

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN THE SOVIET UNION
(Part II)

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEES ON EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST

AND ON

**HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS**

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-NINTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

JULY 30, 1986

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Affairs



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

64-805 O

WASHINGTON : 1986

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Congressional Sales Office
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CONTENTS

WITNESSES

	Page
Hon. Edward J. Derwinski, counselor, Department of State, and former Member of Congress from the State of Illinois	3
Hon. Richard Schifter, Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs	31
Catherine Fitzpatrick, representing Helsinki Watch.....	56
Nikita Moravsky, former deputy chief, U.S.S.R. division, Voice of America, and Professor of Russian Culture at George Washington University	80
Rev. Ernest Gordon, president, Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents	96
Natalia Vins, international representation for the Council of Evangelical Baptist Churches of the Soviet Union, Inc.....	129

APPENDIXES

1. Document entitled "The Persecuted Church in the Soviet Union, Prisoner List 1986," submitted by Ms. Vins	171
2. Prepared statement of Leonid Rudnytzky, executive secretary, St. Sophia Religious Research Institute, "St. Sophia" Religious Association of Ukrainian Catholics, Inc. U.S.A	182

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

(Part II)

WEDNESDAY, JULY 30, 1986

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SUBCOMMITTEES ON EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST, AND ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS,

Washington, DC.

The subcommittees met at 11:05 a.m., in room 2200, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Gus Yatron (chairman of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations) presiding.

Mr. YATRON. The subcommittees will come to order. The Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations and the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East meet today to continue our investigation into religious persecution in the Soviet Union.

I want to thank the co-chairman of this hearing, Congressman Lee Hamilton, for his leadership on this issue and for his efforts in putting together these important hearings.

Last year, we conducted a hearing on the plight of Soviet Jewry and found that pervasive and brutal repression continues against the Jewish population, in particular those interested in emigrating.

Today, we will take a look at how the Soviet system treats Christians, Muslims, and others who wish to exercise their fundamental right of religious expression.

President Reagan and the Soviet leader Gorbachev have signed a joint statement calling for greater cooperation between our two countries on a number of important issues, including humanitarian concerns. In addition, the Soviets have made some gestures on human rights issues in releasing Mr. Shcharansky, allowing Dr. Yelena Bonner to travel to the West for medical treatment, and permitting some of their citizens to join relatives in the United States.

Whether or not these actions indicate any meaningful change in overall Soviet human rights policy can partly be determined by the manner in which the Kremlin treats its citizens.

Unfortunately, the Soviet Government continues to have in place an extensive system to control religious activity. Religious congregations must continue to register with Soviet authorities and are closely monitored. Believers cannot engage in charitable activities,

reach prestigious positions in society or provide formal religious training to their children.

There is an extreme shortage of places of worship, seminaries, and clerics. In addition, victims of religious persecution have depicted gruesome accounts of prison beatings, house raids, arrests, and staged trials, confiscation of Bibles and other religious materials, disruption of services, slander campaigns, removal of children from homes and abuses in psychiatric hospitals.

While belief in God is incompatible with Marxist/Leninist doctrines, some other Communist states have allowed greater religious freedom than the Soviet Union. Moreover, this inconsistency has not prevented the Soviets from acknowledging religious rights in its constitution and authorities have apparently recognized the propaganda value of tolerating the minimal level of religious activity.

Therefore, it should not be considered futile to continue to press the Soviets to relax restrictions on religious expression. That is one of the purposes of the hearing today. We want to focus public attention on the millions of Soviet citizens who suffer various forms of persecution for exercising their belief in God, a fundamental, internationally recognized right.

I look forward to hearing our witnesses today. Any recommendations or suggestions on actions the United States might pursue to promote religious freedom in the Soviet Union are welcome.

I would now like to call on the co-chair of this hearing, Congressman Lee Hamilton, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East.

Mr. HAMILTON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. We appreciate your initiative in these matters on human rights, and we want to follow your leadership.

We welcome today Assistant Secretary Schifter. We are very glad to have him, and, of course, we are especially pleased to have our former colleague with us, Mr. Derwinski. He is always welcome in these rooms, and it is good to see him with us.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Chairman Hamilton.

I would like to call on Mr. Torricelli. Did you have a comment or statement?

Mr. TORRICELLI. No. I prefer to move forward.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you.

Our first panel of witnesses today are from the Department of State. We are pleased to welcome our former colleague, Hon. Edward Derwinski, Counselor of the Department of State, and former Member of Congress from the State of Illinois; and Hon. Richard Schifter, Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs.

We are very pleased to have both of you with us today. Mr. Derwinski, you may proceed with your statement when you are ready.

Let me just state for the record that your entire statements will be included in the hearing record. You may summarize your statements, if you would like.

Mr. Derwinski.

STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, COUNSELOR, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, AND FORMER MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Mr. DERWINSKI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I will be brief in order to give the panel more time to ask questions.

I would like to touch on just one or two highlights of my prepared testimony.

I would like to make the point that according to our latest data, over a third of the approximately 900 known Soviet prisoners of conscience are religious believers. The percentage actually may be quite higher, and our current estimates are that there are up to 10,000 prisoners of conscience in Soviet labor camps and psychiatric hospitals. This is a pattern of procedure that the Soviets follow completely.

There is one fascinating point that must be made, Mr. Chairman, and that is that Soviet treatment of religious groups, although uniformly repressive, varies from group to group. For example, the Russian Orthodox Church fares the best because it is often used as a front by Soviet authorities.

There was a period when the Soviet Muslims were treated much better, in part because of the Soviet diplomatic needs in the Arab world. However, the Soviets have since shifted a bit and increased their pressure on their Muslim population because of fear that if they were too liberal, it might permit a spread of Islamic fundamentalism.

Then, I think the point is properly made that from time to time, there is a direct relationship between religious persecution and the historic nationalistic feelings of many of the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. So, it is no surprise that there is a crackdown on Protestant churches in Latvia and the stoning of the Catholic Church in Lithuania, the Catholic or Orthodox Churches in the Ukraine, because these churches not only symbolize the belief, strong belief of people in their God, but also they are the bastions of tradition, history and spirit of nationalism that still prevails among the non-Russian peoples. So, there is that direct tie-in between religious persecution and the concern of Soviet authorities over legitimate nationalistic aspirations that remain among the diverse peoples in the U.S.S.R.

Now, the United States Government is deeply concerned at the systematic violation of religious freedom in the Soviet Union, and we will continue to emphasize in every vehicle, form or contact we have our special interest in seeing that the precepts of the Helsinki accords and the philosophy behind it are met.

I also should emphasize that in addition to any public efforts, we raise and continue to raise our concerns about Soviet abuses of religion directly with Soviet authorities, and I think it is obvious to say that unless there is a substantial improvement in the area of human rights abuses, that this remains a serious obstacle to any aspirations for overall improvement of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

In other words, if the Soviets expect to meet us in a practical way in any fields, one of the fields that they will have to shape up,

if I may use that term, is the area of personal freedoms and certainly religious freedom is the key to that.

And with that, Mr. Chairman, I thank you and members of the panel for your attention. I am pleased to be here with Dick Schifter, whose responsibilities in this field are awesome and who probably has one of the most difficult, delicate, yet necessary positions in the Department of State.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Derwinski follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, COUNSELOR OF THE STATE
DEPARTMENT

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committees:

Thank you for giving me the opportunity to testify today on the subject of religious persecution in the Soviet Union. On September 11 of last year I devoted my remarks to the persecution of the Soviet Jewish population. Today my testimony will cover the general situation of religion in the Soviet Union and Soviet persecution of all religious groups and organizations.

As I noted in my appearance last September, Soviet authorities have largely succeeded in crushing the political and nationalist human rights organizations which sprang up during the 1960s and 1970s. The last surviving Helsinki monitoring group was forced to disband in the face of heavy repression in late 1982. With the mainstream human rights movement in the Soviet Union effectively destroyed, Soviet authorities have brought increasing pressure to bear against the largest remaining center of organized dissent in the Soviet Union - the religious community.

The Soviet regime regards religion as a hostile ideology and is openly committed to the creation of an atheist society. Its attitude was summed up by a Belorussian Party official who wrote in a 1984 article in Kommunist Belorussii that "religion in our country is the only legal refuge alien to socialism in ideology and morals." How Soviet authorities understand freedom of conscience is revealed in Soviet constitutional provisions, legislation, administrative regulations, and extra-legal pressures applied against believers.

Soviet Law and Religion

Article 52 of the USSR Constitution defines freedom of conscience as the right "to conduct religious worship or atheist propaganda." This formulation in effect makes illegal the conduct of "religious propaganda"; i.e., to engage in public discussion or refute atheist propaganda.

The 1929 Law on Religious Associations circumscribes believers' rights still further. Soviet authorities interpret the law's requirement that primary religious associations must register with local authorities as giving it the right to grant or withhold registration. In practice, this allows the state to limit the number of religious associations, to reduce their number gradually, and even to deny legal status to an entire religious denomination (as has been the case with the Ukrainian

Catholic Church and the Jehovah's Witnesses). In short, the state can and does prevent Soviet citizens from practicing the faith of their choice. Soviet constitutional provisions on the separation of church and state and the obligations of the Soviet Union as a signatory of international human rights covenants are in practice contradicted by the law's many Draconian restrictions on religious groups.

Religious groups do not have the status of independent public organizations under Soviet law or the juridical status of a person-at-law, and therefore cannot own property or inherit funds or property. "Cults"--as they are referred to officially--have no specific legal right to maintain seminaries, publishing facilities, or other institutions such as monasteries--those that exist, exist precariously, by special permission. The law is structured to prevent the clergy or hierarchy from exercising effective control over church affairs. At the same time, it allows state officials to manipulate church activities and policies by giving them a role in determining the membership of primary religious groups and the selection of their leaders and clergy. The lengthy list of restrictions and regulations imposed on religious associations and clergy prevents them from engaging in any activity except the performance of religious rites. They cannot proselytize or provide religious instruction to children; engage in charitable, social, or "political" activities; or organize

prayer or study groups, libraries, mutual aid societies, kindergartens, or cooperatives.

The regime enforces its policy through the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the USSR Council of Ministers. The Council monitors religious activities and is responsible for the enforcement of laws pertaining to religion. Its administrative regulations thus impose an additional level of restrictions on religious liberty. According to official documents of the Council and unofficial reports reaching the West, the Council supervises religious activities and senior church officials in minute detail; censors religious publications; passes on personnel selections; and even monitors sermons and biblical passages used in religious services. Clergy cannot legally practice their calling without the Council's approval. Whenever possible, the Council places the clergy in the position of acting against their direct responsibilities by forcing them to implement policies designed to weaken and in time destroy religion: by closing churches "voluntarily," keeping silent when believers are harassed, and ignoring violations of law by the authorities. In general, the regime aims at compromising the integrity of clergy and religious institutions, and at rendering organized religion and individual believers incapable of defending their interests.

Repression of Activists

Believers who refuse to register or comply with state controls become subject to a wide range of sanctions. Repeated violations of the Law on Religious Associations can lead to criminal charges. Articles of the (RSFSR) Criminal Code used against believers include those aimed specifically against religious activists as well as those used against political dissidents: Articles 142 (Violation of laws on separation of church and state and of church and school), 143 (Obstructing performance of religious rites), 227 (Infringement of person and rights of citizens under appearance of performing religious ceremonies), 190.1 (Slandering the Soviet state and system), or 70 (Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda). In addition, articles involving general criminal violations are also used frequently, such as hooliganism, drug and weapons possession, engaging in prohibited trades and parasitism. Cases against believers are often fabricated.

Soviet law and penal practices single out religious activists for especially harsh treatment. Those convicted under the Criminal Code for "religious crimes" are sentenced to strict regime labor camps and designated--together with political activists--as "especially dangerous state criminals," a category that disqualifies them from amnesties or leniency. Indeed, the provisions of amnesties promulgated in recent years

demonstrate that authorities regard religious activism (such as organizing religious classes for children or circulating a petition) as a more serious crime than assault, robbery, or rape. Even if convicted for lesser crimes, believers rarely qualify for early release or parole because, as "prisoners of conscience," they usually refuse to provide the required expression of remorse or admission of guilt. Believers who are incarcerated in psychiatric hospitals face an especially agonizing choice, since they are often promised immediate release if they renounce their belief in God. Others face deprivation of their parental rights under provisions of the Soviet Family Code that obligates parents to raise their children as "worthy members of a socialist society."

One third of the approximately 900 known Soviet prisoners of conscience are religious believers. The percentage of the actual total may be even higher. Current estimates are that there are up to 10,000 prisoners of conscience in Soviet labor camps and psychiatric hospitals. A substantial percentage of these are thought to be religious believers, many from closed or remote areas of the Soviet Union where accurate information is difficult or impossible to obtain.

In addition to incarceration, a variety of social pressures are used against believers, including public "exposure" by atheist activists, vilification in the Soviet media, exclusion

from higher education, and discrimination in professional advancement. Young people, especially, are subjected to heavy pressures and face life as second class citizens if they become known as practicing believers.

Eyewash for Foreigners

The regime, while militantly anti-religious, seeks to portray the Soviet Union to the outside world as an enlightened, humane, and democratic society. It also recognizes that Soviet religious groups can perform useful functions to advance Soviet interests: to demonstrate to foreigners the existence of religious freedom in the Soviet Union; to support Soviet interests abroad; and to bolster morale and patriotism in time of war. The pursuit of conflicting objectives generates internal contradictions and policy fluctuations; more often, it opens up a huge gap between propaganda claims and the realities of Soviet life. To make its propaganda credible, the regime must exercise tight control over religious activists (to prevent independent initiatives or public protest) as well as visiting foreigners to ensure that they receive the best possible impression of religious life. When details of its anti-religious repressions do leak out, the regime brands them as "malicious slander."

Soviet spokesmen typically respond to foreign criticism of

their religious policies by citing allegedly positive impressions of Soviet religious life by visiting U.S. religious leaders. The regime also relies on Soviet religious leaders (especially the Russian Orthodox hierarchy) to support official policies when attending religious conferences abroad or receiving foreign guests. The display of restored churches and religious services to tourists, moreover, provides a steady source of badly needed hard currency.

In spite of regime policies, popular interest in religion has increased significantly during the past decade, according to authoritative official sources, unofficial reports, and knowledgeable foreign observers.

Against the backdrop of these general remarks, I would now like to discuss the specific situation of some of the major religious groups and organizations in the Soviet Union, beginning with the Russian Orthodox Church.

THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH .

The Russian Orthodox Church occupies an anomalous position as the establishment church of an atheist regime. It is the largest single religion in the Soviet Union, with an estimated 35-40 million believers. As the church of the USSR's dominant cultural and ethnic group, it enjoys privileges that set it

apart from other denominations: representation abroad (including membership in the World Council of Churches, attendance at international conferences, and the staffing of parishes and bishoprics outside the USSR), three seminaries and a theological academy, a modern publishing center, and a plant for the manufacture of religious goods. Its senior hierarchs live well and enjoy perquisites comparable to those of the Soviet elite. The regime accords the Church a prominent role in furthering Soviet foreign policy objectives, such as involvement in peace campaigns in Western Europe.

The Orthodox Church attained its present status after harsh repression during the 1920's and 30's, a period of stabilization and official recognition as a result of its patriotic role during World War II, and a renewed period of repression under Khrushchev. To survive, the institutional Church paid a heavy price: it became an obedient regime supporter and surrendered its ability to defend its interests or protect believers from regime pressures. Even worse, the Patriarchate permits the regime to compromise the Church in the eyes of believers by forcing it to act against its own vital interests. Internal documents of the regime's Council for Religious Affairs reaching the West in recent years have documented how authorities supervise the institutional activities of the Church in minute detail and interfere in

every aspect of Church life.

The Church's loss of institutional integrity poses a personal dilemma for many Orthodox believers, clergy, and members of the hierarchy. One result has been to create two distinct cleavages within the Church: a vertical division of church life and individual behavior into "official" and "unofficial" sectors (a characteristic of all Soviet life), and a horizontal estrangement between the hierarchy on the one hand, and individual believers and lower parish clergy, on the other. A small group of Orthodox believers--the True Orthodox Church--rejects any contact with the regime or the official church which is considered as irredeemably compromised; it leads a clandestine existence and is regarded by the authorities as an illegal sect.

Efforts by individual priests and believers to organize religious activities outside regime or hierarchy controls are systematically repressed by the authorities and find little or no support within the hierarchy, which takes the position that the Soviet constitution guarantees freedom of conscience and that believers are not prosecuted for their faith, but only for violating Soviet laws. Since October of last year a number of activists have been sentenced to terms in labor camp, psychiatric hospitals or internal exile. They include Boris Razveyev, sentenced to 3 years in labor for "anti-Soviet

agitation," Mikhail Bombin, held for over two months in a psychiatric hospital, and well-known writer Feliks Svetov, who was sentenced to 2 years of internal exile for "anti-Soviet slander."

The resurgence of unofficial activity in the Church is by no means confined to dissent and protest, however. Its most significant feature has been the revival of faith, especially among young people and intellectuals, who are joining the Church in increasing numbers--a fact conceded by Soviet atheist literature. The regime has reacted by stepping up atheist propaganda, arresting Orthodox activists, destroying unofficial groups such as the Christian Seminar and the Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers Rights, and suppressing Orthodox samizdat publications.

THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC (UNIATE) CHURCH

Another large Soviet denomination, the Ukrainian Catholic (Uniate) Church, is one of the most systematically persecuted religious groups in the USSR today. Its treatment flows from a combination of Moscow's general anti-religious policy, the church's ties to Rome, and Uniate identification with Ukrainian national aspirations. Formally outlawed in 1946, this church and its followers have been subject to official harassment, arrests, and other forms of discrimination ever since. Its

underground nature makes it particularly difficult to determine the number of believers. Estimates run from 65,000 all the way to 3-4 million.

The Uniate Church has a long and complex history that reflects Eastern Europe's frequent border changes, and it is intimately tied to Ukrainian national aspirations. The church has its roots in the 1596 Union of Brest--hence the name--by which the Vatican sought to end the bitter resistance of Ukrainian Orthodox congregations to forced conversion to Catholicism by the Polish authorities who had recently occupied western Ukraine. The Vatican's solution was to subordinate the Uniate congregations directly to Rome but to allow them to retain their liturgy, language and distinctive practices rather than adopt Latin-rite Catholicism. This in turn divided Western Ukrainians from their conationals in the east who, being under Russian rule, retained their allegiance to Moscow and to Russian Orthodoxy.

Initially, in order to resist further polonization of the Ukrainian community, the Uniate Church allied itself with and became a spokesman for Ukrainian national goals. When these communities subsequently fell under Russian rule and were pressured to rejoin the Orthodox Church, the linkage between religion and nationalism was further strengthened. During World War II, the Uniate Church actively cooperated with the

Ukrainian national resistance to the USSR's occupation and eventual absorption of the Western Ukraine. For that and for alleged collaboration with the Germans, the church's hierarchy was condemned to the Gulag.

Having effectively decapitated the Uniate Church, the Soviet authorities in 1946 convened a synod in Lvov to repudiate the Union of Brest and reincorporate the 4 million Uniates of the western Ukraine into the Russian Orthodox Church. For many Ukrainians, this forced merger only strengthened the attractiveness of Uniatism as a symbol of Ukrainian nationalism and resistance to Moscow. Consequently, although the Soviets were able to take nominal control of the parishes still operating--even today, nearly one-half of all churches open in the USSR are located in the western Ukraine--the affected congregations continued in many cases to look to Rome and to Uniate communities among Ukrainian emigres abroad. In addition, many Uniates were actively involved in the armed resistance to Soviet power in the Ukraine which lasted into the early 1950s.

Since that time, the Soviet authorities have unremittingly attacked the sect with propaganda and occasional arrests, the persistency of which testifies to the continued strength of Uniatism in the Soviet Union. The latest effort to destroy the Uniate Church has been a proposal by the authorities to

legalize the Uniates, if they will break with Rome. Such a provocation has been tried before: Acceptance would only bring the Uniates out into the open where they would be subject to even greater abuse. Now, they are successfully operating their own underground monastery which since 1981 has managed to ordain over 80 parish priests.

During the past two years, Uniate activists have also begun to publish an underground samizdat journal entitled The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine. This journal has effectively catalogued the many abuses which Uniate believers are subjected to by Soviet authorities. In 1985, two of the moving forces behind the journal, Iosif Terelya and Vasily Kobrin, were sentenced to long labor camp terms. Despite this, the Chronicle has continued to appear.

SOVIET PROTESTANTS

The Protestant community in the Soviet Union is divided into two camps. There are registered groups of believers, which adhere to the restrictive Soviet laws on the practice of religion, and illegal unregistered groups, which refuse to adhere to these laws.

Registered Protestants

Currently, three main groups of Soviet Protestants are registered with Soviet authorities. Two of these are Lutheran; the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia, which has a membership of 400,000, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Estonia, which has a membership of 250,000. The third group, the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians and Baptists, is an umbrella organization for 545,000 registered Evangelical Protestants throughout the Soviet Union. These registered Protestant groups share the same basic problems faced by the Russian Orthodox Church and all other registered groups of religious believers in the Soviet Union. They must limit the practice of their religion to conform with Soviet law, they are discriminated against in employment and education and they are targets of official anti-religious propaganda in the Soviet media. Their official representatives are forbidden from criticizing Soviet religious policies and are frequently forced to publicly support Soviet foreign policy initiatives.

Unregistered Protestants

Unregistered Evangelical Protestant groups represent a particular problem for the Soviet authorities. Even under repressive Soviet conditions, they are growing rapidly, particularly among Soviet young people. Although unregistered

Evangelical Protestants are gaining converts among most major national groups, they are especially strong in Ukraine, the northern Caucasus, and the Pacific coast area.

Reform Baptists

Among unregistered Evangelical Protestants, most is known about "reform" or "initiative" Baptists. According to reform Baptist pastor Georgy Vins, there are currently 2000 reform Baptist congregations, representing about 100,000 adults or 300,000 including family members, in the Soviet Union. Reform Baptists represent one of the oldest organized human rights groups in the U.S.S.R., dating back to 1962 when the group split away from the registered Baptist community. In terms of numbers of believers incarcerated in labor camps and psychiatric hospitals, they are also the most repressed religious group in the Soviet Union. The particular intensity of the treatment meted out to them is revealed in the fact that fully 20 percent of all known Soviet prisoners of conscience are Baptists. There are also reliable reports that Soviet authorities have taken children away from unregistered Baptist parents to prevent the parents from raising them in the Baptist faith.

There are three main reform Baptist organizations: the 12-man pastors' group, the Council of Churches (ten members of

which are currently imprisoned; its Chairman, Gennady Kryuchkov, has been in hiding for 15 years); the secret "Christian" press which prints religious literature, including the Bible in many languages of the U.S.S.R. (19 reform Baptists are currently imprisoned for their religious samizdat activities); and the 12-woman Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives, which reports on the situation of reform Baptist prisoners of conscience. Two of these groups has its own samizdat publication printed by the "Christian" press; the Council of Churches monthly journal, Fraternal Leaflet and its quarterly journal, The Herald of Truth; and the monthly Bulletin of the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives. No group of religious believers in the Soviet Union has suffered so much or persevered in the face intense repression with such courage and tenacity as Soviet Baptists.

Seventh-Day Adventists

Another large group of unregistered Soviet protestants are Seventh-Day Adventists. Some unregistered groups of Adventists split from registered Adventist churches as early as 1929. These reform Adventists have formed their own church known as the "True and Free Adventists of the Seventh Day." This Adventist group rejects any state control over religion, basing this view on religious commandments and the separation of church and state. Although less is known about this group than

some other unregistered Protestant groups, their number is estimated to total approximately 40,000. Their governing body is known as the All-Union Council of Churches of Faithful and True Adventists of the Seventh Day and they produce an underground publication called the "Faithful Witness". Accurate statistics regarding the total number currently imprisoned do not exist. Unlike the reform Baptists, there are no Adventist representatives in the West. But 50 would seem to be a reasonable estimate based on the meager information available.

Reform Pentacostals

Pentacostals constitute another large group of unregistered Soviet Protestants. Although a few Pentacostal groups have registered in recent years, most Pentacostals continue to choose the risks of the unregistered religious life. It was not until 1980 that unregistered Pentacostals formed a central organization, known as the Brother's Council, which represents nearly 200,000 adults or about one million people, including families. Many thousands of Soviet Pentacostals, despairing of their situation in the Soviet Union, have applied to emigrate. On May 15, 1980, 18 Pentacostal activists organized the Emigration Council for Christian Evangelical Protestants; at least six members of this council have been imprisoned. Of the 30,000 Soviet Pentacostals who have applied to emigrate, only a

handful have succeeded, most notably the two Pentacostal families, the Vashchenkos and the Chmykhailovs, who took refuge in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

Recently, a community of approximately 170 ethnic German Pentecostals living at Cheguevka in the Soviet Far East has come in for particularly harsh treatment from Soviet authorities. Denied permission to emigrate, community members have turned in their internal passports, undertaken hunger strikes and taken their children out of schools, the latter action reportedly due to the harassment and beatings the children were subjected to at school. Since December 1984 ten elders of the community have been sentenced to labor camp sentences of up to five years for not possessing internal passports or for conducting unauthorized religious services. Every adult member of the community has been fired from his or her job. To survive the families forage in the woods for food. Additionally, a number of families have been repeatedly threatened that they may lose custody of their children for having taken them out of school. While an extreme example, this mistreatment is characteristic of the particularly harsh attitudes Soviet authorities have toward Evangelical Christian believers in the Soviet Union.

Jehovah's Witnesses

Another Soviet Protestant group, the Jehovah's Witnesses, share with the Ukrainian Catholic (Unitate) Church the distinction of being totally banned by Soviet authorities. As a result and due to the small numbers of believers, there is not much information available about them. Judging from attacks in the Soviet media, they seem to be active in Moldavia, the North Caucasus, in southern and eastern Ukraine, and in the Stavropol and Krasnodar R.S.R.S.R. regions. Samizdat sources reveal that Jehovah's Witnesses, who are imprisoned in large numbers, continue to practise their ministry in Soviet labor camps.

LITHUANIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Religious faith is particularly strong in Lithuania, where as in Poland, Roman Catholicism remains central to national life. More than 75 percent of the population remains faithful to the church, and in large measure because of this, the church there has been subject to special attacks by the Soviet authorities. Due to Soviet restrictions on training, nearly one-fourth of the 640 parishes extant do not have a priest, and more than half of the republic's 696 priests are beyond retirement age. While these figures are significantly better than those for other religions in the Soviet Union, they are a

far cry from those of the thriving Lithuanian Church before the forcible incorporation of that republic into the USSR during World War II. Anti-religious propaganda and general harassment of believers, up to and including the murder of priests (murders whose perpetrators are never brought to trial), have been regular features of Soviet policy there. In 1983, for the first time since 1971, the authorities arrested and imprisoned two leading priests, a move that sparked mass protests in the republic. Despite these protests arrests have continued. In 1985 Father Jonas Matulionas was sentenced to 3 years in labor camp for "disrupting public order." The charge reportedly stemmed from his having led an All Saints Day procession to a cemetery, a violation of Soviet laws on religion. A young Catholic student was arrested with him and sentenced to 2 years in prison.

That the Soviet authorities have not moved even further to employ the full range of repressive measures at their disposal does not reflect some new found commitment to human rights, but rather a grudging recognition of the support the church commands among Lithuanians and of the real difficulties involved in the suppression of such a broadly-based and militant group.

MUSLIMS

The second largest religious group in the Soviet Union--after the Russian Orthodox--and the one with potentially the greatest foreign policy implications, Soviet Islam has been frequently attacked, and on occasion protected, according to the needs of Soviet domestic and foreign policy. The exact number of Muslims in the Soviet Union is unknown. Most estimates are based on some fraction of the approximately 45 million people who belong to nationalities where Islam predominated prior to 1917. Soviet scholars estimate that between 10 and 25 percent of this group are still religious in some sense; Soviet Islamic leaders and some Western observers have suggested that the share of Muslims in this group is closer to 100 percent. Part of the reason for this divergence is to be found in the nature of Islam: it is non-clerical and non-congregational and defines a way of life as well as a set of beliefs. In any case, the Islamic nationalities of the USSR are the fastest growing segment of the Soviet population and will represent approximately one-quarter of the total number by the year 2000.

The overwhelming majority of Soviet Muslims are Sunni, except in Azerbaijan where approximately two-thirds of the population traditionally belonged to the Shiia branch of the faith. In addition, there are followers of various sufi

orders. These illegal and mystical sects range from the contemplative to the activist and play some role in unofficial Islam. The Soviet authorities have organized four spiritual directorates to run Islamic religious affairs--at Tashkent, Ufa, Makhachkala, and Baku. The first three are Sunni, the last mixed Shiia and Sunni. They have no central body and report directly to the state's Council of Religious Affairs.

A limited number of mullahs are prepared each year at the medressah in Bukhara and at the Islamic Institute in Tashkent. In addition--and in contrast to other faiths in the USSR--some Soviet mullahs attend foreign Islamic schools such as Qom in Iran and Al-Azhar in Cairo. In 1984, there were by official Soviet claim approximately 1,100 "working" mosques in the Soviet Union and an only slightly larger number of mullahs. Obviously, even if one accepts the low Soviet estimates of the total number of Muslims in the USSR, this number of mosques and mullahs cannot satisfy the religious needs of the population.

Like all other religions in the USSR, Islam also has an "unofficial" side, one that exists but is not sanctioned by the authorities. Being non-clerical, mullahs have no sacral functions: anyone who can read the Koran and say prayers can act as one. Thus determination of an Islamic community is difficult. While exact figures are impossible to come by, there are a vast number of unofficial Islamic communities in

Central Asia and the Caucasus; large unofficial publishing operations in both regions; and frequent pilgrimages to local holy places, an obvious substitute for the nearly impossible haj to Mēcca. (At present, only about 60 Soviet Muslims are able to make the haj each year, and they have clear foreign policy tasks assigned to them.)

Soviet Islam has been subject to periodic campaigns against it by the Soviet authorities. Like Uniatism in the Ukraine and Catholicism in Lithuania, Islam is closely linked with local national traditions and opposition to Russian rule. This has made it especially difficult to wipe out, for any attack on it has been perceived as an attack on nationality, something the Soviets want to support because it divides the Islamic peoples in the USSR. Furthermore, the Soviets have wanted to showcase Soviet Islam to the Third World in order to gain support there. This strategy had some success in the 1960s and 1970s and led to an easing of the Soviet assault on Islam. Now, however, out of a fear that events in Iran and Afghanistan might find some resonance among Soviet Muslims, Moscow has renewed its crackdown against them, forcing increasingly large numbers into unofficial, technically illegal activities. A young mullah, Akverdy Eshkulov, was sentenced to 2 years in labor camp last year for serving without official sanction. The Soviet press has also reported other arrests of Muslims for religious activities, including printing and distributing

religious books.

Although these are the largest religious groups in the Soviet Union, there are other, smaller denominations which have also suffered under intense persecution from Soviet authorities. One such group, the small, but growing Hare Krishna movement, is a prime example. Although the total membership is still quite small, more than 20 believers are currently in Soviet labor camps or psychiatric hospitals, thus illustrating that no religious organization in the Soviet Union is too small or insignificant to merit persecution from Soviet authorities.

The U.S. Government is deeply concerned at the systematic violation of religious freedom in the Soviet Union outlined in this testimony. We must say quite candidly that we have seen no improvement in the religious situation there since General Secretary Gorbachev came to power. If anything, conditions for religious believers have continued to deteriorate. We have catalogued Soviet religious persecution in our annual Country Reports On Human Rights Practices and in our semi-annual reports on Implementation of the Helsinki Final Act. We have raised the subject of Soviet violations of religious freedom forthrightly and in detail at the CSCE Human Rights Experts Meeting in Ottawa and in subsequent meetings in Budapest and Bern. We will continue to raise the issue in appropriate

public forums, such as the upcoming Vienna Review Conference. We strongly believe that calling public attention to these abuses of human rights puts pressure on the Soviet Union to change its restrictive policies. While change cannot be expected overnight, we believe that the pressure of world public opinion over time can and will achieve results. In this regard, we encourage members of Congress and representatives of non-governmental organizations to add their voices to ours in condemning Soviet abuses of religious freedom. We believe it is particularly important for brethren churches in this country and in other countries around the world to speak out on behalf of their suffering co-religionists in the Soviet Union.

In addition to our own public efforts, we have raised and will continue to raise our concerns over Soviet abuses of religious freedom directly with Soviet authorities. We continue to make clear to them that these and other human rights abuses are serious obstacles to the overall improved relations with the Soviet Union that the United States seeks. As I stated in my testimony last September, we cannot and will not lessen our commitment to the defense of individual human rights, a commitment rooted deep in American tradition.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much, Mr. Derwinski. Secretary Schifter, you may begin with your statement, sir.

STATEMENT OF HON. RICHARD SCHIFTER, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, BUREAU OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS

Mr. SCHIFTER. Mr. Chairman, generally speaking, I would like to say I can echo your own remarks and, of course, also what Counselor Derwinski has just said.

Mr. Chairman, this is part 2 in a series of hearings on the subject of religion in the Soviet Union. I would like to start out by setting forth my understanding of the significant difference in the subject matter of the first hearing and the subject matter of the present hearing.

The first hearing focused on the treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union. Jews, in the Soviet scheme of things, are viewed not as a religious group, but as an ethnic group, or, to use Soviet terminology, as a nationality. Jews suffer discrimination in the Soviet Union because anti-Semitism, discrimination based purely on ancestry, has become state policy. Whether a Jew attends services in the synagogue or in other ways practices his religion makes a marginal difference at best with regard to discrimination.

The situation is vastly different with persons who practice the Christian faith, and perhaps to a lesser extent, also with Muslims. Soviet citizens born into ethnic groups which historically have adopted Christianity or Islam as their religion have the opportunity of rising to the very top of the Soviet Union's governmental pyramid, provided they do not identify themselves with the religious faith of the ethnic groups. If they do, they limit opportunities for advancement. The severity of these limitations is proportionate to the extent of the person's religious involvement.

In recent years, to be sure, we have heard eyewitness reports from highly respected American religious personalities as to the tolerance of religious observations in the Soviet Union. These visitors to the Soviet Union have reported accurately and fairly what they saw. They were, of course, unable to report what was hidden from their view.

What these recent visitors to the Soviet Union may have thought they might encounter was an active crusade against all forms of religion, a continuing deep, publicly manifested commitment to atheism. They were pleasantly surprised not to encounter evidence of an overt atheist campaign. What they failed to understand fully is that a newer approach to repression of religion has taken the place of the earlier campaign for atheistic doctrine.

Atheism was undoubtedly an important element of the ideological foundation on which the Bolsheviks erected their state. But, like other facets of that ideology, the commitment to atheism has been significantly attenuated.

In this, the 69th year of its existence, Soviet state is committed largely to maintaining in power its ruling class, "the new class," as Milovan Djilas called it.

It is in this context that the Soviet attitude toward religion can be readily understood. The extent to which religion can serve the

ruling class, it will be used. To the extent to which it interferes with the objectives of the ruling class, it will be suppressed.

A few years ago, Jeanne Kirkpatrick reminded us all of the significant difference between totalitarian and authoritarian systems. She was roundly criticized for her observations by persons who nevertheless were unable to disprove the validity of her thesis. The manner in which religion is dealt with in the Soviet Union offers an object lesson in the operation of the totalitarian system.

The Soviet Union's ruling class, known as the Nomenklatura, consists of the leaders of government, the leaders of the party, the leaders of the military, and the leaders of the various governmentally operated economic, educational, scientific and cultural institutions. What is expected of this leadership group is loyalty to each other, loyalty to the system that maintains these leaders in power. What is expected of them is, therefore, a single-minded commitment which must not be diluted by a set of potentially conflicting loyalties. The practice of a religious faith would suggest such a conflicting loyalty and is, therefore, deemed unacceptable. It follows that no known religious believer may join the Nomenklatura.

Immediately below this group is the pool of persons who have been identified as potential candidates for leadership, the lower ranking members of the Communist Party. They, too, must in this totalitarian scheme be free of the danger of another set of loyalties. Known religious believers are, therefore, disqualified from entering the group that can qualify for leadership positions.

Then, there is a great mass of people which constitutes the country's rank and file. As George Orwell suggested in his remarkably prescient outline of the future course of the Leninist state, different rules apply to the common people. In today's Soviet Union, these persons may engage in religious observance as long as that is done in the place authorized by the Government, at a time authorized by the Government, and in the a format authorized by the Government.

Under a statutory scheme first put together in 1929, religion may be practiced in the Soviet Union under the auspices of religious associations duly licensed by the Government for this purpose. These licensed associations must, in order to remain licensed, act in accordance with the rules, regulations and specific instructions of the Council of Religious Affairs, the body that supervises all licensed religious activities in the Soviet Union. The council, in turn, works through the regional commissioners, with whom the religious associations must register. A commissioner can refuse to register an association or he can cancel registration without citing any reason.

By utilizing this regulatory scheme, the Soviet Government allows the performance of traditional rituals, traditional prayers, and traditional religious practices which do not involve significant interaction among religious believers. To illustrate the point I just made, believers may pray together, may sing together, but they may not engage in discussions of religious topics.

What is true of the individual believers is also true of the clergy. The clergy may perform rituals, may lead congregations in prayer, but may not otherwise interact with believers. Moreover, what is expected of the clergy is support of the state when called upon, in-

cluding support of the state's foreign policy objectives at international gatherings or on visits abroad.

There are some clergymen who may perform the tasks assigned to them by the state out of conviction. There are others who view these tasks as the price they must pay in order to be able to carry on their religious traditions. Beyond that, it has been suggested that the clergy has been infiltrated by that KGB and the KGB operatives might even be hearing confession.

So far, I have described what in the Soviet Union constitutes the authorized practice of religion. That is what American religious personalities have been able to witness in the Soviet Union. It is a new format of an old tradition, that of creating Potemkin villages.

What the visitors do not see is what goes on with regard to religious observance in the Soviet Union outside the officially sanctioned ceremonial occasions. What they do not see are the unlicensed activities which are carried on illegally and at serious risk to the participants. What the totalitarian system of the Soviet Union does not tolerate is any form of association of individuals outside the duly-licensed pattern. Bible study groups, religious discussion groups, religious gatherings in places not duly authorized by the Government, religious meetings not authorized by the Government and religious events held under auspices of unlicensed religious groups can all lead to criminal prosecution and punishment.

To make sure that the laws on the subject are enforced, a system of special volunteer spy committees has been created whose job it is to report violators. These neighborhood committees, which are called "Public Commissions for Control Over Observance of Laws About Religious Cults," watch over their neighbors and they report violators to the authorities. That is how Evangelical Christians, Mennonites, Baptists, Pentacostals, as well as Lithuanian or Ukrainian Catholics get into trouble as do those Russian Orthodox who refuse to be co-opted by the state.

To the chagrin of the authorities, interest in religion on the part of the Soviet people has been on the increase in recent years. This has included not only participation in Government-authorized religious observance, but also in what the Soviet Union has deemed illegal religious activity. Violations of the law have become too numerous to permit them to be enforced rigidly and consistently.

As a result, a good many violations tend to be ignored. But when the KGB decides to move, it clamps down hard. Persons guilty of the illegal practice of religion are sent off for many years to prison, labor colony, or forced into exile, often on trumped-up charges. In those cases in which it appears inconvenient to invoke what in the post-Stalin era has been called "Socialist legality", namely a criminal proceeding, the luckless religious practitioner is sent off to an institution for the mentally ill.

Whether one device is used or another, a climate of fear is engendered among those whose faith requires of them religious practice other than that which the state has deigned to license.

Though the advocacy of atheism is, as I noted earlier, no longer a high priority item in the Soviet Union, it is still the prevailing philosophy in the schools. That is where efforts are made by teachers to indoctrinate children with the Soviet Union's state religion of Communism and where children from believing families are held

up for ridicule. This is, therefore, one more hardship imposed on the families of religious believers.

The practices which I have here described are all in contravention of the provisions of such international instruments as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration Against Religious Intolerance, documents approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations without objection from the Soviet Union.

They are also in violation of the Helsinki Final Act document subscribed to in 1975 by General Secretary Brezhnev. What we need to ask ourselves is what did the Soviet Union have in mind when it acquiesced in undertakings which it had no intention of observing? The answer is that it probably considered it less embarrassing to go along with the text and then ignore it rather than to make an issue of the matter.

What we who believe in freedom of religion need to do is make it clear that such conduct is not acceptable, that it would be noted, will be publicized, and the Soviet Union will be criticized for its failure to observe the internationally-recognized standards of freedom of religion.

