studied in school with great willingness. He took part in sports and was considered active and public spirited. He was successful in all subjects, but took a special interest in mathematics. Being a most gifted child, he was accepted by the Yerevan state university physico-mathematical school. After finishing here, he became a student of the mechanics and mathematics faculty. But the freshmen began to notice: Something was wrong with Khachik Barsegyan. He was changing literally before their eyes. He became sullen and uncommunicative and shrank into himself; he shunned his comrades and avoided social work; his progress also dropped off sharply; and then it became clear. Khachik Barsegyan was a member of the Pentecostal sect. It is not necessary to describe in detail Khachik Barsegyan's life "in Christ." It ended tragically for him. It made him ill, helpless, and morally devastated. He is now in the hospital (*Yerevan Kommunist*, February 15, 1975).

**Baptists.** . . . Vladimir Pavlovich Khaylo, born in 1932; he lived in the city of Krasnyy Luch, Voroshilovgradskaya Oblast and has 15 children . . . he systematically violated six biblical commandments and committed large scale embezzlement of state property. For this he was sentenced to 7 years imprisonment. Article 66 of the Constitution states: Citizens of the U.S.S.R. are obliged to concern themselves with the upbringing of children, to train them for socially useful work, and to raise them as worthy members of Socialist society. But how are the Khaylo spouses raising their children? Their oldest son Anatoliy, who was born in 1955, committed a terrible crime—he took part in the group rape of a minor. He received 8 years in prison for this. A second son, Mikhail, who was born in 1960, brutally beat up a

student . . . and was also subject to criminal proceedings. A third boy, Aleksandr, who gave up his studies in the fifth class, is stealing and is behaving like a hooligan, is traveling along the same path. The head of the family and his wife were concerned only with how better to use the children for recopying and spreading the antisocial concoctions in the underground editions of *Khristianin* (the publishing house of the Council of Evangelical Christian Baptist Churches) (*Sovetskaya Kirgiziya*, February 7, 1982).

I have seen the children of Baptist "dissenters." These are children infected with extreme religious fanaticism, who have already built up an invisible wall separating them from the rest of the world. "Whoever loves Christ must hate the world." This is impressed upon them from childhood. The children are not aware of what is being done, and the adults take advantage of this and deliberately rob them spiritually. For this alone the dealers in religion deserve the harshest of punishment. They strive for "freedom of religious upbringing of children." A nation which has taken as its unshakable principle "All the Best—For the Children," also protects them against the bad. And just as it punishes those who draw minors into drunkenness, as an example, it will not leave unpunished those who instill religious fanaticism in the children. It cannot do so (*Sovetskaya Moldaviya*, August 19, 1980).

The trial of I.S. Gorpenyuk and A.Ya. Mook took place in the club of the Kantskiy sugar plant. An investigation had established that Gorpenyuk and Mook, members of the so-called Evangelical Christian Baptist Religious Community, had started a school for believers which, under pressure from their parents as well as from the accused, was attended by children from the Kant settlement and the village of Lyuksemburg. . . . Lessons took place regularly on Sundays, organized by the accused. The guilt of the accused . . . was fully proved by the testimony of witnesses and the findings of a commission of experts. For organizing a school for believers and enticing into it and instructing minors, the Kantskiy Rayon court sentenced I.S. Gorpenyuk to 3 years imprisonment and A.Ya. Mook to 1 year of imprisonment, to be served in a general-regime corrective labor colony (*Sovetskaya Kirgiziya*, August 2, 1978).

The trial has taken place of Starkov, an electric welder at "Mysovskiy" sovkhov. . . . In his home there were found various works of an anti-Soviet nature, methods manuals and instructions on how to "turn people to God's faith," and special literature for the religious education of children. Among these works there were also compositions created by Starkov himself, which were distinguished by particularly malicious slander against all our customs and our system. Starkov has appeared before the courts on a variety of charges on several occasions since 1933. He joined the Evangelical Christian Baptists quite recently, after serving his last sentence. In court, Starkov endlessly cited the gospel. "The Lord God said: Preach throughout the world. So I preach," he dolefully expatiated. But the attempt to shift the responsibility onto God did not help. The scientific expert examination, which involved prominent specialists in the sphere of religious cults, stated quite definitely: Under the guise of preaching religious dogmas, Starkov engaged in activities representing an encroachment upon the personal rights of citizens, actively promoted the enrollment of minors into the sect, and spread deliberately false fabrications smearing the Soviet state and social system. Each of these acts is regarded by the RSFSR criminal code as a grave crime (*Sovetskaya Rossiya*, November 16, 1971).

## Attacks on Jews

The incessant moaning about the "oppression" of Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality, who are allegedly the target of anti-Semitic persecution, resounds from day to day in the camp of the Zionist faultfinders. And inasmuch as the mass information media in the West are more often than not controlled directly or in disguised form by Zionist organizations or support the Zionists by virtue of community or reactionary class interests, such calumny receives the most extensive dissemination by no means only in the milieu of Philistines of Jewish extraction (*Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Moldavskoy SSR. Seriya Obshchestvennykh Nauk*, No. 3, 1980).

