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Folder Title:
Religious Broadcasters 1/29/90 [OA 8310] [1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	19	6	1

1/17/90

Religious Broadcasters
~~On Captive Plints~~

Call St. Dept. - human rights

Jacqui's search

Thank Vatican for cooper. in Panama

¹⁰
~~10~~ yrs ago prayer for peace every
Mon night
wanted freedom & human rights

Place where dissenters could meet,
pray & organize

helping church influenced by MLK & Gandhi

Police started harassing

Say prayer for peace, moment of silence,
walk around town w/ candles

No matter what, no violence
State prepared for it
But church did not want violence

I Freedom & Democracy through Religion
- Hungarian bells

- Prayers for Peace led to opening of Berlin Wall.

- influenced by MLK & Gandhi
- began as a few meeting to pray at dissidents joined them. Dissidents learned from church to be non-violent
- and ~~the~~ as Joshua said in the Bible "the walls come tumbling down"
Josh Chap. 6

- Romanian Priest & human chain
- Celebrating Christmas

Religion as Stoic Grace
Religion as Spring Grace
Martyr - CSM

III Faith through persecution
Romanian priest here

January 19, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CURT SMITH

FROM: STEPHANIE BLESSEY
 JEANNIE NAPPO

SUBJECT: RELIGION IN EASTERN EUROPE

The following is a proposed outline for the Eastern Europe segment of the Religious Broadcasters speech.

I. RELIGION AS A INSTIGATOR FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

A. Hungarian Bells

B. Rumanian Priest and Human Chain

1. Reverend Laszlo Tokes, a Lutheran minister in the Hungarian Reformed Church in Timisoara was harassed by the government and church officials because he preached on the virtues of democracy and human rights. He and his pregnant wife were beaten and stabbed. Their phone lines were cut off, he was cut off from any food rations, and rocks were thrown through his window and church. Parishioners tried to bring him bread but were confronted by police. When the authorities tried to seize and deport him, his parishioners formed a human chain around his apartment to protest. The officials did not react so the human chain eventually grew into the mass demonstration that overthrew Ceausescu.

C. Prayers for Peace Lead to Opening of Berlin Wall

1. Since 1982, every Monday night in Leipzig's Saint Nicholas Church a group of parishioners have met for a "prayer for peace." Youth looking to emigrate joined the Bible study. And the parishioners taught them about Martin Luther King and Ghandi's non-violent philosophy. These candle light vigils doubled in size every week. When the police tried to shut down their meetings, students climbed the walls and began chanting, "We're staying here." On October 9, under the leadership of Reverend Wonneberger 70,000 people walked through the streets with of Leipzig with candles in hand chanting, "We are the people." with "No

violence." Word of this movement spread throughout East Germany and inspired non-violent demonstrations throughout the country.

2. "I would rather see 1,000 drops of candle wax on the market place than one drop of blood."

Albrecht Steinwachs
Pastor for Wittenberg

3. "And the wall came tumbling down."

Joshua Chap. 6

D. With Democracy, a Real Celebration of Christmas

1. "'I feel like this is a miracle,' said Ivan Martin Jirous, who was reunited with his family after being released from prison a month ago. Mr. Jirous, 45, was imprisoned more than eight years for "subversive" acts like unauthorized lecturing and ~~lecturing~~." *psf*

subversive

NYT
12/26/89

2. "On Prague's 15th century Charles Bridge young carolers sang traditional Christmas songs. In previous years, the police chased carolers from the city's broad cobbled King's Road."

NYT
12/26/89

3. "Amid the sound gunfire on the streets of Bucharest were the sounds of Christmas carols broadcast by the Bucharest radio for the first time since December 1947."

NYT
12/26/89

III. FAITH THROUGH PERSECUTION

A. Reverend Gheorghe Calociu, who has spent 21 of his 61 years in prison, found God while serving a sentence for opposing the Communist government. "The priests ... were in prison with us," he said, "because this was a time of great persecution of the church, they cured us when we were ill. They might share a piece of bread."

After defying the government and delivering his seven Lenten sermons "Seven Words to the Romanian Youth" he was imprisoned again. Ceausescu saw him as a personal enemy and had him brutally tortured -- mentally and physically. When he wouldn't break,

Calciu was sentenced to death. He stood in the corner of a courtyard, "confessed his sins. I expressed my love for my wife and son." Finally his two executers called him over to them and said, "'Father' -and that was the first time they called me Father -'we have decided not to kill you.'"

That Sunday, he asked their permission to celebrate the Mass. "I had my back to them making the preparations, and I felt them approach to see and hear. When I turned, I was very astonished to see the two criminals were kneeling beside me on the cold concrete of the cell."

Father Calciu was finally released and exiled to the U.S. He has devoted himself to telling the truth about the Communist regime. But he wants to return Rumania to rebuild the church.

Laszlo
Tokes Rev.
Timisoara

(Smith/Blessey)
7:00 A.M.
January 25, 1990
CAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS
SHERATON HOTEL
MONDAY, JANUARY 29, 1990
2:00 P.M.

President Rose, Director Cook -- and I want to salute your leadership of the NRB. Ladies and gentlemen. ((It is often said of a group or individual that "He hasn't got a prayer." Today, I am pleased to be with an audience about whom that will never be said.)) //

((Two years ago, I had the honor of addressing this annual convention of the National Religious Broadcasters. And now, I'm back again. Even though I know this isn't what you had in mind when you preach about the Second Coming.)) //

Still, I'm delighted to be with you. And in the spirit of the occasion, I intend to keep two vows. First, I'll be brief. ((I know there's a mention in the Bible about the Burning Bush, but I know I'm not that hot a speaker.)) //

The second promise is for those of you in the back of the room. I'll try to speak up. // ((Jerry Rose warned me that the agnostics in this room are very bad.)) //

Let me begin with something better: A simple statement of fact. According to the Gallup Poll, no society is more religious than the United States of America. // Seven in ten Americans believe in life after death. Eight in ten in a final Judgment

Day and that God works miracles. Nine in ten Americans pray.
 And 94 per cent believe in God. // To which I say: Thank God.
 //

Sure, we have differences -- quarrels over sect and
 denomination. I'm reminded of the Methodist joke: "I have
 nothing against the way the Baptists baptize, except it should
 last forty seconds longer." // Yet we know what unites us
 eclipses what divides us. // For we believe that political
 values without moral values cannot sustain a people. //

This afternoon, I'd like to talk about those moral values --
 both at home and abroad. Values which reflect the eternal
 teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. I speak of the qualities
 of freedom and responsibility, generosity and faith. Values
 which remind us that while God can live without man, man cannot
live without God. //

Since Plymouth Rock, these values have meant good news for
each American generation of modern man. Yet never have they been
 more crucial than in 1990. These values can help build a more
 decent America -- and help America build a more ennobling world.
 But only if while endorsing the separation of church and state,
 we also endorse the union of conscience and government. //

At home, this means -- I believe -- that we must support the
 sanctity of life. // Remember the song, "Bless the Beasts and
 the Children. Keep them safe. Keep them warm." // We need
policies that encourage adoption, not abortion. //

Conscience and government also dictate that parents obtain the best child-care for their kids. // So we have sent legislation to the Congress to make good this pledge: I want to protect the right of every parent to send their kids to the care center of their choice. That includes -- especially -- church-sponsored centers. //

Next comes an issue that concerns all children: the quality and diversity of America's schools. // Our pioneering legislation -- the "Educational Excellence Act of 1989" -- will spur excellence, demand accountability, and allow our kids to learn. Remember Saul on the Damascus Road. We need a conversion in American education. // *moral values support a*

Finally, looking toward today, I thought of a belief held by the overwhelming majority of Americans: The right to say voluntary school prayer. I share that belief. So I support a Constitutional Amendment restoring voluntary prayer. We need the Faith of our Fathers back in our schools. //

Together, these ^{actions} ~~beliefs~~ can help us do God's work. Can and, I think, will. You know me. I'm an optimistic guy. ((After all, last year I had an experience when I was running out of prayers and had given up hope. Then a miracle occurred. // I caught a fish.)) //

And yet our work is not for America alone.

What, after all, does religion cherish? The dignity of each human being. // And what does such dignity require? Inevitably, the triumph of democracy. // Well, the past year

has been a victory for the freedoms with which God has blessed America. We have seen how religious principles can move mountains or -- as in East Berlin -- even move a wall. //

Now, let us carry those values to every corner of the earth.

For it was Christ Himself who said, "Be a light unto the world."

~~And many of his disciples have professed a message of freedom.~~

I mean the freedom of expression. And to think, dream, and worship as we please. The freedom of equal protection under the law. And to choose our leaders and our destinies. Our Administration has reaffirmed these freedoms. What's more, it has -- and will -- support those individuals, and Churches, who proclaim: Let my people go. //

Think of Central America, where men of God condemn terrorism whatever the ideology. And to the Vatican, especially: Every American thanks you. // Think of the Phillipines, where church leaders are fronting the fight against tyranny. // And, yes, of that miracle called Eastern Europe. Where for centuries religion has been a catalyst for democracy. And braved persecution to renew the faith which sets -- and keeps -- us free. //

More than five centuries ago, the Hungarian patriot Janos Hunyadi (YAHN-osh HOON-yah-dee) stopped a would-be Turkish invasion. In his honor, the Pope ordered each Catholic church to ring a bell at the time of day the battle ended. And since then, Catholic church bells around the world ring precisely at mid-day. // The Church has been a soldier of God. // And so have the Protestant and Reformed churches of Eastern Europe. Few will

Catholic
Jewish

[Timmy Shwa RA]

Timmy Shwa RA

Timmy Shwa RA

forget heroes like
Nazi resistance.

Recall, more
of the great soldi
Billy Graham. //

and the Soviet Union. And upon returning foretold a movement
there toward more religious freedom. Perhaps Billy knew it
before many others because it takes a man of God to sense the
early movement of the hand of God. // Yet not even he could
predict how in 1989, the walls of bayonets and barbed wire -- the
walls of tyranny -- would come tumbling down. //

Look, first, at ^{East} Germany -- where in 1982, members of
Leipzig's St. Nicholas Church began weekly prayers for peace. At
~~their~~ Bible Study, ^{their students} kids were taught non-violence. And started
the candle-light vigils that would one day rouse a continent.
The police ^{hassled them trying to stop them} told them to stop. They failed. The students vowed
to stay. They did. And became the "flagship" of resistance.

As with the disciples, word spread to Dresden and Berlin.
Becoming a light unto the world. And as it shone, a Wittenberg
pastor said, "I would rather see 1,000 drops of candle wax on the
market place than one drop of blood." // And there was no ×
blood -- just as Christ admonished us. // ^{On October 9} Only the stirring
sight of ^{70,000} 500,000 workers -- brave, defiant -- in the streets and
squares of Leipzig. Weapons? They carried candles. Their march
rivalled "a blizzard of fireflies in the night." Ask anyone that

Billy Graham
704) 669-8477
Stephanie

18
Alexis

NOU

?

evening. God was moving in miraculous -- not merely mysterious -
- ways. //

Look, next, at Bulgaria. Where the State press agency
conceded: "People [were] wishing Merry Christmas to each other
without fear they would be accused of being 'religious.'" //

And Czechoslovakia. There, too, a miracle. For years police
chased carolers from Prague's King's Road. This winter, Charles
Bridge was filled with young carolers singing Christmas carols.
// In Hungary, ~~the churches opened~~. And, yes, Romania: Still
further miracles. Carols heard on the radio for the first time
in forty-three years. And brave Christians lit the fuse that
torched a dictator's rule. //

the
Christmas
1989

(Dec)

Let me close, then, with their story: The story of two
Romanians. And how their example -- and followers -- illumined
Christ's special mission to mankind.

(when

N2

The first was a Lutheran minister, Laszlo Tokes, who dared
to speak of freedom. ^{In Nov. masked thugs broke into the small apartment}
~~of Tokes and his pregnant wife, and deprived them of food.~~ ^{So government forces beat him, stabbed his}
~~pregnant wife, and deprived them of food.~~ // When parishioners
^{the gov.} brought bread, police arrived to deport the pastor. But ^{on Dec 14} the
flock protected him -- forming a human chain around his apartment
in Timisoara. In time, the chain grew across the land -- until
the dictator struck back. // But from that sacrifice came a
resolve by the living to honor the dead. ^{and finally erupted into the nationwide demonstrations that changed Romania.}

Truly, Laszlo Tokes was a ^{apostle} soldier of the Lord. // As is
that second man I ^{mentioned} spoke about -- a man who's with us here. His

name is Gheorghe Calciu -- a Roman Orthodox minister. His story proves you can't shoot an idea -- nor subdue the human heart. //

Reverend Calciu has spent 21 of his 61 years in prison -- where he found God while serving time for opposing the ^{And} government. ^{continued to} ~~Upon release,~~ he defied that government -- ^{In 1978 he decided to} preaching a series of Lenten sermons. And for that was imprisoned again -- tortured beyond belief. // Yet he refused to break -- and so was sentenced to death ~~by firing squad~~. But as he was praying, a miracle occurred. His two executors called to him, saying, "Father" -- that was the first time they called him that -- "we have decided not to kill you." //

^{A few} days later, Reverend Calciu asked permission to celebrate the Mass. And while making preparations, felt these same two men approach. Moments later, he turned around. And was astonished to see them on their knees on the cold concrete of the cell. //

~~In 1985~~
In time, Father Calciu was exiled to America. But he wants to return to his native land. And in this season of miracles, who can doubt he will? // For the work of God is not done. It lives in Eastern Europe. // And the word of God prevails where one finds the values of religion. In Romania. In America. Wherever one finds the truth that comes on one's knees. //

Today, the times are on the side of peace. Because the world, increasingly, is on the side of God. // For that, I thank you. And let me thank you for this wonderful occasion. God bless America. And if I could leave you with a favorite hymn, "God Be With You Till We Meet Again."

~~SECRET~~ New draft

(Smith/Blessey)
5:00 A.M.
January 24, 1990
CAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS
SHERATON HOTEL
MONDAY, JANUARY 29, 1990
2:00 P.M.

President Rose, Director Cook -- and I want to salute your leadership of the NRB. Ladies and gentlemen. ((It is often said of a group or individual that "He hasn't got a prayer." Today, I am pleased to be with an audience about whom that will never be said.)) //

((Two years ago, I had the honor of addressing this annual convention of the National Religious Broadcasters. And now, I'm back again. Even though I know this isn't what you had in mind when you preach about the Second Coming.)) //

Still, I'm delighted to be with you. And in the spirit of the occasion, I intend to keep two vows. First, I'll be brief. I know there's a mention in the Bible about the Burning Bush, but I know I'm not that hot a speaker. //

The second promise is for those of you in the back of the room. I'll try to speak up. // Robert Schuler warned me that the agnostics in this room are very bad. //

Let me begin with something good: A simple statement of fact. According to the Gallup Poll, no society is more religious than the U.S.A. // Seven in 10 Americans believe in life after death. Eight in ten in a final Judgment Day and that God works

miracles. Nine in ten Americans pray. And 94 percent believe in God. // To which I say: Thank God. //

Sure, we have differences -- quarrels over sect and denomination. I'm reminded of the Methodist joke: "I have nothing against the way the Baptists baptize, except it should last forty seconds longer." // Yet we know what unites us eclipses what divides us. // For we believe that political values without moral values cannot sustain a Nation. //

This afternoon, it is those moral values -- both at home and abroad -- that I'd like to talk about. For they reflect the eternal teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. They are the values of kindness and compassion, freedom and individuality. They remind us that while God can live without man, man cannot live without God. //

Since Plymouth Rock, these values have meant good news for each American generation of modern man. And today, they find new voice over your electronic media. What do these Americans ask? Only a merciful providence. And from their government, only to be respected. We do -- and we hear what they are saying: They want a separation of church and state. But they do not -- cannot -- accept a separation of conscience and government." //

This conviction means that most Americans support the sanctity of life. // Remember the song, "Bless the Beasts and the Children. Keep them safe. Keep them warm." // We need policies that preserve the right to life. //

Most Americans also want parents, not government, to choose the best child-care for their kids. // So we have sent legislation to the Congress to make good this pledge: I want to protect the right of every parent to send their kids to the care center of their choice. That includes -- especially -- church-sponsored centers. //

Next comes an issue that concerns all children: the quality and diversity of America's schools. // Our pioneering legislation -- the "Educational Excellence Act of 1989" -- will let parents -- not Big Brother -- choose which schools their kids will attend. The gospel truth is crystal clear: We must make our education system No. 1 once again. //

Finally, looking toward today, I thought of a belief held by the overwhelming majority of Americans: The right to say voluntary school prayer. I share that belief. So I support a Constitutional Amendment restoring voluntary prayer. We need the Faith of our Fathers back in our schools. //

Together, these beliefs can help us do God's work. Can and, I think, will. You know me. I'm an optimistic guy. ((After all, last year I had an experience when I was running out of prayers and had given up hope. Then a miracle occurred. // I caught a fish.)) // And yet our work is not for America alone.

What, after all, does religion cherish? The dignity of each human being. // And what does such dignity require? Inevitably, the freedoms of democracy. // Well, the past year has been a triumph for the freedoms with which God has blessed

America. We have seen how religious principles can move mountains or -- as in East Berlin -- even move a wall. //

Now, let us carry those principles to every corner of the earth. For it was Christ Himself who said, "Be a light unto the world." // I mean the freedom of expression. And to think, dream, and worship as we please. The freedom of equal protection under the law. And to choose our leaders and our destinies. Our Administration has, and will, reaffirm these freedoms. Yet, above all, it has been the Church which must, and has, proclaimed: Let // my // people // go. //

Think of Central America, where men of God condemn terrorism whatever the ideology. And to the Vatican, especially: Every American thanks you. // Think of the Phillipines, where church leaders are spurring the fight against tyranny. // And, yes, of that miracle called Eastern Europe. Where for centuries religion has been a catalyst for democracy. And braved persecution to renew the faith which sets -- and keeps -- us free. //

More than five centuries ago, the Hungarian patriot Janos Hunyadi (YAHN-osh HOON-yah-dee) stopped a would-be Turkish invasion. In his honor, the Pope ordered each Catholic church to ring a bell at the time of day the battle ended. And since then, Catholic church bells around the world ring precisely at mid-day. // The Church has been a soldier of God. // And so have the Protestant and Reformed churches of Eastern Europe. Few will forget heroes like Dietrich Bonhoeffer and __, who led the anti-Nazi resistance. They, too, were soldiers of God. //

Recall, more recently, this last miraculous year. And one of the great soldiers of God of this or any time, the Reverend Billy Graham. // Four years ago, Billy went to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. And upon returning foretold a movement there toward more religious freedom. Perhaps Billy knew it before many others because it takes a man of God to sense the early movement of the hand of God. // Yet not even he could predict how in 1989, the walls of bayonets and barbed wire -- the walls of tyranny -- would, yes, come tumbling down. //

Look, first, at Germany -- where in 1982, members of Leipzig's St. Nicholas Church began weekly prayers for peace. At their Bible Study, kids were taught non-violence. And started the candle-light vigils that would one day rouse a continent. The police told them to stop. They failed. The students vowed to stay. They did. And became the "flagship" of resistance.

As with the disciples, word spread to Dresden and Berlin. Becoming a light unto the world. And as it shone, a Wittenberg pastor said, "I would rather see 1,000 drops of candle wax on the market place than one drop of blood." // And there was no blood -- just as Christ admonished us. // Only the stirring sight of 500,000 workers -- brave, defiant -- in the streets and squares of Leipzig. Weapons? They carried candles. Their march rivaled "a blizzard of fireflies in the night." Ask anyone that evening. God was moving in miraculous -- not merely mysterious - - ways. //

Look, next, at Bulgaria. Where the State press agency conceded: "People [were] wishing Merry Christmas to each other without fear they would be accused of being 'religious.'" // And Czechoslovakia. There, too, a miracle. For years police chased carolers from Prague's King's Road. This winter, Charles Bridge was filled with young carolers singing Christmas carols. // In Hungary, the churches opened. And, yes, Romania: Still further miracles. Carols heard on the radio for the first time in forty-three years. And brave Christians lit the fuse that torched a dictator's rule. //

Let me close, then, with their story: The story of two Romanians. And how their example -- and followers -- illumined Christ's special mission to mankind.

The first was a Lutheran minister, Laszlo Tokes, who dared to speak of freedom. So government forces beat him, stabbed his pregnant wife, and deprived them of food. // When parishioners brought bread, police arrived to deport the pastor. But the flock protected him -- forming a human chain around his apartment in Timisoara. In time, the chain grew across the land -- until the dictator struck back. // But from that sacrifice came a resolve by the living to honor the dead. ~~How could a mere tyrant outlast the Lamb of God?~~ //

Truly, Laszlo Tokes was a soldier of the Lord. // As is that second man I spoke about -- a man who's with us here. His name is Gheorghe Calciu -- a Roman Orthodox minister. His story proves you can't shoot an idea -- nor subdue the human heart. //

Reverend Calciu has spent 21 of his 61 years in prison-- where he found God while serving time for opposing the government. Upon release, he defied that government -- preaching a series of Lenten sermons. And for that was imprisoned again -- tortured beyond belief. // Yet he refused to break -- and so was sentenced to death by firing squad. But as he was praying, a miracle occurred. His two executors called to him, saying, "Father" -- that was the first time they called him that -- "we have decided not to kill you." //

___ days later, Reverend Calciu asked permission to celebrate the Mass. And while making preparations, felt these same two men approach. Moments later, he turned around. And was astonished to see them on their knees on the cold concrete of the cell. //

In time, Father Calciu was exiled to America. But he wants to return to his native land. And in this season of miracles, who can doubt he will? // For the work of God is not done. It lives in America. It lives in Eastern Europe. // And the word of God is heard through the values I spoke about. Kindness. Compassion. Freedom. Individuality. Values which enrich America -- and help America enrich the world. //

Today, the times are on the side of peace. Because the world, increasingly, is on the side of God. // For that, I thank you. And let me thank you for this wonderful occasion. God bless America. And if I could leave you with a favorite hymn, "God Be With You Till We Meet Again."

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Blessey's Les

(Smith/Blessey)
7:00 P.M.
January 25, 1990
CAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS
SHERATON WASHINGTON HOTEL
MONDAY, JANUARY 29, 1990
2:00 P.M.

Pat Robertson

President Rose, Director Cook -- and I want to salute your leadership of the NRB. Ladies and gentlemen. ((It is often said of a group or individual that "He hasn't got a prayer." Today, I am pleased to be with an audience about whom that will never be said.)) //

~~Three~~
(~~Two~~ years ago, I had the honor of addressing this annual convention of the National Religious Broadcasters. And now, I'm back again. Even though I know this isn't what you had in mind when you talk about the Second Coming.)) //

Still, I'm delighted to be with you. And in the spirit of the occasion, I intend to keep two vows. First, I'll be brief. ((I know there's a mention in the Bible about the Burning Bush, but I also know I'm not that hot a speaker.)) //

The second promise is for those of you in the back of the room. I'll try to speak up. // ((Jerry Rose warned me that the agnostics in this room are very bad.)) //

Let me begin with some good news for modern man. According to the Gallup Poll, ~~there is no denying - America is a religious nation~~ no society is more religious than the United States of America. // Seven in ten Americans believe in life after death. Eight in ten in a final Judgment Day and that God

works miracles. Nine in ten Americans pray. And 94 per cent believe in God. // To which I say: Thank God. //

~~Sure, differences exist over sect and theology. ((Some, for instance, claim the stairway to heaven is climbed through good works. // Some, that faith ensures that when the roll is called up yonder, I'll be there. // Others think the Pearly Gates welcome only those who like horse shoes and country music. // These beliefs aren't mutually exclusive.)) // Yet we know what unites us eclipses what divides us. // For we believe that political values without moral values cannot sustain a people. //~~

This afternoon, I'd like to talk to you about those moral values. Values which reflect the eternal teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. I speak of the qualities of freedom and responsibility, generosity and faith. Values which remind us that while God can live without man, man cannot live without God.

Today, amid political and economic change, these values haven't changed. Nor have they been more crucial than in 1990. They can help build a more decent America -- and help America build a more ennobling world. But only if while endorsing the separation of church and state, we also endorse the union of conscience and government. //

At home, this means -- I believe -- that we must support that most basic value -- sanctity of life. // We need policies that encourage adoption, not abortion. //

Conscience and government also dictate that we must help parents obtain the best child-care for their kids. // So we

have sent legislation to Congress to make good this pledge: I want to protect the right of every parent to send their kids to the care center of their choice. That includes -- especially -- church-sponsored centers. //

environment + the best for their children
choose the best and safest

Next comes an issue that concerns all children: the quality and diversity of America's schools. // Our pioneering legislation -- the "Educational Excellence Act of 1989" -- will spur excellence, demand accountability, and allow our kids to learn. Remember Saul on the ^{road to} Damascus Road. We need a conversion in American education. //

Finally, moral values support a belief held by the overwhelming majority of Americans: The right to voluntary school prayer. I share that belief. So I endorse a Constitutional Amendment restoring voluntary prayer. We need the Faith of our Fathers back in our schools. //

Now, you know me. I'm an optimistic guy. ((After all, last year I had an experience that renewed my faith. I was running out of prayers and had given up hope. Then a miracle occurred. // I caught a fish.)) // So it won't surprise you that I'm convinced we can -- and will -- uphold these values. And as we do, we will help do God's work. Yet that work must not be for America alone. //

What, after all, does religion cherish? The dignity of each human being. // And what does such dignity require? Inevitably, the triumph of democracy. // Well, the past year has been a victory for the freedoms with which God has blessed

human rights for everyone

America. A true season of miracles. // We have seen how moral values can move mountains or -- as in East Berlin -- even move a wall. //

It was Christ Himself, of course, who said, "^{You are the} ~~Be a~~ light unto ^{of} the world." // So let us carry that light to every corner of the world -- freedom of expression. And to think, dream, and worship as we please. The freedom of equal protection under the law. And to choose our leaders and our destinies. Our Administration has reaffirmed these freedoms. What's more, we have -- and we will -- support those individuals, and movements, who proclaim: Let my people go. //

Think of Central America, where men and women of God -- facing great personal risk -- condemn terrorism whatever the ideology. Think, especially, of Panama -- and let me say to the Vatican: Every American thanks you. // Think of South Africa and the Phillipines, where church leaders are fighting against oppression and tyranny. // And, yes, of that miracle called Eastern Europe. Where for centuries religion has been a catalyst for democracy. And where men and women of faith braved persecution to renew the faith which makes us free. //

More than five centuries ago, the Hungarian patriot Janos Hunyadi (YAHN-osh HOON-yah-dee) stopped a would-be Turkish invasion. In his honor, the Pope ordered each church to ring a bell at the time of day the battle ended. And since then, Catholic church bells around the world ring precisely at mid-day. // The Catholic Church has been an apostle of God. // And so

Jewish synagogues and

have the Protestant, Reformed, and Jewish churches of Eastern Europe. Few will forget heroes like Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Raoul Wallenberg, who led the anti-Nazi resistance. They, too, were apostles of God. //

Recall, more recently, this last miraculous year. And one of the great soldiers of God of this or any time, the Reverend Billy Graham. // ~~Four years ago, Reverend Graham went to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. And upon returning foretold a movement there toward more religious freedom. Perhaps he saw it before many others because it takes a man of God to sense the early movement of the hand of God.~~ // Yet not even Reverend Graham could predict how in 1989, the walls of bayonets and barbed wire -- the walls of tyranny -- would come tumbling down.

Controversial
Went down
but after

Look, first, at the miracle of East Germany -- where in 1982 -- long before last November's mass demonstrations -- members of Leipzig's St. ^(Nikolai) Nicholas Church began weekly prayers for peace. At ~~the services~~ Bible Study, students were taught non-violence. And started the candle-light vigils that would one day rouse a continent. The police came and threatened them. But the students would not be moved. They vowed to stay, and did. Becoming, yes, a light unto the world.

As with the disciples, that light spread to Dresden and Berlin. ~~And as it shone,~~ ^{the lights glimmered} a Wittenberg pastor said, "I would rather see 1,000 drops of candle wax on the market place than one drop of blood." // ~~And there was no blood -- just as Christ taught us.~~ ^{His prayers were answered and last} // ~~Only the stirring sight last October of 70,000~~

And the people marched with arms but with candles

X

workers -- brave, defiant -- ^{walked through} in the streets and squares of Leipzig. Weapons? They carried candles. Their march rivaled "a blizzard of fireflies in the night." Ask anyone that evening. God was moving in miraculous -- not merely mysterious -- ways. X

Look, next, at Bulgaria. Where last month the State press agency conceded: "People [were] wishing Merry Christmas to each other without fear they would be accused of being 'religious.'" //

And Czechoslovakia. There, too, a miracle. For years, police chased carolers from Prague's King's Road. This Christmas, the gold night of Charles Bridge echoed with young voices. Their carols warmed the heart of the city. There was wonder in the air. // And in Romania: Still further miracles. Christmas songs on the radio for the first time since 194⁷. And heroes who showed that you can't lock people behind walls forever -- when they have religious faith locked in their hearts. // Blish

Let me close, then, with the story of two such heroes -- both Romanian. And how their example -- and miracle -- illumined Christ's special mission to mankind. X

The first was a Lutheran minister, Laszlo Tokes, who dared to speak of freedom. So last November, ^{in Timisoara} masked thugs broke into the small apartment ^{in Timisoara} of Tokes and his pregnant wife. They beat and stabbed him. The government allowed them no food. // When parishioners brought bread, police arrived to deport the pastor. But the flock protected him -- forming a human chain around his apartment. In time, the chain grew across the land. X

Until -- as the world celebrated Christmas -- Romania's morning star of freedom summoned "lightness against the dark." //

Today, Laszlo Tokes preaches his faith without fear -- ministering to ever-larger numbers -- truly, an apostle of the Lord. // As is that second man I spoke about -- a man who's with us here. His name is Gheorghe Calciu ^{CAL} [~~CUL~~-chew] -- a Romanian Orthodox minister. **His story proves you can't slay an idea -- nor destroy the human will.** //

^{Father} ~~Reverend~~ Calciu has spent 21 of his ⁴ 61 years in jail. In fact, he found God there while imprisoned for opposing the government. Released, he risked his freedom by preaching a series of Lenten sermons. And for that he was imprisoned again -- tortured beyond belief. // Yet ^{Father} ~~Reverend~~ Calciu had faith. He refused to break -- and was sentenced to death. So he went to a corner of the prison yard, and began to pray for his wife and for his son. // It was then that the miracle occurred. //

His two executioners called him over. Surely, thought ^{Father} ~~Reverend~~ Calciu, this was the end. But instead they said, "Father" -- that was the first time they called him that -- "we have decided not to kill you." // ^{Three weeks} ~~A few days~~ later, he asked permission to celebrate the Mass. And while making preparations, heard these same two men approach. He turned around, and was astonished. // His would-be executioners were on their knees on the cold concrete of the cell. //

In 1985, Father Calciu was exiled to America. But he hopes to return to his native land. And in this season of miracles,

who can doubt he will? // For today, the times are on the side of peace. Because the world, increasingly, is on the side of God. //

If you doubt it, think of this past Christmas of miracles. And of miracles yet to come. // Miracles that will occur in Eastern Europe, in America, and around the globe. Wherever one finds the truth that comes on one's knees.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. God bless America. And let me leave you with a favorite hymn, "God Be With You Till We Meet Again."

