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(Josh 4)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 3, 1988

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT SEMINAR ON RELIGIOUS RIGHTS
IN THE U.S.S.R.

The East Room

2:44 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Thank you all very much and welcome to the East Room of the White House.

This room has seen many important people: presidents, diplomats, world statesmen -- and none more important, none of greater faith and moral courage, than these four men that we are honored to have with us. Father Chibaev, Reverend Matveiuk, Mykola Rudenko, and Josef Begun: I promise that the witness of faith that you have brought here today will not be confined within these four walls, or forgotten when this meeting is ended -- I will carry it in my heart when I travel to the Soviet Union at the end of this month.

And I will say that the most fitting way to mark the Millennium of Christianity in Kiev Rus would be granting the right of all the peoples and all the creeds of the Soviet Union to worship their God, in their own way. (Applause.)

You have, of course, been hearing this afternoon about the first signs of progress. The presence of these four men here today is testimony to the fact that our witness here in the West can have an impact. Some Soviet dissidents have been allowed to emigrate. Some churches are allowed to organize and file for recognition and, recently, the Soviets have said they will allow a printing of language bibles.

These are encouraging signs and we welcome them. What we hope for ultimately is a willingness to see continued change, in the spirit of glasnost, when it comes to matters of religion. Perhaps the process is beginning. We noted that General Secretary Gorbachev said recently, and I'll quote, "Mistakes made with regard to the Church and believers in the 1930s and the years that followed are being rectified." Well, we sincerely hope and pray that this will be the case.

While some new churches are being built; and others, mostly Russian Orthodox, have been allowed to reopen; many other congregations are denied recognition and, therefore, legality. The Ukrainian Catholic Church -- the Uniate Church -- is still closed, outlawed, and persecuted.

Religious instruction of children outside the home -- Sunday schools, Hebrew schools, or even confirmation classes -- and the production of religious study material are all still illegal activities. And about those bibles, the authorities have promised to print 100,000 copies -- for a country of 280 million people. Yet, now there are at least signs by Soviet authorities of "a new law" on the freedom of conscience, reflecting the interests of religious organizations.

So while every positive step taken by the Soviets is

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welcomed -- we realize that this is just a beginning.

Let me also say, in particular, that the rights of Soviet Jews have taken up much of our official time -- and this is very close to my heart. Our hope is for the doors to open fully to emigration and to full freedom -- for all faiths.

So the earlier predictions by some, that once the grandmothers died, nobody would remember that there had been a Church in Russia, are wrong. Instead, the Church in Russia is still full of grandmothers, women who were little children in 1917, and they're joined by the younger generation, longing to satisfy the need, the hunger, that no man-made institution in any society can ever fulfill.

Today, roughly 90 million people in the Soviet Union -- or nearly a third of the population -- proclaim some form of belief in God. And it is not surprising that revolutions devoted to reshaping man as if he were so much clay deny one of the most basic teachings of Judeo-Christian belief -- that after God shaped Adam from dust, he breathed into him the divine principle of life.

There's a wonderful passage in "Doctor Zhivago," in which Pasternak speaks of his bitter disillusionment with the philosophy of materialism and the bloody revolution it has spawned. "When I hear people speak of reshaping life," he says, "I fall into despair. People who can say that have never understood a thing about life -- they have never felt its breath, its heartbeat. They look on it as a lump of raw material that needs to be processed by them, to be ennobled by their touch. But life is never a material, a substance to be molded. Life is the principle of self-renewal; it is constantly renewing and remaking and changing and transfiguring itself; it is infinitely beyond your or my obtuse theories about it." End quote.

The history of the 20th century has too often been brutal and tragic, but it has taught us one lesson that should fill our hearts with hope and joy, for we have found that the more religion is oppressed -- the greater the attempt to extinguish that life principle, that divine spark -- the more it glows.

History is etched with stories of those who suffered religious persecution, yes. But it also tells of transcendence, devotion, and sanctity. Even conversion. We think of the strengthened conviction Alexander Solzhenitzyn gained in prison; and the case of the Soviet psychiatrist Anatoli Koryagin -- recently released after serving six years in prison. He sought baptism as soon as he emigrated.

And we think of heroism and courage that can only remind us of the early Christian martyrs. One such is Anna Chertkova, recently released after being held in a Soviet psychiatric hospital since 1973 for no other crime than her faith.

Or Alfonsas Svarinskas, a 62-year-old Lithuanian priest, who has spent 18 years in prison and is not scheduled to be released until 1990. He is gravely ill and has petitioned for permission to go abroad to receive medical care.

Or Bishop Julijonas Steponavicius, in internal exile since 1961 for refusing to collaborate with the authorities.

How many men and women have had their faith tested? Now we see some people who have served prison sentences for the unauthorized practice of religion being released. And no one has been imprisoned on that ground for the last two years. Our hopes and prayers are for this expression of change by the Soviet authorities to continue.

The faith of the peoples of the Soviet Union is pure and unbreakable. As Moses led his people from bondage in Egypt, as the

early Christians not only withstood pagan Rome, but converted an empire -- we pray that the Millennium of Christianity in Kiev Rus will mean freedom for the faithful in Russia, in the Ukraine, the Baltic States, and all the regions of the Soviet Union.

And if we pray, we might want to use the words of the 22nd Psalm:

"In Thee our fathers trusted; they trusted, and Thou didst deliver them. To Thee they cried out and were delivered; in Thee they trusted and were not disappointed."

