Originally Processed With FOIA(s): S

FOIA Number: S

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13702
Folder ID Number: 13702-006

Folder Title:
Religious Broadcasters 1/29/90 [OA 8310] [2]

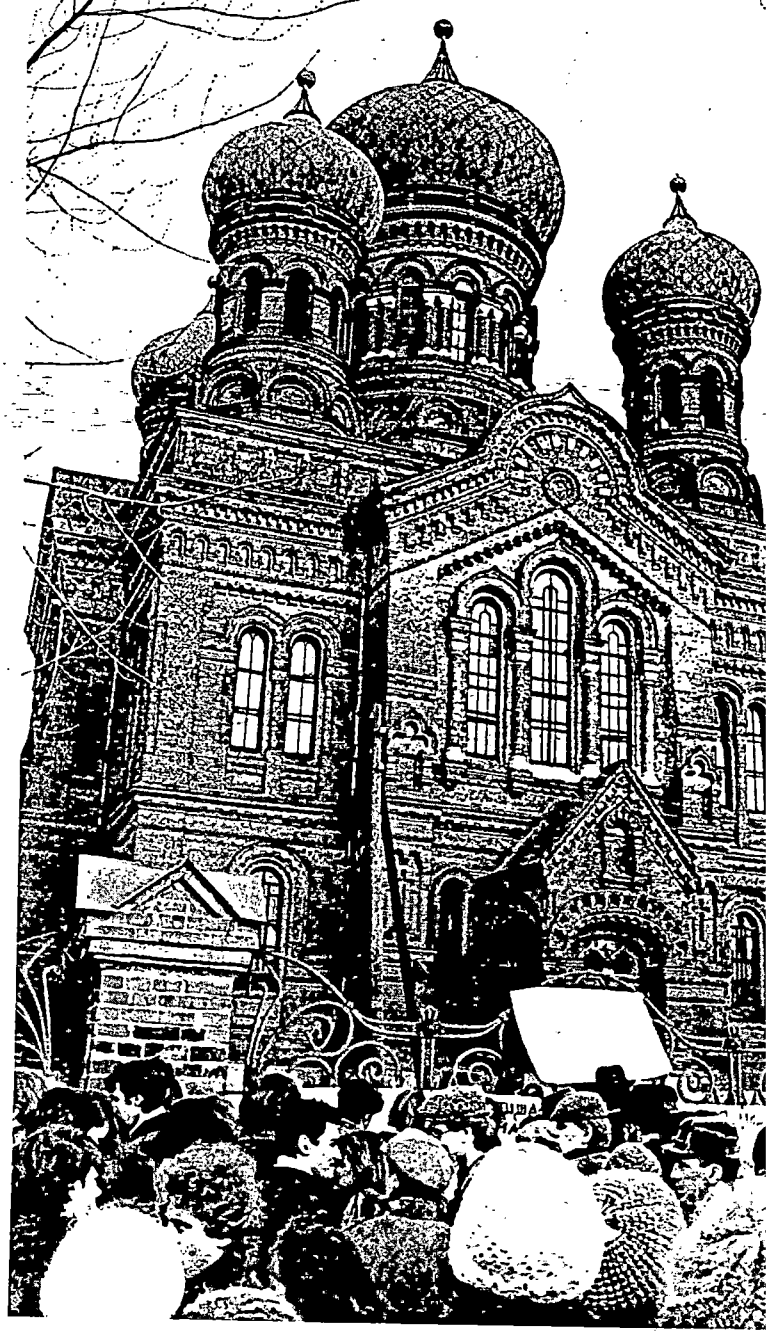
Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	19	6	1

The Red Church had housed Ivanovo's archives since the 1930s. Now the faithful wanted it back.

BELIEVERS VS. BUREAUCRATS

RECLAIMING TH RED CHURCH

By Alexander Nezhny
Photographs by Oleg Kaplin and Mikhail Shteinbok



Conflicts between believers struggling to exercise their constitutional right to freedom of worship and the local authorities—who do not always comply with the law on such issues—have taken various forms in this country over the past few years. However, last March a conflict between believers and bureaucrats that had long been smoldering in Ivanovo, Central Russia, became instant news nationwide. Five Orthodox believers went on a hunger strike.

The Church of the Presentation, built in 1907, is popularly known as the Red Church because it is made of red brick. Since the 1930s, when it was closed as a functioning church, the building has been used to house the local archives. However, new premises have recently been built for the archives, and Orthodox believers in Ivanovo wanted the church to return to its former use.

After many months of unsuccessfully trying to break down the local bureaucrats' resistance to the believers' cause, a group of five women decided to resort to the ultimate "argument"—the risk of their own lives. At 8 A.M. on March 21 the women stationed themselves in front of the Sovremennik movie theater with a poster that read: "We are going on a hunger strike beginning today. We will not eat or drink until the Red Church is open for services. We are prepared to die at the birthplace of the first Soviets." (Every Soviet child learns in school that the first Soviets were established in Ivanovo.)

At the turn of the century, when its population was only 40,000, Ivanovo had 11 churches. Now it has a population of 481,000, but only one Orthodox church open for services. The overcrowding that has resulted from this scarcity is quite serious. Some people are not able to get into church on holy days at all, while those who are able to get in put themselves at risk of being injured in the crush.

Given such a situation, the right to conduct religious worship, guaranteed by the USSR Constitution, is a mockery. Why should the Ivanovo authorities so persistently have denied the Orthodox community the opportunity to worship freely? These officials are all university-educated people. Could they possibly have failed to understand that their actions were illegal?

Early on the morning of April 1, on the ▶

Dec 1989 S.L.



Archimandrite Ambrosius with hunger striker Margarita Pilenkova. Every day he gave the believers communion at the movie theater, at the church, and in the hospital. Below: Collecting signatures in support of the strikers.



twelfth day of the hunger strike, the four remaining hunger strikers were taken to the local hospital. One of the original five had dropped out soon after the strike began. The women were first treated in the emergency room and later admitted to the hospital. Their condition was poor indeed.

Before I went to see the women at the hospital, I was as worried about their mental state as I was about their physical condition. I was afraid that I would find four bitter religious fanatics, martyrs, demanding to have their own way no matter what the cost. But I found nothing of the kind. They were simply devout believers who felt they had been deeply wronged and were looking for justice. Kholina told me, between frequent pauses for breath and sips of water (the women had agreed to drink water only after the first few days): "We were willing to wait. We just wanted guarantees that the church would resume its original function. But then we realized that we were getting the run-around. On March 20 we sent the Regional Executive Committee a letter saying that we were prepared to go on a hunger strike. Later that same day we got a call from an Executive Committee secretary, asking us to postpone our strike for one day so that the committee could reconsider. But there was no point—we'd already decided that these people weren't going to take us seriously.

"We didn't sleep at all the first night," Kholina went on. "It was a cold and windy night. We were all scared. At 11:30 the next morning, two buses pulled up and about 15 members of the militia got out. They made their way through the crowd and told us that the City Executive Committee had passed a resolution prohibiting us from staying on the site. We didn't say anything. While one of them tore down our posters, others dragged us to the buses. People were yelling, 'You're a disgrace to your uniform!'

"The militia drove us to the Church of the Presentation and dragged us out of the buses. When we got to our feet, they told us: 'Here's your church. Do anything you want here—fast for a whole year if you want to.' One of the men was considerate enough to call his chief, who came out and told us that nobody would disturb us again. And in fact, there were no more actions against us. We stayed on the steps of the church until March 31. We slept on boards. People brought us blankets, and we put a sheet of plastic over them to protect us from the rain. The first few days without water were the worst."

One day Lieutenant Colonel Victor Podziruk, a military pilot who had just been elected a People's Deputy of the USSR, came to see the fasting women. Later Podziruk told me: "I went to the church on the evening of March 27. The

Continued on page 37

Shiryayev, an editor of the local newspaper, in the city of Kosmodemyansk. Kosmodemyansk is located not far from Cheboksary, the capital of the Chuvash Autonomous Republic, and in one of the most polluted areas of the Volga Basin. The local population has launched a vigorous campaign against plans to increase the capacity of the Cheboksary Hydroelectric Power Plant.

"Such plans are fraught with unpredictable consequences," Shiryayev told us. "The forests would be utterly destroyed. The river would flood vast areas and reach Yoshkar-Ola, the capital of the Mari Autonomous Republic, which is 100 kilometers away. In some places the Volga is already 18 kilometers wide. The demonstrators in the cities on the Volga demand that the level of the river not be artificially raised. Some activists even insist that the Volga dams be removed altogether, letting the river flow the way it did before. At our insistence, the USSR Council of Ministers has decided to keep the level of the Volga unchanged. This isn't enough, though, and we consider this decision only a beginning. Previously, the Volga was a full-flowing river. Now it is gradually turning into a stagnant bog.

"Of course we understand that we can't do without electricity. But there are other options. For instance, we have plenty of peat here. According to preliminary estimates, just one more thermal power plant unit would easily substitute for the entire Cheboksary Hydroelectric Power Plant.

"Besides that, in order to improve the condition of the Volga, we have organized a march for ecologically clean agriculture. This year the area treated with herbicides will be reduced by 25 per cent. Gradually, herbicides will be removed from agriculture altogether. Mineral fertilizers, too, are being used in smaller amounts now. The local farms give preference to organic fertilizers, which are easy to obtain and aren't harmful to the environment. So you see, people are beginning to care." ■

Valeri Bolshakov is currently a member of the board of the USSR Ecological Foundation.

RED CHURCH

Continued from page 20

women said that they weren't insisting that the archives be moved out of the church immediately, but they wanted to know the exact date when it would be done. I found their demands legitimate and quite reasonable. The next day I went to see Anatoli Golovkin, chairman of the City Executive Committee. He told me straight out that he had no intention of handing the church over to the believers. I told him: 'Every day that passes is your loss. Even nonbelievers are siding with the believers now. Support for their cause is growing every day and shows no sign of abating. You know perfectly well that the parish is registered and has to be provided with a church. Besides, you don't have the money to restore the church. You say you are going to set up a museum there. But even if you do, will the museum be able to pay for itself? The money the parish would be contributing to the city's budget could be quite useful. I'm on the believers' side.'"

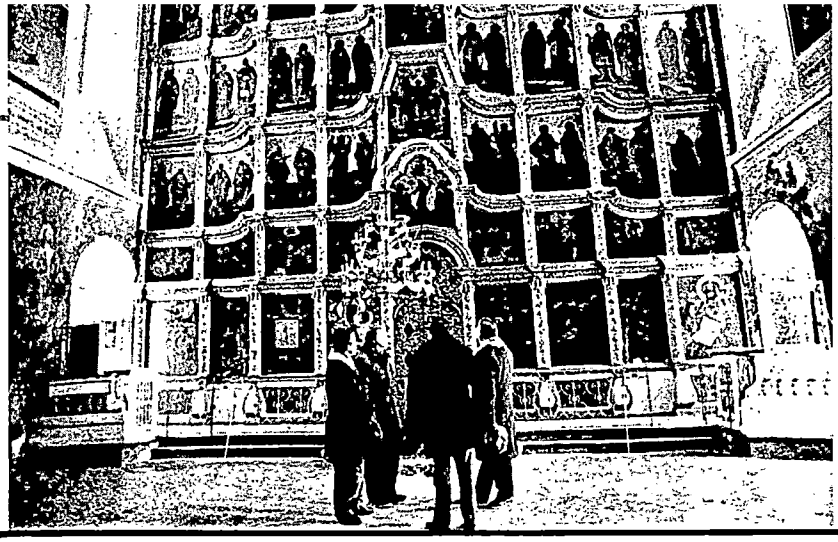
Lev Dubov was appointed secretary of the Ivanovo Regional Executive Committee late in 1988, and he immediately found himself embroiled in the conflict between the believers and the local authorities. At first, Dubov sided with the authorities. But after examining the situation, he became convinced that returning the Red Church to the believers was the only solution.

Dubov visited the hospital where the fasting believers were. He spent four hours persuading them to end their hunger strike. Finally, Kholina handed him a sheet of paper with an appeal to the Regional Executive Committee.

The document read: "We four believers on a hunger strike in protest against the local authorities' illegal policy had no intention of taking our lives by this action. We have been fasting for nearly 16 days now. We are utterly exhausted, and the doctors say that irreversible processes may start any time now. It appears that the local authorities would just as soon let us die since no compromise solution has been offered in the past 16 days. Therefore, we have decided to end our hunger strike and restore our health in order to be able to continue our struggle for the Church of the Presentation."

Courtesy of the magazine *Ogonyok (Light)*

Update: The Red Church was handed over to an Orthodox parish in accordance with a resolution passed by the Ivanovo City Executive Committee on July 15, 1989. ■







Kirov's new Russian Orthodox community takes stock of all its material possessions of value, including icons donated by parishioners. Top: Father Alexander Mogilyov (left); Deacon Ivan Martynov (center), of the Trinity Church in Kirov; and architect and restorer Yevgeni Skopin.

A PARISH'S LABOR OF LOVE

By Elya Vasilyeva
Photographs by Vladimir Fedorenko

Beyond a sharp turn in the road, in the middle of a vast valley outside of Kirov (about 975 kilometers northeast of Moscow) stands the snow-white Trinity Church. Built in 1770, the church still impresses the viewer with its graceful lines, its perfect proportions, and the splendor of its interior.

A year ago, by decision of the Kirov Regional Executive Committee, Trinity Church was returned to the faithful. But for more than 25 years before that, the local religious community and the local authorities had battled over the church—a battle that was quite easy for the authorities and absolutely exhausting for the believers. During that time the church had housed a cultural center with a dance floor covering the area where the altar once stood and a portrait of Vladimir Lenin in the place where an ancient icon of Jesus Christ had hung.

"Its just amazing that we've managed to restore our beautiful church in such a short time," said Ivan Martynov, deacon of the Church Council. Martynov struggled courageously from 1962 to 1988 to have the community registered as a parish.

"When the church was returned to us, we were overjoyed, but the job that faced us was so enormous that we wondered whether we'd be able to cope," Martynov went on. "From February to October 1988 about 100 parishioners showed up every day to help restore the building. It was very difficult, but we worked hard for the glory of the Lord.

"We still have a lot of work to do. Soon we'll start work on a convent. The city officials have allotted us a plot of land, and the project is already under way."

The church and the beautiful fence around it were restored by the believers themselves, who had donated more than 300,000 rubles to the project. "But no amount of money can measure the effort we've made," said Martynov.

Now the life of the community is running smoothly. The 20 Church Council members, who are all of different ages and professions, are in charge of the believers' everyday problems. The council buys equipment for the church, maintains the building and its grounds, and pays the salaries of the priests and the deacons from the Church income. The council has also bought four houses for the clergy and their families.

"I'm getting up in years," said Martynov, a war veteran who worked until his retirement as a boatman on the Vyatka River, which flows past this ancient Russian city. "I've done my civic duty. I did ▶

an honest day's work all my life, and I brought up two daughters, both of whom have their own families now. I'm on pension and can devote the rest of my life to my Church and to my community."

"A good community is a community where there is harmony among the priests, mutual respect between the pastors and the parish, and understanding within the congregation," said Father Makari, one of the three priests at Trinity Church. "Our Church is experiencing its own kind of *perestroika*. The spiritual revival of the people is in our hands. The Church's ultimate goal, of course, is to prepare its flock for the heavenly kingdom, for eternal life. But we never neglect the earthly needs of the people. That's why it is our duty to serve not only believers but all the citizens of our homeland.

"I was quite shocked recently when I read in the newspapers that 50,000 people commit suicide every year. What can we do to save people from despair? The Church is ready to help them, but it will be a long and difficult process. It's easy to destroy, but it's very hard to rebuild what's already been demolished. We've come to a spiritual crisis, but with God's help we will revive our homeland."

Archbishop Khrisanf has headed the Kirov eparchy for more than 10 years. He says that he inherited the most neglected of the eparchies and that he has worked hard to revive it.

"I've come to love this northern land and its marvelous people," he said. "I've gone through so many trials that everything is dear to me here. It seems that people in general quickly forget what comes easily and remember most vividly what they've managed to achieve in the face of many difficulties.

"The Church has come back to life; but there are still many problems. The most obvious is the unpreparedness of the believers themselves. They come to services, but they've never read the Bible. They feel drawn to the Church, but they know nothing about it and cannot even make the sign of the cross correctly."

Archbishop Khrisanf believes, however, that the Church's opportunities to communicate with the people are still somewhat limited without its own newspapers, radio and television programs, and Sunday schools. "We're very lucky that on the Kirov Regional Executive Committee we have an ally, Galina Smerdova, who understands all our problems and is doing everything she can to help us."

"We must strictly protect the rights of believers," said Smerdova, the young Executive Committee secretary who acts as a liaison between the eparchy and the local government. Smerdova is the type of Soviet executive who can accept new ideas and translate them into reality.

"Life is changing our attitudes and, certainly, those of the party and government bodies toward religion," said Smerdova. "And this change of attitude has had some very tangible effects. During the first five months of 1989, 1,402 churches have been opened around the country. In 1988 the figure was 1,070. The situation in Kirov Region reflects the nationwide trend. Until 1987 not a single new church was registered in the whole region. In 1987 two new parishes were registered. In 1988 the number increased by seven; and in 1989, eleven. Eight churches have been returned to their former congregations, and the construction of new churches has started. This doesn't mean there aren't any problems. Old laws have been scrapped, and new ones are still being worked out.

"I wholeheartedly support the idea of restoring our churches and our land. When you pass church ruins, you get used to the sight and lose touch with your homeland. I want our land to be a real home for all of us. Of course, it's not enough simply to state that. There's a great deal of work that still needs to be done. *Perestroika* is demanding, and there is no end to the work."

SOV
EXHIBIT
TOUR THI

By Oleg

How is *p* ing in t pable o radical better i What are its chance

The traveling e *stroika* in the USSR the United States will try to answer other questions.

The exhibition o Florida, in mid-De play will occupy 1, over-all. Americans the social and econ ing place in the S new political thinki and the present stat can relations.

A considerable ar set aside to show ho are being converted production to civi Ecology, the envi theme of another ex

Unique equipmen new generation of books and painting writers and artists, rare Russian gold and many other iter be on display.

USSR People's De of the new Soviet nent scientists, exp nauts will take part the exhibition's club be performances b dance companies an

The exhibition wil ious quizzes, for whi include a free trip t original souvenirs.

From Orlando th travel to Dallas, Texa San Diego, Californi

The American ex in the USA" began i Soviet cities in Mos ber. The two exhibit of a Soviet-Ameri signed in Geneva in

LEBANON

A Peacemaker Is Slain

The motorcade was snaking its way through lunch-hour traffic in a residential quarter of West Beirut when a parked car loaded with 330 lbs. of TNT erupted in a shattering explosion. Rescuers dashed through the flames to the black Cadillac at the center of the motorcade, but it was too late. "Our beloved Mufti is murdered!" screamed a policeman. The explosion also killed 21 others and injured 75 bystanders.

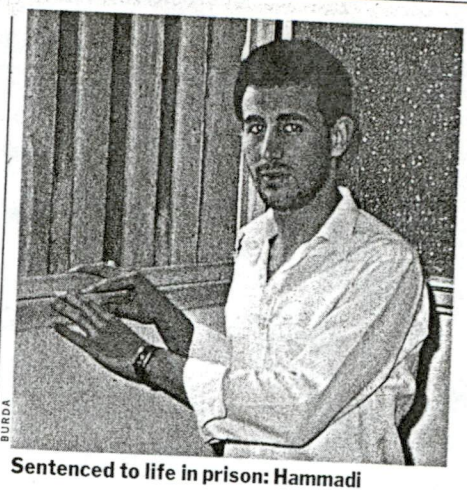
Thus ended the life of Sheik Hassan Khaled, the revered Grand Mufti of Lebanon's 900,000 Sunni Muslims. Sheik Khaled had devoted most of his 68 years to seeking an accommodation between his country's perennially fractious Muslim and Christian populations.

Responsibility for the bombing remained uncertain. The Syrians, who control West Beirut, blamed Lebanon's Christians; the Christians accused the Syrians. But fittingly, the death of the peace-loving cleric inspired a rare display of unity: Christians and Muslims joined in a one-day nationwide strike to mourn his loss. ■



LENA KARA—SIPA

After the bombing: Sheik Hassan Khaled's ravaged black Cadillac



BURDA

Sentenced to life in prison: Hammadi

WEST GERMANY

Justice for Flight 847

Four years ago, the world watched anxiously as TWA Flight 847 sat on a runway in Beirut airport and 39 American passengers were held hostage for 17 days by gunslinging hijackers. Among the most horrifying images in the intense TV coverage: the body of U.S. Navy diver Robert Stethem, 23, being dumped onto the tarmac. Last week, after a ten-month trial, a Frankfurt court sentenced Lebanese-born Mohammed Ali Hammadi, 24, to life in prison for his role in the hijacking and Stethem's murder. Unable to determine whether Stethem was shot by Hammadi or a second hijacker still at large, the court ruled that Hammadi was accountable as an accomplice.

Hammadi, who is linked to the radical pro-Iranian group Hizballah, was arrested in January 1987 while trying to smuggle explosives through Frankfurt airport. West Germany denied a U.S. extradition request after Hammadi backers kidnaped two German businessmen in Lebanon, prompting criticism that Bonn was knuckling under to blackmail. Hammadi could have faced the death penalty in the U.S., not an option in Germany. Said Stethem's father Richard: Hammadi "deserves punishment more severe than allowable under German law." ■

SOUTH AFRICA

A Human Being Bows Out

Great white liberals have always been a rare species in South Africa. Their ranks, diminished by the death of author Alan Paton at 85 a year ago, are about to be thinned again. After 36 years of combat against the forces of apartheid in Parliament, Helen Suzman, 71, announced last week that she will not seek re-election in September.

For 13 years Suzman, a former university lecturer in economic history, was the only liberal opposition member of the house, making her the Progressive Party's spokeswoman. She slashed at purveyors of apartheid, once advising government ministers that they could learn something about their country if they would attend a funeral in a black township, "heavily disguised, of course, as human beings." But she opposed foreign economic sanctions against South Africa, arguing that they hurt blacks and drive whites into a siege mentality.

Suzman's retirement will take some steam out of the new Democratic Party, formed last month by the merger of three liberal parties and still unable to agree on a leader. Liberalism has a future in South Africa, says Suzman, but "fundamental changes will take a lot longer than most people think." ■



RASHID LOMBARD

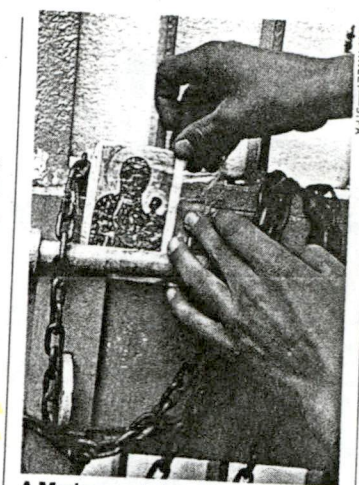
Member of a rare species: Suzman

POLAND

A Nod to The Church

For nearly four decades the Roman Catholic Church had no legal status in a country that is more than 90% Catholic. Last week, however, Poland became the first East bloc nation to recognize the church. The parliament approved a law that permits the church to operate businesses, schools and hospitals, and to run radio and television stations. The action came in the wake of a power-sharing agreement reached between the government of General Wojciech Jaruzelski and the Solidarity labor movement, which has strong ties to the church. Catholic leaders have played a key role in negotiating the agreement with Solidarity and the promise of relatively open elections, set for next month.

The establishment of formal diplomatic relations between Warsaw and the Vatican is expected to come next. That would be the first such link between the Holy See and a Soviet bloc government. It would also provide a capstone to a campaign for mutual recognition dear to the heart of Pope John Paul II, the only Polish-born Pontiff in church history. ■



TOM HALEY—SIPA

A Madonna at the shipyard gate

Sept 4

report on a new sausage shortage in Moscow. But while Moscow was unusually open-minded about changes in Poland, the Communist Party Central Committee issued a shrill warning to the Baltic republics that it would not tolerate separatist talk at home.

Poland's promising though fitful progress, coupled with tacit approval from Moscow, has raised the hopes of millions of East Europeans. In countries where the leaders are proceeding at a far more cautious pace, these hopes have spawned an impatience that can be measured by the rising tide of refugees. Hungary's decision four months ago to dismantle the barbed-wire fences along its border with Austria has uncorked the largest flood of cross-border escapes since the Berlin Wall was erected in 1961. The number of escapees is topping 200 a day, and tens of thousands are applying to leave legally. If the flood continues, close to 100,000 East Germans will cross to the West this year.

The refugees testify to a disillusionment with the rigid rule of East German President Erich Honecker, 77, who seems to offer no hope of future change. Most of them are young people, skilled workers or university-trained specialists. As yet, Honecker has done nothing to stanch the flow. One joke making the rounds last week asked, "Why will Honecker abolish East German identity cards by 1990?" The answer: "Because by then, Honecker will be personally acquainted with all the remaining citizens."

The mass exodus is no joke. In the past, the trickle of legal refugees primarily involved senior citizens, which was East Germany's way of palming off some of its pension burden on the capitalist West. But the loss of so many young professionals presents East Germany with the prospect of a serious brain drain.

The tide is also no laughing matter in West Germany. In keeping with its constitutional commitment to a united Germany, Bonn regards the refugees as citizens of the Federal Republic with full rights. Upon arrival, they receive $100, and within days they begin receiving unemployment benefits. West German citizens, who already must contend with a huge influx of ethnic German immigrants from Poland and the Soviet Union, are growing resentful of the refugee burden, which gluts the job market and strains housing resources. "The East German leadership carries exclusive responsibility for the situation," Chancellor Helmut Kohl charged last week. "We will not let them evade this."

Refugees also continue to pour out of Bulgaria; more than 312,000 ethnic Turks have fled over the past three months. With hundreds of thousands more refugees expected, the Turkish government reached the limits of its patience last week and closed the frontier to refugees not carrying visas. At 3:26 a.m. Tuesday, a train packed with ethnic Turks pulled into the Kapikule railway station, across the border from Bulgaria. At 6:10 a.m. the train began to move—but in the wrong direction. Young refugees jumped from the windows and flung themselves on the tracks. Finally, at 8:54 a.m., the refugees were granted asylum. But that human cargo—dubbed the Train of Shame by the Turkish press—may be the last for some time to come.

It is not certain that Eastern Europe will ever regain cohesion. Radical reform and conservative intransigence make uncomfortable bloc fellows. Comecon, the alliance's economic union, is crumbling as members scramble to cut separate deals with the West. And the allies are at one another's throats: the Czechs and Rumanians denounce the Polish reformers for sowing chaos, the Poles denounce the Czechs for trampling human rights, the Hungarians denounce the Rumanians for mistreating their Hungarian minority. Gorbachev's phone conversation with Rakowski last week suggests that the Soviet leader finds better promise in an uncharted future than in a failed past. But if Eastern Europe's summer of hope gives way to a winter of discontent, Gorbachev's go-with-the-flow optimism may bump up against an iceberg or two. ***—Reported by John Borrell/Warsaw and James O. Jackson/Bonn***



SHONE—GAMMA/LIAISON

Lithuanians among the millions who joined hands in protest

A Chain of Freedom

Vabadus! Vabadus! Vabadus! With interlocking hands held high, Estonians joined together in lines four and six deep in Tallinn to chant a single word: "Freedom!" The invocation was echoed last week all along a human chain, formed by an estimated 2 million people, that stretched from the Estonian capital of Tallinn across Latvia and into neighboring Lithuania to end at Gediminas Tower in Vilnius, some 400 miles from the starting point.

The protesters linked hands to mark the 50th anniversary of the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of 1939, which included secret protocols that cleared the way for the annexation of the Baltics by the U.S.S.R. during World War II. In a sharply worded declaration, a coalition of popular-front leaders denounced the Soviet occupation and demanded the right to "restore independent statehood." The day before, a special commission of the Lithuanian parliament had declared that the U.S.S.R.'s annexation of the republic in 1940 was invalid, flatly contradicting Moscow's denial that the protocols had any bearing on absorption of the Baltics.

The increasingly defiant tone of the nationalists has provoked the ire of hard-liners in the Soviet leadership. In a harsh blast read over national television, the Communist Party Central Committee denounced the protests as an attempt "to incite the peoples of the Baltic republics to secede from the Soviet Union." The Central Committee criticized local party leaders for "playing up to nationalist sentiments," and called for "resolute, urgent measures to cleanse the Baltic republics of extremism and destructive and harmful tendencies."

The statement did not urge any specific steps for bringing the Baltic states into line, but its ominous tone came as a shock to Soviet liberals. With Mikhail Gorbachev out of Moscow on vacation last week, many wondered if the virulent anti-Baltic onslaught was yet another maneuver by conservative forces to discredit the Soviet leader's political reforms.

or non-Catholics, by such expressions of what is considered to be an authoritative doctrine about the right ordering of society. I recognize that Rome is impelled to keep on producing such statements by its conception of the magisterium of the Church, a conception that I do not share. But, even given these theological and ecclesial assumptions—that is, looking at this document and indeed at the growing body of Catholic social doctrine from a *Catholic* point of view—I wonder what is gained from these exercises. Very possibly they actually undermine the authority of the teaching mission that they are supposed to express. I'm reminded of the reply given by Samuel Gompers to the question as to what the American labor movement wants: *"More!"* he replied. I ask myself what I would want from Rome in terms of its social doctrine. Respectfully, regretfully, but with increasing assurance I find myself replying: *less!*

The Democracy Connection

GEORGE WEIGEL

SOLLICITUDO *Rei Socialis,* like any Roman document of its genre, has to be understood, not simply on its own terms, but in the context of modern papal social teaching, which of course begins with Leo XIII's 1891 encyclical *Rerum Novarum,* "On the Condition of the Working Classes." That English title aptly characterizes the issues which focused papal attention for some seventy years: the questions of economic justice, public order, and secularization which had been posed by the rapid industrialization and modernization of Europe. This definition of "the social question" as having to do primarily with advanced industrial societies continued through Pius XI's 1931 encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno,* but began to shift toward a more explicitly international focus with John XXIII's 1961 *Mater et Magistra:* a shift confirmed by the encyclical which *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* is intended to commemorate, Paul VI's *Populorum Progressio.* By 1967, in other words, "the Church's social concern" was decisively focused on the circumstances of the world's underclass in the so-called "Third World," a specification given added impetus by the 1971 Synodal document "Justice in the World."

Others in this symposium will address the economic judgments made by these expressions of modern Catholic social thought. Here, I want to locate *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* within a parallel tradition of papal, conciliar, and synodal teaching, the tradition which I have termed "the Catholic human rights revolution."[1] The *locus classicus* for this striking development (which has seen Roman Catholicism transform itself from a bastion of the *ancien regime* to perhaps the world's most visible institutional defender of human rights) was the Second Vatican Council's "Declaration on Religious Freedom," *Dignitatis Humanae Personae,* whose Latin title encapsulated the personalist philosophical approach which undergirded the Church's defense of the primary human right of religious freedom or freedom of conscience.

---

[1] Cf. my essay "John Courtney Murray and the Catholic Human Rights Revolution," *This World* 15 (Summer 1987): pp. 14–27.

John Paul II has both extended and transformed modern Catholic social teaching on human rights through his own encyclicals, his addresses to various diplomatic representatives to the Holy See, and his sermons and addresses during his extensive pastoral travels. To be drastically brief, what the present pope has done is add explicitly political-structural concerns to the philosophical personalism of *Dignitatis Humanae Personae*. That is, the pope has raised, on numerous occasions, the question of what political models for the right ordering of human society are most congruent with the array of "rights" which the Church deems essential to "integral human development." The implications of this politicization (in the best sense of the term) of Catholic human rights teaching for the pastoral mission of the Church have become evident in locales as various as Central and Latin America, the Philippines, and central and eastern Europe.[2]

The Revised Standard Version

Sollicitudo Rei Socialis continues this trend by linking human rights and democratization to Third World economic development in a striking way. John Paul II says, as popes do and must, that his work is an extension of the thought of his predecessors. But on the questions of human rights and democracy, it is an extension by way of a sharp differentiation.

Whereas *Populorum Progressio* was virtually silent on the question of the relationship between different political regimes and the prospects for economic development, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* makes no bones about the kinds of polities it deems most likely to contribute to economic development narrowly construed, and to "integral human development" in the fullest sense of the term. Whereas *Populorum Progressio* favored state-centered approaches to development strategy,[3] *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* teaches that any such state-sponsored efforts must be in the context of what the pope calls the individual's "right to economic initiative," which sounds rather like saying "the right of entrepreneurship." And whereas *Populorum Progressio* seemed to give a tacit papal benediction to the priority of so-called "economic and social rights" over civil rights and political freedoms, which in the activist vulgate became the maxim "bread before freedom," *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* teaches that bread comes *through* freedom: through the acknowledgement in theory and practice of the equality, indeed one might even argue priority, of civil rights and political freedoms in a society of "solidarity."

[2] For a more-detailed analysis of this development, cf. my essay "Religious Freedom: The First Human Right," *This World* 21 (Spring 1988): pp. 31–45.

[3] "It is the function of *public authorities* to establish and enjoin the [development] objectives to be obtained, the plans to be followed, and the means to achieve them; also to stimulate the energies of all involved in this common activity" (*Populorum Progressio,* 33 [emphasis added]).

There are at least five points at which *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* should be seen as a conceptual advance beyond the teaching of *Populorum Progressio* on this matter of human rights, democracy, and development.

(1) The first has just been mentioned: the pope's insistence on the "right of economic initiative." Its suppression, the pope writes, leads to "passivity, dependence, and submission to the bureaucratic apparatus which, as the only 'ordering' and 'decision-making' body—if not also the 'owner'—of the totality of goods and the means of production, puts everyone in a position of almost absolute dependence." Nor are the rights of economic initiative and entrepreneurship to be denied on the basis of "an alleged 'equality' of everyone in society," which the pope correctly understands to result in neither social equity nor material prosperity (section 15).

(2) The encyclical is just as firm in its rejection of totalitarian approaches to development. "No social group," the pope writes, ". . . has the right to usurp the role of sole leader, since this brings about the destruction of the true subjectivity of society and of the individual citizens, as happens in every form of totalitarianism." The illustration of a "social group" which has attempted such a hegemonic role is given as "for example, a political party," and the referents here seem clear enough: to Marxist-Leninist parties and the one-party states of the Third World (15).

(3) The pope sharpens this point even more explicitly a few paragraphs later in the encyclical. Judging that, in the aggregate, things have gotten "notably worse" in the developing world, the pope argues that responsibility for this is not unilinear, and cites the "undoubtedly grave instances of omissions on the part of the developing countries themselves, and especially on the part of those holding economic and political power" (16). Inept, brutal, and ideologically hidebound Third World governments are, in other words, held responsible in considerable part for the deterioration of economic conditions in their countries. Responsibility for Third World destitution does not lie exclusively in the developed world. "Development demands above all a spirit of initiative on the part of the countries which need it" (44). Political reform must be part of a morally (and empirically) sound development strategy. These are all themes notable by their absence from *Populorum Progressio*.

(4) Perhaps even more striking is the pope's teaching on the appropriate political models for development. Economic development will not take place absent what we might call a "civil society," or, in John Paul II's own words, "the developing nations themselves should favor the self-affirmation of each citizen, through access to a wider culture and a free flow of information" (44). But civil rights in a civil society are not matters of declaration or proclamation alone; as James Madison warned two hundred years ago, rights are not secured by "parchment barriers." In addition to the moral skills of a people, development (in both the wider and narrower senses of the term) requires that Third World countries "reform certain unjust structures, and in particular their political

institutions, in order to replace corrupt, dictatorial, and authoritarian forms of government by democratic and participatory ones." The democratic revolution in the Third World is one that John Paul II hopes "will spread and grow stronger," because "the 'health' of a political community—as expressed in the free and responsible participation of all citizens in public affairs, in the rule of law, and in respect for and promotion of human rights—is the necessary condition and sure guarantee of the development of 'the whole individual and of all people'" (44).

(5) This striking papal endorsement of democracy as both morally and pragmatically linked to development is rooted in the encyclical's human rights teaching. John Paul II clearly wants the "development" debate to include more than the question of material standards of living. Poverty in this world has many forms and names, the pope teaches. "The denial or the limitation of human rights—as, for example, the right to religious freedom, the right to share in the building of society, the freedom to organize and to form unions, or to take initiatives in economic matters—do these not impoverish the human person as much, if not more than, the deprivation of material goods? And is development which does not take into account the full affirmation of these rights really development on the human level?" The questions, asked, seem to answer themselves, at least in the mind of John Paul II, who sums up these concerns by writing that "modern underdevelopment is not only economic but also cultural, political, and simply human" (15).

It cannot be said, therefore, that *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* simply recapitulates and sharpens the teaching and development approach of *Populorum Progressio,* as commentators who favor the priority of "economic and social rights" over civil rights and political freedoms have argued.[4] On the contrary, and on these five specific and crucial points, John Paul II has taken the papal discussion in a significantly different direction. One can even argue that *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* is the most forthright defense of the moral imperative of democracy in authoritative Catholic social teaching. In this sense, the encyclical should be read as a papal reconfirmation of the line taken by the 1986 Vatican "Instruction on Christian Freedom and Liberation," which taught that "authentic development" in poor countries requires open political systems in which there is "a real separation between the powers of the State."[5]

The reasons for this evolution in papal social teaching are worth speculating on, briefly. Certainly the pope's own experience of the stultifying economic and cultural circumstances of many of the countries of central and eastern Europe is one factor in John Paul's preferential option for democracy. *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* will thus reinforce the critiques mounted in recent years by such central

[4] Cf., for example, Peter Hebblethwaite's analysis in the *National Catholic Reporter,* 26 February 1988, p. 7.

European intellectuals as Vaclav Havel in Czechoslovakia, Georg Konrad in Hungary, and Adam Michnik in Poland. What Havel terms the "culture of the lie" in these societies is clearly, in the mind of John Paul II, an obstacle to integral human development, as well as to material well being.[6]

The experience of the Church in Central and South America, and in east Asia, would also seem to be a factor here. On the matter of "the right of economic initiative," John Paul is almost certainly aware of the efforts of men such as Peru's Hernando de Soto (supported by the novelist and publicist Mario Vargas Llosa) who argue the case against classic Latin American mercantilism and for entrepreneurship as the road to economic development. De Soto's "other path" and John Paul II's teaching on economic initiative would seem to have much in common.[7] Nor can the failures of the Nicaraguan revolution—in terms of civil rights, political freedoms, and material well being—have escaped the attention of a pope who was, after all, shouted down by Sandinista leaders during a Mass in Managua in March 1983. John Paul's roots lead some commentators to think that the Polish prism is the only optic through which the pope reads world politics and economics. No doubt the pope has a special concern for conditions in his native land. But the extensive nature of the pope's travels in Latin America ought not be discounted. John Paul II knows that a fragile democratic revolution is underway in Latin America, and it seems clear that he wants to position the Church on its side, as against either traditional authoritarianisms or the siren-songs of Marxism-Leninism. The same could, of course, be said about the pope's perception of the present realities in the Philippines and South Korea.

The Problem of "Moral Equivalence"

That these themes—the "bread *through* freedom" themes—in *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* have not framed the debate over the encyclical has at least something to

[6] For an analysis of the new intellectual ferment in central Europe, cf. Timothy Garton Ash, "Does Central Europe Exist?" *New York Times Review of Books,* 9 October 1986.

[7] De Soto's book *The Other Path,* a title in deliberate contrast to the "shining path" of Peru's Maoist guerillas, is a best-seller throughout Latin America. Its perspective is summarized in this news report:

"In dozens of ways big and small, Mr. de Soto's 'other path' challenges the beliefs that prevail throughout Latin America. To the left, which argues that capitalism has failed in the region, Mr. de Soto responds that 'Latin America has never experienced true modern capitalism.' Similarly, while arguing that the Roman Catholic Church should properly pursue an option for the poor, he questions some tenets of liberation theology. 'Let's not confuse the poor with the unemployed proletariat,' he said in an interview. . . . 'The poor are also entrepreneurs, so don't tell me that the only way I can help them is through Marxist-Leninist means.' But Mr. de Soto is no less critical of the right wing, which he views as an impediment to the emergence of a truly popular 'They distrust the idea of being controlled by all these little copper-colored people,' he said. He is critical of regimes such as that of Gen. Augusto Pinochet of Chile, arguing that 'what is crucial

do with the bias in favor of "economic and social rights" that one finds throughout the American Catholic intellectual, journalistic, and activist elite.[8] But the game of "spin-control" (as they call it in Washington) aside, it has to be acknowledged that the encyclical itself creates major hermeneutic difficulties by its analysis of the East/West "bloc" system and its impact on the Third World.

The themes in question are familiar enough and can be rapidly summarized. Both East and West, "Marxist collectivism" and "liberal capitalism," are "imperfect and in need of radical correction." Their rivalry, transferred to the Third World, is a "direct obstacle to the real transformation of the conditions of underdevelopment in the developing and less advanced countries." Moreover, "each of the two blocs harbors in its own way a tendency toward imperialism, as it is usually called, or towards forms of neo-colonialism." Each is further marked by "an unacceptably exaggerated concern for security, which deadens the impulse towards united cooperation by all for the common good of the human race" (21, 22).

These themes were criticized, at various levels of dudgeon, by several prominent commentators. William Safire was first out of the rhetorical blocks, arguing that "Pope John Paul II risks becoming known as the foremost moral-political relativist of our times."[9] William F. Buckley, Jr. characterized the pope's geopolitics as "this Tweedledum-Tweedledee view of the crystallized division between the visions of Marx, Lenin, Mao Tse-tung, and Pol Pot over against those of Locke, Jefferson, Lincoln and Churchill," and urged that "the Holy Father . . . move quickly to correct an encyclical heart-tearingly misbegotten."[10] And, several ideological notches *à gauche*, the editors of the *New Republic* claimed that the pope had "become an apostle of moral equivalence" who had failed "to tell the whole truth" at least in part because of "political considerations."[11]

About all of which, several points are in order.

First, it must be said (and especially to those inclined to support his moral leadership in world politics) that John Paul II is not, cannot, and should not be the chaplain of the Western alliance. His is a universal ministry to a universal Church. This is ecclesiological bedrock, and ought to be understood as such. Moreover, one can make the case, and strictly in terms of the war of ideas in

[8] The NC News Service's "at-a-glace" summary of the encyclical failed to mention even one of the themes sketched above, while NC's longer sidebar said nothing about the pope's endorsement of democracy. (Printed in *The Progress*, newspaper of the Archdiocese of Seattle, 25 February 1988), pp. 10–11.

The most notable exception to this pattern in the general press was Peter Steinfels's able commentary on the encyclical in the *New York Times*, 20 February 1988.

