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(Gilder/ARD)
April 29, 1988
6:00 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 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 open, many other congregations are still denied recognition, and therefore legality. The Ukrainian Catholic ^{church} -- the Uniate Church -- ~~Church~~ is still outlawed and persecuted. Churches and other religious shrines -- especially in Ukraine -- continue to be demolished. Today, because of harassment 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, ~~they~~ 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."

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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:

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Thank you all very much and God bless you.

Mosher

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

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As I have in the past, I will make it clear to him that the ^{a new} ~~policy of tolerance and freedom for religious practice~~ ~~continuing persecution of religion~~ inside the Soviet Union ^{would be one of the most important signs of real change, and would remove} ~~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 Kievan Rus would be ^{to} ~~the~~ release ~~of~~ all religious prisoners and prisoners of conscience -- ^{to} and ~~granting~~ ^{the right} of all the peoples ^{and creeds} ~~and~~ all ~~the creeds~~ of the Soviet Union ^{the right} to worship their God, free from fear, harassment, and interference.

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^{harassment by the K.G.B., Ukrainian Catholics must hold mass secretly in} Religious instruction of children, ^{organizing study groups,} ~~organizing study groups,~~ ^{the woods} running Sunday schools, ^{Hebrew schools, or even confirmation classes,} ~~producing or distributing religious~~ ^{and the production of religious study material} ~~literature -- even providing charitable help for those in~~ ^{many} ~~prison --~~ are all still illegal activities. ^{Russian} Catholic religious orders are banned, while ^{Orthodox communities are so restricted} Orthodox communities are so restricted that there are ^{only approximately 20} ~~only 7~~ monasteries and ~~10~~ convents. And about

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And we think of heroism and courage that can only remind us of the early Christian martyrs, ^{as that of} ~~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 ^a ~~the~~ psychotropic drug ^{that} ~~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."

^{Father} Or Alfonsas Svarinskas, ^{who was} ~~a 62-year-old Lithuanian priest, who~~ ^{was} ~~has~~ spent 18 years in prison and ^{is} ~~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.~~ ^{But} ~~But~~ Father Svarinskas told a friend

(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. He is gravely ill and has petitioned for permission to go abroad to receive medical care -- so far, his petition has been denied. But Father Svarinskas told a friend

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

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To Thee they cried out, and

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In Thee they trusted, and

were not disappointed

Thank you all very much and God bless you.

Janis' prison camp address:

Janis Skudra
618810
Permskaya obl
Chusovskoi raion
P/O Vsesvyatskaya
uchr. VS 389/35
Soviet Union

FATHER ALFONSAS SVARINSKAS (BORN 1925) - LITHUANIA, USSR

Father Alfonsas Svarinskas, 62, was ordained in a Soviet labor camp where he spent ten years for protesting the Soviet annexation of Lithuania. There he was loved by even the worst criminals for his unfailing kindness and humility. After his release he was re-arrested in 1958 for an anti-State sermon he allegedly delivered, although on the day in question there was no sermon given in his church at all. He was sentenced to six years. After his release he was assigned a series of parishes, each of which he transformed from a deserted church into an overflowing one. In 1978 he was one of five priests who founded the Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights. Shortly before his arrest, Father Svarinskas told a friend, "the KGB 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."

On May 6, 1983, Father Svarinskas was sentenced to seven years in prison and three years of internal exile. His arrest sparked a dramatic protest in Lithuania, where 38,000 people signed petitions of protest to Andropov and nine believers asked to take his place in prison.

This is taken from a letter from Father Svarinskas en route to prison, dated June 7, 1983:

"I left Vilnius May 27th at eight p.m. At nine a.m. Saturday, I was in Pskov. In the afternoon I was in the prison itself. Conditions here are terrible. There are very many people here, and I wound up in the cellar. My cell is dark, without flooring, and water seeps up from beneath, through the clay. The bedbugs, mosquitos, and fleas! Last Friday, I got to a cell on the third floor. It was dry there....On the train and in my cell, I am the only political prisoner, so the talk and profanity are horrible. Sometimes, you can not even pray. Those are terribly dehumanized individuals. Here I had some opportunity to speak about God. Yesterday, I met a Latvian student. He was sentenced for speculation to 2 1/2 years. I spoke about Christ. He is very

interested. It would be good for our atheists to see this crowd. Perhaps they would understand where they are leading our people, to what terrible destruction....My spirits are evenly good. At this time I am taken up with the priesthood of Christ. From my heart, I repeat daily to the Lord, 'Fiat -- thy will be done!'"

