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Soviet Repression of the Ukrainian Catholic Church



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During the nearly seven decades that have elapsed since the Bolsheviks seized power, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has sought to eliminate religion or, failing that, utilize it for the purposes of the state. In this deliberate attack on religion, no institution has suffered more than the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Claiming the devotion of millions in western Ukraine, the church—leaders and laity alike—has been systematically repressed by Soviet rule. Official Soviet historiography even goes as far as to claim that the church “liquidated itself” in 1946, that its followers “voluntarily joined” the Russian Orthodox Church.¹

But the Ukrainian Catholic Church lives on, in the catacombs, as witness numerous *samizdat* documents and repeated discussions in Soviet publications of the need to repress it. This paper sets forth an account of that repression.

Church and State in the Soviet Union: 1917–46

Situated primarily in western Ukraine, which the Soviets forcibly annexed from Poland in 1939, the Ukrainian Catholic Church traces its modern lineage to the 1596 Union of Brest, through which it affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church while preserving its Byzantine form of worship and spirituality. Thus, unlike the Russian Orthodox Church or

the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church that arose after the revolution in eastern Ukraine, the Ukrainian Catholic Church has looked to the West, recognizing the authority of the Pope from its inception.

Western Ukraine poses a particular problem for the Soviet regime, since, according to Soviet sources, nearly half of the officially permitted religious congregations in the Soviet Union are located there.² In addition, there are many unofficial groups which include Ukrainian Catholics. Furthermore, the Ukrainian Catholic Church has served as a focus for the development of a distinct Ukrainian national and cultural identity in western Ukraine. Not surprisingly, these characteristics have marked the church in Soviet eyes.

In its first years the Soviet regime attacked all religious institutions, accusing them of political opposition to the regime and collusion with its internal and external enemies. All religious groups suffered from discriminatory Soviet legislation, beginning with the Soviet Decree of February 5, 1918, on the Separation of Church From State and School From Church. The new laws transferred all church property, including all houses of worship, to the state. Clergy and their families were stripped of their civil rights. Organized religious instruction of minors was made a criminal offense, and all theological schools were closed, as eventually were all monasteries and convents. The regime sponsored abusive antireligious campaigns which were accompanied by the harassment of believers and their

exclusion from all positions of importance.

During the 1920s, however, the regime shifted its tactics in the direction of “sovietization” of individual churches and sects. “Disloyal” religious leaders were replaced by others who were willing to accept a platform of loyalty to the Soviet state and were prepared to submit to far-reaching controls over the external and internal activities of their groups. By 1927 these conditions were accepted by the Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church in return for a limited and uncertain tolerance; but the price was the alienation of many Orthodox bishops, clergy, and believers who considered such a compromise with the atheist state to be incompatible with the integrity and spiritual mission of their church.

These early won concessions did not last long, however. By 1929 Stalin’s regime had embarked on a violent, widespread antireligious campaign. More and more churches and prayer houses of all faiths were closed down by the authorities, often on the basis of fabricated “demands of workers.” Growing numbers of bishops and clergy were banished, imprisoned, or executed. This situation worsened during the late 1930s, culminating by the end of the decade in the near total suppression of institutional religion throughout the Soviet Union. Soviet authorities destroyed what remained of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church during this period, killing most of its bishops and many thousands of its followers.³ They also drew up plans for the liquida-

tion of the Ukrainian Catholic Church; these became reality with the Soviet acquisition in 1939 of western Ukraine and western Belorussia, which had large congregations of Catholics. With Soviet occupation, there immediately followed the abolition or state takeover of longstanding church institutions—including schools, seminaries, monasteries, and publishing houses—and the confiscation of all church properties and lands. Finally, as the Nazis invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, Soviet secret police rounded up a large number of Ukrainian Catholic priests who were either murdered or deported to the east.

Following the Nazi attack on the U.S.S.R., Stalin altered substantially his tactics toward religious communities. Fearing for the very survival of the Soviet regime, he reduced antireligious propaganda and offered significant concessions to the Russian Orthodox Church, as well as other denominations, in the hope of harnessing all the potential of the Soviet Union in its struggle against Nazi Germany. But with the Soviet reoccupation of Ukraine in 1944, repression of Ukrainian Catholics, already suffering under Nazi occupation, was resumed once again, culminating in the official "liquidation" of the church in 1946.

Liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, 1946

From the very beginning of the Soviet reoccupation of western Ukraine, measures aimed at liquidating the Ukrainian Catholic Church were undertaken. In the winter of 1944-45, Soviet authorities summoned Catholic clergy to "reeducation" sessions conducted by the secret police, the NKVD. On April 5, 1945, the Soviet media began an anti-Catholic campaign. Then on April 11, 1945, the NKVD began arresting the entire Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy of western Ukraine, including the secular and monastic clergy—a program that would last for the next 5 years. Along with Metropolitan Yosyf Slipyj, the NKVD arrested Bishop Nykyta Budka, the Vicar General of the Metropolitan; Gregory Khomyshyn, the Bishop of Stanislav, and his Auxiliary Bishop, John Liatyshevsky; Paul Goydych, the Bishop of Priashiv, and his Auxiliary Bishop, Basil Hopko; Bishop Nicholas Charnetsky, Apostolic Visitor of Volyn; Monsignor Peter Verhun, Apostolic Visitor for Ukrainian emigrants in Germany; and Josaphat Kotsylovsky, the Bishop of Peremyshl, and his Auxiliary Bishop, Gregory Lakota. (All but one of these either died

in prison or died shortly thereafter, their health ruined by the abuse they had suffered; only Metropolitan Slipyj, through the efforts of Pope John XXIII, was finally released from prison in 1963 and allowed to leave for Rome.) According to eyewitnesses, in Lvov alone there were about 800 priests imprisoned at that time; and in Chortkov about 150 priests from the district of Ternopol were deported to Siberia.⁴

Meanwhile, in late May 1945, as these mass arrests of Catholic clergy were being carried out, Soviet authorities sponsored the so-called Initiating Committee for the Reunification of the Greek Catholic Church With the Russian Orthodox Church. This was a preparatory committee, which subsequently convened a pseudosynod—the authorities proclaimed it a "Sobor"—in Lvov on March 8-10, 1946. In that "Sobor" an end was proclaimed to the 1596 Union of Brest, and the Ukrainian Catholic Church was declared "reunified" with the Russian Orthodox Church.