[9] William Safire, "Structures of Sin," *New York Times*, 22 February 1988, p. A. 19.

[10] William F. Buckley, Jr., "What is the Pope Saying?" *National Review*, 18 March 1988, pp. 17–18.

world politics, that it in fact serves the purpose of human rights and democracy for the pope to press these causes from a position self-consciously ahead of today's international divisions.

Second, the themes of *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* which clearly distinguish it from earlier papal documents on development are precisely those themes which are most critical, implicitly *and explicitly,* of Marxist-Leninist development schemes. The pope's teaching on the right of economic initiative, his rejection of statist approaches to development, and his linkage between human rights and development, and democracy and development, are going to read quite differently in Moscow, Havana, and Managua than in New York and Washington. The denizens of the former locales will know full well who is in the moral dock on these points. The denizens of the latter locales should do what they can to raise up that point.

Third, one has to bear in mind the pope's concerns for central Europe in general and Poland in particular. To say, in Poland, that one wishes freedom from the "bloc" system is to say that one wants to be free from the control of that power which uses the "bloc" imagery to buttress, ideologically and rhetorically, its hegemonic purposes. Which is to say, criticism of the "bloc" system in the Polish context is criticism of the Soviet Union, and is understood to be such by both Poles and Soviets.

Finally, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* must be interpreted within the context of John Paul II's entire corpus of teaching on matters political. Consider, in this respect, the pope's formal remarks to President Reagan in Miami in September 1987:

> Among the many admirable values of [the United States] there is one that stands out in particular. It is freedom. The concept of freedom is part of the very fabric of this nation as a political community of free people. Freedom is a great gift, a blessing of God.
>
> From the beginning of America, freedom was directed to forming a well-ordered society and to promoting its peaceful life. Freedom was channeled to the fullness of human life, to the preservation of human dignity, and to the safeguarding of all human rights. An experience of ordered freedom is truly part of the history of this land.
>
> This is the freedom that America is called upon to live and guard and to transmit. She is called to exercise it in such a way that it will also benefit the cause of freedom in other nations and among other peoples."[12]

When John Paul II says these same things in Managua, Havana, or Moscow about the regimes in power in those capitals—then, and not until then, will the charge of "moral relativist" stick.

All of that being said, and meant, there are important points in the Safire, Buckley, and *New Republic* criticisms that the Vatican simply must take seriously. The encyclical is crafted in such a way that it can plausibly (if, in my view, fallaciously) be interpreted as pronouncing a plague on the houses of both "East" and "West." This is not only unfortunate in the domestic United States

context (i.e., in terms of the forces, political and ecclesiastical, to which it will give aid and comfort). It is also precisely the wrong signal to send into Central America just now, since it will tend to reinforce the spurious claims of the Sandinistas to "non-aligned status." The Nicaraguan FSLN is no more "non-aligned" than many other members of the Non-Aligned Movement; the pope's description of the latter as an instrument "beyond" ideological geopolitics is, with all respect, simply mistaken.

The pope also confuses the international debate by attributing "neo-colonialist" and "imperialist" tendencies indiscriminately to both "East" and "West." Yes, and viewed from a rather high level of abstraction, each of the world's two great powers "tends to assimilate or gather around it other countries or groups of countries, to different degrees of adherence or participation" (20). But it is precisely the "different degrees of adherence or participation" that define the relevant moral distinctions between the alliances in question. NATO is a defensive alliance comprised of democratic states which have freely chosen to work together for their mutual security—an alliance "gathered" by such eminent democrats as Dean Acheson, Konrad Adenauer, and Ernest Bevin. Moreover, is "gather around it" an accurate description of the way in which Stalin expanded the Soviet empire's sphere of influence in 1944–48? Can one truly compare the "adherence" of countries like, say, France or Spain to NATO with the "adherence" of East Germany and Czechoslovakia to the Warsaw Pact—an "alliance" held together by the omnipresence of the Red Army? Historical, empirical, *and moral* discriminations are surely in order here.

Nor do the relative contributions of "East" and "West" to development assistance in the Third World support the encyclical's seeming charge that both "blocs" are equally deficient in meeting their responsibilities to the world's underclass. The Soviet Union and its allies are notorious for their parsimony in development aid—save in military hardware and training for repressive "state security" forces. One can argue that the "West" should do more by way of funding Third World development projects, but even here the Vatican ought to acknowledge forthrightly that, on the presently available empirical evidence, there is no direct and unambiguous correlation between levels of development aid and actual economic progress. *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* does in fact broach this point, in its stress on the responsibilities of Third World countries for initiatives on their own behalf. But that teaching is muted, perhaps to the point of not being heard, by the encyclical's seemingly even-handed critique of the development assistance of the "blocs."

It should certainly be possible for the Vatican to stand "ahead" of the world's geopolitical divisions and still acknowledge these truths. Vatican officials may argue that *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* is a complex document whose exegesis must involve a careful reading between the lines, as it were. And there is something to that argument. On the other hand, the Vatican (like the rest of us) is living in a media environment which is notably resistant to complex analyses and subtle

nuances. That may be a shame, but shame or not, it is a fact of modern life. Thus it can be argued that the Vatican has a moral and pastoral responsibility to craft documents in such a way that the lead paragraphs in the next day's *New York Times* read something other than "Pope John Paul II . . . issued an encyclical letter charging that the ideological rivalry between East and West was subjecting poor nations to 'structures of sin' that deny them freedom and development. . . . [The encyclical's] harshest attack on the superpowers accuses them of playing out their competition in the third world and thus reducing developing nations to 'parts of a machine, cogs on a gigantic wheel'."[13] I believe that that is a tendentious reading of *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis,* and one which fails to take account of what is truly new and distinctive in the encyclical. But it is, in truth, a plausible summary, given the structure and language of the letter itself.

A classic maxim of Thomistic epistemology should be recalled here: *Quidquid recipitur ad modum recipientis recipitur* ("what is received is received according to the mode of the receiver"). Put more simply, in order to be heard accurately, one has to take account of the prejudices, limitations, and interests of those to whom one is speaking. Put even more simply, people tend to hear what they want to hear. It is hardly a secret that the prestige press in the United States "hears" phrases like "the blocs" and translates these, without further hermeneutic fuss-and-bother, into its own preferred categories of "the superpowers" and their "moral equivalence." If, as I think is demonstrably true from his full corpus of social teaching, John Paul II believes that Marxist-Leninist totalitarianism is a mortal threat to spiritual, economic, cultural, and political development throughout the world, and, conversely, that democracy is morally superior as an instrument of integral human development, then a way must be found to make that moral analysis "hearable" given the regnant media filters. That is not an impossible task, and it need not involve a return to the days of the Pacelli/Spellman alliance. There are many Americans, of broad and deep experience in these matters and occupying various points on the ideological spectrum, who would be eager to help the Vatican make its case in terms that do not lend themselves to distortion. Their counsel should be sought. It does not seem to have been in the case of *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*.

The Next Phase of Argument

Official Catholicism's historical discomforts with liberal polities and market-oriented economies are well known, and need not be rehearsed here.[14] Precisely

[13] Roberto Suro, "Papal Encyclical Says Superpowers Hurt Third World," *New York Times,* 20 February 1988, p. 1.

[14] Cf. Michael Novak, *Freedom with Justice: Catholic Social Thought and Liberal Institutions* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1984) for a thoughtful overview of the argument since the mid-nineteenth century.

in the light of that history, one might argue that *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* is, potentially, a fork in the road for Catholic social thought.

That there is a tension in the encyclical between its geopolitical and (in some respects) economic analysis, and its political theory on the matter of human rights and democracy, is obvious. That tension is not resolved by appeals to a supposed higher viewpoint of moral theology, because in a Catholic incarnational context, moral theology is not conducted in a Kantian ether, but rather grapples with this-worldly institutions and practices. The tension, from one angle of vision, is between those parts of *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* which reach back to *Populorum Progressio* for their inspiration, and those which seem to extend and specify John Paul II's teaching on human rights and democracy.

There is a danger of selective hermeneutics here, and it should be frankly conceded. On the other hand, if one takes seriously the pope's definition of the right of economic initiative, his distaste for statist development strategies, his linkage of development to civil rights and political freedoms, and above all his forthright moral endorsement of democracy, then one can see in *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* the first glimpses of a new trend in papal social teaching. One can even imagine, *and on the basis of this encyclical,* a new argument evolving within the Church's magisterium, one which takes seriously Peter Berger's hypothesis that "Capitalism is a necessary but not sufficient condition of democracy under modern conditions."[15] Berger's own thoughts on this question might well be thoughts in the mind of John Paul II:

> "As to the falsification of [this] hypothesis, the most convincing one would be the emergence, in empirical reality rather than in the realm of ideas, of even one clear case of democratic socialism. That such a society will emerge in the future is, of course, the fondest wish of democratic socialists. The future is always open, and social science is not capable of making definitive statements about it. [But] . . . the future emergence of a democratic socialism is very improbable. . . .
>
> The experience of Western societies would seem to indicate that a greater degree of political intervention [in the economy] is possible, with democracy remaining intact, than some procapitalist theorists have thought (including perhaps Hayek). The resistance to the introduction of market mechanisms in socialist societies by the party and bureaucratic elites also suggests that there is a tilting point in the reverse direction. In other words, all those apparatchiks have very good grounds for worrying that, if a socialist system is modified beyond a certain point by market mechanisms, the new entrepreneurs will become uppity and start demanding political liberties that would undermine the control of the party."[16]

John Paul II, with his intense interest in the affairs of central and eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, his expressed desire to visit the Peoples Republic of China, and his experience of the democratic revolution in many parts of the Third World, cannot be unaware that there is an argument to be engaged at

precisely this point of linkage between market-oriented economies and the pope's concern for human rights and democracy. The argument is being posed, not just by what would seem to be important trajectories in John Paul II's own social thought, but also by historical reality: by the development success stories of east Asia, by the post-Maoist economics of the PRC, by the emergence of fragile democracies in Latin America, the Philippines, and South Korea, by the struggle over *glasnost* and *perestroika* in the Soviet Union, and by the cultural, political, and economic churnings of the Western world. The question, in a sense, is not whether there is a fork in the road for Catholic social thought, but whether the fork will be seen for what it is.

There are, to be sure, currents of thought in *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* which would seem to preclude a careful exploration of the linkage between human rights, democracy, and capitalist forms of development. But, as has been argued here at length, there is enough material in the encyclical to at least open the discussion, and in a way that takes the empirical realities of development successes and failures into account.

That the teaching authority of the Catholic Church has given its moral blessing to democracy as the most appropriate political model for integral human development is no small fact. It remains to be seen whether the full implications of that fact are drawn out, and precisely by that same teaching authority.

An Appeal for Religious Freedom in the Soviet Union on the Occasion of the Millennium of Christianity in Kievan Rus'

[Editor's note: This has been a very active year for advocates of religious freedom in the Soviet Union. On 25 April, a copy of the following Appeal for Religious Freedom in the Soviet Union *was presented to President Reagan, and copies hand-delivered to the Soviet Embassy in Washington. Two days later, the Appeal was released publicly. On 30 April, the Western press revealed that General Secretary Gorbachev had met the previous day with Soviet religious leaders, stating that "mistakes made with regard to the church and believers in the 1930s and the years that followed are being rectified," that "a new law on the freedom of conscience, now being drafted, will reflect the interests of religious organizations," and that "the believers are Soviet people, workers, patriots, and they have the full right to express their conviction with dignity." In early May, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a resolution calling for the Soviet Union to grant a general amnesty for all imprisoned Christians and to institutionalize full freedom of religious practice and the right to religious literature and education. Since the* Appeal *(which was jointly sponsored by the James Madison Foundation, the Puebla Institute, and the Trinitarians) makes specific reference to the issues involved under the general heading "religious freedom," we print it here, along with the names of the signatories, in the interest of promoting further understanding of this most important instance of the intersection of religion and public life.]*

To Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev
General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

I. 1988 marks the millennium of Christianity in Kievan Rus'. While this anniversary has special meaning for the Christian community throughout the world, it also provides an occasion for all men and women of goodwill to celebrate the great and varied spiritual heritages carried by the peoples of the Soviet Union—Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist.

Religious freedom has been acknowledged as a fundamental human right in such landmark steps towards the growth of international law as the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Social, Economic, and Cultural Rights, the Convention Against Discrimination in Education, the Helsinki Final Act, and the U.N. Declaration Against All Forms of Religious Intolerance—agreements to which the Soviet Union has solemnly pledged its adherence. The international community recognizes that respect for such fundamental human rights as religious freedom is an essential building block of peace, within and among nations.

Unhappily, present state policy in the U.S.S.R. puts pressure on religious believers of all faiths, and circumscribes the activities of religious communities. We join with believers in the Soviet Union who hope that this remarkable anniversary, the Millennium of Christianity in Kievan Rus', can become the occasion for fundamental change in Soviet state policy and practice toward religious communities.

We the undersigned, Americans of many different creeds and political persuasions, joined by a common concern for human rights and peace, appeal to you, General Secretary Gorbachev, to honor your nation's commitments to international agreements on the fundamental human right of religious freedom.

We are heartened by the progress our two countries have made in the area of arms reduction, and by your call for a new era of openness in the Soviet Union.

We note the resolution of a number of individual emigration and prisoner cases.

But we urge deeper, more permanent change, commensurate with your commitment to *glasnost*, *perestroika*, and democratization. Thus we urge you to redress the continuing pattern of discrimination and harassment against religious believers in your country.

We believe that significant progress in the matter of human rights, and especially on the fundamental right of religious freedom, will contribute to a new pattern of relationships between our countries, and thereby enhance the prospects of peace.

II. We join in solidarity with believers of all faiths in the Soviet Union, urging you to undertake immediately the actions necessary to effect these specific constitutional and legal steps toward full religious freedom in the U.S.S.R.:

• We urge that Article 52 of the Soviet Constitution be amended so that citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed the right, not only to "religious worship," but also to "form religious associations and disseminate religious beliefs" on terms of full constitutional equality with atheistic organizations and atheistic propaganda. We urge you to restore to all religious associations the full status of "juridical person" under Soviet law.

• We urge that the Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and

the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R. of April 8, 1929 (and its equivalents in other Soviet republics, as amended by a decree of the R.S.F.S.R. Supreme Soviet Presidium of June 23, 1975), and the equivalent laws "On Religious Associations" adopted subsequently in other Union republics, be repealed.

In particular, we urge you:

—to return to individual religious groups the houses of worship, religious artifacts, and religious books which have been expropriated by the authorities;
—to restore the right to construct and own new houses of worship;
—to allow religious instruction of children, young people and adults outside the public school system;
—to lift the ban against charitable activities by religious groups;
—and to end the requirements of preliminary state "registration" of religious associations and the clergy.

• We urge that Articles 142 and 227 of the R.S.F.S.R. Criminal Code (and their equivalents in other republican criminal codes), as well as the March 18, 1966 Decrees of the R.S.F.S.R. Supreme Soviet Presidium "On the Application of Article 142 of the R.S.F.S.R. Criminal Code" and "On the Administrative Liability for the Violation of the Legislation on Religious Cults" (and the equivalent decrees adopted by the Supreme Soviet Presidia of the other Union republics), be repealed as contrary to the constitutional separation of church and state.

• We urge you to publish and submit for public reconsideration, with the participation of religious believers, all hitherto secret or only partially published decrees and instructions setting the structure, powers, and procedures of the Council for Religious Affairs [C.R.A.] attached to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, its republican and oblast branches and commissioners. We urge that you assure representation on the C.R.A., at all government levels, of representatives of religious believers, and that the activities of the Council for Religious Affairs be guaranteed full legality and publicity (*glasnost*).

• We urge you to legalize the Greek Catholic (Uniate or Ukrainian Catholic) Church and other religious groups (such as, for example, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church) that were banned by the Stalin government, and to restore to these religious groups the churches, houses of prayer, religious artifacts, monastic and seminary buildings, and other confiscated property necessary for their religious activities.

III. The fundamental right of religious freedom, as codified in the U.N. Declaration Against All Forms of Religious Intolerance, has many concrete expressions in daily life. Therefore we urge the following:

• A general amnesty should be declared for all religious prisoners of conscience.

• Religious believers should be able to practice their faith without interference, harassment, or persecution. The requirements for compulsory state "registration" of religious congregations and the clergy, prior to their starting their activities, should be abolished, along with the prerogative of state authorities to veto any members of congregations' executive and auditing committees. Membership on these committees (including chairmanship) should be open to the clergy.

• Religious communities should enjoy the freedom to preach, to publish, and to disseminate their teachings through the mass media. Independent religious publishing institutions should not be hindered in their work.

• Parents should be able to transmit their faith to their children without being harassed or discriminated against on this account. Religious organizations should be able to conduct institutions of religious education without state interference. Clergy should be allowed, with parental permission, to provide religious instruction to children. School children and students at secondary or university levels should not be pressured to join organizations espousing atheism; punished for declining to do so; or otherwise be denied equality of educational opportunity and advancement on account of their religious beliefs and practices.

• The state should not interfere in the appointment of seminary faculties, and should relinquish its control over the appointment of candidates to seminaries.

• Religious believers, including children, should be able to absent themselves from work or from school on religious holidays.

• Believers who wish to emigrate from the Soviet Union on religious grounds should be allowed to do so.

• Believers, clergy, and religious groups in the Soviet Union who wish to maintain contacts with fellow believers and religious institutions throughout the world should be free to do so.

• Religious communities should enjoy the full rights of social organizations in the Soviet Union. Religious communities should be able to solicit funds for charitable activities, to engage in works of charity, to own property, and to participate in organizations such as temperance societies.

• Religious services should be permitted in hospitals, prisons, and homes for the aged. Religious believers should be able to wear religious symbols, and to have access to religious literature, while they are in hospitals, prisons, and homes for the aged.

IV. Establishment of these basic guarantees of the fundamental right of religious freedom is an important measure of the status of human rights in the Soviet Union. We call on you, Mr. General Secretary, to demonstrate your commitment to peace by assuring all the peoples of the Soviet Union the right to religious freedom, which is an essential guarantor of peace. We appeal to you, on this occasion of the Millennium of Christianity in Kievan Rus', to join with us in working for an international community committed to defending the dignity of human beings as a fundamental requisite of peace.

Signatories to the *Appeal for Religious Freedom in the Soviet Union**
(List in formation)

Morris B. Abram
Attorney

John F. Ahearne
Vice President and Senior Fellow, Resources for the Future

Mark R. Amstutz
Chairman, Department of Political Science, Wheaton College

Hadley Arkes
Professor of Political Science, Amherst College

Ben Armstrong
Executive Director, National Religious Broadcasters

Dawoud Assad
President, Council of Masajaad

William Bentley Ball
Attorney

Paul Baltakis, O.F.M.
Roman Catholic Bishop for Lithuanians outside Lithuania

Fred Barnes
Senior Editor, The New Republic

George W. Bashore
Bishop, Boston Area, United Methodist Church

Fred Baumann
Assistant Professor, Kenyon College

Arnold Beichman
Research Fellow, Hoover Institution

Maurice M. Benitez
Bishop, Diocese of Texas, Episcopal Church

ons, and homes for the
symbols, and to have
risons, and homes for

ental right of religious
s in the Soviet Union.
commitment to peace
gious freedom, which
this occasion of the
s in working for an
of human beings as a

t Union*

Peter L. Berger
University Professor, Boston University

Joseph Cardinal Bernardin
Archbishop of Chicago

Walter Berns
John M. Olin University Professor, Georgetown University

Jacob Birnbaum
National Director, Center for Russian and East European Jewry

Tim Blanchard
General Director, Conservative Baptist Association of America

Maurice Blond
President, Interfaith Movement, Inc.

Albert Boiter
Associate Editor, Religion in Communist Dominated Areas

John Boone
President, Presbyterians for Democracy and Religious Freedom

Mary Ellen Bork
Chairman of the Board, Thomas More Society of America

Robert H. Bork
John M. Olin Scholar in Legal Studies, American Enterprise Institute

Rudy Boschwitz
U.S. Senator, Minnesota

Barbara Boxer
U.S. Representative, California

Joseph Boyle
Professor of Philosophy, University of St. Michael's College

Jeffrey Boutwell
Staff Director, International Security Studies, American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Bill Bradley
U.S. Senator, New Jersey

Alan Brinkley
Associate Professor of History, Harvard University

Kathleen M. A. Brooks
Vice President and Executive Director, Children's Relief Fund

Edmund L. Browning
Presiding Bishop, The Episcopal Church

John H. Bunzel
Senior Research Fellow, Hoover Institution

Kenyon C. Burke
Associate General Secretary, Division of Church and Society, National Council of Churches

W. Glenn Campbell
Director, Hoover Institution Senior Regent, University of California

Frederick S. Carney
Professor of Ethics, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University

Dick Cheney
U.S. Representative, Wyoming

Pamela Braun Cohen
National President, Union of Councils for Soviet Jews

Alberto Coll
Professor, U.S. Naval War College

Charles W. Colson
Chairman, Prison Fellowship

John W. Cooper
Senior Research Fellow, Ethics and Public Policy Center

Thomas C. Cornell
National Secretary, Catholic Peace Fellowship

Jim Courter
U.S. Representative, New Jersey

Michael Cromartie
Research Associate, Ethics and Public Policy Center

Dean C. Curry
Associate Professor of Political Science, Messiah College

Richard T. Davies
President, Research Center for Religion and Human Rights in Closed Societies

Richard Deats
Director, U.S.-U.S.S.R. Reconciliation, Fellowship of Reconciliation

Stan DeBoe, O.S.S.T.
Director, Office of Persecuted Believers, Holy Trinity Fathers

Dennis DeConcini
U.S. Senator, Arizona

Midge Decter
Executive Director, Committee for the Free World

G. B. DeLashmet
Executive Vice President, Abitibi-Price Sales Corporation

Christopher DeMuth
President, American Enterprise Institute

J. S. Denton
President, National Forum Foundation

Candace DeRussy
Executive Officer, The American Foundation for Resistance International

Robert Destro
Associate Professor of Law, Catholic University of America

Edd Doerr
Executive Director, Americans For Religious Freedom

Felix Dubneac
Archimandrite and Editor of Gandiresiarta

Paul A. Duffey
Secretary, Council of Bishops, United Methodist Church

Robert P. Dugan, Jr.
Director, Office of Public Affairs, National Association of Evangelicals

Thomas H. Dunkerton
President, InterVarsity Christian Fellowship

Bernard J. Dwyer
U.S. Representative, New Jersey

Charles M. Fairbanks, Jr.
Research Professor, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University

Roland Faley, T.O.R.
Executive Director, Conference of Major Superiors of Men

Harris W. Fawell
U.S. Representative, Illinois

Edward Feighan
U.S. Representative, Ohio

Edwin J. Feulner, Jr.
President, The Heritage Foundation

James Finn
Editorial Director, Freedom House

Peter T. Flaherty
Chairman, Citizens for Reagan

William J. Flynn
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Mutual of America

Ernest L. Fortin
Professor of Theology, Boston College

Marvin Fox
Philip W. Lown Professor of Jewish Philosophy, Brandeis University

William C. Frey
Bishop, Diocese of Colorado, Episcopal Church

Milton Friedman
Senior Research Fellow, Hoover Institution; Professor Emeritus, University of Chicago

Felice Gaer
Executive Director, International League for Human Rights

Franklin I. Gamwell
Dean and Professor, The Divinity School, University of Chicago

Suzanne Garment
Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute

Marc Gellman
Rabbi, Temple Beth Torah

Sharon Georgianna
Associate Professor of Sociology, Seattle Pacific University

Carl Gershman
President, National Endowment for Democracy

Ann Gillen, S.H.C.J.
Executive Director, National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry

Nathan Glazer
Professor, Harvard University

Ernest Gordon
President, Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents

Robert Grant
Chairman, Christian Voice President, American Freedom Coalition

Bill Green
U.S. Representative, New York

Oscar Handlin
Carl M. Loeb University Professor, Harvard University

Olexa R. Harbuziuk
President, All-Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Fellowship

Owen Harries
Editor, The National Interest

C. Lowell Harriss
Professor Emeritus of Economics, Columbia University

Thomas J. Harvey
Executive Director, Catholic Charities, U.S.A.

Alden M. Hathaway
Bishop, Diocese of Pittsburgh, Episcopal Church

Stanley Hauerwas
Professor of Theological Ethics, The Divinity School, Duke University

Carl F. H. Henry
Evangelical Author and Theologian

Arthur Hertzberg
Vice President, World Jewish Congress

Ira Michael Heyman
Chancellor, University of California at Berkeley

Kent R. Hill
Executive Director, Institute on Religion and Democracy

John P. Hittinger
Associate Professor, College of St. Francis

Leroy C. Hodapp
Bishop, Indiana Area, United Methodist Church

Paul Hollander
Professor, University of Massachusetts at Amherst

David Hollenbach, S.J.
Associate Professor of Moral Theology, Weston School of Theology

Sidney Hook
Senior Research Fellow, Hoover Institution

John A. Howard
Retired President, The Rockford Institute

Steny H. Hoyer
U.S. Representative, Maryland

Blahoslav Hruby
Executive Director, Research Center for Religion and Human Rights in Closed Societies

Earl G. Hunt, Jr.
Bishop, Florida Area, United Methodist Church

George W. Hunt, S.J.
President and Editor in Chief, America

Henry J. Hyde
U.S. Representative, Illinois

Helen H. Jackson
Chairman, Henry M. Jackson Foundation

John E. Jacob
President and CEO, National Urban League

Kenneth M. Jensen
Director of Research and Studies, U.S. Institute of Peace

James Turner Johnson
Professor of Religion, Rutgers University

Nancy L. Johnson
U.S. Representative, Connecticut

Albert E. Jolis
Executive Director, American Institute for Resistance International

Barbara Jordan
Lyndon B. Johnson Centennial Chair in National Policy, University of Texas

Francis I. Kane
Chairman, Philosophy Department, Salisbury State College

Alfred Kazin
Newman Professor of American Civilization, Cornell University

Stephen F. Keller
Vice Chairman, Seidler Amdec Securities, Inc.

Penn Kemble
President, Prodemca

Charles R. Kesler
Associate Director, The Henry Salvatori Center, Claremont McKenna College

Ghazi Khankan
Director, Voice of Islam

Russell Kirk
President, The Educational Reviewer, Inc.

Evron Kirkpatrick
President, Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation

Leonid Kishkovsky
President-elect, National Council of Churches; Secretary for Ecumenical Affairs, Orthodox Church in America

Leon Klenicki
Director, Inter-faith Affairs, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Stephen Klitzman
Chairman, Committee on International Human Rights, Section of International Law and Practice, American Bar Association

Francis B. Koper
Rector, S.S. Cyril and Methodius Seminary

Vladislav Krasnov
Professor, Monterey Institute of International Studies

Charles Krauthammer
Senior Editor, The New Republic

Franklin D. Kreutzer
International President, United Synagogue of America

Irving Kristol
Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute

Tom Lantos
U.S. Representative, California

Bernard Cardinal Law
Archbishop of Boston

William H. Lazareth
Bishop, Metropolitan New York Synod, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America

Ernest W. Lefever
President, Ethics and Public Policy Center

Leslie Lenkowsky
President, Institute for Educational Affairs

Carl Levin
U.S. Senator, Michigan

Samuel L. Lewis
President, U.S. Institute of Peace

Charles Lichtenstein
Distinguished Fellow, The Heritage Foundation

William O. Lipinski
U.S. Representative, Illinois

Sidney Liskofsky
Director, Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights

Herbert London
Dean, Gallatin Division, New York University

Joseph E. Lowery
President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Edward D. Lozansky
Executive Director, Free University

Dan Lungren
U.S. Representative, California

Edward Madigan
U.S. Representative, Illinois

Roger M. Mahony
Archbishop of Los Angeles and Chairman, International Policy Committee, United States Catholic Conference

Francis X. Maier
Editor, National Catholic Register

John L. May
Archbishop of St. Louis

R. Bruce McColm
Executive Director, Freedom House

Donald J. McCrory
Executive Editor, Eternity

Michael C. D. McDaniel
Bishop, North Carolina Synod, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America

Thomas A. McDill
President, The Evangelical Free Church of America

James P. McFadden
Chairman, National Committee of Catholic Laymen

Ralph McInerny
Michael P. Grace Professor of Medieval Philosophy, University of Notre Dame

Rolf K. McPherson
President, International Church of the Foursquare Gospel

Cornelius M. McRae
Rector/President, Pope John XXIII National Seminary

Mohammed T. Mehdi
Secretary-General, National Council on Islamic Affairs

Billy A. Melvin
Executive Director, National Association of Evangelicals

Robert H. Michael
U.S. Representative, Illinois

John Miller
U.S. Representative, Washington

Jim Moody
U.S. Representative, Wisconsin

Louis E. Moore
Director, International Affairs, Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO

Constance A. Morella
U.S. Representative, Maryland

John P. Murtha
U.S. Representative, Pennsylvania

Kenneth A. Myers
Editor, This World

Micah H. Naftalin
National Director, Union of Councils for Soviet Jews

Victor Nakas
Washington Branch Manager, Lithuanian Information Center

Richard John Neuhaus
Director, Rockford Institute Center on Religion & Society

Bruce Nichols
Director, Education and Studies, Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs

Michael F. Noone, Jr.
Associate Professor of Law, Catholic University of America

David Novak
Visiting Professor, Department of Talmud, Jewish Theological Seminary of America

Michael Novak
George Frederick Jewitt Scholar, American Enterprise Institute

James Nuechterlein
Editor, The Cresset

Margaret Nulty, S.C.
Associate Director, Leadership Conference of Women Religious

William V. O'Brien
Professor of Government, American University

Brian O'Connell
Program Coordinator, Peace, Freedom, and Security Studies Program, National Association of Evangelicals

Joseph A. O'Hare, S.J.
President, Fordham University

Kevin R. O'Neil
President, American Buddhist Movement

Heinz R. Pagels
President, International League for Human Rights

Allan M. Parrent
Professor, Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia

Charles Pashayan, Jr.
U.S. Representative, California

Jordan Paust
Professor of Law, University of Houston

Robert L. Payton
Scholar-in-Residence, University of Virginia

J. Richard Peck
Editor, International Christian Digest

Nicolai Petro
Director, Center for Contemporary Russian Studies, Montery Institute of International Studies

William Phillips
Editor, Partisan Review

Robert Pickus
President, World Without War Council

Juliana Geran Pilon
Consultant, U.S. Department of Interior

Norman Podhoretz
Editor, Commentary

John Porter
U.S. Representative, Illinois

Victor S. Potapov
Rector, Russian Orthodox Cathedral of St. John the Baptist

Casimir Pugevicius
Executive Director, Lithuanian Catholic Religious Aid

Quentin L. Quade
Executive Vice President, Marquette University

Earl Rabb
Emeritus Director, Jewish Community Relations Council of San Francisco

I. Andrew Rader
Chief Executive Officer (Retired), Allen-Bradley Co.

Thomas J. Reese, S.J.
Fellow, Woodstock Theological Center

James Reichley
Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution

Don Ritter
U.S. Representative, Pennsylvania

Charles S. Robb
Attorney, Former Governor of Virginia

Adrian Rogers
President, Southern Baptist Convention; Pastor, Bellevue Baptist Church, Memphis

Morton M. Rosenthal
Director, Department of Latin American Affairs, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Eugene V. Rostow
Distinguished Visiting Professor of Law and Diplomacy, National Defense University

Toby Roth
U.S. Representative, Wisconsin

Robert Royal
Vice President for Research, Ethics and Public Policy Center

M. Holt Ruffin
Executive Director, World Without War Council of Greater Seattle

Andre Ryerson
Chairman, Allied Organizations for Freedom

James V. Schall, S.J.
Associate Professor, Georgetown University

Herbert Schlossberg
Project Director, Fieldstead Institute

Paul Seabury
Professor of Political Science, University of California at Berkeley

Dale Shaheen
Vice President, National Council on Islamic Affairs

Albert Shanker
President, American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO

Nina Shea
Washington Director, The Puebla Institute

Amy L. Sherman
Program Officer, The James Madison Foundation

Donald W. Shriver, Jr.
President, Union Theological Seminary

Bud Shuster
U.S. Representative, Pennsylvania

Ronald J. Sider
Executive Director, Evangelicals for Social Action

David Sidorsky
Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University

Philip Siegelman
Professor of Political Science, San Francisco State University

Henry Siegman
Executive Director, American Jewish Congress

Thomas M. Simmons
President, National Council of Catholic Laity

William E. Simon
Chairman of the Board, WSPG International, Inc. ; Former U.S. Secretary of the Treasury

Vice President, Institute for Educational Affairs

James W. Skillen
Executive Director, Association for Public Justice

Chris Smith
U.S. Representative, New Jersey

Steven L. Snyder
President, Christian Solidarity International

Jerry Solomon
U.S. Representative, New York

Vincent R. Sombrotto
President, National Association of Letter Carriers, AFL-CIO

George Soros
President, Soros Fund Management

Paull E. Spring
Bishop, Northwestern Pennsylvania Synod, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America

Max L. Stackhouse
Professor of Christian Social Ethics, Andover Newton Theological School

J. Francis Stafford
Archbishop of Denver

Margaret O'Brien Steinfels
Editor, Commonweal

Stephen Sulyk
Archbishop of Philadelphia, Metropolitan for Ukrainian Catholics in the United States

Harry G. Summers, Jr.
Syndicated Columnist

Leonard Sussman
Senior Scholar in International Communications, Freedom House

Charles H. Townes
University of California at Berkeley

Yuri Tuvim
Development Group Manager, Millipore Corporation

Ernest van den Haag
John M. Olin University Professor, Fordham University Law School

Vilis Varbergs
President, Latvian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America

Dale Vree
Editor, New Oxford Review

Myron W. Wasylyk
Director, Ukrainian National Information Service

James D. Watkins, U.S.N. (ret)
Former Chief of Naval Operations

Ben Wattenberg
Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute

Carolyn Weatherford
Executive Director, Woman's Missionary Union, Southern Baptist Convention

U.S. Representative, Minnesota

George Weigel
President, The James Madison Foundation

W. Bruce Weinrod
Director of Foreign Policy and Defense Studies, The Heritage Foundation

Ted Weiss
U.S. Representative, New York

Jacqueline Grennan Wexler
President, National Conference of Christians and Jews

Robert S. Woito
Director, World Without War Council—Midwest

Frank R. Wolf
U.S. Representative, Virginia

Michael J. Woodruff
Director, Center for Law and Religious Freedom, Christian Legal Society

William S. Woods, Jr.
Retired Vice President, The Sun Company, Inc.

R. James Woolsey
Attorney

Helen Bates Yakobson
Professor Emeritus of Russian, George Washington University Chairman, The Millennium Committee

Gus Yatron
U.S. Representative, Pennsylvania

Amy Young
Executive Director, International Human Rights Law Group

James Zwerneman
Treasurer, Christians in Commerce

* Organizational affiliations are for identification purposes only. Signatories join the Appeal as individuals.

N.Y.TIMES:12-02-89

Catholics and Communists: Long but Not Steady Enmity

11/5/14

By PETER STEINFELS

Through much of the 20th century, Catholicism and Communism have appeared as titanic forces locked in combat, rival world faiths whose leaders in the Kremlin and the Vatican had no message for each other except mutual condemnation.

The diplomatic record shows a more complicated picture, in which confrontation has often been mixed with efforts to find a modus vivendi and in which nationalism and intra-Christian differences with Russian Orthodoxy have been just as much a source of conflict as religious belief or Communist ideology.

Even before the Russian Revolution, when political conservatism united the papacy and the Russian czars — Czar Nicholas I and Pope Gregory XVI met in December 1845 and signed a concordat two years later — their relations were often strained by the nationalist aspirations of Catholic Poles under Russian rule or by czarist efforts to absorb the Eastern Rite Ukrainian Catholics, who had been in communion with Rome since 1596, into the Russian Orthodox Church.

Indeed, when the Czar was overthrown in February 1917, many Eastern Rite Catholics saw a brighter future in Russia, free from subordination to Russian Orthodoxy. Even after the militantly anti-religious Bolsheviks took power later that year, sharply curbing religious freedom, church leaders in both Russia and Rome tried to reach an accommodation with the new leaders. The Bolsheviks, in turn, hoped to gain international standing by obtaining Vatican recognition.

Betrayal Is Charged

In 1922, when a Catholic relief effort in Russia, then torn by civil war, was the occasion for both sides to cultivate diplomatic contacts, anti-Bolshevik exiles who shared Russian Orthodoxy's traditional suspicion of the papacy fiercely accused the Vatican of betraying Christianity.

Because many Latin Rite Catholics in the Soviet Union had links with Poland, where a newly independent state disputed territory with Moscow, they were doubly suspect to the Kremlin. Likewise, Polish leaders and churchmen influential in Rome, such as the head of the Jesuit order, disapproved of measures that might accommodate Moscow.

By 1926, the Catholic Church, without completely abandoning diplomatic contacts with the Kremlin, began secretly consecrating Russian bishops in an effort to organize an underground church. The Communist Government largely foiled that effort, and by the 1930's Moscow and Rome had in effect declared war on each other.

The conflict was greatly intensified after World War II when Soviet forces and the Communist governments they installed took power in lands containing tens of millions of Catholics.

Both Communist leaders and Catholic believers often viewed the church as a focal point of resistance to Communism and, in nations like Poland and Hungary, also to Soviet domination. Consequently, the Communist governments imprisoned church leaders, confiscated church property, restricted religious activities and pushed government sympathizers in church ranks into leading positions.

Major Front of Cold War

Reinforced by the contest between Communist and Christian Democratic political parties in Italy and France, the struggle between Catholicism and Communism became one of the major fronts in the cold war.

Only after Stalin's death in 1953 did Pope Pius XII use the then-popular language of "coexistence," and only in the 1960's did his successor, Pope John XXIII, encourage a series of contacts with Moscow, thanking Nikita S. Khrushchev for a birthday telegram in 1961.

Also in 1962, Agostino Casaroli, who would eventually become a Cardinal and Vatican Secretary of State, began protracted negotiations first with Hungary, then Yugoslavia, and eventually with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Cuba and Bulgaria to regularize the church's situation, allowing Rome to appoint bishops able to act freely.

Often enough, the glacial diplomatic progress involved removing from power church leaders who symbolized the intransigence of the earlier period, such as Joszef Cardinal Mindszenty, the primate of Hungary, who was taken to Rome in 1971 after spending 15 years in the American Embassy in Budapest.

The election of Pope John Paul II, a Pole, in 1978 was fraught with potential difficulties, including a worsening of Polish-Russian and Catholic-Orthodox tensions. But the new Pope quickly appointed Cardinal Casaroli, architect of Pope Paul's opening to the East, to be Secretary of State. He also soon met with Mr. Gromyko.

N.Y.TIMES:11-09-89

ESSAY | William Safire

How Many Divisions?

291/378/194

WASHINGTON

While Americans strain to name the forthcoming meeting of the superpower leaders (from the "Saltwater Summit" to the "Seaborne Summit" to "the last cruise of the Love Boat"), a summit session of more historic proportions is being ignored: the first meeting of the leader of what used to be called "godless Communism" with the Holy Father of the Roman Catholic Church.

Mr. Gorbachev's mission to the Vatican, scheduled to take place the day before his Club Med sessions with Mr. Bush, has a clear political purpose. The Soviet leader wants papal help in calming the restive Ukraine.

Ukrainian Catholics number more than five million; in recent weeks, tens of thousands of them have been demonstrating in the western Ukraine, a large part of which used to belong to Poland.

In 1946, to cut the ties to Rome of the dwindling Soviet clergy, Stalin ordered the Russian branch of the Orthodox Church to forcibly assimilate the Ukrainian Catholic, or Uniate, Church. A year before, at the Potsdam conference, the Soviet dictator said scornfully to Winston Churchill: "How many divisions did you say the Pope had?"

It now appears the Pope has more than a few divisions in the streets of Lvov and other smoldering cities of great concern to Stalin's successor.

Tass recently denounced "illegal acts by Uniates against Orthodox clergy and believers" at the Transfiguration Church in Lvov," a charge the Ukrainian human rights activists derided. Ethnic tension combined with religious disputes could ignite a rebellion.

The Uniate has been operating underground. The Vatican recently directed several priests, perhaps secret bishops, to surface and to speak out for legalization of their church; others have remained underground in the event of a crackdown.

Mr. Gorbachev has a specific deal in mind. Come to Moscow and other Soviet cities on an official tour, he will say; talk of peaceful change to your co-religionists in the Ukraine, and in separatist Lithuania as well; urge them, as Cardinal Glemp did in Poland years ago, to be patient and not to seek to overthrow the political regime.

"He wants the Pope to be a calming influence," says Zbigniew Brzezinski, who knows a bit about Poles and Popes and just reported to President Bush after a trip to Poland and the Soviet Union. "Gorbachev needs an armistice with the West in the cold war he knows he's losing."

What inducement will the Soviet leader offer the Pope? Simple: the undoing of Stalin's forced amalgamation and subjugation.

If pressed, the Soviets will get specific about opening Catholic schools and returning seized church properties. To symbolize his broad-mindedness, Mr. Gorbachev might visit the exhibition of old Russian icons on display in the Vatican this month; the era before Lenin, this will say, was not such a dark age.

Pope John Paul will understand the Kremlin leader's political motive, but will think in primarily long-range religious terms: this could be a historic moment in the millennium-old schism between Rome and Byzantium, and the Pope has St. Peter's fish to fry.

The Vatican sees the Orthodox church in *schism*, but not in *heresy*. Schism is an organizational dispute, a challenge to hierarchy; heresy is a more fundamental theological clash, such as begun by Martin Luther. The Pope will want to use the opportunity offered by Mr. Gorbachev as a lever to help end the schism in the church.

With that theological motive, he is likely to strike a political deal. Pope John Paul has already sought to position himself equidistant from what his encyclical called "the structures of sin" — his equating of "the all-consuming desire for profit" of the capitalists versus the "thirst for power" of the collectivists.

Gorby & the Pope.

If this serene equivalency is indeed the papal mindset; if he sees no great moral difference between the systems of East and West; if, as he has written, he sees imperialism growing out of both capitalism and Communism — then what is to stop him from making the best deal he can for the free operation of the Catholic church in the western Ukraine and Lithuania?

Not a thing. That's why I think he will agree to help cool the fervor for independence now sweeping through the breadbasket of the Soviet Empire, the one area that Moscow cannot afford to lose. Vatican diplomats will point out with logic that such patience paid off in Poland.

But the right to worship is best protected by nourishing democracy and not by stabilizing totalitarian regimes. The Pope, in his summit meeting on land with Mr. Gorbachev, should not diminish the momentum toward political freedom in accepting the offer for religious toleration.