#

(Smith/Blessey)
2:30 P.M.
January 28, 1990
CAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS
SHERATON WASHINGTON HOTEL
MONDAY, JANUARY 29, 1990
2:00 P.M.

President Rose, Director Cook, Dr. Robertson-- and I want to salute your leadership of the NRB. Ladies and gentlemen. ((It is often said of a group or individual that "He hasn't got a prayer." Today, I am pleased to be with an audience about whom that will never be said.)) //

This marks the fourth time I have had the honor of addressing the annual convention of the National Religious Broadcasters. And once again, it is a delight to be back.

In the spirit of the occasion, I want to make two vows. First, I'll be brief. ((I know there's a mention in the Bible about the Burning Bush -- but I also know that compared to most around me here, I'm not that hot a speaker.)) //

The second promise is for those of you in the back of the room. I'll try to speak up. // ((Pat Robertson warned me that the agnostics in this room are very bad.)) //

Let me begin with some good news for modern man: There is no denying that America is a religious nation. //

Sure, differences exist over sect and theology. ((I'm reminded of what the French statesman Talleyrand once said of America: "I found there a country with thirty-two religions and

only one sauce.")) // Yet we know what unites us eclipses what divides us. For we believe that political values without moral values cannot sustain a people. //

This afternoon, I'd like to talk to you about those moral values. Values which reflect the eternal teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. I speak of the qualities of tolerance and civility, generosity and faith. Values which remind us that while God can live without man, man cannot live without God.

I thought this was taken out

Today, amid political and economic upheaval, these values haven't changed. Nor have they been more crucial than in 1990. For they remind us that nothing is more precious than human dignity. And that such dignity depends -- both here and abroad -- on an abiding respect for individual conscience.

Respect for conscience insists that we be free to believe what we choose -- as must others to do likewise. For example, my conscience leads me to support the sanctity of life. // We need policies that encourage adoption, not abortion. //

So I'll be from who bless those who choose life.

I also believe that we should help parents obtain the best child-care for their kids. // So we have sent legislation to Congress to make good that goal. I want to ensure that parents, not bureaucrats, are the ones who decide how to care for their children. And I will not see the option of religious-based child care restricted or eliminated. //

mention many children

Next comes an issue that concerns all children: the quality and diversity of America's schools. // Our pioneering legislation -- the "Educational Excellence Act of 1989" -- will

spur excellence, demand accountability, and allow our kids to learn. Together, let's help American education make the grade.

Finally, I continue to support a belief held by the overwhelming majority of Americans: The right to voluntary school prayer. So I endorse a Constitutional Amendment restoring voluntary prayer. We need the Faith of our Fathers back in our schools. //

Now, you know me. I'm an optimist. ((After all, last year I had an experience that renewed my faith. I was running out of prayers and had almost given up hope. Then a miracle occurred. // I caught a fish.)) // So it won't surprise you that I'm convinced we can -- and will -- uphold the values I'm referring to. For as Americans, we always have.

Consider this achievement. For more than two centuries America has endorsed the separation of church and state. But it has also shown how religion and government can co-exist. // We have been an example of how moral values can enrich a Nation's values. And that the inalienable rights of man stem not from government. // But God. //

These rights include the freedom of expression. And to think, dream, and worship as we please. The freedom of equal protection under the law. And to choose our leaders and our destinies. These rights form the essence of America. To other Nations, they embody the greatness of America. And in the last decade, they have become the message of America -- (carrying the freedoms sustained by values to every corner of the earth.) //

Lighten

One year ago in my Inaugural Address, I spoke of how "In man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. // The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree." // And indeed, the last year has been a victory for the freedoms with which God has blessed America. We have seen the rights of man move mountains or -- as in East Berlin -- even move a wall. //

Think of Central America, where men and women -- facing great personal risk -- work for human rights and against tyranny of any ideology. And let me add: I am especially proud of our fighting troops in Panama. Americans supported "Operation Just Cause" because democracy is a noble cause. // And to the young soldiers who served this country, every American thanks you. //

Think, next, of South Africa and the Philippines, where church leaders have been a force for democratic change. Here, too, values have propeded the rights of man. // And, yes, of that miracle called Eastern Europe. Where for centuries faith has sustained those striving for freedom amid adversity. And where people knew that only democracy could ensure the freedom that makes all things possible for an individual, and Nation. //

You know, eight years ago one of the Lord's great ambassadors of our time or any time, the Reverend Billy Graham, went to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. And upon returning spoke of a movement there toward more religious freedom. Perhaps he saw it before many others because it takes a man of God to sense the early movement of the hand of God. // Yet not even

Reverend Graham could predict how in 1989 freedom's tide would also be economic, political, and intellectual. Or that the walls of bayonets and barbed wire -- the walls of tyranny -- would come tumbling down. //

Look, first, at East Germany -- where in 1982 -- long before last November's mass demonstrations -- members of Leipzig's St. Nicholas Church began a weekly "prayer for peace." At the services, students were taught non-violence. And started the candle-light vigils that would one day rouse a continent. The police came and threatened them. But the students would not be moved. They vowed to stay, and did. Becoming a light unto the world.

Ultimately, that light spread to Dresden and East Berlin. And as it shone, a Wittenberg pastor said, "I would rather see 1,000 drops of candle wax on the market place than one drop of blood." // And there was no blood. Only the stirring sight last October of 70,000 workers -- brave, defiant -- in the streets and squares of Leipzig. Weapons? They carried candles. Their parade rivaled "a blizzard of fireflies in the night." Ask anyone that evening. They wanted what we Americans have wanted: Free markets, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state. //

They were propelled by many things -- faith large among them. ~~And as they and others marched all over Eastern Europe, a miracle occurred. Day by day.~~ In churches, synagogues, and mosques.

~~The day of the dictator did end. The day of democracy began. As
as it did, a reawakening dawned -- of new and more public faith.~~

Look at Bulgaria. Where last month the State Press Agency conceded: "People [were] wishing Merry Christmas to each other maybe for the first time without fear they would be accused of being 'religious.'" // And Czechoslovakia. There, too, a victory for the rights of man. For years, police chased carolers from Prague's King's Road. This Christmas, carols warmed the heart of the city. There was wonder in the air. // In the Soviet Union, last year the Jewish community opened its first school for rabbis in sixty years. And Moscow hosted the first national gathering of Jews since the fall of the Czar. And in Romania: Still further miracles. Christmas songs on the radio for the first time since 1946. And heroes who showed that you can't lock people behind walls forever -- when they have moral principles locked in their hearts. //

Let me close, then, with the story of two such heroes -- both Romanian. And how their example illumined the timeless legacy of humility, courage, and love.

The first was a Lutheran minister, Laszlo [LAZ-low] Tokes [TO-kesh], who dared to speak of freedom. So last November in Timisoara [Timmy-SHORE-ah], masked thugs broke into the small apartment of Tokes and his pregnant wife. They beat and stabbed him. The government allowed them no food. // Even parishioners were not allowed to bring bread; finally the police arrived to deport the pastor. But the flock protected him -- forming a

human chain around his apartment. In time, the chain grew across the land. Until -- as we celebrated Christmas -- Romania's quest for freedom summoned "lightness against the dark." //

Today, Laszlo Tokes preaches his faith without fear -- ministering to ever-larger numbers. // As does Gheorghe [George] Calciu [CAL-chew] -- a Romanian Orthodox minister. His story proves you can't shoot an idea -- or destroy the human will. //

Father Calciu [CAL-chew] has spent 21 of his 64 years in jail. In fact, he found God there while imprisoned for opposing the government. Released, he risked his freedom by preaching a series of Lenten sermons. And for that he was imprisoned again -- tortured beyond belief. // Yet Father Calciu had faith. He refused to break -- and was sentenced to death. He stood in the corner of the prison yard, praying for his wife and son, -- awaiting death.// It was then the miracle occurred. //

His two executioners called to him. Surely, he thought, this was the end. But instead they said, "Father" -- that was the first time they called him that -- "we have decided not to kill you." // Three weeks later, he asked permission to celebrate the Divine Liturgy. And while making preparations, heard these same two men approach. He turned around, and was astonished. // His would-be executioners were on their knees on the cold concrete of the cell. //

Father Calciu is with us today. Father, it's an honor to salute you. // I know you're glad to be here. But I know, too,

you hope to return to your native land. And in this season of miracles, who can doubt you will? //

I have been President for barely a year. And have seen more miracles in that time than anyone deemed possible. I have felt the American people's values. And seen them enrich the rights of man. And I believe -- with all my heart -- that one cannot be America's President without a belief in God and in prayer. //

Today, the times are on the side of peace. Because the world, increasingly, is on the side of God. // I thank you for the work that spreads the Word -- and thank you for your kindness. God bless you. And God bless our beloved land --the United States of America.

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Staffed

(Smith/Blessey)
7:00 P.M.
January 25, 1990
CAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS
SHERATON WASHINGTON HOTEL
MONDAY, JANUARY 29, 1990
2:00 P.M.

~~Don Wood~~
x 7/10/2

~~Pol Robertson~~

President Rose, Director Cook and I want to salute your leadership of the NRB. Ladies and gentlemen. ((It is often said of a group or individual that "He hasn't got a prayer." Today, I am pleased to be with an audience about whom that will never be said.))

URB
speech
2/2/87
~~Don Wood~~
x 7/14/2

~~Three~~
Two years ago, I had the honor of addressing this annual convention of the National Religious Broadcasters. And now, I'm back again. Even though I know this isn't what you had in mind when you talk about the Second Coming.)) //

Still, I'm delighted to be with you. And in the spirit of the occasion, I intend to keep two vows. First, I'll be brief. ((I know there's a mention in the Bible about the Burning Bush, but I also know I'm not that hot a speaker.)) //

Bible

The second promise is for those of you in the back of the room. I'll try to speak up. // ((Jerry Rose warned me that the agnostics in this room are very bad.)) //

Christ. Science
Monitor
1/2/90

Let me begin with some good news for modern man. According to the Gallup Poll, no society is more religious than the United States of America. // Seven in ten Americans believe in life after death. Eight in ten in a final Judgment Day and that God

works miracles. Nine in ten Americans pray. And 94 per cent believe in God. // To which I say: Thank God. //

Sure, differences exist over sect and theology. ((Some, for instance, claim the stairway to heaven is climbed through good works. // Some, that faith ensures that when the roll is called up yonder, I'll be there. // Others think the Pearly Gates welcome only those who like horse shoes and country music. // These beliefs aren't mutually exclusive.)) // Yet we know what unites us eclipses what divides us. // For we believe that political values without moral values cannot sustain a people. //

This afternoon, I'd like to talk to you about those moral values. Values which reflect the eternal teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. I speak of the qualities of freedom and responsibility, generosity and faith. Values which remind us that while God can live without man, man cannot live without God.

Today, amid political and economic change, these values haven't changed. Nor have they been more crucial than in 1990. They can help build a more decent America -- and help America build a more ennobling world. But only if while endorsing the separation of church and state, we also endorse the union of conscience and government. //

At home, this means -- I believe -- that we must support that most basic value -- sanctity of life. // We need policies that encourage adoption, not abortion. //

Conscience and government also dictate that we must help parents obtain the best child-care for their kids. // So we

X
Sensitivity

X
B...

Leader

St. M. H. Hayes
Chap. 5

3030

BABA
P. 28

have sent legislation to Congress to make good this pledge: I ^{choose the best of}
want to protect the right of every parent to send their kids to
~~best care for their children~~
the care center of their choice. That includes -- especially --
church-sponsored centers. //

BABA
9/14

Next comes an issue that concerns all children: the quality
and diversity of America's schools. // Our pioneering
legislation -- the "Educational Excellence Act of 1989" -- will
spur excellence, demand accountability, and allow our kids to
learn. Remember Saul on the Damascus Road. ^{Road to} We need a conversion
in American education. //

most in need
choice?
BABA
leader...

Finally, moral values support a belief held by the
overwhelming majority of Americans: The right to voluntary
school prayer. I share that belief. So I endorse a
Constitutional Amendment restoring voluntary prayer. We need the
Faith of our Fathers back in our schools. //

Now, you know me. I'm an optimistic guy. ((After all, last
year I had an experience that renewed my faith. I was running
out of prayers and had given up hope. Then a miracle occurred.
// I caught a fish.)) // So it won't surprise you that I'm
convinced we can -- and will -- uphold these values. And as we
do, we will help do God's work. Yet that work must not be for
America alone. //

What, after all, does religion cherish? The dignity of each
human being. // And what does such dignity require?
human rights for all
Inevitably, the triumph of democracy. // Well, the past year
has been a victory for the freedoms with which God has blessed

X

Jewish synagogues and 5
have the Protestant, Reformed, and Jewish churches of Eastern Europe. Few will forget heroes like Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Raoul Wallenberg, who led the anti-Nazi resistance. They, too, were apostles of God. //

*Newspaper
5:10*

Recall, more recently, this last miraculous year. And one of the great soldiers of God of this or any time, the Reverend Billy Graham. // Four years ago, Reverend Graham went to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. And upon returning foretold a movement there toward more religious freedom. Perhaps he saw it before many others because it takes a man of God to sense the early movement of the hand of God. // Yet not even Reverend Graham could predict how in 1989, the walls of bayonets and barbed wire -- the walls of tyranny -- would come tumbling down.

Graham

Look, first, at the miracle of East Germany -- where in 1982 -- long before last November's mass demonstrations -- members of Leipzig's St. Nicholas Church began weekly prayers for peace. At the services Bible Study, students were taught non-violence. And started the candle-light vigils that would one day rouse a continent. The police came and threatened them. But the students would not be moved. They vowed to stay, and did. Becoming, yes, a light unto the world.

*Josh Post
1/14/90
Time 11/27/89
Christian
Century
9/11/40
L.A. Times*

As with the disciples, that light spread to Dresden and Berlin. *their lights* And as it shone, a Wittenberg pastor said, "I would rather see 1,000 drops of candle wax on the market place than one drop of blood." // And there was no blood -- just as Christ taught us. // *His prayers were answered and last October* Only the stirring sight last October of 70,000 and

*And the people marched
not armed
with sticks
but with
candles.
L.A. Times
Christian
Century
9/11/41*

News

workers -- brave, defiant -- ^{walked through} in the streets and squares of Leipzig. ~~Weapons? They carried candles.~~ Their march rivaled ^{(a} blizzard of fireflies in the night." Ask anyone that evening. God was moving in miraculous -- not merely mysterious -- ways.

New York Times
12/26/89

Look, next, at Bulgaria. Where last month the State press agency ^{reported} ~~conceded:~~ "People [were] wishing Merry Christmas to each other ^{maybe for the first time} without fear they would be accused of being 'religious.'" // And Czechoslovakia. There, too, a miracle. For years, police chased carolers from Prague's King's Road. This Christmas, the cold night of Charles Bridge echoed with young voices. Their carols warmed the heart of the city. There was wonder in the air. // And in Romania: Still further miracles. Christmas songs on the radio for the first time since 194~~6~~⁷. And heroes who showed that you can't lock people behind walls forever -- when they have religious faith locked in their hearts. //

Let me close, then, with the story of two such heroes -- both Romanian. And how their example -- and miracle -- illumined Christ's special mission to mankind.

Josh Post
Times p 57
11/190
Hans
11/6/90
P. 35
Andre Galin
6/1-1919

The first was a Lutheran minister, Laszlo Tokes, who dared to speak of freedom. So last November, ^{in Timisoara} masked thugs broke into the small apartment in Timisoara of Tokes and his pregnant wife. They beat and stabbed him. The government allowed them no food. // When parishioners brought bread, police arrived to deport the pastor. But the flock protected him -- forming a human chain around his apartment. In time, the chain grew across the land.

Court
X
X
X
Polish
ex.
from
Natl.
Rev.

State's
Newsp.
X

[Timi Shoar. Ah]

Cobkin's son - Andre

7

Until -- as the world celebrated Christmas -- Romania's morning star of freedom summoned "lightness against the dark." //

Today, Laszlo Tokes preaches his faith without fear -- ministering to ever-larger numbers -- truly, an apostle of the Lord. // As is that second man I spoke about -- a man who's with us here. His name is Gheorghe Calciu [CAL-chew] -- a Romanian Orthodox minister. His story proves you can't slay an idea -- nor destroy the human will. //

Reverend Calciu has spent 21 of his 67 years in jail. In fact, he found God there while imprisoned for opposing the government. Released, he risked his freedom by preaching a series of Lenten sermons. And for that he was imprisoned again -- tortured beyond belief. // Yet Reverend Calciu had faith. He refused to break -- and was sentenced to death. So he went to a corner of the prison yard, and began to pray for his wife and for his son. // It was then that the miracle occurred. //

His two executioners called him over. Surely, thought Reverend Calciu, this was the end. But instead they said, "Father" -- that was the first time they called him that -- "we have decided not to kill you." // A few days later, he asked permission to celebrate the Mass. And while making preparations, heard these same two men approach. He turned around, and was astonished. // His would-be executioners were on their knees on the cold concrete of the cell. //

In 1985, Father Calciu was exiled to America. But he hopes to return to his native land. And in this season of miracles,

NSC
Newspaper

Father Cobkin
671-1919

Father

three weeks

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who can doubt he will? // For today, the times are on the side of peace. Because the world, increasingly, is on the side of God. //

If you doubt it, think of this past Christmas of miracles. And of miracles yet to come. // Miracles that will occur in Eastern Europe, in America, and around the globe. Wherever one finds the truth that comes on one's knees.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. God bless America. And let me leave you with a favorite hymn, "God Be With You Till We Meet Again." C

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 28, 1990

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *cw*
FROM: CURT SMITH *CS*
SUBJECT: RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS' SPEECH

I. SUMMARY

Attached is a revised version of the Religious Broadcasters' speech which addresses the comments you made. Please let us know if there are any additional changes you would like made. We will have time before the speech tomorrow afternoon to do any further rewrite that is necessary.

Thank you.

(Smith/Blessey)
11:00 P.M.
January 28, 1990
CAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS
SHERATON WASHINGTON HOTEL
MONDAY, JANUARY 29, 1990
2:00 P.M.

President Rose, Director Cook, Dr. Robertson -- and I want to salute your leadership of the NRB. Ladies and gentlemen. ((It is often said of a group or individual that "He hasn't got a prayer." Well, I am pleased to be with an audience about whom that will never be said.)) //

This marks the fourth time I have had the honor of addressing the annual convention of the National Religious Broadcasters. And once again, it is a delight to be back.

In the spirit of the occasion, I want to make two vows. First, I'll be brief. ((I know there's a mention in the Bible about the Burning Bush -- but I also know that compared to most around me here, I'm not that hot a speaker.)) //

The second promise is for those of you in the back of the room. I'll try to speak up. // ((Pat Robertson warned me that the agnostics in this room are very bad.)) //

Let me begin with some good news for modern man: There is no denying that America is a religious nation. //

Sure, differences exist over sect and theology. ((I'm reminded of what the French statesman Talleyrand once said of America: "I found there a country with thirty-two religions and

only one sauce.")) // Yet we know what unites us eclipses what divides us. For we believe that political values without moral values cannot sustain a people. //

This afternoon, I'd like to talk to you about those moral values. I speak of the qualities of tolerance and decency, courage and responsibility, and of course, faith. Values which remind us that while God can live without man, man cannot live without God. //

Today, amid political and economic upheaval, these values haven't changed. Nor will they be more crucial than in the 1990s.

Now, you know me. I'm an optimist. ((After all, last year I had an experience that renewed my faith. I was running out of prayers and had almost given up hope. Then a miracle occurred. // I caught a fish.)) // So it won't surprise you that I'm convinced we can -- and will -- uphold the values I'm referring to. For as Americans, we always have.

Consider that for more than two centuries, America has endorsed the separation of church and state. But it has also shown how religion and government can co-exist. // And that -- to paraphrase our founding document -- all men are created not by government but by their Creator with certain unalienable rights.

These rights include the freedom of expression. And to think, dream, and worship as we please. Equal protection under the law. And the right to choose our leaders and our destinies.

The inherent dignity of the individual. // And we must manifest that dignity by the policies we pursue.

For example, I believe that we should help parents obtain the best child-care for their kids. // So we have sent legislation to Congress to make good that goal. I want to ensure that parents, not bureaucrats, are the ones who decide how to care for their children. And I will not see the option of religious-based child care restricted or eliminated. //

Next, there's the concern of every child: the quality and diversity of America's schools. // Our pioneering legislation -- the "Educational Excellence Act of 1989" -- will spur excellence and demand accountability. For our kids's sake, let's help American education make the grade. //

We come next to an issue on which Americans of conscience can, and do, disagree. For my part, I support the sanctity of life. We need policies that encourage adoption, not abortion. //

Finally, I continue to support a belief held by the overwhelming majority of Americans: The right to voluntary school prayer. So I support a Constitutional Amendment restoring voluntary prayer. We need the Faith of our Fathers back in our schools. //

These policies reflect the rights of the individual -- a concept as old as the Scriptures. Rights which form the essence of America. And that to other Nations, have become the message of America -- for our freedoms have been carried to every corner of the earth. //

One year ago in my Inaugural Address, I said, "The day of the dictator is over." // And indeed, the last year has been a victory for the freedoms with which God has blessed America. We have seen the rights of man move mountains or -- as in East Berlin -- even move a wall. //

Think of Central America, where men and women -- facing great personal risk -- work for human rights and against tyranny of any ideology. And let me add: I am especially proud of our troops in Panama. Americans supported "Operation Just Cause" because democracy is a noble cause. // And to the young soldiers who served this country, every American thanks you. // Think, next, of South Africa and the Philippines, where the values of church leaders have been a force for democratic change. // And, yes, in Eastern Europe, too. Where for centuries faith has sustained those striving for freedom amid adversity.

You know, eight years ago one of the Lord's great ambassadors, the Reverend Billy Graham, went to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. And upon returning spoke of a movement there toward more religious freedom. Perhaps he saw it before many others because it takes a man of God to sense the early movement of the hand of God. // Yet who could predict that in 1989, freedom's tide would also be economic, political, and intellectual? Or that the walls of bayonets and barbed wire -- the walls of tyranny -- would come tumbling down.

Look, first, at East Germany -- where in 1982 -- long before last November's mass demonstrations -- members of

Leipzig's St. Nicholas Church began a weekly "prayer for peace." At the services, students were taught non-violence. And started the candle-light vigils that would one day rouse a continent. The police came and threatened them. But the students vowed to stay, and did. Becoming a light unto the world.

Ultimately, that light spread to Dresden and East Berlin. And as it shone, a Wittenberg pastor said, "I would rather see 1,000 drops of candle wax on the market place than one drop of blood." // And there was no blood. Only the stirring sight last October of 70,000 workers in the streets and squares of Leipzig. Weapons? They carried candles. And their light was likened to "a blizzard of fireflies in the night." Ask anyone that evening. They sought what we Americans enjoy: Free markets, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state.

They were propelled by many things -- faith not the least of them. And as they and others marched across Eastern Europe, the day of the dictator did end. The day of democracy began.

Look at Bulgaria. Where last month the State Press Agency conceded: "People [were] wishing Merry Christmas to each other maybe for the first time without fear they would be accused of being 'religious.'" // And Czechoslovakia. There, too, a victory for the rights of man. For years, police chased carolers from Prague's King's Road. This Christmas, carols warmed the heart of the city. There was wonder in the air. // In the Soviet Union, last year Moscow hosted the first nationwide

gathering of Jews since the fall of the Czar. And in Romania: Still further victories. Christmas songs on the radio for the first time since 1946. And heroes who showed that you can't lock people behind walls forever -- when moral conviction uplifts their hearts. //

Let me close, then, with the story of two such heroes -- both Romanian. And how their example illumined decency, courage, and love.

The first was a Lutheran minister, Laszlo [LAZ-low] Tokes [TO-kesh], who dared to speak of freedom. So last November in Timisoara [Timmy-SCHWA-ra], masked thugs broke into the small apartment of Tokes and his pregnant wife. They beat and stabbed him. The government allowed them no food. // Even parishioners were not permitted to bring bread; finally, the police arrived to deport the pastor. But the flock protected him -- forming a human chain around his apartment. In time, the chain grew across the land. Until -- as we celebrated Christmas -- Romania's quest for freedom summoned "lightness against the dark." //

Today, Laszlo Tokes ministers to ever-larger numbers -- preaching his faith without fear. // As does Gheorghe [George] Calciu [CAL-chew] -- a Romanian Orthodox minister. His story proves you can't kill an idea -- or destroy the human will. //

Father Calciu [CAL-chew] has spent 21 of his 64 years in jail. In fact, he found God there while imprisoned for opposing the government. Released, he risked his freedom by preaching a series of Lenten sermons. And for that he was imprisoned again

-- tortured beyond belief. // Yet Father Calciu had faith. He refused to break -- and was sentenced to death. And as he stood in the corner of the prison yard, praying for his wife and son -- awaiting death -- it was then something remarkable occurred. //

His two executioners called to him. Surely, he thought, this was the end. But instead they said, "Father" -- that was the first time they called him that -- "we have decided not to kill you." // Three weeks later, he asked permission to celebrate the Divine Liturgy. And while making preparations, heard these same two men approach. He turned around, and was astonished. // His would-be executioners were on their knees on the cold concrete of the cell. //

Father Calciu is with us today. Father, it's an honor to salute you. // I know you're glad to be here. But I know, too, you hope to return to your native land. And in this season of miracles, who can doubt you will? // For today, the times are on the side of peace. Because the world, increasingly, is on the side of God. //

For my own part, I know that this is true. For although I've been President for barely a year, I believe -- with all my heart -- that one cannot be America's President without a belief in God.

Another President, Dwight Eisenhower -- beloved Ike -- once said, "Free government is the political expression of a deeply-felt religious faith." Let each of us use his faith to express

the noblest values of America. So that, together, we can serve the inalienable rights of man.

Thank you for your work, and for your kindness. God bless you. And God bless our beloved land -- the United States of America.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 26, 1990

BRIEFING FOR THE
NATIONAL RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS

DATE: JANUARY 29, 1990
TIME: 2:00 PM
LOCATION: SHERATON WASHINGTON HOTEL

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST
FROM: DOUG WEAD

I. PURPOSE

To address the National Religious Broadcasters at their 47th annual convention, and show your thanks for the support of conservative religious groups.

II. BACKGROUND

This event has 4000 registered delegates, including owners of religious television and radio stations and network ministries. Although it includes Catholic and other traditional Christian denominations, the single largest bloc of participants is the Evangelicals.

Some Evangelical participants at this year's NRB have publicly complained about the Administration's record of Evangelical appointments. An article to that effect appeared in the January 26, 1990 issue of USA Today (p. 4A).

It has been suggested that this will be the last, all inclusive major NRB convention. This is due to a number of mitigating circumstances, including the launching of rival organizations.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Dr. Robert Cook
Jerry Rose
Pat Robertson
Bishop Samuel L. Green, Jr.
Rev. Jack Hayford
Chaplain Richard Halverson
Kay Arthur
Bill Speigel

Dr. Ben Armstrong
Dr. David Clark
Robert Ball
Dr. Thomas Zimmerman
Dr. E. Brandt Gustavson
Robert Straton
Paul Kurtz
Richard Mason

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open Press

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

See personal trip schedule

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 21, 1990

**MENTIONED
IN SPEECH**

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID DEMAREST

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *cw*

FROM: STEPHANIE BLESSEY *SB*
 JEANNIE NAPPO

The following is a suggestion for the Religious Broadcasters' speech.

Calcheer

Attached is an article describing the plight of Reverend Gheorghe Calciu of Romania. Because he preached for human rights he was tortured and sentenced to death. It was a miracle that he escaped his death sentence and that the Reagan Administration could arrange for his release. He now lives in Virginia and preaches at the Holy Cross Romanian Orthodox Church in Baileys Crossroads.

If Father Calciu was invited to accompany (or meet) the President to the Religious Broadcasters' speech it would symbolize the President's faith in God and commitment to help the East Europeans. His presence would have the same effect as Connie McWright at the Texas Vietnam Veteran's Memorial.

Please read the attached article and contact me if you need further assistance.

Thank you.

cc: Sig Rogich

*Holy Cross Rom.
671-1919*

*(Andrew)
2,*

programs for Radio Free Europe

The Exiled Priest Who Defied Ceausescu

Romania's Gheorghe Calciu, With
New Hope for His Homeland

183/194
By Jim Naughton
Washington Post Staff Writer

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The Rev. Gheorghe Calciu moves toward it deliberately. News has poured from his homeland in such violent convulsions these past two weeks that every call has had the potential to reshape his world. This time the news is good.

"A group of my former students were able to speak on Romanian TV," he says. "They said, 'Father Calciu, don't forget your motherland is not America, but Romania, and we are waiting for you to lead us on the true way of faith in Jesus Christ and in our nation.'"