As we see the reanimation of the Biblical myths, this is not at all a consequence of genuine religiousness, but this is the fruit of a cold-blooded practical calculation. The Israeli Zionist and clerical parties frequently . . . prostitute religion. . . . It is also clear that in the foundation of all these "heavenly" speculations there lie purely Earth-bound plots of the Zionist bosses, who carry out the orders of transnational monopolies, in which Zionist capital plays an important role (*Nauka i Religiya*, No. 2, February 1980).

Zionism is one of the tools of imperialist circles in their attempts to halt the progressive course of mankind. Was it not Goebbels who said, "In a gas chamber one can simultaneously poison a hundred people, but with lies one can poison millions." In the West, the manufacturing of anti-Communist lies was transformed into a branch of activity, a peculiar "industry of false consciousness." Without exaggerating, one can assert that international Zionism—whose world view and politics are of bourgeois Jewish descent—is in the forefront of the particularly inveterate opponents of communism. The anticommunism of Zionists can be called anticommunism in a nutshell. It is caused by the class imperialist nature of Zionism and is strengthened by the aspiration of the oligarchy of Jewish descent to take over the ruling positions of contemporary capitalism and to gain the support of any reactionary force whatsoever. . . . Zionist propaganda is usually diverse in its methods and tricks. Here one finds racism, pornography, sex, solacious horrors, the cult of power, spreading of the "materialist disease," philistinism, and much more. The main goal of this propaganda is to increase participation in the psychological war of world imperialist reaction against the U.S.S.R. (Kiev, *Kultura i Zhyttya*, September 7, 1978).

Modern Zionism—this is a complicated and multi-layered system of amalgamations and organizations, which functions well in many countries. . . . The main strategic goal of Zionism: the destruction of the system of socialism and the establishment of mastery over the world. . . . If one compares the Torah . . . with the statements of Zionists, then the clear plagiarisms of ideas becomes obvious. It is precisely by references to the dogmas of Judaism that Zionists strengthen their hegemonic aspirations and their claims to mastery of the world. In the Bible, as it is known, there are repeated promises that, according to the will of the Lord, all the peoples will become slaves of the "chosen" people. In it also there is a detailed working out of the barbarous dual morality, which defines "the relations of a Jew to his coreligionist on the one hand and to a 'Goy' on the other hand." . . . Such mad Old Testament teachings are directly or indirectly placed into the foundation of the official policy of Israel . . . the dogma of "God-chosenness" has turned in practice into unrestrained and arrogant racism and rabid fascism and sadistic malice . . . (Moscow, "Zionism Without a Mask," V. Emelianov, from *Nash Sovremennik*, No. 8, August 1978).

The changes of Judaism and also the character of those changes refute the rabbinical fabrications concerning the exclusive nature of the Judaic religion. Throughout its long history Judaism has passed through a great many stages which reflected the radical changes in the conditions of Jewish life in various socioeconomic situations and in various countries. In the antagonistic, the Jewish religion, as other religious faiths, always supported the interests of the ruling classes and defeated private property and exploitation. Contemporary Judaism in the capitalist countries plays the same social role. The reactionary character of the class contents of Judaism in our days has been intensified because the rabbinical ruling clique in the West has put religion into the services of Zionism, one of the most militant and jingoistic expressions of bourgeois nationalism. Judaism in our country represents a phenomenon that, just as other religions, is a vestige of the past and an antiscientific, reactionary ideology. The main task of atheistic propaganda and education is to overcome any influence of religion, including the Judaic faith, in conditions of socialism (*Nauchny Ateizm*, No. 1, 1978).

## Attacks on Moslems

The propagandizing of the Islamic religion by lying religious believers and pseudo-mullahs in the (Ashkhabad) rayon is going on more than ever. Khudayberdi Omakov, born in the village of Chashgyn in the rayon and now living at Ashkhabad Street 2 in the rayon center, is put forth as a great mullah. But, who is this man? When Kh. Omakov was working as a cashier at the "Road of Socialism" kolkhoz in Bayramaly rayon he was imprisoned for theft. He was released in 1954. Until 1959 he did not work anywhere. Then he worked as a bookkeeper at the Kemine Oblast Drama Theater in Mary. Later, he left his tracks in a number of administrations. Because he drank vodka excessively, he was fired wherever he went. Now he receives a pension of 120 rubles a month. Finding this too little, he set out to be a mullah. Such false mullahs are continuing to pull the wool over the eyes of the population with their rascality (*Sovet Turkmenistany*, May 27, 1981).