•

Correction: In my previous column, I had President Nixon sending George Bush to China as envoy in 1974; it was President Ford. □



L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO—SYGMA

Like old friends, if not comrades: *Gorbachev and the First Lady extend a gift to the pope*

The Higher Summit

John Paul II and Gorbachev reason together

"This is the Holy Father," said Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, introducing his host to his wife, Raisa. "We are aware we are dealing with the highest religious authority of the world, who is of Slavic origin as well." To which a smiling John Paul II replied: "Yes, I'm the first Slavic pope, but I'm sure providence prepared the way for this meeting with Mr. Gorbachev—and Mrs. Gorbachev as well."

Thus concluded the historic summit at the Vatican last week, signaling a dramatic reversal of relations between the Soviet Union and the Roman Catholic Church. The world's two leading Slavs, who conversed alone in Russian before calling in translators, talked for an hour and a half—40 minutes longer than scheduled. When it was over, they announced several tentative but important agreements. As expected, the Kremlin and the Holy See will establish official bilateral relations as a first step toward diplomatic ties. Indirectly, Gorbachev assured John Paul II that the Ukrainian Catholic Church would be legalized once the Soviet Parliament approves a freedom-of-conscience bill. And in a departure from his prepared text, the Soviet president invited the pope to visit the U.S.S.R.

MALTA SUMMIT

In turn, the pope blessed the party secretary's program of *perestroika,* a gesture which Soviet advance men had politely requested. "The Holy See follows with great interest the process of renewal which you set in motion in the Soviet Union," said the pontiff. "It wishes you success and declares itself ready to support every initiative that will better protect and integrate the rights and duties of individuals and peoples, so that peace may be ensured in Europe and the world."

Though Gorbachev did not come hat in hand to the Vatican, he did issue a public *mea culpa* the evening before during a major speech in Rome. "We have changed our attitude on some matters, such as religion, which admittedly we used to treat in a simplistic manner," he said. "Now we not only proceed from the assumption that no one should interfere in matters of the individual's conscience, we also say that the moral values that religion embodied for centuries can help in the work of renewal of our country, too. In fact, this is already happening."

Indeed, the next day the Vatican received word that Communist officials in the Ukraine had agreed to register congregations of the previously banned Ukrainian Catholic Church and that restoration of the Catholic hierarchy might follow. While this was good news for the pope, it was not well received by Russian Orthodox churchmen who oppose legalization of the Catholics. Earlier in the week, Metropolitan Juvenaly of Kolumna had visited the pope and then issued a harsh statement accusing some Ukrainian Catholics of causing violence and disrupting the reconciliation talks between the two churches. Significantly, Juvenaly was absent from the entourage of 24 aides who accompanied Gorbachev to the papal palace. "The position of the Russian Orthodox clergy has not radically changed on this in the last 400 years," observed a high Vatican diplomat. "I believe in the sincerity of our Orthodox brothers, only I regret that they seem not to respect our point of view."

What's next? Vatican officials have assured the Kremlin that they do not support violence in the Ukraine, but nothing was said last week—in public, at least—about the Vatican's attitude toward the Ukrainian nationalist movement. Also, Ukrainian Communist officials, who have restored some 1,000 churches to the Orthodox in the past year, still have not committed any buildings to the Catholics. An interreligious battle over church property threatens harmony in the Western Ukraine unless Vatican and Orthodox officials can work out a deal; perhaps they can share consecrated ground.

Another battle looms in the Soviet Parliament over the freedom-of-conscience bill, though passage is expected within the next five months. John Paul II probably won't travel to Moscow until it does; he seems willing to wait until Soviet believers have full legal rights. "As I said many times," he told Gorbachev, "[religious freedom] is the foundation of other freedoms."

Because of his extended conversation, Gorbachev was unable to follow his wife on a tour of the Vatican's treasures. But Raisa was only moderately impressed. After viewing Raphael's madonnas, she allowed that they were beautiful, though nothing like Russian madonnas. The two men, however, emerged from the meeting like old friends, if not comrades, with the pope accompanying his visitors to their black Zil limousine. As tokens of their unprecedented visit, the Gorbachevs gave the pope two 14th-century books written in church Slavonic, the language of the Russian Orthodox liturgy. From the pope, Raisa received a mother-of-pearl rosary. For the leader of the Communist Party and the Soviet chief of state there was an early Christian mosaic of St. Peter's tomb with a relief of Christ. It bore a scriptural message in Latin, one that Gorbachev may have recognized from his Christian childhood: "I am the way, the truth and the light. All those who believe in me shall live."

KENNETH L. WOODWARD *with* ROD NORDLAND *and* FRED COLEMAN *in Rome*

Pickens is right. All that talk about the long term is just a way of frustrating the owners. duty. Why shouldn't the shareholders insist on that? They own the company, don't they? happens to United Airlines.

Incidentally, Stephen Wolf, the chairman

particular, although $40 billion of new stocks were sold, on balance $118 billion of equity was drained from the system. That was more than twice the net new equity capital raised in the entire 1970s.

It was inevitable that debt would fill the gap. The money had to come from somewhere. It was also inevitable that even with strong earnings, corporate credit would deteriorate. Despite a prolonged period of prosperity, interest costs began to chew up more of corporate cash flows in the late 1980s—over 25 percent in 1989—than at any time since World War II.

Bond ratings tell a similar story. In December 1983, of industrial companies with bonds rated by Standard & Poor's, only 32.3 percent were rated below investment grade, that is, BB or lower. By October 1989, however, 57.2 percent of all these bonds were so rated. The median industrial bond was junk.

The picture is clear. What's good for shareholders is usually a good proxy for what's good for the nation. Sometimes, however, an issue arises that goes directly to the core of the business and yet we see that the shareholders' bottom line, no matter how patient, is not "bottom" enough. Even a UAL shareholder willing to wait 11 years, for the millennium, would have been foolish to turn down $300 a share, payable in cash, for a stock that had only recently sold for $120.

I accept the fact that shareholders with the credibility and avowedly long-term view of the California fund have a place in the corporate governance process. With an enlightened approach—and why assume otherwise?—both shareholders and corporate executives have more in common than anything that divides them. Independent directors have a place, too, but we all know of companies where the independent directors were not all that independent—or maybe not all that vigorous. There is a gap that can only be filled by the owners of the business—at least if, like the California pension

East Europe: The Protestant Factor

By Paul F.M. Zahl

Some of 1990's Dreams Date Back to Luther

THE ROLE of the Catholic Church in encouraging recent changes in Eastern Europe is well known. Less so is the contribution made by the Protestant and Reformed churches of Eastern Europe, heirs to the 16th-Century Reformation, which have survived as a blue flame under the Warsaw Pact.

It was Protestants in Timisoara, Romania, who lit the fuse that led to Ceausescu's overthrow. In their protest over the announced eviction and removal of Pastor Lazlo Tokes of the Hungarian Reformed Church to a village in the north, these "protestants" were joined by almost 5,000 members of the Romanian Orthodox Church until Sunday Dec. 17, when the massacre began. Within days the president was overthrown.

In East Germany, too, resistance grew directly out of the State Protestant (i.e., Lutheran) Church. In early October the weekly Monday marches in Leipzig, which became the "flagship" of the resistance, started with the *Friedensgebet* or "peace vigil" at St. Nicholas Church. This Protestant parish soon became known as the *Wartesaal der Ausreise*, the waiting-room for freedom to travel aboard. Here, too, prayers were and are offered for the *Aussielder*, those who have gone to the West, to return. "Every hand, every thought, is needed here," said the preachers.

In East Berlin the dissidents gathered in the Church of the Redeemer and Gethsemane Church, and in Dresden at the *Kreuzkirche* or Church of the Cross. In the leadership of New Forum are many pastors and theologians, and the slogan *keine Gewalt*—no violence—was coined from the Protestant church. Because of an explicit, relentless emphasis on non-violence from the church, 500,000 workers walked, when the moment came, through the streets and squares of Leipzig with no weapons other than candles.

What has happened to give the Protestant churches such potency now? Why, in particular, have these churches come to be seen as womb and rallying point for resistance?

One answer is leadership, from outspoken pastors like Lazlo Tokes and patient ones like Albrecht Schonherr, the GDR's first Lutheran primate. Another answer is the good luck, or providence, that made the Protestant church the only space in East German society where open discussion could take place.

The Lutheran Church emerged from World War II as one of the few elements in German society that had not in the main been compromised by Nazism. The Protestants had provided much of the leadership to the anti-Nazi resistance within Germany from the year 1942 to the end. That leadership was almost totally exterminated by Hitler during the last months of the war.

But a Protestant tradition of resistance, not well known in North America, has existed in East Germany and in Hungary ever since.

People remember the words of Bishop Mitzenheim to the Soviet commandant in Erfurt in 1945, after the bishop found the great golden cross of the Wartburg (where Luther had translated the Bible 400 years before) lying in a corner of the cellar: "General, Hitler had this cross removed. Your soldiers will put it back." They did.

While the Roman Catholic Church in Poland has offered an alternative institutional "power" to the state, the Protestant church in East Germany has encouraged and protected "cells" of free expression in the local churches. It has also sheltered "marginal" elements in socialist society: writers and artists, homosexuals, environmentalists, students and so on. Countless small cells became an organic whole, like a honeycomb, when the crisis finally came this fall.

A woman at St. Thomas Church in Leipzig (where J.S. Bach played) recalled to Humphrey Fisher, a visiting English teacher, her terror when Russian tanks rolled through the streets near the church in 1953. Now she is back again in St. Thomas: "I must be here, for my children and my grandchildren."

Paul Zahl is rector of St. James' Episcopal Church in Charleston, S.C. He is writing a book on the influence of Protestant theology in recent events.

Washington Post
Sunday 1/14/90

We can, however, ... from basketball. I'm sure that makes ... sleep better at night.

Kenneth W. Jackson

... terminated ... wanted to place this substation ...

Free to pray

in

Czech, USSR

official. Indeed, the Korean co-*production* deal bears little resemblance to the Japanese FSX co-*development* project for a

Air Force and Officials from both governments have

new work
the McD
particula
tions, "T
the emp
compan
Gene
out to t
Switzer
short st
been a
tition,
was no
Air Fo
with th
—R
Andy
this a

WORLD WIRE

Wall St. Journal Dec 21 1989

LAPLAND'S PREMIER RESIDENT

Santa Claus is using computers and videophones to reach the world's children from his home—which Finns say is in Santa Claus Village, Lapland.

Computers sort some 600,000 letters from children around the world written to the legendary character at Santa Claus Village. The letters—which came from 144 countries last year—arrive at a rate of 10,000 a day just before Christmas. Every letter with a legible return address receives a reply, free of charge.

This year, for the first time, a special videophone line allows children in a Finnish hospital to see as well as hear Santa in his log-cabin office. Next year the service may be extended to the U.S., Britain and France, said Taina Torvela, marketing manager of Santa Claus Land, the village's parent organization.

Santa has undeniable commercial appeal: Firms in South Korea, Japan and Australia this year paid for a special letter from Santa for their clients.

TOYOTA'S OVERSEAS PRODUCTION

Toyota Motor Corp. which doubled its overseas production this year, expects to produce 650,000 vehicles overseas in 1990, up 32% from 1989. Of that total, 356,000 vehicles are to be produced in the U.S. and Canada, compared with 252,000 this year. A portion of the vehicles produced in the U.S. and Europe is scheduled to be imported into Japan, a Toyota official said. The company expects domestic production will increase 5% to 4,160,000 vehicles, compared with 3,980,000 in 1989.

THE CHURCH IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Roman Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia, which long suffered repression under Communist rule, will now be able to operate freely, said Jozef Hromadka, a deputy prime minister for religious affairs. Speaking on a visit to Rome for talks on filling vacant bishoprics, Mr. Hromadka said Article 178 of the constitution, which punished activities "aimed at hampering the surveillance of the state over churches," had been abolished.

SOVIET ROCKET'S CARGO

A Soviet rocket blasted off yesterday carrying the first U.S. scientific experiment to the Mir space station. The Progress rocket is scheduled to dock with the Mir in two days. Along with supplies and New Year's presents for two cosmonauts on the Mir, the rocket carries an experiment for growing protein crystals in space, developed by **Payload Systems** Inc. of Cambridge, Mass. Part of the flight's risk is being carried by New York-based insurer **Johnson & Higgins**.

PROMOTING JAPANESE IMPORTS

Responding to pressure from trading partners to slash its huge trade surplus, Japan announced a three-year import-promotion program to begin next year.

The program includes what is expected to be Japan's first favorable tax treatment for importers, said a spokesman for the Ministry of International Trade and Industry. "It will be the first tax-incentive-backed measure aimed at increasing imports to Japan, contrary to numerous export-boosting steps taken in the past," the spokesman said.

Under the program, Japanese manufacturers that increase imports by more than 10% will be granted a tax deduction equal to 5% of the amount of increase in imports, or allowed to set aside the equivalent of 10% or 20% as tax-free money in their depreciation accounts. Retailers and wholesalers will be allowed to set aside 20% of the increased import value to be used for marketing imported products.

The ministry expects the program to contribute an extra $12 billion of manufactured imports over three years.

JAPAN SIGNS A TREATY

Japan became the last major industrialized nation to sign the United Nations Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, which requires countries to criminalize laundering of drug profits. Japanese banks—some of the world's most secretive—are handling drug profits, but police haven't been able to do anything about it, said Kenya Takizawa, a National Police Agency superintendent. He said the treaty "could make it much easier for us to convince other agencies to support legislation against money-laundering."

A CONSUL FOR MOSCOW

Gong Ro-myung, now South Korea's consul general in New York, has been designated chief of the South Korean consular department in Moscow, Seoul newspapers reported. Mr. Gong would become

POSTSCRIPTS . . .

Japan led all other foreign countries patents granted by the U.S. Patent Trademark Office in fiscal 1989. Of 47,950 patents to "non-American entiti in the period, Japan was granted 20, West Germany followed with 8,756. Northern Ireland will release 350 oners to spend a week at Christmas their families, the most ever let o temporary release in the British ince. Those to be released includ convicts serving life sentences, a g said, adding th

Cross Meets Kremlin

Gorbachev's historic visit to Pope John Paul II seals a truce after 72 years of bitter spiritual warfare

BY RICHARD N. OSTLING

Of all the events that have shaken the Soviet bloc in 1989, none is more fraught with history—or more implausible—than the polite encounter that will take place this week in Vatican City. There, in the spacious ceremonial library of the 16th century Apostolic Palace, the czar of world atheism, Mikhail Gorbachev, will visit the Vicar of Christ, Pope John Paul II. Before delivering formal speeches in the presence of their entourages, the two East Europeans will sit down alone to chat in Russian without interpreters.

The moment will be electric, and not only because John Paul helped inflame the fervor for freedom in his Polish homeland that has swept like brush fire across Eastern Europe. Beyond that, the meeting of the two men symbolizes the end of the 20th century's most dramatic spiritual war, a conflict in which the seemingly irresistible force of Communism battered against the immovable object of Christianity.

Until recently, the battalions of Marxism seemed to have the upper hand over the soldiers of the Cross. In the wake of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, Lenin had pledged toleration but delivered terror. "Russia turned crimson with the blood of martyrs," says Father Gleb Yakunin, Russian Orthodoxy's bravest agitator for religious freedom. In the Bolsheviks' first five years in power, 28 bishops and 1,200 priests were cut down by the red sickle. Stalin greatly accelerated the terror, and by the end of Khrushchev's rule, liquidations of clergy reached an estimated 50,000. After World War II, fierce but generally less bloody persecution spread into the Ukraine and the new Soviet bloc, affecting millions of Roman Catholics and Protestants as well as Orthodox.

The violence did not cease with Stalin's death in 1953. In 1981 Pope John Paul barely escaped assassination. It is believed in the highest circles of the Vatican that Gorbachev's Kremlin predecessors were the masterminds, though the Soviets deny this. The reason for the attack, claims a ranking official of the Holy See, was that the Polish Pope refused to accept the division of Europe into East and West. "The East bloc," says this official, "realized he was a destabilizing factor."

That he was. While Gorbachev's hands-off policy was the immediate cause of the chain reaction of liberation that has swept through Eastern Europe in the past few months, John Paul deserves much of the longer-range credit. His triumphant tour of Poland in 1979, says a Polish bishop, altered the "mentality of fear, the fear of police and tanks, of losing your job, of not getting promoted, of being thrown out of school, of failing to get a passport. People learned that if they ceased to fear the system, the system was helpless." Thus was born Solidarity, backed by the church and led by such friends of the Pope as Lech Walesa and Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who subsequently became the Soviet bloc's first Christian Prime Minister.

But the Pope's vision stretched far beyond Poland. Just before he ascended the throne of Peter in 1978, Karol Wojtyla had confided to some German bishops an astonishing prediction of European Communism's inevitable demise. As an ideology, said the onetime philosophy professor, Communism had nothing more to say and stood for nothing except the perpetuation of power. As an economic system, it had failed utterly. During the Pope's 1979 visit to Orthodoxy's Ecumenical, Patriarch in Turkey, a papal adviser told TIME's Wilton Wynn that John Paul urgently hoped to bring Rome and the Eastern Orthodox Church together. Reason: the Pope was convinced that Communism faced inevitable collapse and that Soviet bloc nations



MIKE GOLDWATER—NETWORK

Ukraine, 1989: Catholics retake a Lvov church that was forced into Orthodoxy under Stalin

would turn to Christianity to fill the void.

Though talk of Communism's collapse seemed like wishful thinking at that time, John Paul based his uncanny prediction on a keen sense of moral and historical dynamics, and also on personal experience. Unlike other leaders in the West, he knew what it was like to live under a Marxist regime day by day. Through the 1980s his speeches hammered home the concept of a Europe reunited from the Atlantic to the Urals and inspired by Christian faith. John Paul marked 1988's millennium of Ukrainian and Russian Christendom by evoking Europeans' "desire that barriers should be broken down."

If those barriers have really begun to topple, it is largely owing to the political reforms Gorbachev has inspired throughout the East bloc. In the process, the Soviet leader has let Christians start rebuilding their devastated institutions. Gorbachev is not motivated by religious belief, though he was baptized into Orthodoxy by his grandparents, and his mother remains a faithful churchgoer. His aims are temporal and pragmatic: he hopes to harness the force of Christianity in the fight against his country's moral decay, seen in growing drug abuse, alcoholism, suicide, sloth and a 50% divorce rate. Says Russian Orthodoxy's Metropolitan Pitirim: "Everyone has realized that failures in the economy and politics are a result of ethical violations. We want a renewed sense of spiritual values."



G. GIANSANTI—SYGMA

FOUR MEN WHO CHANGED EUROPE

Poland, 1987: Solidarity's Lech Walesa receives Communion from Pope John Paul II. Moscow, 1988: Cardinal Casaroli, the Vatican's master diplomat, confers with Mikhail Gorbachev



RUDI FREY

Gorbachev has also grasped the fact that political and economic survival depends upon the goodwill of the Soviet people, among whom Christians have always far outnumbered Communists. Gorbachev, moreover, needs the cooperation of the West, observes Father Mark, a reform-minded Orthodox priest in Moscow, who considers Gorbachev's program within the U.S.S.R. "a result of foreign policy necessity." More than any of the 18 summit meetings between Soviet leaders and U.S. Presidents, Gorbachev's pilgrimage to the papal library will make his nation a respectable participant in world discourse.

The road to this week's Vatican meeting was paved by 2½ decades of subtle diplomatic maneuvers. Beginning with John XXIII's papacy and the Second Vatican Council, the Vatican's master diplomat, Agostino Casaroli, pursued church *Ostpolitik* that sought openings in Eastern Europe in return for a more conciliatory stance toward Communism. But neither that strategy nor John Paul II's more hard-nosed approach achieved much before Gorbachev took power.

The big breakthrough came when the Pope boldly dispatched Casaroli, by now Vatican Secretary of State, and seven other Cardinals to Moscow last year to celebrate the Christian millennium. Casaroli managed a 90-minute meeting with Gorbachev and handed him a three-page letter plus a memo from John Paul listing complaints about treatment of Catholics. Gorbachev responded directly to several of the Pope's requests. Last year Lithuania's two leading bishops were returned to head dioceses after a combined 53 years of internal exile, and the cathedral in Vilnius, previously used as an art museum, was restored for worship. This year the Belorussian republic got its first bishop in 63 years. That paved the way for Archbishop Angelo Sodano, who oversees the Vatican's foreign relations, to make the arrangements for Gorbachev's historic visit to the Holy See.

These concessions to Catholicism are only part of Gorbachev's religious liberalization. Television is broadcasting worship services, and religious art is openly displayed. Last month the Orthodox Eucharist was celebrated in the 15th century Assumption Cathedral, inside the Kremlin, for the first time since 1918.

Most important, 3,000 new churches have opened in the past nine months. However, Russian Orthodoxy's current 10,000 churches are a far cry from the 18,000 that existed when Stalin died, and just a fraction of the 54,000 before the Bolshevik Revolution. Ever since World War II, when Stalin fostered a revival of Orthodoxy in order to enlist its support in the war effort, the Kremlin's policy has been not to liquidate the church but to infiltrate and control it. For that reason, the Soviet regime has always preferred docile Russian-led Orthodox and Protestant churches to Catholicism, which is more independent and led by a feisty Pope in Rome.

But the battle for religious freedom is not yet won. The Supreme Soviet has still not taken up a long-anticipated revision of the repressive religious statute instituted by Stalin in 1929. There is no certainty whether, or when, parliament will scrap the hated law, which subjects all church activities to Communist control and forbids parish education. Nor, given the history of the U.S.S.R., is there certainty that rights

proclaimed in speeches and laws will be honored by bureaucrats.

Many of the gains made by the Soviet Union's 70 million Christians have also been enjoyed by the estimated 74 million Christians who live in the six satellite nations. Poland's Communists "have realized that unleashing conflict with the church has been a mistake throughout the past 45 years," says Alojzy Orszulik, the Polish bishops' spokesman. The nation, which remains 95% Catholic, this year became the first in the Soviet bloc to enact a law restoring all basic rights to the churches. Diplomatic relations with the Holy See were established in July. Hungary, also rapidly liberalizing, is 60% Catholic and has sizable Lutheran and Reformed churches. The regime is rewriting the religious-control laws, has abolished the repressive state Office for Church Affairs and, after talks last week at the Vatican, has indicated that diplomatic relations will be reestablished. The Pope is due to visit Hungary in 1991.

The surging crowds that toppled Czechoslovakia's rulers last week were inspired by, among others, Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek, 90, who has become an increasingly militant proponent of change. The ousted Jakes regime, which had permitted the appointment of six new Catholic bishops, only two weeks ago concluded a round of talks at the Vatican. In East Germany, the bloc's only predominantly Protestant state, this year's prodemocracy movement emerged from small church gatherings that, through the 1980s, criticized the Communists' handling of foreign policy, disarmament and the environment. A bishops' statement read from every pulpit Sept. 10 detailed "long overdue" changes. Most of the mass rallies and marches since then have gathered at Protestant churches.

As in the U.S.S.R., the dominant Orthodox Church has been subservient to the regimes in both Bulgaria and Rumania, remaining mute when the leaderships closed churches and repressed clergy. Rumania's huge Eastern Rite Catholic community has forcibly lived underground since 1948.

The most contentious religious problem within the Soviet Union concerns the 4 million or so Catholics in the western Ukraine, whose plight is a key agenda item in this week's talks between Gorbachev and the Pope. Friendlier contacts, and a papal visit to the U.S.S.R., cannot occur unless this, the world's largest underground religious community, is restored. Under Stalin, all Ukrainian Catholic bishops were imprisoned and a fraudulent 1946 synod dissolved their jurisdictions, handing over 4,100 churches to Russian Orthodoxy. The majority of the Catholic priests rejected the takeover and either were arrested or went into hiding.

Decades later, ten bishops and an unknown number of priests are still functioning. "They deny us the right to praise our God openly," says Catholicism's Metropolitan Vladimir, 83, who faithfully celebrates clandestine Masses daily on a makeshift altar in his tiny Lvov apartment. Last September more than 100,000 demonstrators wound their way through Lvov to the St. Yuri Cathedral, one of the former Catholic churches currently operated by the Orthodox. Subsequently, Ukrainians in Lvov and elsewhere have retaken control of some Orthodox church buildings.



CHIP HIRES—GAMMA LIAISON



DAVID BURNETT—CONTACT

TWO CHURCHES KEEP THE FAITH

Inside Gethsemane Lutheran Church, center for East Berlin protesters; Russian Orthodox worship in Tambov

Rebirth of the Ukrainian churches may stir the sort of nationalist fervor that is inextricably linked with religion. Along with economic failure, this unrest poses the gravest of threats to Gorbachev's regime. Yet Gorbachev apparently calculates that the movement will be safer aboveground and in contact with a Pope who preaches against political violence. The major reason that Gorbachev has not done more for the Ukrainian Catholics has been pressure from the Russian Orthodoxy, which stands to lose half its flock in some regions.

Once the Ukrainian problem is resolved, assuming the Gorbachev-inspired liberalization continues, the Roman Pontiff can pursue his overarching vision of reunion with the whole of Eastern Orthodoxy. The churches of the East and West are like "two lungs of a single body," John Paul is fond of saying. Religious negotiations have made surprisingly brisk progress on the ecclesiastical and theological bases for union.

Until very recently, the Russian Orthodox Church would probably have vetoed reunification under pressure from the Kremlin. Now, with the Communists less inclined to interfere, the idea of unity seems more feasible. The main Orthodox fear, observes one Vatican official, is that "we are too powerful and centralized." But in the end, he speculates, the authority of the papacy will not be an "insurmountable problem." According to this analysis, "the church could revert to the 1st millennium model, a communion of churches with greater autonomy," instead of the centralized church structure of the past 1,000 years. That is an astonishing scenario coming from a high-ranking official of the Holy See.

The second aspect of the Pope's vision, a revival of Christianity as Marxism recedes, is as problematic as the goal of church reunion. But John Paul is not the only person to foresee such a momentous development. Alexander Ogorodnikov, the Orthodox dissident whose Christian Democratic Union was the first non-Communist political party to request official recognition, predicts a "second Christianization" of Russia.

Father Franc Rodè of the Vatican's Council for Dialogue with Non-Believers says Westerners can barely comprehend the "horrible spiritual desert" that resulted when the Bolsheviks turned atheism into a political ideology, attempting to expunge God from the human soul. "This entire experiment," he asserts, "is now proving to have been a dismal failure, one of the most horrible in man's history." If that experiment is in fact nearing its end, then much of the credit can be claimed by two improbable allies: Mikhail Gorbachev and John Paul II. —***Reported by Ann Blackman/Moscow, Cathy Booth/Rome and Angela Leuker/Vienna***

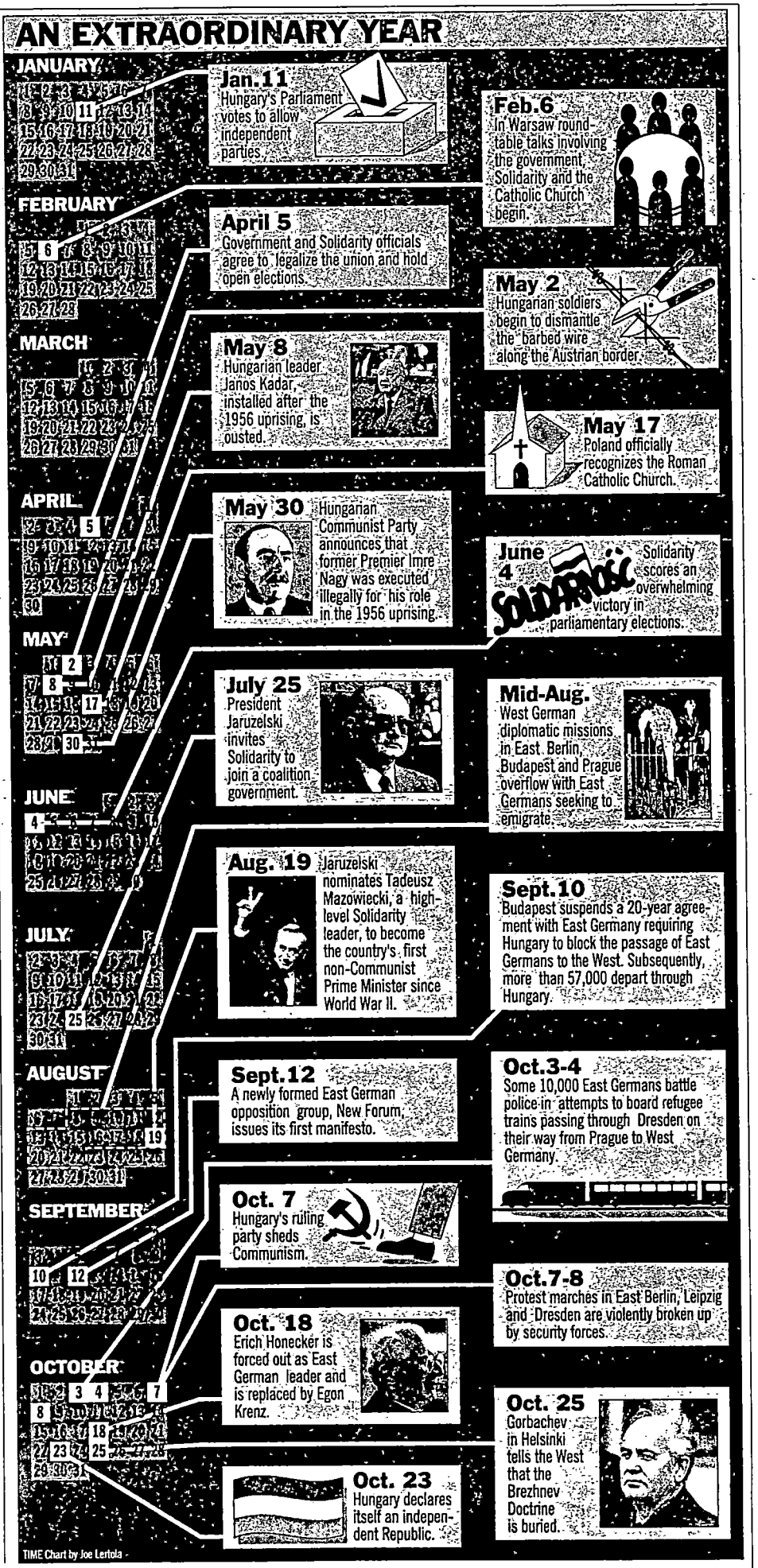
Hungary and Poland have successfully evicted the old chefs from the kitchen, they are having a hard time settling on who will help concoct a different mix. After years of popular revolt, the Poles have installed a Solidarity-led government, but that new leadership is brushing up against its own lack of experience. Within the Sejm, Solidarity is having problems enforcing party discipline. Out in the provinces, the government is having an even tougher time persuading Communist officials to relinquish their privileges, let alone their posts.

Moreover, the reformers must work with ingredients that have grown stale. Every East European nation faces to some extent a similar litany of consumer complaints: food and fuel shortages, inadequate salaries that are declining in purchasing power, massive budget deficits. It presumes a lot to think that East Europeans will sit quietly through the price hikes, plant closings, job layoffs and other austerity measures ahead. "It's a race against time," says Dominique Moïsi, deputy director of the French Institute for International Relations. "Can the democratization of politics beat the Third-Worldization of their economies?"

As each country sets about easing central economic controls, new tensions appear. Since the 1950s, the Moscow-based Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, known as Comecon, has brokered the bulk of East bloc trade. Comecon encourages individual countries to specialize in the manufacture of specific goods and sets production goals to meet the bloc's needs and those of other members, including Cuba and Viet Nam. Since all trade is accounted for in rubles, Comecon has built a wall around itself that promotes inefficiency and the production of shoddy goods.

Hungary and Poland, which are eager to wed their fortunes to the prosperous economies of the West, have begun to explore bilateral trade arrangements. Budapest, in particular, nurtures hopes of eventually joining the European Community. That remains years away, but a halfway step might be membership in the European Free Trade Association, which has special tariff agreements with the European Community. Such moves would come at the expense of traditional Comecon commitments. Given the glue that binds Eastern Europe—including everything from heavily subsidized Soviet energy supplies and raw materials to inefficient plants unable to compete in world markets—the dissolution of Comecon is certain to be a slow, clumsy affair.

Prime Minister Mazowiecki has no plans to withdraw Poland from the Warsaw Pact, and an alliance declaration in July forbade the use of pact troops in the affairs of member nations. Still, Poland plans to push for further bilateral assurances. The Soviets are pressing NATO for a



WASH.TIMES:11-17-89

Protestant churches helped set stage for E. German reform

By Larry Witham
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Protestant churches in East Germany helped set the stage for the dramatic political events of recent weeks and are likely to be instrumental in domestic mediation and bridge building with the West, Lutheran scholars said this week.

During the decades of communist rule, "the church held together as a free space for expression," said the Rev. Krister Stendahl, former Lutheran bishop of Stockholm and now professor emeritus at Harvard Divinity School.

"It was quite natural that the church became a center of this activity," he said.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church is the German Democratic Republic's main religious body, claiming 7 million members in the 16 million population.

Observers say it is likely to play a key mediating role in the face of future domestic unrest and will help build a sense of unity among Germans on either side of the Berlin Wall.

After the lifting of travel restrictions and the opening of the Berlin Wall, the Lutheran Church is also likely to play a key role in encouraging East Germans to stay in their country to reform it.

"Within East Germany, the churches are the only mediating institution," said the Rev. Richard John Neuhaus, director of the Institute on Religion and Public Life in New York. "And there are going to be some rough times ahead."

Since 1987, when a massive Lutheran Assembly, or Kirchentag, drew more than 20,000 to a soccer stadium in East Berlin for the first such gathering after the wall was built in 1961, churches have increasingly become the forum for discussions ranging from political reform to environmentalism.

Those discussions, originally restricted to the sanctuary, have been taken to the streets by the leading opposition group, New Forum, which has no church ties.

East Germany's Lutheran leaders, who do not see their church as powerfully positioned as the Roman Catholic Church in Poland, welcomed the independent groups so the church can take a mediating role.

After World War II, all the Protestant churches in occupied Germany formed a federation called the Evangelical Church in Germany. But in 1957, as a result of the Cold War, official ties between churches in East and West Germany were broken.

During the decades of communist rule, "the church held together as a free space for expression," said the Rev. Krister Stendahl, former Lutheran bishop of Stockholm.

With the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961, the Evangelical Church in Germany functioned only in West Germany. The churches in East Germany were brought into conformity with communist party policy, and churches were infiltrated.

By 1969, the East German Protestants had created a national body called the Union of Evangelical Churches, which was recognized by the communist regime in 1971.

The basic philosophy of the new East German church was expressed in its synod of 1972, when it defined its vision as being "a church in socialism."

Church-state relations changed dramatically in 1978 when East German President Eric Honecker met with Lutheran Bishop Albrecht Schonherr and acknowledged the church's vision of contributing to the socialist society.

During the 1983 commemoration of Karl Marx, religion was recognized as part of the nation's socialist history. The same year, Mr. Honecker made himself chairman of the Martin Luther commemorative year.

While attacks on the church ended, discrimination in work and education against Christians continued. As a result, church membership in the country sank to a low of 30 percent.

Meanwhile, East German theologians — largely through affiliation with the World Council of Churches — advocated the marriage of the Gospel and socialism.

But now that a political thaw has come, some Lutheran scholars believe that argument will disappear.

"Some theologians undoubtedly had to play it safe," said the Rev. Gerhard Krodel, dean of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg. "I don't know any [East German] theologians who would really defend that stuff."

Lutheran doctrine gives the state a God-ordained role separate from the church, said the Rev. Norbert Mueller, acting dean of Concordia Theological Seminary in Fort Wayne, Ind.

As a result, it accepts all systems that provide for the good and protection of the people, he said. "Socialism and Christianity are certainly compatible from our point of view. The problem is the persecution of the church and enforced atheism."

Mr. Krodel said the East German church has always been a Volkskirche, or people's church. "In crisis, that is where they turn."

As a result, it has retained a remarkable vitality at its core.

A highly evangelical Gospel message is heard on Sundays in East German churches, Mr. Mueller, who visited there last year, said.

"The vitality of the church was superior to that in West Germany, where secularization had a devastating affect," Mr. Mueller said.

Since 1981, the church has also become a nominal center for a peace movement and, in recent years, the meeting place of environmental activists.

"The church's role is on the one hand to press for change and on the other to tell the people not to act in a hysterical way," Mr. Krodel said.

Mr. Newhaus said the political thaw will pose new problems for the ecumenical movement in the West, which he said has been the "Western apologist for the [communist] East."

"It will be interesting to see what impact this will have on the World Council," he said, suggesting some Eastern European church leaders will now criticize the West's silence.

Mr. Stendahl said the Lutheran church sees itself as a "servant of the people" and will thus find its place in supporting positive change.

The value East Germans place on faith and freedom are bound to stimulate the West German church, he added. "There is quite a cost in being active in the church in East Germany."

WILLIAM MURCHISON 178/194

WASH. TIMES: 12-08-89

The pope's divisions

The Bush-Gorbachev summit, whatever comes of it, may have been a less world-changing event than the Gorbachev-Wojtyla summit that preceded it. If nothing else, the symbolism of the latter event, held at the Vatican, stuns and overwhelms.

Notice who went calling — Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev; notice who received — John Paul II, sitting where the popes have always sat, amid tumult and persecution. It is a sign of how the wind blows. Comrade Gorbachev hailed the visit as "truly extraordinary." To Christians in the Soviet Union he promised the right "to satisfy their spiritual needs."

Who knows? Maybe he means it. But if so, he undercuts the legitimacy of his own regime. The fundamental conflict between the Soviet and the non-Soviet blocs is not military or even economic and political. The conflict is spiritual.

Communism is proudly and bitterly atheistic, for solidly practical reasons. Communism posits not just a dead, but a non-existent God, one to whom human beings needn't pay the least attention.

Under communism, the 95th Psalm is stood on its head: "Oh, come let us worship and fall down, and kneel before Lenin, our maker."

When a whole people are thus brought to their knees, willingly or otherwise, the work of reformation can proceed. The new religion of Man can be founded — a religion shorn of obligations to a higher power. The votaries of such a religion can do whatever they want: uplift and improve or murder, rob and pillage. It makes no difference, there being no binding rules anymore.



Pope John Paul II

The first step in the establishment and entrenchment of any totalitarian regime is therefore to send God packing. Comrade Gorbachev's predecessors were keenly aware of this simple necessity.

Hardly had Holy Russia become the Soviet Union than the persecution of the church began. In October 1918, according to Alexander Solzhenitsyn in "The Gulag Archipelago," "Patriarch Tikhon had protested in a message to the Council of Peoples' Commissars that there was no freedom to preach in the churches" and that "many courageous priests have already paid for their preaching with blood of martyrdom.... They are executing bishops, priests, monks, and nuns who are guilty of nothing, on the basis of indiscriminate charges of indefinite and vaguely counterrevolutionary offenses." The patriarch was himself jailed for a couple of years until international protest secured his release.

Lenin's and Stalin's campaigns against the church were not without effect, but the effect was partial. Soviet soldiers captured by the Finns in 1940, 23 years after the Leninist revolution, were found to be wearing religious medallions. ("Persistent superstition!" the commissars must have snorted, but there it was anyway.)

Failing to destroy the church, the state tried to housebreak it. Very well, there could be church services — at inconvenient times and places. Nonetheless, services commonly are crowded, with not just the old but also the young. Religion in the Soviet Union is a rallying force. To worship the true God is to snub the false gods.

The Rev. Michael Bourdeaux, the Church of England priest famous for his work with Soviet believers, writes concerning these people: "They do not debate the Resurrection, they have experienced its reality in their own lives. They have not preserved their faith in hostile surroundings; it has preserved them. Their joy is truly a glimpse through the curtain which divides us from heaven."

By Western estimates, half the peoples of the Soviet Union — Christian, Moslem, Jewish and Buddhist — profess religious belief. It is a far vaster number than believe or practice the arid dogmas of "The Communist Manifesto."

"And the pope," remarked Stalin, the ex-seminarian, with contempt, "How many divisions has he?" Quite a few, apparently — 10 million "foot soldiers" in the Soviet Union itself and many more throughout Eastern Europe, waiting prayerfully for the day of liberation.

The state has tried to destroy the church and has failed. Now it comes knocking on the church's door, seeking blessing on its endeavors. The pope may — if conditions are right — go to the Soviet Union. It is a prospect greater than arms treaties and trade agreements: the Gospel being proclaimed in the land that for 72 years has denied any but a human gospel. The age of miracles, it would seem, is not yet at an end.

William Murchison, a columnist for The Dallas Morning News, is nationally syndicated.

C. TRIBUNE: 12-07-89

Religion and the Soviet Union: What hath Mikhail wrought?

By Richard Liefer 178/194

Does Mikhail Gorbachev understand what he could be starting? If so, what would the grandmother who had him baptized think?

He said last weekend in Rome that the Soviet Union would cease treating religion "in a simplistic manner" and henceforth would allow greater religious liberty because "the moral values that religion generated and embodied for centuries can help in the work of renewal in our country, too."

Gorbachev's is a utilitarian approach: Religion valued not for its inherent worth but because believers are likely to make good collaborators in *perestroika* (restructuring). It is an approach hardly unique to him or to the East bloc. Religious people and their organizations are commonly treated as interest groups in this country and elsewhere in the West.

But never mind motives. The Soviet president deserves credit and encouragement for the announced liberalization. Members and friends of the long-suppressed Ukrainian Catholic Church must be especially grateful for the prospect of change—grateful yet wary until promises bear fruit. Stalin jailed Ukrainian Catholic leaders and turned over their churches to the Russian Orthodox Church, in which Gorbachev was baptized as a boy.

And never mind the troubling implication in Gorbachev's reasoning: that if the newly released moral force takes a wrong turn, it can be returned to a straitjacket as quickly as it was unbound—though time aboveground probably would toughen religious conviction.

Or would it?

Perhaps religious expression would lose vigor when unfettered—like mushrooms moved from the cellar to the sunny front lawn. Soon ordinary Soviets would be saying things like, "I believe in a Supreme Being but church is not for me." Theologians would debate whether to stress inward-looking spirituality or outward-looking social activism. Mainline denominations would wonder how to compete with the more charismatic groups.



Summers/Orlando Sentinel

In short, religion would be "Westernized" into such a confusing, flaccid amalgam of pluralism that no Russian could explain his or her beliefs, much less fight for them.

Before long, the religious and the nonreligious in the Soviet Union, too, could engage in December clashes over creches, crosses and menorahs on public property instead of doing the sensible thing, which is to keep church and state separate at Christmas as well as other times. This protects not only the rights of atheists but also the integrity of religious doctrine. As things stand, holiday-season "religious" displays gain judicial acceptance in direct proportion to their secularization, and that muddies the message beyond recognition.

(In one of the most recent cases to attract ACLU watchdogs, Ottawa, Ill., officials on Monday were ordered by U.S. District Judge Milton Shadur to remove paintings of scenes from the life of Christ from an Ottawa park.)