This entire exercise was planned and guided by Soviet authorities. Knowledge of the "Sobor" was withheld from the public; no advance election of delegates was held, and only 216 clerics and 19 laymen—allegedly representing the

Ukrainian Catholic Church—brought about "reunification." Not surprisingly, the NKVD was entrusted with the task of coercing the remaining Catholic clergy to join the Russian Orthodox Church.

Both the Vatican and the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the West have refused to recognize this forced reunification, considering it to be uncanonical and illegal: according to Catholic and traditional Russian Orthodox canon law, to be valid, a synod must be called by the Pope or by a patriarch and must be attended by bishops. Yet Soviet authorities consider this "Sobor" and its decisions binding on all Ukrainian Catholics in the U.S.S.R. to this day.⁵ The protests of almost 300 Ukrainian clerics and the 1946 and 1952 encyclicals of Pope Pius XII in defense of the Ukrainian Catholic Church have gone unheeded. Moreover, the same fate met the Catholic Church in Transcarpathia, a part of Czechoslovakia incorporated into the Ukrainian S.S.R. at the end of World War II, where the Mukachiv eparchy was liquidated and subordinated to the Russian Orthodox Church in 1947. Its bishop, Theodor Romza, was killed.⁶

The following table, comparing the situation of the Ukrainian Catholic

Situation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church

Number in 1939	Losses Suffered by 1950
Dioceses 4	All dioceses liquidated.
Territory of Apostolic Visitor 1	Liquidated.
Bishops 8	All imprisoned, condemned, died in prison, killed, or exiled.
Parishes 2,772	Taken over by the Russian Orthodox Church; some liquidated.
Churches and chapels 4,119	Taken over by the Russian Orthodox Church or closed.
Monasteries and convents 142	Confiscated and closed by the authorities; a few transferred to the Russian Orthodox Church.
Other church institutions	All liquidated.
Secular priests 2,638	Fewer than half forced into Russian Orthodox Church; others imprisoned or in hiding.
Monastic clergy 164	Dispersed, imprisoned together with three Provincial Superiors.
Brothers 193	Dispersed or imprisoned.
Seminarians 229	Dispersed or refugees.
Nuns 580	Dispersed.
Faithful 4,048,515	Many imprisoned or deported for their faith; majority resisting passively.

Church prior to World War II with the situation in 1950, offers a graphic picture of the losses suffered by the church from its forced reunion.⁷

The Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Catacombs

Forty years after the official abolition of their church, Ukrainian Catholic communities continue to exist in the Soviet Union, as even Soviet sources attest. The most telling evidence of the survival of the Catholic Church is to be found in Soviet propaganda, which wages a vigorous campaign against the church through books, pamphlets, periodicals, television programs, movies, lectures, and exhibits, all designed to falsify the historical record, defame Catholic leaders and clergy, and intimidate church members. To this day, the great Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, who led his church for four and one-half decades (1900–44), saving the lives of thousands of Jews during World War II, is maligned by Soviet officials.

At the outset, the priests of the Catacomb Church were those who did not rejoin Russian orthodoxy during the 1945–49 period but remained Catholics, giving up any public exercise of their clerical duties. After 1946, a significant portion of Catholic laymen continued to depend on the services of these “illegal” priests and monks, whose numbers increased after the mid-1940s with the return of what the Soviets called “recalcitrant” clergymen—those who had completed their sentences or had benefited from the post-Stalin amnesties.

The hope that de-Stalinization would lead to the restoration of the Ukrainian Catholic Church produced a marked intensification of covert Catholic activities. By the late 1950s, however, as more and more “converts” to the church began to repudiate orthodoxy, communist authorities dispelled any hope for a change in official policy toward the church by arresting even more priests and unleashing a new wave of anti-Catholic propaganda. Notwithstanding this widespread antireligious campaign, the number of priests increased in western Ukraine in the 1950s and thereafter, due in part to secret ordinations in exile. In addition, the existence of secret theological “seminaries” in Ternopol and Kolomyia was reported in the Soviet press in the 1960s in connection with the arrests of their organizers.

Today, the underground Catholic Church is said to embrace hundreds of priests, headed by a number of secret bishops working under the authority of

their primate in Rome. Religious women in orders working throughout Ukraine number more than 1,000. Many former Catholic and non-Orthodox priests have retained a spiritual allegiance to the Pope as well, while others have taken up civilian professions and continue to celebrate the sacraments in private. A certain number of Ukrainian Catholic priests live in exile outside western Ukraine or as free settlers in Siberia, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, and eastern Ukraine, often serving their faithful from afar. Members of religious communities and monastic orders have maintained close contact with each other, and most have remained faithful to their vows. In 1974, a clandestine Catholic convent was uncovered by police in Lvov.