Worship of holy places is one of the widespread manifestations of religiosity among Moslems today . . . in Azerbaïdhan, for example, there are still several dozen "holy" graves, rocks, and trees. . . . Apart

from visiting the sacred sites on holy days or in times of personal misfortune, many of the pilgrims are not otherwise active Moslems and do not know the dogmas. The vast majority of pilgrims are women. . . . Traditionally, and to this day, the women in our regions have largely satisfied their religious needs in this way. And since women bring their children with them, the youngsters are exposed early on to the primitive legends surrounding the shrines—legends that their young minds find fascinating. Hence such pilgrimages remain a primary means of perpetuation of religiosity in succeeding generations. The pilgrims' ignorance and naivete provide a field day for all manners of charlatans. The fact is that until recently many of the shrines in Azerbaidzhan were abandoned graveyards that are now getting passed off as the abodes of holy men's souls. In flagrant violation of Soviet law, these charlatans erect unauthorized chapels adjoining the sites and organize religious services. . . . All these sites need to be kept under constant surveillance because . . . they become centers for the dissemination of superstition (*Nauka i Religiya*, No. 5, 1980).

Even now (in Uzbekistan) one encounters religious wedding ceremonies among the population, baptisms, circumcision, and religious funeral services. Holy places are still venerated and tabibs and mullahs are still consulted for the treatment of diseases and ailments . . . researchers, propagandists, and atheists should direct their efforts toward the profound study of the essence and character of the most tenacious elements of Islam and pre-Islamic beliefs and . . . toward discovering ways of overcoming (them) (*Pravda Vostoka*, December 20, 1979).

Home worship . . . inevitably leads believers to violate the rules of

Soviet society by promoting the spread of the wildest rituals. . . . Home worship services are organized for all sorts of occasions; to celebrate a housewarming, a wedding, or the recuperation of a sick person, to mark a death; after draftees leave for military service and again when they come home. . . . Home mosques . . . provide the special milieu that supports and gives moral sanction to social customs, surviving from patriarchal times, that are incompatible with the norms of our (Soviet) social life. These customs include blood feuds, the abduction of brides, the practice of marrying off underage girls, and bigamy. The prevalence of this form of religiosity . . . makes atheistic upbringing very difficult (*Nauka i Religiya*, No. 10, October 1979).

In former times, you heard in Islam the militant messages of the exclusiveness of Moslems and the sharp opposition of peoples professing Islam to those professing other religions. In our time, such themes can no longer be heard so obviously. Nevertheless, they are still to be found in sermons as, for example, in one dedicated to the adoption of Islam by the Tartars. Sometimes these notes begin to have a rather shrill sound, disclosing once again the haughty, contemptuous attitude of Islam to those of other faiths. The exhortations and slogans stemming from the dogmatic basis of Islam are in direct opposition to the summons for greater activity in the building of communism. Take for example the teaching on the role of supernatural power in history. The dogma on divine predetermination hinders believers from realizing the value of human activity. . . . The evolution of Moslem preaching. . . confirms the antiscientific nature of religion, which is based on a false understanding of the world (*Nauka i Religiya*, No. 12, 1978).

# **== Soviet Propaganda Alert ==**

No. 6

April 26, 1982

## Summary

In March and April, Soviet external propaganda has stressed:

- o Chemical and Biological Warfare. Soviets continued to deny vehemently that they have any involvement whatever in chemical/biological warfare (CBW). Attacks on the U.S. for alleged past and present use of CBW in many parts of the world--including Vietnam, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Cuba, and even the USSR--have increased in frequency. As more evidence emerges of Soviet use or support of CBW, the more strident have become Soviet assaults on the U.S.
- o Arms Control and Peace Movements. The Brezhnev moratorium proposal of March 17 has formed the centerpiece of Soviet propaganda. Peace movements in Europe and the U.S. have been emphasized and played as if they completely support Soviet positions. President Reagan's March 31st press conference and Secretary of State Haig's Georgetown speech of April 6 have been cited as duplicitous justifications for U.S. attempts to gain military superiority and for the first use of nuclear weapons.
- o Falklands and Latin America. Soviets claim that the U.S. plans to exploit the Argentine seizure of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands in order to establish military bases in the South Atlantic. Other charges include alleged American subversion of Nicaragua and Cuba, collusion in the Guatemalan coup, and support of "bloody, repressive" regimes in Honduras and El Salvador.
- o Espionage, Plots, and Warmongering. In several other parts of the world the CIA stands accused of spying (Greece) and plotting coups (Iran, Zimbabwe), while American militarists purportedly are bringing Korea and Japan ever closer to war.

## CHEMICAL-BIOLOGICAL WARFARE

The two main foci of Soviet propoganda in March and April have been chemical/biological warfare (CBW) and nuclear arms talks.

The primary purpose in the first theme remains to defend the USSR from charges that it is guilty of using chemical weapons in Afghanistan and of supporting chemical warfare in Southeast Asia. The more persuasive the American case against the Soviet Union has become, the more vituperative and hysterical has been the Soviet assault against the U.S. on this issue.