In 1987 Father Svarinskas was transferred from prison to the KGB investigation prison in Vilnius. He was, however, returned to prison camp after refusing to sign a statement admitting guilt for his religious activities.

Father Svarinskas' prison address:

Father Alfonsas Svarinskas
618263 p. Kuchino
Chusovskogo r-n
Permskoy obl.
Uczrezdenie VS-389/36
Soviet Union

Russian Orthodox - dissidents

→ Church is what determined our life here.

→ In your eyes of our rights, we see the only guarantee of their existence.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DROPHY 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 <i>welcome</i> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| MILLER - OMB | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | POWELL | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| BAUER <i>att'd</i> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | RANGE <i>att'd</i> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| CRIBB <i>None</i> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | RISQUE <i>none</i> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| CRIPPEN | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | RYAN | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| CULVAHOUSE <i>att'd</i> | <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 <i>None</i> | <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:

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

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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 Kieven 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 fear, harassment, and interference.

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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.

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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.

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

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DROBY 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 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 Kieven 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 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 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. What we are looking for ultimately is a willingness to accept real change, real glasnost, when it comes to matters of religion. 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 is still outlawed and persecuted -- at the same time that a few 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 that there are only 7 monasteries and 10 convents. And about

those Bibles: The authorities have promised to print 100,000 copies -- for a country of 250 million people. And now, we hear that there is a "paper shortage" 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 and to full freedom -- for all faiths -- to teach, practice, and 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 100 million people in the Soviet Union -- or more than a third of the population -- proclaim some form of belief in God. 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."

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 29, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY DOLAN

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
AND DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM:

PATRICIA MACK BRYAN *PMB*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Presidential Remarks: Dropby Seminar on Religious
Rights in the U.S.S.R. (4/28 8:00 p.m. draft)

Pursuant to Rhett Dawson's staffing memorandum of April 29, 1988, Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced Presidential remarks. Subject to the minor edits noted on the draft itself and any diplomatic concerns of the National Security Council, Counsel's Office has no objection to the text of these remarks.

cc: Rhett B. Dawson
Attachment

(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

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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 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 Kieven 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 fear, harassment, and interference.

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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. What we are looking for ultimately is a willingness to accept real change, real glasnost, when it comes to matters of religion. 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.

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those Bibles: The authorities have promised to print 100,000 copies -- for a country of 250 million people. And now, we hear that there is a "paper shortage" 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 and to full freedom -- for all faiths -- to teach, practice, and 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.

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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* 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."

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And we think of heroism and courage that can only remind us of the early Christian martyrs. One such ^{modern day heroine} 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."

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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 Kieven 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.

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Thank you all very much and God bless you.

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.I
(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:

GET NAMES be [scribble] SIMS
OF WHOM YOU
SPOKE WITH -
RETURN TO
MELISSA OR SUSANNAH

100 - 6508
100 - 700

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

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

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is worth reporting... (give some foundation Russia Soldier)

SEE ATTACHMENT

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Isaiah 33:
18 - 21

~~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.

(Psalm 33: 18-22)

In closing, let us remember the words of the Psalmist:

Behold the eye of the Lord is on
those who fear Him,
On those who hope in His mercy,
To deliver their soul from death,
And to keep them alive in famine.
Our soul waits for the Lord;
He is our help and our shield.
For our heart shall rejoice in Him,
Because we have trusted in His holy
name.
Let Your mercy, O Lord, be upon us,
Just as we hope in You.

Attachment for Page 4

Let me tell you a story that is worth repeating:

Recently a letter found its way to my desk, I'm pleased to say, and in that letter was a copy of a prayer. It was sent to me by a woman who had lost her husband in World War II. This prayer had been written and delivered in a shell hole during World War II.

It read, hear me, oh God, never in the whole of my lifetime have I spoken to you, but just now I feel like sending you my greetings. You know, from childhood on, they've always told me you are not. I, like a fool, believed them. I've never contemplated your creation, and yet tonight, gazing up out of my shell hole, I marveled at the shimmering stars above me and suddenly knew the cruelty of the lie. Will you, my God, reach your hand out to me, I wonder, but I will tell you and you will understand, is it not strange that light should come upon me and I see you amid this night of hell.