Almost invariably, these clergymen and monastics hold full-time secular jobs or have retired from such employment. The identities of the older clergy seem to be known to the Soviet police, who frequently subject them to searches, interrogations, and fines but stop short of arrests unless they have extended their activities beyond a narrow circle of friends in private homes. It appears, however, that Soviet authorities are much more ruthless in dealing with new, secretly ordained priests.

In 1968, apparently in connection with the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia, the harassment of “recalcitrant” clergy escalated into a large-scale campaign against “illegal” Ukrainian Catholic clergy. Many of these clergymen were subjected to searches, interrogations, fines, and beatings. In January 1969, the KGB arrested an underground Catholic bishop named Vasyly Velychkovskiy and two Catholic priests, sentencing them to 3-years imprisonment for alleged violations of the “law on cults.”

Religious activities that are “illegal” when performed by Catholic priests or members include holding religious services; educating children in the Catholic faith; performing baptisms, wedding rites, and funerals; hearing confessions; anointing the ill; copying religious materials; and possessing prayer books, icons, church calendars, religious books, and other sacred objects. Soviet sources reveal numerous examples of arrests for such activities. One is the case of Reverend Ivan Kryvy, who was arrested in 1973 for organizing the printing of a Ukrainian Catholic prayer book (actually a reprint of a prayer book published in Canada in 1954) in three consecutive editions (1969, 1971, and 1972) totaling 3,500 copies. The work was done by two employees of the Lvov state printing shop who also were arrested in 1973

together with another person involved in the distribution of these materials. In the same manner, the clandestine printers also produced 150 copies of a “Carol and Church Songs” book and 150 copies of the “Missal.”

The most active lay people and clergy of the “illegal” church have tried to use legal means to defend their church. By 1956–57, there were cases in which believers had tried to legalize their Ukrainian Catholic communities according to Soviet law by petitioning the proper authorities to permit their parish congregations to operate openly. A number of such petitions were sent in the late 1960s and early 1970s, including an appeal from the Ukrainian Catholics of the city of Stryi, which reached the West in 1972. All of these petitions were refused. In 1976 a Ukrainian Catholic priest named Reverend Volodymyr Prokopiv was arrested for accompanying a delegation of Ukrainians to Moscow with such a petition, signed by a large number of Catholics from the Lvov region. The Soviet response to these petitions has been to sharpen repressive measures against the activist clergy, monastics, and lay people and to intensify their propaganda.

In recent years, the cause of persecuted Ukrainian Catholics has been taken up by the dissident movement in Ukraine. Since 1970, the movement’s organ, the *Ukrainian Herald*, has carried accounts of the harassment, searches, arrests, and trials of Catholics and has editorially condemned “wanton liquidation” of the church as “illegal and unconstitutional.” A leading Ukrainian dissident, historian Valentyn Moroz, devoted part of his *Chronicle of Resistance* to the nation-building role of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in western Ukraine; he equated the regime’s anti-Catholic struggle with an attack upon “the spiritual structure of the nation.”

Lithuanian Catholic dissidents also have raised their voices in recent years. In their petitions to Soviet authorities and in their underground *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, they have joined Ukrainian dissidents in calling for the lifting of the illegal ban on the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Likewise, in September 1974, a leading Russian Orthodox dissident named Anatoliy Levitin-Krasnov appealed to Sakharov’s human rights committee in Moscow to raise its voice in defense of Ukrainian Catholics and other persecuted religious groups. “The Union in Western Ukraine,” wrote Levitin-Krasnov, “is a massive popular movement. Its persecution means not only

religious oppression, but also restriction of the national rights of Western Ukraine."⁸

Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine

At the beginning of 1984, a group of Ukrainian Catholics began to publish and disseminate a *samizdat* publication, the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church*. To date, *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty* in Munich has received and broadcast nine numbered issues of the *Chronicle* plus one special issue. The 10th edition of the *Chronicle* was published in June 1986 and had a significant change in title: *Chronicle of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Catacombs*. The *Chronicle* is published by members of the "Initiative Group for the Defense of the Right of Believers and the Church in Ukraine," which was established in 1982 and spearheads the campaign of Ukrainian Catholics for the legalization of their church.⁹

It was the years of abortive demands by believers that authorities legalize the activities of the Catholic Church in western Ukraine that brought about the emergence of an organized human rights movement among believers. In early 1982 the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics was formed, and Yosyf Terelya was elected its chairman. In a statement about the formation of the Initiative Group, addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Terelya wrote:

This was the response of Ukrainian Catholics to increasing repression against the Ukrainian Catholic Church. From now on, all information about the Ukrainian Catholic Church will be passed on for scrutiny by the world public. The Catholics of the world should know and be reminded in what conditions we exist.¹⁰

The first three issues of the *Chronicle* are varied, although they deal largely with the lives of believers—Catholics, Orthodox, Baptists, Pentecostals, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Seventh-Day Adventists—giving accounts of repressive measures taken against them and naming the camps and psychiatric hospitals in which they are confined. The journals also devote considerable attention to the sociopolitical situation in Ukraine and discuss such diverse subjects as the Raoul Wallenberg case, Russification, and the Polish workers' movement. Most of the information contained in the *Chronicle*, however, relates to the lives of members of the banned Ukrainian Catholic Church, especially to violations of their human rights. These journals underscore the needs of the peo-

ple to worship freely in their own rite, to have their own churches with free access to them, and to have their own priests and their own language.¹¹

The founder of the Initiative Group and moving force behind the *Chronicle*, Yosyf Terelya, was arrested on February 8, 1985, and sentenced on August 20, 1985, to 7 years imprisonment and 5 years exile for his religious activities. He had already spent years in various camps, prisons, and psychiatric institutions. He is currently serving his sentence in Camp #36 near Kuchino, the so-called death camp where, since May 1984, four prominent Ukrainian prisoners have died—Ukrainian Helsinki Monitors Vasyli' Stus, Oleska Tykhy, Yuriy Lytvyn, and journalist Valeriy Marchenko.