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Calciu (pronounced Cul-chew), pastor of Holy Cross Romanian Orthodox Church in Baileys Crossroads, has spent 21 of his 61 years in prison for opposing his country's Communist government. Despite long periods of imposed silence, he became what a former U.S. ambassador calls "a kind of folk hero to the religious people in his country." Now, after four years of exile, during which he continued to preach over the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe, he is eager to return to Bucharest to be reunited with students, past and future.

"This was a revolution of the children," he says. "Never have so many babies been sacrificed as now."

"They have been struggling for life since their most tender childhood. They proved to us they are generous. They proved to us they are brave. They proved they are ready to fight to the death. But really, they need—in addition to freedom—spirituality and culture."

Calciu believes that it is his role to bring this spirituality, but he cannot return unless the new government grants amnesty to exiles and political prisoners, a move he is not yet certain it will make.

"The Communist Party is still very strong," he says. "Members of the Central Committee are still in important positions in the provisional government. We hope the stu-

dents and the people will continue the fight to install real democracy."

In the meantime, he solicits donations, continues to give his radio sermons and searches for a plane to carry 80,000 pounds of medical supplies to Romania.

Calciu dresses in a black cassock that enhances the whiteness of his thick hair and closely trimmed beard. His reputation among Romanians is that of a living martyr, yet his face is pink as a child's and his eyes are an unclouded blue. Something in his gaze suggests the triumph of joy over anguish. A golden crucifix hangs from a chain around his neck.

"I lost my instinct for self-preservation," he says with a sort of helpless amusement. "Sometimes I ask myself, 'Am I a normal person?' But I don't fear."

Three weeks ago, when the FBI informed him that Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu had dispatched men to kill him, Calciu went briefly into hiding in Pennsylvania. But he returned each weekend to offer Mass at the anomalous little church on Route 7 in Fairfax County. Calciu believes he has already survived two attempts on his life through poison. An ardent nationalist, he has come to believe that God has a mission for him and for the people of Romania.

"No other people suffered so long and so much, and no other people gave so many sacrifices," he says. "For this I am sure their faith will be the strongest in the world."

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"We were young people and never were we prepared for such suffering," he says. "We lost our hope. We lost our faith. We lost our love."

But in what he calls "the dark universe of prison," Calciu found his vocation. "The priests who were in prison with us, because this was a time of great persecution of the church, they cured us when we were ill. They might share a piece of bread. They gave us consolation," he says.

"In this special condition, I understood strong belief. I understood what it meant to be light of the world and salt of the earth, the words of Jesus Christ. I promised to become a priest."

But becoming a priest in Romania was an exceedingly difficult and dangerous task. Calciu was released from prison in 1964 under a general amnesty, but he was forbidden from studying theology. Instead, for four years, he studied French. Then, in 1968 he approached Justinian, the patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church, and asked to study for the priesthood in secret. Justinian, whom many religious Romanians regard as the last true patriarch, consented.

For four years Calciu pursued his clandestine studies until, in 1972, he was discovered by the secret police. "And in order to save me," he says, "the patriarch appointed me a professor of French and the New Testament at the Orthodox Seminary of Bucharest." He was ordained later that year.

As a priest of the official church, Calciu could count on a certain protection. For five years, his anti-Marxist sermons and lectures were tolerated by the Ceausescu regime, and his following grew. But in 1977, Justinian died and a new hard-line patriarch was named. What ensued was what David B. Funderburk, former U.S. ambassador to Romania, calls "a guerrilla war within the church."

In the winter of 1978, Calciu announced that on each of the seven Wednesdays in Lent he would deliver a sermon. He called them "Seven Words to the Romanian Youth," and these homilies led to his reimprisonment.

The sermons were an attack on Ceausescu's persecution of the church and his refusal to recognize religious groups like the Lord's Army, a secret evangelical organization with an estimated 1 million members. Calciu drew a stark contrast between the gospel of Christ and the gospel of Marx and called on the faithful to choose.

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"I didn't say extraordinary words," he says. "I just said to them the truth. The truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ. But I had the courage to say them in a new way."

In response to the sermons, the new patriarch expelled Calciu from the church.

"God allowed me to pronounce all my seven words," Calciu says. "Then I was arrested."

His second term in prison was more brutal than the first. "Ceausescu saw me as his personal enemy," Calciu says. "For this he applied to me special methods of torture."

The psychological torture, he says, was sometimes the worst.

"They would bring me to a room, an office, and I would be sitting at a small table. And the room would be filled with interrogators all around me. And they would ask the same questions over and over: What is your name? Where were you born? Who is your father? Who is your mother? When did you meet so-and-so, an American whom I knew.

"And after 48 hours of the same stupid questions I started to lose my mind. I would fall asleep between the questions. How long could that be? Seconds? For me this moment of sleep seemed like a long time.

"They were trying to substitute my own system of reason with theirs. I was thinking, 'Perhaps I did something without knowing.' But after 48 hours I decided not to answer."

Calciu says that when he did not break under these conditions, the government decided to have him killed. He was put in a cell with two convicted murderers who had been promised leniency if they would kill him.

"From the beginning they told me why they were with me, what was their mission," Calciu says. "I was made to stand in a corner. I was not allowed to eat, to drink, to relieve myself, to speak, without asking permission. They beat me, but they didn't kill me."

After three weeks the two other prisoners were summoned by the head of the secret police. When they returned, Calciu says, his tormentors were subdued and "thoughtful." The three men were taken to a small prison yard. Calciu's tormentors told him to stand in one corner while they stood in another, speaking in hushed tones.

"I was sure it was a plan for my kill-

ing, and in my corner I started to pray," he says. "I confessed my sins. I expressed my love for my wife and son. In 15 minutes they told me to approach them. And the youngest one said, 'Father,'—and that was the first time they called me Father—'we have decided not to kill you.'

"You can imagine the situation. I was prepared for the death, but I was given life at their hands. I started to cry."

That Sunday, he asked their permission to celebrate the Mass. "I had my back to them making the preparations, and I felt them approach to see and hear. When I turned, I was very astonished to see the two criminals were kneeling with me on the cold concrete of the cell. That Monday we were separated. But, I am sure they were saved."

Throughout Calciu's imprisonment, the Reagan administration lobbied Ceausescu for his release. In August of 1983, those efforts—coupled with the dictator's fear that the United States would rescind the most favored nation status it had granted Romania in 1976—led to the priest's release.

The secret police "were asking me to beg pardon of Ceausescu," Calciu says. "I refused. And after six months of pressure, the chief of the security police called me. He said, 'We want no more discussions with you. You are a very stubborn prisoner. We are sending you to a special prison. You will die there, and nobody will know where your bones will be.'

The following day he was released.

The move was so unexpected, Calciu remembers, that his wife, Adriana, who had been summoned to the prison, did not know he would be released. "And my son, when I entered the house, he was petrified to see me."

Calciu spent the next two years under house arrest before Ceausescu sent him into exile in the United States in 1985. "From the beginning of my time here, I decided to tell the truth, to awaken the conscience of the Western people who thought Ceausescu was like a maverick from Communism," he says. "He was a big criminal and I knew it."

Calciu has spent much of his time in the Washington area trying to organize the Romanian American community into an opposition in exile. The results have been mixed.

"He hasn't had too much success," says the Rev. Daniel Branzai, pastor of the Romanian Baptist Church in Anaheim, Calif. "The Romanian American community here came from a very sad experience. They do not want to trust anyone. He couldn't make them believe in him and in his fight."

But the Rev. Cornel Avramescu of St. Mary's Romanian Orthodox Church in Tustin, Calif., says Calciu has created "a unity" within the Romanian Orthodox Church and served as a rallying point for anti-Communist activity.

Working with Washington resident Victor Gaetan, Calciu lobbied Congress to rescind Romania's most favored nation status, which it did in 1987. Meanwhile, he continued to deliver radio sermons and remains popular in his homeland.

"His voice in Romania is something that people believe," Gaetan says. "They need his broadcasts like bread."

Calciu is still wary of the foment in his country. The secret trial and executions of the Ceausescus troubled him.

"It is hard to judge from America," he says, "but from the point of view of the whole nation these executions without a public trial, without letting people know the truth, without letting people speak out ... were not correct."

He also has deep reservations about the provisional government.

"The Communist Party and Communism in general oppressed so many people that for them to continue to be in front in this new government is to despise the people. The true people who understand the situation are the ones who died in the streets, not the members of the Central Committee and their sons."

But if he is allowed to return, his principal energies will be devoted to rebuilding the church, both spiritually and politically.

"All the members of our hierarchy are compromised," he says. "They gave a statement right after Timisoara saying they would support the foreign and internal policies of Ceausescu. I understand they were obligated by Ceausescu, but they are guilty for this. They were not servants of God, they were servants of Ceausescu."

"It will be very difficult for us to rebuild the idea of a pure church in front of the people. But the church was involved in the Communist destruction of the country. The church has a right and a duty to work for the rebuilding and the welfare of Romania."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 21, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID DEMAREST

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *cw*

FROM: STEPHANIE BLESSEY *SB*
 JEANNIE NAPPO

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New Hope for His Homeland

183/194
By Jim Naughton
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His second term in prison was more brutal than the first. "Ceausescu saw me as his personal enemy," Calciu says. "For this he applied to me special methods of torture."

The psychological torture, he says, was sometimes the worst.

"They would bring me to a room, an office, and I would be sitting at a small table. And the room would be filled with interrogators all around me. And they would ask the same questions over and over: What is your name? Where were you born? Who is your father? Who is your mother? When did you meet so-and-so, an American whom I knew."

"And after 48 hours of the same stupid questions I started to lose my mind. I would fall asleep between the questions. How long could that be? Seconds? For me this moment of sleep seemed like a long time."

"They were trying to substitute my own system of reason with theirs. I was thinking, 'Perhaps I did something without knowing.' But after 48 hours I decided not to answer."

Calciu says that when he did not break under these conditions, the government decided to have him killed. He was put in a cell with two convicted murderers who had been promised leniency if they would kill him.

"From the beginning they told me why they were with me, what was their mission," Calciu says. "I was made to stand in a corner. I was not allowed to eat, to drink, to relieve myself, to speak, without asking permission. They beat me, but they didn't kill me."

After three weeks the two other prisoners were summoned by the head of the secret police. When they returned, Calciu says, his tormentors were subdued and "thoughtful." The three men were taken to a small prison yard. Calciu's tormentors told him to stand in one corner while they stood in another, speaking in hushed tones.

"I was sure it was a plan for my killing, and in my corner I started to pray," he says. "I confessed my sins. I expressed my love for my wife and son. In 15 minutes they told me to approach them. And the youngest one said, 'Father,'—and that was the first time they called me Father—'we have decided not to kill you.'"

"You can imagine the situation. I was prepared for the death, but I was given life at their hands. I started to cry."

That Sunday, he asked their permission to celebrate the Mass. "I had my back to them making the preparations, and I felt them approach to see and hear. When I turned, I was very astonished to see the two criminals were kneeling with me on the cold concrete of the cell. That Monday we were separated. But, I am sure they were saved."

Throughout Calciu's imprisonment, the Reagan administration lobbied Ceausescu for his release. In August of 1983, those efforts—coupled with the dictator's fear that the United States would rescind the most favored nation status it had granted Romania in 1976—led to the priest's release.

The secret police "were asking me to beg pardon of Ceausescu," Calciu says. "I refused. And after six months of pressure, the chief of the security police called me. He said, 'We want no more discussions with you. You are a very stubborn prisoner. We are sending you to a special prison. You will die there, and nobody will know where your bones will be.'"

The following day he was released.

The move was so unexpected, Calciu remembers, that his wife, Adriana, who had been summoned to the prison, did not know he would be released. "And my son, when I entered the house, he was petrified to see me."

Calciu spent the next two years under house arrest before Ceausescu sent him into exile in the United States in 1985. "From the beginning of my time here, I decided to tell the truth, to awaken the conscience of the Western people who thought Ceausescu was like a maverick from Communism," he says. "He was a big criminal and I knew it."

Calciu has spent much of his time in the Washington area trying to organize the Romanian American community into an opposition in exile. The results have been mixed.

"He hasn't had too much success," says the Rev. Daniel Branzai, pastor of the Romanian Baptist Church in Anaheim, Calif. "The Romanian American community here came from a very sad experience. They do not want to trust anyone. He couldn't make them believe in him and in his fight."

But the Rev. Cornel Avramescu of St. Mary's Romanian Orthodox Church in Tustin, Calif., says Calciu has created "a unity" within the Romanian Orthodox Church and served as a rallying point for anti-Communist activity.

Working with Washington resident Victor Gaetan, Calciu lobbied Congress to rescind Romania's most favored nation status, which it did in 1987. Meanwhile, he continued to deliver radio sermons and remains popular in his homeland.

"His voice in Romania is something that people believe," Gaetan says. "They need his broadcasts like bread."

Calciu is still wary of the foment in his country. The secret trial and executions of the Ceausescus troubled him.

"It is hard to judge from America," he says, "but from the point of view of the whole nation these executions without a public trial, without letting people know the truth, without letting people speak out... were not correct."

He also has deep reservations about the provisional government.

"The Communist Party and Communism in general oppressed so many people that for them to continue to be in front in this new government is to despise the people. The true people who understand the situation are the ones who died in the streets, not the members of the Central Committee and their sons."

But if he is allowed to return, his principal energies will be devoted to rebuilding the church, both spiritually and politically.

"All the members of our hierarchy are compromised," he says. "They gave a statement right after Timisoara saying they would support the foreign and internal policies of Ceausescu. I understand they were obligated by Ceausescu, but they are guilty for this. They were not servants of God, they were servants of Ceausescu."

"It will be very difficult for us to rebuild the idea of a pure church in front of the people. But the church was involved in the Communist destruction of the country. The church has a right and a duty to work for the rebuilding and the welfare of Romania."

Gorbachev, Pope Seek Common Ground in Historic Talks

178/194

By Jennifer Parmelee /
Special to The Washington Post

WASH. POST: 12-01-89

VATICAN CITY, Nov. 30—Two years ago, an Italian Communist politician asked Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev whether he would like to visit the pope.

"Why not?" responded Gorbachev, expressing what, until his tenure, was considered unthinkable. "Maybe, being two Slavs, we'll understand each other better."

On Friday, Pope John Paul II, Polish-born spiritual leader of 850 million Catholics, will receive Gorbachev, head of the world's first ruling Communist Party, in an audience that marks the first visit in history to the Vatican by a supreme leader of the Soviet Union.

In an encounter set against a backdrop of momentous change within the Soviet Bloc, two traditional foes will try to bridge a chasm carved over decades of antagonism and opposing ideology.

At the heart of their discussion is the relationship between religion and Gorbachev's *perestroika*—restructuring—of a society that has long persecuted religion.

"Gorbachev knows he has to seize the moment," said a Vatican source who is close to the pope and who has met Gorbachev. "He knows the pope is a Slav, a man who can understand his country and its history better than the rest. He must be thinking, 'This is a man with whom I can talk.'"

Just six days after he was elected pope in 1978, John Paul, long convinced that communism was a dying force, said to the Soviet Bloc, in words that now sound prophetic: "Don't be afraid. Open—better yet, fling open—the gates to Christ. Open . . . the confines of the states, of the economic and political systems."

And as soon as he returned to Poland the next year, he talked of a Europe united by spiritual values—a theme echoed now by Gorbachev's "common European home."

The meeting crowns more than a quarter-century of Vatican *ostpolitik*—the persistent but often maligned efforts at dialogue with Communist leaders that are now reaping rewards across the Soviet Bloc as barriers to church-state relations come crashing down.

"The pope set in motion a chain of events with his outspoken support of Solidarity in Poland. From his very first day as pope he was adamant about change there and elsewhere in the East," said one longtime diplomat to the Holy See. "But what you're seeing today absolutely couldn't have happened without Gorbachev. Now I think they need each other to keep it going."

"We must profit from this opportunity, before it is overtaken by internal forces seeking to slow down, if not to block, Gorbachev's policy of religious freedom," said Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, the pope's secretary of state and chief architect of Vatican *ostpolitik*.

Vatican sources said the pope will press for speedy approval of a draft Soviet law sanctioning religious freedom and for legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, brutally suppressed in 1946 by Joseph Stalin. Such steps would remove the major obstacles to diplomatic relations and open the way for a possible papal visit to the Soviet Union, home to an estimated 10 million Catholics.

Gorbachev is expected to solicit the pope's moderating influence on religious movements such as those in the Ukraine in hopes they will not become full-blown nationalistic uprisings. He is likely to seek formal



John Paul II embraced Solidarity leader Lech Walesa during a 1987 visit to Poland, one of the pope's many efforts to build bridges into the Soviet Bloc.

Vatican recognition of Soviet post-war boundaries as well.

Gorbachev, who was raised a Christian by his mother, has called repeatedly for a "transformation of the spiritual life" in his country without which, he says, *perestroika* cannot survive. Vatican officials expect him to ask the pope to lend a hand.

"Christian ethics can help in these things, against corruption, alcoholism, absenteeism . . . to create schools, help old people," papal spokesman Joaquin Navarro said. "From our point of view, a good Christian will never be a bad citizen."

Asked whether the pope would offer to help dampen the flames of nationalist fervor, Navarro replied that "violent nationalism" has no

place in "Catholic republics." He added, "There is a difference between criticism of power and subversive activity."

As political reform has moved through Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, so has the revival of religious freedom, at a tempo that stuns even the optimists in the Vatican's conservative hierarchy. Today, the Catholic Church's estimated 70 million East European members are enjoying their strongest position since before World War II.

The pope's native and overwhelmingly Catholic Poland has generally led the charge. It was the first Eastern Bloc country to pass strong legislation protecting church rights and last July became the first Warsaw Pact nation to resume dip-

lomatic relations with the Holy See, after a 44-year rupture.

Last week Hungary, where Catholics comprise the largest religious group, announced it would reestablish ties with the Vatican early next year. In Czechoslovakia, 70 percent Catholic, frosty relations with the Vatican have warmed considerably with the naming of new clergy. And in the Soviet Baltic republics, where Catholic priests and lay people were long terrorized, authorities are returning dozens of churches, granting permits for new ones and allowing seminary attendance to flourish.

There are hard-line holdouts: in Bulgaria, East Germany, Romania and Albania—countries where Catholics have historically been in the minority—the church has gained very little ground.

And across the map of the Eastern Bloc, mutual suspicions still run high between the church and the "godless states" that have long sought to stamp it out. In Czechoslovakia, for instance, Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, who has struggled tirelessly for church rights, must wait for state employees to unlock Prague's cathedral before he can get in. He has high hopes for Gorbachev, but is still waiting for his keys.

"There's a great caution still" within the Vatican hierarchy, one senior Vatican official said. "In the long term, the values we're supposed to represent require much more radical changes than are taking place. The huge apparatus that has historically implemented hard-line policy is still there. There is mistrust, within the Holy See, toward that apparatus."

On the other side lingers the fear of the less tangible religious power, which Karl Marx, the ultimate atheist, termed the "opiate of the people."

Yet much has changed since the

two decades after the war when, the words of the senior Vatican official, "there was a clear desire the totalitarian Communist regime to extinguish the church by violent means."

Priests and cardinals were imprisoned. Worshipers were terrorized. Churches were closed, burned or taken over by the state.

In the 1960s came the first tentative feelers at dialogue between the two sides and Casaroli began the initial journeys of the Vatican "shuttle diplomacy."

The first breakthroughs came in the 1970s, centered around the Vatican's successful drive to religious freedom inserted into Helsinki accords and thus bringing the attention of governments everywhere. In 1974, Poland and Holy See agreed to establish permanent contacts.

Ostpolitik picked up momentum with the 1978 election of John Paul II, the first Slavic pope. Seven years later Gorbachev came to power in 1988, when Soviet authorities permitted extensive celebrations for the 1,000th anniversary of Christianity in Russia, the pope a high-level delegation and a letter to Gorbachev saying he would come to a meeting some day.

A year later the Soviet leader responded in kind, urging "further developments" in relations with Holy See, and the visit was on.

Now, Soviet readers can praise of the pope even in the official press. Recently, *Komsomolskaya Pravda* lauded him as a intellectual, linguist and fighter for peace, and remarked:

"Both Catholics and Communists are looking these days for something that would unite and not separate people. The Vatican is calling for a crusade against nationalism and we do not call it 'opium' any more."

EDITORIALS

Religion and Revolution: Top Story of 1989

IN THIS YEAR of stunning political changes in Eastern Europe, we have been struck repeatedly by the power and endurance of religious communities in those lands. Churches have been examples of resistance, protectors of human dignity, and resources for political and social change—a saga that is, in our view, the top story of the year in religion.

How many divisions does the pope have? Stalin asked scornfully. Plenty, Mikhail Gorbachev might reply. When the Soviet president met with Pope John Paul II earlier this month—the first-ever such encounter between a Soviet leader and a pope—he was clearly looking for something only the religious leader could give: a moral legitimization of *perestroika*, a formal endorsement of his moves toward religious freedom, and also some help in controlling nationalist movements among Catholics in the Soviet republics.

Gorbachev must deal with a variety of vibrant religious faiths, many of them intricately tied to ethnic and nationalist loyalties. He recently moved to legalize the 5-million-member Ukrainian Catholic Church, which in 1946 was forcibly yoked to the Russian Orthodox Church. He must also deal with restive Catholics in Lithuania, Lutherans in Estonia and Latvia, and Muslims and Armenian Orthodox in the southern republics. Gorbachev is gambling that by relaxing curbs on religious freedoms he can defuse rather than inflame separatist sentiments, and use the moral force of religion to revitalize Soviet society.

In Poland, the Roman Catholic Church remains a profound factor in the move toward noncommunist rule. In August, Catholic layman and editor Tadeusz Mazowiecki became prime minister in a coalition cabinet, and a recent survey showed that the church is by far the most credible institution in the country: 87 percent of Poles said they trusted the church, whereas 68 percent trusted the Solidarity government and only 11 percent trusted the Communist Party.

In East Germany, where churches have long supplied the only social space for free discussions, the Evangelische Kirche and others played a crucial role in the movement that toppled Erich Honecker in November. The “critical solidarity” of the self-declared “church in socialism” proved to be much more than a phrase. It was in the churches that demonstrators met, and with guidance from pastors that they clarified and nonviolently pressed their demands for reform. As political leaders

struggled to find a way forward in the wake of the total discrediting of the Communist leadership, it was natural that the bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg, Gottfried Forck, should chair the discussions.

Besides the stories of particular churches and believers, the collapse of communism has itself been a theological drama. The breathtaking speed with which communism dissolved revealed how hollow the system had become, how bereft of moral legitimacy. But what will take its place? Filling the political vacuum with a democratic system that recognizes human rights is a project that necessarily raises fundamental questions: What is the nature of human beings? What rights do human beings have and in what ultimate reality do those rights inhere? What authority does government have and where does it get that authority? And in what institutions will these truths be embodied? We are not used to thinking rigorously about such questions. Suddenly, the people of Eastern Europe have these questions pressed upon them. How they answer—and how the church helps them answer—may be the most fateful religion story of the years ahead.

The other top stories of 1989:

2. Repression in El Salvador. The church-state conflict that is part of El Salvador's protracted civil war escalated markedly, most notably and most tragically with the November 16 mutilation and murder of six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper and her daughter on the grounds of San Salvador's José María Cañas University—an event “lavish in its cruelty,” to use the words of José María Tojeira, the Jesuit provincial for Central America. Evidently a counteraction to the offensive launched by leftist rebels a few days before, the murders were perpetrated by 30 heavily armed men widely believed to be right-wing terrorists within the military. That same day, 12 foreign workers on the staff of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador were detained by the government; later the bishop of that church, Medardo Gomez, whose life was in danger, fled the country. On November 18—as if to admit that the government could or would not control the right-wing death squads—El Salvador's attorney general urged the pope to withdraw clerics who promote the “questionable ideology of the church of the poor.”

The terror directed at the churches has been “ecumenical”: Catholic, Lutheran, Episcopal, Baptist and Mennonite churches have been raided and ransacked, with numerous arrests made. Although some foreign church workers were mistreated while under detention, most of them were later released on the condition that they leave the country immediately. But a number of Salvadoran church workers are still in custody; concern for their well-being is mounting. Church workers who have gone underground include both foreigners and Salvadorans. The authorities in El Salvador tend to regard church workers who aid the poor as “subversive,” as being in league with the guerrillas who recruit from the poor. As long as that is the case, the repression of the churches in El Salvador is likely to continue.

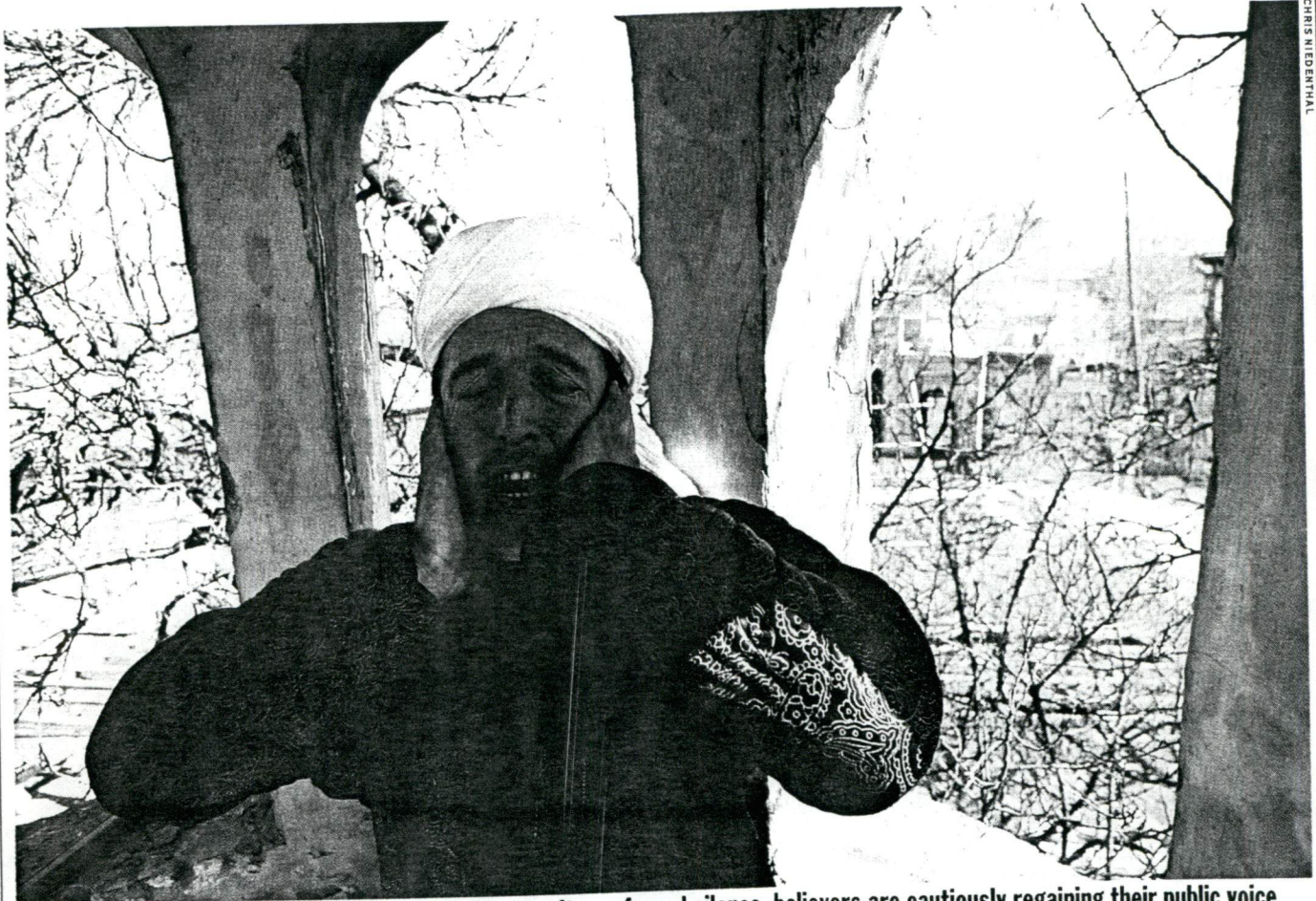
December 20-27, 1989

Christian

THE NEW USSR RELIGION

Nurtured by a growing official tolerance, the country's 55 million Muslims enjoy a flowering of freedom

ISLAM REGAINS ITS VOICE



A muezzin's call to prayer from a Samarkand minaret: after enforced silence, believers are cautiously regaining their public voice

BY RICHARD N. OSTLING

"Allahu akbar! Allahu akbar! Allahu akbar!" The call to prayer echoes forth from a minaret in Tashkent, as it has from mosques throughout the 13 centuries of Islam. "Was it loud enough?" asks the mullah who will lead the prayers. That is an eminently reasonable question, since in the Soviet Union no muezzin is allowed to use a loudspeaker. The inquiry is also metaphorical. In the U.S.S.R.'s fourth largest city and leading Islamic center, as elsewhere across the nation, believers are cautiously regaining their public voice after an oppressively enforced silence.

All faiths are affected by a growing accommodation between church and

state in the officially atheistic nation. Last year's 1,000th-anniversary celebrations greatly enhanced the privileges of the Russian Orthodox Church. This year the long-suffering Jewish community opened its first school for rabbis in 60 years, and Lithuania's Roman Catholics got their first full lineup of bishops in 40 years. A similar renewal is taking place among the 55 million Muslims, who constitute the world's fifth largest Islamic population (after Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh and India). By some estimates, Muslims will make up one-fourth of Soviet citizens by the turn of the century.