### "A Lie Remains a Lie"

In the face of growing evidence demonstrating Soviet supplying of "Yellow Rain" in Southeast Asia and use of mycotoxins in Afghanistan, the only Soviet response has been a blanket denial of any wrongdoing. TASS (March 22) gave the typical line:

The fables about "Yellow Rains" in Asia and about "mycotoxins" of, allegedly, Soviet make--the fables meant for American philistines--are nothing but dirty lies which cannot cast a slur on the honest and consistent line of the Soviet Union, which, distinct from the United States, was among the first to join the 1925 Geneva protocol banning the use of chemical weapons. . . . [The USSR] never used warfare toxic agents anywhere.

Summoning up his indignation, TASS political observer Iuri Kornilov proclaimed: "As to all sorts of inventions of the CIA around which Washington launches another propoganda hullaballoo, it can be said that a lie remains a lie no matter how many times it is repeated."

### Attempted Refutation of U.S. Charges

TASS analyst Askold Biriukov (April 6) added to his denials the following:

The groundlessness of the claims made by the leading figures of the U.S. administration is obvious. International experts on chemical weapons and skilled medical personnel from different international organizations have more than once debunked the allegations about Soviet chemical weapons cooked up in the Washington kitchen of psychological warfare.

According to Biriukov, a team of U.N. experts had visited Pakistan and reported on their findings.

The experts investigated the claims of Western, primarily American, propoganda about the "use" of these weapons in

(over)

Afghanistan and unanimously concluded that they were not corroborated by facts. Some time earlier the same conclusion had been made by U.N. experts who had investigated the false assertions about "the use of chemical weapons of Soviet make" in Kampuchea.

The fact that no final report has been issued by the U.N. team that visited Pakistan has not deterred Soviet media from claiming exoneration by these outside observers.

### Pointing the Finger

Soviet propagandists have felt that the best defense against U.S. accusations on chemical warfare is to go over to the offense. Soviet media are full of charges against the U.S. for its alleged use of chemical or biological warfare in nearly every corner of the world.

In particular, Soviets blast the American involvement in Vietnam. "There are numerous facts and even the Secretary of Health and Human Services, Richard Schweiker, had to admit that over 45 million quarts of various chemical substances were aerosol-sprayed over Vietnamese territory" (Radio Moscow, April 6).

In nearly every attack, Soviets cite statistics. For example, Radio Moscow observer Igor Aleksandrov recounted (April 6):

According to conservative estimates, the United States armed forces used over 100,000 tons of chemical substances. American bombers sprayed the defoliant Agent Orange known for its high toxicity. As a matter of fact, over 2 million Vietnamese civilians suffered. Tens of thousands of GIs also became the victims. Considerable damage was inflicted on the economy. Seventy percent of the coconut groves in South Vietnam were wiped out, together with 375,000 acres of tropical plants.

A Krasnaia zvezda publicist, A. Leontiev, was even more detailed in an item entitled "Poisoners' Orgy" (March 24).

In Vietnam alone American aircraft sprayed over 100,000 tons of toxins, as a result of which 43 percent of cultivable land and 44 percent of the forests suffered and 70 percent of coconut groves and 150,000 hectares of topical vegetation were destroyed.

But his clincher was a claim rarely repeated even in Soviet media: "Tens of thousands of Vietnamese died and the health of almost 2 million was ruined" (emphasis added). Only TASS back in February and, surprisingly, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko on his trip to Yugoslavia in early April have made similar claims about massive loss of life in Vietnam due to American chemical weapons.

Beyond Vietnam, claim Soviet propagandists, targets of American CBW over the years include Cuba, Afghanistan, Korea, Namibia, and



the USSR itself. Krasnaia zvezda's Leontiev, in his March 24 diatribe, wrote that "American intelligence agent R. Albertson, who took part in the intervention in the north of Soviet Russia in 1919, admitted [in a book]: 'We used chemical munitions against the Bolsheviks.'" Leontiev further stated that "in the early fifties the United States used chemical weapons in Korea" and that "American toxins are killing women and children in Namibia . . . ."

A recent lengthy piece in Literaturnaia gazeta (March 24) by Iona Andronov, a follow-up to his article on the same subject in Literaturnaia gazeta No. 5 for 1982, described in great detail purported U.S. biological warfare activities. Andronov accused the U.S. of searching the world for exotic poisons to use on various peoples and individuals. Among these poisonous substances were the gall bladder of a crocodile from Tanganyika (1962); "Chondo-dendron Toxicoferum" from the Amazon jungle, curare, and Venezuelan encephomyelitis (all 1966); and "oyster toxin" from Alaska. This does not even include the "killer mosquitoes" supposedly used by the U.S. in Pakistan and Afghanistan in the 1980s (the focus of Andronov's article) and the many plagues allegedly visited upon Cuba.

At Fort Detrick, Maryland, the CIA and U.S. Army have, according to Andronov, invented and stored 37 types of bacteriological weapons. On occasion these toxins are employed, as when "the Fort Detrick poisoners killed dozens of prisoner guinea pigs" during the Korean War. And in February 1982, stated Andronov, Salvadoran rebels were subjected to aircraft bombings with American "hemorrhagic conjunctivitis powder."