Will it make any difference? We cannot be sure. But what we can be sure of is that those persons, including religious leaders, who look the other way when religious believers in the Soviet Union are deprived of their rights, allow the repressive activities to continue. Only by pointing out that what is done is wrong by shining a spotlight on the wrongdoers, can we hope to effect change. What this committee is doing today is to shine a spotlight on the problem. That is, indeed, a significant contribution to the cause of freedom.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Schifter follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. RICHARD SCHIFTER, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE,
BUREAU OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS

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To the chagrin of the authorities, interest in religion on the part of the Soviet people has been on the increase in recent years. This has included not only participation in governmentally-authorized religious observance but also in what in the Soviet Union are deemed illegal religious activities. Violations of the law have become too numerous to permit them to be enforced rigidly and consistently. As a result, a good many violations tend to be ignored. But when the KGB decides to move, it clamps down hard. Persons guilty of the illegal practice of religion are sent off for many years to a prison, labor colony, or forced into exile, often on trumped-up charges. In those cases in which it appears inconvenient to invoke what in the post-Stalin era has been

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Will that make any difference? We can't be sure. But what we can be sure of is that those persons, including religious leaders, who look the other way when religious believers in the Soviet Union are deprived of their rights, allow these repressive activities to continue. Only by pointing out that what is done is wrong, by shining a spotlight on the wrongdoers, can we hope to effect change. What this Committee is doing today is to shine a spotlight on the problem. That is indeed a significant contribution to the cause of freedom.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much, Secretary Schifter, for your statement.

Before we begin the questions, I would like to call on the ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations, Congressman Gerald Solomon, for an opening statement.

Mr. SOLOMON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I will be as brief as possible. We are in session, the full Foreign Affairs Committee is meeting, and we are meeting, so I know all of our time is important right now.

I would like to also welcome Ed Derwinski, our former colleague, and, of course, Secretary Schifter, and commend them for the excellent job they are doing.

Mr. Chairman, the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union is sometimes described as nothing more than political and economic competition between the two super-powers, and that firmness and patience are all that is required on our side in dealing with this competition.

I would suggest, however, that much of the conventional wisdom concerning the Soviet Union fails to fully understand the ideological character of the Soviet system the degree to which the Soviet leadership is motivated by an ideology despite the mountains of empirical evidence that the ideology does not work.

What is really at stake in this conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union are two fundamentally different philosophies concerning the nature of man and the nature of society, and let us never forget that ideas have consequences.

Soviet communism, as defined in the theories of Marx and Lenin, is the first political ideology of modern times to be based exclusively on an atheistic interpretation of the nature and the meaning of human life. I have pointed out in the past that atheism is not derived from Communism at all; it is, rather, the other way around. Marx was an atheist first, much longer before he formulated his Communist theories. His Communism was rooted in his hatred of Christianity and of all religions.

The Communist doctrine of dialectical materialism sets forth a dogmatic philosophy of history that denies the existence of any spiritual reality within man, and, according to this doctrine, the fulfillment of human destiny is to be realized only by the satisfaction of material needs in this world alone.

Now, given the total atheistic nature of communism itself and its absolute intolerance of any belief that focuses on the divine origins of man and the universe, it should come as no surprise that the leaders of the Soviet Union have pursued a relentless policy of crushing any and all religions. Religious faith and practice are inconsistent, I would say at the very least, with the notion of creating the new Soviet man. The Soviet leadership has found that when an ideology does not work, human nature has to be twisted into some other form that can accommodate the dictates of the State.

But despite 69 years of ruthless repression and social engineering, the Soviet authorities have not succeeded in their goal of eradicating religion and, indeed, religious activity is today the most potent form of dissident activity within the Soviet Union.

Secretary Schifter, you noted in your prepared testimony that this hearing will shine a spotlight on this deplorable situation in the Soviet Union and thus serve the cause of freedom. This hearing will also pay tribute to the courage and to the perseverance of countless individuals who have had the faith and who have had the audacity to stand up in opposition to the greatest assault on the Judeo Christian ethnic that this world has ever seen.

I hope our Government will always keep these brave souls in mind whenever we sit down across the conference table with their captors. Let us always bear in mind that treaties, covenants, and arms control agreements do not have meaning, they do not mean much, when the Soviet leadership continues to do what it does best, and that is to serve as jailers for an entire country.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Solomon.

Gentlemen, to what degree would the Soviet system have to fundamentally change to accommodate unlimited religious freedom, and does the legal system have the potential to provide a framework for the protection of religious activity?

Whoever would care to respond or both of you, go right ahead.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I assume you are not asking so much for a legal answer as the practical facts in the Soviet Union, and the practical facts of life are as outlined especially in Mr. Schifter's testimony, that there is a solid fundamental political issue which has control of the structure, control of the apparatus.

You would have to have an almost total revolution to allow people to be upwardly mobile in government, to allow people to have positions of trust and confidence, and, yet, at the same time, be free to practice their religion, and the very structural nature of the present Soviet system, the elite that command it, just does not permit that.

In a technical fashion, the Soviet Union provides for the right to practice religion, but they balance that by basically having structures in which the atheistic nature of their philosophy is emphasized.

Mr. YATRON. How would you compare the various aspects and degrees of religious persecution in the Soviet Union to that of other Communist countries, including not only Eastern bloc states but also Ethiopia, Mozambique, China and others?

Mr. DERWINSKI. I will start, Dick, and turn it over to you.

I think the difference lies in the length of time the Communists have been in control. For example, in Eastern Europe, you have probably two outstanding examples of necessary difference. One is in Poland where because the population is almost entirely Catholic, the Communist authorities have not been able to whip the church into submission, and the other countries of Eastern Europe, the religious beliefs are divided among Orthodox, Catholic, and various Protestant denominations.

As a result, the Communists have been able to basically use a divide and conquer system. The other Communist state, where there is a degree of religious freedom, is in Yugoslavia, and that is because of the fact that each of their ethnic groups is also identified very strongly with their religious tradition, and since there has been a great deal of decentralization, the central authorities do

not have the real leverage that they have in some—say, in Bulgaria or Romania.

Then, I think it would be fair to say that in Bulgaria, to cite that case, where there has recently been a persecution of the Turkish ethnic minority, that automatically becomes persecution of an Islamic minority because of the historic relationship between the two.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you.

Secretary Schifter, would you care to add anything?

Mr. SCHIFTER. There is one country in the area that we sometimes forget where repression of all religious sentiment is truly the state religion. That country is Albania, where the situation is probably the worst in the entire region.

With regard to the other states, as Counselor Derwinski correctly pointed out, the situation is by and large harsher in the Soviet Union than it is elsewhere. For example, I have discovered looking at the punishment that is meted out that in Romania and Czechoslovakia, they put you away for a while, a few years. Sentences may be 2, 3, or 4 years. But, in the Soviet Union, for the same kind of offense, punishment is far more severe. Sentences for similar offenses are often 7 years imprisonment plus 5 years exile. That is 12 years! That takes a bite out of a person's life. That is different from the punishment in some of the other states, even though, as I say, the same kind of offense may land you in trouble.

Mr. YATRON. I have one other question, then I will give the floor to Mr. Solomon and the others.

In general, how active are our European allies in pressuring the Soviets on the issue of religious freedom? Are they, in general, as committed or as active as we are?

Mr. DERWINSKI. I would say they are committed, and I would say their activities, though, vary in proportion to their special concern over groups of people.

For example, the Federal Republic of Germany has had a long-standing interest in the German peoples who are still trapped behind the Iron Curtain in Romania and parts of the Soviet Union, and as a result, they have gone to special efforts to try to pressure the authorities of the Eastern European and Soviet Governments on behalf of their German people.

The other European countries, Great Britain, which, like the United States, has a long-standing historic interest in Eastern Europe, has had special concerns. France, where, interestingly enough, all throughout history, the Polish patriots have tended to flee when there are revolutions against the Russian Empire, now the Soviets have failed, is a country that understands the nationalistic spirit that exists.

So, I think we have to take each of their internal conditions, but, historically, they are very concerned, they are very sensitive, and they are very knowledgeable of the oppression of religion behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you.

Secretary Schifter, do you have anything to add?

Mr. SCHIFTER. Mr. Chairman, I have not been as long in the field of diplomacy as has been Congressman Derwinski. Let me just say that ever since I have become involved in human rights affairs I

have noted that the United States has been out in front on all of these matters.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you.

Mr. Solomon?

Mr. SOLOMON. Ed Derwinski has always been long on diplomacy.

Ed, you mentioned the Moslems earlier. There are some 30 million Moslems in the Soviet Union, and I guess they have the highest birth rate of all population groups in the Soviet Union. As a matter of fact, I think by the year 2000, it is estimated that they will probably outnumber the white Russians. My question is, what kind of an impact does this development have? And how loyal are those Moslems to the Soviet Union, to the government itself?

Mr. DERWINSKI. First, in answering you, I will not give you the stereotype position we might have at the Department; I will give you my personal views.

I think, first, if I may make an observation, the figure that I have often heard used is possibly 50 million, 50 million Soviet citizens of traditional Islamic areas, and you are correct that the statistics indicate they have a much higher birth rate than the white Russians.

But there is a dimension to it you have to add, which are the other non-Russian peoples within the U.S.S.R. The Baltic people, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Armenians, Georgians and others.

When you add them along with the Islamic peoples, you are right now at the point where approximately half the people of the U.S.S.R. are non-Russian, and this constitutes a very interesting potential challenge to the authorities.

Now, in the case of the Moslems within the U.S.S.R., they have by and large been deprived of the type of religious leadership that exists in the standard Islamic countries, and by leadership, I mean, first of all, not only the availability of Mullahs and things of that nature, but, again, as Secretary Schifter pointed out, anyone who wished to advance in the higher echelons of government, military, the different authoritative entities, has to disavow religious beliefs, and that applies to the Moslems as well.

So that the better educated class have deserted their principles and traditions of their forefathers, but there is a—there has been an awakening of Islamic spirit, I would call it an awakening more than a revival because it has been depressed for so many years. The Afghan occupation by the Soviets, I am sure, at least indirectly has produced a negative feeling in parts of the Soviet Union, but I would say that potentially they have a growing problem.

Mr. SOLOMON. I guess that sort of emphasizes itself, too, because is it not true that some of the Moslem soldiers in the Soviet army have actually been executed because they refused to fight in Afghanistan?

Mr. DERWINSKI. We have had various reports and, of course, keeping in mind that very few Western observers remain in Afghanistan with very little freedom of movement, we have had various reports as to the fact that the Islamic troops who are conscripted into the Soviet army, when they arrive in Afghanistan and find out that they are pitted against their religious brothers, it comes as a shock and a great disillusionment to them.

This has obviously had an adverse effect on their morale, and since by and large they tend to be the foot soldiers, the officers tending to be Russians, you have an additional factor that eventually comes to play in troop morale and sometimes performance.

Mr. SOLOMON. I just have one other question, Mr. Chairman.

What is the administration's preferred approach in dealing with the Soviets on the issue of religious persecution, and can you identify a specific success of this policy?

Mr. SCHIFTER. There have been situations in which it has been possible to negotiate for the departure of religious leaders who have been in jail or, for that matter, some who have found refuge in the embassy in Moscow. It has been possible to make arrangements for their emigration.

We have been successful in resolving individual cases. They are, however, few and far between. As far as a basic pattern is concerned, I think as Ed mentioned earlier, the problem persists. What we need to see is a fundamental change in policy in the Soviet Union before we will be able to see significant improvements.

Mr. SOLOMON. Just as a follow-up. In general, do you prefer to address this issue in a multilateral or a bilateral context? Is public or private diplomacy more effective? What is your feeling?

Mr. SCHIFTER. The way it works, Congressman Solomon, is this: on individual cases, you may get some place with private discussions. That may work on, as I say, resolving a particular case or a group of cases.

As far as the fundamental problem is concerned, you must address it broadly and, therefore, publicly. As far as the issue of bilateral versus multilateral approaches is concerned, let me put it this way: what is needed is publicity. If we can get publicity through a hearing of this kind, that helps. If we can use a multilateral forum to provide publicity, that, too, helps. By and large, what is necessary is to shame the other side into changing its position. As Counselor Derwinski pointed out before, we will not be able to witness a fundamental shift as long as the present system exists. The present policy is an integral part of the system. But it is still possible to get some amelioration of the Soviet system by pointing out what they are doing and thereby causing them to change their position.

Mr. SOLOMON. That seems to be what is happening with Gorbachev right now. It seems to be getting under his skin a little bit, and although the situation is never going to change, it is ameliorating itself.

Mr. SCHIFTER. Well, we have not seen that much yet, Congressman. We hope to see more, but we have seen very little so far.

Mr. SOLOMON. That is all the questions I have.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Solomon.

Mr. Torricelli?

Mr. TORRICELLI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

To follow the last thoughts, are there, at this point, any perceptible differences under the Gorbachev leadership from previous Soviet heads of state? Are you seeing any signs, signals, languages, or winks to indicate that a change of policy has either been undertaken or is likely?

Mr. SCHIFTER. Is your question directed at the area of religion?

Mr. TORRICELLI. Yes.

Mr. SCHIFTER. No.

Mr. TORRICELLI. There is no reason to believe so?

Mr. SCHIFTER. There is no evidence so far.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Let me take the questions of the persecution of those of the Jewish faith and Christians separately for a moment.

You characterized Soviet policy towards Soviet Jews as being official state policy of persecution.

Mr. SCHIFTER. On ethnic grounds, on ancestry. On the basis of ancestry rather than whether you go to the synagogue or not.

Mr. TORRICELLI. But are they being treated as indistinguishable? Is the policy toward the practice of a faith assumed to be a manifestation of ancestry?

Mr. SCHIFTER. Well, let me put it this way: the way I visualize it, if you are born Jewish in the Soviet Union, there are two strikes against you, and religion might be a third strike.

If you are born Russian, you can, as I say, rise to the top, but if you decide to become a practitioner of a faith, then you end your career right then and there.

We talk a lot about South Africa these days. In a way, there is a similarity between what is going on in the Soviet Union with the Jews and what goes on with regard to blacks in South Africa. Basically, members of these groups are discriminated against because of their birth.

Mr. TORRICELLI. What—

Mr. SCHIFTER. The Christians have a chance of going to the top, and they, by choice, forfeit that opportunity.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Well, I think you had said earlier that it would be impossible for someone who is practicing their Christian faith to make it to the leadership in the Soviet Union.

Mr. SCHIFTER. That is exactly what I am saying. In other words, Christians who practice their religion forfeit their chance to get to the top.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Now, it is my impression from—at least from some conversations with Refuseniks that, in fact, the Soviet policies with regard to Jews and practicing the faith has been counter-productive if its intention was to end the practice or the identification; that, in fact, there has been a renaissance in the Soviet Union of the practice of the Jewish faith.

Mr. SCHIFTER. They have had a renaissance in the Soviet Union that goes across the board. In the case of Jews, the situation is that they are discriminated against because of ancestry. If you find that you are discriminated against because of your ancestry you begin to ask yourself, what is this ancestry all about.

Mr. TORRICELLI. That was my impression. So, it is accurate.

Mr. SCHIFTER. That is correct.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Now, I had exactly the opposite impression, unfortunately, with the Christian faith, that the long Soviet policies with regard to the practice of faith in another generation might, indeed, separate that generation of Soviet people from the knowledge and practice of their faith.

Is that mistaken?

Mr. SCHIFTER. As Congressman Solomon very aptly put it earlier, the whole system is empty. It does not satisfy spiritual needs; it

does not satisfy any needs for that matter. Therefore, younger people throughout the Communist region are coming back to religion because they are finding that it answers a spiritual need of theirs.

So that even though they may not get religion from their parents, they come back to it. This is happening in the Soviet Union, Romania, and Czechoslovakia. In Poland, of course, it never died. But in the other countries where religion was on the downgrade, it is now on the upgrade again.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Now, can this reversal be measured in actual association with organized churches, or is this being expressed in more private forms?

Mr. SCHIFTER. Both. On one hand, you have situations in which younger people once again begin to attend church services. That is one aspect of it. The other aspect of it in the Soviet Union is that there is an increasing number of young people that are, for example, active as Baptists, and Pentecostals. They really put their necks on the line that way because this means joining an illegal religious group.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Now, in any of these cases, with the Moslems or with Christians, can you—

Mr. YATRON. Could you hold you question for a minute? The court reporter would like to change his tape.

[Pause.]

Mr. TORRICELLI. With either the Moslem faith or with any of the Christians, can it be said that the practice of the faith is increasing because of a rising nationalism as well, or would you attribute it more to the emptiness syndrome that you cited?

Mr. SCHIFTER. Well, you get both. You will find in the Ukraine, for example, it is going to be a matter of persons identifying themselves with their faith because it also underlines their ethnic identification. In Lithuania, the Catholic Church has become increasingly identified with Lithuanian nationalism. In Estonia and Latvia, the Lutheran Churches in both these countries, too, that they are identified with Latvian and Estonian nationalism.

So, that is, indeed, the answer, but you get a great many Russians who, after all, are the high caste of the system, Great Russians, who also revert to religion.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Extend your analysis, if you would, then, to the Moslems cited by Mr. Solomon and also the German ethnics.

Mr. SCHIFTER. With regard to the Moslems, the basic problem is, quite frankly, we do not really have quite as much information there as we do have with regard to Christians. The impression that we have is that people do continue to attend mosques.

We have the impression that Islamic fundamentalism which, after all, is concentrated outside the Soviet Union, does filter into the country, but I can tell you quite candidly we do not have—

Mr. TORRICELLI. But is your impression that there is a communication network from the fundamentalist circles in Iran or elsewhere into the Soviet Union? There is an open network?

Mr. SCHIFTER. It seems to be the case.

Mr. TORRICELLI. And how about with the German ethnics?

Mr. SCHIFTER. They largely identify themselves still as German ethnics. Keep in mind that they have suffered very serious discrimination based on ancestry as well.

Mr. TORRICELLI. What are the religious implications of this? Has there been any—

Mr. SCHIFTER. I do not think that that is that significant there, as far as I know. They probably have been practicing religion all along, but Germanethnicity is a very important factor there because they, indeed, have suffered discrimination.

Mr. TORRICELLI. And, finally, because I think it is important enough to bear repeating, it is your unmistakable view that the calls, the letters, the visits that we do make to those who seek to practice their Christian or Jewish faiths is of real meaning, that bringing their cases, making Soviet officials aware of the fact that we know of them and are prepared to publicize their plight, is a real and substantial benefit in easing their burden.

Mr. SCHIFTER. I have no doubt about that, Congressman. There are two facets to it. First of all, to the extent to which they feel they are not alone, that there are other people in the world that are really aware of their plight that concern is expressed particularly by persons in authority, that support does something for them internally. They would stand up for their beliefs anyway, but they feel much better as a result.

But the other aspect is really this: the Soviet Union likes to have a good image. Mr. Gorbachev, particularly, has demonstrated his concern time and time again. We hope he recognizes that the nice clothes his wife wears are not all there is to the image. There are other aspects that are of great concern, too, particularly how the Soviet Union deals with its own people. If the Soviets are prepared to respond to these concerns, they might tend to modify their positions. They are not going to just give up entirely on their framework, the basis on which their country operates. But they might be prepared to make significant changes which, in the lives of the individuals that we are talking about, could make an enormous difference.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Torricelli.

Mr. Zschau?

Mr. ZSCHAU. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to follow up on the dialog that you have been having in a couple of ways. The ways of bringing pressure, bringing attention, bringing focus on this issue of religious persecution, and, in particular, follow up on the idea that you mentioned to us, namely that there is some analogy in the way that Jews are treated in the Soviet Union to the way blacks are treated in South Africa.

We are discussing now about taking stronger measures, disinvestment in South Africa, eliminating trade, if you will, between the United States and South Africa. I am curious whether you think that similar kinds of action, vis-a-vis the Soviet Union would be effective, if nothing more than to demonstrate the moral imperative, to indicate outrage, to indicate our abhorrence of the way in which Jews are treated in the Soviet Union.

Mr. SCHIFTER. Well, Congressman, let me point out that the administration has a position on the question of precisely what ought to be done or not to be done with South Africa. What the administration believes is the most effective way of going at it differs, to some extent, from views that have been expressed in the Congress. In each situation, we need to look at what particular pattern of activity on our part will be most useful in order to achieve the results that we would like to see achieved.

My personal opinion is that at this juncture there should be no significant change in our economic arrangements vis-a-vis the Soviet Union.

To the extent the Soviets might relax in this area, that may, indeed, be the quid pro quo that could be very beneficial in that regard. We had a very interesting meeting with Mr. Shcharansky, and one of the observations he made was that you cannot expect at any time to get anywhere if you appeal to the spiritual side of the Soviet leadership because it is not there. But if we approach the issue on a very hard-nosed quid pro quo basis, there are certain areas as far as our economic relations are concerned where we could relax in some of the areas where we have concerns. That is the kind of deal that could very well be struck over time.

Mr. ZSCHAU. Well, you are talking about a carrot approach, and I guess what I am curious is whether a stick approach might be used in the absence of any action or reaction by the Soviet Union.

Mr. SCHIFTER. Let us keep in mind that there are some policies in effect right now that are in the nature of sticks. That is, they do not have MFN [most favored nation] status, and a whole series of other restrictions were imposed in the wake of the invasion of Afghanistan, for example. What I would hope, quite frankly, is that we do not relax without getting something in return.

Mr. ZSCHAU. There is a vote on and I know that time is short, but I would like to ask a quick question. As long as we are comparing the situation in the Soviet Union to some other countries, I would like you to make a comparison to Nicaragua. In particular, I am interested in whether you see in Nicaragua actions being taken toward moving in the same direction as had been taken in the Soviet Union in the early days in that country.

That is, are we seeing a repetition of that in Nicaragua, or is it a different situation that should be analyzed entirely differently?

Mr. SCHIFTER. Congressman Zschau, this is a very good point. I have felt for quite some time, as a matter of fact, I have really felt from the beginning, that there is a similarity between Nicaragua and post World War II developments in Eastern Europe. For example, if you take a look at the first junta as it was created in July 1979 in Nicaragua, there were only two communists in the group of nine. And, if you take a look at what their portfolios were, you will see they were ministers of interior and defense. All the people that carried guns were under their command.

That was like Poland in 1945, Czechoslovakia in 1945, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria. In all of those countries there were governments in place that did not have a Communist majority. These countries each had a prime minister of another party and they had other parties represented. But those two portfolios, defense and interior, and interior in all those countries has the responsibility for

police—were held by Communists. And in Nicaragua the same game was played just the way it had been done before. That is the way it looked to me from the beginning, sir.

Mr. ZSCHAU. Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Zschau.

Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Schifter, you talked a little bit about a response to Mr. Zschau's question about the economic considerations that the Soviet Union are prone to making when they make any kind of decision on emigration and religious—for either religious grounds or others.

The Olmer delegation from Commerce went over about a year and a half ago, and they received little rabbit droppings, wherever they went, from different people, about the issue of the possibility of increased emigration.

From the gentleman, Okeemoff, who is the head of the central bank, who, under ordinary circumstances, apparently would not be dabbling in the prospect of increased emigration.

There were a number of other openings, clues, little—as you know, wisps of aroma, fragrance, which have come to naught in that period of time. They had a delegation which came here and some of us were able to communicate with them, sit around the table and discuss these issues, where we got basically the party line again, you ask them the question, they open the book to the page and they read you the response.

What is it that they are looking for in terms of an economic opening? Is it Jackson-Vanik? Is it something on that order? And must we do it first before they will do it, in your estimation, or do you think we have to play. I think I heard what you said about playing a tough line, and that is that they will have to show us some response before we would consider changing Jackson-Vanik, change in MFN, change in any of the things that we did years ago to ensure emigration?

Mr. SCHIFTER. Congressman, that is what I suggested. They have to learn how to bargain hard and I suppose it is a matter of playing poker. At the other end, you have tough people who are up against you, who know how to bargain. There is the old Stalin story about salami tactics, just slicing a piece off time and time again. They still do it the same way. So, if our side does not know how to bargain well we have a problem. But at the same time, perhaps through hard bargaining there can be some improvements.

One does not have to go so far as to modify Jackson-Vanik. There are a number of Department of Commerce regulations in place. One can take a look at them. In connection with oil and gas drilling equipment, we have had some discussions with them on that particular point to see whether we can get some quid pro quo. But we just have to keep in mind that if we give the store away first and then hope to get something in return, we are not going to get very much.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. They are not going to get very much.

Mr. SCHIFTER. I do not think so.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Just one other question before we go running off for a vote in a minute.

Mr. Derwinski, the State Department, I think, is to be commended for probing almost every opportunity the question of religious persecution and the question of emigration from the Soviet Union. They constantly throw up in our faces the fact that when you ask them about why they will not let these people emigrate or why they are persecuting Germans or fundamentalists or Catholics, then you hear, well, what about the American Indians, and, you know, it is the same story over and over again and the blacks and the American Indians. This is their retort to us, but in the latest conferences that you might have had, that the State Department has been engaged with, I know even at Geneva, there was discussion about human rights in general, what has been their attitude?

Have they refused to discuss it? Have they just basically stonewalled it, as usual? Are they tying it hostage to anything?

Mr. DERWINSKI. No. Basically—

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Helsinki? Basket problem, all of that, just the same?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Basically, they stonewalled it, but there have—the problem is that sometimes the news creeps out. For example, in Lithuania, the underground church has a Lithuanian Chronicle, which they distribute in the West. There are means of getting news out which then they cannot deny.

The point Mr. Solomon raised of the personal reaction of Soviet Islamic soldiers to the situation they find themselves in Afghanistan has been documented enough by enough observers. So, as a result of that, despite their stonewalling, they must acknowledge and they might, in the long run of necessity, adjust to the collective pressures that have built up in their system.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. But you do not see that any time in the short run?

Mr. DERWINSKI. No; do not see it in the short run, do not see it in the latest change in their government.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. So, obviously, they are angling for some thing else which we have not struck a responsive chord with them yet?

Mr. DERWINSKI. And, then, of course, they always take time. They are in no great hurry. We tend to be in a hurry. They tend to look at the long—

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Their clock runs slow.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Right.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Thank you very much.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you.

We have a vote on the Walker Amendment to the Transportation Appropriation bill. I know that Secretary Schifter has to leave for another commitment, so we will have to conclude shortly.

I was going to ask Mr. Derwinski a question about Romania, even though this hearing focuses on the Soviet Union.

I would like to raise a particular concern of mine involving a Romanian who has been separated from his family for many years. Have you received any information pertaining to the wife and son of Mr. Napoleon Fodor? I know that you have been involved in that matter.

Mr. DERWINSKI. That is our No. 1 human rights case with Romania, and I will be glad to give you full information. In fact, I will come by your office and lay out the whole thing for you.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much.

We thank you, gentlemen, for being here.

We will recess for 10 minutes, and then we will come back and start with the second panel.

Thank you very much.

[Recess.]

Mr. YATRON. We will resume the hearing. Our next panel of witnesses includes Ms. Catherine Fitzpatrick, representing Helsinki Watch; Mr. Nikita Moravsky, former Deputy Chief of the U.S.S.R. Division of Voice of America, and professor of Russian Culture at George Washington University; Rev. Ernest Gordon, president, Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents [CREED]; and Ms. Natalia Vins, International Representation for the Council of Evangelical Baptist Churches of the Soviet Union.

It would be very much appreciated if the witnesses could limit their oral presentations to around 5 minutes each because the hour is getting late. This way, we will maximize the time that we have for the question and answer period. If you have a written statement, it will be included in the record.

Ms. Fitzpatrick, you may begin with your statement.

STATEMENT OF CATHERINE FITZPATRICK, REPRESENTING HELSINKI WATCH

Ms. FITZPATRICK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

We have been following some of the developments since Gorbachev has come to power in the last year. There has been a lot of speculation about the economic and cultural reforms that may be in the offing, but it has been our feeling that this has not been accompanied by any improvements in the religious sphere, unfortunately, and, in fact, there is evidence that religious persecution has worsened.

If we go back in history a little bit and look at Nikita Khrushchev, he was known as someone who brought about a cultural thaw and economic improvements. But, this was not accompanied by any improvements in religion. His repressive policies are still in place today.

I think that we can look at Gorbachev in much the same way as we did Khrushchev.

I will mention some of the highlights of the repressive campaign that has been going on against religious activists in the last 5 years. The figures show that the number of religious prisoners of conscience has increased fourfold in the last 5 years. Those most highly represented in the prison camps are prisoners of the Christian faiths; we could also note that the Baptists are the largest group among these prisoners.

In the last 2 years, Helsinki Watch has sent fact-finding missions to the Soviet Union, where we have met with dozens of activists, young people from all walks of life, middle-aged people, veterans of the civil rights movement, people in the underground religious movement, and the independent peace movement. One of the most

striking things for us has been to see what we could really term as a religious revival in the Soviet Union.

It has come about for a number of different reasons, some of which are similar to reasons we find in the West, with the break down of the family, with the problems that many people face in modern life, also with the problems in the Soviet Union with the exhaustion of Marxism as an ideology.

For some, religion is a spiritual belief. For others, it is more of a cultural phenomenon, but there is no question that it is very widespread. We were surprised to find that some of the cults from the West and the East have taken root in the Soviet Union, namely Hare Krishna, Zen Buddhism, Children of God. Some of these groups that we remember from the 1960s in the United States have now begun to grow in the Soviet Union. And there has been ensuing persecution with the spread of these cults.

Today, there are about 20 Hare Krishna leaders in prison. There are a number of Buddhists, Yoga practitioners, and others. This involves many hundreds of young people in the large cities.

Also, of course, Muslim activism has been spreading, which is particularly important if you take into account that the Muslim population is growing very rapidly. There are presently 45 million Muslims in the Soviet Union and their population is growing at the rate of forty-five percent, as compared to the Russian population, which is growing at thirteen percent. And we have noted already in the hearing today, the war in Afghanistan and the ramifications that has for Muslim believers in the Soviet Union.

The other development that has been mentioned today has been the crackdown on Jewish culture, in the last 2 years, particularly the arrest of Hebrew language teachers.

Religious instruction for Jews is now being vigorously opposed by the authorities.

One of the most disturbing phenomena over the last 2 years in terms of repression has been the forced public confession. There has been a great increase in the number of people who have been broken after lengthy terms of imprisonment and have been forced to appear on television or to write for the newspaper and to denounce their activities and their friends and so forth. One of the most chilling aspects of these confessions is not that the individuals are forced to recant religious beliefs; rather, they portray their beliefs in a positive way. But, they have obviously been led along the line to see that their human rights activities have purportedly been anti-Christian or against their beliefs.

The Soviet authorities have been very persuasive in guiding young people particularly to see that if they want to be true Christians, they must also be good Soviet citizens. This kind of brain-washing is very subtle and very effective, and there has been a number of victims of this campaign. It dovetails with Gorbachev's public relations campaign, where, for example there have been returning defectors, such as Yurchenko, or Oleg Tumanov.

Religious believers forced to recant have been put right in the centerpiece of this campaign by appearing on television or in the press.

I am submitting an extensive testimony with cases, which only touch the tip of the iceberg. I will not go into those now, but I

would like to speak for a moment of where I think the U.S. Congress could play a role here.

If you read some of these cases, one of the features that keeps cropping up is that people are charged for listening to foreign radio broadcasts, for reading foreign literature, for meeting with foreigners. Clearly, foreign broadcasting and other efforts to communicate from outside the U.S.S.R. is effective. People are converted and helped by foreign radio broadcasts and literature. The Soviet authorities are very keen to eradicate them for precisely this reason.

That is why it is very important that U.S. radio broadcasting to the Soviet Union identify and adequately serve all the religious populations of the Soviet Union. U.S. broadcasting is providing an alternative and, for some, the only source of their religious information. We will be releasing a report on a study of Radio Liberty and Voice of America Russian-language broadcasts in the next 2 or 3 weeks, which I will submit to you.

I want to mention today that one of the problems we have found is that there is a real dearth of broadcasting to the Protestant denominations, which is peculiar given that our country has strong Protestant traditions.

In fact, what has been going on at the radio stations is that one of the denominations of the Russian Orthodox Church has obtained what could be called an overprivileged position in its access to broadcasting. It is the only denomination that broadcasts its church services; no other kinds of church services are being broadcast. This should be remedied so that there is a balance among Russian Orthodox—which is, of course, the religion of a very large part of the population in the European part of Russia—and other denominations, the Catholics, the Ukrainian Uniates, the Baptists, the Pentecostals, and so on. Jewish broadcasting is also not really sufficient. Then, there is widespread movement of the Eastern cults, such as Hare Krishna, that also should be served.

I also think it is important that Russian language broadcasting have more cross-pollination with the other faiths, and the other languages and nationalities of the Soviet Union, so that Russians have broadcasts in their language about the Muslim religion, about the Lithuanian Catholic situation, etc. That helps to build more cohesion in the Soviet Union. It helps address what will become a very critical issue with the upsurge in the Muslim population.

We already see clashes between Russians and the Central Asian nationalities, with fights breaking out periodically among youth, and other disturbances. If we are going to have a positive contribution to this, we have to make up our minds what message we want to say about this problem, ourselves, and then convey it. It is very important that the American public follow what is being broadcast in their name, using their tax dollars, and that the Congress, which funds the radios, monitor broadcasting closely.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Fitzpatrick follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CATHY FITZPATRICK



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My name is Cathy Fitzpatrick. I am Research Director for the U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee, a non-governmental organization that monitors compliance with the human rights provisions of the 1975 Helsinki accords. Helsinki Watch is concerned with human rights compliance in each of the thirty-five Helsinki signatory countries and has devoted special attention to those Helsinki countries in which severe and systematic violations occur -- the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia and Turkey.

Since Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev came to power in March 1985, observers in the West have

had many expectations of reform in the Soviet Union under the new, invigorated leadership. In conjunction with the promise of economic reform, there have been interesting indications recently of a loosening in restrictive cultural policies, at least for the writers and artists who are members of the elite. But in the sphere of religious affairs, there have been few, if any, signs of hope. It appears that Gorbachev is continuing the same repressive policies of his predecessors. And as it has become apparent, economic reforms may not lead to any significant changes for society in terms of increases in liberties and opportunities. Soviet history does not supply any precedents for times when economic and even cultural changes have led to increased religious freedom. Nikita Khrushchev, for example, is remembered as the exposé of Stalin's crimes and the initiator of a cultural "thaw." Yet, as has been noted by Rev. Michael Bourdeaux, director of the British human rights organization Keston College, Khrushchev also launched a vigorous anti-religious campaign still in effect today and was responsible for the closing of thousands of churches. So far, it does not seem that Gorbachev is personally leading a special campaign to repress religion. But he has done nothing to alleviate the work of his predecessors. Beginning in 1979, Brezhnev began a ruthless campaign against all independent activists, chief among these religious activists of all faiths. This was continued by Yury Andropov; notable in his term was the

increased practice of "repeat sentencing" (eventually codified in new legislation). Just as an individual reaches the end of a prison term, he or she is immediately handed a new term, so that the "eternal imprisonment" of Stalin's day has returned.

Chernenko, even in his short term of office, made a special point of attacking the growing religious movement among young people.

According to Rev. Bourdeaux, "From the last days of Leonid Brezhnev to the accession of Mikhail Gorbachev, the number of Christians in prison for breaking the anti-religious laws increased fourfold." ("Secular Inhumanism," Policy Review, Fall 1985). And the pace shows no sign of letting up. Today, religious believers of all faiths, taken together, make up the largest group of political prisoners in the Soviet Union -- they are more heavily represented than any other type of movement in the USSR. According to Keston College's figures of May 1986, the known number of religious prisoners of all faiths imprisoned for religious activity in the Soviet Union is 397; of these, 315 are Christians. Imprisoned Baptist activists, totalling 170, make up the largest group among the Christian denominations. (The total known number of political prisoners is approximately 900; the total number is estimated at 10,000, given the difficulty of gathering complete information under Soviet conditions.)

Even official Soviet statistics acknowledge that 20 percent of the Soviet population are religious believers, and the figure is probably much larger, since many hide their beliefs from fear

of reprisal. Despite the massive closings of churches, synagogues, and mosques, the numbers of candidates for the clergy have increased, and there are always many more who apply than are accepted for seminaries. Yet Soviet scholars debate whether or not a "religious revival" is going on in the Soviet Union, and what its significance may be for future Soviet society. From the investigations of Helsinki Watch, there is no doubt that the last decade has seen a surge in interest in religion in the USSR, particularly among young people. This has come about for a variety of reasons: a search for an alternative to the barren ideology of Marxism-Leninism, which many suspect even officials no longer believe, and a yearning for spiritual meaning beyond materialism. As in the West, the disintegration of the traditional family structure, the shift from rural to urban life, and a decline in traditional values, with ensuing problems with drugs, sex and career decisions, have led young people to turn to religion for solace. For many, it is not so much a question of spiritual beliefs as a quest for institutions that can provide cultural values, history, and ceremonies to mark rites of passage that are not supplied by official Soviet culture. Members of Helsinki Watch who have travelled to the Soviet Union in the past few years have met dozens of young and middle-aged people for whom religious belief and practice -- in many cases very ardent -- constitute an alternative, or second culture that, while not

always directly in opposition to Soviet official life, is completely independent of it. While outwardly conforming to Soviet institutions, and reluctant to become involved in open protest, many people carry on a form of silent protest in religious belief. Helsinki Watch representatives have found that not only are the traditional religions -- Russian Orthodoxy, Catholicism, and Judaism -- having an increasing appeal for young people, but religious cults such as Hare Krishna and Children of God, and Eastern sects such as Zen Buddhism and yoga have become surprisingly widespread. The latter, although imported from abroad, do not always resemble the cults as they are known in the West, but have been mixed with strains of Russian mysticism or integrated with the traditional faiths.

Faced with a widening interest in religion in the population, Soviet government agencies are keenly interested in suppressing and ultimately eradicating religious belief and practice. The Soviet government has spent vast resources on remolding citizens' minds about religion -- probably more so than with any other issue. The largest, most vigorous independent mass movements in the Soviet Union have always had a religious basis. The combination of religious faith and nationalism -- such as is the case with Lithuania, for example -- poses an immense threat to the Soviet Russian center, whose ideology is atheism. Forty-five million Soviets belong to Muslim nations within the USSR; their growth rate has been 45 percent over the last 10 years, as compared to 13

percent for Russians. We have only to look at the reports from the war in Afghanistan, where some Soviet Muslim conscripts have refused to fire on their fellow Muslims, the Afghan resistance fighters, to understand the absolute necessity, for the Soviet government, to destroy religious heritage and belief, particularly where they reinforce nationalism.

If we look at the record of persecution in the last five years, it is evident that religious leaders -- particularly when they are members of the non-Russian nationalities -- are singled out for the harshest persecution. The deaths under mysterious circumstances, or those which are known to be caused by the KGB, generally involve religious activists. Severe beatings on the street as well as in prison and in the army have been the norm for these activists, even to the point of mistreatment that has eventually led to death. Religious workers have faced repeated sentencing and lengthy terms, not to mention loss of jobs and access to education. Generally, it has only been religious believers who have been subjected to a particularly cruel form of punishment in the Soviet Union -- the forcible removal of children from the home for placement in state orphanages and the stripping of adults of their parental rights.

Some new developments of the last two years, in the period leading up to Gorbachev's coming to power and subsequently, have been the rise of cults like Hare Krishna and yoga, and the

ensuing brutal persecution of activists (at least 20 Hare Krishna activists are in prison), as well as the persistence of the Jewish emigration movement, with increased persecution of activists and a severe crackdown on those who teach the Hebrew language, viewed as a "Zionist" activity by the Soviet government (at least 20 Jewish refusenik leaders and Hebrew teachers are imprisoned). With the sharp reduction in Jewish emigration has come a concerted campaign by Soviet authorities to suppress Jewish culture. But many hundreds of refuseniks who continue to be denied permission to emigrate have only redoubled their efforts to assert their ethnic and religious heritage by holding religious ceremonies and attempting to study Hebrew. This has led to a wave of arrests, particularly of young, popular leaders with many associates. Arrests of Christians in the unregistered churches who refuse to give allegiance to the state -- Baptists, Pentecostals, Seventh-Day Adventists, Jehovahs' Witnesses -- have continued unabated in the last year, despite claims by Soviet propagandists that there are no political prisoners or persons arrested for their convictions in the USSR.

Soviet officials are eager to portray a country of active churches and religious freedom to Western religious visitors. On the one hand, it is true that churches permitted to operate by the state serve the majority of believers. In their practice of religion, the majority of believers are free from overt harassment. But it is because these churches have made

compromises and concessions that they exist: they rent their facilities from the state and are greatly restricted in new building projects; children cannot be educated in the church and proselytizing for new converts is forbidden; all leaders and literature must be approved by the state -- the churches do not own their own printing presses, and although they publish their own journals these are cleared through the censors. Printing of the Bible and the Koran is severely restricted and extremely inadequate to serve the numbers of believers. Most believers, understandably, prefer this limited freedom of expression of their religious belief over harassment, jail and ostracism from society. The minority of believers who do not want to compromise their conscience or who belong to denominations not recognized by the state, however, bear the full brunt of the Soviet state's program to eradicate religion.