I have to add a little something here. Recently, a woman wrote me a letter and enclosed in the letter was a copy of what can only be called a prayer. But the story of that -- it's in that single page, of a young Russian soldier in a shell hole in World War II, knowing that his unit was going to announce -- or going to advance the attack, looking up at the stars and revealing for the first time that he had been taught all his life that there was no God. But now he believed there was. And he looked up at the heavens and spoke so sincerely, and said, maybe before the night is over I'll be coming to You. And I hope You will forgive what I believed for so long, the foolishness, because I know now there is a God.

And that letter was found on the body of the young soldier who was killed in the coming engagement. I thought sometimes of taking it to Moscow with me -- maybe the General Secretary might like to read it.

Well, thank you all very much. God bless you.
(Applause.)

END

2:53 P.M. EDT

5/2/88 - 6 P.M.

**DROPBY SEMINAR ON RELIGIOUS RIGHTS
IN THE U.S.S.R.**

TUESDAY, MAY 3, 1988

**THANK YOU. THANK YOU ALL VERY MUCH AND
WELCOME TO THE EAST ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE.**

**THIS ROOM HAS SEEN MANY IMPORTANT
PEOPLE: PRESIDENTS, DIPLOMATS, WORLD
STATESMEN, BUT NONE MORE IMPORTANT,
NONE OF GREATER FAITH AND MORAL COURAGE,
THAN THESE FOUR MEN WE ARE HONORED TO HAVE
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THIS MONTH.**

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AND I WILL SAY THAT THE MOST FITTING WAY TO MARK THE MILLENNIUM OF CHRISTIANITY IN KIEV RUS WOULD BE GRANTING THE RIGHT OF ALL THE PEOPLES AND ALL THE CREEDS OF THE SOVIET UNION TO WORSHIP THEIR GOD, IN THEIR OWN WAY.

YOU HAVE, OF COURSE, BEEN HEARING THIS AFTERNOON ABOUT THE FIRST SIGNS OF PROGRESS: THE PRESENCE OF THESE FOUR MEN HERE TODAY IS TESTIMONY TO THE FACT THAT OUR WITNESS, HERE IN THE WEST, CAN HAVE AN IMPACT. SOME SOVIET DISSIDENTS HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO EMIGRATE. SOME CHURCHES ARE ALLOWED TO ORGANIZE AND FILE FOR RECOGNITION, AND RECENTLY, THE SOVIETS HAVE SAID THEY WILL ALLOW A PRINTING OF LANGUAGE BIBLES.

THESE ARE ENCOURAGING SIGNS,
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PROCESS IS BEGINNING. WE NOTED THAT
GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV SAID RECENTLY,
AND I QUOTE, "MISTAKES MADE WITH REGARD TO
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BUT LIFE IS NEVER A MATERIAL, A SUBSTANCE TO BE MOLDED... LIFE IS THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-RENEWAL, IT IS CONSTANTLY RENEWING AND REMAKING AND CHANGING AND TRANSFIGURING ITSELF, IT IS INFINITELY BEYOND YOUR OR MY OBTUSE THEORIES ABOUT IT."

THE HISTORY OF THE 20TH CENTURY HAS TOO OFTEN BEEN BRUTAL AND TRAGIC, BUT IT HAS TAUGHT US ONE LESSON THAT SHOULD FILL OUR HEARTS WITH HOPE AND JOY, FOR WE HAVE FOUND THAT THE MORE RELIGION IS OPPRESSED -- THE GREATER THE ATTEMPT TO EXTINGUISH THAT LIFE PRINCIPLE, THAT DIVINE SPARK -- THE MORE IT GLOWS.

HISTORY IS ETCHED WITH STORIES OF THOSE WHO SUFFERED RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION, YES, BUT IT ALSO TELLS OF TRANSCENDENCE, DEVOTION, AND SANCTITY. EVEN CONVERSION.

WE THINK OF THE STRENGTHENED CONVICTION ALEXANDER SOLZHENITZYN GAINED IN PRISON; AND THE CASE OF THE SOVIET PSYCHIATRIST ANATOLI (KOR-YAH-GHIN) -- RECENTLY RELEASED AFTER SERVING 6 YEARS IN PRISON. HE SOUGHT BAPTISM AS SOON AS HE EMIGRATED.

AND WE THINK OF HEROISM AND COURAGE THAT CAN ONLY REMIND US OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN MARTYRS. ONE SUCH IS ANNA (CHAIRT-KOE-VAH), RECENTLY RELEASED AFTER BEING HELD IN A SOVIET PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL SINCE 1973, FOR NO OTHER CRIME THAN HER FAITH.

OR ALFONSAS SVARINSKAS, A 62-YEAR-OLD LITHUANIAN PRIEST, WHO HAS SPENT 18 YEARS IN PRISON AND IS NOT SCHEDULED TO BE RELEASED UNTIL 1990. HE IS GRAVELY ILL AND HAS PETITIONED FOR PERMISSION TO GO ABROAD TO RECEIVE MEDICAL CARE.

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Carol

(Speechwriters/Griscom/NSC/ARD)
April 30, 1988
2:30 p.m. RR

1:25 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DROPHY SEMINAR ON RELIGIOUS RIGHTS
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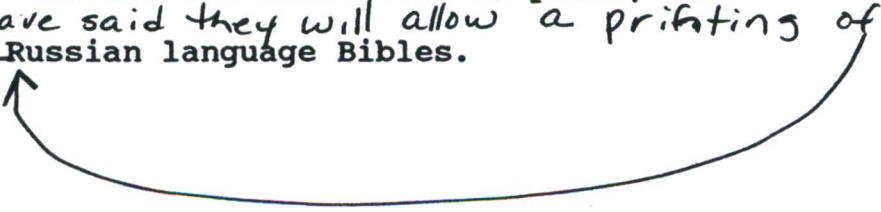
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Mih-cola *Rye-denko* *Bay-GOON* *Shi-BYE-ev* *Mat-vay-uke*
Father Chibaev, Reverend Matveluk, Mykola Rudenko, and Josef Begun

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These are encouraging signs, and we welcome them. What we hope for ultimately is a willingness to see continued change, in the spirit of glasnost, when it comes to matters of religion.