At the Tashkent-based Muslim board for Central Asia, the most important of the four government-imposed bureaucracies for Soviet Islam, Deputy Chairman

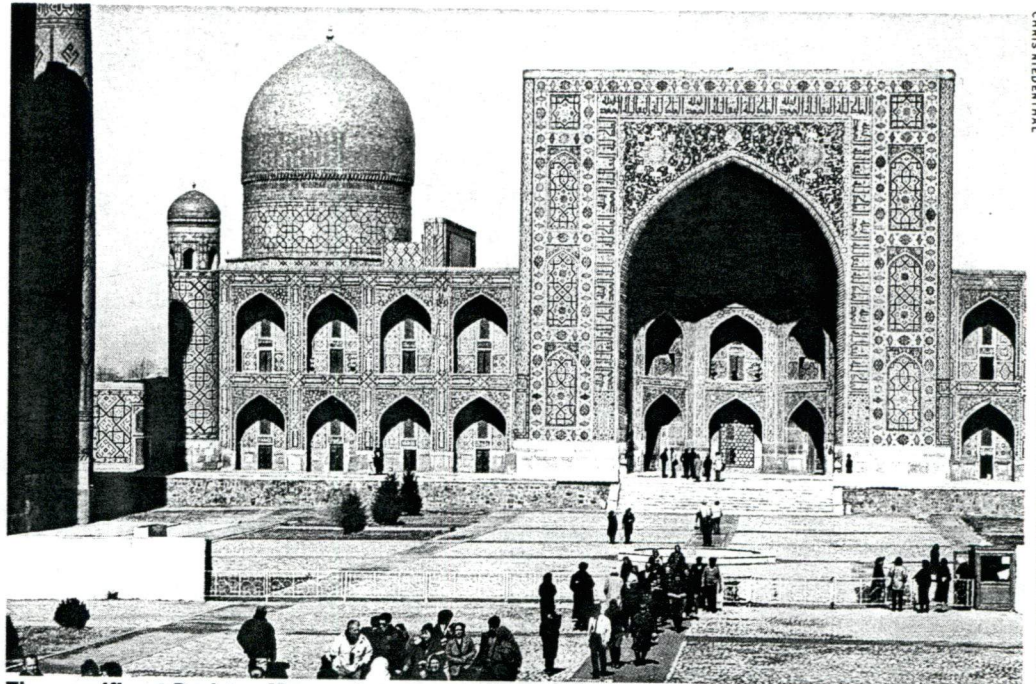
Abdulgani Abdulla recalls that "almost nobody was interested in religion" in the 1960s. Now, he reports, large numbers are becoming active believers, many of them young people. "None of the philosophies except the religious ones are able to satisfy men's needs," he maintains. The leader of the Muslim board for Transcaucasia, Allahshukur Pasha-zada, declares that until recently "freedom of conscience was on paper only." The pre-Gorbachev regimes, he says, "destroyed all the values of the people." Just a few years ago, no officials would have dared utter such words except in intimate conversations with friends.

As they learn to speak out more freely, Muslims are trying to regain some control of religious affairs. Popular pressures

RELIGION

led to last month's installation, with great fanfare, of a new leader for the Central Asia board. The previous head, reputed to be more adept at drinking (forbidden by Islam) and politics than study of the Koran, was ousted after an unprecedented protest march in Tashkent. His successor is Mukhammadsadyk Mamayusupov, 36, a modest and dignified scholar. At the same time as Mamayusupov's elevation, the Uzbek Republic gave his board a precious Koran dictated by Caliph Osman, one of Muhammad's earliest followers. Thousands cheered and wept as the invaluable holy book was moved from a museum to the new headquarters mosque, which has just been returned to the board.

Only weeks after the Communists took over in 1917, Lenin soothingly announced to the nation's Muslims, "Your religion and customs, your national and cultural institutions are proclaimed free and inviolable." But the Communists' suspicion of religion quickly made a mockery of Lenin's promises. Eventually, most of the country's 26,000 mosques and 24,000 religious schools were shut down. The vast majority of Islamic teachers were either killed or imprisoned. During World War II, Stalin forcibly deported to Siberia entire pop-



The magnificent Registan Mosque, looming over Samarkand, is among the 1,400 now open nationwide

government-authorized mosques. This is partly because there are so few official mosques in relation to the Muslim population and partly because interruptions in the Soviet workday are frowned upon. Another reason, perhaps the most important, is that many believers frequent the estimated 1,800 unregistered mosques, some led by secretive Sufi mystics.

Despite its resurgence, Islam still faces obstacles. The country has perhaps 1,400 legal mosques, a sizable increase since Gorbachev came to power but still only 5% of the number that existed before the revolution. The major Muslim cities of Baku and Samarkand have just two functioning mosques apiece. The U.S.S.R. has only one secondary and one higher-level school, which can accommodate just 300 students each year. Both are reportedly scheduled to expand, however, and a third institute to serve Transcaucasia is due to open in September.

Since the mosques are still not allowed to teach Arabic, few believers are able to read the language of the Koran. No translation of the holy book is available in the modern script of any Soviet Muslim nationality. Such handicaps foster the underground network and force believers to listen to broadcasts from Iran, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia for religious instruction. A mere 25 to 30 Muslims a year manage to make the obligatory pil-

grimage to Mecca, and the regime continually propagandizes against the month-long Ramadan fast as a threat to health and worker efficiency.

One area of conflict is Soviet concern for the status of women. The regime long ago outlawed polygamy and veil wearing. It also frowns upon such practices in Muslim areas as assigning women the most difficult labors, giving daughters away to suitors who offer the highest price, and self-immolation of women distressed over such treatment (270 took their lives or attempted to in 1986 and 1987). These old Asian folkways are not part of Islam as such and are regularly denounced by Muslim officialdom.

Yet the government is more tolerant of Islam these days. Besides opening new mosques, the regime has virtually ended official anti-Muslim propaganda. What accounts for the turnabout? Reasons include the need for cooperation from Muslim countries and for popular support along the potentially troublesome southern Asia flank. (In Azerbaidzhan, a few Muslims have been waving photos of the Ayatullah Khomeini or sprouting Iranian-style beards. However, there is sparse evidence of religious fanaticism, either inspired by neighboring Iran and Afghanistan or encouraged by the Soviets' own tolerance.) The crucial factor is awareness inside the Kremlin that economic and cultural stagnation stems largely from the Communists' dogged policy of repressing religion and other forms of independent thought. Islam, like the country's other religions, is a major beneficiary of "new thinking." — *With reporting by David Aikman/Tashkent*



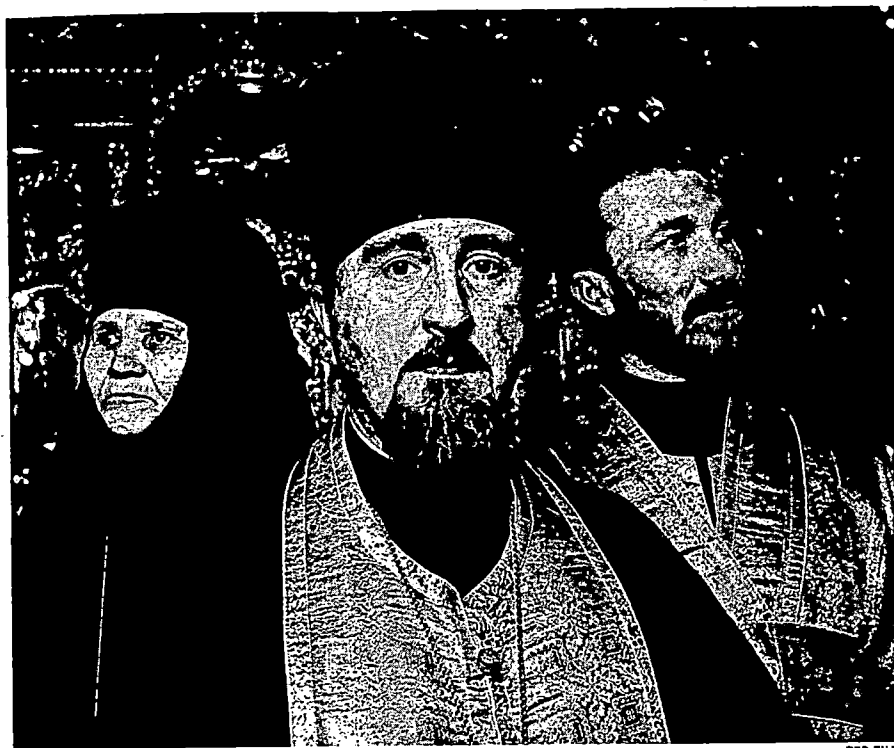
Delving into the Koran in one of two surviving religious schools

ulations of Muslims who were suspected of disloyalty. "Those were difficult years for the believers," recalls Achin-Oka Akhmedov, who as a farm worker outside Tashkent lived through the worst of it.

By most accounts, religious marriages, funerals and circumcisions remain near universal practices in Muslim regions, even among Communist functionaries. Yet only a small proportion of the Muslim population attends services at

NEW FREEDOMS FOR OLD FAITHS

Against all odds, belief has been preserved through ancient rites and modern-day courage. Russian Orthodoxy and, even more, Judaism still suffer serious limitations. Nonetheless, as *glasnost* penetrates everyday life, believers are starting to enjoy wider freedoms than at any other time since the atheistic persecutions were launched during the 1920s.



TED THAI



Clockwise, from top left:

- Epitomizing traditionalism: two Russian Orthodox priests and a nun in Moscow's Velokhovskiy Cathedral
- Orthodoxy is no longer mostly for the aged: young converts prepare for baptism at St. Ivan's Church in Moscow
- Worshiper kisses a Torah scroll during Sabbath services at the Choral Synagogue, one of two in the capital
- Yuri Sokol promotes Jewish identity by using his Moscow apartment as a combined museum-classroom-library
- Numerous young Soviets still prefer religious weddings, like this Christian rite in Tambov, to civil ceremonies



DAVID BURNET

listed

PERSPECTIVES

Gorbachev Connects Morality With Religion

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IN ordinary times, the Dec. 1 meeting in Rome between a Soviet communist leader and a Polish Pope would have wholly upstaged the world's news. But the times were hardly ordinary. The Bush-Gorbachev meeting in Malta, the resignations of the East German political leadership, the ongoing turmoil in Czechoslovakia, a coup attempt in Manila, insurgency in El Salvador, the outbreak of terrorism in West Germany: the cyclone of events surrounding the Rome visit has left little breathing room for reflection.

Yet that visit may prove one of the most telling events of our time. Speaking to his Italian hosts, Mr. Gorbachev made a startling connection. The Soviet leadership, he said, has changed its attitude toward religion. "Now we not only proceed from the assumption that no one should interfere in matters of the individual's conscience," he said. "We also say that the moral values that religion generated and embodied for centuries can help in the work of renewal in our country, too."

Later, in a joint statement with Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, he agreed that "the future international order should increasingly be based on the universal values of freedom, of all forms of national, ethnic, and religious tolerance, and of pluralism."

The central connection here, between religion and morality, is startling for two rea-

sons. First, it comes from a man with a considerable intellectual debt to Karl Marx – the founder of modern communism, who dismissed religion as "the opium of the people" and held that what Gorbachev calls "the individual's conscience" didn't much matter. Second, it comes when the Western world – with its political systems built on respect for individual conscience – is losing sight of that connection and appears to be running on a kind of moral automatic pilot.

There are, of course, several interpretations of Gorbachev's statements. Knowing that ethics plays well in America these days, he may be trying to look good for export, as it were, without intending to live by his pronouncements. Or he may be speaking over his shoulder to his comrades back home, sending yet another signal that personal ethics must replace official corruption. Or he may be reflecting a groundswell of Soviet opinion demanding something more meaningful than materialism.

Whichever version is right – and I lean toward the last one – his words set up a curious spectacle. A communist leader recognizing the religious basis of ethical behavior – while Western democratic societies doggedly refuse to make the connection be-

tween their agonizing lapses in ethics and their declining religious attachments – is one of the most telling paradoxes of our time.

Cutting to the heart of that paradox in the latest Atlantic Monthly, Glenn Tinder speaks to Western culture on just this point: "If Christianity declines and dies in coming decades, our moral universe and also the relatively humane political universe that it supports will be in peril."

Why? Because at the center of Christianity lies respect for individual conscience. If that disappears, he notes, then "the kind of political order we are used to – one structured by standards such as liberty for all human beings and equality under the law – becomes indefensible."

Seen in that light, Gorbachev's actions are hardly surprising. Knowing that the prosperity of his nation hinges on its acceptance into the global community, he was reaching – in Rome as in Malta – for that "kind of political order" Dr. Tinder describes. He was seeking common standards – "universal values," he called them – to apply across national boundaries. Doing so, he touched on what many in the West have yet to grasp: that a global community requires a common ethic, and that such an ethic grows out of a religious base.

RUSHWORTH M.

K I D D E R



US Religious Life Holds Steady

Two recent studies indicate that Americans have not lost their faith nor deserted church pews

By Lawrence J. Goodrich

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

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THE much-touted decline of religion in the United States and the consequent secularization of American society is a myth.

On the contrary, Americans' basic religious beliefs and church attendance have changed almost not at all since the 1930s.

Those are the conclusions of two studies published in 1989: one by pollster George Gallup Jr. and journalist Jim Castelli, and the other by Roman Catholic sociologist, priest, and novelist Andrew Greeley. The reports are based on extensive polling data conducted by a number of organizations over several decades.

"For all the talk in the mass media about changes, the most striking phenomenon is stability," Fr. Greeley says. "Americans continue to be churchgoing, believing people."

According to the book by Mr. Gallup and Mr. Castelli, "The People's Religion: American Faith

in the '90's" (New York & London: Macmillan):

- Ninety-four percent of Americans believe in God.

- Nine in 10 Americans pray.

- Eight in 10 Americans believe in a final Judgment Day.

- Eight in 10 Americans believe God still works miracles.

- Seven in 10 Americans believe in life after death.

Gallup Organization data on church attendance reveal that little has changed in the past 50 years. In 1937, 41 percent of Americans polled said they attended church in a typical week. This bottomed out in 1940, when only 37 percent said they attended church once a week, and peaked in 1955 and 1958, when 49 percent went to church. A gradual slide brought the percentage down to 42 percent by 1969. It has hovered between 40 and 42 percent ever since. In 1988, 42 percent of Americans attended church in a typical week. But church membership, which was 73 percent in 1937, dropped to between 69 and 65 percent in the 1980s.

Within this basic stability, there have been two important shifts: Roman Catholic church attendance fell off sharply in the late 1960s and early 1970s. And Protestants have been moving from the "mainline" churches - usually defined as Methodists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Lutherans, the United Church of Christ, and the Disciples of Christ - to other Protestant bodies, some fundamentalist or charismatic.

Greeley's book, "Religious Change in America" (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), finds that "the decline in churchgoing in the late 1960s and early 1970s affected only Catholics and was evenly distributed among all age groups."

Gallup polling shows that while more than 74 percent of Catholics attended church weekly in 1958, by 1978 the number had leveled off at 52 percent. Gallup and Castelli report that in 1988, Catholic church attendance dropped to 48 percent. During

this period, Protestant church attendance remained fairly stable: 44 percent in 1958, 40 percent in 1978, and 45 percent in 1985.

The reason for the dramatic decline in Catholic church attendance, Greeley says, was the church's teaching against birth control. But about two-thirds of Catholic churchgoers, faced with a decision between leaving the church and accepting the birth-control doctrine, chose neither. "They would remain regular churchgoers, but on their own terms, rejecting the official teaching, but still showing up at church every week or nearly every week," he writes.

Both studies find that religious affiliation and church attendance rates follow a "life cycle." Survey data show that young people 18 to 24 are generally the least religious group in the nation at any given time. But by age 25, as people marry and begin having children, they also begin returning to

religion. And as people get older, the percentage of religious participation increases markedly.

This life-cycle effect may mean that as the baby boomers grow older, Gallup and Castelli write, "church attendance could dramatically increase in the coming decade."

On the question of denominational change, the studies diverge somewhat. Both agree that Protestants are shifting away from mainline denominations to churches such as the Baptists, Mormons, Assemblies of God, and others.

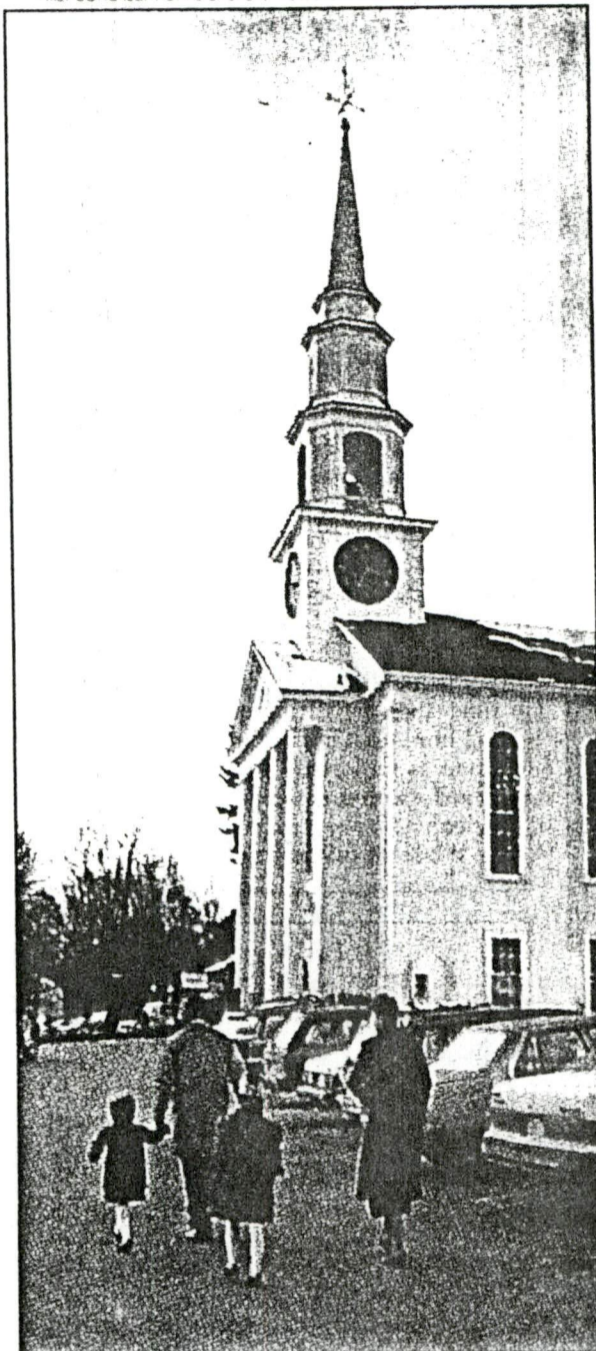
But Gallup and Castelli say the proportion of Americans identifying themselves as Catholics has risen dramatically from 20 percent in 1947 to 28 percent in 1987. The percentage of Protestants fell from 69 percent to 57 percent, while the number of those saying they were Jewish fell from 5 percent to 2 percent. Mormons increased from less than 1 percent to 2 percent. Those with no religion rose from 6 percent to 9 percent after dipping in the 1960s.

Greeley says, however, that National Opinion Research Center (NORC) and other survey data do not show a Protestant decrease or a Catholic increase. NORC surveys show that 25 percent of those polled said they were Catholic in 1963, 1972, and 1974, he says, and General Social Survey (GSS) polls ever since have shown the same percentage.

The Gallup data also show sharp decreases in the percentage of Americans who say they were adherents of mainline denominations: In 1967, 14 percent said they were Methodists; by 1987, this had fallen to 9 percent. Lutherans dropped slightly from 7 percent to 6 percent; Presbyterians fell dramatically from 6 percent to 3 percent; and Episcopalians from 3 percent to 2 percent. The nonmainline Baptists made up 21 percent of respondents in 1967 and 20 percent two decades later.

But the GSS data also do not support the theory that the per-

FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, HOLLISTON, MASS. R. NORMAN MATHENY STAFF



CHURCHGOING: Percentages have changed little since the '30s.

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centage of mainline Protestants in the US population (apart from Methodists) has dropped precipitously, Greeley writes. In 1975, the GSS found that 13 percent of Americans said they were Methodists, while 11 percent said so in 1985. Lutherans held firm over the 10-year period at 8 percent, Presbyterians at 5 percent, and Episcopalians at 3 percent. The percentage of those claiming no religion held steady at 3 percent.

Since the GSS began in 1972, however, the mainline denominations have decreased from 43 percent to 40 percent of all Protestants, while nonmainline groups have increased from 57 percent to 60 percent.

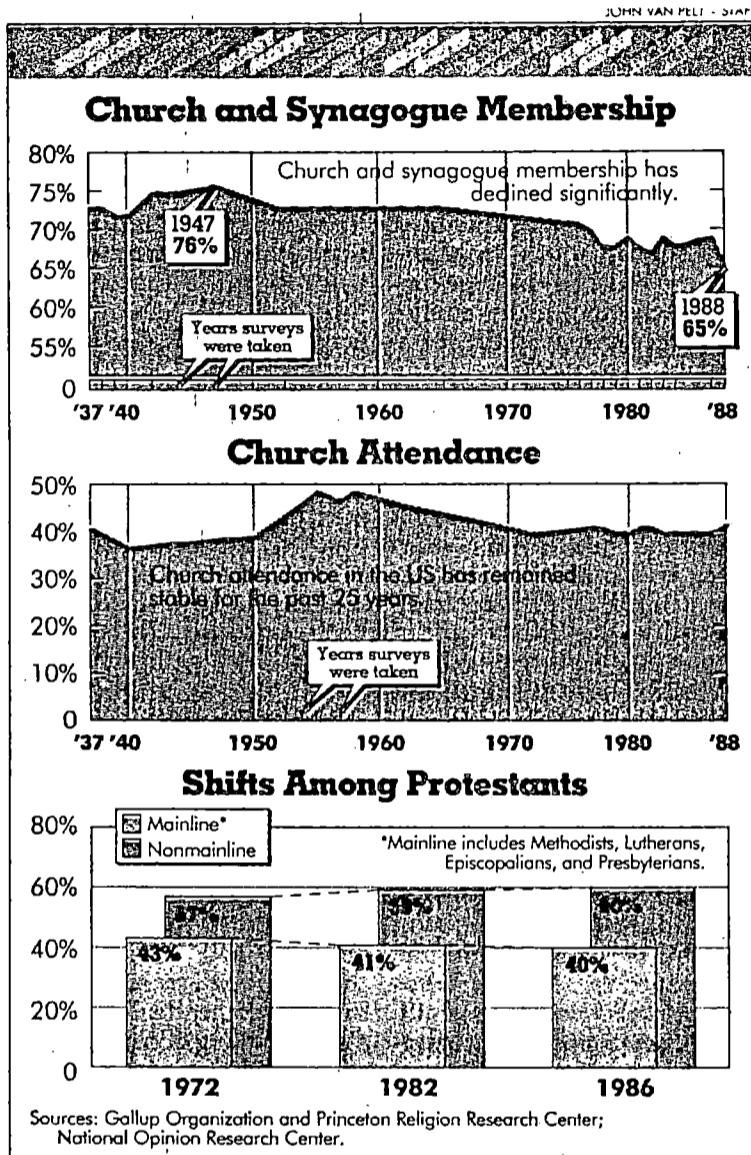
And while 43 percent of American Protestants were raised in mainline churches, 1 in 5 has moved to a nonmainline church, Greeley reports. A quarter of those raised Methodist, 20 percent of those raised Presbyterian, 14 percent of Episcopalians, and 11 percent of Lutherans have switched to nonmainline churches. Only 1 in 7 nonmainline Protestants has switched to a mainline church.

Greeley says he has no explanation for the difference in the Gallup and other survey findings. "Virtually all the other surveys find less Catholics and more Protestants than Gallup," he says. "I am skeptical of a great increase in Catholics - it doesn't show up in church membership figures or at the parish level."

BOTH studies debunk another myth, Greeley notes. "Neither Gallup nor we find a rise in the percentage of fundamentalists," he says. A 1987 study by Tom Smith of NORC shows that fundamentalist groups include about one-third of the US population.

What about the future? Gallup and Castelli, looking at the percentage of young people in various denominations, say the US will be less Protestant, more Catholic, and more Mormon. Among mainline Protestants, all denominations except the Disciples of Christ are likely to decrease their share of the population, they say, but nonmainline Baptists and other Protestants will increase. The proportion of Jews in the population will also decrease, while the percentage of people not affiliated with a religion is likely to go up.

"Americans will continue to be unique," Gallup and Castelli write, "with an unmatched combination of high levels of education and high levels of religious belief in society."





**BUILDING
A BETTER
AMERICA**

*"We live in a peaceful, prosperous time, but we can make it better...
A new breeze is blowing, and a nation refreshed by freedom stands ready
to push on. There is new ground to be broken, and new action to be taken."*

-- President Bush

Inaugural Address
January 20, 1989

December 11, 1989

- New requirements for installation of explosive detection devices in high-risk airports.
- Intense international negotiations to enhance security abroad.
- Establishment of the President's Commission on Aviation Security and Terrorism.
- A proposed 17% increase in the budget for the Federal Aviation Administration.

INVESTING IN OUR FUTURE

Record economic growth has provided Americans with the opportunity to invest in a brighter future. The President's programs are designed to focus our efforts on those initiatives most likely to continue to create growth in the years ahead.

EDUCATION

The President pledged to provide national leadership in education reform and mobilize society to achieve literacy for all Americans. His actions to improve education are guided by **four principles**: encouraging excellence; targeting federal assistance to those most in need; promoting flexibility and choice; and ensuring accountability.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- o President Bush convened **"The President's Education Summit with the Governors"** on September 27 and 28 in Charlottesville, Virginia. This event marked only the third time in U.S. history that a President has convened the Nation's Governors to address a single issue of national importance. The Summit brought together the President, his Cabinet and the Governors in working groups and plenary sessions to focus on issues of choice and restructuring, teaching, the learning environment, governance, a competitive workforce and life-long learning, and postsecondary education.
- The President and the Governors issued a **Joint Statement** -- a "Jeffersonian Compact" -- committing to four objectives for education reform in America: establishing national education goals; increasing flexibility in the use of Federal funds in exchange for enhanced accountability; implementing state-by-state

restructuring of the education system; and measuring performance. A commitment was made to develop national goals and initiatives to increase flexibility and accountability by early 1990.

- o On April 5, the President submitted to Congress a comprehensive set of education initiatives, **The Educational Excellence Act of 1989**. The Act proposes:
 - **The Presidential Merit Schools program** -- to reward schools that are making substantial progress in raising students' educational achievement, creating a safe and drug-free school environment, and reducing the drop-out rate.
 - **A new Magnet Schools of Excellence program** -- to support the establishment, expansion or enhancement of magnet schools, focusing on disciplines important to the Nation's economic competitiveness such as math and science, increasing parental choice and improving quality education.
 - **The Alternative Certification of Teachers and Principals program** -- to assist States interested in broadening the pool of talent from which to recruit teachers and principals.
 - **President's Awards for Excellence in Education** -- to recognize public and private school teachers in every state who meet the highest standards of excellence.
 - **Drug-free Schools Urban Emergency Grants** -- to provide special assistance to selected urban school districts that are disproportionately affected by drug trafficking and abuse.
 - **A National Science Scholars program** -- to provide college scholarships to high school seniors who have excelled in the sciences and mathematics.
 - **Additional Funding Authorization for Endowment Matching Grants at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)** -- to strengthen HBCUs by building endowments, an especially effective way to create financial strength and long-term security.
- o On April 24, the President issued a new **Executive Order on Historically Black Colleges and Universities**. Highlights of the order include:

- **Establishing the President's Board of Advisors on Historically Black Colleges and Universities in the Department of Education.**
 - **Directing Federal agencies to increase opportunities for HBCU involvement in Federal programs and directing the Secretary of Education to develop an Annual Federal Plan for Assistance.**
 - **Calling for the White House Office of National Service, along with other Federal offices to work to encourage private sector support of HBCUs.**
- o **On June 5, the President announced his intention to create the President's Education Policy Advisory Committee. Chaired by Paul O'Neill, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Alcoa, the committee's membership includes representatives from education, business, labor and the media. The committee, which met for the first time in November, advises the President on issues related to education policy.**
 - o **Job Training Partnership Act Amendments:** As part of an overall effort to prepare those least skilled and most disadvantaged young Americans for the workforce of the future, the Administration has proposed amendments to the Job Training Partnership Act. The revisions to this nation's most successful job training program would provide a total support system for our at-risk youth -- job training plus remedial education, basic skills training, literacy, counseling and financial assistance.
 - o **Hispanic Initiative:** The President has directed the Secretary of Education to form a Task Force on Hispanic Education to assess how well federal education programs serve Hispanics and recommend ways to enhance the federal role.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Research and development provides new knowledge that enables progress toward a wide range of national objectives. The President promised to strengthen Federal science and technology policy and oversight to ensure that national security and economic programs are based on sound scientific and technological principles. A number of major areas have been targeted as critically important to the Nation's economic health including: the physical sciences and engineering, life sciences and medical

resident ownership and resident management of low income housing.

- **Job Creation:** He has also called on Congress to create up to 50 Enterprise Zones over the next four years, using labor and capital-based incentives to create jobs and entrepreneurial activity in our most distressed communities. In the hardest-hit urban areas, he has called for a complete elimination of the capital gains tax on certain investments in enterprise zones.
- **FHA Reforms:** The Administration has announced major reforms to ensure that FHA is true to its primary mission of making housing affordable for low and moderate income families. In record time, Congress responded to the Administration's reform initiative and passed legislation incorporating most of the Administration's proposals. The President charged HUD with finding new ways to move FHA foreclosures into the hands of non-profit groups to help reduce homelessness to fight inner city poverty.
- **Homelessness:** The President requested full funding of the McKinney Homeless Assistance Act; and, on November 9, signed a bill that substantially increased funding for programs under the Act. As part of the HOPE initiative, the President will request \$236 million for an initiative to reduce homelessness among the chronically mentally ill and recovering substance abusers through public-private partnerships.

HEAD START

The President also challenged Congress to increase funding for Head Start by \$250 million in FY 1990. This expansion would have enabled up to 95,000 more four-year-olds to participate in the program. Congressional action provided only \$151 million of that request which will allow the Program to serve up to 37,500 more eligible 4-year-olds.