One only has to look at the Soviet press treatment of religion to see the government's agenda, in contrast to pronouncements made to Western visitors. The Soviet press carries frequent exhortations to expand atheist education and overcome the "vestiges" of backward, reactionary "clericalism." Soviet humor magazines frequently caricature young people who attend church or wear crosses. More ominously, independent religious leaders are frequently pilloried in the Soviet press, charged with fabricated crimes, accused of immorality, financial exploitation, abusing the

health of innocent citizens with "peculiar" religious rites, etc. Press attacks often precede arrest or expulsion from the country.

During the month of Ramadan, a major Muslim feast, articles attacking Islam in the Central Asian press increased, with particular emphasis placed on exposing alleged "religious charlatans" in the region, which, shockingly, included many professed Communists. Pravda Vostoka quoted an official from the Institute of Scientific Atheism in May:

...in atheist education we would make wide use of the atheist possibilities of the moral, internationalist and aesthetic aspects of ideological-education work while simultaneously giving a decisive rebuff to alien views which run contrary to the socialist way of life. On the one hand we need to show the consistently humanistic character of scientific atheism -- on the other, to expose the falsity of the believers' view that only through religion may a person overcome suffering. The art of atheistic education lies in utilizing the reality of our life to bring believers to a correct materialist understanding.

A Soviet academic specializing in philosophy and religion wrote in Pravda before the 27th Party Congress:

The new Soviet festivals and rites are successfully countering religious traditions and feelings of cults, are limiting the influence of religion as a whole, and are restricting the channels for its rebirth among future generations. After all, socialist rites fulfill ideological, philosophical, political, moral, esthetic, and legal functions. They propagate the Soviet way of life and our people's revolutionary, combative, and labor traditions and also express public opinion and the mood of production collectives, social groups, and urban and rural inhabitants.

Religious rites can only be overcome by directly negating them, by criticizing them, and by demonstrating how untenable and even harmful they are. What is needed here is a system of new ritual forms capable of gradually displacing church festivals and rites from life without in any way offending believers' feelings.

The scholar's writing is mainly wishful thinking; if "socialist rites" really did express public opinion there would be no need to battle the "vestiges of religion" so vigorously. And unfortunately, the struggle against religion is not waged in academic debates "without offending believers," but with harsh brutality, as cases mentioned below from the last year illustrate.

One of the chief features of the KGB's campaign of repression since 1979 has been the forced, public recantation. In addition to the physical sufferings of imprisonment, the security forces impose the mental anguish of brainwashing in attempting to persuade individuals to denounce their activities, friends and beliefs. Under Gorbachev, as has become very evident, the techniques of propaganda and public relations have reached new levels of sophistication and appeal. Among the centerpieces of the new public relations campaign have been the "returning defectors" such as literary figure Oleg Bitov and Stalin's daughter Svetlana Allilueva, as well as the "reluctant defectors" such as Vitaly Yurchenko and several boys who served in Afghanistan. Distressingly, "repentant" religious believers have also increasingly been brought into play on television and in the press, and the number of "public confessions" has mounted in recent years.

There are several reasons for this: as the human rights movement developed in the 1960s and 1970s, many more people were

attracted, of varying degrees of preparation and commitment, and increasingly, of much younger age. And faced with a stronger, growing movement, in the 1970s the KGB began to retaliate with much more force. Many of the veterans of the early civil rights movement -- who had either gone through labor camp or whose parents had been in Stalin's gulag -- could withstand the pressure to recant or inform on others. But with the increased use of beating during imprisonment in the 1980s, and the use of lengthier prison terms, some younger, less experienced activists, particularly those with very young children, have given in to pressure from the KGB.

For the most part, the activists who have recanted in recent years have been religious believers, particularly of the Russian Orthodox faith. This is a testimony to the ruthlessness of the KGB, in its desire to prevent the largest, officially recognized church from acquiring any non-compliant leaders, and is designed to set an example to the mass membership of the church. Particularly disturbing is the subtlety of recent forced confessions. The individual is not required to totally renounce religious belief and embrace atheism, or admit to crimes he never committed. Rather, he is made to see that his "anti-Soviet" actions in fact went against his professed religious beliefs, and he would in fact be a better Christian, for example, if he refrained from such "damaging" activities in the future. In the last year, public confessions have not led to reduction in

sentences, so that many of those who have recanted are still being punished.

There may be a tendency to hush up these kind of confessions, especially when they involve informing on others who then suffer, in the belief that they are generally embarrassing to the human rights cause. But in fact, they should be publicized and the individuals involved deserve even greater support, because often what led them to give in was the belief that they had no outside support.

One such case is that of Sergei Markus, a 29-year-old historian and theology expert who was employed at the Kolomenskoye State History Museum before his arrest in January 1984. He was sentenced in July 1984 to three years of labor camp under Art. 190-1 for purportedly "disseminating anti-Soviet slander." In an appearance over Moscow television on January 4, 1986, after two years in prison, Markus stated:

At first I was convinced that I had been convicted for my faith, for my religious convictions. But after long and agonizing doubts and hesitations I reassessed the past and saw that that was not at all the case. I had not been convicted for my faith. In our country the state does not persecute believers, but all, atheists and believers, answer equally before the law for their activity which is against the law. I also understood the fact that my activity against the law harmed not just the state but the church, too. Where do the roots of my mistakes lie? Where are the sources of my crimes? A substantial role in this has been played both by foreign radio voices and anti-Soviet literature. The view of the country of the Soviets as the empire of evil is current amongst both ideologists of the [anti-Soviet] crusade and those who call themselves religious dissidents. But is this view correct? We cannot fail to recognize, nor can we do so without grief, that the West today is to a large extent de-Christianized, and moreover, dehumanized in many of its manifestations. As is obvious, there is no biblical basis for the concept of the crusade. Furthermore the problems of human rights which are put virtually into the forefront by

the West -- and the religious freedoms of man in particular -- provoke unprecedented tension in the dialogue with the East. I am convinced that we must all-- believers and non-believers...-find a new level of unity in the struggle for peace and for the rejection of the arms race... I do not want my name to be used in future in propaganda that is hostile to our country... I consider my action is not a defeat; it is a victory, a victory over myself through doubt and repentance...May those people who are sincerely mistaken and who are today drawn into the crusade, think about this...

Thus Mr. Markus was led to "understand" that his "crimes" -- which by his own admission consisted of heading an "illegal religious group" and arranging "copying and distribution of not only church literature, but also anti-Soviet literature," as well as contacting "subversive" religious centers abroad such as Keston College -- were part of a malicious Western-inspired campaign against the Soviet Union, and were tantamount to encouraging the unleashing of nuclear war. It is also clear from Markus' statement that foreign radio broadcasting and mailing of religious literature is successful, extremely important to religious believers in the USSR, and feared and hated by the Soviet regime. This accounts for the Soviet authorities' eagerness to portray foreign radio broadcasts, publications and religious organizations as the "root" of Markus' "crime" which forced him to stray from his true, Christian impulses.

One might well wonder what pressures, mental and physical, Markus was subjected to in the seventh months of pre-trial detention and subsequent imprisonment. But in a further twist, Soviet propagandists hastened to assure the West that concern over

a pressured confession was unwarranted. On March 21, the Soviet news agency TASS ran another statement from Markus disclaiming that his statement was made under pressure, as had been reported by the BBC, and endeavoring to explain why he had made such a turnaround in his views:

The "severest pressure" was exerted upon me not by the authorities, but by my own reflections. It was recognition of the acute nature of those global problems threatening to destroy contemporary civilization through the fault of the participants in the "crusade against socialism"...Detention in any country is not like staying at a health resort, but it has one unquestionable advantage -- an unlimited opportunity for meditation and self-analysis. None of those who were close to me will say that I was beaten up, hungry, stupefied, or frightened.

With the wave of recantations, some activists have now made declarations prior to arrest urging that any statements that they make while in Soviet custody which are contrary to their past beliefs should be disclaimed.

This cynical manipulation of religious believers does not need to be accompanied by physical mistreatment to be effective. But the fact that Soviet authorities require lengthy periods for "reflection" in confinement to "re-educate" religious believers, and the fact that confinement continues even after confessions, testify to the persistence of religious belief and the immense task of stamping it out.

The following cases represent only a sample of the numerous incidences of religious persecution in the Soviet Union. They are intended to illustrate the patterns of repression in the last two

years. Information was drawn from reports by Keston News College, USSR News Brief published in Munich, Prisoner Bulletin of the Evangelical Christian Baptists published in Elkhart, Illinois, and the Soviet press.

Baptists

- o Two young women, Lyudmilla Andryushchenko and Olga Kryuchkova, were arrested April 29, 1986, in Ordzhonikidze in the North Caucasus after they were found working on the latest issues of the Bulletin of the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives, one of the longest-standing rights monitoring groups in the USSR, founded in 1964. Lyudmilla is believed to be the daughter of an ex-political prisoner who has suffered constant discrimination while studying at a technical college and subsequently harassment at work. All the material for publication was confiscated by police, along with typewriters and tape recorders.
- o Pyotr Rumachik, 55, assistant pastor of an unregistered Evangelical Christian Baptist Church and vice president of the ECB Council of Churches, was arrested August 15, 1980, and sentenced to five years strict-regimen labor camp under Arts. 142-2, 190-1, and 227 for "anti-Soviet activity" and maintaining ties with "anti-Soviet elements" abroad. Although scheduled for release in August 1985, Pastor Rumachik was rearrested in labor camp for "saying that religious freedom does not exist in the Soviet Union and breaking labor camp regulations." He was tried February 7, 1986, in Chita and sentenced to an additional five years of strict-regimen labor camp. Pastor Rumachik previously served terms for religious activity from 1961-65; 1967-69; 1970-73; 1974-77. He suffers from heart disease. Criminal investigation has also been opened against his wife, Lyubov Rumachik, a leading member of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives. The couple has six children.
- o Valery Barinov, 42, a musician in a Christian rock band, was arrested in March 1984 and sentenced to two and a half years' standard-regimen labor camp on charges of allegedly attempting to leave the country. He suffered a heart attack in November 1984 and has staged repeated hunger strikes. In April 1986, Barinov was put in the internal labor camp punishment cell for 15 days after being found writing a letter addressed to Christians in the West. His term in the cell was extended an additional 15 days, but Barinov fell ill

with pneumonia during the third week of imprisonment and was placed in the camp hospital.

- o Vladimir and Andrei Filippov, father and son, Stanislav Chudakov and Veniamin Efremov were arrested in Leningrad in November 1985, a month after taking part in a prayer meeting in a forest outside the city. At the time, the police broke up the meeting without any resistance from the religious believers, but later they were charged with resisting arrest, and Vladimir Filippov was accused of striking a policeman. The trial of the four took place January 29, 1986, in Leningrad and the sentences were as follows: V. Filippov, four years strict-regimen labor camp; S. Chudakov, three and a half years standard-regimen labor camp; A. Filippov, three years labor camp; V. Efremov, two and a half years of compulsory labor.
- o Pavel Rytikov was arrested for the fourth time on January 30, 1986, while on a train from Novosibirsk to Tashkent. After his release from labor camp, he was placed under surveillance and warned twice of his activities, after which he went into hiding and he was placed on the police wanted list. Rytikov served eight years from the 1960s to 1980s for his religious activities. He has a wife and ten children.

Pentecostals

- o Aleksandr Stepanov of the town of Nakhodka, b. 1967, was sentenced to two years in 1985 for refusal to serve in the army. His brother, Pyotr Stepanov, b. 1962, was arrested for the second time in 1985 and sentenced to three years for resisting military service.

Jehovah's Witnesses

- o Five Jehovah's Witnesses were arrested in 1985 or 1986 for refusal to perform military service: S. Fishchukov, N. Get, V. Khrun, A. Lyaubakh, and A. Ventsel.
- o Yakov Gozhan, a leader of a group of Witnesses in the Moldavian town of Beltsy, was tried in June 1986 under Art. 143 ("infringement of the person and rights of citizens under the guise of performing religious rituals"). His sentence is not known, although the maximum penalty under that law is imprisonment or exile for five years. An attack against Gozhan in the newspaper Sovetskaya Moldaviya on June 27 attempted to discredit him and claimed that he urged his followers to refuse military service, abstain from voting in elections, refrain from reading newspapers and journals, and

avoid membership in official state organizations. Using The Watchtower, which the newspaper acknowledged that Gozhan received from the Brooklyn center of the Jehovah's Witnesses, Gozhan purportedly engaged in "anti-social propaganda." It was also noted that he listened to foreign radio broadcasts.

Russian Orthodox

- o Mikhail Bombin, 35, of Riga, is a leading activist in the independent peace movement in Latvia and a member of the Pokrovskoye Church choir. On November 13, 1984, he was detained on a train from Moscow after he spoke to a soldier and expressed his opinion that the war in Afghanistan should be stopped, and that it was a sin to take the military oath. He was searched and copies of the Herald of the Russian Christian Movement, published abroad in Russian, was confiscated, along with a prayer book and personal papers. In January 1985 he was summoned to the prosecutor's office and informed of case against him on charges of "anti-Soviet slander" for distributing religious and peace literature and making statements. The basement of his church was also searched, and copies of George Orwell's 1984 and Russian Orthodox journals, along with personal correspondence, were seized. On December 16, 1985, Bombin was sent for psychiatric examination in Riga, and subsequently sent to the Serbsky Institute in Moscow where he was found mentally fit to stand trial. He was released to return to Riga in March 1986 and was free awaiting trial as of July 1986.

- o Deacon Vladimir Rusak was arrested April 22, 1986, in Moscow and charged under Art. 70 with "anti-Soviet activity." His apartment was searched. His apartment had last been searched in 1983, where all his files and the most complete version of his book on the history of the Russian Orthodox Church were confiscated. After that search, Metropolitan Filaret of Moscow told him that he would no longer be permitted to serve in the church. In July 1983, Rusak wrote an open letter to the delegates to the VI Assembly of the World Council of Churches, critical of the Russian Orthodox leaders. In 1982, Rusak spoke publicly of the martyrs of the church killed after the Russian revolution, and was subsequently forbidden to perform services and sent into exile in a monastery. Rusak worked for a long time in the editorial offices of the Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate. He was a graduate of the Moscow Theology Academy and served with Archbishop Pitirim and then in parish cathedrals. His book was never published, although excerpts appeared in German translation in Switzerland.

- o Sergei Khodorovich, manager of the Russian Social Fund to Aid Political Prisoners and Their Families, was arrested in April 1983 and sentenced to three years labor camp. He was severely beaten in prison and his skull was injured. Although he was scheduled for release, Khodorovich was rearrested in labor camp in April 1986 and sentenced to an additional three years for alleged "malicious disobedience of labor camp authorities."
- o On June 4, 1986, Pavel Protsenko, 32, was arrested in Kiev in the apartment of a nun, Sister Serafima, and charged with "anti-Soviet slander." Protsenko, a graduate of the Gor'kiy Literary Institute in Moscow, worked as a librarian in the Kiev oblast library. In March 1986 he was detained at the train station in Moscow and searched under the pretext that he possessed narcotics. Although no drugs were found, a Bible, prayer book, cross, and manuscript on the persecution of Russian Orthodox believers in the USSR were confiscated. At the time of his arrest, Protsenko's wife, Irina Dyakova, and their two-year old daughter were in Moscow with his parents, where they had moved after the Chernobyl accident. Dyakova made a public appeal to international organizations on behalf of her husband, after which her mother in Kiev was summoned to the prosecutor's office and warned that her daughter would be arrested if she continued her protests.

Jews

- o Aleksei Magarik, a Hebrew teacher, was arrested on March 14, 1986, on trumped-up charges of drug possession. He was sentenced in June to three years standard-regimen labor camp.
- o Two Moscow Jewish activists, Pyotr Polonsky and Vladimir Dashevsky, were warned to stop conducting religious education. On May 30, Polonsky, a computer programmer, was called to the office of the Moscow Prosecutor and reprimanded for giving religious instruction in a side-room of the Moscow Synagogue. He was told that the synagogue could only be used for worship, not education. He was also accused of hosting religious seminars given by foreign visitors in his home, based on the fact that the visitors wore yarmulkes, and was warned that if he persisted in these activities he would be prosecuted under Art. 142. (separation of Church and state). Dashevsky, 49, was summoned to the Council for Religious Affairs on June 6 and was questioned in the presence of KGB agents. He was accused of violating a decree of 1929 forbidding religious instruction. Apparently, this incident was the first time that Jews have specifically been warned against giving religious instruction, rather than

Hebrew language classes.

- o Roald Zelichonok, a Hebrew teacher and refusenik, was arrested in 1985 and sentenced to three years standard-regimen labor camp. Recently his wife, Galina, along with Anna Lifshitz, wife of Jewish prisoner of conscience Vladimir Lifshitz, also sentenced to three years, in March 1986, appealed to the International Red Cross to save their husband's lives. Zelichonok is suffering from extensive damage to his kidneys, hypertension and lameness. Galina wrote that "a further stay in the labor camp is identical to passing a death sentence on him."
- o Leonid Volvovsky, 44, a religious and Hebrew teacher and refusenik from Gorky, was arrested in June 1986 following an apartment search in which religious literature was confiscated. Volvovsky and his wife have been the objects of anti-Semitic attacks in the Soviet press and by unknown persons who have written slogans on their door. Volvovsky was sentenced in October 1985 to three years standard-regimen labor camp. His wife, Ludmilla, who is active in his defense, has also been threatened with arrest.
- o In May 1986, Odessa refusenik Aleksandr Kushnir was summoned to the KGB and urged to publicly denounce the foreign tourists who visited him as "agents of Zionism." He refused. Recently, it was reported that Kushnir has been granted permission to leave the Soviet Union.
- o Yuly Edelshtein, 28, Hebrew teacher and refusenik, was arrested in Septembert 1984, tried in December 1984 and sentenced to three years standard-regimen labor camp. In January 1986, while working near the labor camp, Edelshtein fell from a high ladder and suffered numerous and serious bone fractures and damage to the urethra. He did not receive medical help for 10 days after the accident; the camp doctor refused to operate because an anesthesiologist could not be found nearby. He was then transferred to a regular hospital in Ulan-Ude (i.e., not for prisoners), where doctors said he could not be operated on for six to eight months, during which he will remain in the hospital. His wife, Tatyana, was granted only a 20-minute visit with her husband; although Edelshtein is not in a camp hospital, he is apparently under guard.

Roman Catholic

- o Rev. Juozas Zdebskis, 56, a prominent Catholic priest in Lithuania, was killed in a car accident on February 6 that is

believed to have been instigated by the KGB. Fr. Zdebskis was one of five founding members of the unofficial Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights, which announced its existence in Moscow in 1978. The group was forced underground in 1983 following the arrests of two of its charter members and repeated threats by Soviet authorities against the rest.

The April 1986 issue of the unofficial Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania claims that the collision in which Fr. Zdebskis was killed was deliberately planned. Over the years, Fr. Zdebskis has repeatedly been threatened and has been the victim of what appears to be several attacks on his life. On the day of his death, his phone was disconnected. A report on the crash was broadcast over state television, in itself perceived to be a suspicious circumstance. Three other passengers died in the collision; and one who survived gave contradictory accounts of the accident and upon his release, wrote a letter to a local paper praising "friendship between Soviet nations" and thanking those who saved his life. Fr. Zdebskis was particularly remembered for his work with an unofficial Catholic youth organization, "Friends of the Eucharist," and for producing samizdat religious booklets. Over 100 priests and two bishops attended his funeral, along with throngs of young people.

Other Lithuanian priests have been killed or threatened in recent years. In November 1981, another priest in the Committee, Fr. Bronius Laurinavicius, was killed in car accident also suspected to have been arranged by the KGB. Clergymen in the Committee have suffered both physical assaults and press attacks. In 1985, Fr. Vaclovas Stakenas of the Committee survived an attack which bore strong resemblance to the methods employed in the murder of the popular Polish priest Fr. Jerzy Popieluszko.

- o KGB agents in Lithuania interrogated a number of persons concerning former political prisoner Ludvikas Simutis. Those interrogated were urged to convince Simutis to cease his cooperation with the Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania. The KGB attempted to recruit a young artist, Romas Smailis, as an informer against Simutis, but he refused. Soon afterwards, Smailis in a suspicious car accident involving a police vehicle.
- o Kirill Popov of Moscow, 32, a chemist and well-known human rights activist, was arrested in June 1985 and sentenced in April 1986 to six years strict-regimen labor camp and five

years exile. Popov, a Catholic, gathered material for the human rights Bulletin V, was active in supporting peace and religious activists of all faiths and aiding political prisoners and their families.

Ukrainian Eastern-Rite Catholic (Uniates)

- o Iosif Terelya, 43, a worker, is the founder of the Initiative Group for the Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church and has been active in seeking the legalization of the Uniate Church in the Ukraine, banned in the 1940s. Terelya was arrested in February 1985 and sentenced to seven years labor camp and five years exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". Terelya's wife, Olena, who is caring for their three young children, has been informed that she will only be able to work at half salary, and is being forced out of her apartment.

Hare Krishna

- o Hare Krishna adherents Grigory Azizyan, Teimuraz Bagishvili and Valentin Yaroshchuk were interned in psychiatric hospital in 1985.
- o Aleksei Baida, 32, a television repairman, was arrested in October 1984 and sentenced to four or five years standard-regimen labor camp in June 1985 on charges of translating and duplicating the sect's literature. Baida's arrest came after a raid of 9 homes of Hare Krishna members in the village of Kurdzhinovo in the Karachayevo-Cherkesskaya Autonomous Region of Stavropol Territory. The police confiscated Hare Krishna literature, incense, pictures, officially published Soviet books about India, etc. Baida was beaten upon arrest.
- o Olga Kiselyova, a 37-year-old philologist with two small daughters, worked in the Institute of Eastern Studies in Moscow and was a specialist on the literature of Thailand. She was arrested in August 1983 despite the fact that she was pregnant with her third child. She was tried in February 1984 and sentenced to four years standard-regimen labor camp, shortly after which she gave birth to a daughter, who was born in labor camp with a heart condition and survived only 11 months.

Muslims

Abuzakar Rakhimov was arrested for the second time in the summer of 1982 for circulating a booklet entitled "About Islamic Truth." He was tried in September 1982 and sentenced to seven years strict-regimen labor camp on charges of speculation. At least three others were arrested for distributing the booklet at the same time: Yeldash Mukhammedov, Makhmudzhon Roziyev (four years labor camp) and A. Saidkharikhodzhayev.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much, Ms. Fitzpatrick, for your statement, as well as your observations and your recommendations.

And, now, I would like to call on our next witness, Mr. Nikita Moravsky. Please, go ahead with your statement, sir.

STATEMENT OF NIKITA MORAVSKY, FORMER DEPUTY CHIEF, U.S.S.R. DIVISION, VOICE OF AMERICA, AND PROFESSOR OF RUSSIAN CULTURE AT GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

Mr. MORAVSKY. I would like to preface my statement by a few words about myself, so that my presentation will acquire an additional clarity.

I am of Russian background. I am a Russian-American. I served in the U.S. Government for over 25 years, including a stint as a cultural attaché at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. I have native fluency in Russian, and as you mentioned earlier, I was a professor of Russian culture at George Washington University.

My presentation consists of several themes. The first one is a very brief mention or discussion of Soviet communism's philosophy regarding religion. The second one will deal with certain Soviet laws regulating religious life in the Soviet Union, and the third one will highlight a few events in the history of the Russian Orthodox Church during the Soviet period.

Vladimir Lenin, the leader and chief ideologue of the Soviet Communist Party, and the founder of the Soviet state, had a very negative view of religion and a very clear one. "Religion," he said, "is the opium for the people. Religion is a sort of spiritual moonshine, in which the slaves of capital drown their human image, their demand for a life more or less worthy of man."

Shortly after Lenin came to power, some of his views on religion and his views on the church were translated into his government's legislation and policies. Thus, in January 1918, the Soviet Government promulgated a decree depriving the Orthodox Church and other churches of the right of a legal entity, nationalizing all church property and restricting religious education.

In 1929, a set of regulations known as the Law on Religious Associations, was passed by all Soviet Republics. According to this law, which is enforced today in an amended form, no religious group can exist legally without the approval of the Council for Religious Affairs, a cabinet-level body of the central government.

But if the Council for Religious Affairs refuses to register a religious group, the latter has no further legal recourse. The Council is also empowered to withdraw registration from a legally functioning religious group.

In the context of Soviet religious legislation, I would also like to mention article 52 of the Soviet Constitution, the fundamental law of the land. According to this article, Soviet citizens have the right to religious worship, but are denied the right to proselytize outside church walls. Proselytism, however, is not the only outlawed church function. Outlawed as well are a number of educational, social, and charitable church activities. Thus, according to article 17 of the law on religious associations, religious communities cannot operate parochial or Sunday schools, or set up courses for

children and adults, or sponsor recreational projects or open libraries and reading rooms, or run cooperative and mutual aid societies.

Now, I would like to highlight briefly a few episodes in the history of state/church relations in the U.S.S.R. Soon after coming to power in 1917, the Soviet regime imprisoned or, at times, even executed some clerics. It also closed some churches and theological schools and helped to undermine the church from within.

Trying to save the remnants of the Russian Orthodox Church, its head, Metropolitan Sergii Stragorodsky, proclaimed in 1927 the church's unconditional support of the Soviet regime, but this capitulation did not spare the church, for in his drive to consolidate his power base, the Soviet leader of the time, Joseph Stalin, was determined to crush all potential opposition, including the Orthodox Church.

As a result, the church was treated very harshly prior to the Nazi invasion of the U.S.S.R. The Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941 altered Soviet religious policy dramatically. Seeking to rally the country's population under the banner of patriotism and national salvation, Stalin engaged the church in his defense and propaganda effort. In exchange for that, he permitted the convening of a church council and the reopening of a number of churches, seminaries, and theological academies.

In return for the Government's concessions, the church was asked to promote Soviet interests at home and abroad. Since that time, Soviet churchmen have become vigorous and effective apologists for Soviet internal and external policies at international religious forums.

The church/state détente, so to speak, inaugurated during World War II lasted until the late fifties, when Stalin's successor, Nikita Khrushchev, cracked down on religion in an attempt to revive the ideological fervor of communism. Khrushchev's antireligious campaign resulted in the powerful propaganda drive and the closure of some 10,000 Orthodox churches and several seminaries and, through pressures on the church hierarchy, in a severe limitation of the prerogatives of parish priests.

The 1960's and 1970's saw the emergence of orthodox dissidence, in part in response to Khrushchev's antireligious policies. And one of the best known Orthodox dissidents is the 52-year-old priest, Father Gleb Yakunin.

In 1976, inspired by the Helsinki Agreement on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Father Yakunin cofounded the ecumenically oriented Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights in the U.S.S.R. Since the Helsinki Accords, among whose signatories was the Soviet Union, pledged to recognize and respect religious rights, the main objective of Yakunin's committee was to monitor Soviet compliance with that pledge.

Over a period of 3 years, the committee produced in excess of 400 documents detailing cases of religious persecution in the U.S.S.R. In September 1980, Father Yakunin was sentenced to 5 years in a labor camp and 5 years of internal exile on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.

Another Orthodox dissident is Irina Ratushinskaya, age 32, physics teacher and poet. Ratushinskaya was sentenced in March 1983 to 7 years in a labor camp, plus 5 years of internal exile, for writ-

ing and disseminating her poetry. She has become a cause celebre among American and European writers whose reaction to her continued incarceration was recently reported in the Washington Post.

"Writers in New York, Paris and Chicago," wrote the paper, "gathered in front of Soviet missions Friday to protest the imprisonment of Russian poet Irina Ratushinskaya. The Pen American Center, organizer of the New York protest, is calling for the poet's release because of serious health complications involving kidney ailment, inflamed ovaries, heart problems and alarmingly high blood pressure."

Some other Orthodox prisoners of conscience are listed in my written statement submitted to the subcommittee.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Moravsky follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF NIKITA MORAVKSY

My presentation consists of several theses. The first of these is a brief discussion of Soviet Communism's philosophy regarding religion. This will be followed by a description of some Soviet laws regulating religious life within that country. Then I will highlight a few events in the history of the Russian Orthodox Church during the Soviet period.

The Russian Orthodox Church is still the largest religious body in the USSR. According to unofficial estimates, the number of Orthodox Christians in that country is somewhere between thirty to fifty million. In addition to that, Russian Orthodoxy, which will be celebrating its millenium in 1988, has had a powerful impact on Russian history and culture. Even today, if you find yourself in the Soviet Union, searching for uniquely Russian architecture, you will have to turn to Orthodox churches. If you are looking for ancient and uniquely Russian art forms, you will find them in icons, crosses, church murals and utensils. The musical expression of Orthodoxy -- the a cappella singing of church choirs -- is reflected in the works of a number of famous Russian composers. Orthodoxy is also very much a part of Russian literature at various stages of its development, including the Soviet period. In fact, the first Soviet writer to win the Nobel Prize for Literature was an Orthodox Christian. This was Boris Pasternek, best known in this country for his novel, Doctor Zhivago. Another Soviet writer, Vladimir Soloukhin, who is a member in good standing in the Soviet literary establishment, is the author of a book with strong religious overtones, clearly reflected in its title, Searching for Icons in Russia. In a different cultural medium -- the motion pictures -- a

talented Soviet film director, Andrei Tarkovsky, who recently decided not to return to the Soviet Union, produced, some years ago, the film Andrei Rublev, dedicated to the great Russian icon-painter of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Rublev's icons and those of other ancient masters serve as an inspiration to a well-known contemporary Soviet artist, Il'ia Glazunov. Even in such mundane things as foods, Orthodoxy has left its mark. To this day, the traditional Easter bread called kulich and a cheesecake, called paskha, are still in great demand in the USSR. The language -- modern Russian, written and spoken -- is replete with religiously-colored words and expressions. In short, besides being a religion and a Church, Orthodoxy was and still is, to a great extent, an organic part of Russian cultural identity.

After saying a few words about State-Church relations in the USSR, I will mention the emergence of Russian Orthodox dissent and will conclude with a thumb-nail sketch of several Orthodox prisoners of conscience.

Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924), the leader and chief ideologue of the Soviet Communist Party and the founder of the Soviet state, had strong and definite views on religion. His theory of religion involves two basic assumptions: the first assumption is that religion is generated in the modern world by human insecurity and fear of the uncontrollable forces of capitalism. "The deepest root of religion today," Lenin

wrote, "is the socially downtrodden condition of the working masses and their apparently complete helplessness in (the) face of the blind forces of capitalism, which every day and every hour inflicts upon ordinary working people the most horrible suffering and the most savage torment..." Lenin's second assumption is that religion is a tool of the exploiting classes, an "opium" that lulls the exploited masses into accepting their bondage. "Religion," he said, "is (the) opium for the people. Religion is a sort of spiritual booze, in which the slaves of capital drown their human image, their demand for a life more or less worthy of man."

Lenin's criticism of religion extended, naturally, to the latter's practitioners and disseminators, i.e., to the Church and the clergy. He reserved his harshest criticism for the Russian Orthodox Church, because of its deeply-rooted historical and cultural ties to the country which he intended to turn into an anti-traditionalist and anti-religious society.

Shortly after Lenin's political party came to power, some of his views on religion were translated into his government's legislation and policies. On January 23, 1918, the Soviet Government promulgated the decree on the Separation of the Church from the State and of the School from the Church. The decree deprived the Church of the rights of a legal entity, nationalized all Church property, and restricted religious education; henceforth, religious instruction could only be offered privately.

The Decree of January 23, 1918, provides us with a Soviet definition of the term "separation of Church and State." And that definition means

something quite different from what we are used to. In this country, "the separation of Church and State" means that the State does not favor any particular religion and recognizes the independence of all religious groups. In the Soviet Union, as demonstrated by the Decree of January 1918, the term "separation of Church and State" signifies the denial of property rights to and the imposition of other restrictions on religious bodies.

In April 1929, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic adopted the Law on Religious Associations, which was soon used as a model for similar laws in other Soviet Republics. This law, in an amended form, is in force today. According to this law, no Church or Religious group can exist legally without the approval of the Council for Religious Affairs (CRA) of the USSR Council of Ministers. To win that approval a group of at least twenty believers, called the dvadtsatka, has to send a petition to the local authorities requesting the opening of a church. Then, the local authorities send the petition with their evaluation to the authorities of the appropriate Republic or Region. They in turn submit the petition with their recommendations to the Council for Religious Affairs. If the Council for Religious Affairs refuses to register a religious group, the latter has no legal recourse. The Council for Religious Affairs is also empowered to withdraw registration from a legally functioning religious group.

Now, let us turn for a moment to the Constitution or the Fundamental Law of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, adopted at the Seventh Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, on October 7, 1977. According to article 52 of that document, Soviet citizens have the right

to "conduct religious worship" but their right to "conduct atheistic propoganda" is not matched by the right to conduct religious propoganda. In other words, believers cannot engage in missionary work or in any other form of proselytism.

Not only is proselytism outlawed, so, too, are a number of educational, social and charitable activities. Thus, on the basis of article 17 of the Law on Religious Associations, a church or a religious community cannot operate parochial or Sunday schools, or set up courses for children and adults, or sponsor recreational projects, or open libraries and reading rooms, or run mutual-aid societies, cooperatives and production associations. They are also forbidden to render material aid to their members.

Unlike other Soviet public organizations, religious groups cannot inherit funds or property. They are allowed to use church or prayer buildings by contractual agreement with the local authorities, with a proviso that all church property, including objects, donated by parishioners, belongs to the State.

Some other provisions of the Law on Religious Associations state that the authorities have the right to remove duly elected members from the executive bodies of religious groups; that a registered religious group should elect its executive body only by an open ballot; that, in order to hold a general assembly of its members, except for regular worship services within the confines of a church, a religious society has to obtain special permission; likewise, special permission has to be obtained for congresses and conferences of religious societies on a local or inter-regional level; that outdoor processions or gatherings,

apart from funerals, cannot take place without an official authorization.

Now, I would like to focus briefly on some events reflecting the history of State-Church relations in the USSR. Soon after coming to power in 1917, the Soviet regime exiled, imprisoned or executed a number of clerics on various pretexts, and at one point it temporarily incarcerated the head of the Church himself. The regime also succeeded, to a great extent, in undermining the Church from within by provoking a Church schism.

Trying to save the remnants of his Church, Metropolitan Sergii Stragorodsky (died 1944) issued a proclamation, in 1927, in which he stated the Church's unconditional support of the Soviet regime and demanded that all members of the clergy and laity express their allegiance to the Soviet authorities. This capitulation, however, did not spare the Church in the late twenties and early thirties. In his relentless drive to collectivize agriculture, to industrialize the country and to consolidate his political power base, Joseph Stalin (1879-1953), Lenin's successor as the head of the State and Communist Party, was determined to crush all potential opposition. As a result, the period between the early thirties and the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941 witnessed a mass closure of churches and their frequent demolition. New arrests and imprisonments of clerics, along with the absence of theological schools, which had been closed by the Government, greatly depleted the clergy's ranks.

With the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, the fortunes of the Church took a sudden and positive turn. Seeking to rally all

elements of the population under the banners of patriotism and national salvation, Stalin engaged the Church in his defense and propaganda effort. He permitted the convening of a Church Council, which elected Metropolitan Sergii as Patriarch, the reopening of some churches, seminaries and theological academies. In return for these concessions, the Church was pressured into denying religious persecution in the Soviet Union and actively promoting Soviet interests abroad. And that it continues to do.

The Church-State coexistence lasted until the late 1950's, when Stalin's successor, Nikita Khrushchev (1894-1971), cracked down on religion in an attempt to revive the ideological fervor of Communism. Khrushchev's anti-religious campaign brought about the closure of 10,000 churches and several seminaries, a powerful anti-religious propaganda drive and, through pressures on the Church hierarchy, a drastic limitation of the prerogatives of the parish pastor. This latter measure deprived the priest of a leadership role in a religious community and reduced him, in effect, to the role of a hired hand responsible basically for the performance of religious rites.

Since Khrushchev's downfall in October 1964, the situation has remained more or less unchanged. This does not signal, however, any basic changes in Government's and the Communist Party's philosophy and religious policies.

At this juncture I would like to say a few words about Russian Orthodox dissent. It emerged in the early 1960's, primarily in response to Khrushchev's anti-religious policies. This protest basically took the form of unofficial writings in the defense of faith. Since then

this literature, known as samizdat, a Russian acronym meaning self-published material, has grown and includes essays on religion, philosophical and political topics, research papers on the history of the Orthodox Church in the Soviet period, literary works and poems inspired by religious themes, rebuttals of atheist attacks on religion, commentaries on Soviet anti-religious campaigns, documents on the status of religion in the USSR, collective and individual protest letters, petitions, etc.

One of the early Orthodox and human rights activists is Father Gleb Yakunin. Yakunin is 52 years old, married and the father of three children. Yakunin was ordained at the height of Khrushchev's anti-religious campaign. In 1965, jointly with another priest, he wrote two open letters, one of which was addressed to the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Nikolai Podgorny, and the other to the Head of the Church, Patriarch Aleksii (1877-1970). In their letter to Podgorny the two priests complained about restrictions imposed on religious life in violation of Soviet laws. In their letter to the Patriarch, the two priests reproached him for acquiescing to unlawful restrictions on the Church and believers. In both cases the priests backed up their allegations with evidence, collected by them as practicing clerics, and challenged the recipients of these letters to disprove their allegations. No denial of their contentions followed, but the two priests were forbidden to perform their sacerdotal duties.

In 1975, Father Yakunin, together with a lay Orthodox Christian, wrote to the delegates of the World Council of Churches' Fifth Assembly in Nairobi, Kenya. They described the pressures on religious believers

in the USSR and pleaded for practical support from Christians of other countries.

In 1976, inspired by the Helsinki Agreement on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Father Yakunin co-founded the ecumenically-oriented Christian Committee for the Defense of Believer's Rights in the USSR. Since the Helsinki Accords, among whose signatories was the Soviet Union, pledged to recognize and respect religious rights, the main objective of Yakunin's Committee was to monitor Soviet compliance with that pledge. As a result of its monitoring, the Committee produced, over a period of three years, more than 400 documents detailing cases of religious persecution in the Soviet Union.

Father Yakunin's association with the Christian Committee was, apparently, the immediate cause for his arrest in November 1979. The following September he was sentenced to five years in a labor camp and five years of internal exile on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

In April of 1983, another Orthodox activist, a woman by the name of Zoya Krakhaalnikova, 54 years old, was sentenced to one year in prison and five years of internal exile. Zoya Krakhaalnikova is a writer and literary critic, who started publishing, in 1976, a samizdat anthology of religious writings called Nadezhda or The Hope.

Zoya Krakhaalnikov's sentencing coincided with the arrest of Sergei Khodorovich, the administrator of the Russian Social Fund, founded by Alexander Sozhenitsyn to aid families of Soviet prisoners of conscience. Only days before his scheduled release on April 7, 1986, Khodorovich was re-arrested, presumably under Article 188-3. This article of the RSFSR

Criminal Code, enacted on October 1, 1983, empowers prison camp officials to re-sentence prisoners from one to five years for what is loosely defined as "malicious disobedience" to prison officials. Sergei Khodorovich is only the most recent prisoner to be re-arrested under this new law. In January 1986, 35-year old Russian Orthodox Christian Alexander Ogorodnikov, was re-arrested in camp at the end of his six-year sentence, before he was to begin serving five years in internal exile. Ogorodnikov was a founding member of a "Christian seminar" in Moscow, an informal study and discussion group for new Christians. He was first arrested in 1978, served a one-year sentence and then was re-arrested and re-sentenced in 1980 to his present term. The length of his new sentence is not yet known.

Another Orthodox Christian, Vladimir Poreash, a member of a "Christian seminar" in Leningrad, was also re-arrested in prison camp under Article 188-3 in 1984, one day before his expected release after serving a five-year sentence. Poreash is now serving an additional three-year sentence.

Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924), the leader and chief ideologue of the Soviet Communist Party and the founder of the Soviet State, had a very negative view of religion. "Religion," he said, "is the opium for the people. Religion is a sort of spiritual booze (moonshine), in which the slaves of capital drown their human image, their demand for a life more or less worthy of man." (unquote).

Shortly after Lenin came to power, some of ^{his} views on religion and the Church were translated into his government's legislation and policies. Thus, in January 1918, the Soviet Government promulgated a decree depriving the Church of the rights of a legal entity, nationalizing all Church property, and restricting religious education; ~~the latter~~ ^{OPT-} this law ^{is} called ~~officially~~ the decree on the Separation of the Church from the State and of the School from the Church - END OPT

In 1929 a set of regulations, known as the Law on Religious Associations, was passed by all Soviet republics. According to this Law, which is in force in an amended form, no religious group can exist legally without the approval of the Council for Religious Affairs (CRA), ^{a cabinet-level} ~~the latter~~ body of the ~~Soviet~~ Federal Government. ^{Central} But if the Council for Religious Affairs refuses to register a ^{the latter} religious group, ~~it has no further legal~~ recourse. The Council is also empowered to withdraw registration from a legally-functioning religious group (or community).