Perhaps the process is beginning. We noted that ←
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As General Secretary Gorbachev said recently, and I quote, "Mistakes made with regard to the church and believers in the 1930's and the years that followed are being rectified." So the earlier predictions by some, that once the grandmothers died, nobody would remember that there had been a church in Russia, are

We sincerely hope & pray that this will be the case.

wrong. Instead, the church in Russia is still full of grandmothers, women who were little children in 1917, and they are joined by the younger generation, longing to satisfy the need, the hunger, that no man-made institution in any society can ever fulfill.

Today, roughly 90 million people in the Soviet Union -- or nearly a third of the population -- proclaim some form of belief in God. ~~It~~ ^{And} it is not surprising that revolutions devoted to reshaping man as if he were so much clay deny one of the most basic teachings of Judeo-Christian belief -- that after God shaped Adam from dust, He breathed into him the divine principle of life.

There's a wonderful passage in Doctor Zhivago, in which Pasternak speaks of his bitter disillusionment with the philosophy of materialism and the bloody revolution it has spawned. "... when I hear people speak of reshaping life," he says, "I fall into despair.... People who can say that, have never understood a thing about life -- they have never felt its breath, its heartbeat.... They look on it as a lump of raw material that needs to be processed by them, to be ennobled by their touch. But life is never a material, a substance to be molded... life is the principle of self-renewal, it is constantly renewing and remaking and changing and transfiguring itself, it is infinitely beyond your or my obtuse theories about it."

The history of the 20th century has too often been brutal and tragic, but it has taught us one lesson that should fill our hearts with hope and joy, for we have found that the more

religion is oppressed -- the greater the attempt to extinguish that life principle, that divine spark -- the more it glows.

History is etched with stories of those who suffered religious persecution, yes, but it is also tells of transcendence, devotion, and sanctity. Even conversion. We think of Alexander Solzhenitzyn's ^{the strengthened conviction} ~~famous prison conversion~~ and the case of the Soviet psychiatrist ~~Anatoli Koryagin~~ ^{gained in prison} -- recently released after serving 6 years in prison. He sought baptism as soon as he emigrated.

[Kor-YAH-ghin]
-ghin
Kor-YAH-ghin

And we think of heroism and courage that can only remind us of the early Christian martyrs. One such is ~~Anna Chertkova~~ ^{Christ - KOE - vah} recently released after being held in a Soviet psychiatric hospital since 1973, for no other crime than her faith.

Or ~~Alfonas Svarinskis~~, a 62-year-old Lithuanian priest, who has spent 18 years in prison and is not scheduled to be released until 1990. He is gravely ill and has petitioned for permission to go abroad to receive medical care.

Or ~~Bishop Julijonas Steponavicius~~ ^{Julie-yhon-ahs} in internal exile since 1961 for refusing to collaborate with the authorities. ^{SEP-on-NAA-vee-chus}

How many men and women have had their faith tested? Now, we see some people who have served prison sentences for the unauthorized practice of religion being released. And no one has been imprisoned on that ground for the last 2 years. Our hopes and prayers are for this expression of change by the Soviet authorities to continue.

The faith of the peoples of the Soviet Union is pure and unbreakable. As Moses led his people from bondage in Egypt; as

X

Lita

?

the early Christians not only withstood pagan Rome, but converted an empire; we pray that the millennium of Christianity in Kiev Rus will mean freedom for the faithful in Russia, in Ukraine, the Baltic States, and all the regions of the Soviet Union.

And if we pray, we might want to use the words of the 22nd Psalm:

In Thee our fathers trusted;
They trusted, and Thou
 didst deliver them.
To Thee they cried out, and
 were delivered;
In Thee they trusted, and
 were not disappointed

Thank you all very much and God bless you.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/30/88 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: --

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DROPHY SEMINAR ON RELIGIOUS RIGHTS
IN THE U.S.S.R.

SUBJECT: TUESDAY, MAY 3, 1988

(4/30 - 2:30 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOOLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	KRANOWITZ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	POWELL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	RANGE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CRIBB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CRIPPEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>DOLAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>FAULKNER</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRISCOM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

*RR -
no changes*

(Speechwriters/Griscom/NSC/ARD)
April 30, 1988
2:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DROPHY SEMINAR ON RELIGIOUS RIGHTS
IN THE U.S.S.R.
TUESDAY, MAY 3, 1988

Thank you. Thank you all very much and welcome to the East Room of the White House.

This room has seen many important people: Presidents, diplomats, world statesmen, but none more important, none of greater faith and moral courage, than these four men we are honored to have with us. Father Chibaev, Reverend Matveiuk, Mykola Rudenko, and Josef Begun: I promise that the witness of faith you have brought here today will not be confined within these four walls, or forgotten when this meeting is ended -- I will carry it in my heart when I travel to the Soviet Union at the end of this month.

And I will say that the most fitting way to mark the millennium of Christianity in Kiev Rus would be granting the right of all the peoples and all the creeds of the Soviet Union to worship their God, in their own way.

You have, of course, been hearing this afternoon about the first signs of progress: The presence of these four men here today is testimony to the fact that our witness, here in the West, can have an impact. Some Soviet dissidents have been allowed to emigrate. Some churches are allowed to organize and file for recognition, and for the first time in years, the Soviets are printing Russian language Bibles.