Terelya's successor as chairman of the Initiative Group, Vasyli' Kobryn, also was sentenced in March 1985 to 3 years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet slander." The plight of Terelya and Kobryn is just one example of the persecution of countless numbers of Ukrainian Catholics who have suffered harassment, illegal searches, beatings, and arrests solely because of their attempts to practice their religious beliefs.

Grounds for Repression

Clearly, the Ukrainian Catholic faithful who were driven underground following the forced 1946 "reunion" have posed an especially complicated problem for Soviet authorities. Enjoying massive support from believers in the western Ukraine, as well as from the strong Ukrainian Catholic diaspora in the West, the faithful have survived despite repeated repressive measures. They have survived both within the formal Orthodox Church—so-called secret Catholics—and as an "illegal" church with a succession of its own bishops and a network of secular and monastic clergy, performing clandestine religious rites in private homes, at cemeteries, and even in officially "closed" churches. Among young people, in particular, there has been a growing acceptance of religious traditions and symbols as important links with the past and as integral elements of national culture.

The reaction of the regime has been to renew its emphasis on mass, antireligious propaganda, especially in western Ukraine. Conferences have been organized on the subject of perfecting the methodology to combat Ukrainian Catholicism in western Ukraine.¹² Numerous publications have appeared that attempt to discredit the union of the

congregations in Ukraine and what is now Belorussia with Rome in 1596; these go to great pains to prove the allegations that the Catholic Church conducted activities that were directed against the population of Ukraine during the first half of the 20th century.

The growth of interest in Ukrainian Catholicism has to be understood in relation to the general rise of interest in religion, spiritual values, and ethics among the younger generation in Ukraine. Complaints by Soviet officials and their publications attest to this revival. A letter by an avowed atheist published as part of an article on religious belief and atheist propaganda in a 1984 issue of *Nauka i Religiya* (*Science and Religion*) states:

If you could only imagine how difficult it is for us atheists in Ukraine. For many years now, I have been involved in the thankless propagandizing task of Soviet ritualism. I have ploughed through mountains of literature, observed, pondered, and spent many hours in the churches where religious rites are practiced. I have come to the conclusion that Soviet official statistics are very far from reality.¹³

The problem of religious practices in western Ukraine also was raised by the first secretary of the Lvov Komsomol, Oleksiy Babychuk:

... in this oblast, particularly in the rural areas, a large number of the population adheres to religious practices, among them a large proportion of youth. In the last few years, the activity of the Uniates [Ukrainian Catholics] has grown, that of representatives of the Uniates as well as former Uniate priests; there are even reverberations to renew the overt activity of this Church.¹⁴

Another important factor in the steady growth of interest in Catholicism in Ukraine has been the proximity of the Solidarity movement and the election of a Slavic Pope. It is worth noting that for some years now the Polish dissident movement—particularly members of Solidarity—has supported Ukraine's quest for self-determination in its official statements and publications and, conversely, members of the dissident movement in the Ukraine, like Vasyli' Stus and Yosyf Terelya, have praised Solidarity in their activities. In an open letter, published in 1981 in the journal of Catholic opposition in Poland, *Spotkanie*, Ukrainian Catholics registered their joy on the occasion of the election of Cardinal Wojtyla as Pope.¹⁵

At the same time, Soviet authorities have launched a related propaganda campaign in Ukraine, disseminating publications that criticize the Vatican's support for believers in Soviet-bloc countries. The mass media also has stepped up its attacks on Pope John Paul II,

especially his support of Ukrainian Catholics.¹⁶ The antireligious journal *Liudyna i Svit* (*Man and the World*), published in Kiev, stated the following:

Proof that the Church is persistently striving to strengthen its political influence in socialist countries is witnessed by the fact that Pope John Paul II gives his support to the emigre hierarchy of the so-called Ukrainian Catholic Church. . . . The current tactic of Pope John Paul II and the Roman Curia lies in the attempts to strengthen the position of the Church in all socialist countries as they have done in Poland, where the Vatican tried to raise the status of the Catholic Church to a state within a state. In the last few years, the Vatican has paid particular attention to the question of Catholicism of the Slavonic nations. This is poignantly underscored by the Pope when he states that he is not only a Pope of Polish origin, but the first Slavic Pope, and he will pay particular attention to the Christianization of all Slavic nations.¹⁷

These same themes were stressed at a 1981 symposium in Bratislava for specialists in antireligious propaganda in the Warsaw Pact countries. One of the papers dealing with Ukrainian Catholicism stated the following:

Pope John Paul II has approved certain additional measures, directed in support of the Uniates. . . . [The] Head of the Vatican underscored his "dedication" to the Uniates by approving the claims of Cardinal Slipyj to represent and speak on behalf of all the faithful of the Western province of the Ukrainian S.S.R.¹⁸

However, Ukrainian Catholicism, seen as the strongest and most representative exponent of cultural and spiritual ties with the West, remains an obstacle to the Soviet goal of creating a single Soviet people. The Soviet regime has officially liquidated the church and also has attempted to erase it from historic memory. To enable Moscow to achieve its goals, all signs of the religion's ongoing revival are continuously repressed.

¹⁶See note 4.

¹⁷*Voprosy nauchnogo ateizma*, publication no. 24, Moscow, 1979, p. 46. *Stanovleniya i rozvytok masovoho ateizmu v zakhidnykh oblastiakh Ukrainy RSR*, (Kiev, 1981), p. 51.