In the context of Soviet religious legislation, I would ^{also} like to mention ^{article} 52 of the Soviet Constitution. According to this article, Soviet citizens have the right to (quote) "religious worship" but are denied the right to proselytize ^{outside} Church walls. ^{however,} ~~but~~ proselytism is not the only outlawed Church function; outlawed, as well, are a number of educational, social and charitable ^{Church} activities. Thus, according to article 17 of the Law on Religious Associations, religious communities cannot operate parochial or Sunday schools, or set up courses for children and adults, ^{cooperatives} or sponsor recreational projects, or open libraries and reading rooms, or run ^{mutual-aid} societies.

~~Now, I would like to highlight the role of the Church in the history of State Church relations~~

at this juncture,

(Now) I would like to highlight a few episodes in the history of State-Church relations in the USSR. Soon after coming to power in 1917, the Soviet regime imprisoned or, ^{at times} sometimes, even executed ^{some} clerics, on various pretexts. It also closed some churches and theological schools and helped to undermine the ~~Church~~ ^{the Russian Orthodox} from within. Trying to save the remnants of ~~the~~ Church, its head, Metropolitan Sergii Stragorodsky (died in 1944) proclaimed, in 1927, the Church's ^{unconditional} support of the Soviet regime, ~~and demanded that~~ ^{that} the clergy and laity pledge their allegiance to the authorities. ^{Church} But this capitulation did not spare the ~~Church~~ ^{base} in the subsequent period, for in his drive to consolidate his power, the ^{Soviet} leader of the time, Joseph Stalin (1879-1953), was determined to crush all potential opposition, including ~~the~~ Orthodox Church. As a result, ^{prior} before the Nazi invasion of the USSR, ^{treated very harshly} the Church was subjected to extremely harsh treatment.

The Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941 ^{dramatically} altered Soviet religious policy. Seeking to rally the country's population under the banners of ^{patriotism} and national salvation, Stalin engaged ~~the~~ the Church in his defense and propaganda effort. In exchange for that, he permitted the convening of a Church Council, and the reopening of a number of churches, seminaries and theological ^C academies. In return for the Government's concessions, the Church was asked to ~~actively~~ promote Soviet interests at home and abroad. Since that time, Soviet churchmen have become vigorous and effective apologists for Soviet internal and external ^{policies} at international religious forums.

The Church-State détente, inaugurated during World War II, lasted until the late 1950's, when Stalin's successor, Nikita Khrushchev (1894-1971), cracked down on religion in an ^{attempt} to revive the ideological fervor of Communism. Khrushchev's anti-religious campaign resulted in a powerful propaganda drive, in the closure of 10,000 ^{Orthodox} churches and several seminaries, and, through pressures on the Church hierarchy, in a severe limitation of the ^(pastor) prerogatives of the parish priest.

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The 1960's and '70's saw the emergence of Orthodox dissent. One of the best-known Orthodox dissidents is the 52-year-old priest, Father Gleb Yakunin. In 1976, inspired by the Helsinki ~~Agreement~~ Agreement on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Father Yakunin co-founded the ecumenically-oriented Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights in the USSR. Since the Helsinki Accords, ~~among~~ among whose signatories was the Soviet Union, pledged to recognize and respect religious rights, the ~~main~~ main objective of Yakunin's Committee was to monitor Soviet compliance with that pledge. Over a period of three years, the Committee produced in excess of 400 documents detailing cases of religious persecution in the USSR.

In September 1980 Father Yakunin was sentenced to five years in a ~~labor~~ labor camp and five years ^{of} internal exile on charges of (quote) "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

Another Orthodox dissident is Irina Ratushinskaya, age 32, physics teacher, and ~~poet~~ poet. Ratushinskaya was sentenced in March 1983 to seven years in a labor camp plus five years of internal exile for (quote) ^{writing} "manufacturing and disseminating" her poetry. She has become a cause célèbre among American and European writers, whose reaction to ~~her~~ her continued incarceration was recently reported by Moira Mulligan in ~~The Washington Post~~ ^{the paper} The Washington Post (5/6/86, p. C3). "Writers in New York, Paris and Chicago," wrote ~~Mulligan~~ Mulligan, "gathered in front of Soviet missions ~~Friday~~ Friday to protest the imprisonment of Russian poet Irina Ratushinskaya. The PEN American ~~Center~~ Center, organizer of the New York protest, is calling for the poet's release because of serious health complications, involving a kidney ailment, inflamed ovaries, ~~heart~~ heart problems and "alarmingly high blood pressure."

Some other ~~Orthodox~~ Orthodox prisoners of conscience are listed in my written statement submitted to the Subcommittees.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much for your excellent statement, Mr. Moravsky.

Our next witness is Rev. Ernest Gordon. We look forward to hearing your statement, sir.

STATEMENT OF REV. ERNEST GORDON, PRESIDENT, CHRISTIAN RESCUE EFFORT FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF DISSIDENTS [CREED]

Reverend GORDON. Thank you very much, sir.

The persecution of religious leaders in the Soviet Union has been a matter of policy ever since the aftermath of the Russian Revolution. The Russian Orthodox Church as a traditional and dominating religious organization in the prerevolutionary period, suffered greatly during the first phase of persecution.

By the middle 1930's, about 90 percent of its church buildings, monasteries, convents, seminaries, and hierarchical structures had been destroyed, and along with them many thousands of bishops, priests, members of the church council, and loyal parishioners.

The meaning of the much-wanted clause in the constitution, namely article 52, dealing with the freedom of religion and atheism, was clearly defined in 1929, as we have just heard, by introduction of the Law on Religious Associations. It was a negative definition in the sense that it defined what was not permitted, and as you have just heard, very little was and is permitted.

In 1975, the law of 1929 was revised and the power of control transferred officially from the local soviet to the Council of Religious Affairs in Moscow. From the early 1930's on, religious persecution became a general principle of Stalin's policy and included every form of religious expression. The first 5-year plan of 1933 for the expansion of industry and the collectivization of agriculture, went hand in hand with the increase and intensification of religious persecution.

When the German armies crossed the Soviet borders in 1941, they came to liberate the Russian people, according to German propaganda, and that, indeed, did happen in German-occupied areas. It was Metropolitan Sergei of Moscow who counteracted this propaganda by calling upon the Russian people to fight for their fatherland.

During the war, the restraints on religious exercises were eased and Metropolitan Sergei was elevated to the patriarchate in 1943. Shortly after that, the two councils were appointed to monitor and control all religious activities. One council dealt with matters pertaining to the Russian Orthodox Church and the other with matters pertaining to the other denominations.

Both of those councils were united to form the present Council for Religious Affairs, which controls the religious activities of these various religious groups in the Soviet Union.

To offset the increase of religion that took place during World War II, the central committee of the Communist Party initiated the Society for the Propaganda of Political and Scientific Knowledge in May 1947. The task of this society was to propagate atheism and thereby negate the influence of religion.

When Nikita Khrushchev succeeded Stalin, he not only continued but he intensified this antireligious policy. Thus, the years 1959 to 1964 were years of acute and intense persecution. The admission of the Russian Orthodox Church to the World Council of Churches in 1961 suggests that the Soviet Union was not only determined to control religious activities, but to use them for propaganda purposes.

Yuri Andropov, as head of the KGB, engaged in an active policy of persecution, particularly of outspoken believers. He did this when he was head of the KGB and, of course, continued with it during his period of leadership. His brief term as head of the Soviet Union was marked by a revision of the criminal code to ensure the most severe penalties for so-called religious dissidents.

The most infamous of these laws is article 188-3, which allows prison commandants to resentence imprisoned believers without trial for "malicious disobedience." The burden of persecution in the past decade seems to be borne by those who have the ability to communicate their faith effectively to others, such as writers, pastors, outspoken priests, leaders of Christian seminars, Helsinki Watch Committees, the Committee for the Defense of Believers Rights, the Russian Social Fund, the Council of Prisoners' Relatives, writers of samizdat literature, and underground printers of Bibles.

And, so, this policy of persecution continues, and as we have heard earlier in the evidence that has been given, it will continue to maintain that policy of persecution. The ideology of the state which is state atheism, controls the laws and controls every social expression.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Reverend Gordon follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF REV. ERNEST GORDON, PRESIDENT, CREED

A popular misconception, which still harbors in the memories of newscasters, is that Lenin initiated a revolution against the Tsar, and the authoritarian monarchy he represented. This is contrary to the facts of history. Lenin did not overthrow the Tsar. The Tsar abdicated in February 1917. He had made the mistake of assuming the supreme command of the Russian military forces. The Russian Army, however, was being defeated drastically by the better equipped and better led German forces. The failure of the Russian armies was thus the responsibility of the Tsar. A mood of revolt had been in the atmosphere ever since the attempted revolution of 1905. Thus, at the time of the Tsar's abdication, a series of popular riots in Petrograd indicated to the Tsar's advisors that Tsardom was finished. Its demise had been coming for some time, and its existence as a symbol of absolute power had weakened ever since the abolition of serfdom in 1861.

The Tsar was replaced by a democratic government which lacked the support of a large, well-educated middle class. The transition from a feudal system to a democratic one required a lengthy period. This was the essential quality of which Kerensky's provisional government was deprived. Lenin returned from exile to Petrograd, under the sponsorship of the German High Command, on April the 16th, 1917. It was then that he made his strategy of revolution in an outline known as the April Theses. His evaluation of the confused Russian political scene had already been written in a letter of March 20th, 1917. It was upon this evaluation that his strategy was based.

Technically a revolution of the kind advocated by Marx was impossible

in a technologically backward and agrarian country such as Russia. Although Lenin classified the predominant majority of Russians as "little capitalists" because they were peasants and not factory workers, he nevertheless had to seek their support. In his appreciation he realized that the popular mood was not so much political as practical. The demand was for an end to a greatly destructive war, for bread, money and land. This he realized had to be done by propaganda and terror. Thus, the basic dialectic essential for revolution had to be defined as that of the propertyless peasants revolting against the prosperous peasants who owned land and bank accounts.

The dialectic of class struggle was, of course, essential to Lenin's strategic plan. This plan included the revolt of the proletariat in the belligerent countries. He was convinced that once his revolution had begun it would sweep speedily through the whole of the West. From the chaos of revolution he would achieve the first stage of world dominion. Lenin's strategy was simple. It was that of the Grand Inquisitor in Dostoesvki's The Brothers Karamazov; namely, give the people bread, even if it is only in the form of a promise. He liberated all imprisoned criminals. They were armed and incorporated into the communist ranks. Many of them became heads of local soviets, and rulers of the reign of terror. Landlords, gentry, politicians, factory owners, and bishops were executed by order of the local soviets, and the former Tsar, Nicholas II, and his family were murdered on July 18, 1918 by order of Lenin.

What is known is the October Revolution happened, therefore, because of Lenin's practical propaganda, and his early control of the means of propaganda. He initiated a reign of terror and chaos. The various social orders were turned upside down. Criminals governed. Deserters commanded regiments. Murderers controlled the police force. The effectiveness of his propaganda was due in part to his distortion of language in the manner described so

effectively by George Orwell in 1984. Thus, dictatorship and democracy were equated, as in this passage from Lenin's The Immediate Tasks of Soviet Government: "There is absolutely no contradiction in principle between Soviet democracy and the exercise of dictatorship." This position is akin to the World War I German theory of centralized democracy, which Stalin further developed to strengthen his tyranny. In 1920 Lenin reported, "Nowhere has a revolution ever been effected without compulsion. The proletariat has the right to compulsion in order to maintain itself at all costs." Free, that is, to be controlled for your own good!

The Revolution was proposed in mid-September and launched on November 3rd. Four days later it was completed. The Bolsheviks, who were a small minority party of about 30,000, in March 1917 had become the Soviet state.

The negation of democracy was accompanied by the negation of Christianity. Solzhenitsyn tells us, in Volume Two of The Gulag Archipelago, that one of Lenin's first commands was to order the extermination of the black insects, or ants, which crawl over the face of Russia. He was referring to the bishops, priests, choir members, church councils, pious villagers and babushkis who dared to affirm their faith and support the church. Thus was initiated the rule of terror which exterminated over 66 million Russians between the Revolution and 1959.

Like Marx, Lenin hated everything to do with God and belief in Him. In his correspondence with Maxim Gorky he affirmed that, "God is dead and His Body is corrupting the world." He further claimed that, "God is . . . a complex of ideas begotten by the crass submissiveness of man, by eternal nature, and by class oppression." There were two ways of dealing with believers; one was to kill them and the other was to convert them by atheistic propaganda.

From the time of Peter the Great on, the Russian Orthodox Church had been tied to the Tsarist state, and had been deprived of a leader. The emergence of Kerensky's Provisional Government resulted in the freedom of the church to convoke an all-Russian sobor (council) of bishops, clergy, and laity. After due deliberation, the Metropolitan of Moscow, Tikhon Belavin, was elected Patriarch. The church now had a leader. His leadership, however, was almost impossible. The forces of right and left clashed with each other to form an ecclesiastical revolution to be exploited by the state. After Lenin's decree in November the Church was denied the right to hold legal title to its property. Six thousand church and monastic buildings were first confiscated. Religious instruction was forbidden, sermons were censored. More church buildings were appropriated for secular purposes such as social clubs and dance halls. By 1922 the Russian Orthodox Church was destitute and existed only as a non-legal entity.

The disordering of society by Lenin resulted in the terrible famine of 1921. The raising of funds by the church to buy food from abroad became the occasion for Lenin to strip it of its last vestiges of wealth, such as its ikons and chalices. The Patriarch's life was threatened. It was spared at the cost of his former integrity. He was forced to sign a confession in which he stated, "I hereby declare to the Soviet authorities that I am henceforth no more an enemy of the Soviet Government, and that I have completely and resolutely severed all connections with the foreign and domestic monarchists, and the counter-revolutionary activity of the White Guards." This confession, made under duress, implied that he had been a counter-revolutionary, and an enemy of the state. Such a confession indicated the intention of the state to humiliate the church and to insist upon its subordination to its atheistic purposes.

The three stages of the Soviets' determination to destroy the church and the civilization it represented, may be summed up as follows:

- 1) 1917-1929: the concentrated attempt of the state to destroy the Russian Orthodox Church;
- 2) 1929-1943: the intensification of persecution including every form of religion;
- 3) 1943- present: the failure of the state to achieve its purpose resulting in the decision to control every form of religious expression, and to use the registered denominations as channels of propaganda.

1) 1917-1929

During the first stage the obvious intent was to destroy the Russian Orthodox Church because it was the national church. As such its influence had been felt in every part of Russia. In several ways it articulated and expressed the hopes and piety of the people. Thus, according to the doctrine of the negation of negation borrowed from Hegel, it was essential to destroy this expression of the old age in order that the new age of the classless society and its belief in scientific atheism should develop.

During this stage the Protestant denominations were spared. They had been persecuted previously by the minister of state dealing with religious associations. Their survival had been assured in the period of famine of 1921 as a consequence of the financial aid provided by sympathetic Christian fellowships in the West. Their evangelical activities prospered, and their numbers increased. The Soviet government granted permission for groups of Evangelical Christians to form communal farms. It even permitted the founding of a Bible

school for pastors, and the organization of evangelical conferences. 1928 saw the intensification of religious persecution and the inclusion of every form of religious witness. During the collectivization of farms from 1929 on, the Christian farming communities suffered greatly. By that time the Roman Catholic church had virtually ceased to exist due to the attacks initiated in 1923.

2) 1929-1943

On April the 8th, 1929, Stalin formulated a new law dealing with the nature of religious associations and specifying the restrictions placed upon them. In the original Constitution citizens were assured of their right to profess their faith similar to the right of atheists to profess theirs. This, however, was altered to limit religious expression to worship without witness. Thus, Article 52 of the present Constitution reads as follows: "Citizens of the USSR are guaranteed freedom of conscience, that is, the right to profess or not to profess any religion, and to conduct religious worship or atheistic propaganda." This history of church-state relations in the Soviet Union indicates clearly that its emphasis is upon atheistic propaganda. The Law of Religious Associations reinforces this emphasis.

A religious association was defined as a group of twenty or more whose members had reached the minimum age of eighteen. Such fellowships were ordered to register with the state, at first through the local soviet, and then through the Council of Religious Affairs. They were forbidden to collect funds, provide charity, teach children, organize religious conferences, hold picnics, arrange excursions, maintain playgrounds for children, maintain libraries, provide reading rooms, keep homes for the elderly or infirm, provide medical services, engage in evangelical campaigns, hold meetings outside the assigned prayer halls, visit homes. They had, in effect, no real rights. The status of such religious

associations could be revoked at any time, and the prayer halls taken from them. In other words, the rights of believers were negligible.

Local soviets not only refused permission to register to many of the associations, but executed them for failing to do so. After 1929 millions of Evangelicals were exiled in Central Asia to begin farms under extremely difficult circumstances, or starve.

The intensification of religious persecution was matched by atheistic propaganda of the state. The Association of Militant Atheists, which had been formed in 1925, received large sums of money in order to fulfill its propaganda purposes. This propaganda defined the communist states' commitment to atheism, and to the principles of negating past culture. This policy necessitated the destruction of private property, the family, and the church. Church buildings were used as atheistic museums, special courses, with appropriate awards, were provided for students and teachers, in order to indoctrinate those who were to become teachers and lecturers. Expensively published books, tracts, and posters were provided in great quantities not only for domestic, but worldwide distribution. A favorite theme of the posters was that of the exploited masses carrying an enormous gold cross on which sat bishops, priests, and pastors. A well-financed project was that of the preparation of the definitive book on the subject of scientific materialism. So far it has not been written, much to the chargin of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

So far as the Russian Orthodox Church was concerned, the pressure of persecution was too severe for its leaders. The confession of Patriarch Tikhon was followed on July 20, 1927 with a Declaration of Loyalty by Metropolitan Sergei of Moscow. Like the Patriarch, he was attempting to preserve the form of the church, or at least what little of it that was left. In this Declaration the Metropolitan stated that it was his task to convince the Soviet government

that there was no contradiction involved in being both a member of the Russian Orthodox Church and a citizen of the Soviet Union. "Her happiness," he remarked, "and her successes are our happiness and successes, and her misfortunes our misfortunes." By way of an explanation he pointed out that, "for a Christian there can be no accident (in history). The regime exists by the will of God and it would be madness to struggle against it or try to hide in a corner and live as if it did not exist."

What was at stake was the mere existence of the Orthodox hierarchy. Subsequent events demonstrated that its existence depended upon its subservience to the state, and its support of the domestic and international policies of the Soviet. The degree of the Metropolitan's subservience may be measured by his indication that the Soviets were guiltless of any sins against the church. Such subservience may have been acceptable to the left wing of the church, but not to those of the more traditional or historically minded groups. Those were the ones who opposed such a position. The bishops and clergy who did so were arrested by the G.P.U. as counter-revolutionaries. Most of them were executed and the remainder sentenced to life imprisonment. Their sees were given to Metropolitan Sergei's supporters. Despite such cruelties the Metropolitan referred to Stalin as, "the great, God-given leader of the Russian people."

Between 1929 and 1941 the Russian Orthodox Church was almost destroyed as an ecclesiastical entity. Thus, the Metropolitan's compromise with the atheistic state may have been pointless. The following statistical comparison provides a reasonable portrayal of the attempted negation of the church, and the subsequent suffering imposed upon its people. In 1914 the lay membership was numbered at 117.4 million. There were 67 sees with 130 bishops; church buildings were 54,174, plus 550 monasteries with 21,300 monks, and 473 convents

with 73,299 nuns. Fifty-eight seminaries assured an adequate supply of priests. By 1940 there were less than 4,000 churches, and 28 bishops. The official lay membership was no more than 40,000, i.e. $\frac{40,000}{117,400,000}$. Such figures raise the obvious suggestion, "If Metropolitan Sergei was correct in stating that there was no persecution, why did the membership drop so drastically, and why did 90% or more of the church buildings disappear?"

Such statistics, however, are not the ultimate measure of faith.

A poll taken in 1937/38 included the question, "Are you a believer?" Alas, the results of the poll were never published. Observers have suggested that the reason why they were not was that too many had said, "Yes, they were," because of the privacy offered by the poll. This opinion may be justified by Stalin's performance at the time the armies of the Third Reich crossed the Soviet border on Sunday, June 22, 1941, the feast day for All Saints of Russia. He disappeared from view. Why? Was it because of his frustration that his diplomatic efforts, which resulted in a pact with Hitler in 1939, had failed so dismally? Was it because he realized that his regime of terror would turn against him? Was it because he had learned from the poll that his efforts to destroy the family and church had failed? Was it because he feared that Hitler's offer to free the people of the Soviet Union to practice their faith would be accepted wholeheartedly?

It is an irony of history that it was a leader of the Persecuted Church who stepped into the absence of Stalin to call upon the people to share the destiny of the nation, not to be tempted to go over to the other side, but to fight for the Holy Fatherland of Russia. His appeal was to the people's patriotism, and to their belief that God had a purpose for their nation which would yet be fulfilled. He assured the people that the church gave them the heavenly blessings as they participated in the great struggle. His sermons,

and written appeals were later published, in a deluxe edition, by Stalin as an expression of his gratitude. Stalin surfaced ten days later. His radio address lacked his usual bombastic style, and was closer to the kind of address that might be expected of a priest.

Not only did the Russian Orthodox church thus become essential for the defense of the country, but also as a channel of propaganda. As a reward several of the restrictions imposed upon the church were lifted. Metropolitan Sergei was elevated to the Patriarchate in 1943. Shortly after, two councils were formed to control the activities of the Orthodox, and non-Orthodox churches. These were combined later to form the present Council of Religious Affairs.

3) 1943 to the present

The apparent realization of Stalin was that if the church could not be destroyed it could be controlled, and used to serve the purposes of the Soviet state. Patriarch Sergei served those purposes, but not for long. A year or so later, Patriarch Alexei continued where Sergei had left off. In April 1945 he offered his services to Stalin in bringing the overseas branches of the Russian Orthodox Church under the control of Moscow.

The two main themes promoted by the Patriarchate are:

- 1) There is separation of Church and State in the Soviet Union, and no persecution of believers.

This theme, by the way, is continuously repeated by churchmen on the red carpet tour in the Soviet Union, on their return to this country.

- 2) The Soviet Union is the peace initiator, and peace leader, unlike the capitalist, and imperialistic nations of the West which are war mongers.

Recent expressions of the Soviet Union's control of the peace movements are:

In 1949 the World Peace Council was founded in Paris. A year later it was expelled for its communist activities, and moved to Prague.

In 1956 bishops of the Reformed, and of the Roman Catholic churches in Hungary were compelled to sign a statement indicating their unequivocal support of the peace movement initiated by the Soviet Union.

In 1958 the Christian Peace Conference was established in Prague. Its purpose was stated by its president Bishop Karoly Toth, on March 26, 1982, as follows: "The Christian Peace Conference is no mere pacifist organization, it is contributing by its specific activity, toward maintaining peace . . . and disarmament. That is why it fully supports L. Brezhnev's latest proposals, which are, a significant step toward halting feverish armament and presenting the emergence of a world nuclear conflict."

The Russian Orthodox Church and the World Council of Churches

The admission of the Russian Orthodox Church to the World Council of Churches (WCC) in 1961 raises the following questions:

- 1) Why did N. Krushchev permit the Russian Orthodox Church to become a member at a time when he was persecuting the church as ruthlessly as Stalin had ever done?
- 2) Why had the Russian Orthodox Church applied for membership when it had declared the WCC to be heretical, at the Pan-Orthodox Council meeting in Moscow, July 8-18, 1948? The Council concluded with a condemnation of the West and its churches as "the instigation of a new war."

A reasonable conclusion is that Krushchev deemed it necessary to use

the Russian Orthodox church as a channel of propaganda to the West.

After 1943 the Protestant fellowships were subjected to controls similar to those of the Russian Orthodox church. A severe split took place in their ranks in September 1965 when those of an independent mind banned several of their leaders from their fellowship because of their subservience to the Soviet state. This resulted in the formation of the Council of Churches of the Evangelical Christians and Baptists.

The Laws of Religious Associations were amended in 1975 to ensure greater control of Christian fellowships.

In July 1983 Yuri Andropov stated to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, "The struggle is for the hearts and minds of billions of people on this planet earth." Comrade Chernenko indicated that this struggle was handicapped by believers who dared to corrupt the hearts and minds of the Soviet citizens with their religious propaganda. Such propaganda, by the way, was forbidden by law.

In attempt to reinforce the effectiveness of atheist propaganda the Central House of Atheism was founded in 1982. Its task is to integrate all atheistic propaganda and to find new ways of improving its effectiveness.

A number of new laws and amendments, added to the Criminal Code, indicate the Soviets' determination to restrict the communication of the Gospel by confining Christian leaders perpetually. Article 188-3 is one such law. It is entitled, "Malicious Disobedience of the Administration of Corrective Labor Institutions." Judging from those who have been re-sentenced to five years of additional rigorous labor camp, "disobedience" means refusing to

submit to the controls and requirements of the Soviets' atheistic ideology. This refusal to submit is thus regarded as the worst crime.

A recent refugee to this country urged me, "Please do everything you can to help my people. They have suffered too much!"

How long can these brave and compassionate people bear the cost of being Christ's disciples?

Following is a list of prisoners for whom CREED is particularly concerned. These prisoners represent only a few of the more than 350 Christians known to be imprisoned in the Soviet Union. The actual number of individuals imprisoned for their Christian belief is believed to be much higher.

CREED'S PRIORITY CASESValeri Barinov - USSR

11/84 Valeri Barinov, 39 year-old Russian Christian rock musician was arrested on March 4, 1984 for allegedly attempting to cross the Soviet border. He was incarcerated for two weeks in Leningrad's Psychiatric Hospital #5, before being transferred to KGB headquarters in Leningrad. Barinov is the leader of a Christian rock group "The Trumpet Call," which has been doing evangelistic work among the "lost youth" of Leningrad. This is Barinov's second arrest. In October 1983 he was arrested and held in a psychiatric hospital in Leningrad but was released when Russian language radio services from the West reported his imprisonment and his forcible injection with aminazin, used in the treatment of severe mental disorders. Most recently, the September 16th issue of Komsomolskaya Pravda (for Communist Youth) attacked "Trumpet Call," claiming that the group was never popular and that it attempted to corrupt Soviet youth with its "religious propaganda." This article may herald an imminent trial for Barinov, as such means are often used to arouse hostility towards the accused and justify his trial.

3/85 On November 20-23, 1985 Valeri Barinov was tried in Leningrad City Court on the charge of attempting to cross the Soviet border illegally. At the time of arrest Barinov allegedly had in his possession a camouflage cloak, skis and a local map "testifying to (his) criminal plans." No government witnesses were able to offer any concrete evidence to support the charge, nor was the prosecution able to explain why Barinov had a return ticket to Leningrad in his pocket when he was arrested. The political nature of the case was made clear when Barinov's long-standing connections with Radio Liberty and Keston College were discussed during the trial. Barinov pleaded not guilty and said that his trial bore witness to the "authorities' intention to stifle religion." He also declared he would go on a hunger strike "till the end" or until he was allowed to emigrate. He was sentenced to 2½ years in ordinary regime prison camp.

Five days after his trial Barinov suffered a serious heart attack. He did not receive medical attention but appears to have at least partially recovered. He is continuing his hunger strike. His prison address is not yet known, but his wife's address is listed below. Barinov has two teen-age daughters.

His wife: Tatyana Barinova
Leningrad
pr. Khudozhnikov 9/2/74
Soviet Union

4/85 We now know Valeri's camp address:

Valeri Barinov
169418 Komi ASSR
g. Ukhta
pos. Nizhni Domanik
uchr. 05-34/27-4
Soviet Union

CREED'S PRIORITY CASESValeri Barinov (continued)

6/86 In April 1986 Valeri Barinov was sentenced to one month in a punishment cell for attempting to write a letter to Christians in the West. His health deteriorated so seriously during the first three weeks of the punishment that he was transferred to the camp hospital where he was diagnosed as suffering from pneumonia.

Nikolai Baturin - USSR
 b. December 15, 1927

11/84 Baptist Pastor Nikolai Baturin had not yet finished his sixth prison term when he was given an additional three year sentence in January 1984. Baturin has served twenty years in prison for his leadership of the Council of Evangelical Baptist Churches (unregistered Baptist Churches), and for his continuing Christian witness in prison. In September 1983 he was removed from prison and taken to a KGB investigative prison, preliminary to re-sentencing. Pastor Nikolai will be released from prison January 24, 1986. He is fifty-seven years old, married, and the father of six.

His wife: Valentina M. Baturina
 346500 Rostovskaya obl.
 g. Shakhty
 ul. Sadovaya 4/13
 Soviet Union

12/85

Nikolai's prison address:

Nikolai Baturin
 uchr. ZhD 158/4 "e"
 g. Dzhambul
 Kazakhskaya SSR
 484049 Soviet Union

CREED'S PRIORITY CASES

Lydia Bondar - USSR
b. August 20, 1935

9/84 Lydia Bondar, 47 year old Russian Baptist, was arrested for the second time on April 20, 1982 at a conference of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives. This Council was organized in 1964 by the wives and mothers of imprisoned leaders of the unregistered Baptist Church in the Soviet Union, to serve as an information network about the persecution of fellow Baptists and to give food, clothing and spiritual comfort to the families of imprisoned Baptists. Many of the members of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives have themselves been arrested and imprisoned. Lydia was sentenced in February 1983 to three years in prison camp, her second sentence for her activities on behalf of persecuted Baptists. She is unmarried and has one sister.

~~Lydia Bondar
283833 Ternopolskaya obl.
Zborazhsky raion
s. Dobryyody
I: 322/63 otr. 2 br. 4
Soviet Union~~

Her sister: Mariya T. Semyanyuk
35006 g. Krasnodor
ul. Minskaya
Soviet Union

10/85 Lydia Bondar apparently completed her prison sentence and was released on April 18, 1985, yet she has not been heard from since her release. Presumably, she has been banished to a distant city, and no one in her family has been informed of its location.

Leonid Borodin - USSR
b. April 14, 1938

2/86 Leonid Borodin, 47 year old Russian Orthodox Christian, was a history teacher and high school principal in Leningrad until his first arrest in 1967. He was arrested for his participation in the "Social Christian Alliance," which espoused democratic and Christian goals. During his imprisonment he protested the mistreatment of others prisoners and was sent as punishment to Vladimir Prison to finish his sentence. When released in 1973, Borodin began contributing to various samizdat (underground) publications, including his own "Moscow Collection," of which three issues appeared. While in prison Borodin began writing poetry and fiction. (His third book of fiction, The Year of Miracle and Grief, was recently reviewed in The New York Times Book Review.) Borodin was arrested a second time in May 1982 and sentenced to ten years in strict regime labor camp plus five years internal exile. He and his wife have one eight year old daughter.

His prison address: Leonid Borodin
618263 Permskaya obl.
Chokovskoy raion
pos. Kuchino
VS-389/36-1
Soviet Union

His wife: Larissa Evseyevna Borodina
115487 Moscow
ul Acad. Milliontshikova
dom. 11, kv. 118
Soviet Union

CREED'S PRIORITY CASES

Anna Chertkova - USSR
b. November 8, 1927

3/85

Anna Chertkova, 58 year old Russian Baptist, was arrested in August 1973 for her Christian activities and sentenced to the Tashkent Special Psychiatric Hospital for "rehabilitation" of her beliefs. She has been held there ever since. Despite the brutality of her treatment and forcible injections with drugs used for the treatment of severe mental disorders (which cause debilitating and sometimes permanent side effects), Anna Chertkova's faith has not been destroyed.

In a letter to Christian friends in 1982, Anna wrote, "I greet you all in the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and I pray to God that He will make us beautiful and perfect in Christ and that He will take charge of all our affairs. Things are much the same for me . . . the ninth year But I firmly believe that God who created everybody's heart and who examines all the affairs of mortal men, will judge my dispute with the idolatry of atheism and will execute His judgement and justice. Eternal glory to God for everything! I ask you all to carry me to the Lord in prayer, and that His will for me may be done. God be with you. Warm Christian greetings."

~~Anna Chertkova
700058 Uzbekskaya SSR
g. Tashkent
uchr. UYa-64/12-1
Soviet Union~~

Her mother: Anastasiya B. Chertkova
480056 g. Alma-Ata
ul. Stankevicha 36
Soviet Union

5/86

Anna Chertkova was transferred from Tashkent to the Special Psychiatric Hospital in Kazan on the 8th of February. She was transported in a prison van and reportedly in handcuffs. Her new address is:

Anna Chertkova
420082 Kazan
ul. Ershova 49
uchr. UE-148/st 6-14 ctd.
Soviet Union

CREED'S PRIORITY CASESBalys Gajauskas - Lithuania (USSR)
b. February 26, 1926

2/85 Balys Gajauskas is a fifty-seven year old Roman Catholic and veteran of anti-Soviet resistance in Lithuania after World War II. Because of his resistance activities, he spent twenty-five years in a Soviet labor camp, from which he was released in 1973. Upon his return to Lithuania, Balys was denied legal residence in his homeland, and his mother was fined for harboring an illegal resident each time he visited her. During the next four years he was repeatedly harassed by the KGB for his continuing efforts on behalf of religious and democratic rights in Lithuania. On April 20, 1977 he was again arrested and one year later was sentenced to ten years in a strict regime labor camp, to be followed by five years of internal exile. He is married and has one daughter.

His prison address:	Balys Gajauskas 618263 Permskaya obl. Chusovskoi raion pos. Kuchino uchr. VS-389/36-1 Soviet Union	His wife:	Irena Dumbryte Litovskaya SSR Kaunas Spynu, 3-8 Soviet Union
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2/84 Recent letters smuggled to his aunt in California reveal Balys' deteriorating health, including weakened eyesight, high blood pressure and stomach ulcers. Because he fears he will not survive his present sentence, Balys has indicated to his aunt his desire to emigrate to the U.S. with his wife, young daughter, and aging mother. The KGB has promised his wife permission to emigrate if she will divorce her husband, but she refuses to leave without him.

10/85 CREED announced a national "Free Balys Gajauskas" campaign aimed at securing Balys' release from prison and permission to emigrate to the United States for he and his family. CREED hopes to make Balys a priority case on the human rights agenda at the November 19-20, 1985 summit meeting between President Reagan and Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev. "Free Balys Gajauskas" posters are available by contacting the CREED office.

4/86 A recent report from Balys' aunt in California indicated that Balys is receiving better treatment in prison camp--including improved food rations and much needed medical attention. CREED believes this is a direct result of its "Free Balys Gajauskas" campaign which received international publicity. In addition, Senator Edward Kennedy represented American concern about Balys' case during a February visit to Moscow, after a briefing by CREED staff. This news gives rise to hope that Balys might be released, as prison camp officials usually "fatten up" prisoners before their release or exchange to the West.

CREED'S PRIORITY CASES

Vladimir Khailo - USSR
b. April 15, 1932

3/85

Vladimir Khailo converted to Christianity in 1957, and became a member of a Baptist Church which later refused to accept the controls imposed by Krushchev in 1961. The persecution of Khailo and his family began shortly thereafter, including the involuntary removal of two of Khailo's sons to a special boarding school, and a failed attempt to forcibly remove the rest of his children. Khailo's oldest son was sentenced in 1973 to eight years in prison camp on trumped-up charges; he refused to denounce his parents to secure his freedom. On September 22, 1980, Vladimir Khailo was forcibly interned in a psychiatric hospital, and while there he was arrested and sentenced to indefinite incarceration in the Dnepropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital (for the criminally insane). His family reports that he is receiving injections of drugs which have made him very ill.

~~Vladimir Khailo
 320006 g. Dnepropetrovsk
 ul. Chyherina 101
 uchr. YaE-308/RB 9
 Soviet Union~~

His wife: Mariya Y. Khailo
 394004 Ukrainskaya SSR
 Voroshilovgradskaya obl.
 g. Krasny Luch
 Shakhta 22-bis
 ul. Severnaya 11
 Soviet Union

5/86

Vladimir Khailo was moved from the Dnepropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital (psychiatric prison) to a similar facility in Blagoveshchensk. (Another CREED priority prisoner Alexander Riga is also incarcerated in this prison.)

Vladimir Khailo
 675007 Amurskaya obl.
 g. Blagoveshchensk
 per. Seryshevsky 55
 uchr. IZ-23/1 SPB
 Soviet Union

CREED'S PRIORITY CASES

Sergei Khodorovich - USSR
b. February 8, 1941

10/83

Sergei Khodorovich, 44, was arrested on April 7, 1983 and may face the death penalty for "treason" for serving as the chief administrator of the Russian Social Fund. This fund was established in 1974 by Alexander Solzhenitsyn to give aid to the destitute families of those who have been imprisoned for their beliefs. Distributors of the Fund have always been persecuted with threats, searches, interrogations and arrests, but the official campaign against it has assumed an increasingly brutal character with the arrest of Orthodox Christian Khodorovich, who faces a possible show trial under Article 64 of the Soviet penal code; i.e. treason. Recent information revealed that Khodorovich has been tortured in prison, resulting in a fractured skull.

His prison address:	Sergei Khodorovich	His wife:	Tatiana Khodorovich
	103095 Moscow		115477 Moscow
	ul Novoslobodskaya 45		ul. Kantemirovskaya
	Izolyator 48/2		d. 33, k.1, kv. 24
	Soviet Union		Soviet Union

2/84

In December 1983 Sergei Khodorovich was sentenced to three years in a strict regime labor camp. The comparative "lightness" of his sentence has been attributed to the intense publicity in the West surrounding his case. His prison camp address is not yet known.

6/84

On February 7, 1984 an appeal was entered for Sergei Khodorovich but the sentence was unchanged. He was transported to a strict regime camp in Norilsk, on the Arctic Ocean. At present it is known only that Sergei's job is sewing work mittens.

His camp address: 663301 Krasnoyarsky krai
 Norilsk
 UP-288/15
 Soviet Union

11/85

In March 1985 Sergei was sentenced to 46 days in an isolation cell; his warm clothing was taken away and his rations drastically reduced. He has since been imprisoned repeatedly in this isolation cell for his refusal to sign a "confession." His health is broken and recent reports indicate he is near death.

4/86

Days before his scheduled release, Sergei Khodorovich was re-arrested in prison camp, presumably under Article 188-3. This new article gives prison camp officials the power to add up to five years to a prisoner's sentence for infractions of prison camp rules. Such "infractions" can include "possessing forbidden literature" (i.e. a Bible or prayer book), or "inducing other prisoners to take part in a religious ceremony." The length of Khodorovich's new sentence is not known.

CREED'S PRIORITY CASES

Rudolf Klassen - USSR
b. September 24, 1931

3/85

Rudolf Klassen, 53 year old Russian Baptist, was arrested for the second time in June 1980 for his involvement in Christian youth work. He was sentenced to three years in prison camp. Seventeen days before his release, he was transferred from prison camp to a KGB investigative prison. There he was told he would meet the same fate as his friend Pastor Nikolai Khrapov, who died in November 1982 while serving a three year prison sentence. In prison he was forced to stand for hours against a wall with his hands raised and beaten, but he refused to renounce his faith or his work in the unregistered church. He was sentenced to another three years in prison camp.

Rudolf Klassen
677908 Yakutskaya ASSR
pos. Tabaga
uchr. Ya D 70/7 "A"
Soviet Union

His wife: Talita V. Klassen
470015 Kazakhsкая SSR
g. Karaganda - 15
ul. Maly proyezd 19-a
Soviet Union

CREED'S PRIORITY CASES

Vladas Lapienis - Lithuania (USSR)

6/85

Seventy-nine year old Lithuanian Catholic, Vladas Lapienis, was sentenced in March 1985 to four years in labor camp and two years internal exile. If he survives this sentence, Lapienis will be 85 years old upon its completion. Lapienis was first arrested in 1976 for disseminating the samizdat (underground) publication, Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania. He served three years in strict regime labor camp and two years internal exile in Northern Siberia. He was arrested again in February 1984 after KGB agents stopped him on his way home from the grocery store and found in his possession his handwritten prison memoirs. Lapienis was imprisoned for fifteen days in a KGB isolation prison, but fearing that his rapidly deteriorating health would make him a martyr, the KGB released Lapienis to await trial at home. Lapienis went into hiding and was re-arrested in January 1985. His prison address is not yet known.

His wife: Elena Lapieniene
Daugaviecio gatve 5/11
g. Vilnius
Lithuania SSR
SOVIET UNION

CREED'S PRIORITY CASESAlexander Ogorodnikov - USSR

1/85 Alexander Ogorodnikov, 34 year old Russian Orthodox Christian, organized the Moscow Religious Youth Seminar in 1974 to study with other young Christians the basic tenets of their faith. Ogorodnikov continued to lead the Seminar, in spite of threats and persecution from Soviet authorities, until his first arrest and trial in January 1979 at which he was sentenced to one year ordinary regime camp for "parasitism" (failure to work). He was not released at the end of his term but was re-sentenced in September 1980 to six years strict regime (the harshest) prison camp and five years exile. He is married and the father of one son.