These are encouraging signs, and we welcome them. What we hope for ultimately is a willingness to see continued change, in the spirit of glasnost, when it comes to matters of religion.

While some new churches are being built; and others, mostly Russian Orthodox, have been allowed to reopen; many other congregations are denied recognition, and therefore legality. The Ukrainian Catholic Church -- the Uniate Church -- is still closed, outlawed, and persecuted.

Religious instruction of children outside the home -- Sunday schools, Hebrew schools, or even confirmation classes -- and the production of religious study material are all still illegal activities. And about those Bibles: The authorities have promised to print 100,000 copies -- for a country of 280 million people. Yet, now there are, at least, signs by Soviet authorities of "a new law" on the freedom of conscience, reflecting the interests of religious organizations.

So while every positive step taken by the Soviets is welcomed -- we realize that this is just a beginning.

Let me also say, in particular, that the rights of Soviet Jews have taken up much of our official time -- and is very close to my heart. Our hope is for the doors to open fully to emigration and to full freedom -- for all faiths.

As General Secretary Gorbachev said recently, and I quote, "Mistakes made with regard to the church and believers in the 1930's and the years that followed are being rectified." So the earlier predictions by some, that once the grandmothers died, nobody would remember that there had been a church in Russia, are

wrong. Instead, the church in Russia is still full of grandmothers, women who were little children in 1917, and they are joined by the younger generation, longing to satisfy the need, the hunger that no man-made institution in any society can ever fulfill.

Today, roughly 90 million people in the Soviet Union -- or nearly a third of the population -- proclaim some form of belief in God. It is not surprising that revolutions devoted to reshaping man as if he were so much clay deny one of the most basic teachings of Judeo-Christian belief -- that after God shaped Adam from dust, He breathed into him the divine principle of life.

There's a wonderful passage in Doctor Zhivago, in which Pasternak speaks of his bitter disillusionment with the philosophy of materialism and the bloody revolution it has spawned. "... when I hear people speak of reshaping life," he says, "I fall into despair.... People who can say that, have never understood a thing about life -- they have never felt its breath, its heartbeat.... They look on it as a lump of raw material that needs to be processed by them, to be ennobled by their touch. But life is never a material, a substance to be molded... life is the principle of self-renewal, it is constantly renewing and remaking and changing and transfiguring itself, it is infinitely beyond your or my obtuse theories about it."

The history of the 20th century has too often been brutal and tragic, but it has taught us one lesson that should fill our hearts with hope and joy, for we have found that the more

religion is oppressed -- the greater the attempt to extinguish that life principle, that divine spark -- the more it glows.

History is etched with stories of those who suffered religious persecution, yes, but it is also tells of transcendence, devotion, and sanctity. Even conversion. We think of Alexander Solzhenitzyn's famous prison conversion; and the case of the Soviet psychiatrist Anatoli Koryagin -- recently released after serving 6 years in prison. He sought baptism as soon as he emigrated.

And we think of heroism and courage that can only remind us of the early Christian martyrs. One such is Anna Chertkova, recently released after being held in a Soviet psychiatric hospital since 1973, for no other crime than her faith.

Or Alfonsas Svarinskas, a 62-year-old Lithuanian priest, who has spent 18 years in prison and is not scheduled to be released until 1990. He is gravely ill and has petitioned for permission to go abroad to receive medical care.

Or Bishop Julijonas Steponavicius, in internal exile since 1961 for refusing to collaborate with the authorities.

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(Speechwriters/Griscom/NSC/ARD)
April 30, 1988
2:30 p.m. RR

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DROBY SEMINAR ON RELIGIOUS RIGHTS
IN THE U.S.S.R.
TUESDAY, MAY 3, 1988

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Let me also say, in particular, that the rights of Soviet Jews have taken up much of our official time -- and is very close to my heart. Our hope is for the doors to open fully to emigration and to full freedom -- for all faiths.

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wrong. Instead, the church in Russia is still full of grandmothers, women who were little children in 1917, and they are joined by the younger generation, longing to satisfy the need, the hunger that no man-made institution in any society can ever fulfill.

Today, roughly 90 million people in the Soviet Union -- or nearly a third of the population -- proclaim some form of belief in God. It is not surprising that revolutions devoted to reshaping man as if he were so much clay deny one of the most basic teachings of Judeo-Christian belief -- that after God shaped Adam from dust, He breathed into him the divine principle of life.

There's a wonderful passage in Doctor Zhivago, in which Pasternak speaks of his bitter disillusionment with the philosophy of materialism and the bloody revolution it has spawned. "... when I hear people speak of reshaping life," he says, "I fall into despair.... People who can say that, have never understood a thing about life -- they have never felt its breath, its heartbeat.... They look on it as a lump of raw material that needs to be processed by them, to be ennobled by their touch. But life is never a material, a substance to be molded... life is the principle of self-renewal, it is constantly renewing and remaking and changing and transfiguring itself, it is infinitely beyond your or my obtuse theories about it."

The history of the 20th century has too often been brutal and tragic, but it has taught us one lesson that should fill our hearts with hope and joy, for we have found that the more

religion is oppressed -- the greater the attempt to extinguish that life principle, that divine spark -- the more it glows.

History is etched with stories of those who suffered religious persecution, yes, but it is also tells of transcendence, devotion, and sanctity. Even conversion. We think of Alexander Solzhenitzyn's famous prison conversion; and the case of the Soviet psychiatrist Anatoli Koryagin -- recently released after serving 6 years in prison. He sought baptism as soon as he emigrated.

And we think of heroism and courage that can only remind us of the early Christian martyrs. One such is Anna Chertkova, recently released after being held in a Soviet psychiatric hospital since 1973, for no other crime than her faith.