¹⁸Soviet repression and liquidation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church in eastern Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s was a portent of its later repression and liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in western Ukraine. Shortly after the revolution, a number of Ukrainian Orthodox bishops separated themselves from the Russian Patriarchal Church, creating in 1920 an

independent Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church. By 1924, the church embraced 30 bishops, 1,500 priests and deacons, and 1,100 parishes in the Ukrainian S.S.R. From 1922, however, Soviet authorities began imposing restrictions on the Autocephalous Church, attempting to split it from within by supporting a splinter faction. In 1926 they arrested its Metropolitan, Basil Lypkivsky, along with a number of other leaders and ordered the dissolution of its central body, the All-Ukrainian Church Council. Then in 1929, massive repressive measures were taken against the bishops, clergy, and faithful, culminating in the dissolution of the church in 1930. The remnant of the church was allowed to reconstitute itself at the end of 1930 but was progressively decimated until the last parish was suppressed in 1936. According to Ukrainian Orthodox sources, two metropolitans of the church, 26 archbishops and bishops, some 1,150 priests, 54 deacons, and approximately 20,000 lay members of the church councils as well as an undetermined number of the faithful were all killed. See *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, Vol. II, University of Toronto Press, pp. 170-71.

¹⁹Analecta O.S.B.M., *First Victims of Communism. White Book on the Religious Persecution in Ukraine* (Rome, 1953) pp. 42-44. This book was composed by Ukrainian Catholic priests resident in Rome; it was translated from Italian with Ecclesiastical Approbation.

²⁰See, for example, K. Kharchev, Chairman of the Council of Religious Affairs attached to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, in an interview for the Warsaw weekly, *Pravo i zycie*, February 8, 1986, p. 13. The current stand of the Russian Orthodox Church regarding the Lvov "Sobor" is presented in detail in "The Moscow Patriarchate and the Liquidation of the Eastern Rite Catholic Church in Ukraine," *Religion in Communist Lands*, Vol. 13, No. 2, Summer 1985, pp. 182-188. Compare the article of Metropolitan Nikodimus of Lvov and Ternopol, published in *Visti z Ukrainy*, No. 5, January 1986, with the article in *Moskovskyye novosti*, No. 22, June 1986, and the article of K. Dmytruk in *Radianska Ukraina*, May 31, 1986.

²¹Analecta, *First Victims*, pp. 30-59.

²²*Soviet Persecution of Religion in Ukraine*, Human Rights Commission World Congress of Free Ukrainians, Toronto, 1976, p. 28.

²³*Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

²⁴Because of the potential for intentionally planted disinformation, it is impossible to be certain that all items in the *Chronicle* were written by or reflect the opinions of Ukrainian Catholics in Ukraine today. However, enough of the facts have been substantiated by other sources to make the *Chronicle* on the whole a credible source of information about the true status of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

²⁵Yosyf Terelya, "Declaration to the CC CPU on the formation of the Initiative Group

of the Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine," *Arkhiv Samizdata* (AS) 4897, *Radio Liberty*, Munich, 1983.

²⁶On the *Chronicle*, see *Radio Liberty* 3/85, "Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine," January 7, 1985; Bohdan Nahaylo, "The Church Rumbling Beneath the Kremlin," *The Times*, January 12, 1985; Maxine Pollack, "KGB Crackdown in the Ukraine," *The Sunday Times*, January 27, 1985; Bohdan Nahaylo, "Persecuted Ukrainian Catholics Speak Out," *The Wall Street Journal* (European edition), February 18, 1985; Ivan Mhul, "La resistance tenace des catholiques clandestines d'Ukraine," *Le Monde*, March 1, 1985; George Zarycky, "Soviet Journal on Religious Dissent May Embarrass Kremlin," *The Christian Science Monitor*, March 6, 1985; *Radio Liberty* 71/85, "Moscow Still Putting Pressure on Ukrainian Catholics to Break with Rome," March 8, 1985; and *Radio Liberty* 101/85, "First Issue of New *Samizdat* Journal Put Out by Ukrainian Catholics (Uniates)," March 26, 1985.

²⁷In November 1982 a conference was held in Kiev on the topic "The Anti-Communist Essence of Uniate-Nationalistic Falsification of the History of the Ukrainian Nation," (*Liudyna i Svit*, No. 2, February 1983, p. 21). Toward the end of 1983, in the city of Kalush, Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast, a conference was held dealing with "Uniatism and Ukrainian Bourgeois-Nationalism," (*Liudyna i Svit*, No. 1, January 1984, p. 33). In April 1985 a conference was held in Lvov on "Critique of the Catholic Uniate Ideology in Atheist Propaganda," (*Nauka i Religiya*, No. 11, November 1985, p. 34).

²⁸*Nauka i Religiya*, Moscow, No. 10, October 1984, p. 11.

²⁹*Ibid.*, No. 1, January 1985, p. 10.

³⁰Ivan Hvat, "The Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Vatican and the Soviet Union During the Pontificate of Pope John Paul II," *Religion in Communist Lands*, Vol. 11, No. 3, (Winter 1983), pp. 264-280.

³¹*Ibid.*, pp. 277-278; See also L.F. Shevtsov, *Sotsializm i Katolitsizm*, (Moscow: Nauka, 1982), p. 39.

³²I. Tykhonov, "Catholic Church: New Trends, Old Goals," (in Ukrainian) *Liudyna i Svit*, No. 10, October 1982, pp. 53-54.