CHILD CARE

The changing nature of American society heightens the need for child care that suits both children's needs and families' circumstances. President Bush wants to put choice in the hands of parents so that they -- not government -- have the power to select the best and safest environment for their children.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- o **Child Care:** The President transmitted to Congress a child care package, the **Working Family Child Care Assistance Act of 1989** which:
 - Provides a new **refundable child care tax credit** of up to \$1000 per child under age four, for low and moderate income working families.
 - Makes the existing **Dependent Care Tax Credit** refundable.
 - Does not discriminate against religious- or family-based child care, or against two-parent families in which a parent works in the home and cares for the , children.

- o **Liability Insurance:** The President has directed Secretary of Labor Dole to examine the role played by liability insurance in employer decisions on employer-provided child care.

EXPANSION OF MEDICAID

The President is committed to ensuring quality health care for disadvantaged mothers and children, the disabled, and poor, aged Americans. To help achieve this goal, Federal spending on Medicaid will be \$39.1 billion for FY 1990, an increase of \$4.3 billion, or 12.3 percent over the FY 1989 level.

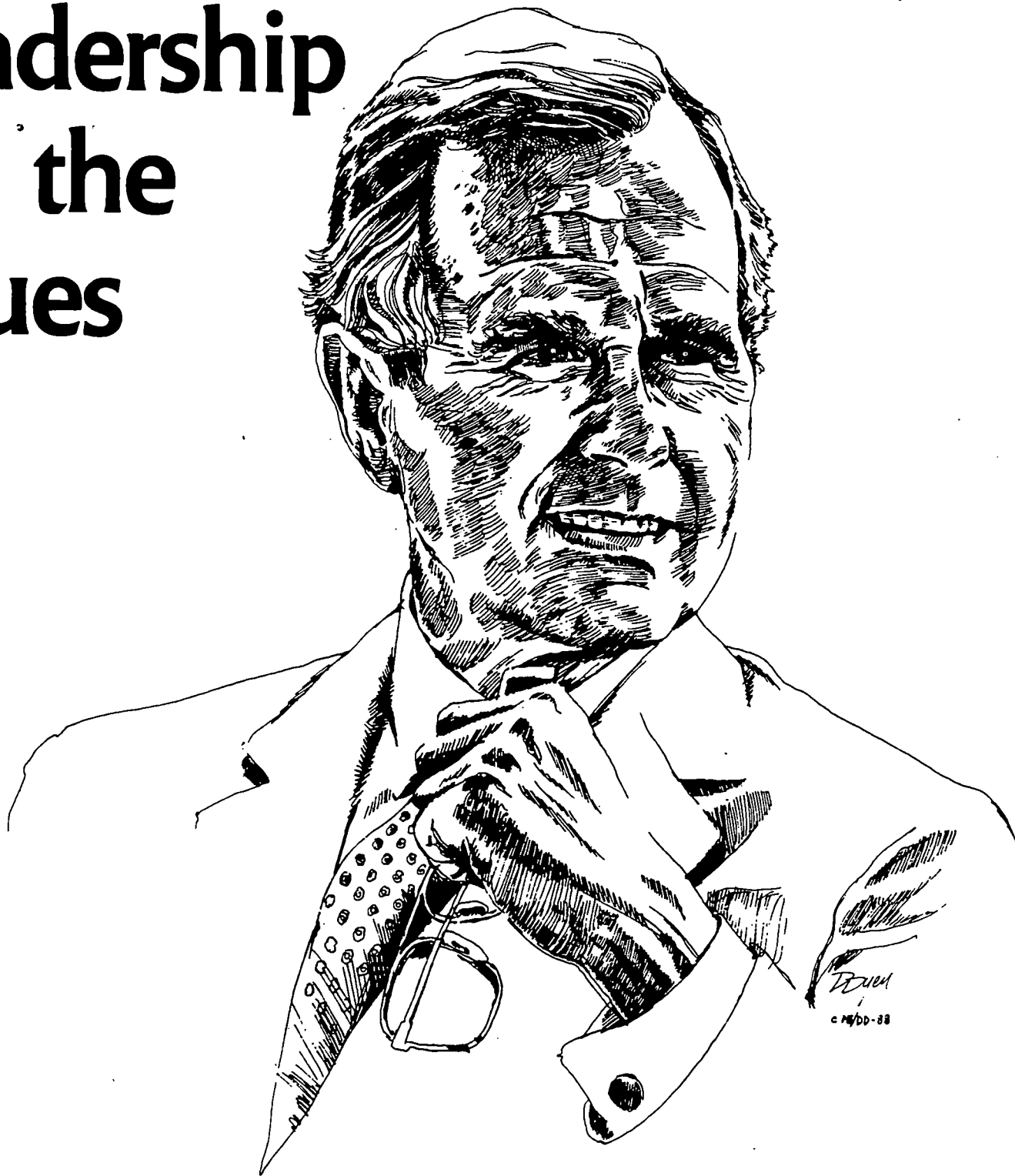
ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- o **Infant Mortality:** President Bush has taken concrete steps toward improving health care for at-risk populations and toward decreasing infant mortality. This year, he asked Congress to raise mandatory Medicaid eligibility for pregnant women, infants and children to 130 percent of the poverty level. Congress took action to raise the eligibility to 133% -- consistent with the President's proposal. In addition, he requested an expansion of Medicaid coverage of immunizations for all children under age 6 who are eligible for Food Stamps.

AIDS INITIATIVES

The President has made combatting AIDS a national priority. The Administration is moving on a number of fronts in its fight against the spread of AIDS.

Leadership on the Issues



*“A presidency can shape an era—and it can change our lives.
A successful presidency can give meaning to an age.”*

George Bush
October 12, 1987

- (ii) Bar members of Congress (and senior Congressional staff) from lobbying Congress for one year -- a one-year "cooling-off" period -- as proposed in the 1988 Post-Employment Act.
- (iii) Provide for civil sanctions and proof of misconduct by a preponderance of the evidence for violation of 207's post-employment restrictions, as proposed in the 1988 Post-Employment Act.
- (iv) Provide for enhanced criminal sanctions for knowing and intended violation of 207's post-employment restrictions, as proposed in the 1988 Post-Employment Act.
- (v) Prohibit the use of confidential information in post-employment activity with civil and criminal sanctions impose both the former employee and his/her new employer in the private sector.

* * *

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS
Washington D.C.
February 2, 1987

I'd like to talk to you about some of the ways in which we can advance the ethical values of American society.

You here today are developing values through freedom of broadcasting and in some cases political action. Up until the end of the last century, evangelicals were actively involved in American politics, but there was great debate, and you gradually turned your spirituality inward. You withdrew for over a hundred years.

Not all withdrew. To their credit, the pastors of black churches took another route. They saw that political involvement could be of enormous importance in bettering the moral and spiritual life of their parishioners. They led the struggle for full civil rights for black Americans.

Everyone in this room knows why evangelicals returned. You had no choice. In your absence, it became wrong for a teacher to give an aspirin to a child without a written note from a parent, but OK for strangers to give birth control pills to a child without the parent knowing.

In your absence, the rights of schoolchildren to pray silently and voluntarily to their God were denied.

In your absence, the rights of unborn children were abolished.

In your absence, our children's textbooks became value-neutral -- with the historical role of religion in American society totally repudiated.

And in your absence, there was a lessening of the spiritual fiber of this country, a country which was created as one nation under God.

ALSO BY C. A. MACARTNEY

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN AUSTRIA
CAMBRIDGE, 1926

THE MAGYARS IN THE NINTH CENTURY
CAMBRIDGE 1930

NATIONAL STATES AND NATIONAL MINORITIES
OXFORD, 1934

HUNGARY (MODERN WORLD SERIES)
BENN, 1934

HUNGARY AND HER SUCCESSORS
OXFORD, 1937

STUDIES IN THE EARLIEST HUNGARIAN
HISTORICAL SOURCES, I-VIII
BUDAPEST, 1938-52/BLACKWELL

PROBLEMS OF THE DANUBE BASIN
CAMBRIDGE, 1942

THE MEDIEVAL HUNGARIAN HISTORIANS
CAMBRIDGE, 1953

OCTOBER FIFTEENTH
EDINBURGH, 1957
SECOND EDITION, 1962

(with A. W. Palmer)
INDEPENDENT EASTERN EUROPE
MACMILLAN, 1962
etc.

HUNGARY

A Short History

C. A. MACARTNEY D.LITT.

*Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford
Sometime Professor of International Relations
University of Edinburgh
and formerly Corresponding Member of the
Hungarian Academy of Sciences*



EDINBURGH
At the University Press

to wait for the birth of a child who might not even be a boy, and in any case to endure a long regency under a woman. They elected the young king of Poland as Wladislav V. Immediately after, Elizabeth was delivered of a boy, whom she succeeded in getting crowned, calling in to support her the Czech war-lord, Giskra, who occupied north-western Hungary. The position of the young Ulászló (as the Hungarians called him) was thus threatened from the rear at the moment when he most needed security.

In this most critical hour Hungary was saved principally by the genius of a single man, János (John) Hunyadi, one of the most interesting and attractive figures in the national history. He had risen from small beginnings; son of a lesser noble of Vlach origin (it is true that his ascent to position and wealth had been so meteoric as to give rise to rumours that he was Sigismund's own natural son), he had begun life as a professional condottiere, but had shown such extraordinary talent in that capacity that Sigismund had given him high command, and Albrecht even higher, appointing him Ban of Szörény. Ulászló, whose cause he had supported, promoted him to Captain-General of Belgrade and Voivode of Transylvania. He was now the most important man in Hungary, after the young king himself, and also in a fair way to becoming the richest, for he was as great a money-maker as he was soldier; by not long after this, his private estates were estimated to have covered nearly six million acres. In Transylvania, in 1442, Hunyadi brilliantly defeated a Turkish army, then in 1443 persuaded Ulászló to undertake a campaign in the Balkans, this being the first time for many years that the Turks had had the offensive taken against them on that front. This was so signally successful that the Sultan agreed to a peace which liberated all Serbia from his rule. Unhappily, the Papal Legate, who had been organising a crusade which was frustrated by Hunyadi's action in concluding the peace, persuaded Ulászló that a word given to an infidel need not

be kept. The next year he and Hunyadi accordingly led a new army into the Balkans, where the enraged Sultan, meeting them outside Varna on 10 November, defeated them disastrously. The young king himself perished, with the flower of his army, while Hunyadi barely escaped with his life.

He managed, however, to get back to Hungary, where he performed a service hardly less valuable than his feats in the field, in mediating a solution of the dynastic question. For Elizabeth had meanwhile died, leaving her little boy, Ladislav (known as Ladislav Postumus), with the Holy Crown, in the charge of his uncle, the Emperor Frederick, and the easy-going Frederick was content to leave Hunyadi in charge of Hungary as 'governor' or 'regent' until the child should have grown up.

During the next years Hunyadi was by no means always successful; Giskra defeated him in 1447 and had to be left master of north-western Hungary, and in the same year he suffered another heavy defeat at the hands of the Turks in Serbia. He did, however, succeed in holding them back as no European had done before him. His crowning achievement came in 1456, when he so heavily routed a Turkish army which was besieging Belgrade that it was seventy years before the danger recurred in so acute a form.

The relief of Belgrade, for which the Pope ordered all the church-bells of catholic Europe to ring daily at noon, that the faithful might pray in unison for it, was also Hunyadi's last victory, for he died a few weeks later of a fever contracted in the camp. And at first it seemed as though he was to be ill repayed. In 1452 the Austrian and Bohemian Estates had forced Frederick to release Ladislav from tutelage, and the next year he was solemnly reinstated as King of Hungary. The boy-king allowed Hunyadi to remain *de facto* regent, but himself fell under the influence of his maternal uncle, the Count of Cilli, who distrusted the Hun-

*Callistus III

Abrahamic offshoot, Islam. In this century, a redemptive vision of fraternal peace, transcending theological divisions, was delineated by Rabbi Avraham Yitzhak Kook (1865-1935), the first Ashkenazi chief rabbi in Palestine under the British Mandate. Writing from Jaffa in 1908,

Rabbi Kook prophesied: "The brotherly love of Esau and Jacob, of Isaac and Eshmael, will assert itself above all the confusion that the evil brought on by our bodily nature has engendered. It will overcome them and transform them to eternal light and compassion." ■

A Visit to East German Churches Schooling for Democracy

GLEN STASSEN

AT 2:00 A.M. Siegfried Rosemann, who is responsible for youth ministry in the Baptist Federation of East Germany, answered the telephone. The voice said, "Hey, du! Wir trinken Bier! Komm, trink mit!" Siegfried's friends were celebrating in a pub in West Berlin, on the other side of the wall, and they wanted Siegfried there, or at least there by phone.

A few days later, Siegfried got a visa for himself and his wife, Dorothea, and asked the children if they wanted to go see West Berlin. Excited, they asked if they could get their own visas too. What to do? Siegfried wrote "Ausweis" with a bright purple magic marker on three pieces of paper, and put each child's name on the homemade visa.

Crossing the border has always been a tense and fear-engendering experience. The guards have been impersonal, mechanical and bureaucratically suspicious. For no clear reason they can deny your entry and terminate all your plans. But this time the guard actually smiled and seemed relaxed as he stamped Siegfried's and Dorothea's visas. Then Siegfried presented the three homemade visas. The guard caught on quickly, grinned broadly, and stamped them. That evening, the guard at the return gate didn't know what to do. He examined the children's homemade visas back and front, read the bright purple magic marker printing incomprehensibly, and then examined the rectangular stamp carefully. It was indeed official. What to do? He

Glen Stassen is professor of Christian ethics at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky.

frowned, scratched his head, and then with an earnest and official set to his jaw, picked up his smaller round stamp with the GDR symbol of a draftsman's compass and officially stamped the proud children's new *Ausweises*.

Siegfried grinned as he told his story to the Baptist conference in East Berlin: "Everything is new. Everything!" Others told how their children came home from school surprised by the teachers' relaxed manner and by the way discussions were free of ideological indoctrination. The newspapers were suddenly truthful, and people who had ignored them were buying them and reading them one or two hours each day. The government announced free elections, recognized the rival parties, promised an independent investigation of police brutality in recent weeks, freedom for conscientious objectors, and a dozen other reforms demanded by the people.

In talking to pastors, church members and political activists during the November *Friedensdekade*, the churches' annual peacemaking emphasis, I found remarkable agreement not only that the churches had played a crucial role in achieving the breakthrough but about what that role had been. The churches were the one place where opposition groups could meet, discuss and organize. In those eventful weeks, demonstrators always met first in churches and then, after a prayer service, marched around the city with candles. Again and again I was told that the church context influenced the demonstrators to be disciplined and nonviolent.

The churches also clarified the people's demands and thus put well-defined

pressure on the government. For two years, the churches had engaged in an ecumenical process of discussing "Justice, Peace, and the Preservation of Creation." Local congregations discussed draft documents and sent their suggestions to coordinating groups in each denomination, and then on to the ecumenical coordinating group. The resulting document has sections on "more justice in the GDR," and on peacemaking and saving the environment from pollution and strip-mining. Human rights are emphasized throughout and specific freedoms are pressed: for rights of democratic participation with free, secret election; separation of party from government; freedom of speech; religious liberty; freedom of the press; freedom from ideological indoctrination; freedom from pressure to join the communist youth and to take military instruction; freedom to pursue careers without being forced to join ideological organizations; education that encourages independence, responsibility and creativity instead of conformism; the right to conscientious objection to military service; equal rights for women; the right of judicial review of governmental decisions; freedom of art and culture; freedom of travel; support for childcare and for families; and the right to assembly and organization of independent, voluntary associations. Max Stackhouse's point (in *Creeds, Societies, and Human Rights*) about the importance of voluntary associations, and especially of church groups, in carrying the demand for human rights was clearly demonstrated.

Pastoral letters from bishops and district superintendents were discussed

briefly in Sunday worship services, with further discussion in weekday group meetings. The ecumenical unity is so strong that many Free Churches read and discussed the Lutheran bishops' letters and participated in the conciliar deliberations on "Justice, Peace and the Preservation of Creation." In many of the cities, there was a weekly prayer for peace and justice in the churches attended by overflow crowds. These, too, were ecumenically coordinated. Some Baptists were uncomfortable with the liturgical churches' practice of writing prayers in advance and not leaving room for the Spirit. This led to a provision for silent prayer and spontaneous prayer from the

Wild Swans at Christmas

Nantwich, England, 1985

We walk past the country pub,
to the pond made porcelain by
last night's sudden freeze,
see a border of blue
where two swans swim,
ruffling their capes for our cameras,
and another, white on white,
held rigid inside the plate of ice,
only the "S" of his neck turns.
We jump on numb toes,
clap mittened hands, shout,
hope he'll move, so we can justify
returning to the hearth to warm our feet,
light tree candles, enjoy mince pies,
free of worry over his predicament.

Uta runs ahead, calls someone
who can rescue, is told,
"Look again in the morning."

We feel tethered to this bird
and all night he swims in and out
of our dreams. At breakfast
our talk is fixed on him,
we cannot speak of other things,
deadlocked,
until we know his destiny.

John runs back,
finds him strutting the slippery surface,
hurries to us, arms outstretched
to form a victory sign,
freeing us from a myth,
born of this season,
that creatures inside and outside
the stable must somehow be safe,
held in loving care,
this one night in December.

congregation, which turned out to be a powerfully moving experience and a part of the "revolution from below."

In Leipzig each Monday the demonstrators marched around the old city wall, the historic center of the city. One Sunday the Lutheran pastor preached on Joshua marching around the walls of Jericho, and four days later the wall around East Germany came tumbling down.

In Greifswald, the center of discussion was the theological faculty. The leader of the reform group New Forum is an assistant professor of theology, and the leader of the Social Democratic Party is the Protestant campus minister. All the new parties, as well as the revised former CDU puppet party, have many Christians in their top leadership.

I recall clearly having been told in 1982 that Germany lacks a tradition of nonviolent civil disobedience and direct action. Because of this, it was said, demonstrations against the expansion of the military-commercial airport in Frankfurt turned violent and the demonstrators lost their case. It could have gone that way in East Germany this year. But the church peace groups had studied Gandhi, Martin Luther King and the U.S. civil rights movement extensively. Demonstrators regularly sang civil rights freedom songs. At the conclusion of the rally in the Bitterfeld marketplace November 19, thousands sang "We Shall Overcome"—for the first time outdoors (an act of civil disobedience itself). My intense memories of the struggle for civil rights in Durham, Williamston, Washington and Louisville were fused with the emotion of the sudden achievement of freedoms long denied in the GDR; the link was the nonviolent movement celebrated by this song. I could not help weeping.

One Baptist pastor said that the commitment to nonviolence was spurred by events in Dresden on October 7. "The police brutality was utterly, utterly awful, fearful. A man in a wheelchair, nurses from the hospital, and a Lutheran Pastor, were arrested and imprisoned. They were merely in the vicinity, not demonstrating." I heard similar stories about events in Halle and Berlin. "Those arrested were made to stand with hands to the wall for 26 hours without permission to go to the bathroom, under the watch of a vicious police dog. A young mother's three-year-old child was home alone, but she was denied permission to go. She put her hands out the window and begged and

prayed, only to be beaten on the hands by a police cudgel. A pastor was ordered to give a meditation; he did, and it was a powerfully moving experience of solidarity. The experience of the brutality of the police caused a national revulsion against violence, and convinced the demonstrators all the more to remain nonviolent. And it brought many others to the side of the demonstrators. It was the positive working of the negative violence. We thought to do evil, and God used it to do good."

ONE THING is clear: the church has won new credibility and trust because of its role in prompting political change. One pastor said: "We did youth evangelism October 10-13, with 500-800 youths attending, in Berlin, 200 meters from the Gethsemane Church, where the demonstrations begin. It was just after the terrible police violence. The situation was completely different from what I had expected. There was no aggression, no discipline problem. Instead the youth were looking to me like hungry babies. All were waiting and asking for guidance. Afterward, a young man came and told me he's 25, an unbeliever, 'but I agree with all you said.'" Others told similar stories about party members coming to church and being accepted by Christians.

Several times I was told the church has learned from this experience, and that it will push for democratic processes. "We must help the nation learn democracy." Central in this process will be the understanding of human rights. One demand is that the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights be published in the school textbooks, and discussed freely. "We need constitutional provisions for controlling power, the free organization of groups, and the voice of the churches, to guard against the danger of great power in the hands of a few," said seminary professor Christian Wolf.

A Catholic leader emphasized: "We've got to make it easy for kids to come out of the Free German [Communist] Youth organization. The youth need an alternative Christian organization, or other noncommunist organizations." There has been great pressure for all youth to join the FGY, at penalty of losing education and career opportunities, and the result has been a loss to the church of many of its youth.

There is much discussion of the future economic order. The consensus is that the socialism of the communist countries is

shipwrecked, and will not return. Still, people repeatedly said they did not want to adopt capitalism. They asked me about the social safety net in the U.S. and I had to tell them of 37 million without health insurance, 1.5 million without homes, drug addicts on six-to-nine-month waiting lists for clinics, and three-fourths of the poor children in my home state of Kentucky without Head Start schools.

Some talked of the models of social democracy like Sweden or Finland. They want to build a system different from West Germany's, but they said they know far too little about the Scandinavian models. Like Americans, for ideological reasons they are well informed about only two possibilities, their form of dictatorial socialism and our form of uncaring capitalism.

Wherever I went, I asked pastors who wanted churches to be socially engaged what their theological models were. They always pointed to Karl Barth, Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Jürgen Moltmann, and sometimes to Heino Falke, Albrecht Schönherr, Johannes Hamel and others in East Germany. The theme they emphasized was the lordship of God and Christian discipleship in all areas of life.

But there are strong remnants of two-realms pietism among Protestants. Many say the church should not mix in politics—politics referring not only to supporting a particular party or candidate but also discussing issues of justice such as in the "Justice, Peace, and Preservation Creation" process. Observing that communists claim salvation is to be found in the actions of the party, a Lutheran campus minister who is a leader in one of the new parties said the church must avoid making politics into religion. Church leaders also acknowledge their lack of political experience. A Baptist pastor said people must learn democracy, but "we are still in *kinderschule*." People do not know how to practice the sovereignty of God and Christian discipleship in all realism, he suggested, and there is much resistance to the idea of the church mixing in politics.

When my stay was over, Siegfried and Dorothea decided they could simply drive me over to West Berlin. But after waiting in line at the border we were told by the guard, "Sorry, he came in by Friedrichstrasse and so will have to go back through Friedrichstrasse. It's the law." Siegfried replied earnestly, "Believe me. It's all right. Everything is new." They talked a bit, and then the supervisor came over. "What's wrong?"

After two sentences of explanation the supervisor smile broadly and waved. "Go on through. What's the difference?" We laughed, even the guard smiled, and Siegfried held out his hands in amazement: "Two weeks ago I wouldn't even have thought of raising a question. Could have been punished. No chance of a yes answer. Can you understand what it means? Everything is new." ■

SPECIAL REPORT

The Church's Challenge in Health Care

WHY, GIVEN ALL we know about preventing illness, do Americans maintain personal and national habits that shorten our lives and siphon off our health care resources? On the assumption that churches have both an interest in that problem and the capacity to help solve it,

former President Jimmy Carter recently hosted 200 religious leaders from around the U.S. for an unprecedented conference on the role of the churches in the American quest for health.

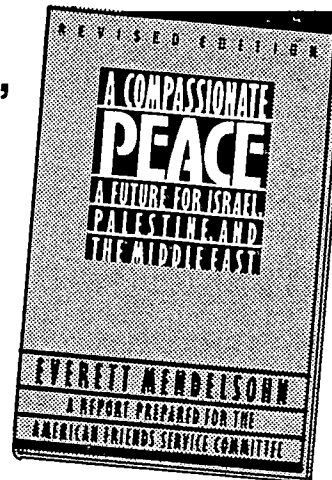
Behind the speakers' stand at the Carter Center were the proud American eagle, symbol of the national focus of the Carter Center, and the humble fish of the Wheat Ridge Foundation, modest trademark of a small Lutheran organization deeply involved in health care. The eagle seemed to soar above the fish, an unambiguous clue to the conference planners' intent to call the nation's religious communities, especially "the church," to serve the nation by playing a new role in health care. Health experts like C. Everett Koop, former surgeon general; James Mason, assistant secretary for health in

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tion with her upcoming marriage, she replied emphatically: "Of course we have. You are never certain that this is the right decision. It is a step that must be taken in faith."

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without doubts or store... confidence. But we know this is not possible. It may well be that whatever faith any of us now have to confront this reality is a faith nurtured in those early days in a church pew. In spite of childhood resistance and a longing to escape, some of those words and some of that music must have invaded those soundproof booths.

James M. Wall

Church in East Germany Helps Create *die Wende*

IN RECENT DAYS Americans have seen dramatic pictures of West Berliners dancing on the Wall and hundreds of thousands of East Berliners passing through it. In East Germany, a revolution is under way. Yet, one revolution—what a Marxist historian writing in the state newspapers recently referred to as East Germany's "conservative revolution"—has already taken place, away from the bright lights and instant reports of the Western media. East Germans refer to October 9 as *die Wende*, the turning point that led to November 9 and the opening of the border to the West.

In retrospect, it is clear that the Evangelical and Lutheran churches provided a model of nonviolent change during a critical time. Their powerful story, not yet well known, is set primarily in Leipzig, a center of dissent and protest since the beginning of the year. Every Monday evening, the Nikolai Church sponsored a prayer service for peace. In May, the audience consisted largely of would-be émigrés, people who used the service more as an opportunity to practice solidarity with each other than to worship. Their mood was angry and bitter. They saw no hope for change, no reason to stay in the country. After the service, many would gather outside the church.

Police routinely photographed them and detained those who refused to disperse or tried to march. By calling attention to themselves, the would-be émigrés hoped to prompt the state to expel them more quickly. The church, however, kept encouraging them to remain in the country and to work for change.

In August, a vacation month, no services were held. Meanwhile, Hungary rebuffed the East German party and state by allowing East Germans to cross to the West. Other East Germans flooded the West German embassy in Prague. When the Monday services resumed in the Nikolai Church, they assumed a new character. The would-be émigrés were now in the minority. The services were now a rallying point for those seeking political reform.

On September 4, for the first time, dissidents as well as émigrés went to the streets after the service. They were small in number, only 70, and the police shoved them from one side of the street to the other. During the service on September 18, Pastor Wonneberger of the Nikolai Church called for nonviolent resistance to the state. Offering practical advice from the writings of Martin Luther King, Jr., he told the people not to carry things that could become weapons, and not to resist arrest. By the time the service ended, the police had formed a chain around the church. A crowd of people who had not attended the service were waiting to join those coming out of the church. They ended up outside the police line, and the police, now feeling surrounded themselves, responded by roughing up some of the demonstrators.

On September 19, dissidents formed *Neues Forum* (New Forum) as an opposition group. Within days, thousands of East Germans had joined, signing their names and giving their addresses. The response went far beyond the organizers' expectations.

The next Monday evening, September 25, 5,000 to 6,000 people gathered at the Nikolai Church. The police did nothing to prevent them from marching through the city; indeed, they helped block off traffic. By now, many people were beginning to look on, not ready to join but asking themselves if they might.

Tension was growing. The state newspapers accused Wonneberger of advocating violence and called the demonstrators "rowdies." Yet the inconsistent response of the police also suggested that the party itself was uncertain of how to deal with the crisis.

The week of October 1 proved to be dramatic and critical. That Sunday more dissident groups, including *Demokratie Jetzt* (Democracy Now) and *Demokratischer Aufbruch* (Democratic Departure), joined the opposition. The next evening 20,000 people, waiting until the service in the Nikolai Church ended, marched in the streets. The demonstrators, not yet clear about how to organize themselves, finally began to disperse near Thomas Church, where Bach was once organist. The police moved in with force, and some demonstrators were injured.

The next day the party seemed to reach a decision: the

resistance movement had to be crushed. It moved to close the border with Czechoslovakia. On October 4 the final "freedom" trains were allowed to leave Prague. The East German government, hoping to have the satisfaction of formally expelling the émigrés, insisted that the trains first travel through East Germany. In response, thousands of people lined the tracks. Many simply wanted to wave good-bye and show support. In Dresden, however, hundreds of people descended on the train station hoping to board the train. A panic swept over them. They felt that this was perhaps their last opportunity to escape. Some lay on the tracks, others put baby carriages in front of the trains.

When the police moved in, some people went on a rampage, throwing rocks and smashing windows. The police responded with force. The next day there were more ugly confrontations, and hundreds of people were detained, including innocent bystanders, even women

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE

and children. Many detainees were harshly treated and had no idea what would happen to them. Yet the state's continuing uncertainty was reflected in the fact that almost all were released, without charge, after 24 hours.

On October 7 spontaneous demonstrations took place in Leipzig and numerous other East German cities. The main action, however, shifted to East Berlin, where Gorbachev had come to visit on the occasion of East Germany's 40th anniversary celebrations. That evening and the next, police again roughed up and detained hundreds of protesters.

★ It appeared as though the decisive showdown would be on October 9, another Monday, in Leipzig. The Lutheran bishop, Johannes Hempel, warned of a bloodbath. Pastors told members of their congregations to avoid the inner city. Yet church leaders decided not to cancel the service in the Nikolai Church. They felt that some people would demonstrate in any case, and that the church had a responsibility to do whatever it could to prevent violence. The bishop asked all the city churches to open their doors that evening—first, so that people could gather in them and then enter the streets with a sense of peace and calm rather than fear and anger, and second, so that people might have a place of refuge in case of violence.

ON THE AFTERNOON of October 9, several doctors phoned pastors to report that hospital rooms had been cleared and extra staff made available to receive scores of injured people. Stores in the inner city closed at noon. Teachers warned students to stay home, away from the inner city. Army units stood on alert on the outskirts of town, and several thousand police took positions in the inner city. Kurt Masur, the director of the Leipzig Orchestra and Opera House, told his staff to open the doors to demonstrators in the event of violence, and he

arranged for a group of civic leaders to broadcast a statement calling for people to remain calm. The church distributed leaflets asking people to avoid violence.

By mid-afternoon, 2,000 party members, commissioned by the state security forces, occupied the Nikolai Church. But the church simply opened its balconies, normally closed, and another thousand people were able to crowd inside. (Days later, some of the party members phoned local pastors and spoke of how deeply the service had moved them. They realized for the first time that the church was indeed working for peaceful change, not violent revolution.)