Still to come, in the view of Soviet propagandists, is use of American chemical weapons in Europe. Thus, Izvestiia (March 28) carries four separate articles by correspondents in Bonn, Rome, London, and Washington--all in a full-page feature entitled "The Pentagon's Gas Chambers"--which imply or declare that there exist "U.S. plans to use chemical weapons in Europe."

The most provocative charges along these lines came in a story by Aleksandr Liutii for TASS English (April 6). He claimed that a high Pentagon official "confirmed" that the U.S. has "launched active preparations for chemical and germ warfare" and that

the U.S. administration could not and was not going to rely on arms control, including that in the field of chemical weapons, and emphasized that the United States should constantly threaten the Soviet Union in that field, regarding chemical war as an integral part of any conflict.

According to Liutii, this Pentagon official stated that 14 percent of the Pentagon's "chemical budget"--\$705 million for the next fiscal year--will go for production of 155mm artillery binary shells, which

the U.S. military plans to site in the territories of its allies in Western Europe, "thus turning the continent's nations into [U.S.] chemical hostages."

The obvious intent of all these charges, besides diverting attention away from Soviet use of chemical weapons, is to sway world public opinion against the United States and to drive wedges between the U.S. and its European partners.

See the next alert--on Soviet disinformation--for more on CBW.

#### ARMS CONTROL & THE PEACE MOVEMENTS

The other most important theme of Soviet propoganda in this period has involved U.S.-Soviet negotiations on controlling nuclear arms, especially in Europe, and the peace movements in America and Europe.

##### The Brezhnev Moratorium

Dominating Soviet discussions of this issue has been President Brezhnev's speech at the 17th Congress of USSR Trade Unions announcing a unilateral Soviet moratorium on the deployment of medium-range SS-20 nuclear missiles in the European USSR. In return for this "freeze," Brezhnev called on the U.S. and NATO to forego deployment of new Pershing II and cruise missiles in West Europe.

Brezhnev's freeze offer was apparently a direct response to President Reagan's zero option plan put forth November 18, 1981 and rejected out of hand by the Soviets. Saying that the "Soviet leadership has once again shown an example of goodwill" (Radio Moscow, March 16), Soviet propogandists have trumpeted this "new initiative" as the best starting point for arms control talks on intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) in Europe. Soviet commentators have carefully avoided noting that the USSR continues to deploy SS-20s to the east of the Urals, whence they can easily reach targets in West Europe.

Spokesmen like Georgii Arbatov of the USA Institute (Manchester Guardian, March 22) have also taken pains to deny that Brezhnev threatened to place nuclear weapons in Cuba when he said in his speech that, if the U.S. and NATO governments went ahead with deployment of their new European missiles, the USSR would be compelled to take measures in reply which would put the other side, including the U.S. and its territory, in an analogous position.

Much attention in Soviet propoganda has been devoted to the negative American reaction to Brezhnev's proposals. "Washington fears the principle of equality and like security because it stands in the way of its arms drive," was the way commentator Igor Dmitriev put it on Radio Moscow's World Service in English

Soviet propagandists have tried to use the freeze proposal to bring pressure on the U.S. to begin strategic arms talks. Thus, Vladimir Bogachev has written (TASS English, March 18):

Reagan's statement that the production of nuclear arms should not simply be frozen, that the already existing huge levels should be lowered can evoke only perplexity. For it was Washington that rejected the SALT II treaty providing for a substantial reduction of strategic arms. It is the present U.S. administration that under various pretexts and referring to the need of "finalizing the position" of the United States is delaying the resumption of Soviet-American talks on the limitation or reduction of strategic arms. . . .

In Soviet eyes, the aim to obtain leverage may be working. "It should be noted," according to Bogachev, "that on encountering the sharp opposition of the world public opinion, Washington was forced to moderate its tone and make its assessments of the new Soviet initiatives less categorical." Virtually every Soviet commentary on arms control questions finds it necessary to refer to the antiwar and antinuclear movements in Europe and the U.S. as evidence of support for their own positions.

#### The Peace Movements and Western "Freeze" Initiatives

In fact, Moscow has tried to make much capital out of peace movements in both Europe and America. Most of its propaganda on arms control is addressed directly to those engaged in the movements.

Thus, wrote Vasilii Kharkov (TASS English, April 9):

In Britain, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and other West European countries, mass manifestations against the Pentagon's nuclear madness, for talks, and not confrontation, with the Soviet Union, are characterized by a variety of forms used, the mass scale and coordination of action by different antiwar and pacifist organizations.

That many participants in the marches direct their negative sentiments toward Soviet arms as well is, of course, passed over in silence by Soviet analysts. They prefer to see all the demonstrations as a show of the "determination of the West European peoples to avoid being used as the Pentagon's nuclear hostages."

Particularly noteworthy is the fact that the Soviet chief of staff, Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov, has recently called for a crack-down on pacifism within the Soviet Union. In his booklet entitled Always Ready to Defend the Fatherland, published in late February, Marshal Ogarkov criticized some of the younger generation of Soviets for a "false sense of peace, complacency and pacifism" and urged Party propagandists to "struggle against such elements."