³³B. Lobovik, I. Myhovic, "Zloporostne tiene minulosti," *Ateizmus*, No. 4, Bratislava, 1981, pp. 361-469. ■

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SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF RELIGIOUS REPRESSION AND OPPRESSION IN THE SOVIET UNION

1) Interference in the religious governance of religious organizations and institutions.

In 1947, the last convents and monasteries in Lithuania were closed by the Soviets, who occupied that independent and predominantly Roman Catholic country in 1940. Religious communities were dispersed and all monastic institutions were outlawed. To this day, religious orders are banned and only one seminary is permitted to operate on a very limited scale.

According to a report in issue no. 73 of the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania*, dated March 19, 1987, Lithuania was visited by the new Vice Chairman for Catholic Affairs, Kuznecov, of the Moscow Council for Religious Affairs at the beginning of the jubilee year, which marked 600 years of Lithuanian Christianity. He expressed his dismay over the activities of religious orders in Lithuania (they operate secretly), and asked with some concern whether *Opus Dei*, an international association of faithful dedicated to Christian witness and action, was not active in Lithuania.

The Rector of the Theological Seminary in Kaunas, back from meetings in Moscow, announced to the seminarians at the beginning of the jubilee year that Moscow was threatening even to close the last theological seminary in Lithuania because some of the seminarians belong to banned religious orders and to organizations perceived as anti-Soviet, such as temperance movements.

In March 1987, Fr. A. Zulonas, the pastor of Obellai church was reprimanded by a KGB agent for attending "anti-Soviet meetings" organized by Fr. J. Janulis, Episcopal Vicar of Rokiškis rajon. The "anti-Soviet meetings" are, in fact, regional deanery conferences.

5) The imprisonment of individuals for practices of religious character.

a) A petition signed by 78,000 Lithuanians was handed in to the reception office of the Central Committee of the CPSU in November 1987. The petition, which has been circulating for some time, is addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev, and calls for the release of Lithuanian Catholic Bishop Julijonas Steponavičius from internal exile, and for a review of the cases of three other Catholic clergymen who were imprisoned "for no reason other than that they spoke openly on negative aspects of life in our society, aspects which now, in the era of *glasnost*, are being openly discussed in the media and among the people generally: that is, alcoholism and discrimination of believers." (The priests in question are Alfonsas Svarinskas, Sigitas Tamkevičius and Jonas Matulionis. While signatures were being gathered under the appeal, Matulionis was released). Bishop Steponavičius was exiled to a provincial Lithuanian town 26 years ago without any kind of court hearing. The petition calls upon Gorbachev to intervene personally and to ensure that Steponavičius is allowed to return to his Vilnius archdiocese.

b) Fathers Alfonsas Svarinskas and Sigitas Tamkevičius, both founding members of the Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights, were

sentenced in 1983 under Art. 68 of the LSSR Criminal Code to 10 year terms for activities ranging from organizing Christmas parties for parish youth to preaching "political" sermons on such social ills as alcoholism. Neither were amnestied, because they refused to sign confessions of guilt. Tamkevičius' sentence, however, was commuted from 10 years to 7. He is now due to be released on May 6, 1990. In Svarinskas' case, there has been no movement on his request to emigrate abroad. His health has deteriorated rapidly during this, his third, prison sentence.

c) Viktoras Petkus, a prominent Lithuanian Catholic, was 48 when he went to prison a third time in 1977 for setting up a group to monitor the implementation of the Helsinki Accords in Lithuania. Criminal charges of "homosexuality" were even filed against him for conducting lessons in his home for local youths about religion, Lithuanian literature and history. At 57, he has spent 24 years in prison camps for his religious activism and human rights advocacy. Natan Sharansky, the well-known Jewish dissident who was released last year, was Petkus' cellmate for the first 16 months of their imprisonment. The two became close friends whose conversations inspired Petkus to write studies on Christianity and Judaism, which were later confiscated and burned by prison guards. Copies of the studies that Petkus mailed to Lithuania "disappeared" in the mail. Petkus is a literary historian who was barred from working in his profession in Lithuania, but is said to have compiled a 3,000-page encyclopedia of world writers while serving in prison and labor camp. This too was recently confiscated. In August 1987, he was transferred to exile in Buryatskaya ASSR, where he is serving the remaining 5 years of his 15 year sentence for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".

We placed considerable hope in your vaunted program of reform and democratization for the country, trusting that it would essentially improve the condition of human rights in the Soviet Union, that prisoners of conscience would be released and that the persecution of people for political, national and religious reasons would cease. Indeed, the first step in that direction was taken. By the decrees of the Supreme Soviet dated February 2 and February 9, about 100 individuals sentenced for so-called "crimes against the state" were released from Soviet prisons, camps and exile. Unfortunately, it must be noted that this act of the Soviet government, so widely advertised in the West, was not a political amnesty, but a "pardon", which affected only an insignificant number of political prisoners. According to our information, the greater number of prisoners of conscience remain in the place to which they were sentenced.... (From a petition to M. Gorbachev, signed by 11 former political prisoners and cited in the Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania, No. 74, July 12, 1987).

6) The incarceration of individuals in mental and psychiatric institutions for practices of religious belief.

Miss Dalia Tamutyte, a 30 year-old Catholic, was fired from her job on November 18, 1987 and is being threatened with psychiatric detention for attending a peaceful rally in Vilnius for the Lithuanian victims of Stalin and Hitler last August 23, the 48th anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, which secretly ceded the Baltic states to the Soviet Union. An ambulance pulled up in front of the Tamutis apartment to take Dalia away, but she

managed to escape. Dalia's mother, Stasė Tamutienė, confirmed that her daughter has left home to avoid forcible psychiatric internment. When Mrs. Tamutienė tried to process visa papers which had arrived in her daughter's absence, she was told by the local militia that Dalia would not be allowed to emigrate to Canada, where an uncle resides, because she is mentally ill. Miss Tamutytė has been barred from working in her field as a music teacher on account of her religious beliefs.