If only a few thousand had appeared, history might have been much different. But that afternoon and evening the seemingly impossible happened. Not a few thousand but many, many thousands of people began to stream into the city—both the young and the middle-aged. When the service ended and the demonstration began, the marchers were 50,000 strong and growing. By the end of the evening the crowd numbered as many as 150,000.

The state had been prepared to engage in its own version of Tiananmen Square. (East Germany had been one of the few states to support the Chinese government's actions.) According to a recent *New York Times* report, a huge force of soldiers and police was assembled in Leipzig and given orders to shoot at the demonstrators. The report quotes Markus Wolf, retired head of East Germany's spy agencies, as saying: "There was a written

I'm Dreaming

of a right Christmas when every item that I buy will be on sale and also the ideal gift for persons who have everything already. I'm dreaming of a bright Christmas when the tree lights work first time and flash their brilliant message of success from every tasteful decorated, artificial, nonallergenic yet natural look-alike limb. I'm dreaming of a lite Christmas when, no matter how much fruit cake, cookies, eggnog, champagne, other goodies I consume, my weight will magically fall to just below the average. I'm dreaming of a write Christmas when all my cards bear personal, intimately joyful greetings and arrange themselves in matching multitudes on every horizontal dust-free surface. I'm dreaming, but I'll bet that what I get will be the usual trite Christmas, impolite Christmas, damp-with-fog-not-white Christmas, tight Christmas, goodnight Christmas, bank-will-not-underwrite Christmas. I'm praying that, despite Christmas, I find myself midnight Christmas able to invite Christmas and its newborn child to stay and light a way into my Christmas darkened heart.

J. Barrie Shepherd

order from [Communist Party leader Erich] Honecker for a Chinese solution. It would have been worse than Beijing." It was at this point that Egon Drenz, the Politburo member in charge of security, flew to Leipzig and countermanded the order. This act averted a bloody showdown and set the stage for Honecker's resignation several days later. There would be no ruthless repression. The people had spoken. From that day on, the demonstrators' favorite slogan was *Wir sind das Volk* (We are the people).

The situation now began to change for the better. There was a new political atmosphere. Newspapers no longer attacked opposition groups but printed their demands. The Politburo called for dialogue, not confrontation. On October 18, Honecker resigned, and Krenz took his place.

THESE EVENTS quickly built to a second dramatic week. On November 3 the government, having reopened the southern border, told would-be émigrés that they could now travel to West Germany through Czechoslovakia. On November 4 the largest demonstration in the history of East Germany took place in East Berlin—500,000 to a million people, called by prominent artists, writers, actors and pastors, demanded freedom of speech and freedom of the press. The next day large demonstrations once again took place in Leipzig and Dresden. On November 7 the newspapers reported that 23,000 people had left the country since the reopening of the border, and the Council of Ministers resigned. By the next day, November 8, the number that had left was 33,000, and the Politburo resigned. On November 9 the number was estimated at 45,000. Late in the evening, reports of a new travel law circulated, and by Saturday November 11, East Berlin was flooded with hundreds of thousands of East Germans trying out their new freedom to travel to the West. Now 500,000 to a million people were crossing into West Berlin. At last, the number of émigrés began to decline, and some even appeared ready to return.

Several weeks after the "October Revolution," demonstrators hung a banner across a Leipzig street: *Wir danken Dir, Kirche* (We thank you, church). The popular movement of these last days has exceeded anyone's expectations and has surprised the East Germans themselves most of all. It has certainly gone far beyond the walls of the church. But the church was able to show a way into the future. Now, as one East German pastor told me, the revolution is almost over, and it is up to the people to make something out of their new possibilities. The situation remains highly unstable, and there is always the possibility of a violent reversal. But East Germans are looking to the future with new confidence and trust, and church leaders and members are already deeply involved in the process of envisioning a new kind of political order—a democratic socialism that might provide a new political model for the world.

John P. Burgess

NCC: Striving to Be Faithful, Not Frantic

OH, DON'T YOU FEEL the wonderful spirit? One member of the National Council of Churches Governing Board asked a reporter at the close of the board's November 15-17 meeting here. A more participative, scowling, said: "Sure—no one wants an ugly scene at a funeral."

However one reads the council's vital signs, it inevitably endures "downsizing" and reorganization moribund or leafing out little green shoots of new life?—one had to acknowledge that this fall's unstable Governing Board meeting was an improvement over last spring's tumult in Lexington, Kentucky.

When we last saw the Governing Board it was in a rotten mood, having glumly ended its Lexington sessions with an inconclusive tie vote on the question of dismissing General Secretary James Brouwer.

Six months later, Brouwer is long gone, the council still struggling to reorganize itself, and the press attaching the phrase "financially troubled" to "National Council of Churches" almost as if it were part of corporate lingo.

But to paraphrase Garrison Keillor, it's been a rough week in Pittsburgh. Only 129 of the board's 270 members were present. With little fanfare, the meeting endorsed an executive committee decision to promote James Hamilton, 58, to the post of general secretary, the council's highest full-time staff post. Not "interim" you—the committee discovered there was no provision in the constitution for giving an "interim" general secretary. Hamilton, the council's most senior staff member, had been "acting" general secretary since July when Brouwer resigned under pressure.

Hamilton, a lawyer who has headed the council's Washington office, and a United Methodist layman, is the first of his church tradition to serve as general secretary. He is reported to be low-key, collegial, calm and unassuming—in other words, all those things that NCCers claimed that Brouwer was not.

Hamilton is to serve until the end of the current term (December 31, 1991) or until a successor is elected, whichever comes first. Margaret Sonnenberg, St. Louis, a United Methodist laywoman named to the search committee, said her committee's timetable for reporting back had not yet been set. Hamilton, asked if he saw himself as a transitional figure or permanent fixture, ducked the question. "What I want for this community is the best general secretary it can get," he said. That sounds as though the man's available.

Hamilton also ducked a press conference, letting other new officers take the limelight. For the first time, the council will be led by a president and a pre-

Oct 23

● EAST GERMANY

Lending an Ear

East Berlin's leaders finally seem willing to listen to the country's dissenters, whose fledgling movement lacks an agenda and a Walesa

BY JILL SMOLOWE

Anation's leadership often hears what it wants to hear, but few have seemed quite so deaf to the public's demands as East Germany's rulers. Thousands flee the country, protesters stage hunger strikes in churches, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev offers a gentle lecture in person—none of it seemed to make a difference. But last week as the cries for democratic reform reached a crescendo in cities across East Germany, the leaders in East Berlin demonstrated that their hearing faculties were intact—and that they were distressed by the rising noise level.

After a two-day session, the 21 members of the ruling Politburo issued a statement that for the first time expressed official concern about the recent exodus of 50,000 East Germans to the West. Then, in an unprecedented gesture of conciliation, the leadership acknowledged, "We are open to discussion." Hinting that press and travel restrictions might be eased, the statement continued, "Together, we want to discuss all basic questions of our society."

The Politburo's tentative first step toward a softening of its policies was already more than many had anticipated. Just two days earlier, President Erich Honecker, 77, had all but threatened a Tiananmen Square-style crackdown to halt the demonstrations that were spreading like a virus from city to city. But after the number of protesters multiplied into the tens of thousands, the Politburo an-

nounced a newfound willingness to discuss limited reforms. The sudden shift not only indicated a crack in one of the East bloc's most ossified regimes, but also spurred speculation that the ruling party was in disarray—and that Honecker's days were numbered.

As East Germany's Communists struggled to dampen the volatile situation, their brethren in Hungary were busy taking steps that, even a few months ago, would have seemed impossible. A majority of the 1,274 delegates at a Communist

Party congress voted to rechristen themselves the Hungarian Socialist Party. Hungarian Communism, for all practical purposes, was going out of business. Coming less than two months after the installation of Poland's first non-Communist government since the end of World War II, the Hungarian decision reinforced the historic shift taking place in Europe.

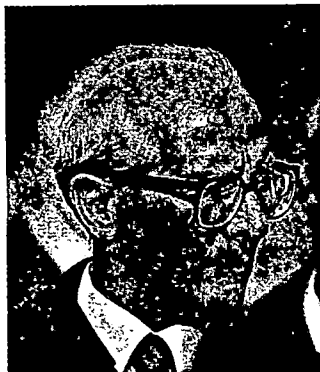
The popular uprising in East Germany's streets last week, the biggest such challenge since 1953, presents Honecker with a far graver crisis than the refugee tide. It

Thousands of demonstrators fill downtown Leipzig. If the government cracks down, will they cont



"Any attempt to . . . slander Socialist achievements is nothing more than Don Quixote's futile running against a windmill."

ERICH HONECKER



CHRIS NIEDENTHAL

threatens both to fracture civil order and to splinter the once monolithic regime. The confused leadership ricocheted between stern warnings and appeasing gestures. As Honecker greeted visiting Chinese Deputy Prime Minister Yao Yilin, the official news agency ADN warned that "there is a fundamental lesson to be learned from the counterrevolutionary unrest in Beijing." But the Politburo's subsequent statement suggests that many within the ruling elite were drawing different conclusions from the Tiananmen debacle. Reports circulated that the Politburo had demanded an account of the nation's "critical situation" from Honecker. Soon thereafter Honecker postponed a visit to Denmark, fueling rumors that he was struggling for his political—and maybe his physical—life.

The heart of the opposition movement is the New Forum, an amorphous collection of mild-mannered pastors, artists and writers who coalesced only six weeks ago around a vague demand for "democratic dialogue." Although New Forum is technically illegal, it has gathered the signatures of more than 20,000 adherents, ranging from teachers and train drivers to electricians and factory foremen. Unlike Poland, where union

workers sparked a popular insurrection, no single sector of society fuels the unrest in East Germany. The dissenters lack both a leader with Lech Walesa's charisma and a specific agenda.

The movement's strength is its links to the Protestant Church, which is attended by more than 40% of East Germany's 16 million citizens. Since the 1970s, it has provided a forum for human-rights and peace advocates. Last week churches in East Berlin, Leipzig and Dresden became the gathering points for demonstrators and the refuges for protesters when they met up with truncheon-swinging riot police.

The demands of East Germany's reformers seem mild when compared with the changes unleashed by opposition forces in Poland, Hungary and the Soviet Baltic states. The unfocused New Forum has called for its own legalization, dialogue with authorities and basic civil rights. Only now is it beginning to identify other possible issues: ecological and economic problems, industrial and scientific development. Though the New Forum's ranks are filled with a wide variety of socialists, ranging from doctrinaire Marxists to

Western-style Social Democrats, they share the goal of a liberalized East Germany, not a capitalist one. "We are not enemies of the German Democratic Republic or a threat to anyone," says Jens Reich, a molecular biologist, who helped found New Forum. "We just want the country to get out of its present crisis."

Some members will not go even that far. Beneath the New Forum umbrella are half a dozen smaller groups that bear such optimistic names as Democratic Awakening and Movement for Democracy Now. One of them, the United Left, seeks to eliminate the ruling party's Stalinist heritage and to form independent trade unions, but its members are avowed Marxists who fret that any "fundamental opening up of society" could threaten Communist rule. These differences could make consensus difficult if the New Forum attempts to draw up an agenda. For now, the various factions are not inclined even to merge. Says Barbel Bohley, one of the founders of New Forum: "We want to remain pluralist because we have suffered under this conformist-minded system which has governed our lives."

Some local party officials have shown sympathy for the dissidents' cause. In Leipzig, where New Forum brought up to 70,000 people into the streets last Monday, three party secretaries signed a declaration promoting a more open dialogue. In Dresden party functionaries met with 20 opposition representatives. Encouraging as these moves may be, there is always the possibility of a reversal. If the state decides to clamp down, it is hard to predict whether the opposition forces will turn out to be marathoners, like the Poles, or easily winded sprinters, like the Panamanians.

It is also possible, however, that East Germany's leaders—with or without Honecker—will decide that the status quo can no longer hold. They face mounting pressure not only from the citizenry but from local government and party officials as well. Pragmatists know that the question no longer is if East Germany can change but rather how to control the pace of reforms that look increasingly inevitable. The risk is that if the East German leaders do not listen closely and respond now, they may lose all later. —Reported by James O. Jackson and Ken Olsen/Bonn

Jackson and Ken Olsen/Bonn

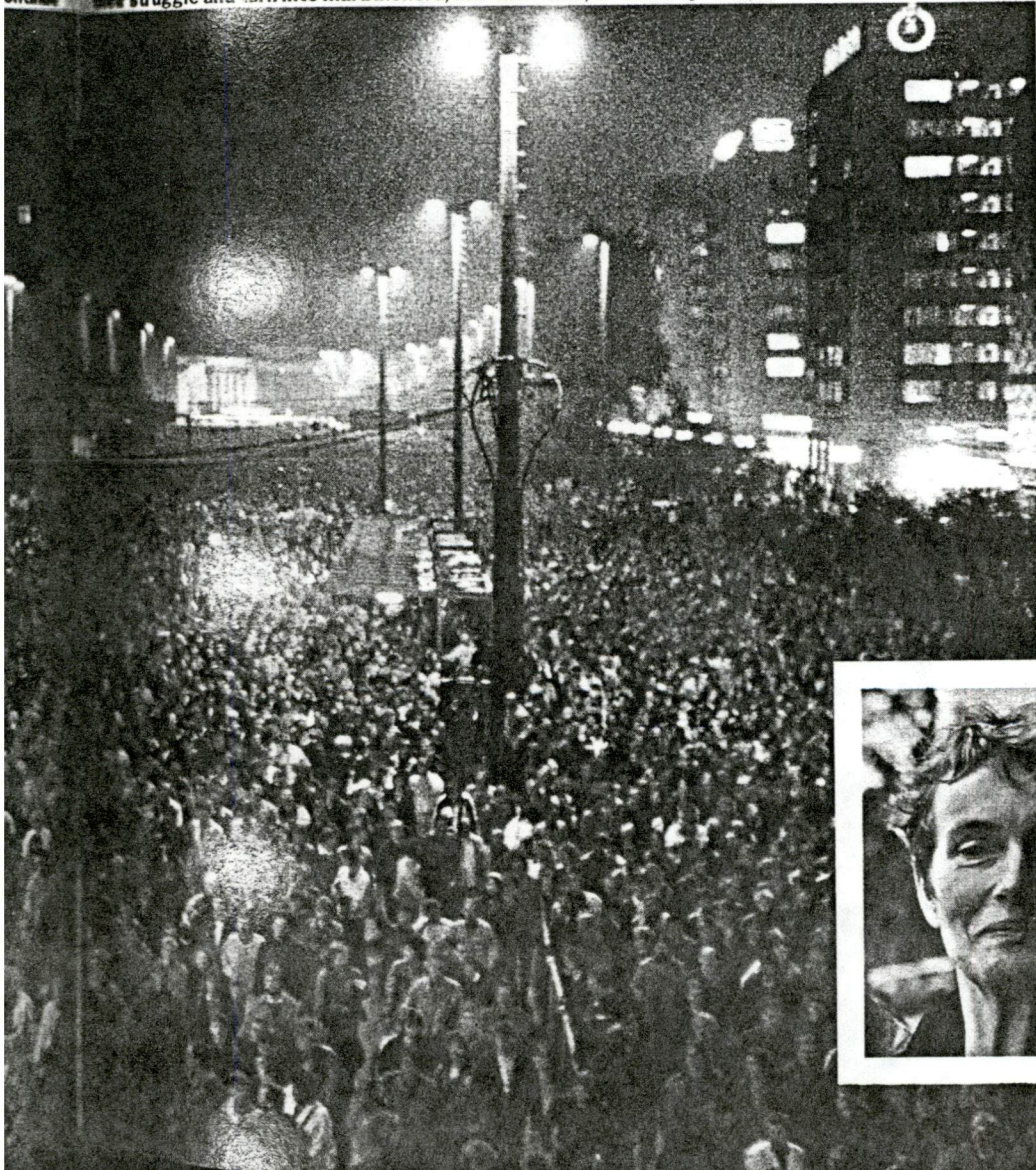


BOSSU—SYGMA

"We have suffered under this conformist system."

BARBEL BOHLEY

their struggle and turn into marathoners, like the Poles, or will they fade, like the Panamanians?



THE TURNING POINTS

EAST GERMANY



“Gentlemen, our country cannot afford any violence tonight.”

— KURT MASUR
Orchestra conductor

Leipzig's Leaders Prevent a Bloodbath

LEIPZIG, October 1989

By 3:30 in the afternoon of Monday, Oct. 9, the center of Leipzig, East Germany's second largest city, resembled an armed camp. Riot police backed by water cannon stood watch over intersections around the broad Karl Marx Platz, the nearby Karl Marx University and the huge central train station. Lines of armored cars were backed up on nearby side streets, packed with thousands of police, "battle groups" of the Communist Party's militia and special fighting teams of the feared State Security organ, the "Stasi."

Nearby, at St. Nicholas Church, a huge crowd of people filled the pews, aisles and entryway and were spilling out the door. They were praying and waiting for a mass demonstration scheduled to begin at 6 p.m., a protest against the hard-line regime of Erich Honecker. Fired with the spirit of revolt, the people were determined to take to the streets despite the massive violence that seemed to await them. Local hospitals had called in extra staff and were preparing supplies of blood. Offices were closing early, and streetcars were packed with the uncommitted, hurrying home to get out of the way. The entire city appeared to have drawn in its breath.

At that moment, in a house in the residential district of Leutzsch on the city's western edge, six men were taking their places around a wooden table in the living room of Kurt Masur, the renowned director of Leipzig's Gewandhaus Orchestra. Masur served coffee to his guests, several of whom had never met each other before. They were a theologian and opposition activist, the Rev. Peter Zimmerman; a popular local

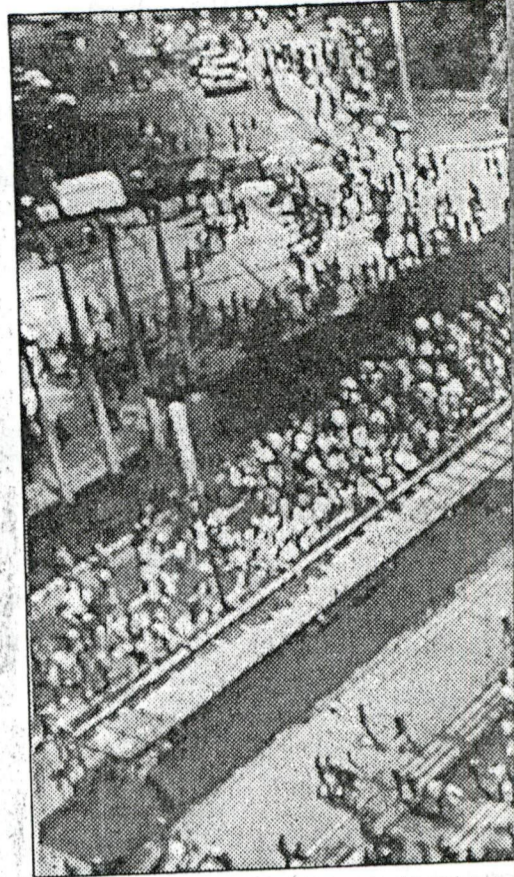
cabaret artist, Bernd Lutz Lange, and three "secretaries," or department chiefs, of Leipzig's Communist Party organization: Roland Woetzel, Jochem Pommert and Kurt Mayer.

Masur had been scheduled to conduct a performance of Richard Strauss's "Till Eulenspiegel" in the modern Gewandhaus concert hall on the Karl Marx Platz that evening. Now, he pronounced an imperative that was to lead the men at his table to one of the most crucial acts of the revolution beginning to take hold of East Germany. "Gentleman," he said, "our country cannot afford any violence tonight."

'We're Staying Here'

For weeks before, tension had been building in East Germany, which under the direction of the 77-year-old, ailing Honecker had refused to deviate from hard-line Communist rule even after thousands of its citizens began pouring through Hungary's open borders to the West. Two days before, as Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev wound up a visit to the country marking the 40th anniversary of East German statehood, police had violently dispersed mass demonstrations in East Berlin and Leipzig. A Communist militia commander, writing in Leipzig's state newspaper, had warned that any further protests would be decisively suppressed "with arms in hand, if necessary."

Since early in 1988, Leipzig—a traditional locus of ferment in Germany—had been the breeding ground of the opposition movement to Honecker. Since 1982, pastors at St. Nicholas Church had conducted a weekly "prayer for peace" service on Monday evenings that had become a gathering point for young people seeking to emigrate. By May 1989, attendance at the weekly



PEACEFUL PROTEST: As police stand

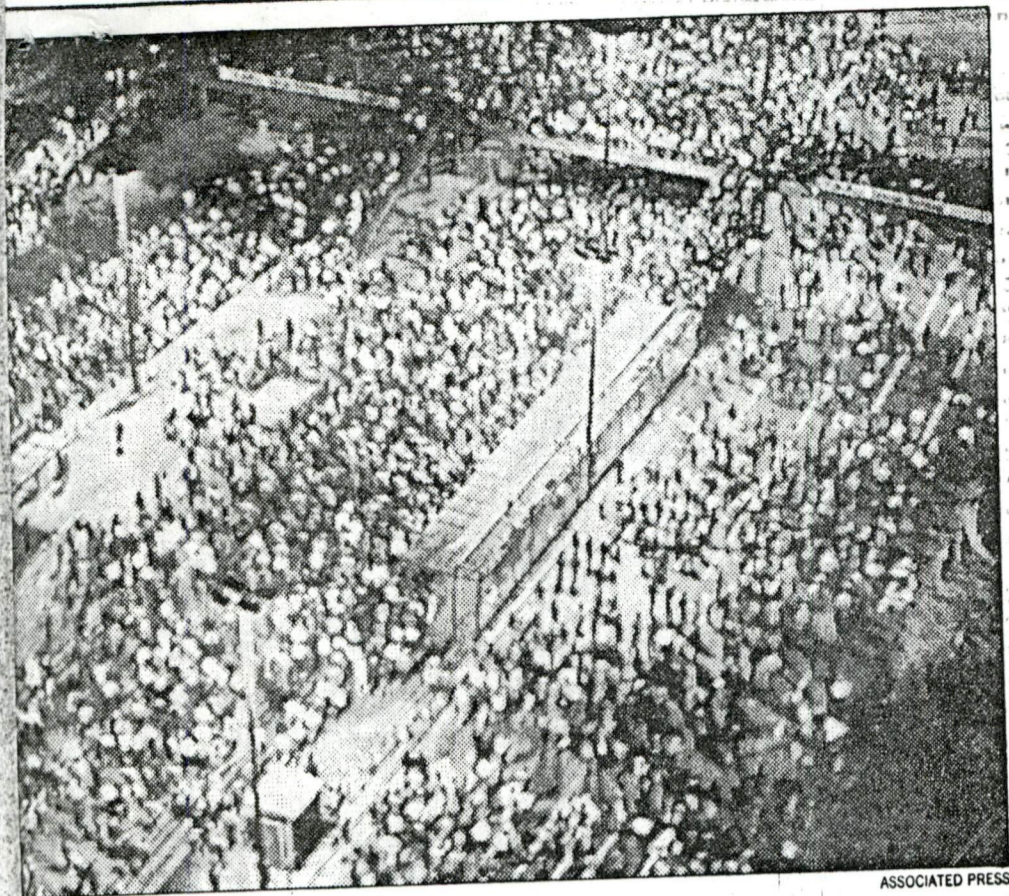
services had grown so large that police began to seal off the church every Monday night to prevent street demonstrations. Beginning the first Monday of September, following Hungary's decision to allow East Germans through its border to the West, the crowds gathering in and around the church doubled in size every week, and began to chant, "We're staying here."

Both Masur and the party officials he had invited that day to his home were convinced that Leipzig was on the verge of becoming the site of "another Beijing," as Mayer, the local Communist secretary for culture, later put it. Before Gorbachev's arrival, Honecker had issued an order to security forces telling them to put down "counterrevolutionary" demonstrations "by any means," party sources said. The show of force in Leipzig's streets early that afternoon suggested to the local party men that police planned a massive attack on demonstrators that, like that of China's Tiananmen Square four months earlier, would smash the incipient mass protest movement.

The six men at Masur's house decided that it was up to them to act. Two hours later, at 5:30 p.m., a tape of Masur reading a joint statement by the three party leaders and three public figures was broadcast over the public address speakers ringing the center of Leipzig. The text was also read in St. Nicholas Church and the three other churches where demonstrators were gathering, and transmitted over the internal radios of the police and security forces.

Appealing for calm on all sides, the statement offered a stunning commitment by the Leipzig Communist leaders. "We all need a free exchange of opinions about the continuation of socialism in our country," it said. "Therefore, we promise all citizens that we will use our full power and authority to ensure that this dialogue will occur, not only in the Leipzig area but with our national government."

That unprecedented concession of legitimacy to the protest movement galvanized both the 70,000 people who marched through Leipzig that night and the police who had seemingly been prepared to assault them. As they poured out of the churches at 6 p.m. and paraded triumphantly around the Karl Marx Platz and downtown Ring Road, the demonstrators interspersed chants of



ASSOCIATED PRESS

back, 70,000 marchers fill Leipzig's Karl Marx Platz on the night of Oct. 9.

"We are the people" with "No violence." And at 5:50, 20 minutes after Helmut Heckenberg, the acting Communist Party chief of Leipzig, delivered the statement of the six to the local police commander, the police snapped off their lights, cut the engines of their trucks and water cannon, and withdrew from the line of the march.

"Without our appeal, there would have been terrible violence," Masur said in an interview late last month. He added: "I credit the cleverness of the Leipzigers. The police commanders acted for their city. They did not just follow orders from Berlin."

In retrospect, Mayer also concluded that the political appeal stopped the police from attacking the demonstrators with their sticks and water cannon. But the party official said he subsequently learned that Leipzig's police commander had separately received an order from East Berlin not to use live ammunition on the demonstrators. Mayer said he did not know where the order had come from. But former West German chancellor Willy Brandt, who visited East Germany and Moscow in the aftermath of the events, has said he believes Soviet military commanders attached to the East German army warned against the use of arms.

Breaking With the Party

For Masur, Zimmerman and Lange, the appeal of Oct. 9 was an act of humanity and patriotism for which they had been preparing, in one way or another, for much of their lives. Yet for the police commanders and the three party officials, the events of that day meant a dramatic break with their party and the system of power that had ruled the country for 40 years. By endorsing a dialogue with the opposition, the Leipzig party leaders had, in effect, mounted a challenge to Honecker's leadership that would inevitably have to be sustained or rejected by the ruling Politburo.

"We were very clear on that," Mayer recalled in an interview in mid-December. "We knew that if we went to Kurt Masur's apartment, there would be decisive consequences—that it would either be us or the party leadership."

Why would a 54-year-old man like Mayer,

a loyal Communist for 31 years, decide to bet his career and possibly his life on a challenge to the entrenched Honecker? "For three years I had been working with artists as secretary of culture, and they had pointed out a lot of problems and contradictions to me," Mayer answered. "We kept waiting and waiting for change to come from Berlin, but nothing came."

"But the straw that broke the camel's back was the massive departure of our young people, who were going to the West," Mayer went on. "The arrogance of the leadership was incredible. Honecker said there was no problem to solve. That's the point where I said to myself, 'This can't go on anymore, we will have to do something.'"

Even the growing dissatisfaction of the Leipzig party leaders might not have been enough to motivate them to act, Mayer said, if it had not been for Gorbachev's visit the previous weekend. In speeches and in a meeting with Honecker's Politburo, the Soviet leader had delivered a message that had a strong impact on Mayer. "Gorbachev said a very crucial thing, that a leadership that isolates itself from its people will no longer enjoy the right to exist," Mayer said. "He also said that it was up to each Communist Party to find a way to renew itself. That gave us a lot of courage."

The three party leaders were so worried about high-level reaction to their public commitment that when Egon Krenz, then the party's secretary for security, called Leipzig at about 7:30 that evening to ask about the demonstration, they did not tell him what they had done. "We didn't know how he would react," Mayer said, "and we were afraid he would try to stop us."

By the next evening, however, it was clear that powerful forces in the party had embraced the Leipzig leaders' revolt. At a Politburo meeting in East Berlin, their move was backed by Krenz and other members despite the furious objections of Honecker, party sources said. The Politburo split prompted the calling of an expanded leadership meeting, and eight days later, on Oct. 18, Honecker was forced to resign in favor of Krenz. Suddenly, after two decades of oppressive stability, East Germany's future was in doubt.

— Jackson Diehl

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is not the comparison they make. Their yardstick is West Germany, whose wealth they used to ogle on television and can now touch but generally not acquire. Health care may not cost anything, but it is neither thorough nor prompt, a situation made more painful by the departure of young doctors in this year's mass exodus. Education is criticized for its narrow, blinkered and intolerant outlook. Job security is a laudable concept, but there is little choice. A young East Berliner who wanted to become a commercial fisherman wound up being trained as a toolmaker. "But *everyone* gets a job," he says sarcastically.

The only people who have come off well in the past four decades are the so-called upper ten thousand (the party and bureaucracy establishment) and those with "vitamin B"—as in Beziehungen, or connections, in East German parlance. "They must all go," says a retired clerk in East Berlin. "All these criminals should be held accountable."

Perhaps the most cogent explanation for G.D.R. loyalty is that the existing state insulates the people against the shock of the outside world. "We look at the West, and it's a fairyland," says an East Berlin housewife. "Our attitudes are different. We grew up more modest. We missed out on a lot, but we make do. Over there it's all money, money, money. We don't have it." There is the touch of an inferiority complex as well, and given widespread West German complaints about new burdens, it is perhaps justified. "Maybe it's best not to unify the country," says an East Berlin pensioner. "The West would probably treat us as second-class citizens, like migrant workers."

Reunification is not on the current agenda—not on East Berlin's nor on Bonn's. Certainly not reunification as old-fashioned nationalists still imagine it: a kind of *anschluss* of the G.D.R. by West Germany. "We did not throw off the Soviets to become a colony of the West," says Peter Grimm, a dissident writer.