Or Alfonsas Svarinskas, a 62-year-old Lithuanian priest, who has spent 18 years in prison and is not scheduled to be released until 1990. He is gravely ill and has petitioned for permission to go abroad to receive medical care.

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To Thee they cried out, and
were delivered;
In Thee they trusted, and
were not disappointed

Thank you all very much and God bless you.

Master

Document No. 561268

Griscorn, NSC

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 04/28/88 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. Friday 04/29/88

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DROPBY SEMINAR ON RELIGIOUS RIGHTS IN THE U.S.S.F
(04/28 8:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOOLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	KRANOWITZ	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	POWELL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RANGE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIBB	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIPPEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>DOLAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>FAULKNER</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRISCOM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan by 2:00 p.m. on Friday, April 29th, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

Received SS
1988 APR 30 AM 10:34

- see comments/remarks

coordinated w/ Gen. Powell

[Handwritten signature]

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

(Gilder/ARD)
April 28, 1988
8:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DROPHY SEMINAR ON RELIGIOUS RIGHTS
IN THE U.S.S.R.
TUESDAY, MAY 3, 1988

Thank you. Thank you all very much and welcome to the East Room of the White House.

This room has seen many important people: Presidents, diplomats, world statesmen, but none more important, none of greater faith and moral courage than these four men we are honored to have with us. Father Chibaev, Reverend Matveiuk, Mykola Rudenko, and Josef Begun: I promise that the witness of faith you have brought here today will not be confined within these four walls, or forgotten when this meeting is ended -- I will carry it in my heart, ~~and I will speak it on my lips,~~ when I travel to the Soviet Union at the end of this month ~~to meet with General Secretary Gorbachev.~~

~~As I have in the past, I will make it clear to him that the continuing persecution of religion inside the Soviet Union remains one of the greatest obstacles to improved relations between our two nations.~~ And I will say ~~to him~~ that the most fitting way to mark the millennium of Christianity in ^{Kiev} ~~Kiev~~ Rus would be ~~the release of all religious prisoners and prisoners of conscience -- and granting the right of all the peoples and all the creeds of the Soviet Union to worship their God, free from~~ ^{in their own way} ~~fear, harassment, and interference.~~

You have, of course, been hearing this afternoon about the first signs of progress: The presence of these four men here today is testimony to the fact that our witness, here in the

Soviet

West, can have an impact, ~~on the Soviet system~~. Some ~~of the more well-known religious prisoners~~ and dissidents have been allowed to emigrate. Some churches are allowed to organize and file for recognition, and for the first time in years, the Soviets are printing Russian language Bibles.

These are encouraging signs, ~~but they are as yet only signs~~ *and we welcome them!*

What we ~~are looking~~ ^{hope} for ultimately is a willingness to ~~accept all~~ *Continued* change, ~~real glasnost~~, *in the spirit of* when it comes to matters of religion.

Said this in paragraph above!

~~Some religious dissidents have been released, but many more still languish in Soviet jails and labor camps, enduring terrible privations, even torture, because they refuse to renounce their belief. About 400 of these brave souls are known to us by name, but Anatoli Sharansky estimates that the total number of religious prisoners numbers at least five to six thousand.~~

While some churches, mostly Russian Orthodox, have been allowed to open, many other congregations are denied recognition, and therefore legality, even though they meet all the state requirements. The ~~Roman Catholic Church~~ ^{Ukrainian (i.e. the Uniate Church)} is still ~~outlawed and persecuted~~ ^{closed} -- at the same time that ~~a few~~ ^{Some} Orthodox churches have been allowed to reopen, ~~over Roman Catholic churches, long closed, have been demolished in the Ukraine.~~

Religious instruction of children, organizing study groups, running Sunday schools, producing or distributing religious literature -- even providing charitable help for those in prison -- are all still illegal activities. ~~Catholic religious orders are banned, while Orthodox communities are so restricted to that there are only 7 monasteries and 10 convents.~~ And about

Yet, now there are, at least, signs by Soviet authorities of "a new law" on the freedom of conscience, reflecting the interests of religious organizations!

* Insert this at end of this paragraph which is on top of page 3.

Just said before!

Today

~~Even under the present state of persecution, roughly 100 million people in the Soviet Union -- or more than a third of the population -- proclaim some form of belief in God. ^{And that} ~~contrasts favorably to some Western nations, and overwhelms the 19 million Soviet citizens who are members of the Communist party. And one wonders: For how many of them is Marxism really conviction rather than convenience, a means simply for advancement.~~~~

~~It is not surprising that~~ ~~totalitarian societies treat religion as an enemy.~~ ~~Revolutions devoted to reshaping man as if he were so much clay ~~must~~ deny one of the most basic teachings of religion -- that after God shaped Adam from dust, He breathed into him the divine principle of life.~~

There's a wonderful passage in Doctor Zhivago, in which Pasternak speaks of his bitter disillusionment with the philosophy of materialism and the bloody revolution it has spawned. "When I hear people speak of reshaping life," he says, "I fall into despair.... People who say that they have never understood a thing about life -- have never felt its breath its heartbeat.... They look on it as a lump of raw material that needs to be processed by them, to be ennobled by their touch. But life is never a material, a substance to be molded... life is the principle of self-renewal, it is constantly renewing and remaking itself and changing and transfiguring itself, it is infinitely beyond your or my obtuse theories about it."

~~Infinitely beyond~~ ~~The~~ history of the 20th century has too often been brutal and tragic, but it has taught us one lesson

that should fill our hearts with hope and joy, for we have found that the more religion is oppressed -- the greater the attempt to extinguish that life principle, that divine spark -- the more ~~fiercely~~ it glows.