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A source of some surprise and pleasure for Soviet propagandists is the fact that the "current antiwar movement in the USA has a broader basis than in the years of the war in Vietnam," involving "not only the youth but also the 'average American,' moderate sections of the population, church circles, organizations of physicians, lawyers, businessmen, and finds support in political circles and the U.S. Congress" (Ivan Ablamov, TASS English, April 12).

Of particular interest to Soviet commentators has been the freeze proposal advanced by Senators Kennedy and Hatfield. Although this proposal has both "good and bad qualities," in the words of radio commentator Oleg Anichkin (Moscow Domestic, April 9), it is a good indication of the growing resistance to the arms race in the U.S. What no Soviet propagandist will do, however, is endorse such mutual freeze proposals, because that would also mean an end to Moscow's massive arms buildup.

"The war opponents in the West," claimed TASS's Ablamov, "clearly see that, while the Soviet Union advances numerous constructive initiatives, Washington rejects them outright without even getting around to studying them attentively."

#### "Strange Speech" on The Military Balance

Soviet propagandists were quick to pick up on President Reagan's March 31st news conference statement that the USSR had a margin of superiority in nuclear weapons. Valentin Zorin, a prominent television and radio analyst, called this "fresh proof that some really high-ranking United States officials don't feel bound to stick to the truth when they address their fellow countrymen." He accused Reagan of making this statement "obviously to try and keep in check the mounting public demand in his own country for freezing the existing levels of nuclear arms . . . ." (Moscow Radio English, April 10).

Vladimir Bogachev (TASS English, April 9) claimed that "[in] the past, when making similar statements, the President himself and members of his administration got away with it. This time, however, Ronald Reagan's statement has given rise to a stormy reaction in the country." According to Zorin and Bogachev, Senators Moynihan and Jackson have categorically rejected the President's charge, and even earlier statements by Alexander Haig and Caspar Weinberger refute Reagan.

"The President's closest staff members tried to come to Reagan's aid," averred Bogachev, "hinting that the President in his strange speech meant only individual types of Soviet armaments." But the American public will not be fooled, in the view of this Soviet: "broad masses of people in the United States [take the statement] as evidence of the administration's refusal to heed the Soviet Union's new peace proposals and as the administration's refusal to conduct constructive negotiations on limiting and reducing nuclear arms."

Haig "Falsifications" and the Foreign Affairs Article

Secretary of State Alexander Haig's speech on arms control at the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies on April 6 evoked strong response from Soviet propagandists. Haig "resorted to the open falsification of commonly known facts to cover up the aggressive character" of U.S. policy, wrote TASS analyst Igor Orlov (April 7). This speech, in Orlov's report, reaffirmed a U.S. program of nuclear arms buildup "which in fact relies on the admissibility of nuclear war and includes the possibility of delivering the first nuclear strike."

According to Soviet commentators, the Haig speech was an attempt to deal a "pre-emptive strike" to a forthcoming article in the journal Foreign Affairs by four former top U.S. officials (George Kennan, McGeorge Bundy, Robert MacNamara, and Gerard Smith). This article argues for, among other things, U.S. renunciation of first use of nuclear weapons.

INF Talks at Geneva and MBFR at Vienna

Not surprisingly, Soviet propaganda has claimed all justice for the Soviet side's positions at Geneva and none for the U.S. stance. Thus, P. Viktorov wrote in Pravda (March 12):

Comparing the Soviet plan for nuclear disarmament in Europe with President R. Reagan's so-called "zero option," international commentators note that the USSR has displayed a desire to make the Geneva talks purposive and constructive and has taken a major step in the direction of solving one of today's most acute problems.

The U.S. approach, however, presupposes talks which would lead to a limitation of the other side's arms without affecting its own armaments. Washington wants only those armaments whose limitation or liquidation would benefit the United States and NATO to come under scrutiny.

At Vienna, the socialist countries have tabled "an important initiative," according to TASS (April 9), but the West has avoided discussion of this document. The reason: NATO and "above all the United States" want to push on with the arms race and establish "military superiority over the USSR and its allies."

It is precisely this course which is stalling the Geneva talks on nuclear arms limitation in Europe. It is precisely this course which is raising obstructions on the way to agreement in Vienna. . . . This course is shortsighted and unwise . . . irresponsibility and fanning the nuclear and conventional arms race could end in tragedy.

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## U.S. "Madness"

The root cause for all problems in the arms control process are to be found in Washington's policies, according to Soviet commentators. These charges against the U.S. have become increasingly bitter in recent weeks. Typical of the Soviet attacks is an article in the journal Selskaia zhizn (March 13) entitled "Madness as a Policy." In this piece Nikolai Pastukhov wrote: "Real awareness of the terrible danger which is hanging over the planet through the fault of Washington's insane policy is giving rise to a growing protest movement among the broadest circles of the international public against the militarist forces' criminal course."