7) The forced closing of religious institutions.

A cathedral, seized by the Soviets 37 years ago, is now an art gallery, despite petitions by hundreds of Lithuanian clergy. Over the objections of Catholic leaders in Lithuania, the Vilnius Cathedral was placed under state control in 1950 and converted into an art gallery in 1956. It is regarded as an important religious and national shrine -- the remains of many Lithuanian notables, including St. Casimir, Lithuania's patron saint, and Grand Duke Vytautas, the leader of Lithuania in the late 14th - early 15th centuries, were once interred there. In predominantly Roman Catholic Lithuania, return of the Cathedral and two other churches -- St. Casimir's in Vilnius (now a museum of atheism) and Our Lady Queen of Peace in Klaipėda (currently a concert hall) -- has been one of the rallying cries of activist Catholics. In 1985 a Church committee headed by Bishop Juozas Preikšas to commemorate the 600th anniversary of Lithuania's Christianization in 1987 called upon the Soviets to relinquish the three churches. On July 23, 1987, Soviet authorities finally agreed to return the Klaipėda church within two years, despite earlier vows that none of the churches would ever be given back.

9) Prohibitions against the religious activities of minors.

On June 1, 1986, ordination to priesthood was being conferred in the Archcathedral Basilica of Kaunas. Some believing children and youth of the parish of Kiaukliai attended the solemnities. The following day, a control commission consisting of the district chairman, communal farm Party organizer, school principal and her assistant, visited the homes of those who had gone. The commission demanded that the Gudonis, Matijošius and Novikas families tell where their children had gone, who they would be visiting, and the addresses where they would be staying. When the parents refused to be interrogated, the officials threatened to take away their parental rights. Upon their return, the youngsters were interrogated by their teachers and pressured to write explanations, which they refused to do.

10) Restrictions on institutions for theological education of Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, and other religious bodies.

a) Four priests ordained in 1987 - Vytautas Prajara, Kazimieras Gražulis, Jeronimas Petrikas and Robertas Rumšas - issued a statement about the sad state of affairs at the sole seminary allowed to function in Lithuania. Addressed to the seminary rector (a reputed government collaborator), the head of the KGB and the Soviet Commissioner for Religious Affairs in the Lithuanian SSR, it states that the Soviet Constitutional guarantee of separation of church and state is a myth. Speaking from experience, they state that applicants to the seminary are often called under false pretenses to the

military draft board, where KGB agents attempt to recruit them as informants. For refusing to collaborate with the KGB, Fr. Vytautas Prajara was repeatedly threatened with physical harm. An excerpt from their statement follows: *We, the Kaunas Seminary Class of 1987...view the future of the Church, and especially that of the only seminary with uneasiness. Even though the Constitution proclaims freedom of conscience, and the separation of Church and State, in reality this is not so. Religious believers continue to be the objects of discrimination...* (From a complaint written to seminary and government authorities, signed by four priests ordained this year, quoted in the Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania, No. 74, dated July 12, 1987)

b) On June 27, 1986, Religious Affairs Commissioner Petras Anilionis summoned all Lithuanian bishops and administrators of dioceses to the diocesan chancery of Vilnius for a meeting. He accused and threatened the bishops for not straightening out the priests and seminarians. Anilionis was particularly perturbed that two seminarians were detained by the militia trying to bring into the seminary Juozas Girnius' book *Man Without God* (Note: Prof. Girnius, who resides in Boston, is a widely respected religious philosopher). "Those whom we apprehend, we will punish without compunction," said Anilionis. Former prisoner of conscience Vytautas Skuodis, who spent 7 years in labor camp for writing a study on *Spiritual Genocide in Lithuania*, and emigrated to the United States on September 8, 1987, confirmed that Soviet authorities control the training of priests at the sole theological seminary in Lithuania, located in the city of Kaunas. "Qualified candidates are obstructed from entering the seminary. Meanwhile, unqualified candidates, including unsuitable candidates for the priesthood, as future destroyers of the Church, enjoy the constant patronage and support of the atheistic government. This has forced some men to study for the priesthood illegally, in the underground. But the government refuses to recognize them as legitimate and forbids them to function as priests," testified Skuodis before the Congressional Helsinki Commission last October. He says that KGB infiltration of the seminary is estimated as being as high as 30 to 50%.

127 out of the 130 priests in the Diocese of Panevėžys signed a petition to the Bishops and Apostolic Administrators of Lithuania which, among other things, requested "that the civil government not interfere in the affairs of the Kaunas Seminary, especially in choosing the administration, the faculty and even the seminarians... It is regrettable that even psychiatric patients are being ordained. The *Code of Canon Law* and the *Decrees of Vatican II* set forth a very careful selection of candidates..."

11) Prohibitions against the importation and distribution of religious materials.

A March 26, 1987 meeting of parish committee members in the Diocese of Telšiai was called by the Council for Religious Affairs. During the question and answer session, Commissioner for Religious Affairs Petras Anilionis was asked why prayerbooks are unavailable in bookstores and kiosks. In response to this question, Anilionis faulted the bishops of Lithuania, who he charged "hoard" the books and then sell them at a profit to believers.

12) Prohibitions against the publication of and free circulation of religious materials within the nation.