In time, maybe Soviet schoolchildren could take their "holiday break," secure in the ignorance about religious history that teachers, emulating American counterparts, feel compelled to leave them.

(Norman Lear, in a speech last month to religious scholars, called himself a "civil libertarian" but said he disagreed with people "so fastidious" that they "would purge any reference to God or religion from the public schools." He urged schools to teach about the role of religion in history, which seems a prerequisite to teaching tolerance of differences. You can't show respect for something you've never heard of.)

Why, try to imagine what other incongruities must hide in the Pandora's box Gorbachev is toying with! He is opening the door to this paradox: Religious convictions—often strongest when imperiled—can atrophy in the absence of the defensive exertions that disappear when the threat is lifted.

Now, to assert seriously that this will happen anytime soon in the Soviet Union would be a slur on the long-suffering Christians, Jews, Moslems and other believers there. And the foregoing picture of U.S. religious slackness—an overdrawn picture; there's much life left—is rendered more as a lament than a criticism, by a churchgoer who'd rather worship in a crowded pew than a nearly empty one.

It is true, though, that the beauty of religious liberty lies in the freedom to ignore and reject religion as well as practice it. That enlarged possibility makes what could be in store for the Soviets all the richer. Nonbelievers could exercise their choice free of state dictates, and believers could worship confident that there is another Power besides Gorbachev at work restructuring.

Richard Liefer is editor of the op-ed page.

WASH. TIMES: 12-04-89

Gorbachev, pope meet, will restore diplomatic ties

By Larry Witham
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

178/199

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Pope John Paul II came away from their historic meeting as mutual winners, bolstering the Soviet leader's Western support and giving the papacy new access in the East bloc.

At the conclusion of a private meeting at the Vatican Friday, the two leaders said the papacy and Moscow would restore diplomatic relations, the pope may visit the Soviet Union and religious freedom soon would be protected there under law.

Just hours before they met, the Soviet republic of the Ukraine announced that the Ukrainian Catholic Church would be legalized after 43 years of suppression.

The 80-minute meeting, which began in private session across a modest wooden desk in the papal library, represented a thaw between the world's largest nation and the world's largest church, with 850 million members.

The two leaders, though working from different ideological foundations, also alluded to their hopes for a future "common European home."

At Mr. Gorbachev's request, the two spoke in Russian for the first five minutes of their private meeting. Later, the pope greeted Mr. Gorbachev's wife, Raisa, and others in the delegation in his heavily accented Russian.

In Mr. Gorbachev's brief speech, he said an agreement was reached "in principle to give official status to our interstate relations," a matter to be "determined by our diplomatic officials."

The Vatican's mission in Russia, which began in the 18th century under Catherine the Great, was broken off after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917.

Mr. Gorbachev also said he "discussed a future visit" by the pope to the Soviet Union and that the Vatican and Kremlin had "a high degree of mutual understanding" about Europe's future.

On Thursday, the Soviet leader issued a call for an international summit next year which he dubbed "Helsinki 2." The Soviet Union has not met its obligations under the 1975 Helsinki Accords on human rights and security, according to Western diplomats and Soviet dissidents.

Mr. Gorbachev, saying that all Soviet believers should have the right to "satisfy their spiritual needs," noted that a new law allowing freedom of conscience would soon be passed by the Supreme Soviet.

Speaking in Italian, the pope wished Mr. Gorbachev success in "the process of renewal which you have set in motion." But he also spoke of "painful trials" of Soviet Christians and asked Mr. Gorbachev to guarantee freedom of religion.

"On their behalf — whether they be of the Latin, Byzantine or Armenian rite — I express the fervent hope that they will be able to practice freely their religious life," the pope said.

The two leaders, though working from different ideological foundations, also alluded to their hopes for a future "common European home."

The Ukrainian Catholic Church, or Uniate church, was forcibly merged with the Russian Orthodox Church by Stalin in 1946.

Its legalization has been opposed mainly by the Russian Orthodox in the Ukraine, who stand to lose the properties and revenues of the Soviet Union's most church-rich region in Western Ukraine.

A quarter of the Soviet Union's 8,000 to 10,000 functioning churches are concentrated in the Uniate populated Western Ukraine. There are an estimated 3.5 million Uniates in the Soviet Union.

The legalization helps Mr. Gorbachev avoid nationalist strife in the Ukraine, according to Dimitry Pospielovsky of the University of Western Ontario. "Under suppression it became a strongly nationalistic church movement," he said.

The head of the Uniates, Rome-based Cardinal Myroslav Lubachivsky, has called on them to reconstitute their churches, which is done under Soviet law by registering a group of 20 members.

The pope's visit to the Soviet Union, which would strengthen Mr. Gorbachev internationally, is still conditioned on changes there, according to Vatican officials.

The pope told Mr. Gorbachev in private that "he hoped developments would make it possible for him to accept," the officials said.

The pope has already stated his desire to visit the Ukraine and Lithuania. Vatican officials said a visit is not likely before 1991.

The proposed new law that would effect freedom of religion has been announced for nearly two years, and some Soviet dissidents have given pessimistic reports on its immediate chances of being adopted.

• *This article is based in part on wire services*

WASH.TIMES:12-07-89

God and man in Rome and Moscow

JOSEPH SOBRAN

293|178|183|194

The real summit — the one that deserves to be called "historic" — occurred not in Malta but in Vatican City. There Rome and Moscow met. Moscow was on its knees.

The two Slavic leaders, Pope John Paul II and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, spent five minutes alone, conversing in Russian. When they appeared again, Mr. Gorbachev, a baptized Christian, referred to the pope as "Holy Father." He obliquely apologized for 70 years of communist persecution of Christianity, praised the pope and the influence of religion and pledged to guarantee the rights of believers of all faiths.

The meeting produced "hard" news, too. The Vatican and Russia (it seems odd to call it "the Soviet Union" now) will resume formal diplomatic relations. But the symbolism of this meeting was its real substance. An old enmity has died, because communism has died.

American anti-communists tend to give Ronald Reagan most of the credit for containing the Soviet empire until its internal collapse. Though the collapse would have come eventually in a system that depresses normal human energies, this pope should not be denied his share of the credit. His leadership restored the morale of Poland, where the collapse of communism took the ironic form of a workers' revolt. The entire system of communism lost any remaining trace of moral legitimacy, except in the minds of a few Western intellectuals.

The captive peoples of Eastern Europe, most of them Catholic, learned to stop waiting for a rescue from the West after the shocks of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. But by 1980 they were discovering that they could free themselves. Many of them risked martyrdom, but the real story was that only a few of them actually suffered it. The Communists were too demoralized to inflict the scale of violence they were capable of from the days of Lenin to those of Leonid Brezhnev.

Mr. Gorbachev does not lack will and spirit. He has more of these than any other Communist ruler since Stalin. The only thing he lacks is belief in communism itself.

The suspicion grows that Mr. Gorbachev is actually a believing Christian who has resolved to use his power to make irreversible changes: to destroy communism, in fact, so that it can never return, no matter what happens to him personally. This is only a hunch, but it covers the facts pretty well. His deferential behavior to the pope seems to confirm it.

Western opinion assumes that the choices facing Eastern Europe are communism and democracy, as if there were no other alternatives. Time will tell. But a return to communism is not in the cards. Unlike Western liberals, the huge crowds in the streets of East Berlin and Prague didn't think President Ronald Reagan was silly or hyperbolic to call the Soviet Union an "evil empire." Neither, it turns out, did Mr. Gorbachev. By his actions he is confessing to everything Mr. Reagan accused communism of.

Not only confessing, but repenting. Catholic teaching holds that repentance is only real when informed by the "firm purpose of amendment." This is what Mr. Gorbachev has so amazingly displayed on behalf of his regime.

We are all anti-communist now, even the Communists. Liberals who used to jeer at Mr. Reagan are pretending they agreed with him all along. And no doubt they sincerely wish they had.

This is a time for generosity in the West. President Bush seemed a little priggish and pharisaical in his tardiness in welcoming the wonderful events in the Soviet bloc, as if being leader of the Free World gave him a sort of ex officio righteousness. He seemed to look down on Mr. Gorbachev with the unpleasant superiority of a teetotaler smirking at the town drunk's efforts to reform. This attitude was irksome to anyone who remembered that there is more joy in heaven over one repentant sinner than over all those for whom virtue comes easy. It is unbecoming for us to look down on so heroic a man as Mr. Gorbachev.

The Free World has inherited its freedom and has frittered away much of the heritage it has done little to deserve. But if the Slavs cease being slaves, their descendants will look back with reverence to the men who achieved their freedom — men such as John Paul II, Lech Walesa and Mikhail Gorbachev. These are the founding fathers of a new order.

Joseph Sobran, a senior editor of National Review, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

WASH.TIMES: 11-28-89

Gorbachev, pope have favors to ask

By Lynn Reaves
SPECIAL TO THE WASHINGTON TIMES

178 | A4

ROME — The Roman Catholic Church will flex its intangible but undeniable political might this week when the leader of the world's most powerful atheistic nation journeys inside Vatican walls for a meeting that experts say is likely to have profound influence on events in the Soviet Union.

The stakes are high for Friday's encounter between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Pope John Paul II, with many observers believing that Mr. Gorbachev will ask the Polish pope to help him hold his tottering communist empire together.

This is the first time the leader of the Soviet Communist Party has met with a pope. Although religious issues should fill the agenda, it is the political overtones of those same issues that are paramount.

"What we will see in this meeting is hardball politics," said one Vatican expert. "The pope has some powerful bargaining chips and he is going to use them."

In typical Vatican fashion, no agenda for the meeting has been released and it is unlikely that what transpires between the two leaders will ever be fully known.

But most Vatican watchers believe the future of the Catholic church in the Ukraine will be the focus. "We have the assurance of the Holy Father that the issue of the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church will be the primary item on the agenda," said Cardinal Myroslav Lubachivsky, head of the Ukrainian Church.

The church was suppressed in 1946 by Soviet dictator Josef Stalin and forcibly merged with the Russian Orthodox Church. Many of its clergy were arrested or killed.

During the past two years, however, reforms introduced by Mr. Gorbachev have allowed many of the 5 million members of the Ukrainian church to once again espouse their religion publicly. Church leaders now are demanding that the Catholic church be officially recognized, and the pope is sure to push Mr. Gorbachev for the legalization.

But legalization of the church poses particularly sticky problems for the Soviet leader. A growing nationalist movement in the Ukraine is tied to the church, and the Kremlin's decision on the legalization could either fuel or calm the tide of unrest.

The Ukraine is the Soviet Union's most densely populated republic, its bread basket and its heavy industrial heartland. A blowup in the region could be an economic disaster for the country.

Insiders at the Vatican believe Mr. Gorbachev will try to convince the pope that the Soviet Union is serious about allowing a slow but steady course to religious freedom.

In return, experts say, Mr. Gorbachev hopes the pope will use his influence to calm emotions in the Ukraine before the nationalist movement gets out of hand.

"Mr. Gorbachev must have time to get his reforms in place. He needs the pope's help to buy some time," said one Western diplomat in Rome. "Mr. Gorbachev will ask the pope to call off the dogs."

This week's historic meeting is likely to end with Mr. Gorbachev inviting the much-traveled pope to visit the Soviet Union. Pope John Paul has often expressed his desire to go, but has insisted he must be allowed to travel to the Ukraine as well as Moscow.

Cardinal Lubachivsky feels the pope will continue to press to visit the Ukraine. "I do not believe that Pope John Paul would negate the suffering our people have endured by traveling to the Soviet Union without the legalization of our church," he said. But the Kremlin knows that a papal trip to the Ukraine would be risky.

"This is the biggest gamble of all for Mr. Gorbachev," said one longtime Vatican watcher. "If Mr. Gorbachev agrees that the Pope can go to the Ukraine, his presence there could make the whole place blow up."

"It could be another Poland," said one Western diplomat. "Then again, if Mr. Gorbachev doesn't let him go, the Ukraine could still go crazy. There's no question that Moscow needs the pope's help."

Besides the Ukraine, the two leaders are likely to talk about the new law on religion that has been introduced in the Soviet Parliament. The law, which could eventually lead to religious freedom, is now on its second revision.

Although Mr. Gorbachev is likely to point to this pending legislation when he discusses the reforms under way in his own country, some say his motivation may come into question.

"A lot of people feel that the new reforms concerning religion are being done for purely economic reasons," said one Vatican expert. "It is costing Moscow a lot of money to keep religion down."

There is no doubt the Kremlin has a lot to win or lose in this meeting, but it is also true the Vatican has much riding on the Gorbachev visit.

Said one western diplomat: "The church is looking more and more to the East bloc and to Asia for its faithful. Basically, the church believes West Europe has lost its basic values. The future of the Catholic church may lie in East Europe and, maybe, in the Soviet Union."

Since it is unlikely that the pope or Mr. Gorbachev will reveal the substance of Friday's meeting, longtime watchers of the Vatican say the success of the historic encounter may best be revealed by some rather obscure details.

The length of the meeting is important. President Reagan got 40 minutes with the pope. President Bush was allowed only 23.

Also, the gifts the two leaders exchange are worth noting. "If Mr. Gorbachev gives the pope an icon, that will be a sign of the importance he puts on the meeting," said one Vatican watcher.

"If he just gives the pope an autographed picture, it would be a slap in the face to the Vatican."

N.Y.TIMES:12-01-89

Gorbachev Lauds Religion on Eve of Meeting Pope

178/104

By CLYDE HABERMAN
Special to The New York Times

ROME, Nov. 30 — On the eve of an encounter with Pope John Paul II, President Mikhail S. Gorbachev said tonight that the Soviet Union had erred in long rejecting religion and now needed its moral force to help make his plans for a restructured society work.

"We have changed our attitude on some matters, such as religion, for example, which admittedly we used to treat in a simplistic manner," said Mr. Gorbachev, whose meeting with the Pope on Friday will be the first between a Soviet Communist leader and the spiritual guide to the world's 850 million Roman Catholics.

"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."

'An Entirely New Era'

"In fact," Mr. Gorbachev added, "this is already happening."

Mr. Gorbachev flies to Malta on Friday night, where he will meet aboard Soviet and American warships in a Maltese harbor with President Bush on Saturday and Sunday.

His thoughts on religion came in a multi-themed speech that was as much a philosophical reflection as a political statement. In it, the Soviet leader offered a vision of a new Europe, one that would be "a commonwealth of sovereign democratic states," based on spiritual values, pluralism, religious tolerance and mutual understanding.

"The world is on the threshold of an entirely new era," he said, and he proposed a 35-nation "European summit" meeting next year to consider the swift changes that he said were turning not only Eastern Europe upside down but the West as well.

It would be, Mr. Gorbachev told his Italian hosts, "a Helsinki 2 meeting," an updated version of the 1975 conference that confirmed Europe's borders and set rules governing human rights, economic cooperation and military security. Such a gathering had already been planned for 1992, but he said that rapidly unfolding events required that it be held sooner.

On the second day of a three-day visit here, the Soviet leader also issued a joint statement with Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti of Italy asserting that "the curtain of mistrust between the East and the West is crumbling" as one Communist-bloc nation after another succumbs to demands for democratic reform.

A Ban on Chemical Weapons

The two men 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."

Looking ahead to his meeting with President Bush off Malta this weekend, Mr. Gorbachev predicted in his speech tonight that their discussions would "enable us to take a new constructive step in the movement from mutual understanding to mutual action" in United States-Soviet relations. In the statement with Mr. Andreotti, he said that he wanted an arms-reduction agreement next year that would include a global ban on chemical weapons and a 50 percent cut in both superowers' offensive strategic weapons.

Mr. Gorbachev's trip to Italy has assumed an importance not foreseen when arrangements for it were begun many months ago. This turned out to be his first chance to talk directly with a major Western country about the tumultuous events in Eastern Europe, and it also has served as a warm-up for his conferences with Mr. Bush.

His speech tonight was billed as a capstone to the Italian part of his journey, before he crosses the Tiber River to enter Vatican City. He delivered it in a meeting room on the Capitoline Hill, the political and religious center of ancient Rome. The room is named after Julius Caesar, which seemed an appropriately symbolic flourish, for there is no question that Mr. Gorbachev has been a conqueror of Roman hearts and minds during his brief stay here.

'No Return to the Past'

In his remarks, he talked about the difficulties he faces in trying to restructure Soviet life and what he called the Stalinist legacy of suppressed ethnic problems. To Italy's leaders, he acknowledged that economic hardships persist, including bare store shelves. But the entire Communist bloc, he said, had crossed the Rubicon of change, even if there is also now the danger of political instability in Europe.

"Having embarked upon the road of radical reform, the Socialist countries, one after another, are crossing the line beyond which there is no return to the past," he said.

Mr. Gorbachev cautioned Western nations against trying to exploit the turmoil in the East with "clumsy behavior or provocative statements," or viewing recent events as proof of capitalism's triumph over Communism in the cold war. Attempts "to tilt the events solely to one's own advantage are fraught with chaos," he said.

In fact, he insisted, Communism is far from dead and it was "wishful thinking" to believe it is. Now, he said, Communism has "new opportunities for moving toward its just and noble goals, for releasing the enormous humanistic and democratic potential contained in the socialist ideal."

But "we have abandoned the claim to have a monopoly on the truth," the Soviet leader said. "We no longer think that we are the best and that we are always right, that those who disagree with us are our enemies."

Gorbachev & Pope

N.Y.TIMES:12-02-89

Ukrainian Catholic Church Wins Legal Status After a 43-Year Ban

178/194

By BILL KELLER
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Dec. 1 — Officials in the Ukraine have announced that they will register congregations of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, ending more than four decades in which the church's status was illegal, church members said today.

The announcement was clearly timed to coincide with President Mikhail S. Gorbachev's meeting today with Pope John Paul II, who has appealed for an end to the ban imposed by Stalin on Eastern Rite Catholics, also known as Greek Catholics.

But Ivan Hel, the lay leader of an unofficial committee that has campaigned to legalize the Ukrainian Catholic Church, said that the Government announcement did not say what would become of the thousands of church buildings that were confiscated for secular use or turned over to the Russian Orthodox Church.

A battle over church buildings is unresolved.

He said Ukrainian Catholics had also demanded that the Government publicly repudiate the state-sponsored "synod" of 1946, in which the Ukrainian Catholics were coerced into merging with the Russian Orthodox church.

Mr. Hel and other church members said tonight in telephone interviews from Lvov, in the western Ukraine, that the decision to recognize parishes was announced on local television Tuesday night and later in city newspapers by Yuri Reshetilo, the Lvov representative of the Government's Council on Religious Affairs.

Emboldened by Vatican Visit

The Associated Press reported that the decision was confirmed by Nikolai Kolesnik, an official of the Ukrainian Council on Religious Affairs, the Government agency that monitors church matters.

Emboldened by Mr. Gorbachev's plan to visit the Vatican, Eastern Rite Catholics in scores of Russian Orthodox churches in the western Ukraine have announced in recent weeks that they consider themselves Ukrainian Catholics.

During a Sunday service, a priest at the Transfiguration Cathedral in Lvov announced that the congregation had transferred its allegiance to the Eastern Rite church. Russian Orthodox officials in Moscow asserted that the cathedral had been forcibly seized, but the worshipers said they were only proclaiming what was in their hearts.

Faced with threats by the local authorities, church members have maintained a round-the-clock vigil at the cathedral, and tens of thousands have come to attend services.

A visit to Moscow by a Vatican delegation was canceled this week after the Russian Orthodox Church said it would not conduct talks during the "occupation" of the cathedral.

Battle Over Church Buildings

Mr. Hel said tonight that more than 100 other churches in the Western Ukraine had also proclaimed Ukrainian Catholicism.

Russian Orthodox Church leaders have opposed a change in the status of the Ukrainian Catholics, citing ecclesiastical differences as well as the inevitable battle over vast numbers of contested churches. Legalization would give the Catholics a crucial foothold in this traditionally Orthodox country.

Mr. Hel said the Government decree provided for churches to be transferred from Russian Orthodox to Ukrainian Catholic hands only after authorities had conducted a secret ballot in each parish and determined that most of the worshipers favored the change.

"The people in the Western Ukraine have been terrorized by many years of oppression, and they are afraid," he said. "This provision is an insult to the Ukrainian Catholics."

Largely because of its identification with Ukrainian nationalism, the Eastern Rite church has endured severe persecution since the western Ukraine was seized from Poland in 1939.

The church recognizes the Pope as its head, but follows Byzantine rites.

Christians in the Soviet Union

About half the Soviet Union's 286 million people profess a religious affiliation. In addition to the groups cited below, there are 40 to 50 million Muslims, 1.8 million to 2 million Jews and 665,000 Buddhists. Figures for adherents are Western estimates.

Group	Adherents
Russian Orthodox	**50-60 million**

The largest of the self-governing Eastern Rite Christian groups descended from the ancient church of Constantinople and recognizing the primacy of the Ecumenical Patriarch there.

The division between these churches and the Catholic Church headed by the Pope is usually dated to 1054, but it was a prolonged process of estrangement, and involves differences over the Trinity, church governance, clerical celibacy and liturgical practice.

A number of traditionalist, pietist or charismatic Orthodox groups have rejected the church's leadership; some are recognized by the Government as distinct religious bodies, others exist illegally.

Roman Catholic	**10 million**

About 4 million Latin Rite Catholics are found primarily in the Baltic areas christianized in the medieval period. The Vatican has been able to name bishops in Lithuania, Latvia and, last month, in Byelorussia, to lead these Catholics.

Eastern Rite Catholics, existing primarily in the Western Ukraine, maintain the Eastern liturgy and other practices common to Orthodoxy. Influenced by Poland, but resisting its Western or Latin rite, they began professing obedience to the papacy after the Union of Brest in 1596. In 1946, this church, known as the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, was annexed to the Orthodox Church and its independent leadership suppressed. An estimated 6 million adherents, 4-5 million in the Ukraine, have continued to maintain an underground church.

Armenian Apostolic	**4 million**
Georgian Orthodox	**3 million**

Two churches of the Eastern tradition, the earliest established in the third and fourth centuries in what is now Soviet territory.

Followers are primarily in the Baltic, especially Estonia and Latvia.

Evangelical Lutheran Church	**1.2 - 1.5 million**

There are at least 1 million other Protestants, but figures vary widely and distinguish between approximately 500,000 "members" and the larger number of "adherents" including children and other believers not baptised as adults.

Between 250,000 and 300,000 members, mostly Baptists, are linked to the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists, recognized by the Government.

About 40,000 members are organized in the unrecognized Council of Churches of Evangelical Christian-Baptists. Many of these believers as well as those in scores of underground groups are Pentecostals.

N.Y.TIMES: 12-02-89

Comments at Vatican By Pope and Gorbachev

198/194

Special to The New York Times

ROME, Dec. 1 — Following are excerpts from remarks by Pope John Paul II and President Mikhail S. Gorbachev of the Soviet Union at their meeting today at the Vatican, as translated by the Vatican:

POPE'S STATEMENT

The visit which you are making to the Successor of Peter is an important event in the history of relations between the Soviet Union and the Apostolic See. As such, it is being followed with great interest by Catholics throughout the world and by all people of good will.... Through you I also wish to greet all the peoples of the Republics of the Soviet Union. My esteem and affection goes out to all of them.

. . .

Your visit, in fact, enables us to look with greater confidence to the future of the communities of believers in the Soviet Union.

The events of the past decades and the painful trials to which so many citizens were subjected because of their faith are widely known....

Recent developments and the new perspectives which have opened up lead us to the hope that the situation will change, thanks to the repeatedly affirmed decision of your Government to proceed with a renewal of internal legislation in order to bring it into full harmony with the solemn international commitments to which the Soviet world also subscribed.

On this occasion I make my own the expectation of millions of your fellow citizens — and with them of millions of others throughout the world — namely, that the law on freedom of conscience soon to be discussed by the Supreme Soviet will help to guarantee to all believers the full exercise of the right to religious freedom which, as I have said many times, is the foundation of the other freedoms. My thoughts turn in particular to those Christians living in the Soviet Union who are in full communion with this Apostolic See. On their behalf — whether they be of the Latin, Byzantine or Armenian Rite — I express the fervent hope that they be able to practice freely their religious life.

. . .

With you, Mr. President, we have had the opportunity to dwell on the international situation and on some specific and more urgent problems. We have also discussed the development of contacts between us for resolving the problems of the Catholic Church in the U.S.S.R. as well as for fostering a shared commitment on behalf of peace and cooperation in the world.

. . .

Mr. President, our meeting today will hardly fail to have a powerful impact on world opinion. Not only is it something new and unusual; it will also be interpreted as singularly meaningful: a sign of the times that have slowly matured, a sign that is rich in promise.

The Holy See follows with great interest the process of renewal which you have set in motion in the Soviet Union. It wishes you success and declares itself ready to support every initiative that will better protect and integrate the rights and duties of individuals and peoples, so that peace may be insured in Europe and the world.

Tomorrow you will meet with the President of the United States of America, Mr. George Bush. For my part, I express cordial good wishes and pray that the forthcoming talks may lead to a new understanding, one based upon a careful heeding of the needs and aspirations of peoples.

GORBACHEV'S STATEMENT

A truly extraordinary event has taken place. It has become possible due to the profound changes that are sweeping many countries and nations....

I feel that my thoughts and concerns have been duly appreciated, as well as my explanation of the problems that now exist in our country, including problems between the state and various churches, which we are addressing in a spirit of democracy and humanism and within the framework of perestroika.

. . .

Respect for the people's national, state, spiritual and cultural identity is an indispensable condition for a steady international environment which Europe and the world now need to cross the historic watershed and attain a new period of peace.

We proceed from these positions in initiating our dialogue with the Holy See — the dialogue which has now been consecrated by this summit meeting....

We have reached agreement in principle to give official status to our interstate relations....

People of many confessions, including Christians, Muslims, Jews, Buddhists and others live in the Soviet Union. All of them have a right to satisfy their spiritual needs. Shortly, a Law on the Freedom of Conscience will be adopted in our country. Within the mainstream of perestroika we are learning the difficult and indispensable art of comprehensive cooperation and consolidation of society on the groundwork of renewal.

WASH.POST: 11-29-89

Ukraine Prelate Predicts Legalization of Church

Gorbachev, Pope Expected to Find Accord

194
178

By Michael Dobbs
Washington Post Foreign Service

ROME, Nov. 28—The leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Church said today that he expects a historic meeting later this week between Pope John Paul II and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to lead to legalization of the church, the largest banned religious organization in the world.

Cardinal Ivan Lubachivsky said in an interview that he supports sit-ins by Ukrainian Catholics at church buildings that were confiscated by the Soviet authorities in 1946 and handed over to the Russian Orthodox Church. The occupations have been denounced by Orthodox leaders as acts of violence that could jeopardize prospects for dialogue between the two churches.

The ban on the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which claims 5 million followers in the western Ukraine, is the major obstacle to improved relations between the Vatican and the Kremlin. The Polish-born pope has taken a personal interest in the Ukrainian Church and has told church leaders that he plans to press their demands when he meets Gorbachev on Friday.

The Ukrainian Catholic, or Uniate, Church, which combines loyalty to the pope with Byzantine rituals, was forced underground by Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin. It maintained a catacomb-like existence for four decades. Soviet newspapers recently have described how the Synod of Lvov, at which the church formally disbanded in March 1946, was stage-managed by the Soviet secret police.

Until recently, the official Soviet position was that the church did not exist. But over the last few months Ukrainian Catholics have proved that they are a force to be recognized by staging huge demonstrations in Lvov and other cities in the western Ukraine. On Oct. 29, thousands of Ukrainian Catholics "reclaimed" the Transfiguration Cathedral in Lvov from the Orthodox Church by staging a permanent vigil in the building.

The property issue is extremely sensitive for the Russian Orthodox Church, which has been closely controlled by the state since the time of the czars. Forced to give up its own property in other areas of the Soviet Union, the Orthodox Church was encouraged by Stalin to take over Uniate property—with the result that nearly half of the officially permitted religious congregations are located in the western Ukraine.

A Russian Orthodox leader, Metropolitan Juvenalius, told a press conference here Monday that it was impossible to negotiate a return of Catholic property under what he called "the muzzle of the gun." He said that a meeting with Vatican officials in Moscow last week had been canceled because of the occupation of the Transfiguration Cathedral.

In the interview today, Cardinal Lubachivsky, 75, described the occupation of the cathedral as "peaceful," adding that Ukrainian Catholics had a right to hold services in their own churches.

"We do not ask for anybody else's property, just our own property which was confiscated by Stalin," said the cardinal, who is spiritual leader of the worldwide Ukrainian Catholic community.

The cardinal said he had drawn up a list of demands that the pope is to present Gorbachev. He said he was confident that the meeting, the first between the leader of the Soviet Communist Party and the head of the Roman Catholic Church, would lead to "the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church."

In recent weeks, Soviet officials have sought to distance themselves from the dispute over church property in the western Ukraine, arguing that it is a religious issue that must be resolved by the churches. Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly Adamishin told a news conference in Moscow last week that the Uniates would be able to register their church under a bill on religion that is likely to be adopted by the Soviet legislature within six months.

The Russian Orthodox Church has refused, however, to negotiate with the Ukrainian Catholics on the grounds that they do not have a legally recognized hierarchy. It has insisted instead on talking to the Vatican.

Until the election of Pope John Paul in 1978, the Vatican was reluctant to raise the issue of the Ukrainian Uniates with the Soviet authorities for fear of jeopardizing gradual improvements in the position of Catholic churches in Eastern Europe. Lubachivsky credited the present pope with a major change in Vatican policy toward the Kremlin.

"This is a pope who knows about Communist countries, understands the situation in Eastern Europe, and has been willing to stand up for our rights," said Lubachivsky.

There are some signs that the Orthodox Church could be adopting a somewhat more flexible position toward the Uniates under pressure from the Soviet authorities. The newly appointed head of the church's foreign relations department, Archbishop Kiril of Smolensk, has taken a somewhat more conciliatory approach than his predecessor, Archbishop Filaret.

In a news conference in Moscow today, Kiril said, "The rights of the Eastern-rite Ukrainian Catholics should be achieved through dialogue, and all technical problems solved at the same time." The term "technical problems" apparently referred to church property seized by the Orthodox Church.

When the Uniate Church was disbanded in 1946, it had more than 4,000 churches and chapels, 2,772 parishes, 8 bishops, and more than 2,000 priests. The bishops and priests were imprisoned, killed, or exiled to Siberia while the lay members were forced to convert to Orthodoxy.

N.Y.TIMES: 11-26-89

An Unnamed 'Healing Force' Debuts on Soviet TV

178/144

By FRANCIS X. CLINES
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Nov. 25 — Television viewers across the Soviet Union are being startled from their Sunday evening weather-forecast fare by a new program in which the Government has begun inviting them to consider thoughts of eternity and the soul.

"Pause and tear yourself away from the conveyor belt of your factory, from the conveyor belt of our streets," a Russian Orthodox clergyman in full garb urged in the premiere homily. He begged the home audience to heed their souls, to "hear the silence that carries healing and creative force."

Thus is the state's long oppression of religion, the decades of Lenin's angry prescription of an "assault on heaven," being interrupted every other week for a 15-minute nationwide sermonette, albeit one noticeably short of the specific mention of God.

The unusual show, called "Thoughts on the Eternal: Sunday Moral Sermon," is the latest step in the Soviet Union's gradual, pragmatic retreat from harsh restrictions on religion. The show's Communist producers promise they soon will allow a Muslim imam, a rabbi and assorted other spiritual leaders to take the electronic pulpit.

In the nearly five years since President Mikhail S. Gorbachev came to power, religious change has in some ways been making steadier progress in reviving Soviet society than has perestroika, the Soviet leader's ambitious program of economic ad political restructuring. After the Stalin and Khrushchev eras of religious oppression, people are flocking to the churches that the state has been reopening at an ever-faster rate — 937 last year, compared with only 10 in 1987.

Nationally, 8,500 Russian Orthodox churches are now open, and about 20 more are being restored each week. This represents an increase of about one-third in the last few years, though the number is still far short of the 50,000 churches that existed before the revolution of 1917.

New laws no longer ban bell ringing and charitable activities, and new religious organizations are coming forward, though they are still required to apply for state approval. With church buildings being returned, parishoners have begun restoration projects ranging from the gilt, onion-shaped domes to the baptismal fonts. Local congregations are growing, although with discreet concern that people's careers have been damaged in the past by accusations of religious affiliation.

All this change do not constitute the establishment of full freedom of worship, particularly for the Jews, Protestants, Muslims and other groups or denominations traditionally less tolerated. The robust Ukrainian Catholic Church, for example, continues to operate clandestinely, in the shadows of a 40-year state ban.

The number of registered Islamic communities plummeted during the crackdowns of the Stalin and Khrushchev eras, but they are resurging in strongholds of the faith like the Azerbaijan republic, where there were 2,000 mosques before the 1917 revolution but only 18 two years ago.

This total is expected to triple in two years, but the growth rate, hobbled by the state, will still fail to satisfy demand, according to Muslim officials. They note that their faith long has survived in unofficial ways.

For Jews, the statistics have been even more discouraging — 109 registered communities in 1987, compared with 259 in 1961 — despite the Government's recent effort after decades of anti-Semitism to occasionally highlight an isolated event like the opening of a Jewish cultural center.

The status of the Ukrainian church, which Stalin feared as a vehicle of Ukrainian nationalism, is a major concern of Pope John Paul II, who is expected to press for its legalization when he meets with Mr. Gorbachev on Friday at the Vatican. The Pope presumably will also be seeing to the interests of the thriving Catholic Church in the Baltic republics, where separatist movements have the Kremlin alarmed.

A Longing for Spiritual Respite

State control of religion remains considerable under highly restrictive 1929 laws — from oversight of the clergy to limits on the publishing of Bibles. Although atheism was not enshrined in the Bolshevik Constitution, party members who were required to be godless. Some have lapsed in recent years, particularly as Mr. Gorbachev pledged greater tolerance and invoked God's name in occasionally folksy references.

The Soviet leader has said that mistakes were made about religion and that the errors should be rectified. But a proposal by the Soviet Government to alter the status of religion and to codify freedom of conscience has not yet been enacted. No one knows what form such a measure would take. But as proposed, it would guarantee the right of churches to exist as legal entities with less state interference and would remove restrictions on religious education, among other changes.

The new show suggests that Mr. Gorbachev, in contrast to Marx, who denounced religion's "illusory happiness," may sense that the Soviet people need some spiritual respite, if only as a pragmatic adjunct to his own campaign for a resurgence of willpower and industry.

Thus far, the sermon shows have amounted to a kind of mauve pantheism, with the cleric, a poet and a philosopher speaking of a universal context to life, of a sense of celebration in stepping back from the workaday world and sensing there is something more to existence.

"What every person needs now, what the whole of our society needs now, is the unity apprehended in the deep quietness of internal self-cognition," said the first preacher, Metropolitan Pitirim of the Russian Orthodox Church. He did not mention God, but his sepulchral baritone and richly traditional garb sent a strong message of theism to viewers.

"This all started with great caution," said the show's producer, Natalya G. Chernyshov, a Communist Party member. She discussed God and man under perestroika as she sat in her office beneath an image of Dali's crucified Christ. "In my 20 years in television, such ideas had never been presented on the screen," she said, emphasizing that the speakers are free to say what they pleased.

She acknowledged, however, that the performances are taped and screened before they are aired on television, and that a number of tapes had already been rejected. But Miss Chernyshov insisted that segments were culled only for effectiveness, not because of controversial content.

It was the introduction of freer political speech and writing that demonstrated the need for a spiritual program, but one devoid of accusations, she said.

"Under perestroika, everybody started criticizing everything," Miss Chernyshov said. "We are very good at criticism in this country, but it turned out that was not enough. People cannot live only on negativism."

Moscow is also allowing more churches to open, and ring bells.

The show does comes across as a respite from the Government importunings to support perestroika that are heard so often. "Verbosity does not provide salvation," is the way that Metropolitan Pitirim gently put it.

It is no surprise that a poll by the show's producers questioning viewers on their preferred Sunday sermonizers ranked Mr. Gorbachev, with his own limitless supply of TV preaching time, 123d, with the Pope nine spots ahead at 114.

Andrei D. Sakharov, the physicist and human rights campaigner, was among the most requested, with Mother Teresa and Boris N. Yeltsin, Mr. Gorbachev's nemesis, neck and neck in the top 10.

The other preferences of the nation's new TV congregation ranged beyond religious figures. They include a bellydancer, an articulate ballerina and a professional clown, none of whom is yet guaranteed a spot on "Thoughts on the Eternal."

N.Y.TIMES:11-28-89

ORTHODOX LEADER MEETS WITH POPE

Russian Asserts Violence by Ukrainian Catholics Hurts Reconciliation Talks

By FRANCIS X. CLINES
Special to The New York Times

ROME, Nov. 27 — A leader of the Russian Orthodox Church met with Pope John Paul II today, asserting that extremists in the Ukrainian Catholic Church have been causing violence and endangering reconciliation talks between the two faiths.

"We are unable to conduct Christian, brotherly negotiations under the muzzle of a gun," Metropolitan Juvenaras of Kolumna declared shortly before seeing the Pope to discuss the delicate Soviet church issue that John Paul is expected to raise on Friday when he is visited by President Mikhail S. Gorbachev.

The accusation of violence was denied by officials of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which has flourished underground despite being banned four decades ago by Stalin and having its property taken by the Russian Orthodox Church.

Catholic officials said that contrary to the Orthodox prelate's charge that Transfiguration Cathedral in Lvov had been "violently seized" by Catholic extremists on Oct. 29, the cathedral congregation itself had decided peaceably to end its Russian Orthodox ties because in truth it had long remained part of the Catholic tradition.

Legalization Demanded

This was affirmed by parishoners in interviews with Western news reporters who recently visited Lvov. Under Mr. Gorbachev's invitation to the Soviet public to be less fearful and more outspoken, Ukrainian Catholics have been demanding legalization of their church. The Transfiguration Cathedral has become a rallying point, where tens of thousands of Ukrainian Catholics demonstrated peaceably Sunday for an end to the ban on their faith.

There was no immediate comment from the Vatican on the issue of legalization, which is both a major goal for the Pope and a thorny political and regional problem for Mr. Gorbachev. The Pope is expected to argue in behalf of the Ukrainian Catholic Church's legalization, while Mr. Gorbachev may only offer general encouragement on the issue.

After the Lvov cathedral announced its Catholic allegiance and offered petitions to demonstrate the congregation's endorsement, a meeting was suddenly postponed this month between Russian Orthodox officials and Catholic representatives. No reason was announced for the postponement of the talks, which were timed in advance of the Soviet leader's visit to the Vatican.

Metropolitan Juvenaras insisted this morning at a news conference that the postponement was necessary because of the "seizure" of the Transfiguration Cathedral. He denied reports that the actual reason involved some changes in the Russian Orthodox hierarchy.

Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk was recently replaced as chief of the Russian Orthodox Church's external religious affairs bureau, which handles meetings with Vatican officials. He was succeeded by Archbishop Kirill of Smolensk, a churchman informally considered much more moderate in attitude on the question of legalization of the Ukrainian Catholics.

Wide Issue for Gorbachev

Mr. Gorbachev faces more than the issue of religious freedom in the Catholic question and his hope for some public sign of approval from the Pope. There is also his need to enlist the Russian Orthodox Church into his drive to renew the the spirit and industry of the public. Failing this, he risks antagonizing its hierarchy, moving it toward greater sympathies with the Russian nationalist political cause.

For the Russian Orthodox Church, the issue involves the question of possibly returning sizable church properties to Ukrainian Catholics. There is also the challenge of facing an unhampered competitor in the western region, where Catholicism has proved resilient among believers suspicious of the Russian Orthodox hierarchy's mixed history of relations with the Government.

Metropolitan Juvenaras indicated his sensitivity to this point when he asserted that the Orthodox Church "suffered more" during the worst decades of religious oppression. More than 40 years after the Ukrainian Church was absorbed into the Russian Orthodox Church under Stalin's decree, "now we have groups emerge who say they were underground, have bishops and want to be legalized," he said.

"Are they recognized by the Holy See?" he asked, saying it was most important to carry on the dialogue with the Vatican.

N.Y.TIMES:11-26-89

What Gorbachev Wants From the Pope

178/194

By CLYDE HABERMAN

ROME

IT was Stalin who asked derisively how many divisions the Pope had. Now, a successor who would dismantle Stalin's legacy is about to journey to Rome, recognizing that what the Pope may lack in troop strength he compensates for with a moral and political force that even the Kremlin must respect.

The encounter this Friday in the sanctum of the Vatican will carry historic significance: For the first time, the leader of atheistic Soviet Communism meets the Vicar of Christ. (In 1967, the Soviet chief of state, Nikolai V. Podgorny, called on Pope Paul VI, but he was not the Communist Party chief.)

Beyond the obvious symbolism, however, both men have concrete agendas to put forth.

Pope John Paul II wants religious shackles removed from the Soviet Union's Roman Catholics, especially those in the Ukraine, who went underground after being forcibly absorbed into the Russian Orthodox Church under Stalin four decades ago. President Mikhail S. Gorbachev, Vatican officials say, would like some form of papal blessing for the changes he is pressing. He would also welcome, they believe, a gesture that could be interpreted as an attempt to cool the ardor of Ukrainian and Baltic nationalists, many of them Catholics.

A safe bet is that each man will offer something to the other. The question is how much, and whether it will be enough to permit an eventual return visit to the Soviet Union by the Pope, who has often said that he wants to go but only if he can meet freely with his co-religionists.

Relations between the Holy See and much of the Communist bloc are rapidly improving, a development that has matched, and even preceded, the dazzling changes across Eastern Europe. Vatican officials argue that the metamorphosis can be credited in part to the Polish Pope, whose vision is of a unified — and Christian — Europe. His exhortations helped sustain the Solidarity movement in Poland in its darkest years; its leaders say as much. Now they are triumphant, and Poland's evolution is being replicated.

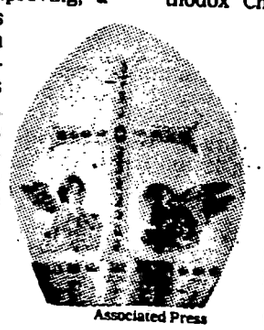
In the last year the Vatican has restored full diplomatic relations with Poland, and it is poised to do the same with Hungary. For the first time in decades, it has been allowed to appoint new Catholic bishops in Czechoslovakia. In the Soviet Union, it has named the first bishop in the republic of Byelorussia since the 1920's and has revived the church's dormant administrative structure in Lithuania. In the Ukraine, too, clergymen say that freedom of religious expression has improved for the estimated four million to five million Eastern-Rite Catholics.