His camp address: ~~USSR
618253 Permskaya obl.
Chusovskoi raion
pos. Kuchino
uchr. VS-389/36
Soviet Union~~

7/85 Although Alexander Ogorodnikov's second sentence is nearing its end, no word has been heard of him, in spite of repeated inquiries of prison camp officials. Recently, his friends' telephones have been disconnected. Fear has been expressed that Ogorodnikov will meet the same fate as his friend Vladimir Poresh, who was re-sentenced at the end of his sentence under the new Article 188-3, which allows prison camp officials to add 1-5 years to a prisoner's sentence for even minor infractions of camp rules.

12/85 Alexander Ogorodnikov completed his prison sentence and has begun his five year term of internal exile. His address in exile is not yet known.

CREED'S PRIORITY CASES

Peter D. Peters - USSR
b. June 6, 1942

7/84

Baptist Pastor and youth evangelist, Peter D. Peters, was arrested for the fourth time on January 28, 1984. He was taken to an investigative prison in Rostov, and is awaiting trial on charges of "slandering the Soviet state and social system." Peters was first arrested in 1967, at the age of 25, and sentenced to two years imprisonment. After his release, KGB agents promised him continued freedom in exchange for his collaboration. When he refused he was so harassed by the KGB that he was forced to leave his home in 1970. He was arrested again in 1973 and served a three year sentence in strict regime camp. After his release he became a pastor of a congregation then meeting in a woods, having been barred from their regular meeting place. In August 1977, one of their peaceful worship services was violently broken up by the local militia and Peters was again arrested and again sentenced to two and a half years imprisonment. A month before his release in 1980, Peters' father, brother and cousin were sentenced to labor camp for their religious activities.

His prison address: ~~Peter D. Peters
 g. Rostov-na-Danu
 p/ya 12 59/1
 Soviet Union~~

His mother: Ekaterina Peters
 464020 KazSSR
 s. Martuk
 Aktiubinskaya obl.
 ul. Ukrainskaya 53
 Soviet Union

8/84

Peter Peters was sentenced on May 22, 1984 to three years strict regime labor camp. Only Peter's brother was allowed in the courtroom during the trial, but other Christians were allowed inside during the reading of the verdict.

To demonstrate their respect and solidarity for Christian prisoners, Baptists in the Soviet Union stand not only for the judge but when the defendant is brought into court. So many Christians stood when Peter was brought into court that an official quickly ordered everyone to stand. When the judge read the verdict, Peter was showered with flowers thrown to him by the Christians in the courtroom.

His camp address: Peter D. Peters
 344064
 g. Rostov-na-Donu
 uchr. 398/2, 4-44
 Soviet Union

CREED'S PRIORITY CASES

Viktoras Petkus - Lithuania (USSR) (b. December 30, 1929)

2/83

Lithuanian Catholic Viktoras Petkus was first arrested in 1947 and sentenced to ten years in a strict regime labor camp for his participation in a Catholic Youth Organization which also opposed Lithuania's annexation by the USSR. He was released in 1953. In 1957 he was arrested again for keeping and distributing "anti-Soviet propaganda"--religious books written by Lithuanian emigre writers. He served out this term in full. In 1977 he was rearrested for his participation in the Lithuanian group to monitor compliance with the Helsinki Accord. He was sentenced to ten years in a strict regime labor camp to be followed by five years of internal exile.

His prison address:	Viktoras Petkus 618263 Permskaya obl. Chusovskoi rayon pos. Kuchino uchr. VS-389/36 Soviet Union	His wife: Natalya Petkuvieni Vilnius 3. Dauguvietcio 10/1 Soviet Union
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3/83

From a letter written in July of 1982 but only recently published in an underground paper, Viktoras Petkus writes, "For some reason or other, written communications between us have completely broken off; the one and only letter I received from you this year was January 15. On Ascencion Thursday, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday and July 1, I sent out, by air mail, registered letters with return receipt requested, but I never did receive notices of delivery. Therefore I am going to write only a few words. I have returned from the hospital. The sutures have not yet been removed. (They operated on a nasal growth.) I do not know how the incision will look. The left side of my head is still throbbing."

4/83

In February 1983, Congressional members of the Helsinki Commission nominated Petkus, along with seven other human rights activists, for the 1983 Nobel Peace Prize. This is the fourth consecutive year Petkus has been thus honored.

7/84

Viktoras Petkus has not been heard from for more than six months, giving rise to fears that he may have died or been transferred to an undisclosed location. Last December his wife tried to visit him in the labor camp but was turned away upon arrival. Since then neither she nor anyone else has received any word from or about Petkus.

CREED'S PRIORITY CASESIrina Ratushinskaya - USSR

b. March 4, 1954

3/85

Irina Ratushinskaya, 31 year old Orthodox Christian, was arrested in September 1982 and sentenced March 1983 to seven years strict regime camp and five years internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." The "anti-Soviet propaganda" consisted of circulating her Christian poetry, and for her association with the free trade union movement. Irina staged a number of hunger strikes in late 1983 and 1984 and pledged she would continue until she was given the right to see her husband. Her husband finally was promised a short visit with her on March 10, 1985.

Her prison address: ~~Irina Ratushinskaya
431200 Mordovskaya ASSR
Tengushevsky raion
pos. Barashevo
uchr. Zhkh-385/3-4
Soviet Union~~

11/85

Irina was moved from the camp in Barashevo to one in Yavas where there are prison and punishment cells for women political prisoners. The official reason for her transfer is not known, but it appears that she is either to be placed in a punishment cell, or is there for "re-education." She already had a term of "re-education" in another KGB prison. Another probable reason for her transfer is to split up the group of Christian prisoners who had become close friends in prison, a group which included Natalya Lazareva (another CREED priority prisoner). Irina's new prison address is not yet known.

Irina's husband's address is:

Igor Olegovich Gerashchenko
g. Kiev
pr. Vernadskogo 85/89
Soviet Union

12/85

Irina has been imprisoned in an isolation cell in the Yavas labor camp for six months. This is the maximum isolation term camp authorities can impose without a re-trial. Conditions in isolation cells are similar to those in prison (a prison term is considered a greater hardship even than strict regime camp)--including of course isolation in a cell rather than in a barracks, manual work separate from other prisoners, a maximum of one hour's exercise per day, and a reduced diet. Irina's hair also was shaved.

Irina's new prison address: Irina Ratushinskaya
431200 Mordovskaya ASSR
Tengushevsky raion
pos. Yavas
uchr. Zhkh-385/2
Soviet Union

CREED'S PRIORITY CASESALEXANDER RIGA: Latvia (USSR)

3/85 Alexander Riga, born in Latvia in 1939, was an adult convert to Catholicism. In 1976 he began editing a samizdat (underground) religious journal "Prizyv" ("Call"), which focused on ecumenical theological issues. He was arrested in February 1984 and subsequently pronounced schizophrenic by a special psychiatric commission. He was declared mentally unfit to stand trial and was tried in absentia. He was sentenced to indefinite confinement in a "special psychiatric hospital" (prison), in the closed city of Blagoveshchensk in the Soviet Far East.

His prison address:	Alexander Riga 675007 Amurskaya obl. Blagoveshchensk Seryshevsky per. 55 uchr. IZ-23/1 SPB Soviet Union	His mother:	Marianna Rotberg Latviiskaya SSR Riga ul. Kokles 18/2 Soviet Union
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7/85 Janis Rozkalns - Latvia (USSR)

In November 1983 Janis Rozkalns, then a 33 year old Baptist youth leader in Latvia, was sentenced to five years in strict regime labor camp and three years internal exile. This sentence was the culmination of a two year long campaign of harassment against Janis and his family which consisted of firing Janis from his job, six house searches in which all Christian literature was confiscated (and later destroyed), and almost four months of daily interrogation by the KGB. Shortly before his arrest Janis had begun the steps to obtain permission to emigrate, and had written an appeal for help to several international organizations as well. Janis's wife is in ill health, suffering from a heart condition. They have twins, born shortly before Janis' arrest. Janis' expected release date is 1991.

Janis Rozkalns
618801 Permskaya obl.
Chusovskoy raion
st. Polovinka
uchr. VA-389/37
Soviet Union

~~Janis' wife's address:
Gunta Rozkalns
ul. Marina 209/13A
Riga-35, Latvian SSR
Soviet Union~~

1/86 Although Janis' wife Gunta was denied visitation with Janis in the summer, after numerous letters from the West and a petition signed by more than 1,000 people reached Soviet authorities, she was allowed a two hour visit in November. Gunta's health is improved and she reports that Janis is also better and has been given easier work. In a recent letter to the West Gunta writes, "I receive 'written handshakes' from various parts of the world. Isn't it wonderful that not knowing each other personally we can feel as members of one Family, thanks only to our heavenly Father. I thank you for your prayers, they really help us. Please continue to do this and may God reward it richly!"

Gunta's new address:
Gunta Rozkalns
Kuldigas iela 14-7
Riga-7
Latvia
Soviet Union

CREED'S PRIORITY CASES

Pyotr Rumachik - USSR (b. June 15, 1931)

- 2/83 Pyotr Rumachik, 53, was arrested in August 15, 1980 and sentenced to five years in a strict regime labor camp for his activities as Vice President of the Council of Evangelical Baptist Churches in the USSR, a group of "unregistered" churches which functions outside the controls of the state. Prior to his present prison term, Pastor Rumachik has been sentenced four times for a total of 11½ years spent in prison camp and exile. Of these years in prison, Pyotr wrote in 1978, "Together with Paul, I want to say: 'But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus . . .'" For over a year, he has been denied visits from his family, but in a letter recently smuggled out of camp, Pastor Rumachik said he is in grave danger and does not expect to live out this term.
- His prison address: Pyotr Rumachik
673420 Citinskaya obl.
g. Nerchinsk
yaG - 14/1-1
Soviet Union
- His wife: Lyubov Rumachik
Moskovskaya obl.
g. Dedovsk
ul. Bolnichnaya 13a/5
Soviet Union
- 3/83 The following is an excerpt from a recent letter by Pyotr Rumachik, currently serving a five year sentence in a strict regime concentration camp: "I rejoice in the sunshine and light of day, and especially that Christ revealed Himself to me as the Sun of Truth. He has become my daily requirement. He has become my very life and your life, and the life of so many saved people that they will be difficult to number on that day when he returns in glory! I am captivated by God's kindness, manifest to us in Jesus Christ. That kindness is capturing my heart right now! I have been meditating on God's love. I want my heart like a sponge to soak up this holy, divine, living moisture, without which a man becomes like a spiritual corpse. Without love and kindness there is no life, just vegetation. May God help our hearts to be like His heart, and our lives like His life, as we sing: 'That thou mightest be seen everywhere, that Thou mightest shine all around.'"
- 8/84 On April 5, 1984 Pyotr was permitted a brief visit with his wife, Luka, and their two youngest children. Luka Rumachik writes of the experience: "When the children saw their daddy, one said, 'Who's that old man with the shaved head and a little gray hair?' It was hard for him to look at the children, too -- he hardly knows them now. But we praise God, because all our six children are with us -- they love the Lord and share our burdens. None of the children have ever complained or murmured -- 'Why such a life? Why us?'" Mrs. Rumachik also reported that her husband has been very ill and spent eighteen days in the camp hospital at the end of March.
- 11/84 Pastor Rumachik was visited by his wife in the prison camp hospital on October 9, 1984. He was sent to the hospital on September 14th, two days after his release from the punishment cell where he had been on a hunger strike protesting the removal of his Bible. He is suffering from heart trouble and was still unable to walk after ten days in the hospital. He told his wife, "My life is in God's hands."

(continued)

PYOTR RUMACHIK - page two

11/85

Only days before Pyotr's sentence was completed, he was "arrested" in prison camp and transferred to a KGB prison where he is to be given an additional sentence. He will probably be sentenced under Article 188-3, "malicious disobedience to camp officials," which is being used to keep Christians in perpetual imprisonment. Pyotr is the ninth Evangelical Baptist to be re-sentenced in prison this year, along with numerous Christians of other denominations. His address is not known at this time, but letters to his wife and family would be especially appreciated.

CREED'S PRIORITY CASES

Valeri Senderov - USSR

b. March 19, 1945

12/85

Orthodox Christian Valeri Senderov was arrested in June 1982 and sentenced to seven years strict regime camp plus five years internal exile on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Since his imprisonment, Senderov has been allowed only one visit from his mother. No mail has been received from Senderov for 18 months and it is believed that he spent that 18 months in punishment/isolation cell. Upon Senderov's arrival in camp in June 1983, his Bible was confiscated. The Deputy Camp Commander declared that "the Bible is a religious cult object, and that reading of the Bible is a harmful pasttime which stops the rehabilitation and re-education of the prisoner." Senderov's protests over the confiscation of his Bible brought him into continuous conflict with prison camp authorities. In April 1985 Senderov was transferred to the notorious Chistopol prison--without a Bible.

His prison address:

Valeri Senderov
422950 Tatarskaya ASSR
g. Chistopol
uchr. UE-148/st. 4
Soviet Union

His mother:

Zinaida L. Senderova
10100 g. Moskva
Ulansky per. 14/54
Soviet Union

CREED'S PRIORITY CASES

Vytautas Skuodis - Lithuania (USSR)
 d. March 21, 1929

2/83 Vytautas Skuodis, born Benedict Scott in Chicago on March 21, 1929, has been declared by the U.S. Congress and the State Department to be an American citizen living in Lithuania. Mr. Skuodis' parents returned to Lithuania while Skuodis was very young. Skuodis was put on trial in December 1980 for his participation in the Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights in Lithuania and the Lithuanian Helsinki Monitoring Group, and for composing a study of atheism in Lithuania entitled "Spiritual Genocide in Lithuania." He was sentenced to seven years in a strict regime labor camp and five years internal exile. The intervention of international lawyers and the State Department has not been successful thus far.

Vytautas Skuodis
 431200 Mordovskaya ASSR
 Tengushevsky raion
 pos. Barashevo
 uchr. ZhKh-385/3-5
 Soviet Union

His wife: Irena Skuodiene
 Litovskaya SSR
 g. Vilnius
 Vandentiekio 44/4
 Soviet Union

3/83 Vytautas Skuodis announced that on June 15th every year he intends to fast to protest the occupation of Lithuania by the USSR. On June 15, 1982 he suffered a minor heart attack after such a protest. He writes (in a letter only now received in the West), "Only after I had lain on the cement barrier in the bathroom for half an hour, with my head resting on an overturned bucket, did the sickness pass. This year I managed to do without a drop of water. Apparently, that day I was badly exhausted."

3/85 Vytautas Skuodis announced that every week he will go on a one-day hunger strike in protest of the oppressed state of the church and the repression of priests.

CREED'S PRIORITY CASESFATHER ALFONSAS SVARINKAS - LITHUANIA (USSR)

6/83

Soviet concern about the situation in Poland appears to be behind the recent arrests in another predominantly Catholic country, Lithuania. Although Lithuania was annexed by the USSR in 1940, strong national and religious sentiment persists. On May 6, 1983, Father Alfonsas Svarinkas, 38, was sentenced to seven years in prison and three years internal exile. His arrest sparked a dramatic protest in Lithuania where 38,000 people signed petitions of protest to Andropov and nine believers asked to take his place in prison. Father Svarinkas was ordained in a Soviet labor camp where he spent ten years for protesting the Soviet annexation of Lithuania. There he was loved by even the worst criminals for his unflinching kindness and humility. After his release he was re-arrested in 1958 for an anti-state sermon he allegedly delivered, although on the day in question there was no sermon given in his church at all. He was sentenced to six years. After his release he was assigned a series of parishes, in each of which he transformed a deserted church into an overflowing one. In 1978 he was one of five priests who founded the Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights. Shortly before his arrest in May, Father Svarinkas told a friend, "The KGB is itching to get rid of me, but what can they do? Shut me up in prison? Priests are needed there, also. Hang me? I would be closer to heaven. Most of all, we need martyrs. Ideals people die for do not die."

12/83

From a letter en route to prison, dated June 7, 1983:

"I left Vilnius May 27 at 8:00 p.m. At 9:00 a.m. Saturday, I was in Pskov. In the afternoon, I was in the prison itself. Conditions here are terrible. There are very many people here, and I wound up in the cellar. My cell is dark, without flooring, and water seeps up from beneath, through the clay. The bedbugs, mosquitoes and fleas! Sixteen individuals in a small cell! I have been eaten up by bedbugs. Last Friday, I got to a cell on the third floor. It was dry there. . . On the train and in my cell, I am the only political prisoner, so the talk and profanity are horrible. Sometimes, you can't even pray. Those are terribly dehumanized individuals. Here I had some opportunity to speak about God. Yesterday, I met a Latvian student. He was sentenced for speculation to 2.5 years. I spoke about Christ. He is very interested. It would be good for our atheists to see this crowd. Perhaps they would understand where they are leading our people, to what terrible destruction. My spirits are evenly good. At this time, I am taken up with the priesthood of Christ. From my heart, I repeat daily to the Lord, 'Fiat - Thy Will be done!'"

Father Svarinkas' prison address: 618263 p. Kuchino
Chusovskogo r-n.
Permskoy obl.
Uczrezdenie VS-389/36
Soviet Union

CREED'S PRIORITY CASES

Iosip Terelya - USSR
b. October 27, 1943

1/86

Iosip Terelya has served 18 of his 42 years in Soviet labor camps and psychiatric prisons for his participation in the Catholic Church in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Catholic Church (or Uniate Church) is completely outlawed in the Soviet Union and its estimated 3-5 million members have been forced underground. Terelya was re-sentenced in August 1985 to seven years in strict regime labor camp plus five years internal exile for founding the "Action Group for the Defense of Rights of Believers and the Church" and his involvement with a new underground publication Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine. Eleven issues of this publication recently have appeared in the West. Terelya's wife Olena is a doctor but is prevented from practicing medicine and is under constant pressure from the authorities. They have three small children. Terelya's prison address is not yet known.

An account of Terelya's two day trial in August 1985 recently reached the West. Cited in his conviction were a letter written in 1982 to a German Catholic leader, his renunciation of Soviet citizenship, and his co-publication of the Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine. In his verdict the Judge announced that this harsh sentence should serve as an example to those who failed to grasp "the seriousness of the situation." Terelya was sent to Camp 36, commonly known as a "death camp." (Three other CREED priority prisoners are also in this camp--Balys Gajauskas, Viktoras Petkus and Father Alfonsas Svarinkas.) Four Ukrainian prisoners of conscience have died in this camp in the past 22 months, three of them directly because of medical neglect on the part of the camp authorities.

Iosip Terelya
618263 Permskaya obl.
Chusovskoi raion
pos. Kuchino
uchr. VS-389/36
Soviet Union

His wife: Olena Tymofeyevna Umanets
295212 Zakarpatskaya obl.
Irshavsky raion
p. Dolgoe
ul. 1-Go Maya, 9
Soviet Union

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much, Dr. Gordon.

Just hold for a moment until the court reporter changes the tape.

[Pause.]

Mr. YATRON. Our final witness today is Ms. Vins. Please go ahead with your statement.

STATEMENT OF NATALIA VINS, INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATION FOR THE COUNCIL OF EVANGELICAL BAPTIST CHURCHES OF THE SOVIET UNION, INC.

Ms. VINS. The Soviet Union is my homeland. I was born in Kiev and lived there for 26 years of my life. My father, Georgi Vins, was a Baptist pastor. For this, he was arrested and spent 8 years in prison and labor camps. My grandmother, Lydia Vins, was arrested at the age of 63 and was imprisoned for 3 years for religious activities. My grandfather, Peter Vins, died in a Soviet concentration camp in the time of Stalin.

So, the persecution of Christians in the Soviet Union, I know from personal experience of my family, as well as a witness of injustice done to many believers in God in my homeland.

Religious freedom has not existed in the Soviet Union since atheists came to power in 1917. One of the first assignments of state atheism was the eradication of religion. In their attempt to destroy faith in God, Soviet authorities used all means of persecution, arrests and trials, imprisonment in psychiatric hospitals, house raids and searches, confiscations of Bibles and New Testaments and other Christian literature, disruption of worship services by the militia and KGB, slander campaigns against Christians in magazines and newspapers, on TV and radio.

Although the intensity of persecution has fluctuated over the years, it has never ceased. Persecution of Evangelical Baptists was intensified in early 1960's and continues to the present. Today, more than 150 Baptists are in prison, and I have a document, this is a poster of imprisoned Evangelical Baptists in the Soviet Union. Together with the poster, I have a prisoner list which gives the names and the addresses of the concentration camps of all those imprisoned.

Mr. YATRON. We shall include that in the hearing record.¹

Ms. VINS. If you want to have those.

Mr. DORNAN. Excuse me, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. YATRON. Yes, Mr. Dornan.

Mr. DORNAN. Are those only Christians, the pictures on here?

Ms. VINS. Only Evangelical Baptists.

Mr. DORNAN. Only Evangelical Baptists.

Ms. VINS. Only one group of Christians.

Since it would be impossible in this report to describe completely all the persecution of Christians in the U.S.S.R. today, I wish to deal only with two characteristic aspects.

They are the persecution of Christian women who are mothers, wives of Christian prisoners, and the second aspect is the resen-

¹ See appendix 1.

tencing of imprisoned Christian ministers, which essentially means that they are sentenced for life.

For the complete picture of what is happening to Christians in the U.S.S.R. today, I wish to refer your attention to the document that is attached to my speech. This document was recently received from the Soviet Union and it is an annual report of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives for 1985, and gives a complete picture of the persecution of Evangelical Baptists that took place in 1985.

Believers in the Soviet Union sent hundreds of letters and petitions to the Kremlin every year. Thus, the Soviet Government is well-informed and aware of what is happening to believers all over the country. The persecution of Christians in the U.S.S.R. is a well-directed campaign from which the local authorities receive their orders from Moscow.

Now, I will speak about the persecution of wives and mothers of prisoners. Christian women are being arrested more and more frequently in the Soviet Union. Two were pulled off a train in Miner-alnye Vody in June 1986 and taken to the local jail for questioning. Margaret Gotman, a pastor's daughter, and Zinaida Vilchinskaya, a pastor's wife, are still being held in police custody. The actual charges are not yet known, but are believed to be related to the fact that both women are relatives of Christian prisoners.

As the result of many years of persecution experienced by believers, especially the lengthy imprisonment of Christian fathers, leaving families with no breadwinner, wives and mothers of imprisoned Baptist leaders organized the Council of Prisoners' Relatives in 1964. This council coordinates the distribution of material aid for prisoners families and also organizes petitions and telegrams in defense of the prisoners.

Their regular publication "Bulletin" provides the commutations of arrests, trials, beatings, fines, confiscation of property, house searches, the prohibition of parental rights, and internment of Christians in psychiatric hospitals.

The "Bulletin" is widely recognized as the most reliable source of information regarding persecution of Baptists. Soviet authorities have never appreciated systematic documentation of their illegal activities. In this case, they are attempting to curtail the spread of information by terrorizing the middle-aged woman who collects and publishes this information.

For example, Aleksandra Kozorezova, the director of Council of Prisoners' Relatives, has just welcomed her husband, Aleksei Kozorezova, home after 5 years of imprisonment. The police raided their house, this time searching for her. She was advised by the local church leaders to go underground in July 1985. Another Christian woman, Serafima Yuditseva was arrested and sentenced to 2 years imprisonment, effective when the youngest of her 13 children turns 5 years of age. Her husband, Vasily Yuditseva, was arrested in February 1986, just weeks before the eldest son, Andrei, returned home after 3½ years imprisonment.

Ulyana Germaniuk was arrested and sentenced to 3-years of imprisonment in July 1985, when her husband, preacher Stepan Germaniuk, was still in his third year of of such regime. Also, I have names of other Christian leaders that were threatened with arrest and criminal cases were opened against them.

So, this is a very important issue about persecution of wives and mothers of Christian prisoners, and the other issue is the life imprisonment.

One of the most recent methods used on some of Christian prisoners is denying them their release. Therefore, they serve lifeterm sentences. In such cases, although a prisoner's term is completed, he is resentenced to additional years of imprisonment.

In 1983, a mandate was passed as an appendix to RSFSR Criminal Code Statute 188-3, giving the director of labor camp the authority to add as much as 5 years to the sentence of a prisoner who has broken a camp rule or has not reformed by the end of his term.

The following offenses constitute sufficient cause for resentencing a Christian prisoner: praying, talking with other prisoners about God, possessing a Gospel or Scripture portion, and referring to God in personal letters to his family members. By atheistic standards, the Christian prisoner has only adequately reformed if he rejects God and denies his religious convictions.

In the past 3 years, nine Evangelical Baptist ministers have experienced such resentencing. Nikolai Baturin, now in his 24th year of imprisonment, was resentenced in 1984 to 2 more years. Yakov Skornyakov, now in his 13th year of imprisonment, was resentenced in 1983 to 3 more years.

Rudolph Klassen, recently released after more than 10 years of imprisonment, was resentenced in 1983 to 3 more years. Aleksei Kozorezov was imprisoned for 12½ years and was resentenced in 1983 to 1½ years. Aleksei Kalyashin, now in his 6th year of imprisonment, was resentenced in 1984 to 2½ years. Nikolai Boiko, now in his 17th year of imprisonment, was resentenced in 1985 to 2½ years.

Ivan Shidykh, now in his 8th year of imprisonment, was resentenced in 1985 to 2½ years. Mikail Khorev, now in his 12th year, was resentenced in 1985 to 2 more years. Pyotr Rumachik, now in his 17th year of imprisonment, was resentenced in 1986 to 5 more years.

The following prisoners, now approaching their release dates, have been notified that new cases are being prepared against them. Ivan Antonov, now serving his 21st year of imprisonment; Fyodor Makhovitsky, Dmitri Enns and Peter Bondar.

Over the years, Christians in the Soviet Union have sent thousands of petitions to the Soviet Government detailing incidents of persecution and requesting that it be curtailed. The "1985 Annual Report" of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives is an example of such documents sent to the Soviet Government.

In response to such pleas, the Soviet authorities have only intensified the terror against Christians. However, here in the West, the awareness of the persecution of innocent people is accompanied by the responsibility to act on their behalf. The Soviet Government is sensitive to the voice of the West.

Mr. YATRON. Ms. Vins, excuse me. I hate to interrupt but it would be appreciated if you could conclude your statement because we have to proceed to the question and answer period.

Ms. VINS. OK.

Mr. YATRON. Your entire written statement will be printed in the record.

Ms. VINS. I just want to say that there are four specific people that we ask the U.S. Congress to pay special attention, and there are two Christian women, Ulyana Germaniuk and Serafima Yudin-tseva, and their cases have to be raised before the Soviet officials, and two men, Pyotr Rumachik, who was resentenced to 5 more years after 16 years of imprisonment, and Ivan Antonov, who spent 21 years and was threatened to be resentenced, to raise your voice about them.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Vins follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF NATALIA VINS

PERSECUTION OF EVANGELICAL BAPTISTS IN THE SOVIET UNION

Religious freedom has not existed in the Soviet Union since atheists came to power in 1917. One of the first assignments of state atheism was the eradication of religion. In their attempt to destroy faith in God, Soviet authorities use all accessible means of persecution. Here is only a partial list of the methods employed by the atheists in their fierce battle against Christians: arrests and trials; prison beatings; internment in psychiatric hospitals; house raids and searches; confiscation of Bibles, New Testaments, tape recorders, cassette recordings of sermons and music; children taken from Christian parents; disruption of worship services by the militia and KGB; slander campaigns against Christians in magazines, newspapers, on TV and radio.

The 1929 Legislation Concerning Religious Cults reflects the official attitude toward religion while Stalin was in power. The same laws remain in effect today. In addition, many secret mandates, instructions and decrees are used by authorities in their warfare against God.

Since the 1929 Legislation went into effect, tens of thousands of Christians have been arrested and tortured in Soviet prisons and labor camps. Between 1929-1940, more than 25 thousand Evangelical Baptist ministers were arrested; 22 thousand of them died as prisoners. During the same years, almost all church buildings and temples were closed or destroyed.

Although the intensity of persecution has fluctuated over the years, it has never ceased. Persecution of Evangelical Baptists was intensified in the early 1960's and continues to the present. Today more than 150 Baptists are incarcerated for actively practicing their faith.

Since it will be impossible in this short report to describe completely all the persecution of Christians in the USSR today, I wish to deal with two characteristic aspects of persecution which have become much more common in the last few years. They are the persecution of Christian women who are the wives and mothers of Christian prisoners, and the resentencing of imprisoned Christian ministers, which essentially means that they are sentenced for life.

For a more complete picture of what is happening to Christians in the Soviet Union, I wish to refer you to a document which we recently received from the Soviet Union, the "Annual Report for 1985" sent to the Soviet government by the Council of Prisoners' Relatives of the Evangelical Baptists (see attached). This report documents the many incidents of persecution which took place in 1985: new arrests and trials, disruption of worship services, searches, slander of Christians in the Soviet press, as well as the status of Christian prisoners and Christians interned in psychiatric hospitals, and much more.

Believers in the Soviet Union send hundreds of letters and petitions like this to the Kremlin every year. Thus the Soviet government is well-informed and aware of what is happening to believers all over the country. The persecution of Christians in the USSR is a well directed campaign, for which the local authorities receive their orders from Moscow.

Persecution of Wives and Mothers of Prisoners

As a result of the many years of persecution experienced by believers, especially the lengthy imprisonment of Christian fathers, leaving families with no breadwinner, wives and mothers of imprisoned Baptist leaders organized the Council of Prisoners' Relatives (CPR) in 1964. The CPR coordinates the distribution of material aid for prisoners' families, organizes petitions and telegrams in defense of the prisoners, and serves as an information network throughout the 2000 independent Evangelical Baptist churches across the country.

Soviet authorities, anxious to stifle news from persecuted Christians, have finally resorted to arresting prisoners' wives. Ulyana Germaniuk, wife of prisoner Stepan Germaniuk, was sentenced in 1985 to 3 years. Serafima Yuditseva, wife of an imprisoned pastor and mother of Baptist prisoner Andrei Yuditsev, was sentenced on March 1, 1985, to two years imprisonment, effective March 1, 1987 (when her youngest child reaches age 5). Criminal proceedings were started against Valentina Firsova not long after her husband's release. Lubov Kostiuhenko, wife of prisoner Grigory Kostiuhenko, and Vera Khoreva, wife of prisoner Mikhail Khorev, and Lubov Rumachik, wife of imprisoned pastor Pyotr Rumachik, were recently interrogated and threatened with arrest.

Just weeks after the release of her husband, Aleksandra Kozorezova, 49, mother of ten children, was forced underground as KGB agents sought to arrest and imprison her. For five years Mrs. Kozorezova had actively awaited her husband's return from prison. Despite threats that he would be rearrested before seeing freedom, Aleksei Kozorezov was finally released on June 20. No sooner had Mr. Kozorezov returned to his family when KGB raided

their home and conducted a search, this time looking for Mrs. Kozorezova. Local pastors promptly advised her to go into hiding and continue her ministry as director of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives.

The most recent incident of attacks on Christian women occurred in May, 1986, when Zinaida Vilchinskaya from Brest was arrested. Mrs. Vilchinskaya is a member of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives, and is the mother of Galina Vilchinskaya, a young Christian woman who served five years imprisonment for working in a children's Bible camp.

Life Imprisonment

One of the most recent methods of persecution used on some of the Christian prisoners is denying them their release. They are forced to serve a life-time sentence. In such cases, although a prisoner's term is completed, he is resented to additional years of imprisonment.

In 1983 a mandate was passed as an appendix to RSFSR Criminal Code Statute 188-3, giving the director of a labor camp the authority to add as much as five years to the sentence of a prisoner who has broken a camp rule or has not "reformed" by the end of his term.

The following "offenses" constitute sufficient cause for resentencing a Christian prisoner: praying, talking with other prisoners about God, possessing a gospel or Scripture portion, writing Bible verses and poems, and referring to God in personal letters to family members. By atheistic standards, a Christian prisoner has only adequately "reformed" if he rejects God and denies his religious convictions.

In the past three years, nine Evangelical Baptist ministers have experienced such resentencing: Nikolai Baturin, 59, now in his twenty-fourth year of imprisonment, was resented in 1984 to two more years; Yakov Skornyakov, 58, now in his thirteenth year of imprisonment, was resented in 1983 to three more years; Rudolph Klassen, 55, recently released after ten years imprisonment, was resented in 1983 to three more years; Aleksei Kozorezov, 53, was imprisoned for 12.5 years, resented in 1983 to 1.5 years (released June 1985); Aleksei Kalyashin, 31, now in his sixth year of imprisonment, was resented in 1984 to 2.5 years; Nikolai Boiko, 64, now in his seventeenth year of imprisonment, was resented in 1985 to 2.5 years; Ivan Shidych, 50, now in his eighth year, was resented in 1985 to 2.5 years; Mikhail Khorev, 55, now in his twelfth year of imprisonment, was resented in 1985 to two more years; Pyotr Rumachik, 55, now in his seventeenth year of imprisonment, was resented in 1986 to five more years.

The following prisoners, now approaching their release dates, have been notified that new cases are being prepared against them: Ivan Antonov, 67, now serving his twenty-first year of imprisonment; Fyodor Makhovitsky, 56, now serving his ninth year of imprisonment; Dmitri Enns, 32, in his fifth year; Peter Bondar, 33, in his second year of imprisonment.

Conclusion

Over the years, Christians in the Soviet Union have sent thousands of petitions to the Soviet government detailing incidents of persecution and requesting that it be curtailed. The 1985 Annual Report of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives is an example of the documents sent to the government. In response to such pleas, the authorities have only intensified the terror against Christians.

However, here in the West, the awareness of the persecution of innocent people is accompanied by the responsibility to act on their behalf. The Soviet government is sensitive to the voice of the West.

Representatives of the United States Congress meet with Soviet officials here in Washington and also make official visits to Moscow. It is necessary that during such meetings, American officials give attention to the question of human rights in the Soviet Union, especially the matter of persecution for religious reason, and speak up in defense of prisoners of conscience who have been convicted for Christian activities. It is especially urgent that the question be raised of the increased persecution of Christian mothers who are the wives of prisoners, in particular **Ulyana Germaniuk** and **Zinaida Vilchinskaya**, and also the matter of resentencing Baptist pastors, in particular an **Pyotr Rumachik**, 55, who has already served sixteen years imprisonment and was recently resentenced to five more years, and **Ivan Antonov**, 67, in his twenty-first year of imprisonment and is now threatened with a new sentence.

It is to the defense of innocent Christian prisoners that the Bible, the Word of God, summons us: "Deliver those who are being taken away to death, and those who are staggering to slaughter, O hold them back." (Proverbs 24:11)

EVANGELICAL BAPTIST
 COUNCIL OF PRISONERS' RELATIVES
 IN THE SOVIET UNION

1985 ANNUAL REPORT

"...From everyone who has been given much shall much be required; and to whom they entrusted much, of him they will ask all the more." (Luke 12:48)

"...Therefore the law is ignored, and justice is never upheld. For the wicked surround the righteous; therefore justice comes out perverted." (Habakkuk 1:4)

Before we set forth the facts about the status of Evangelical Baptist believers in the Soviet Union during year of 1985, we first urgently ask you, the leaders of our country, to give your attention to the words from the Holy Bible which we have quoted as an epigraph. At the beginning of each year we send you an annual report, describing the true situation during the preceding year of Evangelical Baptist believers, who are united by the ministry of the Council of Evangelical Baptist Churches. We desire to bring to your attention the fact that believers who are citizens of the USSR have no rights, in order that you will take the necessary action to radically change the situation of believers for the better. It is in no way our intention to defame the Soviet government before the world community, as we are often accused of doing. Yet we are unable to remain silent, we cannot fail to write and speak about the fact that "...we are sold...to be destroyed, to be slain, and to perish" (Esther 7:4). "For how can [we] endure to see the evil that shall come unto [our] people? or how can [we] endure to see the destruction of [our] kindred?" (Esther 8:6)

Having described for you year after year what is happening to Christians in the USSR, we urgently request that you change the existing "1929 Legislation Governing Religious Cults," which caused the death of many thousands of Christians in the 1930's, who were sentenced to life terms in prisons and camps far away from their relatives, without the right to any kind of contact with them. They were later rehabilitated and acknowledged to be innocent after most of them had already died. The basis for their conviction was the Stalinist "Legislation Governing Religious Cults," which remains in force today, with only minor and insignificant changes.

We state once again that this legislation is in direct contradiction to the teachings of Jesus Christ. While the Constitution makes the practice of our faith legal, at the same time you deprive us of our rights through the 1929 Legislation, and we are sentenced to lengthy prison terms, not for violating the Constitution, which is the foundation for the laws of the country, but rather for violations of the "Legislation Governing Religious Cults." Believers cannot fulfil the requirements of this legislation without departing from the teachings of Jesus Christ. To conform to the legislation we have to stop being Christians.

With every passing year the position of the Evangelical Baptist believers in the USSR has gotten worse. We cannot describe here all the details of persecution of Christians but we present only a few of the most outstanding and characteristic examples.

COUNCIL OF EVANGELICAL BAPTIST CHURCHES

The Council of Evangelical Baptist Churches [CEBC], elected by the Evangelical Baptist believers as their spiritual center, has been subjected to continued persecution during 1985. The President of the CEBC, **Gennady Konstantinovich KRYUCHKOV**, continues to work under unbelievably difficult circumstances, far from his home and family, as he carries on the ministry entrusted to him by God and the church. The search for him has intensified, and his picture is posted in train stations and other public buildings throughout the country. KGB agents have not concealed their malice toward him, but have expressed it openly during the interrogations of other believers in various areas of the country. As a minister of God, G. K. Kryuchkov is not a state criminal, nor does he endanger the security of the country, and therefore we consider that the KGB should have no concern with him.

Almost all of the members of the CEBC are presently in labor camps or exile. Those whose sentences were to have ended in 1985 were not released, but rather were resented on the basis of charges fabricated by the KGB.

CEBC member **Mikhail Ivanovich KHOREV**, classified as a class II invalid because of his poor vision, was subjected to cruel repression all during 1984, on orders of the KGB at the camp in Omsk where he was serving his sentence, uchr. UK 16/9. He was set up by the authorities and provoked into violations of regime; he was endlessly placed in solitary confinement and punishment cells where, in the course of 5-1/2 months, he spent 135 days; he was deprived of meetings with his family and packages from them and was not allowed to use the camp commissary, and finally, on January 28, 1985, he was convicted of violating regime and sentenced to another two years of imprisonment. He was sent to Ulan-Ude, far away from his family. (His wife and three sons live in Kishinev.)

CEBC Vice-president **Fyotr Vasilievich RUMACHIK** (uchr. YaG 14/5, g. Chita) was also subjected to cruel repression on orders from the KGB all during 1984 and part of 1985. He was constantly placed in solitary confinement, sometimes falsely charged with violations of regime and sometimes provoked into violations. In connection with the petitions of his family, the Council of Prisoners' Relatives, and other believers, these incidents of repression against P. V. Rumachik were temporarily suspended. The authorities deliberately gave the appearance of making preparations for his release: inquiries were made concerning his family's place of residence and the acquisition of a residence permit for him; he was granted a three-day meeting with his family; he was notified that he would be on probation for one year following his release. But then on August 9, six days before the end of his five year term, P. V. Rumachik was transferred to the investigation prison with new criminal charges brought against him on the basis of article 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. On January 2, P. V. Rumachik was tried before the Chita regional court and on February 7, the court pronounced a

...rue] sentence, five more years of imprisonment to be added to his just completed five year term. In total, P. V. Rumachik has already spent 16-1/2 years in prisons, camps, and exile for his faithfulness to the Lord, and he has been brought before the court six times to give an answer for the hope that is in him (I Peter 3:15). Does this not clearly demonstrate the KGB's determination to physically and emotionally destroy the ministers of the CEBC?

Authorities are clearly preparing to resentence CEBC member **Ivan Yakovlevich ANTONOV** (uchr. YaF 306/2, Tuvinskaya ASSR) even though his present term of imprisonment does not end until 1987. (He was sentenced in 1982 to 5 years imprisonment plus 5 years exile.) The KGB are preparing grounds for a repeated sentence. He is constantly provoked into violations of regime and placed in solitary confinement and punishment cells. I. Ya. Antonov's health has been ruined as a result of sixteen years of imprisonment, and constant threats and harassment by the KGB whenever he was in freedom. His wife, Neouila Ivanovna, who lives in Kirovograd, an elderly, ill woman who has raised three children, has also been subjected to constant persecution and threats by the KGB.

CEBC member **Grigory Vasilievich KOSTIUCHENKO** (uchr. UO 68/4, g. Armavir, Krasnodarsky krai) was taken to the camp infirmary on October 28, 1985, supposedly for a check-up. (He was not sick.) Three days later, KGB agents from Krasnodar, dressed as doctors, came to the camp and summoned G. V. Kostiuchenko for an examination. They offered him a glass of tea, and after two swallows he lost consciousness. They began trying to revive him, meanwhile questioning him about the location of G. K. Kryuchkov. Late in the evening, G. V. Kostiuchenko was taken to the ward by orderlies. At this point he was completely unconscious. What these KGB "doctors" did with him for five hours, no one knows. G. V. Kostiuchenko did not regain consciousness until seven o'clock the next morning. That day when the "doctors" came to see him, G. V. Kostiuchenko told them that they were not doctors at all, but KGB agents. He was immediately transferred to the hospital at Ust-Labinsk where he was kept in isolation with a diagnosis of infectious hepatitis. Our petitions for him received answers from the prosecutor general of Krasnodarsky krai, Yu. E. Kalinichenko, and the deputy director of the corrective labor camp administration, V. P. Dimidenko. The former wrote that G. V. Kostiuchenko had been released from the hospital after recovering from severe viral hepatitis "A." The latter wrote that G. V. Kostiuchenko had been hospitalized because of a flare up of chronic liver and gall bladder problems.