There's nothing else I have to say. This, though -- I'm glad that I've learned to know you. At midnight, we're scheduled to attack, but you are looking on, and I am not afraid. The signal.

Well, I guess I must be going. I have been happy with you. This more I want to say. As you well know, the fighting will be cruel and even tonight I may come knocking at your door. Although I have not been a friend to you before, still, will you let me enter now when I do come?

Why, I'm crying, oh God, my Lord. You see what happens to me. Tonight my eyes were opened. Farewell my God, I'm going and I'm not likely to come back. Strange, is it not, but death I fear no longer.

And he did not come back. This prayer was found on the body of a young Russian soldier killed in action in 1944.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

April 29, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY DOLAN

FROM: PAUL SCHOTT STEVENS *PS*

SUBJECT: NSC's Comments on Draft Presidential Remarks
for May 3d Religious Rights Seminar

NSC has reviewed the draft Presidential remarks for the 3 May Seminar on Religious Rights. In general, they are very good.

We have corrected some substantive errors and suggested several additions. We have also softened the language in places without, we believe, sacrificing the thrust. In addition, we strongly recommend adding a statement about the secular control of all organized religion in the USSR -- a blatant violation of the principle of separation of church and state. Churches must be free to run their own affairs.

We also suggest running the final text by Ambassador Richard Schifter, Assistant Secretary of State for Humanitarian Affairs.

Attachment

Tab A Revised speech draft

cc:

Rhett Dawson

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
White House Collection, August 28, 1997
By SRS NARA, Date 3/25/01

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A

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

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: 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 with us. Father Chibaev, Reverend^e 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~~ ^{a new} ~~continuing persecution of religion~~ ^{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~~ ^{would be one of the most important signs of real change, and would remove} ~~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 ~~Kieven~~ ^{Kiev} Rus would be ~~the~~ ^{to} release ~~of~~ ^{of} all religious prisoners and prisoners of conscience -- and ~~granting the right of~~ ^{to} all the peoples ~~and all~~ ^{and creeds} ~~the creeds~~ ^{the right} of the Soviet Union 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

State in more positive way

concern

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.

Tone

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

~~What we are looking for ultimately is a willingness to accept real change, real glasnost, when it comes to matters of religion.~~

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.~~ *is much higher.*

let Sharansky's figures not be substantiated (better to leave out).

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.~~ *Ukrainian* The ~~Roman~~ *Ukrainian* Catholic Church ~~is still outlawed and persecuted,~~ *-- the Uniate Church --* ~~at the same time that a few Orthodox churches have been allowed to reopen,~~ *and* ~~over Roman Catholic churches, long closed,~~ *some* ~~have been demolished in the Ukraine.~~ *Uniate parishes remain tightly closed*

Religious instruction of children, ~~organizing study groups,~~ *outside the home --* ~~running Sunday schools, producing or distributing religious literature --~~ *Hebrew schools, or even confirmation classes,* ~~even providing charitable help for those in~~ *and the production of religious study material*

Just this is legal now for adults

~~prison --~~ are all still illegal activities. Catholic religious orders are banned, while Orthodox communities are so restricted that there are only 7 monasteries and 10 convents. And about

those Bibles: The authorities have promised to print 100,000 copies -- for a country of 250 million people. ~~And now~~, we heard that there is a "paper shortage" and even those 100,000 may not be printed.

Some say, one will cost 200 rubles, a month's salary for the average Soviet.
And now, we heard lately

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 ~~freedom~~ unrestricted~~ *is on any body* to teach, practice, and 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 100 million people in the Soviet Union -- or more than a third of the population -- proclaim some form of belief in God. 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.

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 Solzennitzen'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. 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 ^a the psychotropic drug ~~Sulphazin~~ ^{that} 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 ^{very} 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 Rusak, a Russian Orthodox deacon, arrested in 1986 for ~~criticizing~~ ^{writing about the history of} his church's cooperation with the Soviet government -- ~~not~~ ^{he isn't} 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.

How many Christian martyrs, how many saints, have been swallowed by the system, unknown ~~to~~ ^{to} all but God, how many men and women, like Anna Chertkova, 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 Kieven Rus will mean freedom -- complete and uncompromised 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

Thank you all very much and God bless you.