Turning Point

A turning point was a papal decision in mid-1988 to send a high-level delegation to Moscow for the 1,000th anniversary of Christianity in Russia. Vatican officials delivered a letter from John Paul, specifying what the church wanted and talking of a possible meeting. In August, a Kremlin reply said that the road to dialogue was open. Finally, a November meeting was fixed, piggybacked on a visit by the Soviet leader to Italian leaders and coming, as it turns out, only a day before his seaborne encounter with President Bush.

The Ukraine would seem to hold the key for continued improvement in Vatican-Kremlin relations, but it is not clear how fast either side can go. John Paul could speak out against nationalist violence in the Ukraine, but it is not certain it would have any effect. Mr. Gorbachev could simply declare that the Eastern Christian Church should not have been merged with the Orthodox Church in 1946. But it could weaken his standing among Orthodox believers, who are far more numerous than Catholics.

So, as delighted as they are about the visit, Vatican officials are not counting on miracles. "We're not at the end of the process," a spokesman said. "We're at the beginning."



Associated Press

Return and Limits of Religion in East Europe

THOMAS MOLNAR

EVEN without the work of renovation initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev (sources in the Vatican call it a mere cleaning of the facade), the religious situation in the block of Soviet satellites is by no means monolithic. After forty years of Communist regime, the *nation*, the national idea, has succeeded in introducing fissures in the party-built edifice, and is now in the process of undermining the latter. The Party has been singularly vulnerable to this slow but steady "subversion" not only because doctrinally it does not understand attachment to country, but also because its officials thought that by allowing the limited expression of national sentiments in places and at times of their own choosing, they could turn discontent away from urgent problems of material survival. In short, the Party regarded nationalism as a safety valve to be turned on and off, as Stalin had successfully done during the Second World War. Nationalism thus became the one concession to be granted with a relative degree of safety to citizens in a permanent pre-insurrectionist mood.

The communist leaders miscalculated. National feeling and patriotism proved to be something other than mere debris in the trashcan of history; they became the most obvious rallying point of overt or covert resistance to Marxist "internationalism," better described as a planetary soulless society. The second miscalculation was that *religion* too would be reabsorbed into the scientific ideology. Instead, religion and nationhood joined forces and inspirations in people's minds and in external symbols. Churches had been, after all, present at the birth of these nations; their historical role and influence are embedded in the national consciousness. This fact did not mean a uniformly positive attitude vis-à-vis the churches on the part of the population; up to 1945 a sizable part was, if not antireligious, at least anticlerical. With the establishment of communist regimes, however, that attitude was rejected overnight; animosity toward clergy was duly transferred to the Party, to its bureaucracy and its henchmen. No medieval monk

was ever so mocked and satirized as were the Party officials in the last four decades; in largely the same terms, the churches, on the other hand, regained a large part of their post-1945 losses. In the face of the brutal triumph and consequent total failure of communist ideology, the nations of East and Central Europe realized that the religious institution, deprived of an abusable political and economic power, remained the only "ideology" they could trust in a landscape devastated by a new and intolerant belief system.

This is how it came about that patriotism and religion together fragmented the Communist monolith in the geographical area under discussion. Fragmentation occurred for obvious reasons: each nation commands a different loyalty and is mentally, spiritually shaped by a different religious commitment. It is easier to resist Communism with a national/religious tradition than it would be in the name of some lukewarm internationalism, supranational solidarity, or a faceless ideology. These considerations explain why the forty-year religious repression and the reaction to it vary from one country to another. The religious experiences of a thousand years in these very different lands are not interchangeable, even in the case of Catholic/majoritarian nations.

In Czechoslovakia there are some two thousand priests and religious in jail, a *numerus clausus* severely limits seminary enrollment, churches in Prague have been for years "under repair," inaccessible, and Cardinal Tomashek is virtually a prisoner in his palace near the cathedral, which too is "being restored" and therefore closed. In Poland, the Church prevails over the Party, and the Solidarity movement is the chief representative of a semiclandestine civil society. The triangular situation of state, Church, and society, so well known from the history of Europe, reappears in Poland, although in a tenuous equilibrium. Romania, Greco-Orthodox like Russia but with a large Catholic and Reformed minority, presents a sui generis situation. Ceausescu's regime uses the Orthodox Church leaders as well as the army and other ultranationalist elements— including the prewar, not really liquidated fascists—to reduce the German and Magyar minorities and their religious tradition. The single popular element of his despotic rule is precisely nationalism, with religious chauvinism turned on if necessary.

The Hungarian case provides yet another model. Cardinal Mindszenty was and is today still an emblematic figure. As "prince-primate" (otherwise Archbishop of Esztergom) he was, by stipulation of ancient law, the first lord among the nobility and of the nation in case of vacancy of power. This office conferred upon him a double prestige, and his status of first resistant to the Communist regime made him even more dangerous for the Party. In short, whether free or imprisoned, Mindszenty incarnated the relationship between nation and Church.

Today opinions are divided: perhaps a majority asserts that his choice of a flawless hostility to the regime lent faith and courage to the entire nation, not only to Catholics. Others, including priests, argue against his intransigence and prefer the "politics of small steps" of his two successors, Lékai and Páskai. The resulting dilemma is not necessarily a bad thing; it offers alternative choices and

keeps the regime unsure about the recurrence of an insurrectionist mood, even if such a discontent is fed by other motives also. The events of 1956 and Mindszenty's symbol-carrying role in it are now part of history, but a part very much alive.[1]

The cardinal's successors are, in comparison, pale personalities, agreeable to the regime which in fact chose them, and docile partisans of the "small steps." When Páskai, a few months before his elevation, declared to an Austrian interviewer that "we pay now for Mindszenty's errors" (*Wochenpresse,* spring 1986), he was forced by public opinion in Hungary to recant this *gaffe*. He had been misquoted, Páskai said. Yet, a number of priests and intellectuals tend to agree with him, although no arbitration in the matter will ever be possible. The argument in favor of the accommodationist policy runs like this, and I heard it from prelates and professors of theology: The Marxist ideology is exhausted and the Party's leaders know it. They are ready to make concessions if the requests are suitably presented. To be sure, the Party in turn intends to use the Church, for example, as a more effective persuader of the population to work harder, accept civic discipline, or, in rural areas, gather in the harvest more effectively. But the Church too can "use" the Party, on a quid pro quo basis. It can demand a more accessible religious education, the authorization of religious orders, an unencumbered catechetical activity.

Those who think along these lines are to a certain extent right. They forget, however, that it was Mindszenty's "obstinacy" which contributed to the taming of the regime and which made the policy of small steps practicable. The debate between the two sides cannot be conclusive. The fact is that even in relatively liberalized Hungary the Party's rule cannot be contested, and that the 8 to 10 percent of unyielding Catholics are heavily disadvantaged: no promotion in their jobs, difficulties in having their children educated, difficulties also in getting access to better apartments, etc. Correspondingly, the firmly traditional priests are removed from their parishes and assigned to "difficult" and out of the way areas. Their contacts with youth—with university students, for example—are often blocked. They may be periodically invited to the Office of Cultic Affairs, told that their activity is being watched, and warned of the consequences of going beyond a certain limit.

These are only a few illustrations of an ambiguous situation in which the Party, unpopular but backed by Soviet tanks, still believes, officially at least, that it can uproot religion by propaganda, by a modicum of economic enticement, by wear and tear, and by a hedonism which penetrates from the de-Christianized West. Everything works, from ridicule ("religion is old stuff, only

[1] Cardinal József Mindszenty is, in a way, the new Louis Kossuth, the leader of the war for freedom against the Habsburgs (1848). Kossuth became, in his lifetime already, a legendary figure, also a lifelong exile. It is through figures of both history and legend that nations perpetuate their memory and their identity.

people beaten by life believe in God"—as youngsters are told and textbooks teach) to outright cases of repression.

The "other side" does not remain passive either, showing, in contrast to the recent past, a rather varied and differentiated religious landscape. In East Germany's Protestant Church Congress last summer (in Köpenick), the thirty thousand people in attendance were not exclusively members of the Church; there was also a substantial number of young people belonging to what is called *Die Kirche von Unten,* an "unofficial" group demanding both a spiritual/political shelter and a stronger official Church stand against the regime. This is a very old and very new phenomenon—the Church as a protective place of asylum— which takes us back to the Middle Ages. This time the Church too needs the presence and loyalty of people who feel distressed and persecuted. The fusion may be established between these two merely tolerated groups, and their coming together represents some strength. The Party is aware of their potential, but also of the uselessness of warning them against getting involved in "politics."

For the Catholic Church matters are both easier and more difficult. The famous case of Fr. Dulányi's "base communities" illustrates the dilemma. As a tight-knit, corporate body, the Church is wary of movements with a proclivity toward becoming sects or placing themselves increasingly outside ecclesiastical magisterium and jurisdiction. Such movements choose at first one single issue on which they disagree with doctrine or discipline, but soon the disagreement extends to other areas; and its radicalism sharpens. In Communist countries where Church activity is restricted, the grounds for disagreement may be precisely the Church's lack of absolute orthodoxy; or the dissenters may pose legitimate questions which embarrass the local hierarchy. The latter is the more likely since that hierarchy is under Party supervision anyway. Its demarches are therefore not only watched but often dictated.[2]

Fr. Bulányi's base community is a classic example. A priest of remarkable firmness, he attracted many young people in search of a genuine Catholic life. Their activities did not go beyond the study and discussion of theology, sacred music, liturgy. Then, in the name of orthodoxy, some of the members refused military service, arguing that the state has a right to call up the citizens only in cases of impending attack, or if a just war is waged. In Hungary's case the country is occupied, service in the armed forces cannot be called a "defense of the fatherland," already under foreign rule.

The problem is delicate: the Church always admitted the validity of military service (Christians served in pagan Rome's legions) and looked askance at conscientious objectors. The Bulányi issue was referred to Rome, which has been studying it for years. Some see a parallel with the case of the Brazilian

[2] The Party exercises this control by two means: it surrounds the bishop with its own agents, and it possesses documentation of aspects of his life which may be embarrassing for one reason or another. Such "embarrassing situations" [illegible]

Leonardo Boff, similarly called to Rome and suspended for a year, after which his suspension was lifted. Needless to say, there is a false symmetry here because Boff's hierarchical superiors are free from government interference; some of them even endorse his views on Marxism and liberation theology, whereas Bulányi's superiors are not free. Rome seems to lean toward some form of condemnation which would indirectly legitimate Party interference with the Hungarian episcopate, accused by Bulányi of subservience to the Office of Cultic Affairs.

The case could open a Pandora's box since it raises the politico-philosophical question of whether a de facto ruling Communist Party can be identified with the legitimate temporal power, or is usurping that power. After all, Marxism is not a pagan cult: it is atheism with a materialist ontology. Neither Budapest nor Rome wishes to deepen the debate; the issue of base communities, however, which in Western countries often participate in the *Los von Rome* trend, acquires quite a different dimension in communist countries where the base community may be the only one calling the emperor—and the episcopate!—naked.

Matters do not end here, and we must be careful in analyzing them. To a large extent, and throughout the history of East and Central Europe, state and Church—they were called "palace" and "temple"—cooperated in as many areas as they had anywhere else, at any other time. Their separation is a very new and modernistic idea, and even newer are the hostility and plans of liquidation of the Church by the state. The quarrel over Bulányi's base community suggests the existence of areas where the interests of Church and Party are not necessarily clashing.

The Church's power, though seemingly invisible, is quite real and growing. The Church always sought to cooperate with the powers that be, and those powers, no matter how hostile and aggressive initially, almost always came to a better understanding and appreciation of "the pope's divisions." As a consequence, the Church in Hungary today, as also in Poland, preaches civic peace; its representatives claim that this is compatible with the policy of small steps. It was typical last summer of Budapest that while working people and the bourgeois "remnant" spoke of a perhaps imminent insurrection on the model of 1956, highly placed priests excluded any likelihood of it because "even with the new economic measures [hitting hard the already badly struggling strata—the price of bread has been doubled] people have too much to lose to rush headlong into the unknown."

This unofficial ecclesiastical attitude is observable in Poland, East Germany, and Hungary—that is, where improvements have either already taken place or where there is a modicum of hope for such. It is not the attitude of the clergy in Czechoslovakia, where the regime has not yet been "tamed" to any appreciable degree. The case of Russia is, of course, a special one; the Orthodox Church there has always depended on the state, and its rebelliousness would not even be understood. Moderate Church policy in Hungary is the more encouraged since

the Party there is the object of all the accumulated bitterness anyway. Energy once directed against the clergy is now directed against this new Church, the target of an impressive amount of opposition. Yet, it is a reality that will not go away and which dictates a degree of accommodation. A highly respected priest professor related an episode which in his eyes justifies accommodation. In 1948 Cardinal Mindszenty sent a secret directive to more than three hundred priests, stating that (a) he had assurances from the American ambassador that Soviet troops would soon evacuate the country, it was to be in three months, and that (b) those priests should go abroad, because (c) they would then return to a free land. I noted anger and sarcasm in my interlocutor's voice as he recalled this episode, even though three decades had elapsed since the incident. "I refused to believe this fairy tale, so I remained," he said. "Those who left could never return."

Now this brief story suggests a longer one. In the judgment of many ecclesiastics, then and now, Western promises have had no value, while Russian presence is more than a fact; it is a historical fact and will remain so for a very long time. Let us bear in mind that for these men two realities dominate the Church-political perspective: the country had been occupied for centuries at a time; the pagan emperor of Rome ended persecution and offered accommodation. These memories will not be erased, they explain that one does not have to be a "peace priest" or even an accommodationist-on-principle to adopt an attitude of wait-and-see. The just quoted person, a philosopher, mentioned a few concrete cases as illustrations of Party concessions skillfully negotiated by the Church. There is a French saying: "Il n'y a que le provisoire qui dure" (only the temporary is lasting).

The speculative background of the accommodationist attitude can be traced rather easily. For the churches in the Soviet zone of Europe, the Second Vatican Council was experienced as a tremendous shock. Churches in the West had been immersed in desacralized industrial societies, and insofar as the reforms sponsored by the Council were themselves acknowledgments of democratic pluralism they upset only a minority of laymen and priests. Others, also priests and laymen, welcomed the reforms and relaxation of discipline as an act of adjustment of the Church to the modern world. This is not so with Catholics under Communist regimes. They were deeply anchored in the traditional view of things ecclesiastical and secular, and the *aggiornamento* caught them by and large unaware and disoriented. Yet, at the same time, Vatican II served also as a justification for the advocates of the "small steps." The opening of windows helped them to perceive Soviet policy and Marxist ideology as also belonging to the modern world; on these issues the persecuted churches knew infinitely more than their sister churches in the West. Yet, while the latter confronted the abstractions of Marxist theory, believers and hierarchies in the East were dealing with flesh-and-blood Communist officials. Communism was not thereby accepted, but its power in the

realistically evaluated. In short, the clergy, unlike large segments of the population, Catholics included, did not continue to hope for the sudden withdrawal of Moscow, or for a collapse of its regime by some miraculous intervention from the West. By and large, Moscow, in their eyes, is "Rome," and it may take centuries for that Rome to recognize Christianity as incompressible, or at least to offer the Church a deal.

Vatican II accomplished something else also. With its overall tolerance of mundane views and attitudes, disciplines and writings, it lifted a kind of tacit condemnation of thinkers, theologians, and sociologists who had been negatively judged before or regarded with some distrust. A number of documents— decrees, monitories, and encyclicals—had appeared in the last hundred years which warned believers against books and ideas of modernists (in our time, these would be the books and ideas of Teilhard de Chardin, Yves Congar, M. D. Chenu, and of course Hans Küng, Edward Schillebeeckx, and others). Straddling the line between licit and illicit writings have been works by Karl Rahner, J. B. Metz, and a number of non-Catholic thinkers like Heidegger, Wittgenstein, Gadamer, and Karl Popper. In earlier times, the procedure of judging these writers would have been slow, allowing the decades to effect a selection. The present acceleration and the extraprocedural methods operate in favor of permissiveness regarding the acceptability of unorthodox ideas. Without any official action, Vatican II lifted the ban, and the postconceptual world where orthodoxy is but a muted criterion. The new standard of acceptance is worldly recognition; the new doctrinal winds easily drift in through the open windows.

In the case of Soviet-zone ecclesiastics, the Second Vatican Council and its general spirit of accommodation and ecumenism has been, if I may say so, a godsend. While in its more respectable forms the new theology and the philosophical reflection which inspires it could not be anathematized, they are expressions of a mundane viewpoint which justifies accommodation of surrounding society and cultural values—indeed, of most societies and values. Cardinal Ratzinger summarized the process in his *Report*: "Priesthood, under cultural pressure, passes from a sacred role to a social role, in line with the democratic mechanisms of consensus formation: secular, democratic, pluralist society" (p. 56). There has been, then, a general although not explicit tendency in important circles within the churches here mentioned to "modernize" their discourse, blame the local bishops for too much conservatism (!), and enthusiastically adopt the philosophical and sociological currents now at the peak of popularity and influence in Western intellectual milieux. It was with a certain surprise that I heard the answers to my question, Who are the philosophers most studied in seminaries? The names most prominently mentioned were Rahner, Gadamer, Heidegger, Wittgenstein, and the British linguistic philosophers. This means that among Catholic thinkers the ones favored are those closest to existentialism and linguistic analysis.

It comes as no surprise that the prevailing trend is to look with a degree of sympathy and approval at thinkers who wish to renew speculation on lines now

fashionable at Western universities. The order of the day is to join the work on hermeneutics and the phenomenology of religion; those who adopt these forms of current thought are regarded with as much respect as the Thomists used to be. They are now spokesmen of a renewed Christianity to which educated lay people can rally. There are marginalized circles, too, firm in their preconciliar forms of thought. They are mostly professional people—doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers—by and large a "remnant" that is out of favor, together with their priests, with hierarchy, regime, and the "new philosophers." In sum, they reject Marxism in toto, although in various gatherings lip service is paid to so-called humanist Marxists like Georg Lukács and Ernst Bloch. Yet I heard a sermon preached in St. Matthew's Cathedral against *all* forms of materialism as contradicting individual responsibility and well-functioning statecraft. Friends later told me that this very forceful and at the same time subtle sermon had been preached by a "suspect," that is accommodationist, priest.

Perhaps the best summary of the situation, theory, and practice was given (in Hungary) by the newly elected Reformed bishop, Károly Tóth. In his society, he said, they had recognized that people are not to be judged "by their religious beliefs or their atheism [sic], but by their relationship to society and its objectives." This is of course a rather thin credo, a careful affirmation that man must first be socialized (in the earthly kingdom) before he is heard out on other matters. True, in Communist regimes we must separate what is said and what is believed. Yet on the scale of spirituality this bishop seems to be far from a Lech Walesa, who recently told a visitor that the Gdansk workers' uprising had been motivated less by demands for better wages than by their will to integrate the Mass and the Cross with their factory life. (The concrete issue was Mass said in the naval shipyard and its broadcast by radio for the sick and the fishermen out on the sea on Sundays.)

Although we read quite a bit about the "Churches of Silence" and the religious revival in East Europe, the danger today, in addition to official repression, is the flattening out of religious/spiritual life. *This* is not the effect of persecution but of the general cynicism that the regimes' ideological exhaustion and the absence of openly competing belief-systems have brought about. People have no time and energy; they are worn out by efforts merely to survive. In this situation, the penetration of Western "cultural," even religious, influence is perceived by people as a relief, even by those who adequately measure its devastating emptiness and grotesque idols. Let us be honest: the sentence quoted from Bishop Tóth's statement could have been written by representative churchmen of the West also. Belief in Society, Marxist or liberal, is crowding out belief in God.

Where does youth stand? A recent (29 April 1987) radio broadcast in Budapest dealt rather soberly with the question. The nine panelists (three each of priests, sociologists, and pedagogues) quoted reliable statistics about the 15 to 24-year-old age group, of which 33 percent called themselves religious and an additional 27 percent admitted to an interest in religion. Of all the reasons given by the

participants (a communist youth organizer was also present as a panelist), one, stated by Zoltán Aranyos, Reformed Synodal board member, clearly prevailed: the failure of science to solve life's problems and to answer existential questions. The materialist world-picture is flat, and by reducing life to matter, it also reduces man to his material components. And, the panelists further agreed, if the worldview is deficient, no community can be built around it. Disillusioned at home and at school, the youngster finds his way to the Church where answers, or at least solicitude, is offered, together with comradeship.

In comparing these conclusions with the psycho-social jargon of our television panels on "youth," one cannot but see the future of faith behind the iron curtain as the more secure and more promising. That is what last April's panelists also affirmed.

NCR 12/8/89 p. 5

John Paul-Gorbachev summit marks end of ideological war

By PETER HEBBLETHWAITE
Vatican Affairs Writer

OXFORD, England — Both President Mikhail Gorbachev and Pope John Paul emerged smiling from their hourlong conversation the morning of Dec 1. More warmth was evident than protocol strictly required.

If the summit with President George Bush marked the formal ending of the Cold War between the superpowers, then this Vatican-Kremlin summit marked the end of the ideological war that has claimed hundreds of thousands of victims.

John Paul did not minimize "the painful trials" Christians have undergone in the Soviet Union. But he expressed the "fervent hope" that recent developments would lead to new legislation in conformity with international agreements.

The new legislation would enshrine religious liberty for all Christians in the Soviet Union. Many Catholic communities are eagerly waiting to see the consequences of this legislation.

Gorbachev claimed outstanding problems could be solved "on the basis of democracy and humanism" and that a "historic watershed" had been reached at which nations had to make their own choices.

The dialogue with the Holy See had already made progress, and they had reached agreement in principle on continuing the relationship, but the details remained to be worked out by the diplomats on both sides.

This was Gorbachev's most important concession. Hitherto, the Vatican has been recognized merely as an ecumenical partner with the Moscow patriarchate, the Russian Orthodox church. Now it is being recognized as a player on the international political scene.

Moreover, if the Vatican can deal directly with the Soviet foreign ministry, then it will have a better chance of defending the interests of the estimated 13 million Catholics of the Soviet Union than if it has always to pass through the Russian Orthodox church.

And the Russian Orthodox church may be relieved at not having to do the work of the Soviet foreign ministry. Its leaders have certainly bitten the bullet and accepted the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic church.

Gorbachev was able to promise the pope that the new religious law, which replaces Stalin's repressive 1929 legislation, will at last legalize the Ukrainian Catholic church.

Gorbachev's invitation to the pope to visit the Soviet Union was presented as a surprise. It was a surprise only in the sense that it did not form part of the speech handed out to reporters in advance. There was no indication about whether or when the pope might go.

Once some form of diplomatic relations are in place, a papal visit could be arranged through the Soviet foreign ministry. This would be easier to arrange than if he were to go merely as the guest of the Russian Orthodox church.

From the Soviet point of view, the visit to John Paul, historic though it was, takes place in the context of Gorbachev's proposal, made the day before in Rome, for a Helsinki-2 meeting on European security in which the United States and Canada would also take part.

To the concept of "common European home," Gorbachev has added that of "common legal space," which implies "complete uniformity in the understanding and application by all states of the norms of international law."

But Gorbachev could hardly make this proposal unless the Soviet Union were in the process of transforming itself into a state based on law, pluralism and respect for religious liberty.

His concessions to the Vatican, good in themselves, were also designed to win Vatican support for this project. Provided the promises of the new law on religious associations are fulfilled, he is likely to get that support. ■

Analysis

THE MAGNIFICAT PROGRAM

March 18 - May 26, 1990

A 70 day spiritual renewal sabbatical integrating the 12 Steps of AA with the charism of religious life. Program includes: counseling, spiritual direction, workshops, journaling, AND closes with a six day retreat given by Sr. Alexandra Kovats, CSJP.

Coming September 23 - November 17, 1990: THE SARAH SABBATICAL. For

150 1839-1989

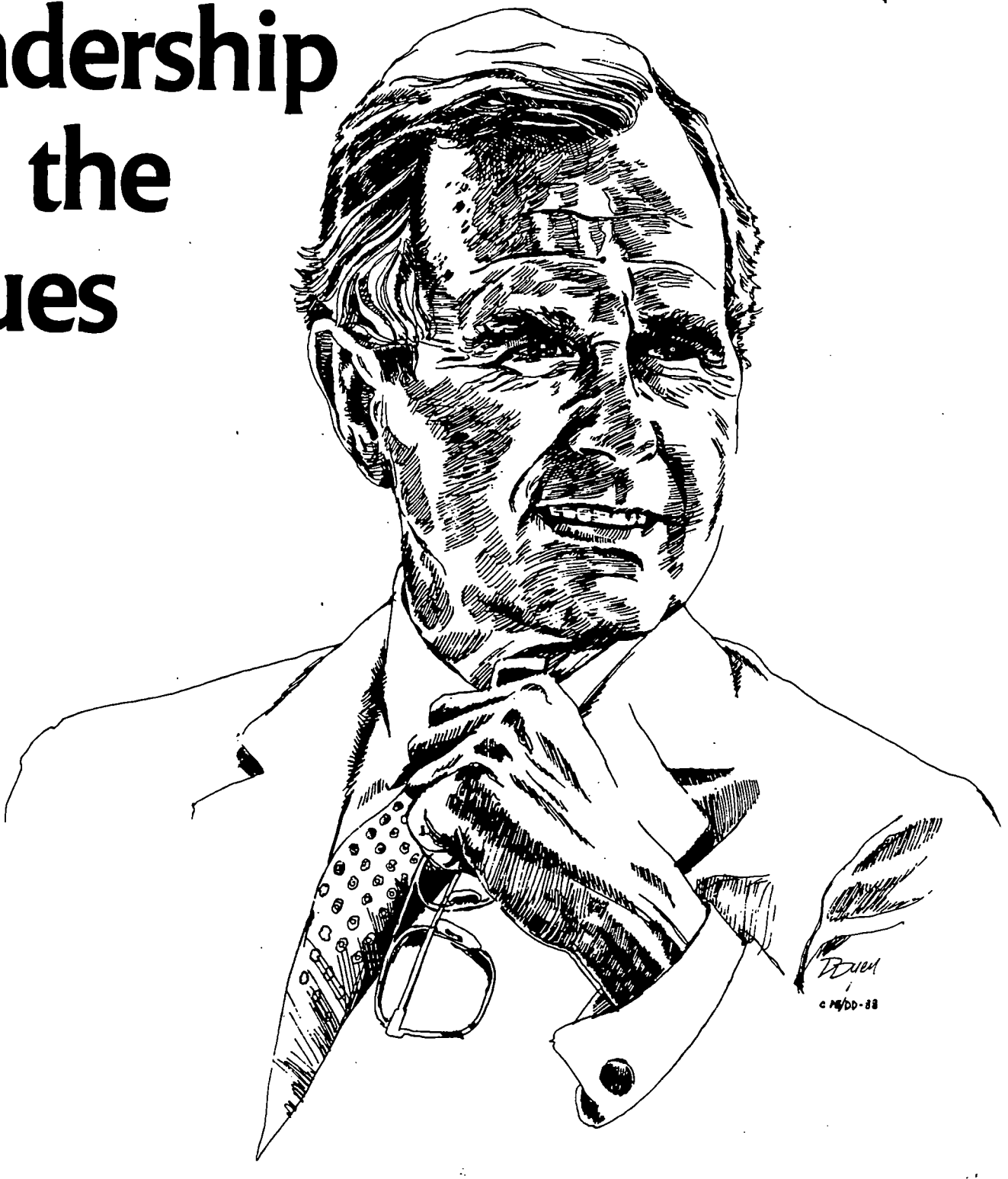
Congratulations and Best Wishes

CALL TO AC
MIDWES
CONFERE
Matthew Fo



FIRST PUB
APPEARANCE
VATICAN SILE
February 3,
Chicago O'Hare Ho
"Creation Spiri
Renewing Our
our Planet and ou
February 4, 9
"A Grounde
Global Spiritu
with
Matthew Fo
and
Joseph Kilikev
Saturday Work
10:30 a.m. to 4:
Joe Holland
"Addictive Systems in the Chu
Re-rooting Our Spiritual Pow
and
Creative Communion — Towa
of Work"
****
Robert Ludwig, I
"The Vision of Teilhard
****
JoAnn McAllis
"Mystery, Myth and M
Science, Spirit and Soci
and
"The Sensuality of th
The Emergence of an Ecolog
****
Teresita Weind,
"Exploring a Global S
With Song, Story and
****
Blanche Marie Gallag
"Creation as Blessing and
and
"Birthing Creatively in
****
Ed Gutfreund and Tri
"On the Road to Peace
Call or write

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

SCHOOL PRAYER

As a Congressman from Texas, I co-sponsored the "Prayer in School" Amendment.

Education is not just the teaching of facts and figures, but also the values that make up our democratic way of life. We must teach values. I believe "value free" education does not serve either the student or the society well.

I favor a voluntary prayer in school as an extension of our commitment to teaching values. I believe that students should have the right, if they wish, for a momentary reflection, meditation, or prayer.

* * *

RIGHT TO LIFE

I support a Constitutional Amendment that would reverse the Supreme Court's Roe v. Wade decision on abortion made in 1973. I also support a human life amendment with an exception for the life of the mother, rape, or incest. In addition, I oppose the use of federal funds to pay for abortion except when the life of the mother is threatened.

Frankly, while I have long opposed abortion, there has been an evolution in my thinking on the legal means by which we protect the sanctity of human life. Since the Supreme Court's Roe v. Wade decision in 1973, there have been about 18 million abortions in this country. This is a tragedy of shattering proportions. It brings a renewed sense of urgency to adoption of a Constitutional Amendment to overturn Roe v. Wade and the effort for a human life amendment.

I oppose the Supreme Court's ruling in Roe v. Wade and federal funding for abortions except when the life of the mother is threatened.

* * *

PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE
Los Angeles, California
October 13, 1988

Bar and I lost a child, you know that. We lost a daughter, Robin. I was running records in West Texas, and I got a call from her -- "Come home." Went to the doctor. The doctor said -- beautiful child -- "Your child has a few weeks to live." And I said, "What can we do about it?" He said, "No, she has leukemia, acute leukemia, a few weeks to live." We took the child to New York. Thanks to the miraculous sacrifices of doctors and nurses, the child stayed alive for six months and then died.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON 2/18

FYI for next January:

Bob,

Can you let the appropriate folks and/or files know that, every year, the National Religious Broadcasters speech and the National Prayer Breakfast speech should NOT contain repeat passages. Many of the same people attend both events. In fact, the NRB is scheduled to coincide with the prayer breakfast and vice versa each year.





PEOPLE

RECENT CZECH HISTORY

1946: Communists emerge as strongest party in elections, and head a coalition government. Eduard Benes, a non-communist, is president.

1948: Communists force resignation of Mr. Benes; a "people's republic" is proclaimed.

1950: Communist Party purge seeks to establish Stalinist ideological purity.

1967: Demands grow, particularly among students and the intelligentsia, for a higher standard of living and greater personal freedom.

January 1968: Alexander Dubcek becomes first secretary of the Communist Party; "Prague Spring" liberalization begins.

August 1968: *Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact allies invade.* Mr. Dubcek is stripped of power. Hard-liner Gustav Husak is installed as leader.

January 1977: Dissent erupts again with Charter 77, in which members of the intelligentsia air grievances. A government crackdown follows.

December 1987: Milos Jakes replaces Gustav Husak as party chief.

Nov. 12, 1989: With political turmoil sweeping Eastern Europe, Mr. Jakes tells a Communist youth conference that the party will not tolerate street protests.

Nov. 17: Tens of thousands of protesters rally in the largest antigovernment demonstration since 1968. The protest is crushed.

Nov. 19: In another large demonstration, Prague protesters denounce police brutality. Opposition groups, including some communists, form Civic Forum.

Nov. 20: Hundreds of thousands of demonstrators demand free elections and the resignation of leaders. Protest spreads to other cities.

Nov. 24: The Communist leadership, headed by Jakes, resigns. Mr. Dubcek returns to Prague and addresses a huge crowd in Wenceslas Square.

Dec. 28: Dubcek is unanimously elected chairman of the National Parliament.

PROFILE

A Leader Aspires to Step Down

Vaclav Maly helped to launch a revolution; now he intends to become a parish priest again

By William Echikson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

PRAGUE

IT was not an ordinary Sunday church service. Czechoslovakia's best and brightest – artists, actors, scientists, those who made this November's miraculous 10-day revolution – packed St. Margaret's Cathedral, a large, 18th-century baroque masterpiece. A huge Czech tricolor framed the altar. The faithful sang the Czech national anthem. They raised their hands in V-for-victory celebration.

The occasion was Fr. Vaclav Maly's first public Mass in a decade. Back in 1979, Mr. Maly lost his state license to preach shortly after he joined the Charter 77 human rights group. If he celebrated Mass or just put on a clerical collar, he risked a two-year prison term.

His story shows how recent events have turned Czechoslovakia upside down, bringing the once persecuted to power. It also shows how the next steps remain unsure and unclear. Having led the revolution to success, Maly plans to step back from power. Instead of joining the government as a minister or an ambassador, he has decided to become a parish priest once again. On Jan. 1, he took up his new position in a small church in the Smichov neighborhood of Prague.

"My place is in the parish, not in politics," he said after the Mass at St. Margaret's. "I'm only a servant of the people who was thrust for a while into an unusual position." (East German pastor Rainer Eppelmann also helped overthrow his country's communist leaders [see story, Dec. 28, p. 14]. Reverend Eppelmann has chosen to stay in politics.)

A Job Stoking Coal

After his license was revoked 10 years ago, Maly cleaned toilets in the Prague subways and worked as a stoker in a hotel, pouring lumps of dirty brown coal into a red-hot furnace. Eventually, he received a small stipend from a religious foundation in the West, which enabled him to study theology.

He turned his cramped apartment, which he shares with his widowed father, into a sort of monk's cell. The kitchen contains a cot and a spare table that doubles as a desk. His face was ruby red with enthusiasm. This is no thin, timid clergyman. Michelangelo could have sculpted him, with his stocky, broad shoulders and his large, thick hands.

In his home, Maly always offers visitors a sweet cup of Chinese tea. He speaks with compassion and hope. His English is halting, measured, but with a powerful eloquence. When he searches for a word, he looks down at the table and concentrates. Always willing to meet with foreign journalists, he inevitably turned his interviews into lessons in personal courage.

"In 1968, I was the only believer in my high school class," he explained. "Everyone was so excited about politics."

When the Soviet invasion came, his friends were crushed.

"They put all their faith in political changes," he said. "I also had another faith." He decided to become a priest. "My classmates in high school used to tease me about my religious beliefs," he said. "Now young people show respect for my choice."

This interest frightened the authorities. Maly lost his license after talking to young people in a church outside the parish where he had been assigned. His politics also marked him as a troublemaker. Of the nine priests who signed the Charter 77 documents, all had their licenses taken away.

Cautious figures within the Czechoslovak Roman Catholic Church criticized the banned priests as too provocative. Maly rejected their orders.

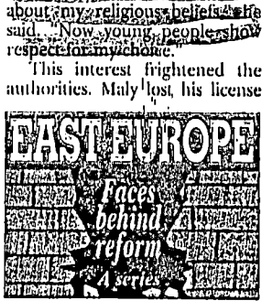
"They practice some philosophy of little steps," he said. "They believe that if you collaborate and make small compromises, you will gain some small advantages." His own message is much simpler: "We just want to live as free people."

When freedom came to Czechoslovakia this November, Maly became the first spokesman of the opposition group Civic Forum. Before cheering crowds of hundreds of thousands, he stood at a balcony on Wenceslas Square.

NEAL J. MENSCHEL - STAFF



MALY: *'The church must play a moral role; it must not play a political role.'*



"There can be no confidence in the leadership of a state that refuses to tell the people the truth and give them the rights and freedoms that are common even in third-world countries," he said. "We can wait no longer."

The crowd cheered, "Long Live Maly!" Overnight, his became a household name. The publicity put him in an uncomfortable position: Unlike the Polish church, which is the traditional guardian of national aspirations, the Czech church represented the pillar of authority of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. More than 99 percent of all Poles are Roman Catholic; many Czechs are atheist or Protestant.

"This is not Poland," says Jana Ryslinkova of the Civic Forum. "People, especially the middle-aged, would not be comfortable with a priest like Father Maly playing politics."

Maly agrees. In recent years, he says, the church has won much goodwill for its increasingly strong stand in favor of national independence and human rights. A religious revival has begun to take shape. Annual pilgrimages have attracted thousands, and Masses are more crowded than ever before.

The church now has a chance to further expand. Old restrictions against religious freedom suddenly have vanished. Pacem in Terris, the communist-supported group of priests condemned by the pope, has been disbanded. An unlimited number of youngsters now will be able to enter seminaries, while banned priests like Maly may resume their work. All of the new-found public esteem could be jeopardized if it becomes embroiled in partisan politics.

"The church must play a moral role," Maly says. "It must not play a political role."

For similar reasons, he believes that Civic Forum, the group he helped found, must forgo the temptation to turn itself into a political party. It must organize the institution of a democratic constitution and free elections, and then withdraw.

"We must be a political movement," he says, "not a political party."

But pulling back may not be easy. In Poland, Solidarity also saw itself as a movement, not a party, and yet when the moment came, it formed a government. Similarly, Civic Forum now has named a number of ministers, and Civic Forum leader Vaclav Havel has become president. Civic Forum Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier offered Maly an ambassadorship, which he declined.

A Czech National Hero?

But few observers can imagine that so powerful a presence as Vaclav Maly will spend the rest of his career ministering to a local parish. His following has become too large. The Mass at St. Margaret's was the largest in memory, according to Fr. Alois Kansky, the church's director.

"This was an exceptional Mass," he says. "We only had as many people before for the burial of Jaroslav Seifert."

Many say Maly will become a national hero like Seifert, a Nobel Prize-winning poet. At the least, they say, Maly will enjoy a prominent career within the church hierarchy. He already enjoys close relations with Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, the aging primate.

"He's Tomasek's right-hand man," says Jiri Knot, a church activist. "I see him as future cardinal."

Such suggestions make Maly blush. For him, a simple public Mass seems to represent enough compensation for his long years of political struggle.

"It was a strange feeling, giving Mass," he says, smiling. "I'm not a professional politician. I'm only an imperfect servant of God."

Photocopy-Preservation



PROFILE

A Pastor With a Political Mission

Rainer Eppelmann played a key role in providing moral force for East Germany's revolution

By William Echikson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor
EAST BERLIN

THE doorbell rings and West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher enters.

"Guten Tag!" he says, grabbing his host like an old friend. "We've got a lot to talk about."

The setting is not some beautiful baroque ministerial office. It is an unpretentious second-floor flat in the working-class East Berlin district of Prenzlau Berg. The host is not a high-ranking state official, either. He is a Lutheran pastor, Rainer Eppelmann.

"Mr. Genscher and I see each other often," Pastor Eppelmann explains after the foreign minister departs. "He came to get a briefing on the situation here in East Germany."

Obviously, Eppelmann is no ordinary pastor. In this country where the democratic opposition was weak and immature, the Protestant churches have stood out as a bastion of strength. They provided the shelter, working space, and moral authority for protest groups to launch the revolution that toppled East Germany's hard-line Communist regime.

Thousands of people gathered in churches for peace services, spreading out into the streets in larger and larger numbers until they forced their country's leaders to tear down the Berlin Wall.

In this struggle, Eppelmann played a crucial role. Since entering the ministry 16 years ago, he has opened his simple, red-brick Samaritan Church to nonconformists and independent thinkers, believers and nonbelievers, and pacifists and ecologists, as well as punks and rockers.

Today, as a founder of the Democratic Awakening party, the goateed, balding religious leader (who looks strikingly like another very different revolutionary leader – Vladimir Lenin) has become a leader of East Germany's budding democratic opposition.

"You always see Eppelmann these days on television," reports Irene Runge, a sociology professor at Humboldt University in East Berlin. "People like him in the church started this revolution by opening doors to dissidents."

Born to a working-class Berlin family during the war, Eppelmann worked as a bricklayer until he realized "that this was no lifetime vocation." He began to study theology at age 26. Like Latin American priests who embraced liberation theology, he always saw his religious responsibilities as encompassing politics.

"As a Christian you had to get involved, to oppose injustice, and there was a lot of that here," he says. "This made me a political pastor from the beginning."

In the early 1980s, Eppelmann helped organize the budding peace movement, which opposed the installation of Soviet missiles in East Germany.

The Samaritan Church sponsored regular peace masses. He also became active in the ecology movement, a particularly sensitive issue in this heavily polluted country. Stickers proclaiming "Greenpower" are pasted on his apartment door.

Pastor Eppelmann "was crucial for the opposition," recalls Werner Wiemann, a leader of the Democracy Now movement. "We didn't go to church because we were religious. We went because it was the only place to express ourselves."

Under former leader Erich Honecker, the hard-line Communist government permitted these activities in order to cultivate a cooperative relationship with the churches. It saw the church as a valuable asset in maintaining a stable society, a partner in fighting social ills such as alcoholism and drug addiction. But this tolerance had definite limits.

Uniformed police officers often surrounded the Samaritan Church during services, ostensibly to provide "protection." They checked the IDs of those who wanted to enter. Inside, plainclothes officers posed as participants and tried to sabotage the meetings by asking provocative questions. Pastor Eppelmann's telephone also was bugged.

"Once they arrested several people from the congregation," Edeltraut Pohl, the secretary of the Samaritan Church recalls. "One was expelled from the country."

Pastor Eppelmann refused to succumb to the pressure. When East Germans began fleeing through Hungary this summer, he and other progressive pastors organized open political meetings. Afterward, believers spilled out into the streets and swelled into a powerful, peaceful demonstration.

"It was amazing in September," recalls Christian Fuhrer, pastor of the Nikolai Church in Leipzig, where the biggest demonstrations have taken place. "All of a sudden, all of the churches opened their door and the numbers of people coming to church doubled."

With Mr. Honecker and his cronies gone, many observers believe the church will lose its crucial importance. Political parties are opening their own offices outside church premises, and most demonstrations now are organized without any church help. Attendance at services has fallen off, or perhaps more fairly, has returned to normal.

"The church's importance will decline," predicts Pastor Fuhrer. "People now have other places to follow their ideas."

Pastors like Eppelmann, however, may guard their considerable influence. Many East German opposition leaders are seen either are politically naive artists and intellectuals or young and naive students. Pastor Eppelmann provides a mature voice.

"At a time when parties and politicians hardly exist," he says, "I feel an obligation to step into the void."

For this reason, he has helped found the Democratic Awakening party. Democratic Awakening is not right wing and conservative, but rather its ideology mixes together social democratic and "green" sentiments.

Instead of confrontation, Democratic Awakening preaches conciliation. It calls for a coalition including Communists. The Democratic Awakening party no longer can rule alone, Eppelmann says. But neither can the fledgling opposition.