CEBC General Secretary **Nikolai Grigorievich BATURIN** (uchr. ZhD 158/4, g. Dzambul) was resentenced in 1984, a year before the end of his five year term, to an additional three years of imprisonment by the Kemerovsky district court. N. G. Baturin, 58, has spent more than twenty-five years in prisons, camps, and exile for his faithful service to Christ. During the years of freedom he was constantly persecuted by the KGB and was compelled to carry on his service to God far from his family. His health has been completely undermined.

CEBC member **Yakov Grigorievich SKORNYAKOV**, 58, was also resentenced in 1983, at the end of a five year term, to three more years of imprisonment, and was transported to the Mangyshlaksкая oblast, uchr. GM 172/5. His

health is very poor. He suffers from stomach, liver, and heart problems, and has great difficulty meeting his work quotas.

CEBC member **Yakov Yefremovich IVASCHENKO**, 54, after serving a four year term of imprisonment in camp, was sent in 1985 to the Yakutskaya ASSR (Verkhnekamsky raion, pos. Zyryanka) for four years of exile. The Ivaschenko family lives in Kiev. While in the camp, Ya. Ye. Ivaschenko suffered from pneumonia and lower back pain. Although his health conditions required that he avoid being chilled, the KGB sent him to exile to the very coldest part of the country.

CEBC member **Veniamin Aleksandrovich MARKEVICH**, 48, is serving his prison term in the Yakutskaya ASSR (uchr. YaD 40/6, pos. Mokhsogollokh), several thousand kilometers from his family who live in Ordzhonikidze in the Caucasus. He has been deprived of virtually all correspondence with his family due to the religious contents of the letters. The camp administration has warned him that he will be punished if there are any Bible references in the letters. This is interesting: the newspapers, television, courts and prosecutors try to convince the public, that people in our country are not imprisoned for believing in God, but rather that there is complete religious freedom. If you want to believe in God, then believe; if not, then don't. But at the same time they openly forbid a man to mention God in his letters, and even threaten to punish him for it!

CEBC member **Dmitri Vasilievich MINYAKOV** (uchr. UR 65/4, g. Kuibyshev) suffers from very serious health problems: tuberculosis, bronchial asthma, heart problems and other ailments. However, on orders from a KGB agent in Tallin, he was denied the special diet which the medical commission had prescribed for him for the rest of his term, as well as the right to use the camp commissary or receive food parcels from home. His class II invalid status was changed to class III so that he could be sent back to work. The purpose of this was to wear him down physically. He was repeatedly placed in punishment cells for failing to meet his work quotas. As a result of all this he was driven to the point of utter physical exhaustion. He was released on Jan. 21, 1986, at the end of his five year term, but he was then placed on probation for a year.

CEBC member **Pavel Timofeevich RYTIKOV** was released on April 7, 1985, with one year of probation. He received his first warning from the authorities when his grown children came to visit from Krasnodar and brought their friends, who spent the night in the Rytikov's home. Policemen entered the house at two o'clock in the morning when everyone was asleep, including the Rytikov's young children. Seeing the shoes of the guests, the policemen announced that no unauthorized person was allowed to spend the night. P. T. Rytikov received his second warning for his presence at a worship service, and he was put in jail for a short term sentence (10 days). Instead of waiting for the third warning and subsequent arrest, P. T. Rytikov was compelled to leave home in order to continue the ministry committed to him by God, separated once again from his wife and ten children, four of whom are minors. On January 30, 1986, P. T. Rytikov was taken off a train and arrested.

CEBC member **Aleksei Timofeevich KOZOREZOV** was released from camp (uchr. IV 301/86, g. Vinnitsy) after a repeated sentence (6-1/2 years). He was placed on probation for one year. There were no grounds for his being placed on

probation because he had no violations of regime while he was in the camp, he worked well, and always overfilled his quotas. When the authorities at the Voroshilovgrad police headquarters informed him of his probation, they forbade him to go to Evangelical Baptist worship services, and referred to the Christian meetings as mobs disturbing the peace. A. T. Kozorezov told the police chief and inspector that as a Christian he could not meet their demands, and further said that peaceful gatherings of Christians were not mobs and did nothing to disturb the peace. Soon after this a criminal case was opened against his wife (more details about this follow). Within a short time the KGB began to persecute Aleksei Timofeevich, and he was given his first warning for being present at an Evangelical Baptist worship service. He received the second warning because, being burdened with many responsibilities in his large family, he forgot to go and register at the police station on the designated day. The next day he remembered and went to the police station first thing in the morning to explain why he had not come the day before. But he received a warning anyway. Apparently the authorities were already preparing to arrest him again. Instead of waiting to receive the third warning and be arrested, A. T. Kozorezov was compelled to leave home in order to continue the ministry committed to him by God and the church.

COUNCIL OF PRISONERS' RELATIVES

The Council of Prisoners' Relatives (CPR) of the Evangelical Baptists has undergone severe persecution during 1985. The Council of Prisoners' Relatives is made up of women whose husbands have been imprisoned for their faithfulness to God. The ministry of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives cannot be called "underground." We openly write our petitions to the government, asking that they normalize relations between the Evangelical Baptist churches and the state by putting a stop to the illegal actions taken against believers by the government authorities, both on local and national level. We do not invent the facts which are included in our letters, telegrams, and urgent reports. Our petitions are based on reports which are sent to us by Evangelical Baptist believers in all parts of the country. Our letters and statements always include our signatures and return address, which testifies of the fact that the information contained in them is true. Generally the Council of Prisoners' Relatives receives copies of the original petitions which the believers send directly to the local government officials and to you. All petitions are included in the Bulletins of the Council of Prisoners Relatives. (The Bulletin is a collection of letters and statements from believers.) We regularly send these Bulletins to you, with our return address indicated, which demonstrates that the ministry of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives is carried on openly, not underground, and does not intend to slander the Soviet state order.

However, the members of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives have been subjected to persecution, and copies of the CPR Bulletins and the documents and petitions of the believers are confiscated by the police, KGB, and prosecutors, and are used as evidence in court against believers who are accused of slandering Soviet reality. Amazingly, while these documents are used to accuse Christians of slander, the courts have never satisfied the legal demand of the defendants that the court investigate the facts presented in the Bulletins and urgent reports, and that they summon and

question the victims who have written and signed the original documents. The judges are usually satisfied with the hackneyed testimony of the official representatives of the authorities, who themselves are the ones guilty of causing the suffering of the Christians. They deny their own guilt and accuse the innocent people they persecute. Thus the trials against Christians do not result in justice, but rather in an even greater crime: the innocent are convicted and the guilty are vindicated!

After authorities filed a criminal case against **Aleksandra Timofeevich KOZOREZOVA** on the basis of articles 138-2, 187-1, and 209-1, Mrs. Kozorezova was forced to leave her home in Voroshilovgrad in order to continue her ministry as the director of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives of the Evangelical Baptists, a ministry for which she was chosen by the believers of the Evangelical Baptist churches. On July 15, 1985, the Voroshilovgrad district prosecutor issued a warrant for her arrest and announced a nation-wide search. Aleksandra Kozorezova is the mother of ten children, three of whom are minors, the youngest being seven. One of the Kozorezov sons, age 23, is a class I invalid (he cannot walk, is confined to bed). One of the daughters, age 14, is afflicted with a serious form of diabetes which she developed several years ago as a result of severe emotional trauma connected with a search of their home. These children are now left as orphans, without father or mother. [Alexei Kozorezov is also in hiding.]

Ulyana Sergeevna GERMANIUK, a member of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives, was arrested on July 23, 1985, at the home of her married daughter in the village of Vladimirovki, Krymskaya oblast. She was taken to the investigation prison in Kharkov. Mrs. Germaniuk, the mother of five children, is a very sick, elderly woman. For a long time the prosecutor's office refused to tell Mrs. Germaniuk's children where she was being held. They petitioned for her release, even going to the office of the prosecutor general of the USSR and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The Council of Prisoners' Relatives also petitioned on her behalf. But in spite of the petitions, she was tried in the Kharkov district court on September 18 and 19 and was sentenced to 3 years imprisonment. The trial was held in the club building of a military production compound [restricted access area]. U.S. Germaniuk was falsely accused of organizing and directing meetings of Evangelical Baptist believers. The fact that she is a member of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives was never mentioned during the trial.

Now Mrs. Germaniuk is in a camp in Kharkov (uchr. YuZh 313/54) in critical condition. She suffers from high blood pressure, arteriosclerosis, heart disease, kidney stones, chronic bronchitis, and gastritis. It is obvious that in sentencing such an ill woman to three years, the KGB are counting on the severe conditions in the camp to hasten her demise. The higher courts are unwilling to review the case because the matter is being directed by the KGB.

The Council of Prisoners' Relatives received a letter on Dec. 12, 1985, from the prosecutor of the USSR which said: "Germaniuk's guilt has been proven by the testimony of witnesses, the documents presented in the case, and other evidence. Her sentence was determined in accordance with her criminal actions, within the boundaries set by the law." This letter was signed by N. A. Maslennikova, the procurator in charge of reviewing cases. Who were the

"witnesses" who testified of U.S. Germaniuk's guilt? They were workers of the executive committee, policemen, and militiaman who had been told what to say by the investigator. The investigator in turn had been briefed by agents of the KGB. Were there any believers who corroborated this testimony, that Mrs. Germaniuk had organized and directed meetings? No believers were called to the trial as witnesses, although, by all rights, their testimony should have received the most consideration. Mrs. Germaniuk is now dying in a prison camp. When her children visited her, they could barely recognize her. The spark of life flickers dimly in her worn out body. Her husband **Stepan Grigorievich GERMANIUK**, a member of the CEBC, has also languished in prison as a Christian.

On March 1, 1985, in the city of Khartsysk, **Serafima Anatolevna YUDINTSEVA**, another member of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives, was sentenced to two years of imprisonment, to begin two years after the date of sentencing. Mrs. Yudintseva is the mother of 13 children. At the time of the trial, the youngest boy was two and the youngest girl five. Mrs. Yudintseva is forbidden, under penalty of arrest, to leave the city. The primary charge against her at the trial was that she had organized meetings of believers. The verdict mentioned only in passing that Mrs. Yudintseva is a member of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives. In spite of our many petitions, the courts are unwilling to impartially review Mrs. Yudintseva's case. The Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR invariably answers our petitions thus: "Yudintseva's guilt has been confirmed. Yudintseva's actions were judged properly on the basis of article 167-3 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, and the punishment was determined in accordance with the particular details of her case." (Signed: P. G. Tsuprenko, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR, Dec. 4, 1985, no. 5-284 and 85.) Is this anything more than a form letter?

The newspaper "Izvestia" printed an open letter on August 4, 1985 (no. 217), entitled "Don't Take Aim at Mothers!" which was signed by five feminist leaders of the world, among them V. V. Tereshkova. The letter says, "Raising a hand against a mother, a woman who has given life, has throughout history been considered a heinous crime..." V. V. Tereshkova is a member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and chairman of the Committee for Women's Rights. As such she defends the rights of women in the world arena, taking part in conferences all over the world, speaking and signing documents in defense of the rights of women and children everywhere. Women in other countries also sign such documents. We, the Christian women of the Soviet Union, by sentence of the courts, are deprived of our husbands not for three or six months or even a year, but for decades, because our husbands wish to serve God, because we raise our children as Christians, because we wish to read Christian literature, not atheist literature. Even though our husbands are alive, our children grow up as orphans! Their fathers are dying in bonds because of the cruel sentence of the courts, and before their release, for no cause, they receive additional terms of imprisonment. Now our children are being deprived not only of their fathers but also of their mothers, leaving them complete orphans! And when we Christian mothers appeal to you who are in authority, asking for the restoration of our legitimate human rights, defending our husbands and children, you not only remain indifferent to our cries, but you give orders for hands to be raised against Christian mothers! We love our Lord and we wish to serve Him with our families. We support and encourage our husbands in their service to the Lord, as we support all of the brothers and sisters

of the Evangelical Baptist churches united by the ministry of the Council of Evangelical Baptist Churches.

CHRISTIAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

As before, the Christian Publishing House is still being persecuted in our country. We have already written to you many times that the literature published by the Christian Publishing House is purely religious in content. However, throughout the country all those who are involved in the printing of literature are persecuted, and the literature itself is confiscated.

On October 17, 1985, in the village of Staraya Obrezha, Moldavia, six workers of the Christian Publishing House were arrested: A. V. Borinsky, 29; Z. P. Tarasova, 44; N. T. Shevchenko, 30; L. Y. Ivaschenko, 25; A. R. Yanushevskaya, 32; Ye. R. Yanushevskaya, 30. They were printing the Gospel in the Moldavian language. At the time of the arrest, all the Gospels that they had printed and all of the blank paper were confiscated. Never has the legitimate request of the Moldavian Christians for the Gospel in their own language been satisfied; not one copy of the Gospel has ever been printed in Moldavian in the Soviet Union. What crime, then, did these Christians commit by printing the Gospel for the Moldavian Christians in their own native tongue? Is it really possible that by doing this they endangered the security of the state, making it necessary for the KGB to deal with them?

And this is how the KGB and the prosecutor's office dealt with the elderly owners of the house where the printing team was working. Georgi Vladimirovich ROTARU, 70, and Maria Ivanovna ROTARU, 69, were taken by deceitful means to the prosecutor in Kishinev on December 17, 1985. They were interrogated all day without being given anything to eat and without even being allowed to take a rest. They were taken to a hotel for the night, and the next morning brought back to the prosecutor's office for more questioning. Maria Ivanovna, whose health is poor, was totally exhausted and began feeling ill. At this point the interrogators shoved some papers at her and demanded that she sign them. Maria Ivanovna, who does not speak Russian, and was at this point in nearly helpless condition, signed everything they told her to. Georgi Vladimirovich, who also does not understand Russian well, and who was being questioned in another room, was also forced to sign papers. After the authorities had achieved this, they took the two old people to the bus station and left them there, even though it was late at night and the buses had already stopped running. Georgi and Maria Rotaru told the prosecutors agents that they do not understand Russian and asked them to remove the documents they had been forced to sign from the case against the printers, since they did not know what they had signed, and the documents should therefore be considered invalid.

ARRESTS AND TRIALS

Arrests and trials of Evangelical Baptists, united by the ministry of the Council of Evangelical Baptist Churches, continued in 1985 as in years past. During 1985, forty-four Christians were arrested and four ministers of Evangelical Baptist churches were resented instead of being released at the end of their terms. In total, on January 1, 1986, there were 143 Evangelical Baptist prisoners.

When the Christians who have experienced persecution and repression speak out and write to the government authorities, asking that their rights as citizens be restored, they are brought to trial, accused of slandering Soviet reality. Christians who show no resistance while worship services are illegally disrupted by the authorities are accused of resisting and even viciously attacking the police, as happened with P. P. Zinchenko, A. V. Yudin, V. I. Timchuk, S. R. Chudakov, V. A. Filippov and V. S. Yefremov. No amount of testimony from Christian eyewitnesses can convince the courts that there was no resistance to the police since the accusations are usually fabricated in advance by the KGB, and the specially prepared "witnesses" for the prosecution are the very policemen, militiamen and representatives from the city council who were involved in breaking up the worship service. In Leningrad, believers were standing on the platform at the train station waiting for the train after their meeting had been disrupted by the authorities. One of the men who had been involved in breaking up the service approached one of the Christian young men and hit him in an attempt to provoke a fight. The Christian did not strike back, just as earlier there had been no resistance shown when the meeting was broken up. However, five young men were arrested and sentenced to ten days in jail. At the end of ten days, two of them were released with instructions not to leave to city and three were sent to the investigation prison and subsequently sentenced to long terms of imprisonment: V. A. Filippov, S. R. Chudakov, and V. S. Yefremov. None of the petitions or testimony of the believers who were eyewitnesses could convince the court of the innocence of these Christian young men. On January 16, 1986, the Evangelical Baptist believers in Leningrad attempted to personally deliver a copy of the statement they had written to the CC CPSU about this incident to the first secretary of the Leningrad District Party Committee Yu. R. Solov'ev. The KGB learned about their intentions, though, and together with the police prevented the believers from even entering the grounds of Smolny. A similar criminal case was fabricated against the Christian S. M. Azarov and Yu. Korshnyakov in Belgorod on charges of resisting the police during the disruption of a worship service. What is actually happening? Where will the unlimited, uncontrolled activities of the KGB in regard to Christians lead? They can fabricate accusations easily without even leaving their offices!

Generally trials against Christians are held behind closed doors, although technically they are "open." In 1985, 52 Christians were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, including those who were resentenced to additional terms without being released: M. I. Khorev in Omsk, I. G. Shidych in Ust-Kamenogorsk, N. Ye. Boiko in Khabarovsk krai. On January 28, 1985, M. I. Khorev (uchr. UKh 16/9, g. Omsk) was tried and convicted to an additional term. His wife and son who had come all the way from Kishinev, were not allowed into the courtroom. On January 25, 1985, I. G. Shidych (uchr. UOV 156/2, g. Ust-Kamenogorsk) was tried and resentenced, and none of his relatives were allowed into the courtroom. U. S. Germaniuk's trial was held on the grounds of a military production compound [restricted access area] and only a few family members were allowed to be present. We write to you about this every year, but year after year the situation remains the same: the date and place of the trials are always carefully concealed, even from the family, which itself testifies to the fact that these trials are nothing more than instruments of the KGB, in cooperation with the courts, for illegal action against Christians. And all of this is done in the name of the law! In regard to believers, the Soviet organs of

justice have long since ceased to be just; as the Bible says, "You have turned justice into poison, and the fruit of righteousness into wormwood." (Amos 6:12)

STATUS OF CHRISTIAN PRISONERS

The status of Christian prisoners did not improve in 1985 in comparison with previous years. The measures used to destroy Christians physically have become more refined. Prison administrators have plainly stated to the prisoners and their families that they intend to "rot" and "destroy" the Christian prisoners. They tell the wives "You will never see him again!" We have already described above the situation of the ministers of the Council of Evangelical Baptist Churches who are in prison. The situation of the other believers is no better. The threats that the prison authorities make to the Christians, "We will rot you!" and, "We will destroy you!" have proven not to be empty, idle words. The death in a labor camp of **Nikolai Petrovich KHRAPOV** in 1982 (g. Shevchenko, Mangyshlaks kaya obl.), a member of the CEBC and a prisoner for many years for his faith, is still fresh in the memory of Christians. **Boris Timofeevich ARTIUSHENKO**, another faithful minister of the CEBC, died in the prison in Kursk in 1984. **Yakov Frantsevich DURKSEN**, a minister of the Evangelical Baptist church in Apollonovka, Omskaya oblast, died in prison camp on June 2, 1986 (uchr. UB 14/10, g. Zmeinogorsk, Altaisky krai). Ya. F. Durksen was tried and sentenced by Soviet courts three times for his faithfulness to the Lord. His last term of imprisonment was extremely hard for him, and nine months before the end of his term he died. Not long before his death he underwent surgery in the camp in Omsk, and before his wound had healed he was put on a transport to the camp in Zmeinogorsk, which is hard for even a healthy man to endure. When he arrived at the camp, he was met with hostility by the other prisoners who had been incited against him by the camp authorities. For a long time he had to endure heavy labor, malnutrition, and the hostility of the other prisoners, although in the end he won them over by his kind Christian ways. Ya. F. Durksen's health was destroyed in the prisons and camps and he died in his bonds.

In 1980, **Nikolai Yerofeevich BOIKO** was sentenced by the Odessa district court to ten years imprisonment (five years of camp, five years exile) and was transported to Khabarovsk krai. In our numerous letters and telegrams to the government, we have described the unbelievably difficult circumstances which he has had to endure: the torture by the camp administration on the orders of the KGB, the provoked violations of regime, the deprivation of scheduled meetings with his family for a period of three years, deprivation of correspondence with his family and friends because of the religious content of the letters, endless searches, constantly being put in punishment cells, the horrible unsanitary conditions in which he was held. As a result, a completely healthy man was turned into a class II invalid with high blood pressure and heart problems. His family and believers all over the country petitioned on his behalf. Several times his daughters visited the offices of the district prosecutor general in Khabarovsk and Moscow. But this did nothing to deter the malice of the KGB in Odessa who blame N. Ye Boiko for the fact that the Evangelical Church in Odessa gave up their registration while he was their pastor. (Actually, the congregation in Odessa took this step of their own accord because of the

severe restrictions harshly imposed on them by the official in charge of religious cults during the years that they were a registered congregation.)

After being subjected to continual torment, N. Ye. Boiko was placed in a punishment cell. According to the decree from the camp administration, "He refuses to take part in the general life and work of the camp (he refused to become an informer in the camp), and his negative attitude influences the people around him. He never attends political lectures and films, which constitutes a violation of regime, and for this he has been placed in solitary confinement many times and now is being placed in the punishment cell for six months, from January 2 until June 2, 1986." It is true that N. Ye. Boiko did not attend political lectures and films because of his Christian convictions, but this is his right according to the freedom of conscience guaranteed to us in this country.

Nikolai Yemelyanovich SHEPEL (uchr. YeCh 325/68, Cherkasskaya oblast), a minister of the Evangelical Baptist church in Cherkassk, has been intensely pressured by KGB agents who have visited him at the camp, trying to persuade him to collaborate with them. He was scheduled to meet with his family on December 2, but on the day of the meeting, the camp authorities planted 25 rubles in his pillow, then conducted a search and "discovered" the money. As a result, the meeting was cancelled and N. Ye. Shepel was put in solitary confinement for 15 days. Two days before this, KGB agents had come to the camp to prepare this artificial violation of regime.

Vladimir Mefodievich VLASENKO is serving his sentence in Donetskaya oblast (uchr. YuYe 312/1). Since he began petitioning for permission to have a Bible, he has been transferred from camp to camp three times and he has been deprived of meetings with his family as well as parcels and correspondence. V. M. Vlasenko was also placed in a punishment cell for refusing to work on Sunday, the regular day off for all the prisoners.

Veniamin Yerefeevich NAPRIENKO is serving his sentence in the the Buryatskaya ASSR (uchr. OV 94/4, pos. Vydrino), several thousand kilometers from his family who live in Moscow. When he arrived at the camp he was beaten up by the other prisoners who had been incited against him by the prison administration. The prisoners in his work brigade greeted him with the words, "You anti-Soviet Baptist! We're going to kill you, and we can get away with it!" As they were marching to their work station they kicked him with their heavy work boots until he fell against the barbed wire barrier. As a result of the beating, V. Ye. Naprienko had trouble breathing because of pain in his chest. He went to the prison infirmary and asked that they do an X-ray, but they refused. Only after numerous petitions on his behalf was an X-ray taken, several months after the beating. He was told that there was nothing wrong with his chest, that no one had beaten him, and that "all your complaints are worthless fabrications." However, at the republic prosecutor's office, his family was told that the camp doctor had confirmed that he was beaten. V. Ye. Naprienko suffers from serious stomach problems and he is not supposed to do hard physical labor. After his family and other believers petitioned on his behalf, he was given a special diet and a work assignment suitable for his health condition. Soon after this, KGB agents came to the camp and interrogated him in connection with the case against M. A. Pshenitsyn, a Christian from Moskovskaya oblast. Veniamin Naprienko refused to give them any information and as a result was sent back to hard labor. During a ten month period in the camp he was moved

five times from one work brigade to another, for no reason. On January 17, 1986, V. Ye. Naprienko sent a statement to M. S. Gorbachev requesting permission to have a Bible. Director of the operative division Pavlov returned his statement to him saying that no one would send his statement to Gorbachev, and Naprienko was transferred to another brigade for the sixth time. On January 26, 1986, while on a dangerous work site, V. Ye. Naprienko fell three meters from a platform and was seriously injured. The camp surgeon excused him from work until February 2, after which he was to return for an examination and if necessary he would be excused from work longer until his injury had healed completely. On February 3, before he was able to go to the doctor's office, the camp administration ordered him to be put in solitary confinement for "failure to go to work." The real reason for his being placed in solitary confinement was expressed by Ye. T. Tsvetkov, the general director of the corrective labor administration of the Buryatskaya ASSR, when he told Mrs. Naprienko that if her husband tried to send any more statements to Gorbachev he would be placed in solitary confinement and his sentence would be extended. This raises the question: is petitioning the General Secretary of the CC CPSU a punishable crime?

Pavel Petrovich ZINCHENKO (uchr. YuYe 312/2, g. Dzerzhinsk, Donetskaya obl.), is constantly being falsely accused of violations of regime. For example, someone wrote "down with communism" on the wall of the latrine, and the warden accused P. P. Zinchenko of doing it, saying that it was his handwriting. After repeatedly being summoned for discussions and threatened by the deputy warden of the operative section Torubanov, Pavel Zinchenko was told that his case had been handed over to the KGB. The camp administration has started summoning other prisoners and preparing them as false witnesses, which leads us to believe that they are planning to resentence P. P. Zinchenko.

We have described here the situation of only a few Christian prisoners to demonstrate by their example the torments which Christians are subjected to in Soviet prisons and camps. The rest of the Christian prisoners fare no better. Christians in our country are convicted as villains and are treated worse than villains. Almost all Christian prisoners have their mail restricted, to the point that some prisoners are given no mail at all and are allowed to send nothing out of the camp, the sole reason being that the letters mention God and contain words of comfort and verses from the Bible. How long will the authorities hold this ignorant attitude toward the Book which is recognized and honored throughout the world?

All Christian prisoners ask that they be allowed to use a Bible in the prison or camp. Never once have the authorities demonstrated to us the legal basis for prohibiting Bibles in places of imprisonment. They only make vague references to regulations and decrees which supposedly forbid Bibles. For example, when Christian prisoner D. P. Euns petitioned for permission to have a Bible, the senior aid to the prosecutor of the Uralskaya oblast T. K. Adilov answered him, "Convicted criminals serving sentences in corrective labor camps are not allowed to possess Gospels" (No. 17-30-85 of Aug. 2, 1985). On what law do the officials base such statements? Each year we raise this issue in our annual report as one of our chief concerns, but never yet has this legitimate human right of Soviet citizens been honored -- to have and use a Bible in imprisonment.

SPECIAL PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS

Special psychiatric hospitals remain one of the most dreadful punitive weapons used against Christians who confess Jesus Christ as their Lord.

Vladimir Pavlovich **KHAILO**, the father of fourteen children, has languished in such an institution for six years. In November, 1985, for reasons which are unknown, he was transferred to the special psychiatric hospital in Blagoveschensk, Amurskaya oblast. V. P. Khailo was interned in the psychiatric hospital solely because he sent petitions to the authorities describing all the illegal actions of the local officials against him, and requesting that he and his family be allowed to live as Christians. For six years he has been confined in the horrible conditions of a psychiatric hospital, his health ruined by forcible "treatment" with powerful drugs. Now he has been transferred to a special psychiatric hospital in a closed zone, thousands of kilometers from his family, where authorities apparently intend to finish the job of destroying him physically.

Anatoli Fedorovich **RUNOV** is in a psychiatric hospital in Leningrad (uchr. US 20). He is constantly subjected to powerful drug treatments which have ruined his health. He suffers from high blood pressure and pain in his kidneys, bladder, legs and heart. He is not given the letters that come to him from friends, and letters from his wife he is only allowed to read but not keep.

Anna Vasilievna **CHERTKOVA** has now been in a psychiatric hospital for thirteen years (uchr. UE 148, g. Kazan). For what conceivable reason has this Christian lady been tormented in these horrible conditions for so many years?

PERSECUTION OF CHILDREN

During 1985, the children of Christians in many parts of the country were subjected to interrogations by agents from the prosecutor's office in the absence of their parents. Parents in the village of Usatovo, Odesskaya oblast, were alarmed when their children were interrogated at school. They demanded that the humiliation of their children be stopped and were compelled to keep them home from school. Twenty-six children missed school for four days.

In the village of Orlovo, Altaysky krai, on May 14, 1985, the prosecutor and a Party member interrogated children of Christians about their parents and about internal church affairs. In the city of Timoshevsk, Krasnodarsky krai, in April, 1985, at school number 26, agents from the prosecutor's office interrogated Volodya Dubovsky, a student in the fourth class, and held him until 5.00 in the evening. He arrived home in tears. The teachers at school are very prejudiced in their attitude toward him and they are lowering his grades.

Parents in the Rostovskaya and Voroshilovgradskaya oblasts organized an outdoor camping trip for their children. The KGB and police raided the campsite. They searched the children's personal possessions and the tents where they slept and then drove the children into the city and interrogated them. Later, agents from the prosecutor's office interrogated the children at school in the absence of their parents. A criminal case was raised against **Grigory Bublik**, father of four small children, on the accusation that he was in charge of the camping excursion. The authorities also threatened to file charges in the same matter against **Aleskandr Sazhnev**, father of Leonid and Vera, who were among the children, although he only took his children to the campsite. We are troubled by this question: on the basis of what Soviet law do the children of Christian parents not have the right to camp outdoors during their summer vacation, and on what grounds do the authorities raise criminal cases against the adults who were with the children?!

In the village of Malaya Saltanovka, near Kiev, **Vasily Gritsenko** was sentenced to three years imprisonment by the Kiev regional court. The verdict included a decision to petition the Vasilkovsky regional court that V.I. Gritsenko and his wife be deprived of their rights as parents since they are raising their children as Christians. Immediately after the trial, V.I. Gritsenko's wife took three of her children with her and went to Moscow to appeal to the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. At the CC CPSU she was received by comrade Krylov who treated her very rudely and declared that there was nothing she could do to help, that all such questions were decided by the local authorities, and that if she didn't like the court's decision she could complain to the court. At the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Mrs. Gritsenko was received by a woman who did not give her name and who answered her more or less with these words: "Our State is atheistic! The State is responsible for children too, and since the State is atheistic, it is unacceptable to raise children religiously. And don't talk to me about that Constitution!" At the present time, S.M. Karlinskaya, one of the teachers at the school, is constantly threatening Vera Gritsenko, mother of five children, saying that soon Mrs. Gritsenko will be deprived of her rights as a mother and the children will be taken away, because by raising her five children as Christians she is raising five enemies of the people.

Children in Kiev also have been persecuted for attending worship services. Minor children have been taken to the police station without their parents for interrogation following the disruption of worship services. The police have threatened the young children that they will be sent to children's prisons and they have held the children in dark rooms without any light. Gena Shuportyak was beaten at the police station in the Dnepropetrovsky region on May 5, 1985.

DISRUPTION OF WORSHIP

In 1985, as in preceding years, worship services of ECB congregations were disrupted in many places throughout the country by the KGB and police. These disruptions were organized by the local officials responsible for religious cults as well as organs of the police and KGB. It would be impossible to describe all the cruelties of these disruptions, which are invariably followed by fines and often by administrative arrests and

imprisonments of 10-15 days. Belgorod, Vinnitsy, Bryansk, Zaporozhe, Kiev, Dnepropetrovskaya oblast, Sumskaya oblast, Voroshilovgradskaya oblast, Volynskaya oblast, Donetskaya oblast, Kharkovskaya oblast, Zakarpatskaya oblast, Leningrad, Brest, Tula, Novokuznetsk, Kursk, Altaisky krai, Omskaya oblast -- this is far from being a complete list of places where authorities broke up peaceful worship services which were not disturbing public order or harming anyone. In addition to worship services, authorities also disrupted Christian weddings (Kharkovskaya oblast, Volynskaya oblast and Donetskaya oblast) and even funerals. On June 8, 1985, in Kizlyar, Dagestanskaya ASSR, the Meged family held a funeral in their home for their son who had been tragically killed in a traffic accident. The family returned from the cemetery to find a police car parked in front of the house. Vice-chairman of the city executive committee Tretyakova was waiting there for the family and began shouting at the father, "Why didn't you inform the city executive committee? Why did you hold this funeral illegally without our knowledge?" The family was in a state of grief and Tretyakova showed up with the police and made such a shameful scene! Even the neighbors and the unsaved relatives of the deceased were shocked at the behavior of this representative from the authorities.

In autumn of 1985, believers throughout the country gathered to worship God and offer their thanksgiving for the harvest and all the blessings and the past years. In every part of the country, Thanksgiving celebrations were disrupted. The most outstanding incident occurred in the city of Brest. A large number of police cars and buses drove up to the place where the Christians were meeting. The police got out and started shouting that the service had to stop. Their sirens were blaring as they started tearing down the shelter that had been built for the meeting. Everything that happened illustrated clearly that believers have no rights in the USSR--the screaming of the sirens, the crashing of the shelter as it was torn down, the shouting and swearing of the "keepers of the peace," the indignation of the neighbors, the cries of frightened children. And the incident in Brest is not an isolated case. It is common around the country as services are broken up: the abuse and foul language of the police, the threats, the boasting that they can treat us any way they want to, the attempts to provoke opposition.

The homes of believers have not been respected during this past year: the police and other representatives of the authorities have burst into homes to check whether worship services were being held there. For example, on June 26, 1985, in the city of Kovel, Volynskaya oblast, KGB agent Markov organized a check of believers' homes from ten o'clock in the evening until midnight. Authorities burst into the believers' homes and looked through all the rooms, without any kind of search warrant from the investigator. There were similar incidents in Kiev, under the direction of KGB agent Turkovsky, and in other places. In the Donetskaya oblast and several other areas, policemen, KGB agents, and the official in charge of religious cults stormed into the homes of believers supposedly for the purpose of checking their passports. But is this really how the authorities go about checking passports?

During this past year the authorities have destroyed the homes of believers which had hosted worship services. In the city of Kishinev (ul. Pochtovaya 88), authorities demolished the house of N. I. and K. G. Nikora, where the local ECB congregation had met for twelve years for worship services. The

Nikoras were forcibly moved from their modern comfortable home to a dormitory for small families. In the village of Khortitsy, Omskaya oblast, authorities destroyed the home of Ye. A. Fast, where worship services had been held. In the Tselinogradskaya oblast (ul. Frunse 26, rudnik Akse) authorities confiscated the house belonging to the Kalmus family, a family with twelve children.

SEARCHES

During 1985, searches conducted in the homes of Christians were so numerous and carried out with such blatant violations of the law and the Criminal Code that it is impossible to describe the full extent of the illegal plunderings ordered by the local prosecutors. There remain very few cities in the USSR where the homes of Baptists were not searched in 1985. From Khabarovsk to Odessa, from Brest to Alma-Ata, the dwellings of believers all over the country were invaded by the authorities under the direction of the KGB. In one instance, the home of Valentin Naprienko in the village of Petushki, Vladimirskaya oblast, and the apartment of his brother Venianin Naprienko in Moscow were raided simultaneously. In each case, eight or nine men literally stormed in, spread out and searched all the rooms, checked every corner as if searching for someone, and only after all this announced to the families that they had come to conduct a search.

The authorities have seized all literature, notebooks, and even personal papers containing any mention of the Word of God. They have confiscated Bibles, Gospels, concordances, Bible dictionaries, songbooks, and music. On June 6, 1985, authorities searched the home of N.I. Kotenkova in Khabarovsk with a warrant for the confiscation of all "criminal weapons." The "criminal weapons" turned out to be a Bible, a Bible dictionary, hymnals, a children's Bible with pictures and other similar literature. On October 17, 1985, police searched the Savchenko home in Krivy Rog (ul. Ochakovskaya 22). The search warrant stated that they were looking for a stolen motorcycle. But instead of looking in the shed, they searched for the "stolen motorcycle" in the house, in the cabinets and shelves, among the books and clothing. They confiscated all the Christian literature they could find. Mr. objected, "These are Bibles and Gospels, not a motorcycle!" Comrade Sapko answered, "We'll have to check that ourselves."

In the city of Kremenchuga (ul. Moskovskaya 35, kv. 58) a search was conducted in the home of V.P. Shmygol in connection with the court case against his brother who was accused of supposedly stealing materials from the construction company where he works. V.P. Shmygol lives in a one room apartment on the 8th floor, and the authorities obviously were not really looking for stolen building materials there. Instead of lumber, they confiscated religious literature, cassette tapes, and even Mr. Shmygol's personal papers.

Searches of homes have often been conducted in the absence of the residents, and in several instances the authorities have broken down the doors to get in. (This happened in the city of Izmail, Odesskaya oblast, in the Levinsky and Gladirova apartments, and in the city of Maikop at the home of N.I. Bukach. In Kemerova, authorities entered the Yashukovsky home through the window.)

In April 1985, fourteen Christian homes were searched in the Donetskaya oblast. But the most massive searches throughout the country were conducted from the middle of July to the end of August in connection with the case of Aleksandra Kozorezova, director of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives. The searches were conducted primarily by KGB agents. They confiscated all literature published by the CEBC and also literature from abroad with no publisher identification. They confiscated tape recorders, cassette tapes, typewriters, paper (even in small quantities, 1 or 2 packets), typewriter ribbons, cameras, movie cameras, and so on. On July 12 a search was conducted in the Kozorezov home (ul. Oboronnaya 92) that lasted for eleven hours. Everything was confiscated: Christian literature, handwritten notes, cassette tapes, and documents of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives. Toward evening, at the end of the search, seventeen KGB agents gathered in the Kozorezov home after searching the homes of other believers in Voroshilovgrad. The search was directed by KGB representatives Fesunenko from Kiev and Andreev from Voroshilovgrad.

On June 15, 1985, at the home of Natalia Nikolaevna Naprienko in Moscow, there was a soft knock at the door. Mrs. Naprienko was not at home, but a friend of hers was there, Valentina Kalyashina from Muroma. Valentina saw a timid-looking woman at the door and started to let her in. As soon as she opened the door, nine men burst in, spread out to all the rooms, and started looking for someone in the wardrobes and under the beds. While this was going on, Inspector Dorofeev and a local police officer came into the house and showed Valentina a search warrant. The search was conducted by men in civilian clothing who refused to give their names, and the investigator only signed the papers.

In several instances, after conducting searches, the authorities have refused to leave a copy of the report with residents of the homes. This happened in the case of the Khorev family in Kishinev, the Naprienko family in Moscow, and the Vilchinsky family in Brest.

SLANDER CAMPAIGNS

Slander against Christians, which is designed to arouse hostility and hatred against Evangelical Baptist believers, has increased during 1985. This slander is spread by the KGB and their vast army of lecturers, prosecutors, investigators, judges and officials in charge of religious cults. This slander is the key element of a massive, single-minded campaign being conducted to incline the society as a whole against believers, arousing the people to demand the most cruel reprisals against Christians. Without any restraint or the slightest concern for truth, Christians are viciously slandered in lectures, at schools and places of work, in the courts, newspapers, radio and television. Any piece of malicious gossip, any fabrication or anonymous letter can become the basis for a newspaper article, lecture, television program, or even simply remarks made against believers in conversation. We have before us a collection of newspaper clippings representing only a fraction of the numerous slanderous articles against believers published across the Soviet Union. Reading through this whole pile of virulent, unbridled slander by the organs of State Security, we cannot help but think of the words of the Holy Scriptures: "There is nothing reliable in what they say; their inward part is destruction itself;

their throat is an open grave" (Ps. 5:9). "They sharpen their tongues as a serpent; poison of a viper is under their lips" (Ps 140:3).

We present here several examples. In the provincial newspaper "Sovietskaya Kaban" of August 13-15, 1985, in an article entitled "Diversion without Dynamite," Ye. Salov shamelessly lies and slanders G. V. Kostiuhenko, a minister of the Evangelical Baptist church in Timoshevsk, by calling him "...a scoundrel, parasite, vagabond and swindler... No one in the his family works, and yet the children are dressed in the finest, most stylish European fashions." The Kostiuhenko family and the believers of the Timoshevsk Evangelical Baptist church wrote a letter to the newspaper, refuting this article. On December 25, 1985, an article was published in the newspaper "Voroshilovgradskaya Pravda" entitled "Civilization and Religious Faith," in which the author, D. Vladimirovsky, goes so far as to use an anonymous letter as his source of information as he flings dirt at the Aleksandra Kozorezova and her family. But apparently it never occurs to Vladimirovsky that the letter is anonymous because it is a pure fabrication from start to finish, not written by believers, but by the "Vladimirovskys" and "Mikhailovskys" and others like them. The series of articles entitled "The History of the Yellow Notebook" by I. Sapazhnikov, a so-called "documentary" essay printed in the "Omsk Pravda" from November 11-16, 1985, maliciously attacks and defames Evangelical Baptist believers and the ministers of the CEBC. The goal of all these articles is the same, to arouse hatred against believers among the people. And whenever believers ask, "Where did you get this information? Why don't you check out the facts?" the authors of this vile slander invariably answer that these materials were given to them by the local Party committee or the Party organization at work or the city council.