A straightforward yes or no to reunification is too simple in so complex a constellation. NATO and the Warsaw Pact will have to shed their military dimensions. The European Community will have to define its attitudes toward Eastern Europe. The two Germanys will want to expand the web of existing agreements between them, an interweaving of interests that neither can unravel without harming itself. In years to come, perhaps a German confederation within an expanded European Community may emerge, but in an age of new perceptions, it may not matter what it is called.

In the meantime, with its borders open to the West, the G.D.R.'s sense of self and of self-confidence may actually be strengthened, but only if democratization and liberalization move apace, if the Communist dictatorship is dismantled, and if the people can partake of the freedoms enjoyed by their countrymen on the other side. ■

Leipzig: Hotbed of Protest

If real democracy does come to East Germany, much of the credit should go to Leipzig (pop. 567,000), which has emerged as the driving force for reform. Through more than a month of spontaneous, peaceful demonstrations, which often brought more than half the city's population into the streets, Leipzig's workers precipitated the ouster of repressive party leader Erich Honecker and helped inspire the historic breach of the Berlin Wall. "They call us 'the Leipzig Miracle,'" says Alfred Richter, 38, a supervisor in a hotel kitchen whose wife and two small children joined in the protests. "But it was caused by all of us little people who had had enough, and found the courage to say so."

Karl Marx would have understood their revolt. Just outside Leipzig's jumble of medieval churches and high-rises lies one of the most dismal landscapes in Europe. This is the heart of the rust belt: mile after mile of blackened smokestacks spew sulfurous coal smoke into the yellow sky; workers labor in ramshackle chemical and textile plants under Dickensian conditions of dirt and noise. To the east stretch crumbling tenements built 100 years ago; to the west sprawl ugly new developments virtually devoid of stores, cinemas or restaurants. Average monthly incomes would buy just \$30 of goods in the West; "luxuries" ranging from women's shoes to oranges and shampoo are routinely unavailable in the dingy shops.

The exodus of thousands of well-trained plumbers, bus drivers and doctors has only added to the misery, shutting down entire assembly lines, paralyzing health care, even forcing policemen to drive public buses. Says Sylko Roehle, 17, a machinist: "We saw what Poland and Hungary were doing; we heard Gorbachev. Everyone felt, Why are we being left behind?"

Discontent boiled over last summer when local election returns gave an improbable 98.85% of the vote to the Communist Party. That anger found an outlet at the Nikolai Church, downtown, where a small band of peace activists had been meeting. Almost overnight their number grew into a mass movement for political freedom. "We didn't start this," says Pastor Christian Führer, "but we protected it. We were the catalysts."

As recently as a month ago, residents spoke only furtively with foreigners, while a pervasive net of state control silenced dissent and enforced Marxist indoctrination of schoolchildren. Last week the opposition New Forum was sifting through official invitations to speak at local factories, while at a "Democracy Kiosk" outside the philharmonic hall, crowds gathered to scribble down addresses and meeting dates for everything from feminist films to university talks on "the collapse of Communism." The Academixer cabaret theater, famed for its political satire, revamps its sell-out show *Who's to Blame?* every night to keep up with developments. Quips artistic director Hans-Walter Molle: "All this democracy could put us out of business."

—By Kenneth W. Banta/Leipzig



Rain or shine: more than a month of spontaneous, peaceful demonstrations

A Mighty Fortress Indeed

■ **East Germany:** As pariahs in a communist society, churches developed an independent niche—and nurtured a civil reformation.

By DANIEL CATTAU

The Castle Church in Lutherstadt Wittenberg, where Martin Luther posted his 95 Theses in 1517, was refurbished in 1983, the 500th anniversary of the reformer's birth. Near the top of the tall, white church tower is now a gold band inscribed, *Ein Feste Berg ist Unsere Gott*—the first words to the battle hymn of the Reformation, "A Mighty Fortress is Our God."

When the local leaders of the Socialist Unity (Communist) Party saw this impressive statement of faith, they asked church leaders what words from Luther might be appropriate for their building. The church leaders suggested the beginning of the hymn's second stanza: "No strength of ours can match His might."

This story accurately depicts the role of the East German Protestant churches in socialism: quiet opposition with a clear distinction between what belongs to the church and what to the state.

For the most part, the church's role in toppling the monolithic Communist rule has been ignored in the litany of other factors: Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost*, Hungary's decision to open its border, the great numbers of East Germans fleeing to the West, the opening of the Berlin Wall and the country's woeful economic, educational and ecological situation.

But in talks I've had with dozens of East Germans, it was clear that the church played—and continues to play—a critical role in the reformation of society. In an interview at the Luther House in Wittenberg, Friedrich Schorlemmer, a theologian and leading spokesman for the Democratic Awakening, drew a parallel between the Reformation and the current upheaval.

"Luther said the church is only the church when it always reforms itself, and lets itself be reformed," said Schorlemmer, who has already been transformed from an enemy of the state into a media star. "Socialism is only socialism if it's capable of being renewed."

After World War II and the division of Germany, church membership in heavily Protestant East



Germany declined from more than 80% of the population to about 30% today. The government thought it had dealt a fatal blow by enforcing strict church-state separation, eliminating state funding and teaching only Marxism and Leninism in schools. Added to that was a heavy dose of oppression.

The severing of church-state ties, however, was a blessing for the three territorial Lutheran and five united Lutheran and Reformed churches that comprise a loose, 5-million-member Federation of Evangelical Churches.

Until the Berlin Wall was erected in 1961, the East German churches had close ties with the wealthier, state-supported churches in the Federal Republic. In 1968, these formal ties were severed and the East German churches, after a long period of confrontation, moved toward being a church in socialism—but, as its leaders point out, not a church of socialism.

Remarkably, the church had found a niche in society by the late 1970s that was to grow into a full-scale spiritual and political movement a decade later. It was a "free room," as the Germans say, where church and non-church people could discuss issues rarely brought up outside the home.

It began with peace groups discussing East-West tensions and the redeployment of missiles in the two Germanys, and grew to discussions of human rights and social justice, the environment, military service, freedom of travel, press freedom and free elections. The church also played a key role in

uncovering vote-rigging in last May's local elections, encouraging people to stay in East Germany and spawning many of the leaders of the opposition parties and groups.

In 1982 the Nicholas Church and later the Thomas Church in Leipzig began what looked, at first, to be innocuous Monday-night prayer services; it was after these services that 200,000 took to the street in October. These prayer services and demonstrations were soon replicated throughout the land of Luther, Bach, Schiller and Goethe.

"There was no other free room in society," for opposition groups, said Gerhard Thomas, editor of *The Church*, a newspaper of the Berlin-Brandenburg Evangelical Church. "The revolution was so peaceful, from the side of the demonstrators—that was the spirit of the church. The spirit of the revolution was the spirit of the church."

In Wittenberg, a small university town in Luther's day but now a quasi-industrial city of 50,000 people, townspeople complained in the local paper that the demonstrators had left a mess in the Market Place in front of Luther's statue: Wax from prayer vigil candles covered the stones on the street.

Albrecht Steinwachs, a local pastor, gave perhaps the best testimony to the role of the church when he wrote in response, "I would rather see 1,000 drops of candle wax on the Market Place than one drop of blood."

Daniel Cattau, former director of the Lutheran Council News Bureau in New York, was recently in East Germany.

We're Watching the Death of Hope

■ **Refugees:** The

Vietnamese shipped back

want to live where I do now.

If the British resume forced

could never know the difference

Jack Anderson and Dale Van Atta

251
194 30/178

The Search for Raoul Wallenberg Goes On

Annette and Tom Lantos were childhood sweethearts, but their childhood was not the stuff of fairy tales. They were Hungarian Jews who both managed to escape the gas chamber because an obscure Swedish diplomat based in Budapest plucked as many Jews as he could from the grasp of the Nazis.

Today, Rep. Tom Lantos (D-Calif.) is earning marks as the chairman of the House committee exposing the Housing and Urban Development scandal. But Annette Lantos has a scandal of her own to expose: Has that Swedish diplomat, Raoul Wallenberg, spent the last 45 years in a Soviet prison because of what he did to help the Jews?

For nearly 15 years, Annette Lantos has made it her work to find Wallenberg. The Soviet secret police snatched him from a street in Budapest on Jan. 17, 1945. The Soviets were liberating Budapest from the Nazis, and Wallenberg was on his way to talk to the Soviet overseers and explain his plan for the Jews. Wallenberg had managed to outwit the Nazis, but the Russians had no patience with him. It's not clear whether they thought he was an spy or whether Wallenberg was just a victim of someone's stupidity.

Last October, for the first time, the Soviets apologized for kidnapping Wallenberg and letting him die in prison. The apology was nice, but Annette Lantos refuses to believe Wallenberg is

dead, and she wants Mikhail Gorbachev to produce proof, or produce the living Wallenberg.

As children in Budapest, Annette and Tom Lantos heard talk about a very powerful Swede who was saving Jews. Tom survived in a house of refuge set up by Wallenberg. Annette and her mother managed to escape using Portuguese passports because Wallenberg had set a precedent of getting the Nazis to honor the foreign diplomats' passports he issued to Jews.

They found each other after the war, married and moved to San Francisco. In 1956, the Soviets admitted that they had taken Wallenberg, but said he died of a heart attack in 1947.

Annette Lantos went about the business of raising her children, but whenever she had the chance to talk to others about the Holocaust, she would tell the story of Raoul Wallenberg—how one person stood up to the Nazis and saved 100,000 lives and then paid with his own life.

Then in 1979, Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal claimed that Wallenberg was alive in a Soviet mental ward in Siberia. "After a sleepless night, I decided I would have to devote my life to saving Wallenberg, and all I had was a Xerox machine," Annette Lantos told our associate Daryl Gibson.

She contacted the Swedish Embassy in Washington, and they told her to find another outlet for her do-gooder tendencies.

Lack brought her to President Jimmy Carter. In October of 1979, she and 24,000 other Americans put their names in a hopper, and 10 were selected at random to ask Carter any question they wanted in a nationally broadcast radio call-in program. One of the 10 was Annette Lantos, and she asked Carter what he could do to help Wallenberg. The president said Wallenberg had not been forgotten.

It wasn't much of an answer, but it was enough to bring the press to the Lantos doorstep. The attention led to five books about Wallenberg and eventually a TV miniseries, starring Richard Chamberlain.

In her spare time, Annette Lantos helped get her husband elected to Congress, and in 1981 she was in the Rose Garden when his first piece of legislation was signed by Ronald Reagan—an act making Raoul Wallenberg an honorary American citizen. It was prestigious—Winston Churchill is the only other honorary U.S. citizen—but that was not what motivated Annette Lantos. If Wallenberg was alive, then the Soviets had an American citizen in prison, and the U.S. government was obligated to get him out.

Eight years later, Annette Lantos and Raoul Wallenberg are still waiting. In October, when the Soviets issued their glasnost-inspired apology, it was accompanied with the same old story that Wallenberg died of a heart attack in 1947. But there have been many Wallenberg "sightings" since then—pri-

oners who said they shared a cell with him, a doctor who examined him in 1961, a refusenik who met him in a prison hospital in 1975, a secret informant who told a Swedish businessman that Wallenberg was alive in a Soviet prison camp near the Chinese border in 1986. Many who have told of seeing Wallenberg have disappeared soon after speaking up or have died of "heart attacks"—the ailment that plagues many enemies of the Soviet state.

Does Annette Lantos think Wallenberg is alive? "I don't want to deal with the issue until I know the truth," she says, with an edge that implies that the question is irrelevant. "It's going to be dirty, the truth, very dirty."

The story that Wallenberg died of a heart attack was perpetuated by Andrei Gromyko, who took the truth to his grave. Glasnost recently allowed Soviet television to broadcast pictures of Wallenberg and a phone number to call with information on his whereabouts. That's a remarkable gesture for the Soviet Union, but Annette Lantos says Gorbachev has to put more into the search than good intentions.

Whether Wallenberg is dead or alive, Annette Lantos thinks he is entitled to have the world know what happened to him at the hands of the Soviets. She calls that "the only tribunal for victims of governments."

Rumania's Jews

For Judaism's Remnant, Coup Is Mixed Blessing

By CLYDE HABERMAN

Special to The New York Times

BUCHAREST, Rumania, Jan. 2 — For Rumania's fast-disappearing Jewish minority, the overthrow of Nicolae Ceausescu represents something of a mixed blessing.

In Mr. Ceausescu's 24 years in power, experts say, Jews enjoyed perhaps the greatest degree of autonomy among Rumania's religions.

The 20,000 Jews who remain from a prewar population of over 800,000 were able to set up religious schools, celebrate holidays, produce a bimonthly newspaper, maintain a chain of kosher restaurants and, most important, emigrate to Israel, albeit for a price. According to Israeli officials, their Government paid the Ceausescu Government \$2,000 to \$3,000 for each person permitted to leave.

Now the country is led by a provisional government that promises democracy and happens to have prominent Jews among its leaders.

Fears for the Future

The recent developments can only be applauded, Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen said today. But Rabbi Rosen, who has guided the Jewish people with a firm hand for 41 years, said he also feared that the suddenly altered political climate could unleash forces of extreme nationalism and even fascism.

"A democratic government is the best guarantee for our destiny here," he said in an interview in his book-lined study, which overlooks the central Bucharest synagogue, built 132 years ago in Byzantine style.

His concern, he said, is that Rumanian exiles with neo-fascist leanings may start to return home and, that given the present political uncertainty, there could be a burst of nationalism accompanied by anti-Semitism.

"There is a danger," he said. "It de-

The rabbi fears revolutionary change may unleash forces of nationalism.

pends on how strong the young democracy will be and whether it can defend itself from the beginning. Democracy has very nice qualities. But we have to have open eyes."

Jewish relations with Mr. Ceausescu were ambiguous, a combination of distrust of the Communist Government and, at the same time, clear cooperation with it to win concessions not often found in other Eastern European countries.

His own feeling, Rabbi Rosen said, was that Mr. Ceausescu was an anti-Semite. If true, it would put the deposed dictator squarely in a Rumanian tradition that includes the fascist Iron Guard movement, which entered World War II as an ally of Nazi Germany. The early 1940's here were marked by anti-Jewish pogroms in Bucharest and the Moldavian city of Iasi, and by the deportation of Jews to concentra-

tion camps. At the war's end in 1945, Rumania's Jewish population had dwindled to 450,000, somewhat more than half what it had been.

But if Mr. Ceausescu was indeed anti-Semitic, he did not show it in a conspicuous way.

A maverick in the Warsaw Pact, he maintained diplomatic relations with Israel after the 1967 war when other Eastern bloc countries were severing ties. He maintained these relations even while forging similar links to the Palestine Liberation Organization.

More important, foreign diplomats say, at a time when the Soviet Union refused to allow Jews to emigrate, he let Rumanian Jews go to Israel, a policy that has steadily diminished their numbers to the present 20,000. In Israel, Rumanian Jews are the largest foreign-born group after Moroccans.

Each year, about 1,500 more leave Rumania, and those who have stayed behind are fairly old. Two-thirds are over 50, and only 6 percent are under 15, according to the Federation of Jewish Communities in Rumania.

In the opinion of Rabbi Rosen and some foreign diplomats, there were two basic reasons for Mr. Ceausescu's relatively tolerant attitude toward Jews: they presented no threat to him, and he could use his policy to help win trade benefits like the most-favored-nation status with the United States that he enjoyed until July 1988.

"He was clever to realize that his interests were in economic help from America," the Rabbi said. "And for that, Jews could help him."

Long Strings Attached

Even so, the emigration policy had long strings attached. Zvi Mazel, the Israeli Ambassador to Rumania, said the requirement for a payment for each émigré was stopped a month ago, while Mr. Ceausescu was still firmly in charge, and he said he had been assured by the new Government that free immigration would be permitted. Last weekend, an Israeli newspaper, Yediot Aharonot said that the going rate was even higher than the \$2,000 to \$3,000 acknowledged by Israeli officials, perhaps between \$5,000 and \$7,000 each, and that Mr. Ceausescu personally pocketed more than \$50 million.

Rabbi Rosen said that he could not confirm this human trade, but then added: "I suppose it is true. I do not have the right to deny anything. Every Jew will say they heard this."

Over the years the 77-year-old Rabbi Rosen has been criticized for getting too close to the Ceausescu Government, for muting his complaints about the former leader's more glaring abuses and for showing occasionally authoritarian tendencies himself. These points were made to a journalist the other day by worshippers at a sparsely attended Saturday morning service at the synagogue.

But the Chief Rabbi, who held his post with the Government's blessing, insisted that he had never acted improperly and that there was a good reason not to show the intense dislike of Mr. Ceausescu that he now professes.

It could be called survival, he said. "Everything was in his hands," the Rabbi said. "The life of my people was in his hands."

SOVIET JEWS LEAVE AT A RECORD PACE, MANY FOR ISRAEL

JERUSALEM FACES DEBATE

Talk of 20% Population Rise and a Lack of Zeal Among Newcomers Stirs Fears

By JOEL BRINKLEY

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, Dec. 13 — The number of Jews streaming out of the Soviet Union has reached a record. Not counting the month of December, more than 62,500 have left this year, surpassing by more than 20 percent the high of 51,320 set in 1979.

In recent years most Soviet Jews have gone to the United States. But because of immigration limits imposed by Washington recently, the number of Jews going to Israel has increased dramatically in recent months. As a result, Israel is bracing for its greatest flow of immigrants since its early days of independence four decades ago.

More than 11,000 Soviet Jews left in November — the first time the figure exceeded 10,000 in a month — and almost 2,000 of them arrived here, 10 times the number who came to Israel in January. The number of émigrés is monitored closely by Israeli officials and the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, a nonprofit American group.

750,000 Over 6 Years Possible

Early this week the Government projected that Israel might absorb as many as 750,000 Soviet Jews in the next six years, an addition of 20 percent to the nation's Jewish population.

Although the projection may be exaggerated, several hundred thousand Soviet Jews have in fact requested Israeli visas, largely because they fear increasing nationalist turmoil in the Soviet Union and because of the American decision to admit fewer Soviet refugees.

An influx even close to the Israeli projection would be a significant step toward Israel's dream of attracting all the world's Jews, but it would also pose major problems for the country. It is accepted wisdom here that Israel is simply unequipped to handle immigrants in those numbers, and many Israelis resent such a migration at a time when unemployment is already high.

But for Israel, the numbers are only half the problem. The people in this wave are different from other large groups of Jews to come to Israel or Palestine since the "first aliyah" from czarist Russia 100 years ago.

Most of the Soviet citizens coming now are not Zionists. In fact, they have little if any Jewish identity. And many people worry that their lack of Jewish zeal might make it more difficult for

them to weather hard times in their new homeland.

Tugging sleepy children and over-stuffed carry-on bags, about 65 of these immigrants arrived at Ben-Gurion International Airport in Lod just before dawn Monday. Like many other Soviet citizens stepping off planes that are landing here almost every day, these people looked startled, even a bit disturbed, as two dozen yeshiva students greeted them, chanting, clapping and singing traditional Jewish songs the Russians had never heard.

"This aliyah is different from the Soviet aliyah of the 70's," said Lizy Zlotnik, an Absorption Ministry official who handled paperwork on the new immigrants at the airport. "Most of these people are very educated. These are Russians. They don't know anything about Judaism, and they don't really care about it."

As part of the liberalization under President Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet Union has made leaving the country much easier for the nation's 287 million citizens, including its estimated two million Jews. A new emigration law is expected to be enacted early next year, removing most restrictions on travel abroad. Some Soviet officials estimate that four million Soviet citizens will emigrate in the next few years. President Bush has already promised trade concessions to Moscow once the law is enacted.

Many of the new Jewish immigrants are leaving the Soviet Union "because Russia is in turmoil, and they are afraid of what will be left for them when it ends," said Simcha Dinitz, chairman of the Jewish Agency, the quasi-Government organization largely responsible for settling immigrants.

Fear of Nationalist Movements

With all the assertive nationalist movements now spreading across the country, "we are scared," said Leon Kostavitch, a 26-year-old engineer who had just arrived. "It's dangerous to be there. The country is in revolution, and we don't know what's going to happen for us."

"When the dust settles from all this turmoil," Mr. Dinitz said, "it will be the minorities who suffer."

In addition, there are unconfirmed reports from some immigrants arriv-

The hosts worry; many newcomers are not Zionists.

ing here of spreading anti-Semitism, particularly in Uzbekistan, the largely Muslim Soviet republic that is also home to about 250,000 Jews.

Israel and the Soviet Union do not have diplomatic relations, and for now the emigrants are flying to Bucharest, Vienna or other cities before flying on to Tel Aviv. But Israeli officials say the national airline, El Al, has signed an agreement with Aeroflot, the Soviet airline, to begin direct flights between Moscow and Tel Aviv early next year. The commercial agreement has not yet been approved by the Soviet Foreign Ministry, the Israelis say. But if and when it is, the number of Jews coming here is likely to grow even faster.

Even with direct flights, it is not likely that all of the several hundred thousand people who have applied for Israeli visas will move here. But whatever the final number, the lack of awareness of Judaism among these immigrants creates "some real challenges for absorption," said Natan Sharansky, a leader among Soviet Jews here.

Faith and Zionist zeal, most people here agree, help carry many of today's new immigrants through the difficult

challenges and hard times that Israel almost invariably presents.

As he waited in line at the airport to register with immigration authorities, one of the arrivals, Oleg Finkelstein, a 24-year-old from Leningrad, said, "I've never practiced Judaism, but I guess I'm interested in learning about it because it's what keeps the people of this country together."

For now, Mr. Finkelstein, like the others, had to be prompted to stand when the yeshiva students began singing "Hatikva," the national anthem. When the yeshiva boys held hands and danced in a circle, singing "Havenu Shalom Aleichem," one of the best-known Jewish folk songs and dances, hardly anyone in the group of new arrivals seemed to recognize it.

In most cases those people came to Israel because this is the country that invited them and for no other reason. They are simply looking for a better life and hope they can find it here. "These are people who want to come and succeed in their work," Mr. Sharansky said.

Many might just as well have gone to the United States. But in September the Bush Administration, citing humanitarian, financial, political and bureaucratic concerns, set a ceiling of 50,000 on the number of Soviet refugees in each of the coming years.

Feast or Famine

Israeli officials warmly welcomed the American changes, knowing that the Soviet Jews who could not get into the United States would most likely come here.

But as the numbers swell, Mr. Sharansky and others are openly complaining that Israel simply cannot handle the flood. The nation is hard pressed to find housing and jobs, partly because of the economic troubles the Palestinian uprising has helped spawn.

"We don't like the fact that our Government isn't ready despite all our warnings," Mr. Sharansky said.

While Israel desperately wants Jews to move here to fulfill the tenet of Zionism that Israel be home for all the world's Jews, immigration from all sources has been at relatively low levels for years. Just more than 20,000 people moved here in 1980, but in most years since, the number has fluctuated between 11,000 and 14,000. In recent typical years, far more citizens have left than have arrived, a fact that deeply wounds many Israelis.

Though the number of emigrants is not known — most of them move to the United States illegally — the coming wave of Soviet Jews may tip the balance back at last.

dlz

sion of Afghanistan. An earlier period of relatively high emigration came in the early 1970's, during the Nixon Administration, in the so-called era of détente.

Better to Smile Now

As Israelis warmly welcomed the new arrivals at the airport on Monday morning, the yeshiva boys' organizer summed up the situation when he told his charges: "The most important thing is to smile at them because you know they are coming and are going to have a lot of trouble. So smile now."

But despite the smiles at the airport, Israel is involved in an angry, internal argument over the resentment many people feel about the Government's efforts to find jobs for all the Soviet newcomers while thousands of longtime residents remain unemployed. The nation's unemployment rate stands at 8.1 percent.

Early this month, the Government started a classic Israeli political quarrel when it issued statistics showing that nearly half a million of the country's 4.5 million citizens are now living below the poverty line, \$390 a month for a family of two.

With that news, the daily newspaper Yediot Aharonot wrote: "Things that were whispered under the surface are beginning to burst through. A surge of Russian immigrants is about to arrive, and at least a few residents of the Jewish state, it is now clear, don't want them."

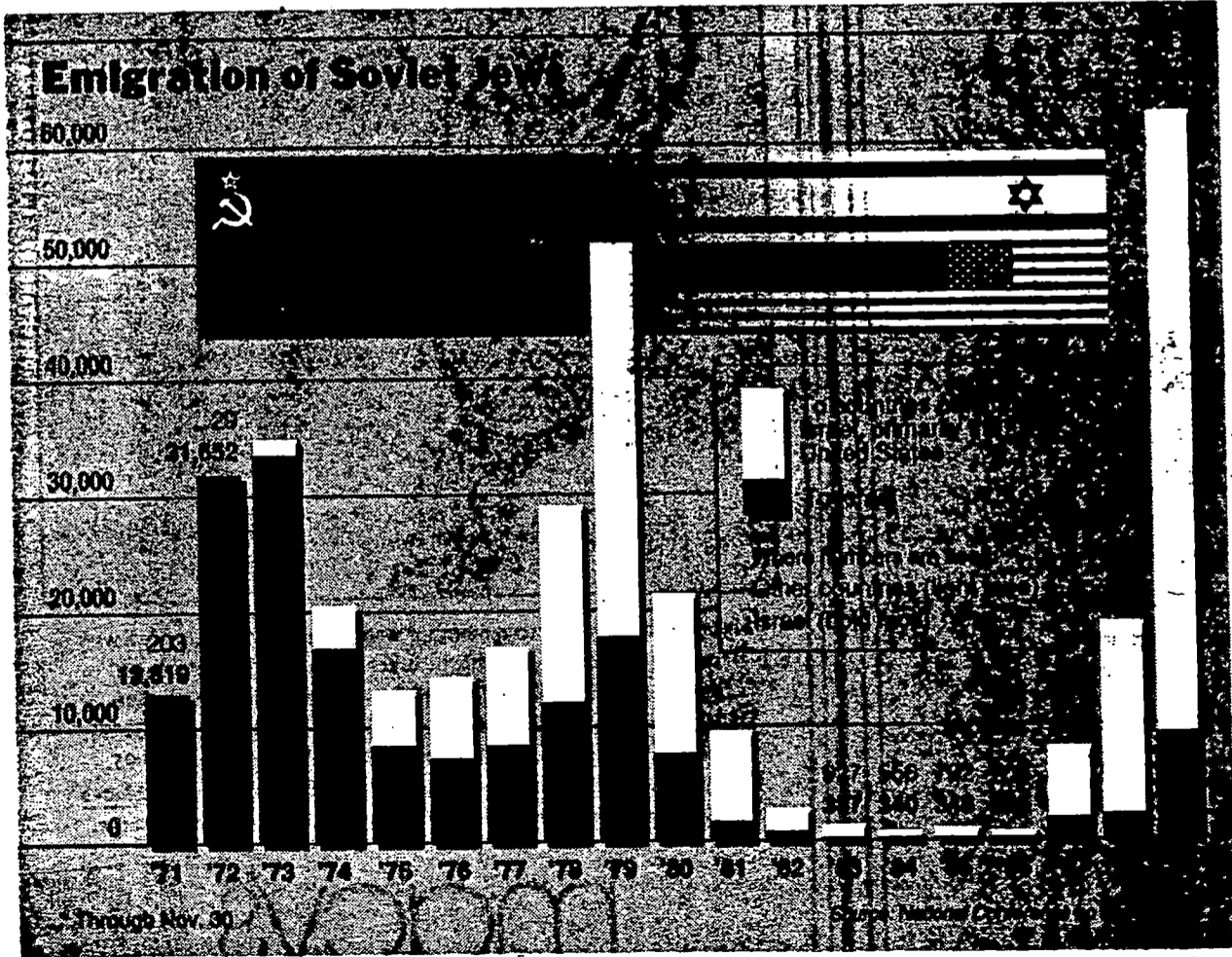
Mr. Dinitz and others suggest that the arrival of well-trained Soviet immigrants will help the Israeli economy. But that could take years. And in the short term, at the airport, the newcomers have little idea what awaits them.

Mr. Finkelstein said he may not know much about Judaism, "but I know how to work."

"I know if people want to work, then this country will find us jobs."

The Soviet Jewish émigrés counted so far this year give 1989 the highest total for any year since the National Conference on Soviet Jewry began tabulating emigration statistics in 1968.

The previous peak, in 1979, occurred during the Carter Administration, when Washington and Moscow completed a strategic arms treaty before relations soured over the Soviet inva-



Joy and Apprehension Among East Berlin's Jews

1830/194
By DAVID BINDER

Special to The New York Times

EAST BERLIN, Dec. 10 — The handful of citizens who are observant Jews or of Jewish ancestry in this country are viewing the current political upheaval here with a peculiar combination of elation and fear.

According to several people interviewed today, there is a sense of great pride that one of their own, Gregor Gysi, was overwhelmingly elected in a secret ballot on Saturday to become the chairman of the still ruling Communist Party.

Klaus Gysi, the father of Dr. Gysi, a 41-year-old lawyer, was born a Jew and was this country's Secretary of State for Religious Affairs until his retirement a few years ago.

The son does not practice Judaism, but in the last several years he has attended cultural events sponsored by the Berlin Jewish organization, which has a membership of 200.

'I Am Happy for Him'

"I am happy for him," said Marion Kant, a 38-year-old dance historian and musicologist here. Dr. Kant is the daughter of the late Ernst Hermann Meyer, a prewar Communist from a Berlin Jewish family who became an eminent musicologist and composer as an émigré from Nazi Germany.

"I am pleased about Dr. Gysi," said Dr. Irene Runge, an assistant professor of ethnography at Humboldt University who also serves as the spokeswoman for the Jewish organization. "But I am also very scared."

Both Dr. Runge and Dr. Kant said they had recently been subjected to anti-Semitic remarks by strangers here, and both said they were deeply disturbed by reports in the East German press of neo-Nazi incidents in various parts of this country.

In Erfurt, the police are investigating the writing of anti-Semitic slogans on various buildings last month.

There was another incident last Thursday in a newly built apartment

complex in Bernburg, near the border with West Germany. The state press agency said seven young men abducted three 11-year-old boys, beat them and then smeared a swastika on the forehead of one of them with hot wax from a candle while shouting Nazi slogans.