Eppelmann opposes a "premature" reunification with West Germany. His reasons are both practical and moral: "It would mean the end of [Soviet leader Mikhail] Gorbachev and [would] scare our neighbors," he says. "We must find a third way here between socialism and capitalism."

Events are accelerating, and he doesn't know whether he can control them. "The next six months are crucial," he says. "Either we get a solid democracy established here or we will be strangled by West Germany."

In the past, Eppelmann managed to keep up with his pastoral duties despite his political activities. But over the past few months he has become a full-time politician.

"It's no longer really possible for him to be a pastor," admits his secretary. "He's become a speaker for the people."

It is a role he will not shy away from. He would prefer to retain his religious mission. If asked, however, he says he is ready to become a minister in a freely elected democratic government.

"I'm a divided man," he concludes. "I really love my ministry work. But I cannot turn my back

NEAL J. MENSCHEL - STAFF



PASTOR EPPELMANN: *'As a Christian you had to get involved, to oppose injustice, and there was a lot of that here. This made me a political pastor from the beginning.'*

'Pastor Eppelmann 'was crucial for the opposition. We didn't go to church because we were religious. We went because it was the only place to express ourselves.'

– Werner Wiemann, a leader of the Democracy Now movement



Photocopy-Preservation

Uncaptive Minds

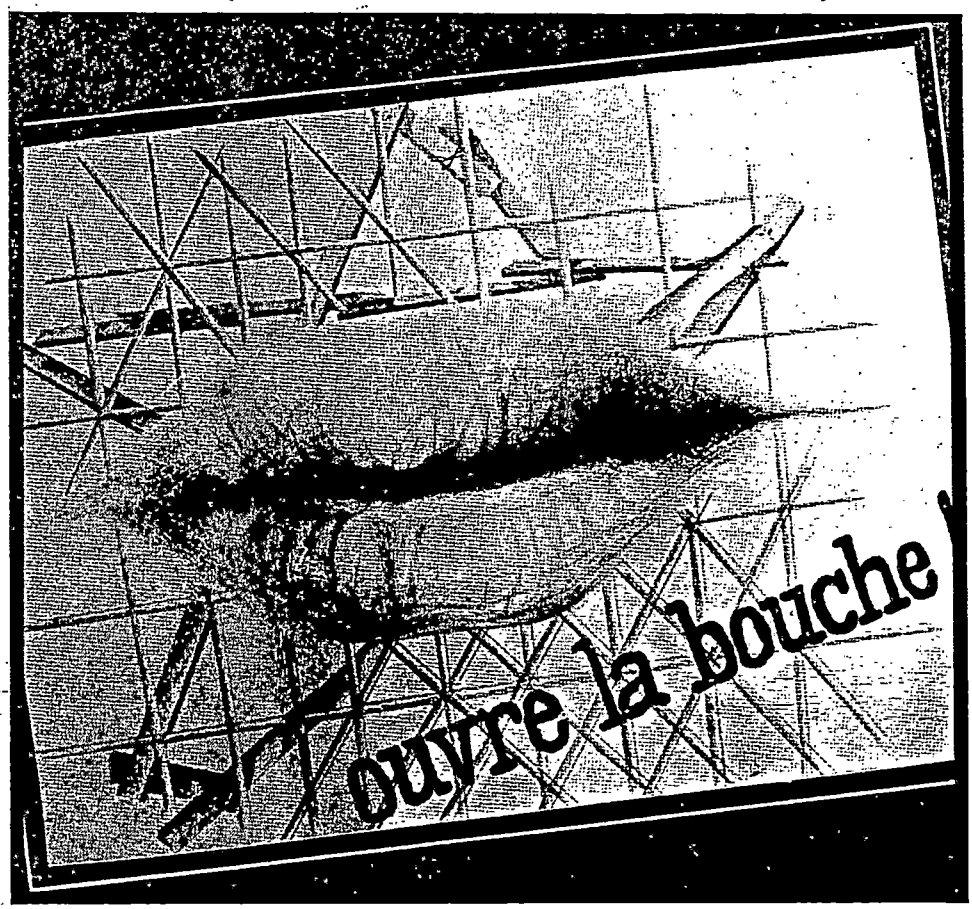
PUBLISHED BY: The Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe

April-May 1988

VOLUME I, NO. I

PRICE: $ 3.00

WHITE HOUSE LIBRARY AND RESEARCH CENTER



HUNGARY

IT IS NOT HOPELESS IF YOU DEMAND

An Interview with Miklós Haraszti

HUMAN RIGHTS IS NOT ENOUGH

An Interview with Gáspár Miklós Tamás

INCONNU: THE FIGHTING ARTISTS

CRISIS REQUIRES ACTION

Beszélő's Program

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE 31 POINTS

The Catholic Revival

POLAND

THE LAUGHING OPPOSITIONISTS

The Orange Alternative

MARCH 68: 20 YEARS LATER

THE 31 DEMANDS

Recommendations of Catholics for the Resolution of the Situation of Religious Citizens in Czechoslovakia

1. Our fundamental demand is the separation of Church and state, from which would follow that the state will not involve itself in the organization and activity of the Church. The majority of our other suggestions stem from this fundamental demand, though they should be followed as a matter of course even in the absence of a complete separation of Church and state.

2. Let the nomination of new bishops become the internal affair of the Church, with which the state should not interfere.

3. We demand that the state cease interfering in the nomination of parish priests and leave all organizational matters to the Church hierarchy.

4. We demand that the state not interfere with the admission of students to the theological faculties, nor determine enrollment; also, that they not interfere in the selection of instructors.

5. We demand the renewal of the Church Mission of the faculty of the divinity school in Olomouc.

6. We demand the establishment of a permanent deaconry, in keeping with Pope Paul VI's decision of June 18, 1967, titled "General Principles Regarding the Permanent Deaconry, Which Is to be Established in the Roman Catholic Church."

7. We demand that all existing male and female holy orders be allowed to function freely, which includes the right to accept new members, as is the case in neighboring East Germany and Poland.

8. We demand that the faithful be granted the right to create free lay religious associations — in accordance with the "Apostolicam Actuositatem" IV.18, the Vatican Council decree on lay members of the Church — which would be informal communities for all ages and social classes, and which would be led by a priest who would foster the spiritual growth of the members. Such associations have from time immemorial been taken for granted among evangelical Christians, and at the present time exist among Catholics in Western countries, as well as in East Germany, Poland and Hungary.

9. We demand that religious instruction take place outside state schools, on Church property, thereby transferring it to the Church's sphere of influence. Children's applications for religious instruction should be given to the parish office, and the extent of instruction, as well as the placement of children, should be the duty of the local ordained minister in consultation with his spiritual guide.

10. We demand that priests be permitted to visit prisons and hospitals when patients, prisoners, or their relatives request it, but also on the priest's own initiative; we demand that religious ceremonies be allowed in prisons and hospitals; that prisoners be permitted to wear crosses and other religious symbols; that they be allowed to have religious literature; and that they have the opportunity to confess to, and speak with, priests.

11. We demand permission to conduct spiritual exercises for laymen.

12. We demand that every congregation in our country be permitted to have a parish council — as is the case with other churches and in other countries — in which laymen would assist priests, so that the problems of the parish could be more easily resolved.

13. We demand the right to be in contact with other Christian organizations throughout the world.

14. We demand that religious citizens be permitted to organize and take part in pilgrimages, even abroad, whether privately or in groups.

15. We demand that the needs of the faithful for religious literature be fully provided for; that the founding of religious publishing houses under the direction of Church representatives be allowed; that permits be granted for the publication of religious journals of various orientations; and that public libraries and reading rooms with religious literature be allowed to open.

16. We demand that the copying and distribution of religious texts be regarded as lawful activity and not as a criminal act or misdemeanor.

17. We demand the right to subscribe to religious literature from abroad and demand that this literature not be confiscated by customs officers.

18. We demand the right to our own radio and television program, after consultation with the Union of the Ordained of Czechoslovakia and later with the chairman of the Conference of Bishops.

19. We demand that the government cease jamming Czech and Slovak broadcasts of Radio Vatican as well as Sunday mass

on Radio Free Europe.

20. We demand that not only atheist propaganda be permitted, but that public dissemination of Christian literature be permitted as well, both by spiritual leaders and laymen. Furthermore, we demand that just as Marxists and other atheists make full use of their right to critically evaluate religion and the Church, so should Christians and other citizens be permitted without restriction, orally and in print, to criticize the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, without such activity being considered some form of criminal act.

21. We demand the return of confiscated Church buildings, which religious citizens built for themselves from their own resources, and which are needed for the activity of the Church. These include: buildings at the sites of pilgrimages, training houses, divinity schools, and the confiscated buildings of monastic orders, with all their facilities.

22. We demand that the construction of new churches be permitted, where they are needed.

23. We demand the cessation of the arbitrary removal of crosses, statues, chapels, and other religious and cultural monuments of our ancestors from villages, roads, towns, and other places.

24. We demand that the authority of Church secretaries be determined on the basis of the Marxist principle that "the Church must consist of free associations between citizens of like mind, independent of the state." In accordance with this precept, the authority to nominate, transfer and supervise priests should be the sole prerogative of Church secretaries, as is the custom in the majority of democratic countries.

25. We demand the complete rehabilitation, as soon as possible, of unlawfully convicted priests, monks, and active religious laymen.

26. We demand an end to discrimination against practicing Christians in workplaces, and above all, in academia.

27. We demand that religious citizens be allowed to express themselves regarding any problem which they are convinced it is their moral duty to air. We demand also that for such activity they not be accused of breaking the law, and that their petitions not be confiscated.

28. We demand that all legal strictures be canceled which unjustifiably criminalize a significant portion of religious activity by ordained and lay members of the Church.

29. We demand amendments to articles 16, 20, 24, 28 and 38 of our constitution, so that they would be in accordance with our proposals.

30. We also demand that all valid laws and binding legal strictures affecting directly or indirectly the sphere of religious life be made to harmonize with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

31. We demand that a mixed commission be formed — made up of both representatives of state organs and of the Catholic Church, including lay persons nominated by Cardinal Tomášek and representatives of the Catholic Church of Slovakia — which would consider our proposals and deal with them accordingly.

We hope that we shall find understanding for these ideas and proposals among the representatives of the nation, to whom we are turning directly as well as through the agency of our Church representatives....

Submitted on the first Sunday of Advent, 1987, which, by a joint pastoral letter of the bishops of the Czech and Moravian dioceses, marks the inauguration of the great spiritual renewal, to continue over the course of the next ten years, which we hereby actively join and fully support. □

A Letter from Cardinal Tomášek

Prague, January 4, 1988

It is no secret that I have not received any reply to the numerous requests, which I sent to the appropriate government authorities, concerning the main demands of the Church in our country.

Since the majority of the members of the Church are you, the laymen, it is a very important duty of your conscience to make your voice heard to the government. Your voice is: *Recommendations of Catholics for the Resolution of the Situation of Religious Citizens in Czechoslovakia,* which include 31 demands, suggesting a solution to the present problems between the Roman Catholic Church and the government.

The distribution and signing of the above petition is in agreement with the consitution and laws. The government and Party authorities have been informed of this initiative.

I strongly underline that cowardice and fear do not befit a true Christian.

I am with you in spirit and give you my blessings.

Yours

Cardinal František Tomášek
Archbishop of Prague and Metropolitan of the Czech lands

Regarding the situation of the only Catholic seminary in Bohemia and Moravia

The majority of divinity students in the Litoměřice seminary agree with the 31 Demands of the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia, backed by Cardinal Tomášek. They consider it necessary to expand on several of these points, which are of immediate concern to divinity students. The education of divinity students takes place in two separate institutions — in the seminary and at the faculty. The seminary is considered by the state administration to be a dormitory, which is subject to the supervision of the faculty, and hence of the state. The state interferes in the admissions process. After the submission of an application for study, the candidate is harassed by the police, called in for questioning, and pressured to become an informant. They warn him that his, his family's, and his friends' lives will be made very difficult if he persists in his decision, and he is urged to opt for a different course of studies. At his high school, he is told that he will not finish his studies. During admissions, less academically qualified students are preferred. Among those admitted are collaborators with the security police. The faculty is led by Dean František Vymětal, a deputy of the Federal Assembly and chairman of the pro-regime organization *Pacem in Terris*. The instructors are assigned by the state. Often they are people with an inadequately specialized pedagogical background, who lack a Catholic consciousness and lead objectionable lifestyles. The students are obliged to attend classes in "social sciences," which is in fact Marxist-Leninist ideology, taught by state-assigned specialists in Marxism. The students do not learn about any of the theological disciplines. They are deliberately isolated from the Church's activities in the world at large; they suffer from an absolute unavailability of basic literature; they cannot study abroad. The Faculty lacks departments in important disciplines. Instruction is hampered by needless police interference and questioning. After the second year schooling is interrupted by two years of compulsory military service. At the divinity faculty, one does not celebrate religious holidays; instead one celebrates communist anniversaries. As far as spiritual education is concerned, there are only two spiritual leaders at the seminary for every 260 students and their position depends on the state. The students are deliberately isolated from the spiritual life of the country. The education in the seminary warps the personality and personal authenticity. Cultural education does not exist. The students are not brought up to support the interests of the Church. The facilities at the seminary are unsatisfactory. There is a lack of service areas, and the existing areas are filthy. Service personnel do not exist; the divinity students themselves serve as doormen, janitors and librarians — to the detriment of their studies. Only two women, non-believers appointed by the state, are employed as manager and economist.

Even this description does not fully convey how deplorable conditions are at the seminary. For this reason the divinity students appeal to everyone. They beg: Please make the public aware of our situation. Help to create the essential conditions for us to prepare for the priestly calling. □

28/1/88 Signed: Divinity students of the Litoměřice Seminary

Another attack against *samizdat:* Ivan Polanský imprisoned

On November 5, 1987 a house search was conducted at the home and in the cottage of Ivan Polanský, born March 3, 1936, and an employee of ZTS (Heavy Machinery Works) in Nová Dubnica. He is the father of four adult children, and lives in Dubnica, Hviezdoslav Street 9/61, district of Považská Bystrica. The searches, ordered by the investigator of the county St.B. [security police] directorate of the SNB [uniformed police] in Banská Bystrica, were conducted by captain Július István, Captain Dr. Jan Brieda, Lieutenant Ludovít Hrnko, Lieutentant Karol Smatana, Lieutentant Ján Hyže, Captain Ďurovsky and František Straka, and later also St.B. investigator Captain Ondrej Karvacka. They seized over a thousand items of *samizdat* literature, often in several copies or typed on stencils, a typewriter, a duplicating machine, etc. In terms of volume, the St.B. carried away a medium-sized truckload of printed materials. Ivan Polanský was taken into custody at the Ministry of Justice in Banská Bystrica and charged with the "criminal support and promotion of fascism" (Par. 260, section 1 and 2a of the Criminal Code), which carries a sentence of three to ten years imprisonment.

As revealed by the searches, Ivan Polanský was an enthusiastic publisher of *samizdat* literature. A major part of the literature is of a religious character, besides a large quantity of Charter 77 documents, various writings of Václav Havel, and

THE CASE AGAINST NORIEGA

U.S.News & WORLD REPORT

JANUARY 15, 1990 $1.95

RESEARCH CENTER

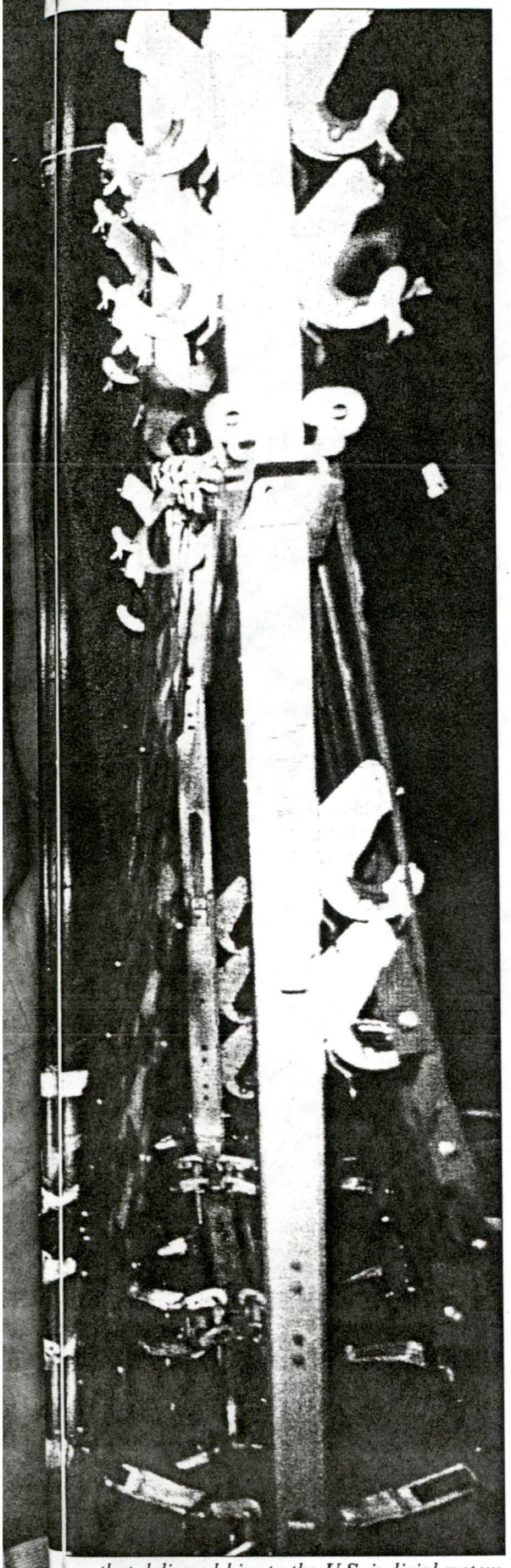
THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM



IS THE SOVIET UNION NEXT?

TRAVEL: FREESTYLE PACKAGE TOURS

0 02239 03
140066



that delivered him to the U.S. judicial system

'People, your government has returned to you'

If Vaclav Havel's life were turned into a movie, it might be "The Great Communicator: Part Two," written and directed by the star himself. The dissident Czechoslovak playwright traded his tattered sweaters for the somber suits of high office, and suddenly he was everywhere, greeting visitors, grasping hands, reviewing troops—whose guns were pointed away from their own people for the first time in memory. Gen. Manuel Noriega's story sounds more like "The Last Emperor." In finally surrendering to American troops, the Panamanian strongman traded his boastful military uniform for the robes of humiliation, as the people he once claimed to lead celebrated his departure as the rebirth of their freedom.

Like Ronald Reagan, leading man in the first Great Communicator epic, both of these political figures long sensed the importance of symbolism. Within days of becoming Czechoslovakia's President, Havel traveled to East and West Germany, dramatizing his new stature and staging a photo opportunity at the Berlin Wall. His New Year's message: "People, your government has returned to you." Noriega's problems grew out of his perversion of that message. "People, your government belongs to me," he all but boasted. Yet he maintained power for years by using symbols adroitly, projecting his swaggering personality and invoking the image of an imperialistic Uncle Sam to buttress his own position. When those images no longer could cover over the menace of his regime, he simply used his trained bullies to retain power.

'In finally surrendering to American troops, the strongman traded his boastful military uniform for the robes of humiliation'

Unlike Noriega, great leaders embody and express the dreams of a nation. Through the language and character of such a leader, a nation defines itself and gathers the courage to face an uncertain future. When Havel said, "Our state should never again be an appendage or a poor relative of anyone else," he was speaking for every small nation, not just his own. Panama needed some outside help to gather its courage, but when presidential adviser Louis Martínez hailed Noriega's demise by saying "the nightmare is over," he, too, was speaking for many small nations that are finally breathing freely.

Havel represents another ideal that has become virtually obsolete here, the citizen-politician. Managing a complex modern state demands enormous experience and expertise. But at times of crisis and regeneration, governing is too important to be left to professionals, and in Eastern Europe today, a whole generation of career Communist politicians has been discredited. In their place, untainted leaders are emerging from other professions, where the yearning for liberty and truth-telling managed to escape the grip of despotism—science, education, journalism, the arts.

During the long night of imperialism and repression in Eastern Europe, though, it was religious institutions that especially struggled to preserve these democratic values. The Roman Catholic Church, bolstered by the first Polish Pope, provided one of the few sanctuaries for anti-Communist impulses. In Latin America, church leaders like Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo of Nicaragua have also stood staunchly for freedom, and the papal nuncio in Panama eventually delivered Noriega to the arms of his jailers. Protestant churches formed the seedbed of protest in East Germany, and as one pastor put it: "There was no other social force in the country that had independence both from the state and the party."

As the euphoria of revolution wanes, the hard business of governing begins. A Romanian immigrant, surveying the motley team that had taken power in Bucharest, complained, "You cannot run a country with poets." In the long run, probably not. But there is a time in political life for poets and pastors and playwrights. In Eastern Europe, that time is now.

by Steven V. Roberts ■

The Economist

9-15 December 1989

LIBRARY
RESEARCH CENTER

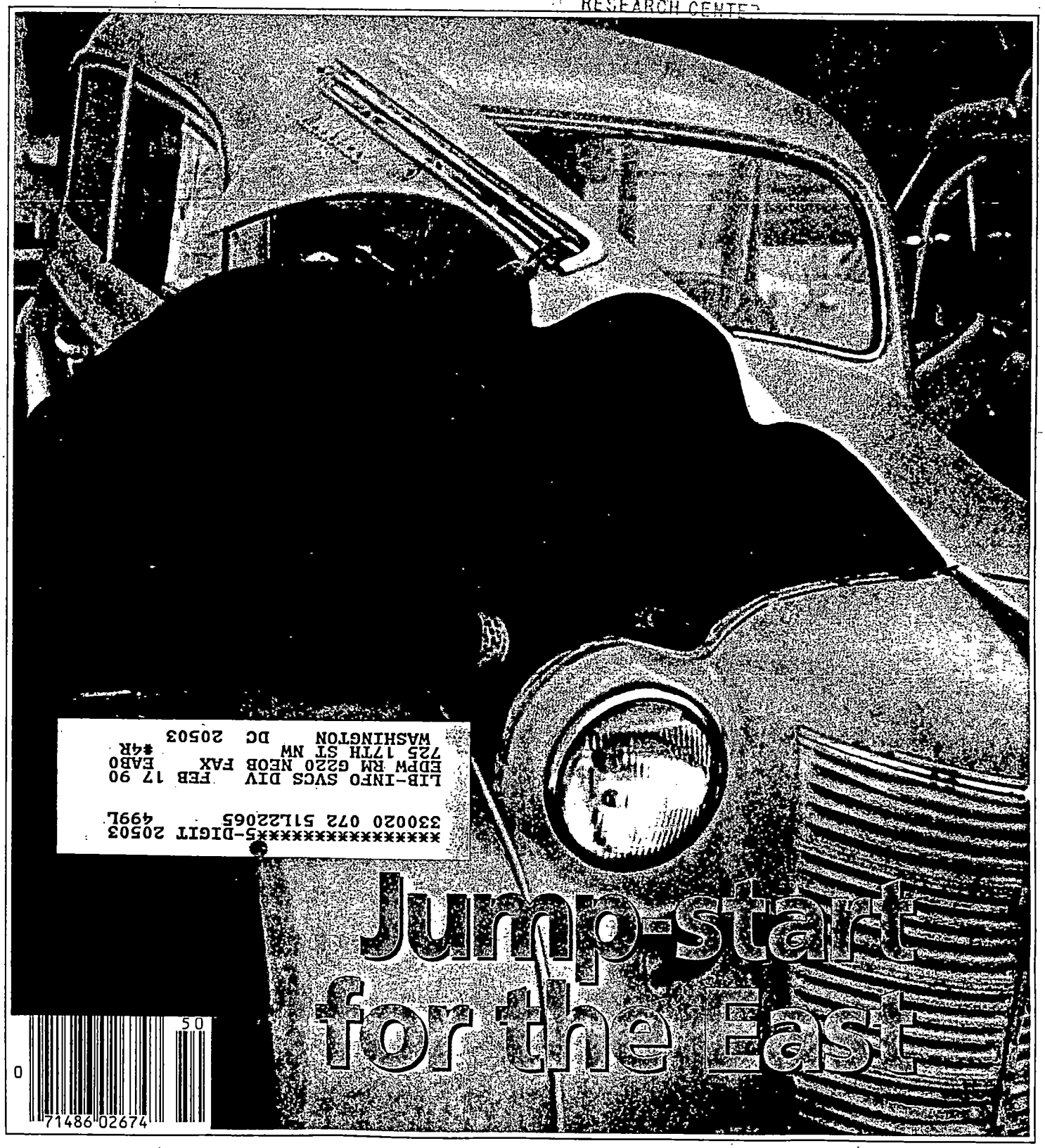
POPULAR BUSH page 21

AQUINO AGONISTES page 29

BANKERS' PROPERTY BLUES page 83

OPPOSING THE POPE pages 17-19

AND
RESEARCH CENTER



LIB-INFO SVCS DIV FEB 17 90
EDPW RM G220 NEOB FAX EABO
725 17TH ST NW #4R
WASHINGTON DC 20503

**********5-DIGIT 20503
330020 072 51L22065 499L

Jump-start for the East

50
0
71486 02674

chines or other assets, using the firm's profits to do it. Gradually, the ownership of the factory could be transferred from the state to the group. It would become, in the law's parlance, a "joint-stock enterprise". The definition of "individual property" has also been widened to encompass enough assets to build a small factory. It will be up to the republics to determine how many or how few workers individuals may hire. Some, such as Georgia and the Baltic republics, may choose to impose no limit.

Two classes of company would be set up: joint-stock enterprises (which would be collectively owned) and others in which citizens would be able to buy and sell shares. The law also says "there is no limit to the personal wealth of Soviet citizens".

Meanwhile, state-owned property is being nibbled away. There are now more than 2,000 leasing arrangements in the Soviet Union. Mr Leonid Abalkin, the deputy prime minister in charge of economic reform, hopes, perhaps optimistically, that leased enterprises will account for 25-30% of all industrial assets by 1993 and joint-stock companies for 30-50% by 1995.

The trouble is that the new property law, by refusing to accept private property without reservation, will give bureaucrats plenty of ways to undermine it, since they will have to decide which farmers can rent what bits of land, and which machines a group of factory workers can buy. Failure to break the bureaucrats' grip ruined the hope of reform in Eastern Europe in the 1970s. The new property law could condemn Mr Gorbachev to a similar fate.

Returning to God

WHEN Pope John Paul II met President Mikhail Gorbachev in the Vatican on December 1st, the sight of God's Vicar on Earth shaking hands with the head of the godless communist block (what is left of it) marked a new stage in the Soviet Union's campaign to place itself firmly within the commonwealth of civilised nations. What better way to persuade the doubters that the Soviet Union is no longer a country which systematically persecutes believers? But for all it does for his reputation abroad, it is at home that the new religious tolerance can do Mr Gorbachev the most good.

The attempt to remake Soviet society prompted the "new thinking" on religion. Militantly atheistic legislation from Stalin's day will, it is said, eventually be rewritten. According to a law dating from 1929, charitable works are defined as "religious propaganda" and are illegal. Yet church congregations are now allowed to perform good deeds, such as work in hospitals, where they may visit the sick and read religious literature to those who ask for it. Crucially, the ban dating from 1946 on the Ukrainian Uniate church, which is similar to the Orthodox church but is loyal to Rome, is no longer strictly enforced (and if, as now seems likely, the ban is formally lifted, the way would be open for a papal visit to the Soviet Union).

The purpose is not just the greater tolerance of religious belief for its own sake. Mr Gorbachev wants to mobilise the values of religion in the struggle to overcome what most people now agree is not just an economic crisis in the Soviet Union, but a deep spiritual crisis too.

Until recently, the only Soviet leader to meet the synod of the Russian Orthodox church was Stalin. That was in the darkest days of the second world war, when the Generalissimo needed to muster all the support he could get. Indeed, in the past the church's leaders have been criticised for their almost automatic compliance with Kremlin policy. But when Mr Gorbachev met the synod in April last year, he asked it for help in a rather different battle: the moral renewal of Soviet society.

Now that Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet Union's old ideological glue, has come unstuck, it seems to be accepted that the philosophy of Christianity has something to offer. These days the debate is about universal human values that have little to do with materialism. Mr Konstantin Kharchev, until recently chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs and a Communist who has undergone something of a Damascene conversion, says typically: "I do not believe in God, but share in full the moral ideals of Christianity." Indeed, the first of Soviet television's 15-minute Sunday sermons, in mid-October, was moral in content but did not mention God.

In the dangerous times ahead, religion, Mr Gorbachev hopes, can play a social role that goes beyond individual conscience. The risk is that the religious tolerance could stir awkward nationalisms: Ukrainian separatism through a legalised Ukrainian church, Muslim fundamentalism in the south, Russian nationalism through the Orthodox church. Still, when a man as influential as Mr Dmitri Likhachev, the venerable chairman of the Cultural Fund, echoes Christianity to impress on people the need "to be modest, to live only by work, even if it is hard, but all the same with a light heart and an unburdened conscience," Mr Gorbachev can only say, Amen.



Spiritual perestroika

Spain

Catch 22

FROM OUR MADRID CORRESPONDENT

EVER since its general election on October 29th, Spain has been giving the rest of an increasingly free continent a valuable lesson in democracy: how not to run one.

Mr Felipe Gonzalez was voted in as prime minister this week by a parliament with 22 fewer members than it is meant to have (to form a government the Socialists needed the vote of a Canary Islands regionalist, whose reward was some tax concessions for the Canaries). Mr Gonzalez promised to seek a new mandate as soon as the chamber was at full strength, but that could take up to three months. Four of the missing legislators were from the radical Basque separatist group, Herri Batasuna, the political apologists for the ETA terrorists. The main parties prevented them from taking their seats because the nationalists insisted on qualifying their declaration of allegiance to the constitution. The other empty seats were the result of court decisions annulling the election in three of Spain's 52 multi-seat constituencies and calling for new polls by the end of February.

The provisional result gave Mr Gonzalez's Socialists a one-seat overall majority in parliament. But appeals questioning the outcome in individual constituencies have exposed disturbing defects in Spain's voting system. Hearings in Murcia, in the south-east, revealed an apparently chaotic electoral roll: some voters were under age, others could vote twice. The verdict on

WHITE HOUSE LIBRARY

The Nation

December 25, 1989 $1.75 U.S./$2.25 Canada

MAKING THEIR MARK

The Breakthrough Decade: Women In the Arts

ARTHUR C. DANTO

Women did not so much enter the mainstream as redefine it. (Page 794)

EDITORIAL

STILL OUT IN THE COLD

As waves of popular tumult break down the dikes of totalitarianism in Eastern Europe, the U.S. national security establishment remains a beacon of cold war stability. At Malta President Bush lets on he's going to kick ass to speed up strategic arms and conventional forces agreements and then vetoes any talks on naval tactical nukes. It seems that the U.S. Navy is adamantly opposed to sacrificing its atomic toys. You think Gorby's got a problem with the *nomenklatura*? The Washington equivalent at the Pentagon and Langley continues on automatic pilot, targeted on Moscow.

Peace is a real problem for Washington's national security droogs. Despite Defense Secretary Dick Cheney's musings about budget reduction, there's no mention of eliminating any of the "advanced" weapons systems developed in the Carter-Reagan years. On November 29 the Pentagon named six states where the MX missile will be deployed on its mobile railroad cars. And Bush—a former C.I.A. director—wants new authority for the agency to subvert unappealing governments and eliminate uppity foreign leaders.

C.I.A. director William Webster, perhaps anticipating pressure on his own budget, put it out that Soviet espionage has increased during *glasnost*. Even if Webster's evidence is correct, that's a reason to negotiate, not rearm. Webster wants to prolong the cold war by sending out the spies, but the time is right for calling them home.

DEMOCRACY IN CHILE
PATRICIA POLITZER

AFTER THE WALL, A NEW SOCIALISM?
DANIEL SINGER

ALLEN GINSBERG
ANDREI CODRESCU

HOROWITZ AND OTHER MAESTROS
EDWARD W. SAID

52
08585
0 377535 6

BEAT THE DEVIL.

Soul of a Soulless World



As they tossed up and down on the billows of the wine-dark sea, Gorbachev told Bush that "ideological struggle" should be a thing of the past. So we'll just have to carry on without him. Gorbachev has done great things, but he has a dreadful weakness for hot air. I wonder if he blathers at Raisa across the breakfast meats and pickles the way he does at international encounters of the sort recently concluded in Malta. On and on go the strophes of windy uplift. He seems never to use one word when twenty will do.

When I went around Moscow with my brother Patrick a couple of years ago, he warned me from his experience as correspondent for *The Financial Times* that it's dangerous to ask any Soviet official the usual light warm-up question at the start of an interview, such as "Nippy weather for the time of year" or "I say, do you really think that history repeats itself, the first time as tragedy and the second time as farce?" From many Russians these preliminaries can provoke an unstoppable tumult of verbiage, consuming most of the allotted span of the interview.

Gorbachev met with the Pope on December 1. The *New York Times* report of remarks he made the previous day in Rome was headlined "Gorbachev Lauds Religion on Eve of Meeting Pope." I stared gloomily at the story by Clyde Haberman. "We have changed our attitude on some matters, such as religion, for example, which admittedly we used to treat in a simplistic manner," Gorbachev proclaimed. "Now we not only proceed from the assumption that no one should interfere in matters of the individual's conscience; 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." Thus did the President of the Soviet Union assert that the moral values and sanctions promoted by organized religion have somehow down the ages been synonymous with the motions of individual conscience. The exact opposite is obviously true, since organized religion is nothing if not intervention—for much of the church's history heavily armed intervention—into the motions of the aforementioned individual conscience.

Monk Business

Long ago St. Bernard of Clairvaux proposed the notion that "faith must be the result of conviction and should not be imposed by force," but Christianity generated one of the most thoroughgoing exercises in mind control in the history of the world, in which the impure thought carried a penalty of death. With the Inquisition promoted by the church in the middle of the twelfth century came many of the horrors of interrogation, torture, forced confession, extorted conversion and extermination that have plagued the world ever since. In 1252, Pope Innocent IV authorized the use of torture during inquisitorial interrogations for the purpose of extracting confessions or the names of heretics. He believed that all power not represented by the church, and therefore himself, was not constituted by God and so was illegitimate. As Pope he was stand-in for Christ the King and thus "naturally and potentially" the leader of the political as well as spiritual world. Innocent's views have resounded down the ages and are part of those moral views that Gorbachev praised.

Jeane Kirkpatrick first drew herself to Reagan's attention with the thesis that totalitarian regimes would never permit internal renewal or pass peacefully from the stage of history. By far the best illustration of totalitarian inability to surrender peacefully is Pope John Paul II. This bigot—vicious in his assaults on liberation forces, imposing reactionary "moral values" over individual conscience, oppressing women—preserves in his own eminence the political tyranny discomfited in his native land.

The Pope now threatens the Brazilian priest Leonardo Boff, one of the great champions of the liberation theology movement. In Brazil it is rumored that Boff will be stripped of his right to teach sometime in January. Meanwhile, Boff and others like him all over Latin America are expressing such true moral values as may be derived from the Catholic faith. As Mauro Morelli, the Bishop of Duque de Caxias, a poor city on the outskirts of Rio, said recently, "Several of the Pope's aides are supporters of the Christian Democrats in Italy, and the Pope himself has tremendous influence in Eastern Europe. Furthermore the church has always been involved in politics. Unfortunately, it has usually been on the wrong side."

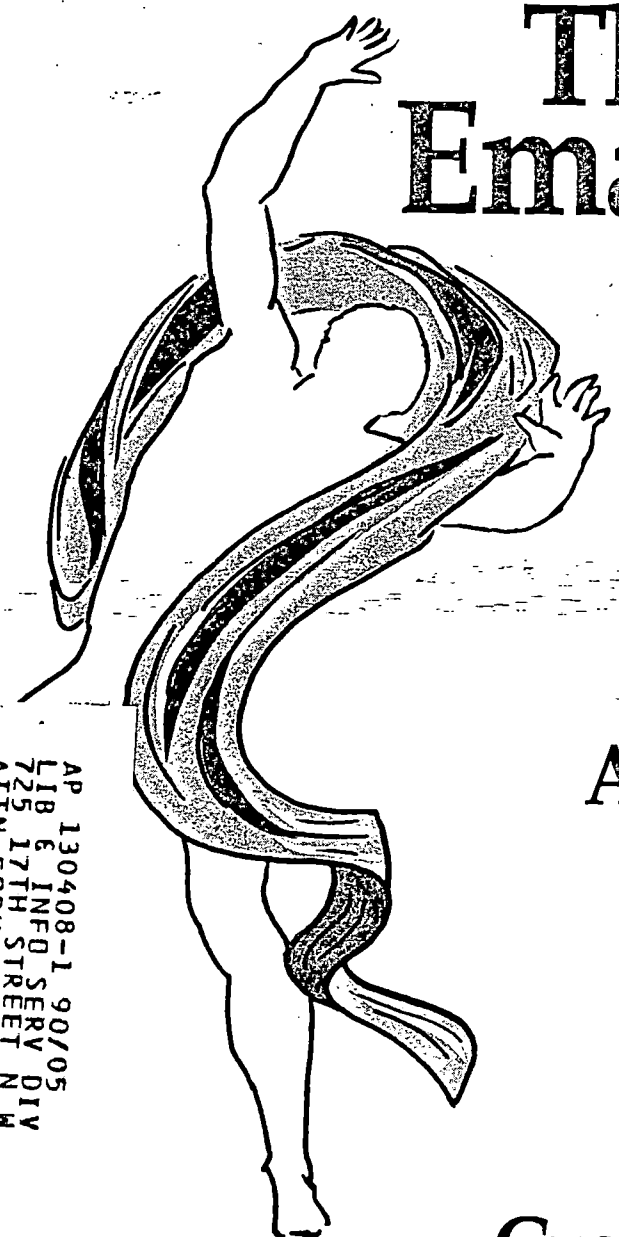
As you can see, Gorbachev's unguent words had me dancing with fury, but the truth is that what the *Times* editors, their grip on the obvious long since loosened by ideological passion, regarded as headline material was in fact an aside, made as a comradely gesture before meeting the Pope. That same day in *The Boston Globe* the headline was "Gorbachev Calls for Framework to End Europe's Division." The reporter, Paul Quinn-Judge, said that Gorbachev had called for a "revolution of the mind," a thirty-five-nation summit, accessible borders, freedom, radical reform. At the end of his story Quinn-Judge noted that Gorbachev had made "a nod in the direction of the church on the eve of his meeting with the Pope" and then relayed the Soviet President's remarks on religion. In *The Washington Post* that day the banner headline was "Gorbachev Proposes Summit of 35 Nations on Europe." Of the speech, Michael Dobbs wrote its "main message" was that "the West would be making a fatal mistake if it sought to exploit political upheavals in Eastern Europe to proclaim the 'collapse of socialism.'"

Slow on His Feet

So maybe Gorby is somewhat off the hook on the matter of religion. Even so it's depressing how he misses, or maybe deliberately skirts, the simplest opportunities to make the telling points at international encounters. Those great paragraphs of banality rattling around under his trilby deafen him to the obvious. In colloquies with capitalists and Catholics, he turns the other cheek and deserts those who should be his natural allies. Imagine if Gorbachev had praised the

AMERICA
ONE DOLLAR NOVEMBER 25, 1989

WHITE HOUSE LIBRARY
AND
RESEARCH CENTER



The Emasculation of God

MARY SMITH PODLES
and LEON J. PODLES

An Inside View of Lebanon

JOHN J. DONOHUE

Religion in Czechoslovakia, 1989

MICHAEL J. LAVELLE

WHITE HOUSE LIBRARY
AND
RESEARCH CENTER

AP 130408-1 90/05
LIB E INFO SERV DIV
725 17TH STREET N W
ATTN EOPH RM G-220 NEOBFAX
WASHINGTON DC 20503
3DG
820
###
###

Religious freedom in Czechoslovakia remains in a sad state. To the Government it means only the right and freedom to go the church on Sunday.

Religion in Czechoslovakia, 1989

By MICHAEL J. LAVELLE

ON SEPT. 18, I stepped off the Frankfurt/Prague plane at Ruzyne Airport in Prague with the Rev. David H. C. Read, Pastor Emeritus of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York City. Unlike my previous 20 visits to Prague by plane, car and train over a 25-year period, this entrance to Czechoslovakia was carried out handily, and with a V.I.P. treatment I never expected.

Dr. Read and I were two-thirds of the delegation of the Appeal of Conscience Foundation, an international human rights watchdog agency headquartered in New York. The third member of our team, its leader, was Rabbi Arthur Schneier of New York's Park East Synagogue, and President of the Appeal of Conscience Foundation.

The purpose of our trip was threefold. First, we were on a fact-finding visit to see what level of religious freedom existed in this country, one of the last hard-line Communist countries. Second, we were trying to apply pressure on officials in Czechoslovakia to give more religious freedom to its people. Third, John Carroll University had awarded Cardinal František Tomášek an honorary degree at our May 1989 commencement, and I was taking this opportunity to present him with the degree, hood and citation.

Our first meeting was at the old Jewish city hall in the former ghetto of Prague. After a meal, we heard the head of the Jewish community of Prague, Mr. Heller, talk of the situation of Jewry in the country. After telling us that there was complete freedom of religion in Czechoslovakia—an official refrain echoed throughout the four-day stay—he indicated what seemed to me to be a major problem for the Jewish community. In the whole country, there is only one rabbi below retirement age.

Later that day we went to the Archbishop's residence just outside the Prague Castle, high above the Moldau River. We saw the Cardinal. I gave him the doctoral hood and read him the citation:

Fearless defender of God's laws, of the
Rich and ancient heritage of Cyril
And Methodius, of the faith of Wenceslaus, your
Nation's patron saint who suffered at his
Treacherous brother's hands, Christians
In your native land acclaim you as their
Spiritual and moral leader.
Educator and ecumenist,
Keen of mind and kind of heart, you served the

Cause of truth and the Church of Christ
As priest, professor, scholar and shepherd.
Raised to the rank of bishop, you shared the
Daily toil of Vatican II and spoke
In the midst of Council Fathers, yourself
Not least among them, but honored of them all.
Administrator Apostolic, you
Led the See of Prague in its 1000th year and

Then were named Archbishop, heir of Adalbert,
Of Bohemia Primate, and Prince of the Church.
Men call you "Oak Tree of the Holy Spirit" —
A source of strength for all believers —
Suffering for the freedom of the sons of God,
Expending yourself for His kingdom, a
Kingdom of justice, of love and of peace.

John Carroll University is honored to honor you,
Cardinal Tomášek, and confers
Upon you the degree of Doctor of Laws, honoris causa.