History is etched with stories of those who suffered religious persecution
~~The testimony of the martyrs~~ is one of suffering, yes, but it *tells* is also one of transcendence, devotion, and sanctity. Even conversion. We think of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's famous prison conversion; and *the case of the Soviet psychiatrist* ~~the case of the Soviet psychiatrist~~, Anatoli Koryagin -- recently released after serving 6 years ~~for exposing~~ *the abuse of psychiatry in the* ~~Soviet Union~~. He sought baptism as soon as he *emigrated* ~~arrived in the West~~.

And we think of heroism and courage that can only remind us of the early Christian martyrs. One such is Anna Chertkova, recently released after being held in a Soviet psychiatric hospital since 1973, for no other crime than her faith. ~~Confined in a general ward with mentally disturbed patients, she was injected with the psychotropic drug Sulphazin which caused uncontrollable tremors in her jaw that later spread to her whole body. Several times she was called before the authorities who told her: "Deny God and you will go home tomorrow," but Anna refused, saying "I walk with Jesus. He is my defender."~~

Or Alfonsas Svarinskas, a 62-year-old Lithuanian priest, who has spent 18 years in prison and is not scheduled to be released until 1990. He is gravely ill and has petitioned for permission to go abroad to receive medical care, ~~so far, his petition has been denied.~~

~~Or Sigitas Tamkevicius, imprisoned for, among other things, organizing a Christmas party for children~~ Or Bishop Julijonas Steponavicius, in internal exile since 1961 for refusing to collaborate with the authorities. ~~Of the Baptist minister,~~

~~Nikolai Boiko, first arrested in 1968. At 65 he suffers from heart disease and wonders if he will ever return to his wife and 8 children.~~

~~Or Vladimir Pusak, a Russian Orthodox deacon, arrested in 1966 for criticizing his church's cooperation with the Soviet government -- not due to be released until 1993.~~

~~Or Bishop Mykhailo Hawryliw, who came out from the underground to petition the Soviet government to legalize the Ukrainian Catholic church. He was drafted into the army and served for 3 months -- cleaning up the radioactive contamination around the Chernobyl nuclear power plant.~~

3-4 examples work well in this context - so delete remainder

How many ~~Christian martyrs, how many saints, have been swallowed by the system, unknown to all but God, how many men and women, like Anna Chertkova, have had their faith tested,~~

~~seemingly beyond human endurance.~~ ^{Now, we see some} people who have served prison sentences for the unauthorized practice of religion being released. And no one has been imprisoned on that ground for the last 2 years.

~~But in the crucible of pain, the faith of the peoples of the Soviet Union is becoming pure and hard and unbreakable. As Moses led his people from bondage in Egypt; as the early Christians not only withstood pagan Rome, but converted an empire; we ~~must~~ pray that the millennium of Christianity in ^{Kiev} ~~Rieven~~ Rus will mean freedom -- complete and uncompromised freedom -- for the faithful in Russia, in the Ukraine, the Baltic States, and all the region, of the Soviet Union.~~

Our hopes + prayers are for this expression of change by the Soviet authorities to continue

And if we pray, we might want to use the words of the
22nd Psalm:

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They trusted, and Thou

didst deliver them.

To Thee they cried out, and

were delivered;

In Thee they trusted, and

were not disappointed

Thank you all very much and God bless you.

"Before
Δ's"

(Gilder/ARD)
April 29, 1988
8:00 p.m. RR

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DROPBY SEMINAR ON RELIGIOUS RIGHTS
IN THE U.S.S.R.
TUESDAY, MAY 3, 1988

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This room has seen many important people: Presidents, diplomats, world statesmen, but none more important, none of greater faith and moral courage, than these four men we are honored to have with us. Father Chibaev, Reverend Matveiuk, Mykola Rudenko, and Josef Begun: I promise that the witness of faith you have brought here today will not be confined within these four walls, or forgotten when this meeting is ended -- I will carry it in my heart, and I will speak it on my lips, when I travel to the Soviet Union at the end of this month to meet with General Secretary Gorbachev.

As I have in the past, I will make it clear to him that a new policy of tolerance and freedom for religious practice inside the Soviet Union would be one of the most important signs of real change, and would remove one of the greatest obstacles to improved relations between our two nations. And I will say to him that the most fitting way to mark the millennium of Christianity in Kiev Rus would be to release all religious prisoners and prisoners of conscience -- and to grant all the peoples and creeds of the Soviet Union the right to worship their God, free from fear, harassment, and interference.

You have, of course, been hearing this afternoon about the first signs of progress: The presence of these four men here

today is testimony to the fact that our witness, here in the West, can have an impact. Some of the more well-known religious prisoners and dissidents have been allowed to emigrate. Some churches are allowed to organize and file for recognition and, recently, the Soviets have said they will allow a printing of Russian language Bibles.

These are encouraging signs, and we welcome them. But they are, as yet, only signs. Some religious dissidents have been released, but many more still languish in Soviet jails and labor camps, enduring terrible privations, even torture, because they refuse to renounce their belief. Over 100 of these brave souls are known to us by name, but observers such as Natan Sharansky estimate that the total number of religious prisoners is much higher.

While some new churches are being built; and others, mostly Russian Orthodox, have been allowed to re-open; many other congregations are still denied recognition, and therefore legality. The Ukrainian Catholic Church -- the Uniate Church -- is still outlawed and persecuted. Churches and other religious shrines -- especially in Ukraine -- continue to be demolished. Today, because of harrassment by the K.G.B., Ukrainian Catholics must hold Mass secretly in the woods.