Pastukhov summed up the current situation as follows: "The threat to peace and universal security emanates from the present American administration, that champion of the U.S. military-industrial complex interests, which has elevated madness to the rank of its official policy."

## FALKLANDS CRISIS AND LATIN AMERICA

While for most of this period Soviet propaganda has concentrated on charges of U.S. plots against Nicaragua, Cuba, and other Latin American nations, the Argentine seizure of the Falkland Islands has provided it with a major new theme.

### The U.S. Desires a Foothold in the Falklands

At first rather neutral on U.S. involvement in the crisis, more recent commentary from the USSR now includes charges that the U.S. is "trying to exploit the dispute" for its own aims (Krasnaia zvezda, April 2). The U.S. goal, according to Radio Moscow (in Spanish, April 14), is to establish military bases on the Falklands and to control the South Atlantic (TASS, April 13).

Soviet propaganda has also begun to claim a definite pro-British slant to U.S. activity in the crisis (e.g., A. Maslennikov, Pravda, April 12). The USSR, meanwhile, has shown a tendency to support the Argentines in the dispute, largely by criticizing British "threats" smacking of colonialism (TASS English, April 9). Soviets' attempt at "evenhandedness" in the dispute is shown by their use of both the Argentine (Malvinas) and the British (Falklands) names for the islands in most stories.

### Reagan's Caribbean Initiative

Overshadowed in April by the new crisis, President Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) still continued to draw fire from Soviet propagandists. TASS English (April 9) charged:

The "economic program" which is being imposed on the Caribbean countries is nothing more than a cover-up for Washington's aggressive aspirations and sinister designs against the pro-

gressive countries of the region, such as Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada. It is also designed to assure the exploitation of manpower and natural resources of the region by American monopolies.

And just what are these "aggressive aspirations and sinister designs"? In order to solidify "its military and economic positions" in the region, the U.S. will pour huge amounts of money into the "bloody Salvadoran junta" and the "anti-people dictatorships of Honduras and Haiti." These funds, according to TASS English (April 11), "will be used for armed suppression of democratic forces inside these countries and for staging from their territories subversive operations against Nicaragua, Grenada, and other sovereign states."

#### "Gunboat Diplomacy" and Other "Desperate Attempts"

Apropos of NATO naval maneuvers in the Gulf of Mexico in March, Komsomolskaia pravda correspondent R. Gabdullin wrote that "in an attempt to trample on centers of the revolutionary movement in Latin America, Washington is again pursuing a 'gunboat diplomacy' which runs contrary to common sense" (March 16).

Repeating a charge leveled by Guatemalan revolutionaries, TASS English (March 26) stated: "The military coup in Guatemala is a desperate attempt of the Washington administration and the reactionary Guatemalan military to save the repressive pro-imperialist regime against which the whole people is waging struggle."

The U.S., in the Soviet view, is most anxious to sustain the current "repressive" regimes in Guatemala and Honduras in order to have bases for launching subversion against revolutionary Nicaragua. TASS correspondent Sergei Gorbunov has written (April 1) of U.S. plans to reconstruct air bases in Honduras to handle American combat planes, "thus preparing conditions for armed intervention against revolutionary Nicaragua."

TASS commentator Ruslan Kniazev alleged on March 26 that

behind the smokescreen of a vociferous slander campaign about the Nicaraguans' 'intervention' in the Salvadoran conflict . . . the United States is steadily building up its military muscle in Central America and the Caribbean and escalating preparations for extensive subversive activities against revolutionary Nicaragua.

The other main target of the U.S. in Latin America, say Soviet analysts, is Cuba. When a group of U.S.-based Cuban exiles called Alfa-66 was recently tried in Cuba, Literaturnaia gazeta correspondent Vladimir Vesenskii wrote at length about Washington's alleged "interest in Alfa," foreknowledge of Alfa-66's attempt to assassinate

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ate members of the Cuban government, and, thus, collusion in international terrorism. Vesenskii concluded that Washington intended to "use gangs of this kind as the first echelon, as cover for the agents of the CIA and other American special services, who are allotted the main role in preparing assassinations and major acts of sabotage, such as a biological attack, for instance . . . ."

The elections in El Salvador in March also provided grist for Soviet propaganda mills. These were a "foul election farce," cried Novoe vremia (April 2), "staged by the Salvadoran ruling junta to a script prepared in the White House." The U.S. allegedly had much riding on the Salvadoran elections:

It was hoped in Washington that the very fact of elections held will help improve the reputation of this blood-stained regime which has made murder an instrument of political struggle. It was also hoped that elections will help end the growing international isolation of the Salvadoran regime and become an argument to persuade American congressmen . . . that there is nothing reprehensible in this support because it is support to a "duly elected government."

#### OTHER REGIONS, OTHER COUNTRIES

No Soviet catalog of American perfidy in the world could be complete without some mention of such additional areas as the Far East, Mideast, Africa, and Europe. In this period, Soviet accusations of U.S. interference, pressure, and other malefactions centered on Korea, Greece, Iran, and Zimbabwe.