He was happily amused by the acrostic reading of his name—the first letters of the above lines, read from top to bottom, spell out *FRANTIŠEK CARDINAL TOMÁŠEK.* But beyond this amusement, he spoke seriously of the need to publicize the plight of the churches in Czecho-

MICHAEL J. LAVELLE, S.J., is president of John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio.

slovakia. Events of this kind kept the sad situation of the churches present to forgetful Western democracies, he said, and an honorary degree from an American university did just this. He added, moreover, that such a degree and its publicity made the Czechoslovak Government just a bit more cautious in dealing with the church.

OFFICIAL STATEMENTS to the contrary notwithstanding, religious freedom in Czechoslovakia remains in a sad state. For example, in the Catholic Church, the number of young men allowed into the first year of the seminary at Litomerice for all of the Czech part of the country—a population of nearly 10 million—has risen from 25 to a bit beyond 50. This is progress, but hardly meets the needs of this clergy-poor country. Six of the bishoprics in the country are still vacant. In their activities, priests are strictly limited to Mass at approved times and in state-approved locations. Religious orders are still banned although the oath once required by men coming to ordination, swearing that they were not members of a religious order, is no longer demanded. Certain women religious recently have been given permission to live in community. But this is only to care for their own elderly or to serve as sacristans and guides at state-approved pilgrimage sites. They are not allowed any other activity legally. Superiors of women's communities (operating underground) are divided as to whether this permission to live together is worth the limitations on their aboveground apostolic activity.

The next day, the three of us visited government and party officials: Vladimir Janku, Director, Secretariat for Religious Affairs for the Government of Czechoslovakia; Jan Fojtik, Chief Party Ideologist; Josef Lenart, Party Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Jaromir Mohanes, Secretary for Foreign Affairs. We were, in turn, lectured on various topics. We heard about the superiority of socialism in Czechoslovakia over capitalism and the history of the Catholic Church as a puppet of outside forces, first the Austrian authorities before 1919, and then Rome.

Finally, they touched the wound that is the most sore. The United States demands that the human rights articles of the Vienna and Helsinki agreements be carried out before it will talk about "most favored nation treatment" and technology transfers. The refrain was the same: It is unfair for the United States to tie rights and these economic issues together. Our team stressed the concern of Americans for human rights and the fact that U.S. politicians cannot ignore their constituents' desires.

It was during these meetings that the equivocal use of the words "religious freedom" became patent. For these government and party officials, religious freedom meant quite simply the right to attend Sunday liturgies for Christians or a Sabbath synagogue service for Jews. I mentioned at one of these meetings that this definition of religious freedom is one that is too narrow for Americans to be able to live with. I talked about the recent letters that the American Catholic bishops had written on nuclear arms and the economy, citing them as instances in which the church had dealt with questions that touched justice and morality. For us, I said, religious freedom implies the right for church spokespersons to utter their opinions on such issues. My statement was met with polite silence.

In the course of the four days in Prague, I had an opportunity to meet with people—lay and religious—who have been active in underground religious activity. I asked them about the level of religious freedom, and later about their level of hope.

The religious atmosphere, they said, was slightly better than it had been in the past, but they added that free religious assembly at times other than those approved was still frowned upon; that priests working aboveground could not form youth groups or family discussion groups without permission (permission that would not be given). In each case, in talking with individuals, I asked what advice they would give someone like me who would like to help the church in Czechoslovakia. In each case the answer was: Keep pushing, try to have your Government continue its pressure on the Government of Czechoslovakia about human rights. They added that people were becoming less timid in voicing their opinions as they saw the changes taking place in the Soviet Union, Poland and Hungary (and now East Germany).

Their level of hope also is at low-to-mid-range. Depending on the age of the persons I spoke to, their memories include the 1939 invasion and occupation of their country by Germany, the 1948-50 crackdown by the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Dubček Spring of 1968 and the frigid chill following it, with the invasion by the Eastern Bloc forces. On occasion their hopes have been high that freedom would be theirs, only to have these hopes dashed to the ground by subsequent repression. So, at the present time, they are cautiously looking toward activities in the Soviet Union, Poland and Hungary, secretly hoping that all three countries succeed.

An honorary degree from an American university for Cardinal Tomášek makes the Czech Government more cautious in dealing with the church.

These two types of meetings—with officials of party and government, and with friends of many years—have led me to a couple of conclusions. First, the Czech Government and party are anxious to make some reforms, which are, however, within the context of firm control by

the Community party over the social and economic life of the country. The Government is alarmed by the quickening movement of Poland and Hungary away from the Eastern Bloc solidarity that existed 20 years ago. They are alarmed by Mikhail Gorbachev's *glasnost* and *perestroika* in the Soviet Union. I think they secretly would like to see Mr. Gorbachev moderate his present positions and would be delighted to have the experimentation in Poland and Hungary fail. On the other hand, my friends in Czechoslovakia feel that nothing will happen in their country (and I think they are right) if Poland and Hungary do not succeed. More than once I was told that the United States should do everything in its power to make sure that these two countries are able to put through their reforms with a minimum of social upheaval.

DURING OUR VISITS with party and government officials, Rabbi Schneier, Dr. Read and I detected a defensiveness. These officials see themselves as being pushed into an uneasy Socialist isolationism with a mentality redolent of Stalin's "Socialism in One Country." They bristled at being compared to East Germany and, most especially, to Romania. We were decent enough not to bring up Albania.

I think they see themselves as somewhat beleaguered and standing alone. The present regime's situation is extremely paradoxical. Its legitimacy depends on the Russian invasion of 1968. At one point, Mr. Fojtik, during the historical part of his lecture, exclaimed, "And then came that damnable year 1968!" By which he meant the time of Alexander Dubček, whereas most Czechs would agree with him that 1968 was indeed damnable, but because of the Russian invasion. But it is 1968 that gives them their legitimacy. Ironically, there is a threat today that the leaders of the Soviet Union might come out with some sort of statement indicating that it had been a mistake to enter Czechoslovakia in 1968.

On the plane from Prague to Frankfurt, I relived the fast-paced four days I had just spent. It hit me that the Government officials, consciously or subconsciously, were absolutely correct in their narrow use of the words "religious freedom," to mean merely the right and freedom to go to church on Sunday—that is, if they wish to stay in power, if they wish the party to maintain its tight control over the country. The Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia, although much weaker than that of Poland, is really the only vehicle within which dissident groups can combine their forces and act as a unified opposition to the present regime. By keeping six dioceses without bishops, by restricting the activity of religious orders and the clergy, the Government is effectively keeping the church from being this rallying point. If they were to give the church and church leaders the ability or the platform to speak out on broader issues, the topic of conversation would turn quickly to civil and human rights, to political and economic freedom. ■

My Grandmother's Quilt

"But to apprehend/ The point of intersection of the timeless/ With time is an occupation for the saint." (T. S. Eliot, "The Dry Salvages")

I know her on faith, my grandmother, my
mother's mother; long dead before I
could ever be comforted
by bits of a great uncle's necktie
kneaded with apron scraps
and my mother's first party dress.

They seem to be eternal
these pieces forced into propinquity.
Their mustered strength
confronts my coldness, my tedious distress
(funny that I hear the color clearer than I see it).

I am too old for bedtime stories;
some might say
counter to my grandmother;
who, from some outlying district,
apprehending the intersection,
reads to me of family things—
events hinted at in gesture,
whispered at funerals,
shadowed in brown photographs.

She might not know
what to do with my nuclear family—
we who have traded the old austerities
to live within parentheses.

Yes, we are different, very different.
But cold is cold, and we are kin,
and she reckons now,
as her hands reckoned then,
That we, sleepwalkers, keepers of lost time,
need warmth in all our crossings.

TRACY SCHIER

Canadian bishop to head committee on sexual abuse

Bishop Roger Ebacher of Gatineau-Hull, Quebec, has been named chairman of a special committee to establish guidelines and policies to help Canadian dioceses deal with cases of sexual abuse.

Ebacher was appointed by the Canadian bishops' permanent council, of which he is a member. Two other bishops from the permanent council and four other church members will be appointed.

The committee will report to the Canadian bishops' plenary meeting, and its final report will be made public. It was established at the direction of the Canadian bishops.

U.S. rabbi sues Polish cardinal

An American rabbi is suing Polish Cardinal Jozef Glemp for defamation because of remarks he made during a controversy about a Carmelite convent at Auschwitz.

Joseph Lipner and Jack Zaremski, two U.S. lawyers, filed the suit concerning comments Glemp made about New York Rabbi Avi Weiss and six other Jews who scaled the wall of the convent at the former Nazi death camp in July to demand the nuns' removal.

Speaking from his home in New York, Weiss said he wanted to file the suit personally but was denied a Polish visa. He added he was ready to travel to Poland to give evidence.

"I do not seek revenge and do not want to be vindictive. I merely want to cure the harm to my reputation caused by Cardinal Glemp's lies," he added.

In August, Glemp said the seven men, who were attacked and forced out by Polish workmen, "did not kill the nuns or destroy the convent, only because they were stopped."

Human-rights worker forced to flee Peru

A Peruvian government-appointed human-rights investigator who reported that his nation's military was behind numerous "disappearances" has fled Peru after receiving a series of death threats.

The human-rights investigator, Carlos Escobar Pineda, a 42-year-old Catholic, told Catholic News Service Dec. 1 that the "disappearances" took place in three of seven regions in Peru that have been designated as "emergency zones" and are under military rule.

Escobar said the first threats on his life came after he was appointed in 1987 to investigate 572 "disappearances" in the Peruvian "emergency zones" of Ayacucho, Apurimac and San Martin. As a result of his investigation, Escobar said, about 200 people "reappeared," usually dumped alive at a roadside, "in various conditions with signs of torture."

News briefs and Addenda are compiled from NCR's correspondents and news services.

A couple of Slavs brought together by providence

By PETER HEBBLETHWAITE
Vatican Affairs Writer

The last remark President Mikhail Gorbachev made to Pope John Paul Dec. 1 was that both he and Raisa were well aware they were meeting "the highest religious authority in the world" and were particularly happy he should be a fellow Slav.

The pope demurred. "A Slav pope, yes, a Slav pope," he said with a deprecating gesture, "but it is providence that has brought us together." The meeting did not have the same meaning for both participants.

The secular equivalent of providence is faith in the onward march of history, to which Karl Marx said he had the key. Gorbachev makes no such dogmatic claim. But he praises Lenin, who "had the rare ability to sense at the right time the need for radical changes and for a reassessment of values."

Gorbachev's responsiveness to historical change is remarkable. He saw this most recent trip to the West as a whole, with the visit to the Vatican inserted between his message to Europe in Rome and the summit meeting with President Bush in Malta.

In a way he was lucky (another secular equivalent of providence) in his timing. Rome was the last of the major European capitals on his list, and the visit had been three times postponed. So by the time he arrived, the bastions of communist rule in Eastern Europe, East Germany and Czechoslovakia had begun to totter.

Ever adept at making a virtue out of necessity, Gorbachev arrived in Rome with a precise political aim. He used the collapse of his outer empire to make a plea for Helsinki-2, a further conference on European security and cooperation, because events had overtaken the 1975 conference.

The abandonment of the Brezhnev doctrine, which legitimated Warsaw Pact intervention to suppress change in Eastern Europe, means there has to be a new basis for security in Europe. The 1968 intervention in Czechoslovakia is now condemned, by the Warsaw Pact itself, as "unjustified" and a "mistake."

On the eve of his audience with the pope, Gorbachev called for a Europe that would be "a commonwealth of sovereign democratic states, with a high level of interdependence and easily accessible borders, open to the exchange of products, technologies and ideas and widely ranging contacts among peoples."

A year ago, this move would have been regarded as a cunning game-play to compensate for the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact by undermining the cohesion of NATO.

But now the understanding is that as the military threat recedes, the Warsaw Pact and NATO need to remain in place to provide a framework for negotiated disarmament and its verification. This was the message President Bush, though cautious as ever, took from Malta to Brussels after his summit.

The Vatican can welcome the Gorbachev proposals on security and disarmament. But the third item in the Helsinki package, human rights, most concerns the pope.

So to earn support for his Helsinki-2 project, it was essential that Gorbachev be seen to be making significant progress in human rights. Hence, the new law on religious associations, which will recognize, as Gorbachev said, that "believers have the right to satisfy their spiritual needs."



—CNS

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, left, confers with Pope John Paul II during their Dec. 1 summit at the Vatican.

Commentary

This simple phrase, taken seriously, blows away volumes of Marxist theorizing about religion as an alienation, found only under capitalism. The theory obviously contradicted human experience, yet many millions were persecuted because of it. Gorbachev now admits it was "simplistic."

The practical consequences of the new religious law most concern the Vatican. Here, Gorbachev's foreign-policy objectives merge with the aim of trying to win support for *perestroika* at home.

The day he was in the Vatican, Nikolai Kolesnik, chairman of the Ukrainian government's Council on Religious Affairs, announced that the Ukrainian Catholic church could register its congregations "just like any other church."

This welcome news raises many questions. Does it mean Cardinal Myroslav Lubachivsky, major archbishop of the Ukrainian Catholic church, will be allowed to return to his cathedral in Lvov, capital of the Western Ukraine? He hopes to and believes that instead of quarreling about the possession of churches, Catholics should agree to share them with the Russian Orthodox church. How graciously will the Russian Orthodox church comply?

How will Lubachivsky, supposing he returns, be received by Ukrainian Catholic lay leaders whose faith was tested and forged in prison camps?

Lubachivsky has made many speeches declaring that Ukrainian Catholics are "responsible citizens of the state." Does that mean his return is conditional upon his docility? Will religious freedom for the Ukrainian Catholic church strengthen rather than dampen Ukrainian nationalism generally?

The Polish experience suggests that when religious freedom is granted, demands for civic rights and eventually political rights are powerfully stimulated. It is impossible to predict in detail what will happen once the new law is in place.

The possibility of inaugurating diplomatic relations with the Vatican is less of a gamble, though the precise form they will take remains to be discussed. Because diplomatic relations exist with the United States, it is logical that the other superpower should have a similar status. Diplomatic recognition does not mean approval.

Given the centralization of the Soviet Union, a pro-nuncio in Moscow would, in principle, be able to defend the interests of the Catholics of Lithuania, Belorussia and the Ukraine, but it might be more practical to work through the offices of religious affairs in the separate republics.

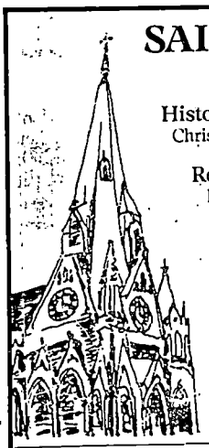
Once these problems are sorted out, one could envisage Gorbachev's third proposal: a papal visit to the Soviet Union. The pope would not go — Vatican sources have made clear — unless he could visit Catholics in the three western republics.

But it is difficult to imagine him in Lvov in the Ukraine or Vilnius, capital of Lithuania, both of which were Polish cities in the interwar period, without a tremendous release of pent-up emotion.

The hundreds of thousands that would undoubtedly gather would attribute their newfound religious liberty to John Paul rather than to Gorbachev. This illustrates the difficulties of a leader-led reform once people power begins to make itself felt. Why, people will want to know, should the Europe of sovereign states stop at the frontier of the Soviet Union?

All these uncertainties make any notion that "history has come to an end" vain. Even a providential view of human history, though ultimately reassuring, does not enable anyone to predict the future or say clearly what should happen next. ■

SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY



Historical Theology—Ph.D., M.A.
Christian theology in an historical perspective

Religious Studies—M.A.
Flexible theological and pastoral studies
summer session/fall, spring semesters

Corporate Ministry Program
Nine-month theological renewal and pastoral initiations

Large, ecumenical, international faculty
Extensive research and pastoral resources

Department of Theological Studies
3634 Lindell Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri 63108
314-658-2881

L.A.TIMES:11-29-89

What the Continent Needs Is a Soul

■ Europe: The Pope and the Soviet leader will meet as partners in a common cause: the evolution of a new world from the Atlantic to the Urals.

By ERIC O. HANSON

Mikhail Gorbachev will meet fellow media superstar John Paul II in Rome this week as a prelude to talks with George Bush. Thus the military, political and symbolic leader of the Warsaw Pact will visit the two Western leaders who can most contribute to the long-term stability of Central and Eastern Europe and to the formation of a new Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

While a single interlocutor suffices for the East, the West must be represented by at least two different types of leaders. The American President's job description does not include the kind of "spiritual" leadership demanded from the head of a Leninist party (Whether Bush lacks his predecessor's charisma is irrelevant to this point.) John Paul's legitimacy as the West's symbolic leader on Central and Eastern Europe results from the Roman Catholic majorities and pluralities in many NATO and Warsaw Pact states and from his strong support for individual and political rights, beginning with his inspirational first papal trip to Poland in 1979.

The challenges of political stability and the future of Europe are primarily cultural and religious, secondarily military. The current devolution of the Soviet empire results from the failure of Communist parties to maintain legitimacy, not from military or diplomatic debacle. Support—and often space—for discussion of alternative sociopolitical structures was provided by churches. For example, the Lutheran church has been encouraging democratization in the German Democratic Republic.

Building a new Europe will demand much higher levels of trust among states and among ethnic groups. In his recent trip to Poland, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl attended mass with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and visited Auschwitz with Rabbi Pinchas Joskowicz, seeking to symbolize German reconciliation with Poles and Jews. The reconciliation of these two victim groups may be even more sensitive than their reconciliation with the Germans, as Polish-Jewish conflict over the convent at Auschwitz has demonstrated.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Karol Wojtyla (John Paul II) share the widespread fear of nationalist ethnic chaos in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. In this nightmare, Eastern Europe would become a Yugoslavia writ large, held together only by military force. And, as in Yugoslavia, religious differences would reinforce ethnic hatreds. Since the early 1960s, when the Vatican adopted an *Ostpolitik* like West Germany's, Popes have discouraged ethnic nationalism, to the displeasure of Croatian Catholics, among others.

The Vatican also has participated actively in the Helsinki process. Now, with Gorbachev willing to legitimize Ukrainian Uniate Catholics and permit fuller human rights in Eastern Europe, the superpowers and the Vatican have a duty to facilitate a stable period of transition.

On the more difficult question of Europe's future, Bush must be limited to the subsidiary role of encouraging Europeans to find common ground. What the continent lacks is a soul. Where will the new European political and cultural consensus come from? Certainly not from ideologically bankrupt Marxism, however humanized, nor from the exaggerated individualism of the American system which glorifies commercialism and consumerism.

In the Polish Pope's vision, Jews and Eastern Europeans have received through the suffering of Auschwitz and the Gulag a sacred "mission" to mediate the spiritual reunification of Europe. Wojtyla and Mazowiecki come from the same Krakow intellectual circles that advocated the secularization of politics and led the recent efforts for Polish-Jewish dialogue. But even this relatively enlightened perspective needs the complementary insights of Europe's exponents of ecumenical tradition, the Dutch, with their strong emphasis on interreligious dialogue, ecclesiastical human rights, arms control, protection of the environment and European unification. The Dutch also show a healthy skepticism about the free-market economy as a moral panacea, however effective it may be at uprooting communist bureaucracies.

German reunification could thus occur slowly as Europe unifies through the continuing continental dialogue about such Polish and Dutch virtues. Europe will develop its soul as it faces immediate inside crises like economic solidarity with Eastern Europe, and outside crises like Third World underdevelopment. In this sense, the murder of the Jesuits in El Salvador presents a challenge to the European soul as it does to the American.

Commenting on John Paul II's third trip to Poland, in 1987, I wrote in these pages that he believed that "the road between Washington and Moscow could lead through Krakow and Kiev." This road now extends through the Brandenburg Gate. By encouraging stability and future trust, the meeting between Gorbachev and Wojtyla could contribute to better East-West relations, making Europe an inspiration for global "justice, peace and the integrity of creation" (the European ecumenical theme).

Eric O. Hanson is a professor of political science at Santa Clara University and a member of the Stanford University Center for International Security and Arms Control. He just returned from a Pax Christi International conference in the Netherlands on the future of Europe.

?t 14/2/1-20

14/2/1
08260251 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Religion and revolution: top story of 1989. (editorial)
Christian Century v106 n39 p1187(4) Dec 20, 1989
SOURCE FILE: MI File 47
CODEN: CHCEB
ARTICLE TYPE: editorial
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEPL; NCES; EE
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Poland; El Salvador
NAMED PEOPLE: Rushdie, Salman--public opinion; Bakker, Jim--cases; Stallings, George A., Jr.--religion; Dalai Lama--achievements and awards
DESCRIPTORS: Europe, Eastern--Politics and government; El Salvador--Politics and government; Abortion--Moral and ethical aspects; National Council of Churches--management; Convents--Poland; Gays--religion; Church and state--1989

14/2/2
08260001 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
A couple of Slavs brought together by providence. (Gorbachev and the Pope) (column)
Hebblethwaite, Peter
National Catholic Reporter v26 n9 p10(1) Dec 15, 1989
SOURCE FILE: MI File 47
CODEN: NLCRB
illustration photograph
ARTICLE TYPE: column
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEUR
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Soviet Union
NAMED PEOPLE: Gorbachev, Mikhail--foreign relations; John Paul II, Pope--foreign relations
DESCRIPTORS: Catholic Church--Relations (Diplomatic) with Soviet Union; Freedom of religion--Soviet Union

14/2/3
08250057 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Soviets lift price of jewelry. (50% increase to accommodate run on gold)
New York Times v139 col 1 pC13(N) Jan 10, 1990
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Wed 4 col in
CODEN: NYTIA
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEUR
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Soviet Union
DESCRIPTORS: Soviet Union--Social policy; Jewelry--Prices; Gold--Prices; Economic lag--Soviet Union

14/2/4
08248601 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
People, your government has returned to you. (Manuel Noriega and other regimes toppled) (Currents)
Roberts, Steven V.
U.S. News & World Report v108 n2 p10(2) Jan 15, 1990
SOURCE FILE: MI File 47
CODEN: XNWRA
illustration portrait
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: NCPN; EECS
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Panama; Czechoslovakia

CAPTIONS: Manuel Noriega.
NAMED PEOPLE: Havel, Vaclav--political activity; Noriega, Manuel Antonio--arrest of
DESCRIPTORS: Authors, Czech--political activity; Czechoslovakia--Politics and government; Panama--Politics and government; Political participation--moral and religious aspects

14/2/5
08247973 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Area Romanians rally at church and embassy.
Armstrong, Jenice
Washington Post v113 col 1 pA39 Dec 25, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Mon 9 col in
illustration photograph
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EERM
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Romania
NAMED PEOPLE: Ceausescu, Nicolae--public opinion
DESCRIPTORS: Revolutions--Romania; Romania--social conditions; Christians in Romania--political activity

14/2/6
08242253 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
For Ukrainian Catholics, hope mixed with caution.
Sack, Kevin
New York Times (Late Edition) v139 col 1 pB1(L) Dec 4, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Mon 28 col in
illustration photograph
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEURCUN; EEUR
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Ukraine
NAMED PEOPLE: Gorbachev, Mikhail--social policy
DESCRIPTORS: Ukrainian Catholic Church--law and legislation; Ukraine--Religion; Freedom of religion--Soviet Union

14/2/7
08241223 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Romanian opposition fears new regime is seeking more than provisional status. (International News)
Toman, Barbara
Wall Street Journal col 5 pA4(W) pA8(E) Jan 8, 1990
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Mon 18 col in
CODEN: WSJOAF
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EERM
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Romania
DESCRIPTORS: Romania--Politics and government; National Salvation Front (Romania)--political activity; Popular fronts--political activity; Christian Democratic Party (Romania)--political activity; Peasant Party (Romania)--political activity; Opposition (Political science)--Romania

14/2/8
08238971 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
The dark side of Glasnost. (despite gains in Eastern Europe's political freedom, Mikhail Gorbachev and the Soviet government seem to be resisting such trends) (column)
Hill, Kent R.
Christian Science Monitor v82 n15 col 2 p19 Dec 15, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Fri 26 col in

CODEN: CSMOBF
illustration cartoon
ARTICLE TYPE: column
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEUR
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Soviet Union
NAMED PEOPLE: Savchenko, Sergei--death of; Gorbachev, Mikhail--political activity
DESCRIPTORS: Soviet Union--Politics and government; Political parties--Soviet Union; Christian Democratic Union (Soviet Union)--political activity; Human rights workers--crimes against; Human rights--Soviet Union

14/2/9
08238843 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
A leader aspires to step down; Vaclav Maly helped to launch a revolution; now he intends to become a parish priest again.
Echikson, William
Christian Science Monitor v82 n27 col 2 p14 Jan 4, 1990
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Thu 36 col in
CODEN: CSMOBF
illustration portrait
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EECS
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Czechoslovakia
CAPTIONS: Vaclav Maly.
NAMED PEOPLE: Maly, Vaclav--political activity
DESCRIPTORS: Czechoslovakia--Politics and government; Priests--political activity; Christianity and politics--social aspects

14/2/10
08237823 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Vatican and orthodox aides to meet at Ukraine church. (Vatican delegation will discuss the status of the Ukraine Catholic Church) (International Pages) (Upheaval in the East)
New York Times v139 col 1 pA5(N) pA15(L) Jan 5, 1990
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Fri 5 col in
CODEN: NYTIA
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEURCUN; ESVC; EEUR
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Ukraine
DESCRIPTORS: Vatican City--foreign relations; Catholic Church in Ukraine--relations with Vatican City; Ukraine--Catholic Church; Freedom of religion--Soviet Union

14/2/11
08236589 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
The Jews of the Soviet Union. (book reviews)
Pipes, Richard
Commentary v88 n6 p70(3) Dec, 1989
SOURCE FILE: MI File 47
CODEN: COMND
ARTICLE TYPE: review
GRADE: C
REVIEWEE: Pinkus, Benjamin
DESCRIPTORS: Books--reviews, etc.

14/2/12
08236587 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
The Jews in the Soviet Union Since 1917. (book reviews)
Pipes, Richard

Commentary v88 n6 p70(3) Dec, 1989
SOURCE FILE: MI File 47
CODEN: COMND
ARTICLE TYPE: review
GRADE: A
REVIEWEE: Levin, Nora
DESCRIPTORS: Books--reviews, etc.

14/2/13
08234091 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
A mighty fortress indeed. (churches in East Germany) (column)
Cattau, Daniel
Los Angeles Times v109 col 4 pB6 Dec 16, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Sat 19 col in
illustration cartoon
ARTICLE TYPE: column
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEGE
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Germany, East
NAMED PEOPLE: Luther, Martin--influence
DESCRIPTORS: Germany, East--churches; Socialist Unity Party (Germany, East)--religion

14/2/14
08231515 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
A pastor with a political mission; Rainer Eppelmann played a key role in providing moral force for East Germany's revolution.
Echikson, William
Christian Science Monitor v82 n23 col 2 p14 Dec 28, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Thu 33 col in
CODEN: CSMOBF
illustration portrait
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEGE
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Germany, East
CAPTIONS: Rainer Eppelmann.
NAMED PEOPLE: Eppelmann, Ranier--political activity; Honecker, Erich--social policy
DESCRIPTORS: Clergy--Political activity; Germany, East--Social conditions; Communism and Christianity--political aspects; Christians in Germany, East--crimes against

14/2/15
08229195 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Rights of the Turks protested. (protest against Bulgarian Turks receiving religious rights) (International Pages) (Upheaval in the East)
New York Times v139 col 2 pA6(N) pA12(L) Jan 3, 1990
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Wed 8 col in
CODEN: NYTIA
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEBU
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Bulgaria
NAMED PEOPLE: Buvcukov, Nicolay--political activity
DESCRIPTORS: Kurdzhali, Bulgaria--demonstrations; Turks in Bulgaria--legal status, laws, etc.; Bulgarian Communist Party--political activity; Freedom of religion--Bulgaria

14/2/16
08229155 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
For Judaism's remnant, coup is mixed blessing. (Romanian Jews worry that

nationalism could also bring anti-Semitism) (International Pages) (Upheaval in the East)
Haberman, Clyde
New York Times v139 col 5 pA6(N) pA12(L) Jan 3, 1990
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Wed 19 col in
CODEN: NYTIA
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EERM; AWIS
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Romania; Israel
NAMED PEOPLE: Ceausescu, Nicolae--foreign economic relations; Rosen, Moses --political activity
DESCRIPTORS: Romania--Politics and government; Jews, Romanian--attitudes; Nationalism and religion--Romania; Antisemitism--Romania; Israel--relations with Romania; Emigration and immigration--Romania

14/2/17
08229663 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
An Israeli paper says Jews were released and Ceausescu paid. (Yediot Aharonot claims Israel paid cash to Nicolae Ceausescu for every Romanian Jew he allowed to emigrate) (International Pages) (Upheaval in the East)
New York Times v139 col 1 p6(N) p6(L) Jan 1, 1990
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Mon 7 col in
CODEN: NYTIA
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EERM; AWIS
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Romania; Israel
NAMED PEOPLE: Ceausescu, Nicolae--foreign economic relations
DESCRIPTORS: Israel--relations with Romania; Jews, Romanian--emigration and immigration; Romania--relations with Israel

14/2/18
08229243 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Town in Bulgaria defies order to give Muslims full rights. (Kardzhali) (International Pages) (Upheaval in the East)
New York Times v139 col 6 p7(N) p7(L) Jan 1, 1990
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Mon 8 col in
CODEN: NYTIA
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEBU
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Bulgaria
DESCRIPTORS: Kardzhali, Bulgaria--religion; Muslims in Bulgaria--legal status, laws, etc.; Turks in Bulgaria--legal status, laws, etc.; Bulgarian Communist Party--political activity; Minorities--Bulgaria

14/2/19
08227487 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
What's yours is still mine. (private property law in the Soviet Union and also includes a related article on the return of religion)
Economist v313 n7632 p49(2) Dec 9, 1989
SOURCE FILE: MI File 47
illustration portrait
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEUR
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Soviet Union
CAPTIONS: John Paul II.; Mikhail Gorbachev.
NAMED PEOPLE: Gorbachev, Mikhail--political activity; John Paul II, Pope--foreign relations
DESCRIPTORS: Soviet Union--Politics and government; Right of property--law and legislation

14/2/20
09224917 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Virtually a political miracle. (Mikhail Gorbachev, Pope John Paul II meet) (editorial)
Los Angeles Times v108 col 1 pM6 Dec 3, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Sun 14 col in
ARTICLE TYPE: editorial
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEUR
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Soviet Union
NAMED PEOPLE: Gorbachev, Mikhail--foreign relations; John Paul II, Pope--foreign relations
DESCRIPTORS: Soviet Union--Religion; Catholic Church--Relations (Diplomatic) with Soviet Union; Liberty of conscience--Soviet Union; Freedom of religion--Soviet Union
?t 14/2/21-50

14/2/21
09224077 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
John Paul-Gorbachev summit marks end of ideological war.
Hebblethwaite, Peter
National Catholic Reporter v26 n8 p5(1) Dec 8, 1989
SOURCE FILE: MI File 47
CODEN: NLCRB
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEUR
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Soviet Union
NAMED PEOPLE: Gorbachev, Mikhail--foreign relations; John Paul II, Pope--foreign relations
DESCRIPTORS: Catholic Church--Relations (Diplomatic) with Soviet Union; Freedom of religion--Soviet Union; Soviet Union--Religion

14/2/22
09221641 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Gorbachev connects morality with religion. (column)
Kidder, Rushworth M.
Christian Science Monitor v82 n11 col 2 p12 Dec 11, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Mon 15 col in
CODEN: CSMOBF
ARTICLE TYPE: column
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEUR
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Soviet Union
NAMED PEOPLE: Gorbachev, Mikhail--political and social views
DESCRIPTORS: Communism and religion--Soviet Union; Religion and ethics--international aspects

14/2/23
08219579 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
A nation of two minds about Ceausescu's fall. (Israel) (International Pages)
Cowell, Alan
New York Times v139 col 1 pA7(N) pA11(L) Dec 29, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Fri 15 col in
CODEN: NYTIA
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EERM; AWIS
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Romania; Israel
NAMED PEOPLE: Ceausescu, Nicolae--foreign public opinion; Peres, Shimon--foreign relations

DESCRIPTORS: Jews in Romania--legal status, laws, etc.; Israel--relations with Romania; Romania--relations with Israel

14/2/24
08219401 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
For a new emigre in Israel, a menorah, and minor pains. (Emma Finkelstein; emigrant from Soviet Union) (International Pages)
New York Times v139 col 3 pA2(N) pA2(L) Dec 29, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Fri 13 col in
CODEN: NYTIA
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEUR; AWIS
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Soviet Union; Israel
NAMED PEOPLE: Finkelstein, Emma--interviews
DESCRIPTORS: Jews in Soviet Union--emigration and immigration; Israel--emigration and immigration

14/2/25
08218863 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Prague legislators weeding out restrictive laws; curbs on religious, travel liberties are abolished; time limits set on jail detention.
Auerbach, Stuart
Washington Post v113 col 1 pA47 Dec 14, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Thu 16 col in
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EECS
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Czechoslovakia
DESCRIPTORS: Law--Czechoslovakia; Civil rights movements--Czechoslovakia; Czechoslovakia--civil rights; Civil rights demonstrations--Czechoslovakia

14/2/26
08213663 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Sound of carols and bells ends 40 years of silence. (Christmas celebration in Eastern Europe) (International Pages)
New York Times v139 col 3 pA11(N) pA19(L) Dec 26, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Tue 17 col in
CODEN: NYTIA
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EE
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Europe, Eastern
DESCRIPTORS: Communist countries--religion; Europe, Eastern-- social conditions; Christmas--political aspects; Christianity and politics--social aspects

14/2/27
08213003 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Thanks for deliverance, but mindful that all is still not well. (Romanian revolution, 1989) (International Pages)
Haberman, Clyde
New York Times v139 col 5 pA8(N) pA16(L) Dec 26, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Tue 16 col in
CODEN: NYTIA
illustration photograph
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EERMB; EERM
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Bucharest
DESCRIPTORS: Civil-military relations--Romania; Revolutions--Romania; Church and state--Romania; Communist Party (Romania)--social policy; Bucharest--social conditions; Romania--religion; Christians in Romania

--political activity

14/2/28
08211483 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
U.S. donor provides Israeli immigrant fund. (International Pages)
New York Times v139 col 3 pA15(N) pA10(L) Dec 22, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Fri 3 col in
CODEN: NYTIA
NAMED PEOPLE: Sharansky, Natan--charitable contributions
DESCRIPTORS: Jews, Russian--emigration and immigration

14/2/29
08211073 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Group keeps religion alive to Soviet Jews. (International Pages)
Steinfels, Peter
New York Times v139 col 1 pA9(N) pA10(L) Dec 22, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Fri 18 col in
CODEN: NYTIA
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEUR
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Soviet Union
DESCRIPTORS: Jews in Soviet Union--legal status, laws, etc.; Soviet Union --Religion; Communism and Judaism--Soviet Union; Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture--political activity

14/2/30
08208213 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Israel migrant agency says Soviet exodus makes money critical. (cost of Soviet Jews' migration) (International Pages)
New York Times v139 col 3 pA18(N) pA5(L) Dec 21, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Thu 8 col in
CODEN: NYTIA
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: AWIS; EEUR
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Israel; Soviet Union
DESCRIPTORS: Jews in Soviet Union--emigration and immigration; Israel--emigration and immigration; Emigration and immigration-- economic aspects

14/2/31
08208127 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
The Church in Czechoslovakia. (Roman Catholic Church to begin operating freely) (World Wire)
Mathewson, William
Wall Street Journal col 2 pA10(W) pA14(E) Dec 21, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Thu 1 col in
CODEN: WSJOAF
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EECS
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Czechoslovakia
DESCRIPTORS: Catholic Church--Czechoslovakia; Czechoslovakia--religion; Freedom of religion--Czechoslovakia

14/2/32
08207539 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
A year of turning points: revolutionary changes in Eastern Europe and a major Supreme Court decision on abortion dominated headlines. (1989) (includes related articles)
Frame, Randy

```
                                                                    HORRESEARCH
                                                                
```

the Soviet Union) (International Pages)
Clines, Francis X.
New York Times v139 col 1 pA10(N) pA18(L) Dec 20, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Wed 20 col in
CODEN: NYTIA
illustration photograph
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEUR
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Soviet Union
DESCRIPTORS: Jews in Soviet Union--conferences and congresses; Soviet Union--Religion; Antisemitism--Soviet Union

14/2/37
08200091 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
The Jews of the Soviet Union. (book reviews)
Gitelman, Zvi
America v161 n16 p385(2) Nov 25, 1989
SOURCE FILE: MI File 47
CODEN: AMRIB
ARTICLE TYPE: review
GRADE: A
REVIEWEE: Pinkus, Benjamin
DESCRIPTORS: Books--reviews, etc.

14/2/38
08200089 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
The Jews in the Soviet Union Since 1917: Paradox of Survival. (book reviews)
Gitelman, Zvi
America v161 n16 p385(2) Nov 25, 1989
SOURCE FILE: MI File 47
CODEN: AMRIB
ARTICLE TYPE: review
GRADE: B
REVIEWEE: Levin, Nora
DESCRIPTORS: Books--reviews, etc.

14/2/39
08200073 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Religion in Czechoslovakia, 1989.
Lavelle, Michael J.
America v161 n16 p375(3) Nov 25, 1989
SOURCE FILE: MI File 47
CODEN: AMRIB
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EECS
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Czechoslovakia
NAMED PEOPLE: Tomasek, Frantisek Cardinal--achievements and awards
DESCRIPTORS: Appeal of Conscience Foundation--aims and objectives; Freedom of religion--Czechoslovakia; Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia--analysis

14/2/40
08198625 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Freedom's door shut in face of Soviet Jews. (despite U.S.'s urging Soviets to allow Jews to emigrate, U.S. government now restricting their entrance here) (column)
Ungar, Sanford J.
Los Angeles Times v108 col 3 pM2 Nov 12, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Sun 31 col in

illustration cartoon
ARTICLE TYPE: column
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: NNUS; EEUR
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: United States; Soviet Union
NAMED PEOPLE: Bush, George--foreign relations
DESCRIPTORS: Emigration and immigration--international aspects; Jews in Soviet Union--emigration and immigration; United States--relations with Soviet Union; Soviet Union--relations with the United States

14/2/41
08197383 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Monk business. (Pope John Paul II, the Catholic church, and repression) (Beat the Devil) (column)
Cockburn, Alexander
Nation v249 n22 p778(1) Dec 25, 1989
SOURCE FILE: MI File 47
CODEN: NATNB
ARTICLE TYPE: column
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEUR; ESVC
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Soviet Union; Vatican City
NAMED PEOPLE: John Paul II, Pope--political activity; Boff, Leonardo--political activity; Gorbachev, Mikhail--social policy
DESCRIPTORS: Liberation theology--political aspects; Religion and state--analysis; Catholic Church--political aspects; Soviet Union--relations with Vatican City

14/2/42
08197371 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Soul of a soulless world. (Mikhail Gorbachev on religion) (Beat the Devil) (column)
Cockburn, Alexander
Nation v249 n22 p778(1) Dec 25, 1989
SOURCE FILE: MI File 47
CODEN: NATNB
ARTICLE TYPE: column
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEUR
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Soviet Union
NAMED PEOPLE: Gorbachev, Mikhail--social policy
DESCRIPTORS: Religion and state--political aspects; Soviet Union--moral and religious aspects

14/2/43
08196289 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Bulgarian opposition urges easing of Muslim minority's plight. (International Pages)
Haberman, Clyde
New York Times v139 col 3 p14(N) p30(L) Dec 17, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Sun 16 col in
CODEN: NYTIA
illustration photograph
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEBU
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Bulgaria
NAMED PEOPLE: Mladenov, Petar T.--social policy
DESCRIPTORS: Bulgaria--social policy; Muslims in Bulgaria--social conditions; Turks in Bulgaria--religion; Union of Democratic Forces (Bulgaria)--political activity

14/2/44
08192641 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH

What the Continent needs is a soul; the Pope and the Soviet leader will meet as partners in a common cause: the evolution of a new world from the Atlantic to the Urals. (Pope John Paul II, Mikhail Gorbachev) (column)
Hanson, Eric O.
Los Angeles Times v108 col 1 pB7 Nov 29, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Wed 12 col in
illustration portrait
ARTICLE TYPE: column
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEUR; ESVC; EE
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Soviet Union; Vatican City
CAPTIONS: Pope John Paul II.
NAMED PEOPLE: Gorbachev, Mikhail--foreign relations; John Paul II, Pope--foreign relations
DESCRIPTORS: Soviet Union--relations with Vatican City; Vatican City--relations with Soviet Union; Catholic Church in Europe, Eastern--law and legislation; Europe, Eastern--religion

14/2/45
08191681 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Emigration for Soviet Jews. (restrictions on the number of Soviet Jews allowed to emigrate to the United States) (letter to the editor)
Meth, Robert
Los Angeles Times v108 col 5 pB6 Nov 29, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Wed 10 col in
ARTICLE TYPE: letter to the editor
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEUR
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Soviet Union
DESCRIPTORS: Jews, Russian--emigration and immigration; Emigration and immigration law--social aspects; Soviet Union--Emigration and immigration

14/2/46
08188965 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Gorbachev, Pope seek common ground in historic talks today. (Mikhail Gorbachev meets Pope John Paul II)
Parmele, Jennifer
Washington Post v112 col 1 pA39 Dec 1, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Fri 34 col in
illustration portrait
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEUR; EE
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Soviet Union
CAPTIONS: Pope John Paul II.
NAMED PEOPLE: John Paul II, Pope--foreign relations; Gorbachev, Mikhail--foreign relations
DESCRIPTORS: Soviet Union--Religion; Catholic Church--Relations (Diplomatic) with Soviet Union; Freedom of religion--Soviet Union; Social change--Europe, Eastern

14/2/47
08188787 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Gorbachev, Pope meet, agree on diplomatic relations.
Dobbs, Michael
Washington Post v112 col 5 pA1 Dec 2, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Sat 31 col in
illustration portrait

GEOGRAPHIC CODE: EEUR; ESVC
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Soviet Union; Vatican City
CAPTIONS: Pope John Paul II, Mikhail Gorbachev.
NAMED PEOPLE: Gorbachev, Mikhail--foreign relations; John Paul II, Pope--foreign relations
DESCRIPTORS: Freedom of religion--Soviet Union; Soviet Union--relations with Vatican City; Catholic Church--Relations (Diplomatic) with Soviet Union

14/2/48
08188101 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
Human rights as an international issue. (includes questions and answers)
Shelley, Louise I.
Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science v506 p42(15) Nov, 1989
SOURCE FILE: MI File 47
CODEN: AAYPA
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: NC; S; EEUR
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Central America; South America; Soviet Union
DESCRIPTORS: Human rights--international aspects; Soviet Union--civil rights; Latin America--civil rights; International relations--moral and religious aspects

14/2/49
08187791 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
The idea of holy Russia.
Averintsev, Sergei
History Today v39 p37(8) Nov, 1989
SOURCE FILE: MI File 47
CODEN: HITOA
illustration photograph
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: E
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Europe
DESCRIPTORS: Byzantine Empire--History; Russia--Church history; Christianity and culture--history

14/2/50
08187195 DIALOG File 211: NEWSEARCH
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.
Brinkley, Joel
New York Times v139 col 6 pA1(N) pA1(L) Dec 14, 1989
SOURCE FILE: NNI File 111
EDITION: Thu 33 col in
CODEN: NYTIA
illustration photograph graph
GEOGRAPHIC CODE: AWIS; EEUR
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Israel; Soviet Union
CAPTIONS: Emigration of Soviet Jews.
DESCRIPTORS: Jews, Russian--emigration and immigration; Jews in Soviet Union--legal status, laws, etc.; Israel--emigration and immigration; Soviet Union--Emigration and immigration

id to him they [z]had regard, because
long time he had [r]bewitched them
orceries. *gave respect • astounded • witchery*
it when they believed Philip preach-
things [s]concerning the kingdom of
nd the name of Jesus Christ, they
ptized, both men and women. 12
en Simon himself believed also:
ien he was baptized, he continued
hilip, and wondered, beholding the
es and signs which were done.
w when the apostles which were at
em heard that [r]Sa-mar'-i-a had re-
the word of God, they sent unto
eter and John: *the people of Samaria*
o, when they [r]were come down,
for them, that they might receive
y [r]Ghost: *arrived • Spirit*
or [a]as yet he was fallen upon none
: only they were baptized [r]in the
the Lord Jesus.) 19:2 • *into*
en [a]laid they *their* hands on them,
y received the Holy Ghost. Heb. 6:2
l when Simon saw that through
n of the apostles' hands the Holy
as given, he offered them money,
ing, Give me also this power, that
nsoever I lay hands, he may receive
y [r]Ghost. *spirit*
Peter said unto him, Thy money
with thee, because thou hast
that [a]the gift of God may be pur-
ith money. 2 Ki. 5:16; Mat. 10:8
u hast neither part nor [r]lot in this
for thy [a]heart is not right in the
God. *share* • Jer. 17:9
ent therefore of this thy wicked-
pray God, if perhaps the thought
heart may be forgiven thee. Jas. 5:19
I perceive that thou art [r]in [a]the
tterness, and *in* the bond of [r]iniq-
full of envy • Heb. 12:15 • *sin*
answered Simon, and said, [a]Pray
Lord for me, that none of these
hich ye have spoken come upon
Gen. 20:7, 17; Ex. 8:8; 1 Ki. 13:6; Job 42:8
they, when they had testified and
the word of the Lord, returned to
n, and preached the gospel in
lages of the Sa-mar'-i-tans.