Religious instruction of children outside the home -- Sunday schools, Hebrew schools, or even confirmation classes -- and the production of religious study material are all still illegal activities. Many Catholic religious orders are banned, while Russian Orthodox communities are so restricted that there are

only approximately 20 monasteries and convents -- this compares to 1200 before the Revolution. And about those Bibles: The authorities have promised to print 100,000 copies -- for a country of 280 million people. Some say one will cost 200 rubles -- a month's salary for the average Soviet. And, we've heard lately that there is a "paper shortage," meaning and even those 100,000 may not be printed.

So while we welcome every positive step taken by the Soviet authorities -- we must at the same time make it clear that this is just a beginning. Bibles should not be collector's items and a fresh coat of paint does not constitute religious liberty.

Let me also say, in particular, that the plight of Soviet Jews is one that has taken up much of our official time -- and is very close to my heart. The world watches, waits, and hopes. It is time to open the doors fully to emigration for those who want to leave, and to full freedom of worship for all who stay. There must be no restrictions on anybody to teach, practice, or propagate their religion.

Lenin predicted that once the grandmothers died, nobody would remember that there had been a church in Russia. Religion, he believed, would become an historical relic, confined exclusively to museums of atheism. That isn't the way things have turned out. The church in Russia is still full of grandmothers, women who were little children in 1917, and they are being joined in increasing numbers by the younger generation, disillusioned by the atheistic state, longing to satisfy that need, that hunger, that no man-made institution can ever fulfill.

It seems today that it is the philosophy of materialism -- a philosophy that in practice can't even deliver the material goods -- that is the relic that will wither away and be forgotten, or perhaps some day be confined to a museum.

Even under the present state of persecution, roughly 90 million people in the Soviet Union -- or nearly a third of the population -- proclaim some form of belief in God. That overwhelms the 19 million Soviet citizens who are members of the Communist party. And one wonders: For how many of them is Marxism really conviction rather than convenience, a means simply for advancement?

It is not surprising that totalitarian societies treat religion as an enemy. Revolutions devoted to reshaping man as if he were so much clay must deny one of the most basic teachings of Judeo-Christian belief -- that after God shaped Adam from dust, He breathed into him the divine principle of life.

There's a wonderful passage in Doctor Zhivago, in which Pasternak speaks of his bitter disillusionment with the philosophy of materialism and the bloody revolution it has spawned. "... when I hear people speak of reshaping life," he says, "I fall into despair.... People who can say that, have never understood a thing about life -- they have never felt its breath, its heartbeat.... They look on it as a lump of raw material that needs to be processed by them, to be ennobled by their touch. But life is never a material, a substance to be molded... life is the principle of self-renewal, it is constantly

renewing and remaking and changing and transfiguring itself, it is infinitely beyond your or my obtuse theories about it."

Infinitely beyond -- the history of the 20th century has too often been brutal and tragic, but it has taught us one lesson that should fill our hearts with hope and joy -- for we have found that the more religion is oppressed, the greater the attempt to extinguish that life principle, that divine spark, the more fiercely it glows.

The testimony of the gulags is one of suffering, yes, but it is also one of transcendence, devotion, and sanctity. Even conversion. We think of Alexander Solzhenitzyn's famous prison conversion; and the case of the Soviet psychiatrist, Anatoli Koryagin -- recently released after serving 6 years for exposing the abuse of psychiatry in the Soviet Union, he sought baptism as soon as he arrived in the West.

And we think of heroism and courage that can only remind us of the early Christian martyrs -- such as that of Anna Chertkova, recently released after being held in a Soviet psychiatric hospital since 1973, for no other crime than her faith. Confined in a general ward with mentally disturbed patients, she was injected with a psychotropic drug that caused uncontrollable tremors in her jaw that later spread to her whole body. Several times she was called before the authorities who told her: "Deny God and you will go home tomorrow," but Anna refused, saying "I walk with Jesus. He is my defender."

Or Father Alfonsas Svarinskas, ordained in a Soviet labor camp where he spent 10 years for protesting the Soviet annexation

of Lithuania. Rearrested in 1958, then in 1978, he has spent 18 years in prison and, though he is very ill, is not scheduled to be released until 1990. Still, Father Svarinskas told a friend, "the K.G.B. is itching to get rid of me, but what can they do? Shut me up in prison? Priests are needed there, also. Hang me? I would be closer to heaven. Most of all, we need martyrs. Ideals that people die for do not die."

Or Sigitas Tamkevicius, imprisoned for, among other things, organizing a Christmas party for children. Or Bishop Julijonas Steponavicius, in internal exile since 1961 for refusing to collaborate with the authorities. Or Vladimir Rusak, a Russian Orthodox deacon, arrested in 1986 for writing about the history of his church's cooperation with the Soviet government -- he isn't due to be released until 1993. Or the Baptist minister, Nikolai Boiko, first arrested in 1968. At 65 he suffers from heart disease and wonders if he will ever return to his wife and 8 children.

How many Christian martyrs, how many saints, have been swallowed by the system, unknown but to God, how many men and women have had their faith tested, seemingly beyond human endurance.

But in the crucible of pain, the faith of the peoples of the Soviet Union is becoming pure and hard -- and unbreakable. As Moses led his people from bondage in Egypt; as the early Christians not only withstood pagan Rome, but converted an empire; we must pray that the millennium of Christianity in Kiev Rus will mean freedom -- complete and uncompromised

freedom -- for the faithful in Russia, Ukraine, the Baltic States, and all the regions of the Soviet Union.

And if we pray, we might want to use the words of the 22nd Psalm:

In Thee our fathers trusted;
They trusted, and Thou
 didst deliver them.
To Thee they cried out, and
 were delivered;
In Thee they trusted, and
 were not disappointed

Thank you all very much and God bless you.