Rightists Seek to Organize

Late last week, the chairman of West Germany's far-right Republican Party demanded that his party be allowed to install itself in East Germany.

This afternoon, about 20 young East German men marched down the well-traveled Friedrichstrasse carrying a banner with a slogan denouncing the Republicans: "No to Nazi Swine."

The issue of Jews and anti-Semitism in East Germany is more complex than in other Warsaw Pact countries. In East Germany, as in Poland, Hungary and Rumania, many leaders chosen by Stalin to install a Soviet-style system after World War II were known to be of Jewish origin.

In some cases, notably in Poland and Czechoslovakia, anti-Semitic purges were later set in motion, blaming the Jews for failures. In those countries, code words like "internationalists, Trotskyites and rootless cosmopolites" were widely understood as critical terms referring to Jews.

But in East Germany all such tendencies were made more complex by the legacy of the Nazi period. On one hand, many Communist leaders sought to draw legitimacy and esteem from activities in the anti-Nazi struggle, while at the same time the parents and grandparents of most Germans supported and served Hitler when he ordered the genocide carried out against Europe's Jews.

Encounters With Anti-Semitism

Describing her own encounters with anti-Semitism, Dr. Kant said, referring to herself and her 13-year-old daughter: "It is how you look. Jessica and I get it in the grocery store and on the street, people who say, 'What are you doing here?' with the undertone, 'You don't really belong to us.'"

Dr. Runge said she had received an indirect threat on the telephone from an anonymous caller who said, "Are you still there?" and hung up.

The relationships of East Germany's remaining Jews, the descendants of what before the Nazis had been one of the largest, most accomplished and freest groups of Jews in all of Europe, are extremely tangled — both among

themselves and with the Communist Government.

"It is very complicated here," said Dr. Kant. "The Jewish faith was rejected by many Jews, including me. On the other hand, there is the new racism of Israel. The definition of a Jew, that's very difficult. I stopped going to the Jewish Community concerts when they began sorting out who was a real Jew and who wasn't. I only go to memorial services at the synagogue out of a sense of obligation to my forefathers."

Dr. Runge concurred with this assessment, to the degree that she said the Jewish organization was conservative enough to demand that its members provide evidence that their mothers were Jewish and that the males had been circumcised.

She said that in addition to the 200 full members of the organization, there were 200 or 300 more East Berliners of Jewish ancestry, including Dr. Gysi, who felt enough sense of belonging to attend cultural events held in the organization's small quarters on Oranienburger Strasse in downtown Berlin. She said the organization held 10 to 12 such events each month for women, children and academics.

In addition, Dr. Runge said, there were probably 1,000 or so East Germans here who could be counted as Jewish under Hitler's race laws.

Broadening the Community

In an effort to broaden the community of East German Jews, Dr. Vincent von Wroblewsky, a Humboldt University philosophy professor, is planning an Association of Jews of the German Democratic Republic that would admit not merely practicing Jews but also people who had Jewish ancestry and simply wanted to identify themselves with elements of German Jewish culture.

The Jewish issue here is complicated further by the fact that many of the top Communist leaders in power here after the war were men and women of Jewish origin.

Among them were Hermann Axen, the foreign affairs specialist in the party Politburo until two months ago; Albert Norden, the late propaganda specialist in the Politburo; Gerhard Eisler, the chief commentator of East German radio; his brother, Hanns Eisler, the composer of the national anthem; the late Hilde Benjamin, Minister of Justice in the Stalinist period, and Markus Wolf, the former head of espionage.

Dr. Runge said most of the Jewish Communists had "distanced themselves" from their Jewish ancestry, "but they did not forget it."

Hermann Kant, the husband of Dr. Kant and a writer, said East Germany kept its Stalinist policy of anti-Zionism "in bounds," never transforming it into blatant anti-Semitism.

He recalled studying at Humboldt University in the 1950's when the issue of anti-Semitism came up and he and others circulated a small questionnaire asking fellow students to say if any of their professors was Jewish. "The answer was no," Mr. Kant said. "Nobody knew. We did it to prove there was no anti-Semitism."

The topicality of Jews in East Ger-

many was made evident this morning in a radio commentary by a Communist Party member named Otfried Arnold. His subject was "Nathan the Wise," an 18th-century drama by Gottfried Lessing about a German rabbi who preached tolerance in a country that had known little of it.

Remarking that he had been deeply moved by reading the Lessing drama just after World War II when he joined the newly re-established Communist Party here, Dr. Arnold asked: "How could we have permitted so much intolerance to come about? My 'Nathan' experience never left me, but I repressed it. It is time now to talk about morality, about means and ends, and above all about tolerance."

WARREN BROOKES

The key to well-being

253/19
Economists hope it was a good enough Christmas selling season to arrest the apparent downward slide of the U.S. economy.

And Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev told the pope earlier this month he hoped the moral and spiritual insights of religion might rescue perestroika and renew his nation's plunging economy.

It is ironic that the free-market economist and the socialist reformer might agree on one thing at least: Religion is an important ingredient in economics. Of the two, Mr. Gorbachev may be closer in fact to the real reason.

Christmas and Hanukkah come only once a year, but the spiritual values they celebrate are universal and fundamental, and without them, even the most conceptually efficient economic system will fail. Democracy itself could disappear into tyranny.

After all, economic activity is about the adding of value. But in its essence, value is *spiritual*, the expression of qualities of thought: self-discipline, order, self-respect, honesty, integrity, purity, loyalty, principle, genuine pride, love and respect for others. The list is infinite.

Societies with strong spiritual values tend to generate economic value and expand. Societies with too-materialistic values ultimately fall into disrepair and decay. Those that have tried to abandon religious or theological support for moral values, which are the key to self-government, have generally declined into despotic deprivation.

Religion, then, is not merely a mystic gift by an unknown God, but the human intuitive realization that without spiritual and moral values, life isn't worth living. Nothing works very well. Without honesty and integrity, markets collapse into anarchy

and distrust. Without self-discipline, greed destroys companies, markets, products and nations. Without a sense of self-respect and consideration for others, we have shabby work and shabby goods. Indeed, it seems no accident that we use the term "good" (the Saxon word for God) to describe our output.

When Moses came down from Mount Sinai to confront his frightened and unruly followers, he didn't



bring a map or more manna, but a set of laws, a moral code. With those laws, the Ten Commandments, he launched a great culture which has blessed humankind ever since with spiritual, technological and economic benefits.

When Jesus preached the Sermon on the Mount, he laid out a series of spiritual qualities and attitudes, or "beatitudes," that he said would be "blessed." He linked those qualities directly to human physical and economic well-being:

"Therefore take no thought saying, 'What shall we eat?' or, 'What shall we drink?' or 'Wherewithal shall we be clothed?' But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you." (Matthew 6:31, 33)

Jesus, like Moses, wanted the people to understand that the key to human physical well-being was spiritual and metaphysical well-being, that material values were

only poor imitations of spiritual values, and that human abundance was linked directly to our expression of spiritual qualities which he called "the kingdom of God."

Also at the root of both Judaic and Christian teachings was the "supply-side" message that giving (and producing) is more valuable than receiving (and consuming), and that the more good we express, the more goods, both spiritual and physical, we have.

Or as the prophet Malachi promised, "Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in mine house and prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven and pour you out a blessing that there shall not be room enough to receive it."

Mr. Gorbachev seems to understand that without some real spiritual renewal, perestroika will fail. Reforming the system depends on reforming thought and regenerating the human spirit both in the Soviet Union and in America.

Can anyone seriously question the direct connection between soaring illegitimacy, family breakdown and child poverty or between rising drug and alcohol abuse and homelessness?

While the U.S. economy is far stronger than most of its gloomy critics suggest, it is not nearly as good as it could or should be. We used to produce the best products in the world. Today, we seldom do. Is it possible we used to have better spiritual values than we now do? Can we really expect continued economic renewal without spiritual regeneration?

In the new information economy, the quality of our thinking has an even more direct bearing on the value of our work. High technology and goods depend increasingly on higher thought. The prophet Isaiah expressed God's message to the Israelites, "as the heavens are higher than the Earth so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts." (Isaiah 55:9)

So it seems to me altogether fitting that so much of our economic performance depends on the Christmas season. While cynics decry this as purely "commercialization" (and a lot of it surely is), it is also a necessary annual reminder of the spiritual qualities that hold our society together and keep our economy going forward.

Warren T. Brookes is a nationally syndicated economics columnist.

VOLUME 4

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T H E E N C Y C L O P E D I A
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I N T E R N A T I O N A L E D I T I O N

COMPLETE IN THIRTY VOLUMES
FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1829



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BONHOEFFER, bôn'hûf-ər, **Dietrich** (1906–1945), German Protestant pastor and theologian. Bonhoeffer's impact on contemporary theology is traceable both to his bold career, ending in a martyr's death at the age of 39, and to the originality of his ideas. He was born in Breslau, Germany, on Feb. 4, 1906. Immediately after Adolf Hitler became chancellor of Germany in 1933, Bonhoeffer, then a lecturer in theology at the University of Berlin, became identified as an opponent of Nazism. He soon entered upon a two-year pastorate in London but maintained his ties with the Confessing Church in Germany and continued his activities in the ecumenical movement. In 1935 he returned to Germany to set up an underground theological school. Here he wrote *Nachfolge* (1937; Eng. tr. *The Cost of Discipleship*, 1948).

As Bonhoeffer's life became obviously endangered, friends arranged for him to lecture in the United States. But Bonhoeffer decided to return to Germany to share the struggle of the church. Between 1939 and 1943, although forbidden to speak in public or to publish, he continued to do secret work for the church and traveled to Switzerland and Sweden for communication with church leaders. On April 5, 1943, the Gestapo arrested and imprisoned him, first in Berlin, then in Buchenwald. His involvement in an attempt to kill Hitler on July 20, 1944, increased the peril to his life. On April 9, 1945, he was hanged at Flossenbürg.

During his confinement, Bonhoeffer wrote *Widerstand und Ergebung* (1951; Eng. tr. *Letters and Papers from Prison*, 1953), suggesting the reconstruction of Christian thought that he hoped to make after the war, and calling for a "religionless Christianity." Mankind, he argued, had come "of age" and no longer needed religion, which is only a deceptive garment of true faith. He sought to acknowledge Christ, not as "an object of religion" but as "in truth the Lord of the World." In the Scriptures, Bonhoeffer found the basis for a "Christian worldliness," quite different from "religion," which retreats from the world into the inward life and metaphysical speculations. The Christian, he wrote, is identified not by his religious acts but by his "participation in the suffering of God in the life of the world."

Another important work, published posthumously, is *Ethik* (1949; Eng. tr. *Ethics*, 1955). Partly because of their unfinished nature, Bonhoeffer's final writings have exerted a tantalizing power over other thinkers and have given the impulse to major movements in theology.

ROGER L. SHINN, *Union Theological Seminary*

BONHOMME RICHARD. See AMERICAN REVOLUTION—*War at Sea*; JONES, JOHN PAUL.

BONIFACE, bon'ə-fās, **Saint** (died 754), English missionary and archbishop, who is called the Apostle of Germany. He was born in Wessex between 672 and 675. Educated from childhood by the Benedictines at Nursling, he became a monk, priest, poet, author, and head of the monastic school there. His missionary career began in 716 in Frisia (modern Netherlands), but political conditions there forced him to return to Nursling, where he was abbot from 716 to 718.

During the first of his three visits to Rome (719, 732, 737), Pope Gregory II gave him wide missionary jurisdiction and changed his

name from Winfrid (or Wynfrid) to Boniface. His preaching took him to Thuringia (719), Frisia (719–721), Hesse (721–725), and Thuringia and Bavaria (725–735). He used Anglo-Saxons as assistants and collaborated with Rome and with secular rulers. Characteristic of his mission methods were mass conversions and the felling of a sacred pagan oak at Geismar, the wood of which was used to build a Christian chapel. He became bishop in 722 and archbishop in 732. As papal legate after 737 he organized Bavaria and central Germany into dioceses. Between 742 and 747 he reformed the church in the Frankish kingdom.

During a mission to the Frisians, Boniface was martyred on June 5, 754. His remains were returned to Fulda, the chief monastery he founded. His feast day is June 5.

JOHN F. BRODERICK, S. J.
Weston College, Mass.

BONIFACE I, bon'ə-fās, **Saint**, pope from 418 to 422. He was a Roman by birth. On several occasions he served as Pope Innocent I's legate to Constantinople. On the death of Pope Zosimus, one faction in Rome elected Boniface pope, but another chose the deacon Eulalius. Both were consecrated and installed in 418, but Boniface was recognized as rightful pope in 419.

One of Boniface's accomplishments was to encourage St. Augustine to write against the Pelagian heresy (see PELAGIANISM). The Pope also resisted encroachments by the Eastern Roman emperor in Illyria. He died on Sept. 4, 422, and his feast day is September 4.

FRANCIS X. MURPHY, C. SS. R.
Accademia Alfonsiana, Rome

BONIFACE II, bon'ə-fās (died 532), was pope from 530 to 532. A Roman, Boniface was chosen by Pope Felix IV to be his successor. Many of the Roman clergy refused to accept Boniface and chose instead Dioscorus, an Alexandrian Greek. Both claimants were consecrated, but Dioscorus died within a few weeks, and his followers agreed to support Boniface. Boniface sought to appoint his own successor but gave up this plan because of popular resentment.

JOSEPH S. BRUSHER, S. J.
University of Santa Clara, Calif.

BONIFACE III, bon'ə-fās (died 607), was consecrated pope on Feb. 19, 607, but died on November 12. Before his death he secured an edict from Emperor Phocas confirming the primacy of Rome, thus refuting the claim of Cyriacus, patriarch of Constantinople, to the primacy of that see.

ANDREW J. CHRISTIANSEN, S. J.
Loyola Seminary, Shrub Oak, N. Y.

BONIFACE IV, bon'ə-fās, **Saint** (died 615), pope from 608 to 615. He rose to a high position in the papal service and was crowned pope in 608. His reign was marked by dealings with the newly founded Anglo-Saxon church. A theological dispute between this church and the Irish monk St. Columban was resolved through the Pope's prudence. Boniface converted the Roman Pantheon into the basilica of Sancta Maria ad Martyres, thus preserving it for the future. He died May 8, 615. His feast day is May 25.

JOSEPH S. BRUSHER, S. J.
University of Santa Clara, Calif.

THE BEGINNING OF THE CHURCH STRUGGLE

obedience should she sanction war. The church of Christ stands against war for peace among men, between nations, classes and races.

But the church also knows that there is no peace unless righteousness and truth are preserved. A peace which does damage to righteousness and truth is no peace, and the church of Christ must protest against such peace. There can be a peace which is *worse than struggle*. But it must be a struggle out of love for the other, a struggle *of the spirit, and not of the flesh*.

Now with the proclamation of peace the church gives the message of the new humanity, of the holy brotherhood in Christ. This brotherhood is based on the peace which Christ brought to the world on the cross. —The new brotherhood is the community of those chosen by God, those who are humble under the cross, of those who wait, who believe, who are obedient, and the community of those to whom it is God's will to be gracious. This is of course something quite different from international friendship on the basis of the old world . . . brothers in hearing the word of the Lord . . . Not the excellent, over-zealous people, but the tax-gatherers and harlots will go into the kingdom of heaven before you—the community of those who repent and do not deny their guilt, that they do not hear God's command as they should, seeing that the kingdom of heaven is near. No visible city of God is erected in this world, it would not be even if there were international understanding everywhere; everything which the church does here is transitory, it is only intended to hold together the collapsing orders of the world, to preserve it from falling back into chaos. This action of the church is indispensable, but the new order, society, community is not the order of the kingdom. All orders and all communities of the world will have to perish when God creates his world anew and the Lord Christ comes again to judge the old world and build the new. In this world there is peace only in the struggle for truth and right, but there the love of God will give eternal peace. That is the new earth and the new heaven which God himself will create.

THEOLOGY AND THE WORLD

And because we believe that we are one day to be there together in this kingdom, we should have love towards each other here amidst all our differences.

It was a turning point in world history when Paul had a vision in the night in which he saw a man of Macedonia, a European, who bade him 'Come over and help us'. And Paul was ready and went. The second time the call goes out to us, the church. The second time Europe calls 'Come and help us'. Europe, the world, would be conquered a second time by Christ. Are we ready?

G.S. I pp. 162-70

During the autumn Bonhoeffer lectured on Genesis 1-3, taking up the obvious theme of 'Creation and the Fall'. There was little that was original in these lectures, but it gave him the chance to deal in detail with a biblical theme. Reports on the lectures show that they were received with great enthusiasm. This clearly could not be because Bonhoeffer had discovered new meaning in the Hebrew text, but rather because he showed the meaning of these ancient texts in relation to the problems of his own day. The material was published in book form and has been translated into English as 'Creation and Fall'.

DIETRICH

BONHOEFFER

(Here's a page from one of his lectures, too) JN

INTRODUCTION

In Germany we have 'an old world venturing to take up arms against a new one' or 'a world of the past hazarding an attack against the superior forces of the commonplace and the mean'. By the time Bonhoeffer had written that, he had plenty of experience of the superior forces of the Nazis. The old weapons were helpless against their pernicious power, and all his life Bonhoeffer sought to replace the old rusty swords with new ones. If there can be said to be one answer to Bonhoeffer's ethical problem, it was in what he came to call 'conformation'—the mind formed after the mind of Christ, a radical attempt to interpret what Paul wrote in Romans 12: 'Do not be conformed to this world, but be transformed by the renewal of your mind.' J. B. Phillips has a translation of that verse which would have suited Bonhoeffer: 'Don't let the world around you squeeze you into its own mould, but let God re-mould your minds from within' (Romans 12. 2).

As National Socialism gained ground in Germany, there were many who saw in it the only hope. They admired its appeal to the best in German youth. They pointed with approval at the way young people were being called out of the dance halls and the beer cellars into the open air. They applauded a movement that made so much of purity, attempting to ban prostitution and to clean up the bookstalls. They saw that young Germans were learning again to be proud of being German. The appeal was immense and resembled the appeal of Puritanism to dissolute England in the seventeenth century. It was not surprising that many good churchmen saw possibilities in National Socialism and urged that the church should join forces with it and keep it pure. The word 'formation' was much in the air and those who were first attracted to the early form of 'German Christianity', with its emphasis upon a positive message, can be understood. Few saw the real perils at this early stage. Bonhoeffer was one of the first to recognise the dangers. His broadcast against the leadership principle was only two days after Hitler's assumption of power, but he did not rush heedlessly into a battle with Hitler,

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28 In the spreading of the Gospel they are treated as God's enemies for your sake; but God's choice stands, and they are his friends for the sake of the patriarchs. For the gracious gifts of God and his calling are irrevocable. Just as formerly you were disobedient to God, but now have received mercy in the time of their disobedience, so now, when you receive mercy, they have proved disobedient, but only in order that they too may receive mercy. For in making all mankind prisoners to disobedience, God's purpose was to show mercy to all mankind.

33 O depth of wealth, wisdom, and knowledge in God! How unsearchable his judgements, how untraceable his ways! Who knows the mind of the Lord? Who has been his counsellor? Who has ever made a gift to him, to receive a gift in return? Source, Guide, and Goal of all that is—to him be glory for ever! Amen.

human body there are many limbs and organs, all with different functions, so all of us, united with Christ, form one body, serving individually as limbs and organs to one another.

The gifts we possess differ as they are allotted to us by God's grace, and must be exercised accordingly: the gift of inspired utterance, for example, in proportion to a man's faith; or the gift of administration, in administration. A teacher should employ his gift in teaching, and one who has the gift of stirring speech should use it to stir his hearers. If you give to charity, give with all your heart; if you are a leader, exert yourself to lead; if you are helping others in distress, do it cheerfully.

Love in all sincerity, loathing evil and clinging to the good. Let love for our brotherhood breed warmth of mutual affection. Give pride of place to one another in esteem.

With unflagging energy, in ardour of spirit, serve the Lord.^e

Let hope keep you joyful; in trouble stand firm; persist in prayer.

Contribute to the needs of God's people, and practise hospitality.

Call down blessings on your persecutors—blessings, not curses.

With the joyful be joyful, and mourn with the mourners.

Care as much about each other as about yourselves. Do not be haughty, but go about with humble folk. Do not keep thinking how wise you are.

Never pay back evil for evil. Let your aims be such as all men count honourable. If possible, so far as it lies with you, live at peace with all men. My dear friends, do not seek revenge, but leave a place for divine retribution; for there is a text which reads, 'Justice is mine, says the Lord, I will repay.' But

^d Or... acceptance, for such is the worship which you, as rational creatures, should offer.
^e Some witnesses read meet the demands of the hour.

12 THEREFORE, MY BROTHERS, I IMPLORE you by God's mercy to offer your very selves to him: a living sacrifice, dedicated and fit for his acceptance, the worship offered by mind and heart.^d

2 Adapt yourselves no longer to the pattern of this present world, but let your minds be remade and your whole nature thus transformed. Then you will be able to discern the will of God, and to know what is good, acceptable, and perfect.

3 In virtue of the gift that God in his grace has given me I say to everyone among you: do not be conceited or think too highly of yourself; but think your way to a sober estimate based on the measure of faith that God has dealt to each of you. For just as in a single

of Israel: corporately but not necessarily every individual. *Scripture*: Isa.59.20-21; 27.9. 34: Isa.40.13 (1 Cor.2.16). 35: Job 41.11. 36: See 1 Cor.8.6; Col.1.16.

12.1-8: **The dedicated life.** 1: See 6.13,16,19. *A living sacrifice*: in contrast to the offering of a dead animal. 2: See 8.5-13. 3: *Gift*: Paul's apostleship (see 1.5). *Measure of faith*: the amount and nature of the spiritual gifts (v. 6) received by faith. 4-8: The passage is a reworking of 1 Cor.12.4-31. 6: *In proportion to a man's faith*: see v. 3 n.

12.9-21: **The greatness of love** (see 1 Cor. ch. 13). 13: *Hospitality*: see 16.2 n. 14: See Mt.5.44. 16: Prov.3.7. 17a: Prov.20.22; 1 Th.5.15. 17b: Prov.3.4 (Sept.); 2 Cor.8.21. 19: Men must not seek revenge (Lev.19.18; Mt.5.39). *Leave a place for*: leave it to. *A text*: Deut.32.35. 20: Prov.25.21-22 (Mt.5.44); *coals of fire*: deep shame and remorse.

New English Bible

Christian behaviour

Wolkenberg

VOLUME 28

Venice to Wilmot, John

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3 and contributed to *Fabian* (1889). Wallas helped to establish the School of Economics where he became a professor in 1914. His political experience led to his service in the government, for he sat on the Board (1894-1904) and on the Council (1904-1907). He was a member of the Royal Commission on the Economy (1915) and lecturer at the London School of Economics (1914).

His influence was widespread, was expressed in his brilliant lecturing and in his few but seminal writings. He was a close friend of George Bernard Shaw and his *Life of Francis Bacon* (1914) was a study to persuade the Fabians to follow the way for the researches of Francis Bacon and his *Life of Francis Bacon* (1914) was a study to persuade the Fabians to follow the way for the researches of Francis Bacon.

He criticized the intellectual current of irrational forces in the place of public opinion. His *Nature in Politics* (1908) and *The Fabian Society* (1914) did much to widen and clarify thought in the 20th century. His style was a persuasive style he showed the value of failure to realize how things rest on subconscious suggestion, and imitation. His independence, originality have become more fully

DAVID THOMSON,
1930, Cambridge University,

county borough, England, Wallasey, Mersey estuary, largely residential workers who commute to the borough also includes New Brighton, famous for its seafront. The southern part of the Mersey estuary is linked with the Wallasey Pool. Pop.

board, a general term used to describe materials employed in the place of or over plaster. It includes pulpboard of relatively low consistency, gypsum (sheet-wood products, plastic kinds of hardboard. They range from 1/8 to 1 inch. Most are 4 and 16 inches wide and as panels in 32- and 48-inch widths, especially in the case of 16 feet. They are applied to wall surface or nailing to studs. Edges may be plain for tongue-and-grooved or beveled.

Hardboard, is made directly from a mineral, hydrous calcium silicate plaster. Gypsum wallboard core encased in thick

tough manila paper. For greater resistance to fire, some gypsum boards have vermiculite, glass fibers, and other noncombustible mineral products embodied in the gypsum core. Plywood is built up of a number of bonded thin veneers. Another manufactured wood product consists of a core of bonded wood chips faced with bonded wood flakes. Plastic laminates are made of synthetic resins reinforced with glass fibers. Hardboard is reconstituted natural wood fabricated by reducing the wood to fibers and then pressing the fibers together into panels. It may be standard or tempered, the tempered hardboard being denser, harder, and having higher moisture resistance than standard board. The surface of any wallboard may be natural or treated. One popular treated finish is with vinyl, which provides a hard, mar-resistant face in wood-grain, striated woven, or figured patterns.

FRANK DORR
Associate Editor of "Popular Science Monthly"

WALLENBERG, vāl'an-berg, Raoul (1912-), Swedish diplomat, who is credited with saving at least 100,000 Hungarian Jews from deportation to concentration camps by German occupation authorities during World War II.

Wallenberg was born in Stockholm on Aug. 4, 1912, of a family of prominent bankers, industrialists, and diplomats. He traveled widely as a youth and became proficient in several languages. At the University of Michigan he studied architecture and city planning, and after graduating in 1935 worked for a business firm in South Africa and for a Dutch bank in Haifa, Palestine, where he met Jewish refugees from Germany. He later managed an export-import business in Stockholm.

In July 1944, Wallenberg was appointed an attaché to the Swedish mission in Budapest, Hungary. Amply funded by the U.S. War Refugee Board and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, he distributed fabricated passports and identification papers to thousands of Jews assigned for deportation to Nazi death camps and placed other Jews in buildings under Swedish government custody.

On Jan. 17, 1945, he left Budapest by car in the company of a driver and two Russian officers, ostensibly for a meeting with Soviet officials in Debrecen, Hungary. Neither he nor his driver returned. Wallenberg was believed to have been arrested by Soviet authorities, presumably on espionage charges.

The Soviet government disclaimed any knowledge of Wallenberg but in 1957 reported that he had died in prison of a heart attack ten years before. Some former Soviet prisoners testified that they had seen Wallenberg as late as 1976, and an international committee concluded in January 1971 that he was still alive.

On Oct. 5, 1981, President Ronald Reagan approved a special act of the U.S. Congress making Wallenberg an honorary American citizen, a distinction awarded to only one other person—Sir Winston Churchill. This action empowered the State Department to take the case to the Soviet authorities.

Further Reading: Bierman, John, *Righteous Gentile: The Story of Raoul Wallenberg, Missing Hero of the Holocaust* (Viking 1981); Lester, Elenore, *Wallenberg: The Man in the Iron Web* (Prentice-Hall 1982); Rosenfeld, Harvey, *Raoul Wallenberg: Angel of Rescue* (Prometheus 1982); Werbell, Frederick E., and Clarke, Thurston, *Lost Hero: The Mystery of Raoul Wallenberg* (McGraw 1982).

WALLENSTEIN, vāl'an-shtĭn, Albrecht Wenzel Eusebius von (1583-1634), Austrian general in the Thirty Years' War. He was born in Hermanič, Bohemia (now Czechoslovakia), on Sept. 24, 1583, of a noble family named Waldstein. His family was neither wealthy nor influential. Driven by a passion for power, he resolved to make his own way. Although he converted from Lutheranism to Catholicism, he had no strong religious convictions. His faith was in astrology, and he strongly believed in the horoscope cast for him by the astronomer Johannes Kepler.

At age 22 he received his first army commission in an expedition against the Turks in the Balkans. In 1609 he married a wealthy Moravian widow, Lucretia von Wičkov, and on her death five years later inherited her extensive estates. Wallenstein's bravery in the relief of Gradisca, besieged by the Venetians, won the attention of Ferdinand of Styria (later Emperor Ferdinand II). Wallenstein supported the Habsburgs in the Bohemian revolt of 1618.

His military exploits in the Bohemian war were, however, less notable than his shrewd business sense and his administrative ability. He borrowed money from bankers which he used to recruit soldiers and to purchase landed properties, some of them the confiscated estates of the Bohemian nobility. In turn, he made large loans to the emperor, and Ferdinand II repaid him in land and dignities. By 1623, Wallenstein possessed 2,000 square miles in north-east Bohemia and was the wealthiest man in the country. The emperor appointed him governor of the kingdom, quartermaster general of the army, and bestowed on him the title of prince of Friedland. He married a daughter of Count von Harrach, one of the emperor's closest advisers.

When Christian IV of Denmark threatened the Habsburg cause in 1625, Wallenstein offered to raise an army of 20,000 men. Ferdinand II accepted and appointed him commander in chief and created him duke of Friedland. Wallenstein then proved his military ability by routing Count von Mansfeld at Dessau Bridge on April 25, 1626, and contributing to the final defeat of Christian IV. As General of the North and Baltic Seas, Wallenstein sought control of the Baltic but was checked at the Siege of Stralsund in 1628.

Jealous of Wallenstein's wealth and his new rank of duke of Mecklenburg, and in fear of the emperor's great power which depended on the duke's army, the German princes forced Ferdinand to dismiss Wallenstein on Aug. 13, 1630. He was recalled in December 1631 to stem the successes of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. His strategy against Gustavus Adolphus and his repulse of the king at Nuremberg on Sept. 3, 1632, earned him a high rank among military commanders. At the Battle of Lützen on Nov. 16, 1632, the Swedes defeated Wallenstein at the expense of their great king's death.

Wallenstein's complex personality and spectacular career have been treated in numerous scholarly and literary works. He has been portrayed as a loyal servant of the emperor and a traitor, a soldier who also sought peace, a Bohemian patriot as well as a good German. After his dismissal in 1630, he offered his services to Gustavus Adolphus and intrigued with exiled Bohemian rebels, perhaps to secure the Bohemian throne. When he was reinstated as commander in chief, he carried on negotiations with Saxony in the furtherance of a general peace. There can