Philip and the eunuch

the angel of the Lord spake unto
ying, Arise, and go toward the
o the way that goeth down from
unto Ga'-za, which is desert.
he arose and went: and, behold,
E-thi-o'-pi-a, a eunuch of great
under Can-da'-ce queen of the
i-ans, [a]who had the charge of all
her treasure, and [a]had come to Jerusalem
for to worship, Zeph. 3:10 • Ps. 68:31 • John 12:20
28 Was returning, and sitting in his
chariot read Isai'-ah the prophet.
29 Then the Spirit said unto Philip, Go
near, and join thyself to this chariot.
30 And Philip ran [r]thither to *him*, and
heard him read the prophet Isai'-ah, and
said, Understandest thou what thou read-
over
est?
31 [a]And he said, How can I, except some
man should [r]guide me? And he [z]desired
Philip that he would come up and sit with
him. Is. 56:3-7 • *explain to* • *asked*
32 The place of the scripture which he
read was this,

[a]He was led as a sheep to the slaughter;
and like a lamb dumb before his shearer,
so opened he not his mouth: Is. 53:7, 8
33 in his humiliation his judgment was taken
away:
and who shall declare his generation?
for his life is taken from the earth.

34 And the eunuch [r]answered Philip, and
said, [r]I pray thee, of whom speaketh the
prophet this? of himself, or of some other
man? *asked • tell me*
35 Then Philip opened his mouth, [a]and
began at the same scripture, and preached
unto him Jesus. 18:28; Luke 24:27
36 And as they went on *their* way, they
came unto a certain water: and the eunuch
said, [r]See, *here is* water; [a]what doth hinder
me to be baptized? *Behold* • 10:47
37 And Philip said, [a]If thou believest
with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he
answered and said, [a]I believe that Jesus
Christ is the Son of God. Mat. 28:19 • Mat. 16:16
38 And he commanded the chariot to
stand still: and they went down both into
the water, [a]both Philip and the eunuch; and
he baptized him. Mat. 3:16; Mark 1:10
39 And when they were come up out of
the water, the Spirit of the Lord caught
away Philip, that the eunuch saw him no
more: and he went on his way rejoicing.
40 But Philip was found at A-zo'-tus:
and passing through he preached in all the
cities, till he came to Cae-sa-re'-a.

CHAPTER 9

c. A.D. 35

The conversion of Saul

AND [a]Saul, [r]yet breathing out threaten-
ings and slaughter against the dis-
ciples of the Lord, went unto the high
priest, 8:3; Gal. 1:13; 1 Tim. 1:13 • *continued*
2 And [z]desired of him letters to Damas-
cus to the synagogues, that if he found
any [r]of this way, whether they were men
or women, he might bring them bound
unto Jerusalem. *asked • of the way:* 19:9, 23
3 And as he journeyed, he came near
Damascus: and suddenly there shined
round about him a light from heaven:
4 And he fell to the earth, and heard a
voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, [a]why
persecutest thou me? 22:7; Mat. 25:40
5 And he said, [a]Who art thou, Lord? And
the Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou per-
secutest: *it is* hard for thee to kick against
the [r]pricks. 22:8 • *oxgoads*
6 And he trembling and astonished said,
Lord, [a]what wilt thou have me to do? And
the Lord *said* unto him, Arise, and go into
the city, and it shall be told thee what thou
must do. 2:37; 16:30; 22:10, 16; Luke 3:10
7 And [a]the men which journeyed with
him stood speechless, hearing a voice, but
seeing no man. 22:9; 26:13; Dan. 10:7
8 [a]And Saul arose from the earth; and
when his eyes were opened, he saw [r]no
man: but they led him by the hand, and
brought *him* into Damascus. 22:11 • *nothing*
9 And he was three days without sight,
and neither did eat nor drink.
10 And there was a certain disciple at
Damascus, [a]named An-a-ni'-as; and to him
said the Lord in a vision, An-a-ni'-as. And
he said, Behold, I *am here*, Lord. 22:12
11 And the Lord *said* unto him, Arise,
and go into the street which is called
Straight, and [r]inquire in the house of Ju-
das for *one* called Saul, [a]of Tarsus: for, be-
hold, he prayeth, *ask* • 21:39 ; 22:3
12 And hath seen in a vision a man named
An-a-ni'-as coming in, and putting *his*
hand on him, that he might [r]receive his
sight. *see again*
13 Then An-a-ni'-as answered, Lord, I
have heard by many of this man, [a]how
much [r]evil he hath done to thy saints at
Jerusalem: *v. 1 • the bad things*
14 And here he hath authority from the
chief priests to [r]bind all [a]that call on thy
name. *arrest • v. 21; 7:59;* 1 Cor. 1:2; 2 Tim. 2:22
15 But the Lord said unto him, Go thy
way: for he is a chosen vessel [a]unto me, to
bear my name before the Gentiles, and
kings, and the children of Israel: 2 Cor. 4:7
16 For I will show him how [r]great things
he must suffer for my name's sake. *many*
17 [a]And An-a-ni'-as went his way, and
entered into the house; and [a]putting his
hands on him said, Brother Saul, the Lord,
even Jesus, that appeared unto thee in the
way as thou camest, hath sent me, that
thou mightest receive thy sight, and be
filled with the Holy Ghost. 22:12, 13 • 8:17
18 [a]And immediately there fell from his
eyes as it had been [r]scales: and he received
sight forthwith, and arose, and was bap-
tized. 22:16 • *fish scales*

Saul testifies in Damascus

19 And when he had [T]received meat, he was strengthened. [R]Then was Saul [T]certain days with the disciples which were at Damascus. *eaten food* • 26:20 • *several*

20 And [T]straightway he [T]preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God. *immediately* • *proclaimed Jesus*

21 But all that heard *him* were amazed, and said; [R]Is not this he that destroyed them which called on this name in Jerusalem, and came hither for that intent, that he might bring them bound unto the chief priests? *v.* 1; 8:3; Gal. 1:13, 23

22 But Saul [T]increased the more in strength, [R]and [T]confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, proving that this is very Christ. *preached* • 18:28 • *confused*

Saul escapes to Jerusalem

23 And after that many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him:

24 [R]But their [T]laying await was known [T]of Saul. And they watched the [T]gates day and night to kill him. 2 Cor. 11:32 • *plot* • *to* • *city gates*

25 Then the disciples took him by night, and let *him* down by the wall in a basket.

26 And when Saul was come to Jerusalem, he assayed to join himself to the disciples: but they were all afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple.

27 [R]But Barnabas took him, and brought *him* to the apostles, and declared unto them how he had seen the Lord in the way, and that he had spoken to him, [R]and how he had preached boldly at Damascus in the name of Jesus. 4:36; 13:2 • *vv.* 20, 22

28 And [R]he was with them coming in and going out at Jerusalem. Gal. 1:18

29 And he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and [T]disputed against the [R]Grecians: [R]but they went about to slay him. *argued* • 6:1; 11:20 • *v.* 23; 2 Cor. 11:26

30 *Which* when the brethren [T]knew, they brought him down to Cae-sa-re'-a, and sent him forth to Tarsus. *found out*

31 Then had the [T]churches rest throughout all Judea and Galilee and Sa-mar'-i-a, and were [T]edified; and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied. *church* • *built up*

Aeneas healed

32 And it came to pass, as Peter passed throughout all *quarters*, he came down also to the saints which dwelt at Lyd'-da.

33 And there he found a certain man named Ae-ne'-as, which had kept his bed eight years, and was sick of the palsy.

34 And Peter said unto him, Ae-ne'-as, [R]Jesus Christ maketh thee [T]whole: arise, and make thy bed. And he arose immediately. 3:6, 16; 4:10 • *we*

35 And all that dwelt at Lyd'-da and Sar'-on saw him. and turned to the Lord.

Dorcas restored to life

36 Now there was at Joppa a certain disciple named Tab'-itha, which by interpretation is called Dorcas: this woman was full [R]of good works and [T]almsdeeds which she did. 1 Tim. 2:10; Tit. 3:8 • *works of mer*

37 And it came to pass in those days, that she was sick, and died: whom when they had [T]washed, they laid *her* in [R]an upper [T]chamber. *washed her body* • 1:13 • *roo*

38 And forasmuch as Lyd'-da was [T]nigh to Joppa, and the disciples had heard that Peter was there, they sent unto him two men, [T]desiring *him* that he would not delay to come to them. *close* • *with a messag*

39 Then Peter arose and went with them. When he was come, they brought him into the upper chamber: and all the widows stood [T]by him weeping, and showing the coats and garments which Dorcas made, while she was with them. *aroun*

40 But Peter put them all forth, and [R]kneeled down, and prayed; and turning *him* to the body [R]said, Tab'-itha, arise. And she opened her eyes: and when she saw Peter, she sat up. 7:60 • John 11:

41 And he gave her *his* hand, and lifted her up, and when he had called the [T]saints and widows, presented her alive. *believe*

42 And it was known throughout all Joppa; and many believed in the Lord.

43 And it came to pass, that he tarried many days in Joppa with one [R]Simon a [T]tanner. 10:6 • *leather-work*

CHAPTER 10 c. A.D.

The vision of Cornelius

THERE was a certain man in Cae-sa-re'-a called Cornelius, [R]a [T]centurion of the band called the Italian *band*, *v.* 22 • *captai*

2 [R]A [T]devout *man*, and one that [R]feared God with all his house, which gave [T]much alms to the people, and prayed to God always. *v.* 22 • *godly* • *v.* 35 • *many gifts to the poo*

3 [R]He saw in a vision [T]evidently about the [T]ninth hour of the day an angel of God coming in to him, and saying unto him, Cornelius. *v.* 30 • *openly, as it were* • *3 p.*

4 And when he looked on him, he was afraid, and said, What is it, Lord? And he said unto him, Thy prayers and thine alms are come up for a memorial before God.

5 And now send men to Joppa, and call for *one* Simon, whose surname is Peter:

ath said, out of his belly shall
of [T]living water. Deut. 18:15 • *running*
But this spake he of the Spirit,
they that believe on him should
for the Holy Ghost was not
because that Jesus was not
ed.) Is. 44:3; Joel 2:28; Acts 5:32; 1
any of the people therefore, when
ard this saying, said, Of a truth this
Prophet. Deut. 18
ers said, This is the [T]Christ. But
aid, Shall Christ come out of
Messiah
th not the scripture said, That
ometh of the seed of David, and
the town of Bethlehem, [R]where
as? Mic. 5:2; Luke 2:4 • 1 Sam. 16:1, 4
[R]there was a division [T]among the
ecause of him. *v. 12 • in the crowd*
[R]some of them would have taken
no man laid hands on him. *v. 20*
n came the officers to the chief
nd Pharisees; and they said unto
hy have ye not brought him?
officers answered, Never man
e this man. *talked*
answered them the Pharisees,
so [T]deceived? *fooled*
any of the rulers or of the
believed on him? *vv. 50-53*
his people who [T]knoweth not the
rsed. *understands • law of Moses*
-de'-mus saith unto them, (he
to Jesus by night, being one of
3:2; 19:39
our law judge *any* man, before
n, and know what he doeth?
answered and said unto him, Art
f Galilee? Search, and look: for
ilee ariseth no prophet. Is. 9:1, 2
very man went [T]unto his own
home

CHAPTER 8

C. A.D. 29

Jesus forgives an adulteress

ent unto the mount of Olives.
early in the morning he came
the temple, and all the people
him; and he sat down, and
n. *back*
scribes and Pharisees brought
woman taken in adultery; and
had set her in the midst,
unto him, Master, this woman
n adultery, in the very act.
oses in the law commanded us,
ould be [T]stoned: but what say-
Lev. 20:10; Deut. 22:22 • *stoned to death*
y said, tempting him, that
they might have to accuse him. But Jesus stooped down, and with *his* finger wrote on the ground, *as though he heard them not.*

7 So when they continued asking him, he lifted up himself, and said unto them, [R]He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her. Deut. 17:7; Rom. 2:1

8 And again he stooped down, and wrote on the ground.

9 And they which heard *it*, being convicted by *their own* conscience, went out one by one, beginning at the eldest, *even* unto the last: and Jesus was left alone, and the woman standing in the midst.

10 When Jesus had lifted up himself, and saw none but the woman, he said unto her, Woman, where are those thine accusers? hath no man [T]condemned thee? *did • condemn*

11 She said, No man, Lord. And Jesus said unto her, [R]Neither do I condemn thee: go, and [R]sin no more. 3:17; Luke 9:56 • 5:14

"I am the Light of the World"

12 Then spake Jesus again unto them, saying, I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.

13 The Pharisees therefore said unto him, Thou [T]bearest record of thyself; thy record is not [T]true. *givest testimony • testimony*

14 Jesus answered and said unto them, Though I bear record of myself, *yet* my record is true: for I know whence I came, and whither I go; but [R]ye cannot tell whence I come, and whither I go. 7:28

15 [R]Ye judge [T]after the flesh; [R]I judge no man. 7:24 • *according to human ideas* • 3:17

16 And yet if I judge, my judgment is true: for [R]I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent me. 16:32

17 [R]It is also written in your law, that the testimony of two men is true. Heb. 10:28

18 I am one that bear witness of myself, and [R]the Father that sent me [T]beareth witness of me. 5:37 • *testifies*

19 Then said they unto him, Where is thy Father? Jesus answered, [R]Ye neither know me, nor my Father: if ye had known me, ye should have known my Father also. 16:3

20 These words spake Jesus in [R]the treasury, as he taught in the temple: and [R]no man laid hands on him; for [R]his hour was not yet come. Mark 12:41 • 7:30 • 7:8

21 Then said Jesus again unto them, I go my way, and [R]ye shall seek me, and [R]shall die in your sins: whither I go, ye cannot come. 7:34; 13:33 • *v. 24*

22 Then said the [T]Jews, Will he kill himself? because he saith, Whither I go, ye cannot come. *Jewish authorities*

23 And he said unto them, Ye are from beneath; I am from above: [R]ye are of this world; I am not of this world. 1 John 4:5

24 [R]I said therefore unto you, that ye shall die in your sins: for if ye believe not that I am *he*, ye shall die in your sins. *v. 21*

25 Then said they unto him, Who art thou? And Jesus saith unto them, Even *the same* that I said unto you from the beginning.

26 I have many things to say and to judge of you: but [R]he that sent me is [T]true; and I speak to the world those things which I have heard of him. 7:28 • *reliable*

27 They understood not that he spake to them of the Father.

28 Then said Jesus unto them, When ye have [T]lifted up the Son of man, then shall ye know that I am *he*, and *that* I do nothing of myself; but as my Father hath taught me, I speak these things. *crucified*

29 And he that sent me is with me: the Father hath not left me alone; for I do always those things that please him.

30 As he spake these words, [R]many believed [T]on him. 7:31; 10:42; 11:45 • *in*

Abraham's true descendants

31 Then said Jesus to those Jews which believed on him, If ye continue in my word, *then* are ye my disciples indeed;

32 And ye shall know the truth, and [R]the truth shall make you free. Jas. 1:25

33 They answered him, [R]We be Abraham's seed, and were never [T]in bondage to any man: how sayest thou, Ye shall be made free? Lev. 25:42; Mat. 3:9 • *slaves*

34 Jesus answered them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, [R]Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin. Rom. 6:16; 2 Pet. 2:19

35 And the servant abideth not in the house for ever: *but* the Son abideth ever.

36 [R]If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed. Rom. 8:2; Gal. 5:1

37 I [T]know that ye are Abraham's seed; but ye seek to kill me, because my word [T]hath no place in you. *realize • you do not accept*

38 [R]I speak that which I have seen with my Father: and ye do that which ye have seen with your father. 3:32; 5:19, 30; 14:10

39 They answered and said unto him, [R]Abraham is our father. Jesus saith unto them, If ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the works of Abraham. Rom. 2:28

40 [R]But now ye seek to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth, which I have heard of God: this did not Abraham. *v. 37*

41 Ye do the deeds of your father. Then said they to him, We be not born of fornication; we have one Father, *even* God.

CHAPTER 5 c. A.D. 28

The Sermon on the mount: The Beatitudes

AND seeing the multitudes, [R]he went up into a mountain: and when he was set, his disciples came unto him: Mark 3:13
2 And he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying,

3 [R]Blessed *are* the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Luke 6:20
4 [R]Blessed *are* they that mourn: for they shall be comforted. Luke 6:21; 2 Cor. 1:7
5 [R]Blessed *are* the meek: for [R]they shall inherit the [T]earth. Ps. 37:11 • Rom. 4:13 • *land*
6 [T]Blessed *are* they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: [R]for they shall be filled. *Happy* • Is. 55:1; 65:13
7 Blessed *are* the merciful: [R]for they shall obtain mercy. 6:14; Ps. 41:1; Mark 11:25
8 [R]Blessed *are* the [T]pure in heart: for they shall see God. 1 Jo. 3:3; Heb. 12:14 • *sincere*
9 Blessed *are* the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.
10 [R]Blessed *are* they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. 2 Tim. 3:12
11 [R]Blessed are ye, when *men* shall revile you, and persecute *you*, and shall say all manner of [R]evil against you [T]falsely, for my sake. Luke 6:22 • 1 Pet. 4:14 • *in deceitful fashion*
12 [R]Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great *is* your reward in heaven: for [R]so persecuted they the prophets which were before you. Acts 5:41; 1 Pet. 4:13 • Neh. 9:26; Acts 7:52

The salt of the earth

13 Ye are the salt of the earth: [R]but if the salt have lost his [T]savor, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men. Mark 9:50 • *strength*

The light of the world

14 [R]Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid. Phil. 2:15
15 Neither do men [R]light a candle, and put it under a [T]bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Mark 4:21; Luke 8:16 • *bowl*
16 Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.

Christ on the law

17 [R]Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill. Rom. 3:31; 10:4
18 For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, [T]one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled. *dot of the i or cross of the t*
19 Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach *them*, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.
20 For I say unto you, That except your [T]righteousness shall exceed [R]*the righteousness* of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven. *faithfulness* • Luke 18:11, 12; Rom. 10:3

Jesus and anger

21 Ye have heard that it was said [T]by them of old time, [R]Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment: *in former times* • Ex. 20:13
22 But I say unto you, That whosoever [R]is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment: and whosoever shall say to his brother, [T]Ra'ca, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire. 1 John 3:15 • *vain fellow*
23 Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath [T]aught against thee; *anything*
24 Leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.
25 Agree with thine adversary quickly, while thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison.
26 Verily I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost [T]farthing. *2 cents*

Jesus' teaching on adultery

27 Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, [R]Thou shalt not commit adultery: Ex. 20:14; Deut. 5:18
28 But I say unto you, That whosoever [R]looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart. 5:5; Job 31:1; Prov. 6:25; 2 Pet. 2:14
29 [R]And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast *it* from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not *that* thy whole body should be cast into hell. Col. 3:5
30 And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast *it* from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not *that* thy whole body should be cast into hell.

On divorce

31 It hath been said, Whosoever shall [T]put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement: *divorce*

Fear always shifts to accommodate the person and the situation. I look out a window toward Lake Michigan and see just below me Chicago's new public library under construction. At present I have an unrestricted view of the lake. But I fear that when the library building is completed it will be so tall that my lake view will be eclipsed. This is a private, selfish fear, trivial compared to the fears confronted, say, by a person who is facing cancer. But it is, nonetheless, one of those fears that invade the consciousness and augment one's selfish preocccupations, taking the place of emotions that ought to be devoted to creative work.

NO MATTER HOW hard we try, we cannot completely overcome our self-centered fears—the tendency, for example, to look at a homeless person sleeping on the street and suddenly wonder if we have enough money to take a colleague to lunch an hour from now. This is why we act most quickly on those fears that stem from private rather than public concerns. West Germans are rejoicing that they no longer fear the East Germans might engage in a shooting war against them. But with an entire nation of "poor relatives" coming over to visit or to live, new fears emerge, fears having more to do with taxes than with guns. The rest of Europe, confronting the possibility of a unified Germany, has begun to fear that as a strong economic power Germany could eventually win World War III through economic rather than military means. The basic emotions of politics are always rooted in such personal fears.

Which could explain why even those of us who have never subscribed to the simplistic extremes of the "evil empire" rhetoric still find something unsettling about the end of the cold war. At least we knew where to locate the enemy. Us against them is a mind-set which helps us face fear because we are, even tangentially, linked to others in our confrontation with that which frightens us.

There is considerable power in the angelic greeting, "Fear not, for behold I bring you good tidings of great joy," but it is a power that rests more in the word of transcendent certainty than it does in the possibility that all human fear will vanish. Fear does not disappear; it shifts. But as it shifts we are called, as Robert Louis Stevenson reminds us, to face it, down to the gates of death, supported by courage, loyalty and, above all, our love for one another.

James M. Wall

Must Walls of Hostility Continue to Divide?

MILLIONS are celebrating the breach in the wall that has divided Germany for 28 years. Those who have lived in Berlin, as I did in 1967 and 1968, have special cause to celebrate. Many of my friends and neighbors in West Berlin had children, parents or grandparents in East Berlin from whom they were cut off by concrete and barbed wire. Winston Churchill's image of an "iron curtain" dividing East and West was illustrated in their emotional pain and loneliness. But while our celebration of the wall's removal is spontaneous and inevitable, the spirit or Spirit in which we celebrate requires thought and prayer.

In his Letter to the Ephesians (2:14) Paul writes that Jesus Christ "has broken down the dividing wall of hostility." The dominant celebratory mood in our media and, I fear, in some of our churches, however, reveals that "the dividing wall of hostility" has penetrated our hearts. What else can we say of those who see the breach in the iron curtain primarily as a victory for Western-style market capitalism, who see freedom mostly meaning access to the glut of Western consumerism on the Kurfürstendamm in West Berlin, and who regard these changes as the result of Ronald Reagan's aggressive military posture and policies? The spirit of these claims betrays our alienation and hostility. On the other hand, Christians who long since have penetrated this not-so iron curtain by prayer and ecumenical communication continue to celebrate the gracious providence whereby God breaks down our dividing walls.



Few remember that in 1982 crowds numbering in the hundreds of thousands were marching in Western cities like Bonn, London, Rome, Brussels and Amsterdam just as they are now marching in Berlin, Leipzig, Prague and Budapest. Though the settings are significantly different, both groups longed for a just society, for demilitarization and for the reallocation of economic resources. Ironically, some Americans in 1982 claimed that representatives of the European peace movements were "supporting the Kremlin line," just as similar voices now attribute the mass movements in the East to the success of U.S. policies. They were and are largely wrong in both cases.

Newsweek's George F. Will, perhaps the best informed of those who articulate this ideological perspective, recently trumpeted 1989 as the most significant year ever

in human history, and suggested that only the year of the Protestant Reformation is remotely comparable. But he used the thought of Thomas Jefferson to interpret the Reformation, claiming that the cornerstone of the Reformation was the primacy of individual conscience. He went on to say that "today history is marching to the cadence of an American president." He is wrong on both counts.

Is there a responsible scholar anywhere who would substitute the "primacy of individual conscience" for justification by grace through faith as Martin Luther's primary idea? Certainly none who has read Luther's arguments for the bondage of the human will in his rejection of Erasmus's affirmation of individual freedom. The point here is to acknowledge in general our dependence on God's gracious initiatives for personal and social transformation and to acknowledge in particular the Lutheran Church's role in the recent changes in the German Democratic Republic. In neither case should we interpret significant social change with anything analogous to Will's individualistic ideology. Few know better than the leaders of the church in East Germany, Luther's homeland, that God's gracious presence and guidance has preceded every constructive human response in both East and West.

Albrecht Schönherr, student and disciple of Dietrich Bonhoeffer before becoming bishop of the Church of Berlin-Brandenburg and chairman of the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR, characterized his church's experience after World War II as the school of God. "In the confidence that God faithfully supports those who place themselves in his service, we can understand this period as a school." The church he helped lead developed its responsible witness in a socialist society with the confidence that "if God's free grace is the ultimate reality in this world, nothing can separate us from the love of God."

Believing that no ideological or political wall was more powerful than God's liberating and reconciling grace, the church struggled to discern God's presence in its difficult context. One result was the leadership given by one creative woman, Christa Lewek, in the Churches' Human Rights Program for the Implementation of the Helsinki Final Act, which she chaired from 1980 to 1985 from her office as secretary for church and society of the Federation of Protestant Churches. A more fateful and fruitful contribution to the events we now celebrate was the church's dedication to peace witness and service through a program begun in 1980. The program's theological basis as articulated by the Federation of Protestant Churches is so much more profound than the ideological perspectives expressed by observers like Will that it deserves to be known and celebrated by North American Christians. Its priorities included:

> Forgiveness, which makes possible one's own action and one's own first steps, even when they involve risk [and they did involve risk].
> The privilege of encouraging others, without concern for one's self, to exhibit freedom from prejudice, openness and temperance in negotiations and discussions [and open discussions emerged].
> The admonition given in God's Word to see ourselves, the church, and our own country critically [and criticism was powerfully articulated].
> The prayer that within and beyond our activity the final decision be left to God [and God worked and is working in and with them and us].

This witness resulted in social and political action distinct from ideology, like the *Friedensdekade* (Ten Days for Peace) held every November since 1980. Congregations throughout the GDR engaged in prayer for peace, peace workshops, peace celebrations and peace correspondence with Christians in other nations. These provided the opening which East German youth especially were seeking. The church provided the social space for critical reflection and action—with some amazing results. The bishop of the Methodist Church in the GDR, Rüdiger Minor, relates that a poll conducted by his office in 1988 indicated that 40 percent of the youth in the Methodist churches had become conscientious objectors to compulsory military training and service. The program also led to the Monday evening prayer service in the Nikolai Church in Leipzig. When the government sought to halt these meetings and the demonstrations that grew out of them on October 9, Bishop Johannes Hempel directed that the churches stay open on that fateful evening, so that the government had to retreat in the face of the tens of thousands who came.

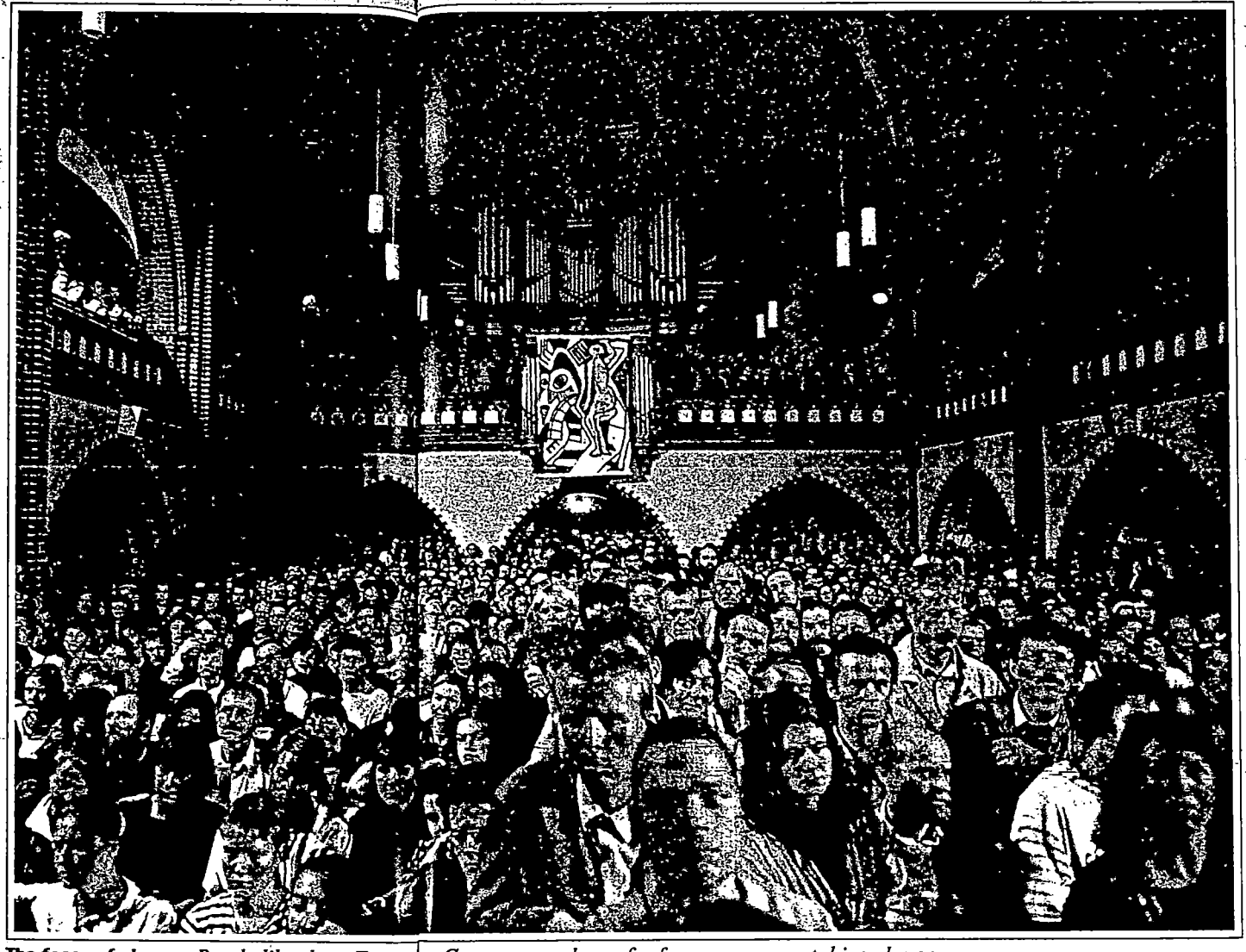
THE FACT that much of the energy for the breaching of the wall was originally channeled through the peace witness of the East German churches means that American Christians should not celebrate it as a victory of the cold war. We should not allow ourselves, any more than the East German Christians did, to become a transmission belt for the civil religion of our state.

North Americans have been shaped for 40 years by opinion-makers who have used the iron curtain as a symbol of division between good and evil empires. For those responding to the Christ who has broken down the dividing walls of hostility, the world cannot be understood as a divided one. We must work to extend freedom and justice in God's reconciled world without self-righteousness. God's presence, activity and grace have never been divided in our world. And the totalitarian character of East European socialist societies has never been so oppressive as to block all possibilities for courageous response to God's grace.

The issue of *Newsweek* that carried Will's column featured a picture of the celebration at the Berlin Wall with words underneath attributed to a West German radio station: "The celebration was Christmas, New Year's and Easter rolled into one." That surely hyperbolic exclamation carries more theological truth than the editors of *Newsweek* may understand. But Bishop Schönherr and his church would understand. And so should we.

James E. Will

HELENE BAMBERGER—ODYSSEY/MATRIX



The faces of change. *People like these East German members of reform groups are taking charge now*

In East Germany, 'order' crumbles and danger grows

The pell-mell crumbling of power last week in East Germany shows how quickly revolutionary events assume a life of their own. Fears of anarchy have spread as angry citizens' groups moved to fill the power vacuum created when the Communist Party fired Egon Krenz after only 44 days as head of state and temporarily voted itself out of business. Demonstrators seized control of several district headquarters of the hated secret police and threatened at least one military installation. Young conscripts in East Berlin's elite Feliks Dzerzhinsky Guard Regiment briefly rebelled against standing watch at Communist Party buildings. Even one of their officers joined in, telling a crowd of cheering soldiers that "We've been crapped on and lied to just like you."

Mikhail Gorbachev has pledged that the 380,000 Soviet troops in East Germany would not again turn their tanks against civilians, as they did in putting down a revolt in 1953. But Pentagon intelligence sources said troops had been ordered on a higher alert status to protect their garrisons and nuclear weapons. East German citizens reportedly had forced their way briefly onto a Soviet listening post near the West German border.

Amid the spreading disorder, opposition groups met in East Berlin with Communist representatives to form a new "Round Table" that now holds a de facto veto over the government of Prime Minister Hans Modrow. Popular groups such as New Forum and Democratic Awakening have demanded the disbanding of national-security organizations in the face of a threat from security chief Wolfgang Schwanitz to defend his remaining headquarters with force if necessary.

Until now, East Germany's upheaval has been marked by unusual discipline as millions of people staged peaceful demonstrations with little or no formal leadership. But patience is obviously wearing thin among the protesters in Leipzig, Dresden and elsewhere. Officials are increasingly worried about a complete breakdown of order—or even an open military confrontation—if freedom-minded citizens are unwilling to wait for parliamentary elections that the Round Table has promised to hold on May 6. "I have nothing but admiration for the people on the street," insists one senior Soviet diplomat in East Berlin. "But a powder keg doesn't help anyone."

by Peter Ross Range in Berlin

U.S.NEWS & WORLD REPORT, Dec. 18, 1989



C. BOUVET—GAMMA LIAISON

After East German equipment cracks open a new hole, a souvenir seeker grabs some relics



STEPHEN FERRY—GAMMA LIAISON

Act of spontaneous, creative destruction: near the

thousands who had gathered on both sides of the Wall let out a roar and started going through it, as well as up and over. West Berliners pulled East Berliners to the top of the barrier along which in years past many an East German had been shot while trying to escape; at times the Wall almost disappeared beneath waves of humanity. They tooted trumpets and danced on the top. They brought out hammers and chisels and whacked away at the hated symbol of imprisonment, knocking loose chunks of concrete and waving them triumphantly before television cameras. They spilled out into the streets of West Berlin for a champagne-spraying, horn-honking bash that continued well past dawn, into the following day and then another dawn. As the daily *BZ* would headline: BERLIN IS BERLIN AGAIN.

> **"We have less reason than ever to be resigned to the long-term division of Germany into two states."**
>
> **—West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl**

Nor was the Wall the only thing to come tumbling down. Many who served the regime that had built the barrier dropped from power last week. Both East Germany's Cabinet and the Communist Party Politburo resigned en masse, to be replaced by bodies in which reformers mingled with hard-liners. And that, supposedly, was only the start. On the same day that East Germany threw open its borders, Egon Krenz, 52, President and party leader, promised "free, general, democratic and secret elections," though there was no official word as to when. Could the Socialist Unity Party, as the Communists call themselves in East Germany, lose in such balloting? "Theoretically," replied Günter Schabowski, the East Berlin party boss and a Politburo member.

Thus East Germany probably can be added, along with Poland and Hungary, to the list of East European states that are trying to abandon orthodox Communism for some as-yet-nebulous form of social democracy. The next to be engulfed by the tides of change appears to be Bulgaria; Todor Zhivkov, 78, its longtime, hard-line boss, unexpectedly resigned at week's end. Outlining the urgent need for "restructuring," his successor, Petar Mladenov, said, "This implies complex and far from foreseeable processes. But there is no alternative." In all of what used to be called the Soviet bloc, Zhivkov's departure leaves in power only Nicolae Ceausescu in Rumania and Milos Jakes in Czechoslovakia, both old-style Communist dictators. Their fate? Who knows? Only a few weeks ago, East Germany seemed one of the most stolidly Stalinist of all Moscow's allies and the one least likely to undergo swift, dramatic change.

The collapse of the old regimes and the astonishing changes under way in the Soviet Union open prospects for a Europe of cooperation in which the Iron Curtain disappears, people and goods move freely across frontiers, NATO and the Warsaw Pact evolve from military powerhouses into merely formal alliances, and the threat of war steadily fades. They also raise the question of German reunification, an issue for which politicians in the West or, for that matter, Moscow have yet to formulate strategies. Finally, should protest get out of hand, there is the risk of dissolution into chaos, sooner or later necessitating a crackdown and, possibly, a painful turn back to authoritarianism.

In East Germany the situation came close to spinning out of control. Considered a hard-liner, Krenz succeeded the dour Erich Honecker as party chief only three weeks ago, and eleven days after a state visit by Mikhail Gorbachev. Ever since, Krenz has had to scramble to find concessions that might quiet public turmoil and enable him to hang on to at least a remnant of power. He has been spurred by a series of mass protests—one demonstration in Leipzig drew some 500,000 East Germans—demanding democracy and freedoms small and large, and by a fresh wave of flight to the West by many of East Germany's most productive citizens. So far this year, some 225,000 East Germans out of a population of 16 million have voted with their feet, pouring into West Germany through Hungary and Czechoslovakia at rates that last week reached 300 an hour. Most are between the ages of 20 and 40, and their departure has left behind a worsening labor shortage. Last week East German soldiers had to be pressed into civilian duty to keep trams, trains and buses running.

New Wave of Demonstrations Takes Place

Protest at Soviet Memorial

LD0801221690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2039 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Gera (ADN)—Several thousand inhabitants of Gera today followed an appeal for a demonstration at the Soviet memorial in Gera, where graves were desecrated by youths on New Year's Eve. The Area Executive of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS], the area committee of the Antifascist Resistance Fighters, and the Society for German-Soviet Friendship made a call for this under the slogan: "Nip things in the bud! Give no chance to anti-communism, chauvinism, and neo-fascism!"

The area chairman of the German-Soviet Friendship Society, Professor Dr Johannes Gessner, recalled that the Soviet Union had borne the major burden in World War II in the struggle against German fascism and called for a broad coalition of reason against hatred among nations and chauvinism. Several speakers from the SED-PDS called for vigilance toward and political resistance against neo-fascism. [passage omitted]

Anti-SED-PDS Protest

LD0801210190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2035 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Frankfurt (ADN)—Between 10,000 and 15,000 citizens responded to a demonstration appeal from New Forum and the SDP [Social Democratic Party] in Frankfurt (Oder) city center this evening. Amid loud applause, seven speakers called for the party property of the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] to be made public, for the conversion of its area newspaper NEUER TAG into an independent daily newspaper, for the immediate and total discharge of all "Stasi and Nasi [state security and national security] members," for the complete dissolution and evacuation of all buildings, and for the placing of documents in archives in a neutral place. They opposed special privileges for former members of the National Security Office and for party and state officials, as well as "panic-mongering" by the SED-PDS with relation to the neo-Nazi threat.

Further demands related to equality of opportunity in the media, the return of the "property stolen from the people by the SED," and the immediate publication of a draft electoral law.

Leipzig Demonstration

LD0801192790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1824 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Peace services in four Leipzig churches formed the prelude today to the 1990 demonstrations in Leipzig. In the Nikolaikirche, a Polish visitor spoke on justice, peace, and the integrity of creation. Superintendent Friedrich Magirius justified to ADN his proposal, put forward at the roundtable, to hold future meetings on the Ring without rallies. Considerations of election tactics must not be allowed to damage the democratic character of this internationally respected expression of the citizens' will. The Monday meeting of Leipzig citizens of differing ideologies and of visitors should further advance the process of democratization in the country, which has begun to flag. Meetings on the Leipzig Ring immediately after the peace prayers will mark a return to the form that existed at the start of the revolutionary movement in the GDR.

About 30,000 to 40,000 people took part in the first demonstration in Leipzig this year, which was also the first for 3 weeks.

Further on Leipzig

LD0801182690 Hamburg DPA in German 1726 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Leipzig (DPA)—Following a 3-week break, the traditional Monday demonstrations resumed in Leipzig this evening with several tens of thousands of people taking part. The major topics on the Market Square and the Leipzinger Ring, which circumscribes the inner city, were calls for German unity and strong criticism of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS]. According to Radio GDR, about 30,000 to 40,000 people gathered in the city center. According to observers, the advocates of German unity were almost entirely unopposed on this occasion.

There were banners and chants calling for: "Germany—single Fatherland", "We are one people" and "One people—One fatherland". The chairman of the SED-PDS, Gregor Gysi, was advised to resign. "Gysi must go" it was said, and "End the SED." The demonstration took place without a rally or speeches, as proposed by church leader Friedrich Magirius. The New Forum and other groups did not take responsiblity for the event this time. As the atmosphere has become increasingly heated because of the German question, the churches have also already withdrawn more and more from what has been their traditional peace prayers.

At the last demonstration on 18 December, over 100,000 GDR citizens marched silently through Leipzig carrying candles, commemorating the victims of Stalinism. [passage omitted]

Magdeburg Rally Opposes SED

LD0801212690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2045 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Magdeburg (ADN)—Thousands of Magdeburg citizens gathered in the cathedral in Magdeburg this evening for the "prayer for social renewal." In view of increasing discontent over stagnation and the strengthening of yesterday's forces, as well as the continuing leading role of the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] in all media, it