*Previous
Dis for
Tony*

(Speechwriters/Griscom/NSC/ARD)
April 30, 1988
1:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DROBY SEMINAR ON RELIGIOUS RIGHTS
IN THE U.S.S.R.
TUESDAY, MAY 3, 1988

Thank you. Thank you all very much and welcome to the East Room of the White House.

This room has seen many important people: Presidents, diplomats, world statesmen, but none more important, none of greater faith and moral courage, than these four men we are honored to have with us. Father Chibaev, Reverend Matveiuk, Mykola Rudenko, and Josef Begun: I promise that the witness of faith you have brought here today will not be confined within these four walls, or forgotten when this meeting is ended -- I will carry it in my heart when I travel to the Soviet Union at the end of this month.

And I will say that the most fitting way to mark the millennium of Christianity in Kiev Rus would be granting the right of all the peoples and all the creeds of the Soviet Union to worship their God, in their own way.

You have, of course, been hearing this afternoon about the first signs of progress: The presence of these four men here today is testimony to the fact that our witness, here in the West, can have an impact. Some Soviet dissidents have been allowed to emigrate. Some churches are allowed to organize and file for recognition, and for the first time in years, the Soviets are printing Russian language Bibles.

These are encouraging signs, and we welcome them. What we hope for ultimately is a willingness to see continued change, in the spirit of glasnost, when it comes to matters of religion.

While some ^{new} churches, mostly Russian Orthodox, have been allowed to ^{re-}open; many other congregations are denied recognition, and therefore legality, ~~even though they meet all the state requirements.~~ The Ukrainian Catholic Church -- the Uniate Church -- is still closed, outlawed, and persecuted, ~~at the same time that some Russian Orthodox churches have been allowed to reopen.~~

Religious instruction of children, ^{organizing study groups,} ~~running~~ Sunday schools, ^{Hebrew schools, or even confirmation classes --} ~~producing or distributing religious literature --~~ ^{and the production of religious study material} even providing charitable help for those in ~~prison~~ are all still illegal activities. And about those Bibles: The authorities have promised to print 100,000 copies -- for a country of 280 million people. Yet, now there are, at least, signs by Soviet authorities of "a new law" on the freedom of conscience, reflecting the interests of religious organizations.

So while every positive step taken by the Soviets is welcomed -- we realize that this is just a beginning.

Let me also say, in particular, that the rights of Soviet Jews have taken up much of our official time -- and is very close to my heart. Our hope is for the doors to open fully to emigration and to full freedom -- for all faiths.

As General Secretary Gorbachev said recently, and I quote, "Mistakes made with regard to the church and believers in the

1930's and the years that followed are being rectified." So the earlier predictions by some, that once the grandmothers died, nobody would remember that there had been a church in Russia, are wrong. Instead, the church in Russia is still full of grandmothers, women who were little children in 1917, and they are joined by the younger generation, longing to satisfy the need, the hunger that no man-made institution in any society can ever fulfill.

Today, roughly 90 million people in the Soviet Union -- or nearly a third of the population -- proclaim some form of belief in God. It is not surprising that revolutions devoted to reshaping man as if he were so much clay deny one of the most basic teachings of Judeo-Christian belief -- that after God shaped Adam from dust, He breathed into him the divine principle of life.

There's a wonderful passage in Doctor Zhivago, in which Pasternak speaks of his bitter disillusionment with the philosophy of materialism and the bloody revolution it has spawned. "... when I hear people speak of reshaping life," he says, "I fall into despair.... People who can say that, have never understood a thing about life -- they have never felt its breath, its heartbeat.... They look on it as a lump of raw material that needs to be processed by them, to be ennobled by their touch. But life is never a material, a substance to be molded... life is the principle of self-renewal, it is constantly renewing and remaking and changing and transfiguring itself, it is infinitely beyond your or my obtuse theories about it."

The history of the 20th century has too often been brutal and tragic, but it has taught us one lesson that should fill our hearts with hope and joy, for we have found that the more religion is oppressed -- the greater the attempt to extinguish that life principle, that divine spark -- the more it glows.

History is etched with stories of those who suffered religious persecution, yes, but it is also tells of transcendence, devotion, and sanctity. Even conversion. We think of Alexander Solzhenitzyn's famous prison conversion; and the case of the Soviet psychiatrist Anatoli Koryagin -- recently released after serving 6 years in prison. He sought baptism as soon as he emigrated.

And we think of heroism and courage that can only remind us of the early Christian martyrs. One such is Anna Chertkova, recently released after being held in a Soviet psychiatric hospital since 1973, for no other crime than her faith.

Or Alfonsas Svarinskas, a 62-year-old Lithuanian priest, who has spent 18 years in prison and is not scheduled to be released until 1990. He is gravely ill and has petitioned for permission to go abroad to receive medical care.

Or Bishop Julijonas Steponavicius, in internal exile since 1961 for refusing to collaborate with the authorities.

X How many men and women, ~~like Anna Chertkova,~~ have had their faith tested? Now, we see some people who have served prison sentences for the unauthorized practice of religion being released. And no one has been imprisoned on that ground for the

last 2 years. Our hopes and prayers are for this expression of change by the Soviet authorities to continue.

The faith of the peoples of the Soviet Union is pure and unbreakable. As Moses led his people from bondage in Egypt; as the early Christians not only withstood pagan Rome, but converted an empire; we pray that the millennium of Christianity in Kiev Rus will mean freedom for the faithful in Russia, in Ukraine, the Baltic States, and all the regions of the Soviet Union.

And if we pray, we might want to use the words of the 22nd Psalm:

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