#### "Aggressive Intrigues" in South Korea

Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger's trip through the Far East in March and April occasioned several Soviet attacks on U.S. policy in the Pacific region. A North Korean foreign ministry statement picked up by TASS English (April 7) "firmly condemns U.S. aggressive intrigues in South Korea as a brazen challenge to the peace-loving Korean people and as actions aimed at undermining peace in Asia and throughout the world."

Describing U.S.-Korean plans for continued mutual assistance and military aid, TASS English charged: "Thereby Washington fully revealed its plans of perpetuating American military-political control" of Korea and of using that nation as a "springboard of the United States to blackmail and pressure the independent states of the Far East and Southeast Asia" (March 30).

The United States was also condemned more generally for its "secret deals" with the People's Republic of China--threatening the USSR, Afghanistan, and world peace; its past "genocide" against the Vietnamese; and its pressure on Japan to increase its military activities and spending.



### CIA Espionage in Greece

A strike of teachers employed at the U.S. cultural center in Athens led to discovery of some U.S. documents allegedly revealing the center as a hotbed of espionage. Documents of the International Communication Agency, "under whose cover CIA officials actively operate," showed that "the main purpose of the American 'Cultural Center' in Athens is 'penetration of military, parliamentary, diplomatic and administrative circles' of Greece." (TASS English, April 1).

The lesson to be learned in all this, according to Soviet commentators, is that "U.S. intelligence services might push the forces of the right into stepping up their activities, as happened in the past when the black colonels came to power in Greece with the assistance of the United States in April 1967."

### U.S. Policy Against Zimbabwe

Conspirators planning to overthrow the government of the republic of Zimbabwe who were arrested by state security organs have been shown to be "closely linked with Western special services, specifically of the United States and Britain"--this according to TASS English (March 27).

In addition, charged TASS commentator Sergei Kulik, "the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund and transnational companies are especially active in carrying out anti-Zimbabwe measures" (April 7). In sum, said Kulik, "Zimbabwe has been added to the list of independent African countries against which the Reagan administration is pursuing a policy of an 'undeclared war'."

Conjoined with these charges concerning Zimbabwe have been other Soviet accusations of U.S. plots against Chad, U.S. backing for "new aggression planned by the racist Republic of South Africa against People's Angola," and a CIA coup plan in Ghana.

### U.S. Plots in Iran

Iranian security forces have, according to Soviet reports, discovered an antiregime plot backed by the CIA. The plotters planned to "stir up unrest among various strata of Iranian society, kidnap state figures, plant bombs, and so forth."

Radio Moscow (Persian, March 23) commented on these events thus:

In September last year Alexander Haig explicitly said that everything will be done to return Iran to the ranks of Western society. Washington is substantiating these shameless remarks by the U.S. Secretary of State with its dirty and rude actions. The new plot of the counterrevolutionaries discovered in Iran, and which was directed by U.S. spy masters, is further confirmation of this.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

June 14, 1982

TO: TONY DOLAN  
MORT ALLIN

FROM: KENNETH deGRAFFENREID *Ken*

The President's speech was great, but for what it is worth I pass on a letter from a fellow who believes that language equals politics equals language.

Attachment

**JIM GUIRARD, JR.**  
GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS CONSULTANT  

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1090 VERMONT AVENUE, N.W. SUITE 1100  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005  

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(202) 289-5816

June 8, 1982

Mr. Ken DeGraffenreid  
National Security Council Staff  
Executive Office Building  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ken:

I noticed only one serious semantic boo-boo in the President's otherwise excellent speech to the British Parliament.

Fairly late in the speech (referring, I think, to Soviet criminality in Afghanistan) he used the term Soviet "adventure" or "adventurism". He should have called it "Soviet imperialism" or "Soviet colonialism" -- which are the phrases which make the political blood boil throughout the third world.

The label adventure should be relegated to conversations and writings on the exploits of such people as Marco Polo, Huckleberry Finn, Daniel Boone, Niel Armstrong, etc. and to the U.S. Navy's recruitment program which proposes, "Join the Navy. It's not a job, it's an adventure."

Whatever you can do to communicate this point to the appropriate person among the President's speech writers will be much appreciated.

With continued good wishes, I remain,

Sincerely,

  
Jim Guirard



THE WASHINGTON POST  
Monday, June 14, 1982

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

*Semantic Adventures*

President Reagan's otherwise excellent speech to the British Parliament was marred by one annoying mistake—an error in semantics regularly made by government spokesmen and journalists alike.

Referring to Soviet criminality in Afghanistan and Southeast Asia, the president called it "foreign adventure." Truth-in-labeling would have dictated that he condemn it as *imperialism* and *colonialism*.

The white-hat label "adventure" brings to mind the exploits of such explorers and folk heroes as Marco Polo, Daniel Boone, Neil Armstrong and Huckleberry Finn. It has nothing whatever to do with communism's rampant imperialism toward nations or its fascistic repression of human rights.

JIM GUIRARD JR.  
Washington

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