Believers are not only defamed in newspaper articles but also at places of work, in all kinds of lectures and meetings. In the city of Krasnodar an assembly of school children was held for the sole purpose of slandering believers. The lecturer made all kinds of incredible false statements about Christians. Authorities even tried to trick a local Christian woman into attending in order to use her as an "example." Similar meetings have been held in Vinnits, Voroshilovgrad, Sumy, Cherkassy, Poltava, Chernigov, Kiev, Donetskaya oblast, Altayskay krai and many other cities and towns in our country for the sole purpose of stirring up the masses against believers.

CONCLUSION

We could go on and on describing all sorts of persecutions which believers in the USSR have been subjected to. We have not even touched the matter of persecution at school and at work. Christian young people suffer from this especially. We direct this letter first of all to the 27th Congress of the CPSU and to General Secretary of the CC CPSU comrade M. S. Gorbachev, understanding that the Party is the main directing body in all spheres of life and all levels of government activity in our country.

The facts presented above testify clearly that the basic elementary human rights of Christians, such as freedom of conscience and speech, the inviolability of private dwellings, separation of church and state, which are guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR, the basis of all our laws, have been totally disregarded and trampled under foot. The ministers of the

CEBC are subjected to lengthy prison terms accompanied by treatment designed to destroy their health simply because of the fact that they defend the spiritual independence of the church from the state. After release they are generally placed on probation with illegal restrictions, as happened with A. T. Kozorezov, P. T. Rytikov and others, and while on probation they and their families are terrorized by the authorities (D. V. Minyakov, P. T. Rytikov, A. T. Kozorezov). In the case of Galina V. Vilchinskaya, at the end of one year her probation was extended for another six months. In 1985, as in years past, Christian prisoners have been beaten by other prisoners who were incited against them by the camp administration (V. F. Varavin, V. Ye. Naprienko). The camp officials have threatened to place the Christian prisoners in solitary confinement and lengthen their terms if their families send petitions on their behalf to the government. And as before, these threats have proven not to be idle.

During the past year the KGB has employed a new method of attempting to extract information from Christians -- they have interrogated them after administering powerful drugs which act on the central nervous system (G. V. Kostluchenko, I. P. Plett). Camp administrators have begun to use article 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, and corresponding articles from the Criminal Codes of the other republics, to lengthen the sentences of Christian prisoners on charges of anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation. This is done with the goal of portraying Evangelical Baptist believers as enemies of the people and the State. Using this article also makes it possible to extend a Christian's prison term for up to twelve years.

The persecution of Christian mothers with many children has also greatly increased during this past year. The members of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives have been primary targets. These women are persecuted simply because they petition on behalf of their relatives and other Christians who have been imprisoned for their faith. The children of Christian parents have been subjected to increasing persecution, with incidents of interrogation of children in the absence of the parents, threats to deprive Christian parents of their parental rights and take the children away, and even incidents of children being beaten for religious reasons (in Ordozhonikidze and Kiev). During 1985 there have been continued incidents of the confiscation and demolition of believers' homes which were used for worship services (Leningrad, Kishinev, Omskaya oblast, Tselinogradskaya oblast, Pavlodarskaya oblast). Christians all over the country have been subjected to fines and searches. The persecution of the Christian Publishing House and the confiscation of literature, especially Bibles and Gospels, continues to deprive Christians of that which is most precious and necessary in our lives.

The question of peace and the value of human life is the foremost issue in the world arena today. However, to this present day the Evangelical Baptist believers in our country have been denied their right to life. We are deprived of freedom, health, and life itself, merely because we want to live in accordance with the teachings of Jesus Christ, waiting for His coming, because "...Near is the great day of the Lord, near and coming very quickly; listen, the day of the Lord! In it the warrior cries out bitterly" (Zephaniah 1:14). And therefore, "...From everyone who has been given much shall much be required; and to whom they entrusted much, of him they will ask all the more" (Luke 12:48).

Signed:

- A. T. Kozorezova - mother of 10 children
(Voroshilovgrad)
- S. A. Yudintseva - mother of 13 children
(Khartsyzsk)
- G. Yu. Rytikova - mother of 10 children
(Krasnodon, Voroshilovgradskaya obl.)
- L. F. Kostiuhenko - mother of 10 children
(Timoshevsk, Krasnodarskaya obl.)
- N. S. Skornyakova - mother of 9 children
(Dzhambul, Kazakhskaya SSR)
- M. G. Pugacheva - mother of 10 children
(Davlekanovo, Bashkirskaya ASSR)
- L. V. Rumachik - mother of 6 children
(Dedovsk, Moskovskaya obl.)
- Z. Ya. Vilchinskaya - mother of 4 children
(Brest, Belorusskaya SSR)

Our return address: 349340 Voroshilovgradskaya obl.
g. Krasnodon
ul. Podgornaya, dom 30
Rytikova, Galina Yurevna

The 1985 annual report was sent by the Council of Prisoners' Relatives to Soviet leaders, including: M. S. Gorbachev (General Secretary of the CC CPSU), A. A. Gromyko (Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR), N. I. Ryzhkov (Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR), A. M. Rekunov (Prosecutor General of the USSR), and V. I. Terebilov (Chairman of the Supreme Court of the USSR)

A copy with signatures was sent to Georgi Vins (Secretary Abroad for the Council of Evangelical Baptist Churches). It is kept on file at International Representation, Inc., P. O. Box 1188, Elkhart, IN 46515.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much, Ms. Vins, for your very thorough statement.

I would like to welcome a group of exchange teachers who are here visiting from Great Britain. We welcome you to the hearing.

Is there a meaningful distinction between laws, regulations, ministerial decrees, in terms of their application to limit religious freedom and severity of repression in the Soviet Union?

Dr. Gordon, would you like to respond?

Reverend GORDON. Well, I think, again, it is very much a matter of expediency. The laws of 1929, which were revised in 1975, have very often been broken at the request of the state, and, so, whatever suits the interests of the ideology determines what is right and what is wrong.

For example, in the Law of Religious Associations of 1929, the formation of councils and so on have been forbidden, but, yet, when it suited the propaganda purpose of the Soviet Union, then it allowed these councils to be held. One very significant council was held a few years prior to the introduction of the Russian Orthodox Church into the World Council of Churches.

So that whenever it suits the interests of the Soviet Union, they can break the laws, but the religious associations can never break those laws, and even laws that they are upholding may be changed to suit the convenience of the Council for Religious Affairs [CRA].

Mr. YATRON. Thank you.

Would anyone else care to comment on that question?

Okay. Would you care to say something, Mr. Moravsky?

Mr. MORAVSKY. Well, I am in full agreement with Dr. Gordon, but nonetheless the laws themselves, what is important, I think, to focus on is the fact that the laws themselves are so discriminatory that they provide all kinds of leverage for the authorities to crack down at any time and at any place.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you.

Reverend GORDON. May I give one example of the manipulation of law particularly related to Mrs. Irina McClellan. You may remember that she was allowed to rejoin her husband, who is a professor at the University of Virginia, last January, although she married him in 1974. She met him when he was a visiting professor in Moscow.

She sought permission for her marriage and also permission to emigrate. This was granted according to the laws even of that time, which was prior to the Helsinki accords, but when she went to leave with her husband—who had to leave the country—she was told that she could not leave. She said, "Well, look, this is according to the law," and the agents at the airport said, "We control the laws." I think this indicates the whole problem, particularly in the style of thinking of us the West that there is still some respect, a reasonable degree of respect, for law, although there, the laws are subject to the purposes of the Soviet—of the Politburo.

Mr. YATRON. OK. Can you provide any figures on approximately how many individuals are incarcerated in the Soviet Union for religious activities? What percentage of those identified as prisoners of conscience do they represent?

Reverend GORDON. Well, you heard this morning that there were 10,000. The figures vary enormously. Remember there are over

2,000 prison camps and that many of those who are indicted for treason or for propaganda and agitation against the Soviet Union are religious believers. To sing a hymn in public is to be guilty of breaking article 70, and particularly those who belong to Ms. Vins' group, they are in violation of the law by holding services out of doors.

The figure given by a very excellent committee on international rights in Frankfort estimates a minimum of 5,000 all together, and as you heard, the figure 10,000 was mentioned, and even 10,000 might just be, probably is, the tip of the iceberg and no more.

The difficulty, as you understand, is that of gaining actual knowledge, actual hard evidence. Very hard to come by.

Mr. YATRON. Ms. Fitzpatrick?

Ms. FITZPATRICK. Just to comment on that, that the number of known political prisoners for which there is reliable data is a thousand approximately. Of those, approximately 400 are religious. This shows you the very high percentage of religious activists.

The figure of 10,000 is an estimated minimal figure. This is not just drawn out of thin air, it comes from prisoners' testimony each prisoner that comes out of the Gulag usually tells the stories of 5 or 10 other people with whom he was imprisoned who were also incarcerated for political reasons. Based on that kind of testimony and based on some of the testimonies of former special prosecutors who have emigrated to the United States, we arrive of the figure of 10,000 which Amnesty International also uses. Anatoly Shcharansky gives a much greater figure because he is indicating not just the Gulag, the labor camps, prisons, psychiatric hospitals, but also the system of what they call chemical factories and all sorts of halfway stations between freedom and labor camps, about which we just have no way of knowing.

This could include something like work on the gas pipeline. It is very difficult to tell.

Mr. YATRON. Yes. Mr. Dornan.

Mr. DORNAN. What is the figure that Mr. Shcharansky uses? When you put these all together, including the halfway houses and the pipeline?

Ms. FITZPATRICK. The figure of 4 million is usually given for the entire prisoner population, which is mainly criminals. But Mr. Shcharansky cited a figure of 13 million under all types of confinement or restraint, including 20,000 political prisoners.

Reverend GORDON. At the time when the Siberian pipeline was being built, the estimate that was made then by Solzhenitsyn was a figure of 100,000 drawn mostly from the labor camps.

Mr. YATRON. I will ask one other question, then I will go to my colleagues and give them an opportunity to ask some questions.

How is the situation regarding religious persecution in the Soviet Union changed since the death of Brezhnev and since the assumption of General Secretary Gorbachev? What should we expect in the future, both in the short and the longterm?

Mr. Moravsky.

Mr. MORAVSKY. Well, I do not think there is any reliable information. That is one of the problems in general with the Soviet Union. You do not get the information. They do not volunteer the information.

I think that generally speaking one gets the impression that there has not been any change. You could say historically that there was a change, undoubtedly, after Khrushchev, for instance, the persecution, the more overt persecutions stopped for awhile, but, on the other hand, as Ms. Fitzpatrick pointed out, none of the restrictions that had been imposed by Khrushchev had been rescinded.

This situation has lasted to this day. The situation has not changed dramatically. In general, where individuals are concerned, there is nothing terribly hopeful because as Ms. Vins came up with the list of people who were resentenced in 1985 and 1986, and when we are talking 1985-86, we are talking about the Gorbachev era.

So, that is not a very promising sight. Moreover, all other prisoners who are mentioned here, in general or by name, have not been released either, as far as we know. So, I would not be optimistic at this stage of the game.

Reverend GORDON. I think it is significant, by the way, Mr. Chairman, that Gorbachev, of course, was a protege of Yuri Andropov. Yuri Andropov increased those definitions relating to the persecution of Christians, such as the article I mentioned in the Criminal Code, 188-3. Other articles and amendments included the continued surveillance of those who had served their sentences, and were now under the constant surveillance of the KGB or of the militia.

So that you found prior to Gorbachev becoming the Secretary General and during his time, an increase of persecution, all aimed again as I have indicated, at those who had leadership abilities, those who had the ability to communicate.

I think it is frightening to realize that a very high percentage of those who carry this burden of the heaviest form of persecution—and the range of persecution is enormous all the way from daily surveillance to torture and to imprisonment—is being borne by those who have the ability to communicate. The unregistered Baptist community, for example, has the great ability to communicate and are well learned in the Scriptures.

The same thing is true in the Russian Orthodox Church. We find mathematicians, experts in technology and so on being imprisoned simply because they are leaders and obviously have the ability to influence others.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you.

Would anyone else care to comment?

Ms. Fitzpatrick?

Ms. FITZPATRICK. Just to reiterate what I said in my testimony about the Gorbachev public relations campaign: this type of antireligious propaganda has become much more sophisticated and much more subtle, and the types of public confessions I mentioned have been brought into play much more in the media. That is the change that I see under Gorbachev and that is a very chilling kind of development because it is not done with a knock on the door in the middle of the night, it is done in broad daylight, usually without physical punishment. But it is much more far reaching, and effective.

Mr. YATRON. OK. I thank you.

I would like to now call on the gentleman from California, Mr. Dornan.

Mr. DORNAN. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, I do not mind at all getting a few pictures taken because I want to put this on the front page of my newsletter, so that it gives me a chance with the photograph to discuss what we are discussing here today.

Mr. Chairman, if I could make a statement, I will try to make it brief.

Mr. YATRON. Without objection.

Mr. DORNAN. Because this is a sad testimony that we are hearing here today, and it is a story that is not known, believe it or not, across this country. You are already nodding in affirmation.

The world had 5 billion people as of July 7, last month. The United States is a very large chunk of that population. It is almost a quarter of a billion. The Soviet Union now has 277 million inhabitants. We in this country passed on November 1, 240 million people. So, that is a big chunk of the world. There is a twentieth of the world's population in the United States with more communication than anybody could possibly believe.

I welcome our school teachers from Great Britain, and when I visit the mother country, I am shocked to see how little news you get in Great Britain with your three channels or two and a half. There is an explosion of communications in one-twentieth of the world called the United States of America, and still we do not know this story. The 240 million of us.

Now, may I humbly make a suggestion to you on something that I think you should do? There are no cameras here today from CNN [Cable News Network], for example, covering these hearings live. Were they here this morning for the——

Mr. YATRON. No, they were not.

Mr. DORNAN [continuing]. Dignitaries?

Mr. YATRON. They were not.

Mr. DORNAN. This persecution of Christians in the Soviet Union is an unknown issue far more than the persecution of Soviet Jewry. I believe each one benefits the other because there are more Christians in this Nation, at least people proclaim themselves to be Christians, than there are Jews. By enlisting the aid of the Christian community for their brother and sister Christians, it will assist Soviet Jewry's struggle, and the Soviet Jewry struggle will complement the struggle to get out the word to Christians and both struggles together complement the struggle of political people who are persecuted like the hero, for example, Buchovsky, coming out because his was purely political persecution.

Now, you said that they use everything from 24-hour surveillance for just loving God up to and including torture. Now, with all due respect to the intense destruction of human and civil rights in South Africa, look at the differences between the South African situation and the Soviet Union.

Reverend Boesak and Reverend Tutu travel out of the country regularly to make their case on Great Britain's limited television, European television, and American television, and the newspapers pick it up and it is a national front page issue in the West every single day now, South Africa.

And, yet, no one is being persecuted for practicing their religion. The ministers have become political leaders, and the priests and the rabbis have spoken out in South Africa.

Now, this story cannot be suppressed any longer. It is a disgrace, and you are the ones trying to undo that disgrace. I am going to send this testimony and my statement to NBC, in order to point out the major disgrace of this year.

For 2 solid hours on the most watched television show in the daytime, particularly by students at home, housewives and nonworking Americans, is the Phil Donahue show. Do you know that for 2 hours, he had on his show a paid, I will now quote Ted Koppel, "Soviet propagandist." A paid and now I will quote lots of newsmen, "Soviet agent," Vladimir Posner. For 2 hours, Mr. Posner sat there, on back to back shows, with no other guests on the program. He himself acknowledged he was a media star, created by Phil Donahue and quickly interrupted, "That is a five-pointed star, Phil." Now that was an anti-Semitic reference to the fact that he was born Jewish in Paris and that he did not want to be associated with a five-pointed star. When Phil asked him if he had ever been bar mitzvahed, "Of course not," he said, and Phil said, "I detect some hostility there." "Well, no," you know, he did not want his glowing Soviet agent propaganda status to be interfered with by his Kremlin bosses with the fact that he had any loyalty to the Jewish heritage.

Now, he sat there for 2 hours and contradicted everything every one of you has said on this private sector panel and the preceding Government panel with excellent testimony by Mr. Schifter and our former colleague of 18 years, Mr. Derwinski.

I would suggest humbly that all of you coordinate your activities and ask Mr. Donahue's producers and Mr. Donahue himself for a chance to specifically refute the Soviet Kremlin's paid lies of this very clever and attractive propagandist, Vladimir Posner. Ask for time equal to communicate for two uninterrupted hours and to be represented on the Soviet friendship bridge shows—the first is one broadcast out of Seattle and the new one is coming out of Boston. Are you aware that Mr. Posner literally will coproduce with Mr. Donahue more lies aimed at eroding everything you say.

I would like to ask if I could borrow this cardboard copy. If you can, Ms. Vins, please give me this soft copy of that poster—I will have it put up on a cardboard and I will take it to the—well, I know these two gentlemen will join me on a special order, and we will see if we can get the same visibility for the Christian members persecuted. We will start with just this segment of the Evangelical Christians. Mr. Gilman has spoken out many times for the Christian dissidents. He is also a leader in the House on the Jewish dissident Soviet Jewry problem. In fact, we all work with our chairman, who has got a dazzling record in this area of human rights, to undo the rotten, disgusting propaganda put out by Mr. Donahue, filmed at 30 Rockefeller Center, right at the NBC/RCA headquarters, right over that bronze Apollo figure where everybody is ice skating and roller skating all year long. We want to see if we can undo the damaging destructive anti-Christian propaganda that—and anti-Soviet Jewry propaganda that Mr. Donahue put out on his show and allowed his show to be used for 2 hours by Posner.

Please write a letter to Mr. Donahue which I will back up with the signatures of 50 Congressmen. I can do that in 2 days. Mr. Thornton Bradshaw CEO of RCA, owner of NBC, creator of the Donahue show, should let us get the truth out about the persecution of Christians in the Soviet Union.

Now, that is the end of my statement. I probably ate up all my time. So, all of you comment on it.

Reverend GORDON. May I say two things?

First of all, the organization I represent, the Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents, was initiated up here on the Hill by Congressman Jack Kemp, and Senator Roger Jepsen, to do the very thing that you have been asking us to do which we are trying to do.

And in resolution 6162 of January 1981, this whole thing was defined, by the way; but the problem has been, as you have rightly pointed out, sir, with the mass media. For example, prior to the ABC visit in February to the Soviet Union and all that playing around that went on then, I went up personally and spent a whole morning with Mr. William Lord of ABC, clueing him in as to the actual situation. Unfortunately, it did not do any good.

Mr. DORNAN. What is his title?

Reverend GORDON. He is executive vice president in charge of, the ABC 6:30 Evening News.

Now, I do not think that is entirely due to him. I think there are other factors at work behind the scene because he was very sympathetic.

In early May, I went down to do an NBC show, "1986" and it has not come on yet. Maybe if you mention it, it might come on. It was an interview, a splendid interview on the part of Mrs. Irina McClellan, and she told her whole story.

Mr. DORNAN. I met with her with Mr. Gilman in the street in front of highly politicized, sole surviving synagogue in Moscow. They will not go inside the temple. They will not give her that respect. So, they meet in the street every Sabbath. It becomes a Saturday rallying point and Mrs. McClellan came there. We spoke with her, and I think it is miraculous that she is let out but it is due to their own propaganda that they let her out.

Reverend GORDON. Yes, indeed.

Mr. DORNAN. But she should be a nationally known person.

Reverend GORDON. Well, she is associated with us, and we are trying to get as much publicity as possible, but, remember, our news is censored. The news from the Soviet Union, the propaganda, they—the Soviet Union—spends more than \$2 two billion a year more than we do through our USIA.

Mr. DORNAN. Right.

Reverend GORDON. That propaganda by sheer monotonous repetition has crept into the subconscious of the people in this country, particularly those involved in the mass media.

Mr. DORNAN. Excellent statement.

Reverend GORDON. We have all got to be loving and kind to the Soviet Union, and I do think we have to love the Russian people as Solzhenitsyn points out, but at the same time, we have to be aware of this basic difference between the Christian faith and communism. Remember, the Judeo-Christian tradition goes back to the

whole community of faith from the Bible. Once you lose this understanding, this form of integrity, this form of identity, then you get lost in the wasteland of futilism. Although futilism is essential as a characteristic of freedom, yet you must know where your sources of freedom are.

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Chairman, would you indulge me for 1 extra minute? I ask my colleagues' permission. Because your statement is so precisely on target, I want to comment on it. I also want to point out something Ms. Vins said and maybe she will comment on this.

By the way, is your husband in the Soviet Union?

Ms. VINS. George Vins is my father.

Mr. DORNAN. The picture dead center in the poster is one of the leaders.

Reverend GORDON. It is very interesting, sir, by the way, that he was released along with Alexander Ginzberg in exchange for two Soviet spies. Both of those spies had been singled out by naval intelligence and an exchange was made. There were actually three involved, but the ultimate exchange—

Mr. DORNAN. Well, that is worthy of comment, too. The Soviet Union has promised its spies worldwide that they will do anything they can to get them out. They do not write them off. For example, the great spy, Abel, was traded for Powers. I learned years ago, in 1962, that they will always tell their spies if at all possible, we will trade you.

The reason they like to trade religious people for these spies is because they try to propagandize that this is a fair trade, spy for spy.

Reverend GORDON. Yes, indeed.

Mr. DORNAN. And we can get religious people out, sometimes acquiesce to that by inference that they are both sets of spies, when, of course, one is a total group of innocents and they are just what they are, spies.

Reverend GORDON. This point you made is a very important one because many of these Christian leaders that we have been speaking about are characterized as CIA agents.

Mr. DORNAN. Right.

Reverend GORDON. And a very significant factor, of course, is the Solzhenitzyn Fund, the Russian Fund. Sergei Khadorovich has been resented to another 3 years actually under infamous article 188-3—

Mr. DORNAN. Is that the one that says malicious disobedience?

Reverend GORDON. Yes.

Mr. DORNAN. That is 188-3.

Reverend GORDON. 188-3. As you know, he was tortured for 6 months in an attempt to make him confess that he was an agent of the CIA and that the funds of the Russian Social Fund which really come from the royalties of the Gulag Archipelago by Solzhenitzyn, were actually funds of the CIA. Another new amendment based on the attempt to destroy that Fund deals with anyone receiving gifts of money from this country.

Mr. DORNAN. My final comment that I ask indulgence for is this: What you are up against is a monstrous perversion of justice and a lot of it is created by people of good will—

Reverend GORDON. Yes, sir.

Mr. DORNAN [continuing]. For the wrong reason. In addition to the imbalance of propaganda. Some people will focus on a noble objective, preventing nuclear war.

Reverend GORDON. Yes, sir.

Mr. DORNAN. And to further that noble cause, they will bury away, in horrible slavery forever, people who they think will wreck that process. Sometimes they will even succumb to a type of anti-Semitism in which they will say that the Jews are making a lot of waves and actually bring this on themselves. That is what Vladimir Posner puts out as the formal propagandistic line, that they are troublemakers, that they are into politics.

Then, the Christians—there is an anti-Christian feeling in this country that says well, they are trying to interrupt my buying Playboy magazine at 7-Eleven stores. They are sticking their noses into the proabortion issue.

So, they are a little anti-Christianity or anti-Semitic feeling creeps into your statements and then comes the final statement, that I see the people put forward when we catch the Soviets cheating in the arms control process, that nothing must interfere with furthering the process itself, to get some kind of an arms control process. I do not want to hear about Soviet Jewry. I do not want to hear about Christian Evangelicals being persecuted. I do not want to hear about anything except furthering the process. The end result is like a friend of mine, who I have rather liked over the years, who lays a wreath at the Tomb of Lenin. That friend is Ted Turner of CNN, who says nothing should stand in the way of furthering our friendship, and Ted Turner, if he could hear your story, if he was aware of it as a broadcast leader, he would give you an hour documentary, and I am going to write to Ted about it—

Reverend GORDON. Please do.

Mr. DORNAN [continuing]. To counter the wreath-laying at the Tomb of Lenin.

I am through, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for having these hearings and this particularly fine panel.

Reverend GORDON. And that is the difference between the monologs that exist between us; that of the Soviet Union is on peace without human rights, and our presentation is always in the terms of human rights.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Dornan.

Now, I call on the gentleman from New York, Mr. Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. YATRON. The ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I certainly want to commend you for arranging to hold this hearing at this appropriate time—as we approach the 11th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Act. I know that you are preparing to do something in that connection on the floor this week. I look forward to joining you, and I am certain that our colleague, the gentleman from California, Mr. Dornan, will be joining.

That may be an appropriate time, as we commemorate the 11th anniversary on Friday of the signing of the Helsinki Act, to make some of your statements part of the record on the House floor.

I want to thank our panelists for joining us. I regret I was delayed. I had to be on the House floor for a debate and could not hear the earlier panelists, but I welcome having the opportunity to review your testimony. I appreciate your willingness to come before us to accentuate the need to do a great deal more about repression in the Soviet Union, something that both of my colleagues here spent a great deal of time; they have been devoted to this cause.

You know, as I sat and listened, I could not help but recall when my good colleague and I were in the Soviet Union and met with some Pentecostal leaders, how one lady, who is one of the clergy in the Pentecostal movement, had told us how in Moscow they would go to the Saturday morning services of the Soviet Jews because they would congregate out in the Square before the synagogue and have an opportunity to exchange information. She said, you know, it is so strange when there is time of trouble, we are able to come together and work together. It is only when things are good that we go our separate ways.

And they did have a common fraternity, a common feeling of brotherhood and sisterhood in trying to find a way to live in the very constrained society in which they were trying to exist, and then to recall the comments made by some of the religious leaders who were doing nothing more than trying to teach some of the Bible teachings.

At that one community in Siberia that they referred us to, the community Chuguevka, I think it is called, in Siberia, a group of Pentecostals were arrested and consigned to labor camps because of their religious beliefs, because they continued to conduct their schooling and their teachings. With the men arrested, the Soviet authorities even threatened to take away their youngsters and make them wards of the state, and several of the women told us how they kept their bags packed because they anticipated they would soon be consigned to a labor camp.

We had the pleasure, some of us, of greeting one of those families when they were able to finally find their way out of the Soviet Union and were kissing the ground when they arrived at Kennedy Airport, as they made their way here in our Nation.

I think, as my colleague, Mr. Dornan, said, we have to do a great deal more to bring this problem to the attention of the American public. Even though we speak out continually in Congress and Chairman Yatron's subcommittee continually focuses attention on it, too few people recognize the extensive severity of the persecution behind the Iron Curtain today of those who would like to pursue their religious beliefs.

The Soviets are great at making museums out of their cathedrals, synagogues, and churches and talk about the historical background of all of these ethnic groups, but when it comes to permitting them to follow their beliefs and worship freely, we find a great deal needs to be done and should be done to improve their record.

I have talked too long already, and, Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit an opening statement for the record.

Mr. YATRON. Without objection, Mr. Gilman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Gilman follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

I'd like to thank the chairman of our Human Rights Subcommittee, Mr. Yatron, and the chairman of our Europe and Middle East Subcommittee, Mr. Hamilton, for arranging this second hearing in the series investigating religious persecution in the Soviet Union. I can think of no more appropriate time than this, since on Friday we will commemorate the eleventh anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. It is precisely the non-compliance with that act which comes under scrutiny today, as we examine the many thousands of cases of persecution directed towards Baptists, Pentacostalists, Jehovah's Witnesses and other religious groups in the Soviet Union.

According to statistics from the International Society for Human Rights, out of the 895 known political prisoners in the Soviet Union, and there could be as many as ten thousand or more, 40 percent of these are being punished for their religious beliefs alone. Soviet authorities, in clear application of Government policy, continue to violate both the letter and spirit of the principles set forth in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the Helsinki Final Act. Religious persecution and harassment continue unabated throughout every region of the U.S.S.R., and sadly, we are only privy to a small portion of these abuses.

The witnesses before us today have a unique opportunity to raise the awareness of the American people about the tragedies taking place daily in the Soviet Union. Several of us on the Foreign Affairs Committee learned of such persecution through personal conversations with members of the Pentacostal community during a congressional visit to the Soviet Union in January 1985. There, we heard of the plight of the Pentacostal leaders of a small community called Chuguyevka, who were arrested and consigned to labor camps because of their religious beliefs. With the men arrested, Soviet authorities threatened to take the children away and make them wards of the State, and several of the women keep their bags packed, expecting arrest to come at any moment.

The Baptist Community has also been harshly dealt with, as we learn of arrests for the possession of an underground bible printing press. Clearly, these and other transgressions cannot go unnoticed or unprotested. Religious, Social and cultural rights are among the mainstay of any society, and it is incumbent upon us to speak out on behalf of those who cannot. We are our brother's keeper, and today's hearing will focus on the inequities which we must continue to strive to correct.

Mr. GILMAN. I would like to ask our panel—

Mr. YATRON. Could we just hold for a few seconds so the gentleman can change the tape?

[Pause.]

Mr. DORNAN. While he is changing the tape, did any of you see the poster? Show the poster. Two solid hours. Said there were no political prisoners in the Soviet Union and very few prisoners.

Mr. YATRON. Are you ready?

Mr. Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. And, incidentally, before I address that question, I cannot help but recall two of my colleagues, Mr. Dornan and I, right after the President had made his report to the Joint Session of the Congress on the summit meeting and we all anticipated there would be some changes in the Soviet attitude on human rights, we took part in a late telecast where we had a satellite exchange with some of the Soviet leaders.

I addressed a question to Mr. Arbatov. I said now that the summit meeting has been held and there seems to be a warming up of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, what are your thoughts now about improving human rights, and Mr. Arbatov came back with the same old responses that we had heard time and time again "that this is an internal matter", "what about your blacks and your Indians and your homeless," and that

"we have a different definition than you do of human rights. Ours has to do with housing and with hunger problems; that we deal with those more than the other area," and I still remember, too, when, again, my colleague and I were in the Kremlin and we had the chief justice of the Soviet Union before us and we were raising the issue.

My colleague had shown him the bracelet that he was wearing for Mr. Shcharansky and made an appeal, and he replied,

Congressmen, I must remind you of the white paper that I have written with regard to human rights in which my premise is that human rights is a propaganda vehicle of the West.

With that kind of thinking from the highest judicial authority in the Soviet Union, it left us feeling depressed, feeling that we were not going to make much headway, and yet, we have to strive continually to open the door.

I would like to ask the panelists——

Mr. DORNAN. Would my colleague yield?

Mr. GILMAN. Yes. I would be pleased to yield.

Mr. DORNAN. The people who came to our hotel to meet with us, in this case Christian Pentecostals, in Moscow, led to us by a prominent Jewish dissident, I will not use his name, but I remember it well, brought to us a handsome young Soviet father of five, a Pentecostal. I remember his name also. Common Soviet first name.

He looked so handsome that we asked him if he was an athlete. He looked like your typical decathlon all-round champion foot beautifully muscled athlete, and he said, oh, it is funny you asked me this, because in the Soviet Union, the same word for political struggle is the word for wrestling, and he said the KGB, every time they interview me, which is regularly, they say he should be into athletics, and he says I am, wrestling, and he uses this word for political wrestling.

Well, that handsome young man, the father of five, had hitchhiked by truck all the way from Vladivostok on the Pacific coast to meet with us in our hotel room. We found out that he paid the price of not being on scene to father his five children and love his wife for years. He was arrested shortly after he visited with us and sent off to prison.

So, to even meet with Congressmen in the Soviet Union as we saw KGB agents in the street in Leningrad outside of a little Moscow synagogue meeting, is taboo. On a little side chapel below, a little tiny synagogue, when we came out, and here was this thug, KGB-hired thug, going like this right to our congressional faces, making it clear that when you leave, we beat up these old men.

We found out later they did. So, you pay the price for speaking out to talk to Congressmen about human rights.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you. I thank the gentleman for his remarks.

Now, I would like to ask the panelists, what do you think Congress can best do to turn this situation around? You are all experts in your field. You have spent a great deal of time and thought. What can we do that would be most effective to try to open the door on human rights so that the Soviets show a greater respect for religious beliefs?

Mr. Moravsky.

Mr. MORAVSKY. Well, I think that, first of all, this was mentioned earlier, and I want to express my solidarity with this opinion. We have to bear in mind that the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government is vitally interested in image-building, especially under Gorbachev. They want to be regarded as a bona fide super power, as a power in moral, political, economic and social terms, equal to the United States, an equal partner and morally clean.

This has always been a great drawing card of the Soviet Union, to project the image of a very fair society. Therefore, they are sensitive to human rights criticisms. They are especially sensitive to the religious persecution criticism, but none, as a rule, none of the religious prisoners are made prisoners officially. They are not accused of religious crimes. What they are accused of are very vaguely formulated breaches of the law.

Therefore, since they are sensitive to such publicity, I think that the Congress of the United States or specifically the House of Representatives is in a very advantageous position to come out with a very strong resolution condemning religious persecution in the Soviet Union, across the board, involving all denominations, and mentioning as many specific cases and names as possible.

I think that may be part of it. Another part may be the initiative of the U.S. Congress pressuring this administration to raise the question at every available and not so easily available opportunity with Soviet diplomats.

Mr. GILMAN. I thank you for your suggestions.

Incidentally, concerning administration, I am proud of the fact that the President and the Secretary of State have tried to raise this issue at a number of meetings and we are going to remind our Secretary of State as they prepare for the presummit meeting to again put this issue on the agenda.

Reverend Gordon.

Reverend GORDON. Well, I was just going to say, sir, that it seems to me that the situation has improved somewhat as far as communications within Congress itself is concerned. Due to the concern of Congress and certain good people within Congress, this has been brought to the attention of the people at large in a way it had not been before. So the situation has improved, I think, in the last 5 to 6 years, and I think it can continue to improve. What I have discovered from my own experiences in interceding for people in prison with Government officials in Communist countries is that they are greatly impressed by the fact that Congress cares, that there are Members of Congress who care.

We have been very active in Romania, Czechoslovakia and other countries, and the fact that Congress has been taking these broad laws and resolutions into effect, and can influence the whole balance of trade and exchange of technology, and so on, has a tremendous influence. We, I must say, in my very small operation, have been able to get a significant number of people out of prison simply because of the position upheld by Congress, and, so, I hope to see this increase.

And, also, I think that Mr. Dornan's suggestion about challenging the controlled structure of the mass media is absolutely essential. Little guys like myself, we cannot compete with those monsters, and we need the help of good people like yourselves in Con-

gress to back us up and to beef us up so that we can challenge them and bring religious persecution in the Soviet Union to the attention of the people of this country. The people in this country are being kept in ignorance. Malicious ignorance.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Reverend Gordon.

Ms. Vins.

Ms. VINS. We lived in the Soviet Union and my father was a prisoner for many years, and sometimes when the foreigners were visiting, I remember the feeling that we wanted to communicate, we wanted to tell what was happening to the other prisoners. At first, it was such a great relief every time that the free world was concerned and would do something.

Every time you meet with the Soviet officials, just speak out about specific prisoners. They, Soviet officials see it very strongly, that you will not give up, that you will stand for the oppressed and that you are very interested, you are concerned and you know specific facts. For these reasons, it is very important for you to be well informed.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you.

Ms. Fitzpatrick.

Ms. FITZPATRICK. I would certainly reiterate what Ms. Vins has said about naming names. In the Helsinki context, the next meeting is coming up in Vienna in November, make sure that this is a meeting about compliance, that it does not stray off into formulating new language or new documents. The language is already there. Names and facts must be brought forward.

Also, I mentioned before the importance of radio broadcasting, increasing the funding for foreign radio broadcasting, monitoring the content of it, making sure that it is serving all the religious denominations of the Soviet Union. The same must be done with the National Endowment for Democracy monies, what organizations are being funded through other organizations to make sure that literature, speakers and so on, are going in a direction that is actually going to bring results. Also, I know you have done a lot of work on the mail issue.

Mr. GILMAN. I am glad you raised that issue.

Ms. FITZPATRICK. That is so important. I know it is a very dreary exercise, but I am very grateful that you have been doing it.

And, also, with congressional trips, make sure that you go beyond just Moscow and Leningrad to the other republics, to see the other nationalities, the Ukrainian and Baltic peoples, for example.

Mr. GILMAN. I want to thank the panelists for your very sound projections and suggestions to us, and I am sure that all of us are going to take them with a great deal of thought and make use of some of your ideas.

Just in closing, I am glad you, Ms. Fitzpatrick, mentioned the mail problem. As you know, we have an ongoing investigation in the Post Office Committee on which I serve. For several years, we have collected 3,000 pieces of documentary evidence of the interruption of mail, and I am pleased that in the House of Lords in Great Britain, we have a colleague who is doing the same, Lord Bethel who has been watching over this. We have some people in Canada who are also doing it, and, hopefully, eventually, maybe we

can convince the Soviets to open up this lifeline that they have interrupted.

They do not let a good portion of the mail get through, both from our country into the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union out to the outside world, and, after all, this is their lifeline of communication.

I would urge you and your own groups, whatever activities you have, please urge people who have a problem in the interruption of mail to get it in writing and forward it to our committee so we can document that evidence.

I want to thank you, Mr. Chairman, for, again, for arranging this very important hearing, and for our panelists for taking the time to come before us.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Gilman.

Before we conclude, I want to say that I, too, visited the Soviet Union in January of 1985. Following up on what Mr. Dornan said about the propaganda of the churches that we visited, the Russian Orthodox Church is, of course, propagandized there. I also want to say that there is no one in the Congress who has been at the forefront of pressing the Soviet authorities—particularly Mr. Arbatov—as our colleague, Mr. Gilman has. He has been at the forefront, and we have joined him and are happy to do so, and we are going to continue to do so.

I want to thank all of the witnesses for being here today, and for giving us the benefit of their views. The information, of course, will be very useful to both subcommittees as we continue to monitor the appalling state of religious persecution in the Soviet Union today.

With that, the subcommittee stands adjourned subject to the call of the chair.

We thank you.