A series of searches took place on December 9, 1986 in Vilnius:

a) At the home of Miss Vincenta Vertelkaitė of Baltarusių 10, Vilnius, KGB agents confiscated illegal literature and documents. Among the items taken: samizdat publications, i.e. *Aušra (The Dawn)*, *LKB Kronika (Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania)*, *Alma Mater*; 4 copies of a brochure entitled *A Trip to the Holy Land*; 6 copies of a book by Nazi death camp survivor, the Rev. St. Yla, *Žvėrys ir žmonės dievų miške; Č. Gedgaudas' Searching for our past*; Poetry by an emigre poet, B. Braždžionis; *Words and Meaning* by emigre scholar prof. Šilbajoris, and many more items.

b) At the home of Miss Joana Vertelkaitė of Taikos g. 110-19, Vilnius, KGB agents confiscated 750 catechisms, 3 copies of the *Lietuvos Encyclopedia (Lithuanian Encyclopedia)*, published in the U.S., 15 copies of "Conversations with the young about Jesus," and other religious publications.

c) At the home of Miss Aldona Matusevičiūtė of Taikos g. 8-19, Vilnius, KGB agents confiscated 200 copies of *Niekšybės paslaptis (The Secret of Baseness)* by leading Lithuanian Catholic religious philosopher, A. Maceina; about 500-600 copies of *Tauta ir Tautinė Ištikimybė (Nation and National Loyalty)* by emigre philosopher J. Girnius.

13) Discrimination against religious adherents and their immediate families in general educational opportunities.

Miss Marytė Gudaitytė of the village of Skersbalis, in Prienai rajon of Lithuania, was expelled from the Pranas Mažylis medical school in Kaunas for her religious beliefs and for sending Christmas greetings to two imprisoned Catholic priests, the Revs. Alfonsas Svarinskas and Sigitas Tamkevičius. KGB agents said she couldn't be trusted as a nurse, because she might be tempted to poison patients perceived as her enemies. Repeated pleas, since 1985, to have her reinstated at the school, have gone unheeded. The Director of the school, Mrs. Tamašauskienė, would have kept Gudaitytė on, but admitted she was powerless against the will of the KGB. When Miss Gudaitytė tried transferring to the Utena School of Medicine, she was told that religion and medicine are incompatible, and that the school prepares only atheist medical personnel, but not believers. When the Vice Director in Utena discovered that she had last worked in a kindergarten, he said, "How can you work with children, and why did no one ever tell you that you could corrupt the children?" She was told she could study, but that she would just have to pick another specialty, in which her work would not be intimately tied in with people. Miss Gudaitytė has filed a protest with Mikhail Gorbachev.

16) Prohibitions against ordained clergy and acknowledged religious leaders in visiting the sick in hospitals, psychiatric institutions, or jails and prisons.

Father Antanas Šeškevičius, the associate pastor of the parish of Gargždai, was summoned to the Laugaliai Home for Elderly Invalids to

administer the sacraments to a seriously ill patient. Other patients wished to make use of the same opportunity, but were shooed away by Mrs. Jadvyga Dotienė, Associate Director of the Infirmary. A frightened elderly patient, weeping, complained to the departing priest, "Now they'll take us away to the insane asylum," this in reference to the case of Miss Janina Riaukaitė. When Riaukaitė complained of religious restrictions, she was transferred to the Infirmary for Psychiatric Invalids at Macikai, in the rayon of Šilutė. Her repeated requests to be returned to Laugaliai were ignored. (From the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania*, No. 71, dated August 15, 1986).

SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF RELIGIOUS OPPRESSION

AND REPRESSION IN THE SOVIET UNION

1. Interference in the religious governance of religious organizations and institutions.
2. Prohibitions against informal worship activities of small gatherings of believers and adherents.
3. The denial to religious organizations of the right to possess real property, building properties, or instruments of worship.
4. The prohibition of recognizing religious organizations as legal personhoods, which prevents pursuit of legal redress in courts of law and administrative agencies.
5. The imprisonment of individuals for practices of religious character.
6. The incarceration of individuals in mental and psychiatric institutions for practices of religious belief.
7. The forced closing of religious institutions.
8. Prohibitions against the general religious education of minors.
9. Prohibitions against the religious activities of minors.
10. Restrictions on institutions for theological education of Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, and other religious bodies.
11. Prohibitions against and limitations on the importation and distribution of religious materials.
12. Prohibitions against and limitations on the importation of and free circulation of religious materials within the nation.
13. Discrimination against religious adherents and their immediate families in general educational opportunities.
14. Discrimination against religious adherents and their immediate families in employment opportunities.
15. Discrimination against religious adherents and their immediate families in securing housing opportunities.
16. Prohibitions against ordained clergy and acknowledged religious leaders in visiting the sick in hospitals, psychiatric institutions, or jails and prisons.
17. Prohibitions against voluntaristic and charitable activities of religious organizations within the nation.



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."

An informal research study for background information

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.

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USSR
Religion

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 Borskoye," 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 ASSOCIATIONS¹

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,

¹ 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"

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.

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

APPENDIX 3

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 wartime 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 RSFSR⁴

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

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

⁴ 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.⁵

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.⁶

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

⁵ 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.)

⁶ 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 3, 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. (*Natsionalnaya 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 moribid 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. 33).

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 inhumane attitude toward people. The prophecies on the destruction of the Earth's entire population except for Jehovah's Witnesses are also inhumane. 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 (*Seiskaya 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, Akhterov 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 Akhterov, 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, Akhterov 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 (Akhterov) . . . (*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 Pentecostalist 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" sovkhos. . . . 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 imperialistic 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 Zhytyia*, 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" kolkhos 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 Azerbaidzhan, 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 Azerbaïdzhân 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).