[Whereupon, at 1:50 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

APPENDIX 1

DOCUMENT ENTITLED "THE PERSECUTED CHURCH IN THE SOVIET UNION, PRISONER LIST 1986," SUBMITTED BY MS. VINS

ABASHIN Veniamin Ivanovich
Born: Jan 20, 1937 3 children
Arrested: Oct 9, 1984
Sentence: 2 years
Release: Oct 9, 1986
First term

Camp address:
uchr. Yal 22/3
p. Shakhovo, Kromsky raion
Orlovskaya obl.
303202 SOVIET UNION

Home address (wife):
Lydia S. Abashina
ul. Serpuhovskogo 114
g. Orel
302011 SOVIET UNION

ALEMASOV Andrei Ivanovich
Born: Oct 11, 1921 8 children
Arrested: Jun 3, 1983
Sentence: 3.5 years
Release: Jan 3, 1987
First term

Camp address:
uchr. UE 149/10, 2-23
g. Mendeleevsk
Tatarskaya ASSR
423640 SOVIET UNION

Home address (wife):
Klavdia V. Alemasova
ul. M. Gorkogo 33
g. Elabuga
Tatarskaya ASSR
423630 SOVIET UNION

ANDRIETS Aleksandr Ivanovich
Born: Jan 20, 1959 1 child
Arrested: Jun 1, 1985
Sentence: 3 years
Release: Jun 1, 1988
First term

Home address (wife):
Anna A. Andriets
ul. Schmidta 14
g. Makeevka
Donetskaya obl.
339040 SOVIET UNION

ANDRIETS Anatoly Ivanovich
Born: Jun 1, 1960 1 child
Arrested: Jun 1, 1985
Sentence: 3 years
Release: Jun 1, 1988
First term

Home address (wife):
Olga V. Andriets
ul. Tvorakaya 8
g. Kommunarsk
Voroshilovgradskaya obl.
349103 SOVIET UNION

ANTONOV Ivan Yakovlevich
Born: Aug 19, 1919 3 children
Arrested: May 14, 1982
Sentence: 5 yrs str + 5 yrs exile
+ confiscation
Release: May 14, 1992
Fifth term

Camp address:
uchr. Yaf 306/2-4
g. Kysyl
Tuvinskaya ASSR
667003 SOVIET UNION

Home address (wife):
Necilia I. Antonova
ul. Kotovskogo 41
g. Kirovograd
316030 SOVIET UNION

AZAROV Mikhail Ivanovich
Born: Sep 19, 1935 5 children
Arrested: Aug 29, 1984
Sentence: 5 years
Release: Aug 29, 1989
Second term

Camp address:
uchr. UN 288/1, 4-42
pos. Nizhny Ingash
Krasnoyarsky krai
663820 SOVIET UNION

Home address (wife):
Nadezhda V. Azarova
ul. Mokrousova 7, kv. 116
g. Belgorod
308024 SOVIET UNION

BABENKO George Aleksandrovich
Born: Nov 1, 1926 6 children
Arrested: Apr 24, 1984
Sentence: 3 years
Release: Apr 24, 1987
First term

Camp address:
uchr. Yua 45/75, 4-41
st. Belichi
Kievskaya obl.
255700 SOVIET UNION

Home address (wife):
Maria I. Babenko
ul. Furmanova 3
g. Belaya Tsorkov
Kievskaya obl.
256400 SOVIET UNION

BAKLASHANSKY Vladimir Georgievich
Born: Oct 13, 1957 3 children
Arrested: Nov 28, 1984
Sentence: 2.5 years
Release: May 28, 1987
First term

Camp address:
uchr. OSch 29/3 "A"
s. Broneshty
Orgeevsky raion
Moldavia
278421 SOVIET UNION

Home address (wife):
Yekaterina I. Baklashanskaya
ul. Ukrainskaya 34a
pos. Tarakliya
Moldavia
278740 SOVIET UNION

BARANIUK Ivan Andreevich
Born: Jan 11, 1924 5 children
Arrested: Nov 30, 1983
Sentence: 3 years str
Release: Nov 30, 1986
Second term

Camp address:
uchr. Yae 308/45, 11-112
pos. Makorty
Sofievsky raion
Dnepropetrovskaya obl.
322723 SOVIET UNION

Home address (wife):
Eva P. Baraniuk
ul. Korolenko 26
g. Khmelinitaky
Ukraine
280008 SOVIET UNION

BATURIN Nikolai Georgievich
Born: Dec 15, 1927 6 children
Arrested: Nov 5, 1979
Sentence: 5 yrs str + 2 yrs str*
Release: Sep 28, 1986
Seventh term (*Resentenced)

Camp address:
uchr. Zhd 158/4 "Ye"
g. Dzambul
Kazakhskaya SSR
484049 SOVIET UNION

Home address (wife):
Valentina M. Baturina
ul. 60 let SSSR 4, kv. 13
g. Shakhty
Rostovskaya obl.
346500 SOVIET UNION

BOIKO Nikolai Yerofeevich Born: Jan 9, 1922 7 children Arrested: Sep 29, 1980 Sentence: 5 yrs str + 2 yrs str + 5 yrs exile Release: Oct 11, 1992 Third term (*Resentenced)	Camp address: uchr. YAB 257/17-2 pos. Elban Amursky raion Khabarovskiy kraj 682610 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Valentina I. Boiko ul. Limannaya 8 pos. Shevchenko-1 g. Odesa 272168 SOVIET UNION
BONDAR Pyotr Sergeevich Born: Dec 31, 1952 7 children Arrested: Sep 14, 1984 Sentence: 2 years Release: Sep 14, 1986 First term		Home address (wife): Tatiana I. Bondar ul. Urzhumskaya 23, kv. 2 g. Gorky 603080 SOVIET UNION
BORINSKY Andrei Vasilievich Born: Jan 21, 1957 Arrested: Oct 17, 1985 Sentence: 3 years Release: Oct 17, 1988 First term		Home address (mother): Zinaida F. Borinskaya s. Novaya Synshereya Lazovskiy raion Moldavia 278711 SOVIET UNION
BOSKO Vitaly Nikolaevich Born: Nov 5, 1949 8 children Arrested: Oct 19, 1984 Sentence: 3 years str Release: Oct 19, 1987 Second term	Camp address: uchr. OV 302/42, 5-55 pos. Manevichi Volynskaya obl. 264810 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Nina M. Bosko ul. Matrosova 18 g. Kivertsey Volynskaya obl 264220 SOVIET UNION
BUBLIK Grigory Ivanovich Born: Mar 23, 1955 4 children Arrested: Feb 22, 1986 Sentence: Release: First term		Home address (wife): Lubov P. Bublik ul. Barkovskogo 14 g. Rostov-na-Donu 344094 SOVIET UNION
BYCHKOV Leonid Pavlovich Born: Apr 12, 1956 2 children Arrested: Jul 16, 1984 Sentence: 2.5 years Release: Jan 16, 1987 First term	Camp address: uchr. YaYa 310/77 "B" g. Berdyansk 10 Zaporozhnyaya obl. 332440 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Lilla N. Bychkova ul. Gorkogo 36 g. Znamenka Kirovogradskaya obl. 317061 SOVIET UNION
BYCHKOV Stepan Pavlovich Born: Feb 8, 1959 3 children Arrested: Mar 26, 1985 Sentence: 2 years Release: Mar 26, 1987 First term	Camp address: uchr. MRh 324/31 ET g. Izyaslav Khmelnitskaya obl. 281200 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Lubov N. Bychkova ul. Bozhenko 34 g. Marganets Dnepropetrovskaya obl. 322971 SOVIET UNION
CHERTKOVA Anna Vasilievna Born: Dec 27, 1927 Arrested: 1973 Sentence: in psychiatric hospital Release: First term	Psychiatric hosp. address: uchr. UE 148 ul. Yerzhova 49 g. Kazan Tatarskaya ASSR 420082 SOVIET UNION	Home address (mother): Anastasia V. Chertkova ul. Stankevicha 36 g. Alma-Ata Kazakhskaya SSR 480003 SOVIET UNION
CHERVYAKOVA Natalia Pavlovna Born: Sep 26, 1952 Arrested: Aug 24, 1983 Sentence: 3 years Release: Aug 24, 1986 First term	Camp address: komend. 1, obsch. 1, kom. 18 pos. Kalinina Maikopskiy raion Krasnodarskiy kraj 372562 SOVIET UNION	Home address (aunt): Antonina V. Shvetsova ul. Bliznyukovskogo 1a g. Mozdok 363700 SOVIET UNION
CHISLYN Ivan Nikolaevich Born: Jan 1, 1927 6 children Arrested: Oct 12, 1984 Sentence: 4 years + confiscation Release: Oct 12, 1988 First term	Camp address: uchr. OB 21/6 g. Klintsey Bryanskaya obl. 243100 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Ekaterina P. Chislina ul. Volodarskogo 4, kv. 8 g. Tambov 392003 SOVIET UNION
CHISTYAKOV Veniamin Grigorievich Born: May 1, 1935 11 children Arrested: Sep 29, 1982 Sentence: 4 years Release: Sep 29, 1986 First term	Camp address: s. n. kh. ul. Grazhdanskaya 2 pos. Aktas Karagendinskaya obl. 472341 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Lubov N. Chistyakova ul. 2 Liniya 49 pos. Zavodskoy g. Ordzhonikidze 362907 SOVIET UNION
CHUDAKOV Stanislav Romanovich Born: Aug 9, 1945 2 children Arrested: Nov 21, 1985 Sentence: 3.5 years Release: May 21, 1989 First term		Home address (wife): Galina A. Chudakova ul. Kolkhoznaya 20 g. Vnevolzhsk Leningradskaya obl. 188710 SOVIET UNION

DANILCHENKO Nikolai Grigorievich
 Born: May 1, 1928 7 children
 Arrested: Feb 26, 1985
 Sentence: 3 years str
 Release: Feb 26, 1988
 Second term

Camp address:
 uchr. UO 68/5-112
 g. Apsheironak
 Krasnodarsky krai
 352690 SOVIET UNION

Home address (wife):
 Nadezhda Ya. Danilchenko
 ul. Rostovskaya 300
 g. Kropotkin
 Krasnodarsky krai
 211527 SOVIET UNION

DANIILUK Ivan Grigorievich
 Born: Jan 2, 1938
 Arrested: Feb 21, 1982
 Sentence: 5 years str
 Release: Feb 21, 1987
 Second term

Camp address:
 s. n. kh.
 ul. Gorkogo 4, kom. 142
 g. Shostka
 Sums kaya obl.
 245110 SOVIET UNION

Home address (wife):
 Antonina A. Danilyuk
 ul. Politayeva 13, kv. 64
 g. Chernovtsy
 274018 SOVIET UNION

DIK Gerhard Gerhardovich
 Born: Jan 19, 1926 7 children
 Arrested: Oct 1, 1982
 Sentence: 4 years
 Release: Oct 1, 1986
 First term

Camp address:
 uchr OV 94/4, otr. 15
 pos. Vydrino
 Kabansky raion
 Buryatskaya ASSR
 671111 SOVIET UNION

Home address (wife):
 Margarita P. Dik
 ul. Shtrekovaya 103
 g. Prokopiysk
 Kemerovskaya obl.
 653022 SOVIET UNION

DUBITSKY Adam Iosifovich
 Born: Dec 4, 1924 9 children
 Arrested: Nov 24, 1985
 Sentence: 3 years str
 Release: Nov 24, 1988
 Fourth term

Home address (wife):
 Tavifa F. Dubitskaya
 ul. Krylova 4
 g. Cherkesk
 Stavropolsky krai
 357100 SOVIET UNION

DUBITSKY Sergei Adamovich
 Born: Nov 2, 1959
 Arrested: Oct 30, 1985
 Sentence: 1 year str
 Release: Oct 30, 1988
 First term

Home address (mother):
 Tavifa F. Dubitskaya
 ul. Krylova 4
 g. Cherkesk
 Stavropolsky krai
 357100 SOVIET UNION

DAHANGTGOV Kanshaubi Bekirovich
 Born: Apr 12, 1929 6 children
 Arrested: Oct 30, 1985
 Sentence: 1 year str
 Release: Oct 30, 1988
 Third term

Home address (wife):
 Antonina G. Dhangatova
 ul. Levonaberezhnaya 3
 g. Ust-Dzhuguta
 Stavropolsky krai
 357200 SOVIET UNION

ENNS Dmitri Petrovich
 Born: Nov 18, 1953
 Arrested: Apr 17, 1982
 Sentence: 5 years
 Release: Apr 17, 1987
 First term

Camp address:
 uchr. RU 170/2, 8-27
 g. Uralsk
 Kazakhskaya SSR
 417901 SOVIET UNION

Home address (wife):
 Elena Ya. Enns
 s. Borisovka, Uspensky raion
 Pavlodarskaya obl.
 Kazakhskaya SSR
 638143 SOVIET UNION

EWERT Eduard Yakovlevich
 Born: Jun 27, 1949 7 children
 Arrested: Jul 12, 1984
 Sentence: 2.5 years
 Release: Jan 12, 1987
 Second term

Camp address:
 uchr. YeTs 166/10, 13-131
 g. Tselinograd
 Kazakhskaya SSR
 473000 SOVIET UNION

Home address (wife):
 Ekaterina V. Ewert
 ul. Chkalova 52, g. Makinak
 Tselinogradskaya obl.
 Kazakhskaya SSR
 474010 SOVIET UNION

FILIPPOV Andrei Vladimirovich
 Born:
 Arrested: Dec 13, 1985
 Sentence: 3 years
 Release: Dec 13, 1988
 First term

Home address (mother):
 Anna D. Filippova
 Petergofskoye shosse, 7/1-485
 g. Leningrad
 198330 SOVIET UNION

FILIPPOV Vladimir Alekseevich
 Born: Dec 20, 1927 6 children
 Arrested: Nov 21, 1985
 Sentence: 4 years str
 Release: Nov 21, 1989
 Second term

Home address (wife):
 Anna D. Filippova
 Petergofskoye shosse, 7/1-485
 g. Leningrad
 198330 SOVIET UNION

FREEMAN Ewald Rheingoidovich
 Born: Jan 29, 1939 9 children
 Arrested: Apr 17, 1982
 Sentence: 5 years
 Release: Apr 17, 1987
 First term

Camp address:
 uchr. UG 157/9, 3-32
 g. Gurev
 465050 SOVIET UNION

Home address (wife):
 Maria P. Freeman
 ul. Lenina 76, s. Olgino
 Uspensky raion, Pavlodarskaya obl.
 Kazakhskaya SSR
 638143 SOVIET UNION

GERMANIUK Stepan Grigorievich
 Born: Aug 15, 1934 5 children
 Arrested: May 8, 1983
 Sentence: 3 years str
 Release: May 8, 1986
 Second term

Camp address:
 uchr. YuA 45/95, 10-101
 pos. Berezan
 Barashivetsky raion
 Kievskaya obl.
 256210 SOVIET UNION

Home address (daughter):
 Lilia S. Germaniuk
 ul. Chkalova 6
 s. Tsypovka, Dergachevsky raion
 Kharkovskaya obl.
 312020 SOVIET UNION

GERMANIUK Ulyana Sergeevna Born: Jul 26, 1930 5 children Arrested: Jul 23, 1985 Sentence: 3 years Release: Jul 23, 1988 First term	Camp address: uchr. YuZh 313/54, 13-21 g. Kharkov Ukraine 310124 SOVIET UNION	Home address (daughter): Lilia S. Germaniuk ul. Chkalova 6 s. Tsupovka, Dergachevsky raion Kharkovskaya obl. 312020 SOVIET UNION
GERTSEN Susanna Germanovna Born: Oct 19, 1928 Arrested: Apr 22, 1985 Sentence: 3 years Release: Apr 22, 1988 First term	Camp address: uchr. OP 32/2, 6-61 s. Steppoye Alamedinsky raion Kirgizskaya SSR 722169 SOVIET UNION	Home address (sister): Justina G. Gertsen s. Kuterlya, p/o Podolsk Krasnogvardeisky raion Orenburgskaya obl. 461151 SOVIET UNION
GOLOSCHAPOV Pavel Dorofeevich Born: Mar 10, 1929 4 children Arrested: Jun 9, 1985 Sentence: 2.5 years Release: Dec 9, 1987 First term	Camp address: uchr. UYu 400/1 "K" pos. Komsomolsky g. Donskoy Tul'skaya obl. 301781 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Tatiana F. Goloschapova ul. 2 Sadovaya 21 pos. Dubovka, Uslovskoy raion Tul'skaya obl. 301661 SOVIET UNION
GORTANIN Mikhail Aleksandrovich Born: Dec 11, 1951 6 children Arrested: Apr 15, 1985 Sentence: 3 years Release: Apr 15, 1988 First term		Home address (wife): Vera N. Goryanina ul. Proletarskaya 288 g. Tikhoretak Krasnodarsky Krai 352100 SOVIET UNION
GOTTMAN Leongard Genrikhovich Born: Aug 5, 1923 8 children Arrested: Nov 14, 1985 Sentence: 2 years str Release: Nov 14, 1987 Fourth term	Camp address: uchr. UYE 394/16 g. Salavat Bashkirskaya ASSR 453200 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Nina G. Gottman ul. Oktyabrskaya 31 g. Davlekanovo Bashkirskaya ASSR 452120 SOVIET UNION
GRITSENKO Vasily Ivanovich Born: May 21, 1949 5 children Arrested: Apr 11, 1985 Sentence: 3 years Release: Apr 11, 1988 First term	Camp address: uchr. OP 17/16, otr. 9 g. Peltava 315040 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Vera V. Gritsenko ul. Komiterna 7 s. Malaya Saltanovka Kievskaya obl. 255138 SOVIET UNION
IVANOV Arkady Pavlovich Born: Jan 1, 1932 10 children Arrested: Sep 1, 1983 Sentence: in psychiatric hospital Release:	Psychiatric hosp. address: psikhbolnitza otd. 3 pos. Semenovsk g. Ioshkar-Ola Mariiskaya ASSR SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Nina G. Ivanova ul. Pushkina 2a, kv. 41 p. Silikatny, Leninsky raion Mariiskaya ASSR 425060 SOVIET UNION
IVASCHENKO Anatoli Yakovlevich Born: Feb 17, 1952 4 children Arrested: Mar 21, 1984 Sentence: 2.5 years Release: Sep 21, 1986 First term	Camp address: uchr. OR 318/76-8 st. Rafalovka Vladimiretsky raion Rovenskaya obl. 265968 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Nadeshda A. Ivaschenko ul. Kalinina 48a pos. Khutory Cherkasskaya obl. 258209 SOVIET UNION
IVASCHENKO Lubov Yakovlevna Born: Mar 29, 1961 Arrested: Oct 17, 1985 Sentence: 2.5 years Release: Apr 17, 1988 First term		Home address (mother): Anna I. Ivaschenko ul. Petrovskogo 87a p/o Petrovskoye Kievo-Svyatoshinsky raion 255203 SOVIET UNION
IVASCHENKO Yakov Yefremovich Born: May 10, 1932 11 children Arrested: May 22, 1981 Sentence: 4 years + 4 yrs exile Release: May 22, 1989 First term	Exile address: ul. Ordzhonikidze 8-15 pos. Zryanka Verkhne-Kolymsky raion Yakutskaya ASSR 678770 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Anna I. Ivaschenko ul. Petrovskogo 87a p/o Petrovskoye Kievo-Svyatoshinsky raion 255203 SOVIET UNION
KALYASHIN Aleksei Aleksandrovich Born: Jan 2, 1955 Arrested: Sep 1, 1981 Sentence: 3 yrs str + 2.5 years str* Release: Mar 1, 1987 Second term (*Resentenced)	Camp address: uchr. 201/8-12 "D" g. Gubakha Permskaya obl. 618294 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Nina G. Kalyashina ul. Sevastopol'skaya 239a, kv. 2 g. Irkutsk 664048 SOVIET UNION
KARA Ivan Ivanovich Born: Dec 25, 1953 3 children Arrested: Nov 27, 1984 Sentence: 2.5 years Release: May 28, 1987 First term	Camp address: uchr. OSch 29/9, 44-K g. Kishinev Moldavia 277012 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Nadeshda P. Kara ul. Ukrainskaya 32a pos. Tarakliya Moldavia 278740 SOVIET UNION

KERSTAN Emelyan Fridrikhovich Born: Dec 5, 1934 6 children Arrested: Oct 21, 1982 Sentence: 5 years + conf Release: Oct 21, 1987 First term	Camp address: uchr. UVA 64/29, 10-101 g. Navoi 5 706800 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Maria V. Kerstan ul. Trudovaya 3-i tupik 20 g. Samarkand Uzbekakaya SSR 703002 SOVIET UNION
KHALILO Vladimir Pavlovich Born: Apr 15, 1932 14 children Arrested: Nov 14, 1980 Sentence: in psychiatric hospital Release:	Psychiatric hosp. address: SPB 23/1, otd. 1 g. Blagoveshensk-7 Amurskaya obl. 675007 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Maria Ye. Khalilo ul. Sovernaya 11 g. Krasny Luch Voroshilovgradskaya obl. 394004 SOVIET UNION
KHOREV Mikhail Ivanovich Born: Dec 19, 1931 3 children Arrested: Jan 27, 1980 Sentence: 5 yrs str + 2 yrs str* Release: Dec 19, 1986 Fourth term (*Resentenced)	Camp address: uchr. OV 94/2, otr. 25 pos. Yushny, g. Ulan-Ude Buryatskaya ASSR 670016 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Vera G. Khoreva ul. Minskaya 28, kv. 30 g. Kishinev Moldavia 277015 SOVIET UNION
KIM Vyacheslav Il'ich Born: Sep 9, 1952 1 child Arrested: May 10, 1984 Sentence: 3 years str Release: May 10, 1987 Second term	Camp address: uchr. UVA 64/42, 6-42 g. Zharavshan Navoi'skaya obl. 706801 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Ludmila N. Kim 2-i kvartal 27a, kv. 33 massiv Vodnik, g. Narimanov Tashkentakaya obl. 702312 SOVIET UNION
KINAS Ivan Ervinovich Born: Jul 5, 1951 4 children Arrested: Feb 13, 1982 Sentence: 5 years str + conf Release: Feb 13, 1987 Second term	Exile address: ul. Kirova 188a s. Belovodskoye Moskovsky raion Kirgizskaya SSR 722040 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Erna A. Kinas family with husband in exile
KIROV Kharlampy Vasilievich Born: Feb 2, 1942 Arrested: Sep 16, 1983 Sentence: 3 years Release: Sep 16, 1986 First term	Camp address: uchr. OSCh 29/3 "K" s. Broneshty Orgeevsky raion Moldavia 278421 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Ulyana I. Kirova ul. Budennogo 16 s. Novoselovka Tarakliiskiy raion, MSSR 278743 SOVIET UNION
KIS Roman Yaroslavovich Born: May 9, 1949 1 child Arrested: Nov 30, 1985 Sentence: 1 year str Release: Nov 30, 1986		Home address (wife): Miroslava V. Gudakaya ul. Kutusova 118, kv. 11 g. Lvov SOVIET UNION
KLASSEN Rudolph Davidovich Born: Sep 24, 1931 Arrested: Jun 20, 1980 Sentence: 3 years str + 3 yrs str* Release: June 3, 1986 Third term (*Resentenced)	Camp address: uchr. YaD 40/7 "A" pos. Tabaga Yakutskaya ASSR 677908 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Taliya V. Klassen ul. Maly Proyezd 19a g. Karaganda Kazakhakaya SSR 470015 SOVIET UNION
KLIMOSCHENKO Nikolai Stepanovich Born: Feb 16, 1937 8 children Arrested: Jan 25, 1985 Sentence: 3 years str Release: Jan 25, 1988 Second term	Camp address: uchr. YuYe 313/33, 12-123 g. Kirovskoye Donetskaya obl. 343716 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Vera G. Klimoschenko ul. D. Ulyanova 150 g. Kherson Ukraine 325001 SOVIET UNION
KOROP Vladimir Sergeevich Born: Jun 24, 1942 8 children Arrested: Dec 11, 1984 Sentence: 2 years Release: Dec 11, 1986 First term	Camp address: uchr. UYu 400/1 "K" pos. Komsomolsky g. Donskoy, Tulsakaya obl. 301781 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Valentina V. Korop ul. Proletarskaya 92 pos. Kamenetsky Tulsakaya obl. 301650 SOVIET UNION
KOSTENIUK Vladimir Iosifovich Born: Aug 15, 1929 3 children Arrested: Sep 23, 1983 Sentence: 3 years str Release: Sep 23, 1986 Second term	Camp address: uchr. UL 314/15-6 g. Perevalsk-3 Voroshilovgradskaya obl. 349140 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Zinaida I. Kosteniuk ul. Kopernika 2a, kv. 12 g. Chernovtsy Ukraine 274022 SOVIET UNION
KOSTIUCHENKO Grigory Vasilievich Born: Oct 6, 1934 10 children Arrested: Sep 29, 1984 Sentence: 3 years str Release: Sep 29, 1987 Fifth term	Camp address: uchr. UO 68/4, 10-21 g. Arzavir Krasnodarsky kraj 352900 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Lubov P. Kostiuhenko ul. Bratskaya 219 g. Timshevsk Krasnodarsky kraj 353760 SOVIET UNION

KRAVCHUK Yakov Ivanovich Born: Nov 5, 1955 1 child Arrested: Jul 5, 1984 Sentenced: 3 years Release: Jul 5, 1987 First term	Camp address: uchr. YeT 322/112-7 g. Kopychintsy Gusyatinsky raion Tet'opol'skaya obl. 283510 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Lubov A. Kravchuk ul. Komsomolskaya 41 g. Kivertsy Volynskaya obl. 264220 SOVIET UNION
KREKER Yakov Abramovich Born: Nov 11, 1934 Arrested: Sep 15, 1985 Sentenced: 3 years Release: Sep 15, 1988 First term	Camp address: uchr. UR 65/3, 2-24 g. Novokuibyshevsk 446214 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Margarita A. Kreker ul. Michurina 28 g. Otradny Kuibyshevskaya obl. 446430 SOVIET UNION
KRUGOVICH Aleksandr Vasilievich Born: Oct 27, 1946 5 children Arrested: Jan 25, 1984 Sentenced: 4 years Release: Jan 25, 1988 First term	Camp address: uchr. UL 314/24-151 g. Petrovskoye Voroshilovgradskaya obl. 349333 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Tamara A. Krugovich ul. Mendeleyeva 58 g. Makeyevka Donetskaya obl. 339027 SOVIET UNION
KURKIN Aleksei Yakovlevich Born: Aug 7, 1950 6 children Arrested: Oct 9, 1984 Sentenced: 4 years Release: Oct 9, 1988 First term	Camp address: uchr. UN 1612/40, 7-72 g. Kemerovo 650028 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Antonina P. Kurkina ul. Sovetskaya 110, kv.1 g. Dmitrovsk Orlovskaya obl. 303240 SOVIET UNION
LEVEN Nikolai Viktorovich Born: Jan 28, 1958 Arrested: Jul 12, 1984 Sentenced: 2 years Release: Jul 12, 1986 First term	Camp address: uchr. RU 170/2, 5-25 g. Ural'sk Kazakhskaya SSR 417901 SOVIET UNION	Home address (mother): Anna K. Leven ul. Gastello 24 g. Makinsk Tselinogradskaya obl. 474010 SOVIET UNION
MAKHOVITSKY Pyodor Vladimirovich Born: Oct 5, 1930 7 children Arrested: Aug 14, 1981 Sentenced: 5 years str + conf Release: Aug 14, 1986 Second term	Camp address: uchr. K 231/2, 9-7 p/o Lesnoi Verkhnekamsky raion Kirovskaya obl. 612870 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Klavdiya A. Makhovitskaya ul. Podvodnika Kuzmina 20, kv. 1 g. Leningrad 198215 SOVIET UNION
MARKEVICH Veniamin Aleksandrovich Born: Apr 19, 1938 11 children Arrested: Oct 1, 1982 Sentenced: 5 years str Release: Oct 1, 1987 Second term	Camp address: uchr. YaD 40/6-12 pos. Mokhsaogolokh Yakutskaya ASSR 678020 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Lubov I. Markevich ul. Dal'naya 62 pos. Zavodskoi g. Ordzhonikidze 362907 SOVIET UNION
MISIN Nikolai Ivanovich Born: Sep 2, 1927 4 children Arrested: Dec 7, 1983 Sentenced: 3 years Release: Dec 7, 1986 First term	Camp address: uchr. 25/6 "2" st. Stenkinno Ryazanskaya obl. 391005 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Aleksandra Ye. Misina ul. Chapayeva 114 pos. Kanischevo g. Ryazan 390039 SOVIET UNION
MUELLER Ella Ivanovna Born: Dec 3, 1948 Arrested: Jul 26, 1985 Sentenced: 1 year Release: July 26, 1986 First term	Camp address: uchr. YaV 48/5-10 g. Chelyabinsk 454617 SOVIET UNION	Home address (mother): Erna W. Mueller ul. Piskulturnaya 14 pos. Lokomotivny g. Chelyabinsk 454051 SOVIET UNION
NAPRIENKO Valentin Yerofeyevich Born: Jan 22, 1950 4 children Arrested: Jul 20, 1985 Sentenced: 3 years str Release: Jul 20, 1988 Second term	Camp address: uchr. YuYe 312/33, 10-102 g. Kirovsk Donetskaya obl. SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Tatiana N. Naprienko ul. Dryzhy 2 g. Petushki Vladimirskaaya obl. 601100 SOVIET UNION
NAPRIENKO Veniamin Yerofeyevich Born: Aug 9, 1945 5 children Arrested: Jul 9, 1984 Sentenced: 2 years Release: Jul 9, 1986 First term	Camp address: uchr. OV 94/4 - 10 pos. Vydrino Kabansky raion Buryatskaya ASSR 671111 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Natalia N. Naprienko ul. Znamenskaya 8, kv. 98 g. Moscov 107392 SOVIET UNION
NIKITOV Aleksandr Valentinovich Born: Aug 3, 1944 6 children Arrested: Dec 14, 1983 Sentenced: 5 years str Release: Dec 14, 1988 Second term	Camp address: uchr. IZ 47/1 g. Magadan 685000 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Zinaida V. Nikitkova ul. Chapayeva 113 pos. Kanischevo g. Ryazan 390039 SOVIET UNION

OKHOTIN Vladimir Andreevich Born: Apr 30, 1942 8 children Arrested: Nov 13, 1984 Sentence: 2.5 years Release: May 13, 1987 First term	Camp address: uchr. UO 68/12, 12-121 pos. Oktyabrsky Primorsko-Akhtrarsky raion Krasnodarsky kraj 353874 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Nadeshda A. Okhotina ul. Ural'skaya 182, kv. 187 g. Krasnodar 350080 SOVIET UNION
OMELYANCHUK Nikolai Ivanovich Born: May 3, 1957 Arrested: Sep 13, 1983 Sentence: 3 years Release: Sep 13, 1986 First term	Camp address: uchr. Sh 320/8-6 pos. Severny Cherdynsky raion Permskaya obl. 618633 SOVIET UNION	Home address (mother): Vera O. Omelyanchuk s. Dobroe Kamen-Kashirsky raion Volynskaya obl. 264542 SOVIET UNION
PALANICHUK Ivan Ivanovich Born: Sep 2, 1949 5 children Arrested: Apr 3, 1984 Sentence: 2.5 years Release: Oct 3, 1986 First term	Camp address: uchr. YeT 322/112-5 g. Kopychintzy Guayatskiy raion Ternopolskaya obl. 283510 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Lydia S. Palanichuk s. Komarov Kemonetsky raion Chernovitskaya obl. 275126 SOVIET UNION
PANKRATS Olga Ivanovna Born: Jan 1, 1955 Arrested: Feb 21, 1986 Sentence: Release: First term		Home address (mother): Ekaterina I. Pankrats ul. Lesnaya 1 khtutor Novo-Pokrovka g. Prokhladny, KBASSR 361000 SOVIET UNION
PAVLENKO Aleksandr Ivanovich Born: Oct 18, 1952 4 children Arrested: Mar 21, 1984 Sentence: 2.5 years Release: Sep 21, 1986 First term	Camp address: uchr. YaYa 310/77 "K" g. Berdyansk Zaporozhskaya obl. 332440 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Tatiana S. Pavlenko ul. Schoraz 128a pos. Khutory Cherkasskaya obl. 258209 SOVIET UNION
PEREDERESEV Vasily Ivanovich Born: Dec 10, 1931 Arrested: Nov 2, 1985 Sentence: 2 years str Release: Nov 2, 1987 Second term		Home address (wife): Efrosinya I. Peredereeva ul. Esenina 43 pos. Nezhdannaya g. Shakhty 346518 SOVIET UNION
PETERS Genrikh Danilovich Born Jun 18, 1947 7 children Arrested: Dec 26, 1984 Sentence: 2.5 years str Release: Jun 26, 1987 Second term	Camp address: uchr. GM 172/3, 9-91 g. Shevchenko Mangyshlakskae obl. 466200 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Elizaveta A. Peters ul. Sovetskaya 5 s. Martuk, Aktiubinskaya obl. Kazakhskaya SSR 464020 SOVIET UNION
PETERS Ivan Isaakovich Born: Aug 17, 1929 8 children Arrested: May 17, 1985 Sentence: 3 years Release: May 17, 1988 Second term	Camp address: uchr. 123/45, zona 2 s. Chaisovkhoz g. Tsulukidze Gruzinskaya SSR 384230 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Elena D. Peters p/G Bzyb g. Gagra Abkhazskaya ASSR 384895
PETERS Peter Danilovich Born: Jun 6, 1942 Arrested: Jan 27, 1984 Sentence: 3 years str Release: Jan 27, 1987 Fifth term	Camp address: uchr. YaYa 398/13-2 st. Nikolaevskae Konstantinovskiy raion Rostovskaya obl. 346692 SOVIET UNION	Home address (mother): Ekaterina P. Peters ul. Ukrainskaya 53 s. Martuk, Aktiubinskaya obl. Kazakhskaya SSR 464020 SOVIET UNION
PETERS Pyotr Abramovich Born: Jul 19, 1955 3 children Arrested: Nov 23, 1984 Sentence: 2 years str Release: Nov 23, 1986 Second term	Camp address: uchr. OV 156/2 "M" g. Ust-Kamenogorsk 492005 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Yadviga Ya. Peters ul. Aktiubinskaya 27 s. Martuk, Aktiubinskaya obl. Kazakhskaya SSR 464020 SOVIET UNION
PIKALOV Viktor Anatolevich Born: Sep 20, 1950 2 children Arrested: Dec 11, 1984 Sentence: 3 years str Release: Dec 11, 1987 Second term	Camp address: uchr. UYu 400/4 "Zh" g. Plavsk Tul'skaya obl. 301050 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Tatiana A. Pikalova ul. Proletarskaya 59 pos. Kamenetsky Tul'skaya obl., Uslovskoy raion 301650 SOVIET UNIONS
PILIPCHUK Vladimir Nikolaevich Born: Sep 12, 1952 5 children Arrested: Oct 9, 1984 Sentence: 3 years Release: Oct 9, 1987 First term		Home address (wife): Vera I. Pilipchuk ul. Burova 26, kv. 201 g. Orel 302025 SOVIET UNION

POLISCHUK Nikolai Petrovich Born: Mar 2, 1944 10 children Arrested: Sep 26, 1981 Sentence: 4 years + 4 yrs exile Release: Sep 26, 1989 First term	Exile address: s. Kedrovoy Shor Pechorsky raion Komi ASSR 169702 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Valentina K. Polischuk ul. Novostroyek 17 g. Zovograd-Volynsky Zhitomirskaya obl. 260503 SOVIET UNION
POPOV Nikolai Filippovich Born: Mar 27, 1927 8 children Arrested: Dec 14, 1983 Sentence: 5 years str Release: Dec 14, 1988 Third term	Camp address: uchr. YaD 40/6 "Ye" g. Salavat Yakutskaya ASSR 678020 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Nadeshda S. Popova ul. Zarechnaya 15, kv. 1 g. Ryzan 390010 SOVIET UNION
PSHENITSYN Mikhail Aleksandrovich Born: Nov 20, 1945 7 children Arrested: Nov 27, 1985 Sentence: 3 years str Release: Nov 27, 1988 Second term		Home address (wife): Tamara M. Pshenitsyna ul. Prigorodnaya 99 g. Zhelaznodorozhny Moskovskaya obl. 141980 SOVIET UNION
PUGACHEV Mikhail Artyomovich Born: Nov 15, 1935 10 children Arrested: Nov 14, 1985 Sentence: 2 years str Release: Nov 14, 1987 Third term	Camp address: uchr. UYe 394/2-14 g. Salavat Bashkirskaya ASSR 453200 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Margarita G. Pugacheva ul. Ufinskaya 1/3 g. Davlekanovo Bashkirskaya ASSR 452120 SOVIET UNION
PUSHKOV Eugene Mikiforovich Born: Mar 6, 1941 8 children Arrested: May 27, 1983 Sentence: 5 years str + 3 yrs exile Release: May 27, 1991 Second term	Camp address: uchr. N 240/4 g. Ivdel Sverdlovskaya obl. 624570 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Lubov P. Pushkova ul. Krasnaya 3 g. Khartsyzsk Donetskaya obl. 343770 SOVIET UNIONS
RAZORVIN Pavel Mikhailovich Born: Sep 7, 1951 2 children Arrested: Apr 11, 1985 Sentence: 1 year (begins Apr 1986) Release: Apr 11, 1987 First term		Home address (wife): Ludmila Razorvina ul. Prezirovshchikov 80, kv.2 g. Perm 614060 SOVIET UNION
RESHETOV Vasily Pavlovich Born: Feb 5, 1921 6 children Arrested: Apr 10, 1985 Sentence: 3 years + conf Release: Apr 10, 1990 Sentence begins Apr 10, 1987 First term		Home address (wife): Nina M. Reshetova ul. Mendeleyeva 52 g. Tambov 392016 SOVIET UNION
RIKHERT Wilhelm Yakovlevich Born: Dec 24, 1929 6 children Arrested: May 17, 1985 Sentence: 2.5 years Release: Nov 17, 1987 First term	Camp address: uchr. 123/45, zona 2 s. Chaisovkhoz g. Taulukidze Gruzinskaya SSR 384230 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Anna A. Rikherth ul. Kondzhariya 6 p/o Bzyb, g. Gagra Abkhazskaya ASSR 384895 SOVIET UNION
ROGALSKY Viktor Pavlovich Born: Nov 2, 1953 3 children Arrested: May 17, 1985 Sentence: 2 years Release: May 17, 1987 First term	Camp address: uchr. 123/47-3 s. Nameshevy g. Taulukidze Gruzinskaya SSR 384230 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Maria Ya. Rogalskaya p/o Bzyb, g. Gagra Abkhazskaya ASSR 384995 SOVIET UNION
ROMANIUK Vladimir Nikolaevich Born: Dec 7, 1958 Arrested: Nov 5, 1984 Sentence: 2.5 years Release: May 5, 1987 First term	Camp address: uchr. YeF 322/112-9 g. Kopychintsy Gisuyatinsky raion Ternopol'skaya obl. 283510 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Nadeshda V. Romanluk s. Komarovka, Kremenetsky raion Ternopol'skaya obl. 283293 SOVIET UNION
RUDLENKO Anatoly Timofeevich Born: Nov 25, 1949 3 children Arrested: Feb 3, 1982 Sentence: 6 years str + 3 yrs exile Release: Feb 3, 1991 Second term	Camp address: uchr. YaE 308/89, 8-81 g. Dnepropetrovsk Ukraine 320104 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Lubov Ya. Rudlenko ul. Shefskaya 34 g. Nikolaev Ukraine 327037 SOVIET UNION
RUMACHIK Pyotr Vasilievich Born: Jul 1, 1931 6 children Arrested: Aug 15, 1985 Sentence: 5 years str Release: Aug 15, 1990 Sixth term		Home address (wife): Lubov V. Rumachik ul. Bolnichnaya 13, kv. 51 g. Dedovsk Moskovskaya obl. 143530 SOVIET UNION

RUNOV Anatoly Fedorovich Born: Jan 24, 1938 Arrested: Jan 24, 1983 Sentence: in psychiatric hospital Release: Second term	Psychiatric hosp. address: psikhbolnitsa K-108 uchr. US 20 ST-5 g. Leningrad 195108 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Zoya I. Runova ul. L. Chaikinoi 7 g. Gorodets Gorkovskaya obl. 606430 SOVIET UNION
RUSAVUK Pyotr Andreevich Born: Sep 24, 1957 5 children Arrested: May 22, 1984 Sentence: 2.5 years Release: Nov 22, 1986 First term	Camp address: uchr. OR 318/76-11 st. Rafalovka Rovenskaya obl. 265968 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Nadezhda A. Rusavuk ul. Vladimirskaaya 83, kv. 76 g. Kovle Volynskaya obl. 264410 SOVIET UNION
RYTIKOV Pavel Timofeevich Born: Jul 20, 1930 10 children Arrested: Jan 29, 1986 Sentence: 1.5 years str Release: Jul 29, 1987 Fourth term		Home address (wife): Galina Yu. Rytikova ul. Podgornaya 30 g. Krasnodon Voroshilovgradskaya obl. 399340 SOVIET UNION
SAVCHENKO Nikolai Romanovich Born: Nov 27, 1925 5 children Arrested: Jun 11, 1985 Sentence: 2.5 years str Release: Dec 11, 1987 Third term	Camp address: uchr. UKh 16/9 "D" g. Omsk 644027 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Ludmila L. Savchenko ul. Smeny 16 g. Omsk 644030 SOVIET UNION
SAVELEVA Valentina Ivanovna Born: Dec 4, 1954 Arrested: Jan 28, 1982 Sentence: 5 years + conf Release: Jan 28, 1987 First term	Camp address: uchr. UK 272/11-2 pos. Bosoi Irkutskaya obl. 666111 SOVIET UNION	Home address (mother): Yulia F. Saveleva ul. Burovskaya 244 g. Budennovsk Stavropolsky kraï 357920 SOVIET UNION
SAVENKOV Mikhail Alekseevich Born: Jul 25, 1925 4 children Arrested: Sep 2, 1983 Sentence: 4 years str Release: Sep 2, 1987 Second term	Camp address: uchr. UP 91/15-14 st. Tabulga Chistoozersny raion Novosibirskaya obl. 632710 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Polina M. Savenkova ul. Engelta 79, kv. 2 g. Voronezh 394018 SOVIET UNION
SHEPEL Nikolai Emelianovich Born: Dec 18, 1938 7 children Arrested: Jan 26, 1984 Sentence: 3 years Release: Jan 26, 1987 First term	Camp address: uchr. YeCh 325/68, 3-92 s. Tagancha Kanevsky raion Cherkasskaya obl. 258323 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Ekaterina Ya. Shepel ul. Kalinina 63, pos. Khutory Cherkasskaya obl. 258209 SOVIET UNION
SHEVCHENKO Natalia Timofeevna Born: Feb 21, 1956 Arrested: Oct 17, 1985 Sentence: 3 years Release: Oct 17, 1988 First term		Home address (mother): Yevdokiya F. Shevchenko s. Novoselovka, Petrovka 2 Tarutinsky raion Odeskaya obl. 272724 SOVIET UNION
SHEVYAKOV Ivan Ivanovich Born: Sep 28, 1929 5 children Arrested: Mar 4, 1982 Sentence: 5 years Release: Mar 4, 1987 First term	Camp address: s. n. kh. s/k-27 pos. Liman Astrakhanskaya obl. 410416 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Vera I. Shevyakova ul. Kalinina 37 g. Kislyar Dagestanskaya ASSR 368800 SOVIET UNION
SHIDYCH Ivan Grigorievich Born: Jun 14, 1936 7 children Arrested: Jul 29, 1982 Sentence: 3 yrs str + 2 yrs str* Release: Jan 29, 1988 Third term (*Resentenced)	Camp address: uchr. GM 172/1-5 g. Shevchenko Mangyshlaksckaya obl. 466200 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Evdokia V. Shidykh ul. Chkalova 34 g. Zyryanovsk Kazakhskaya SSR 493730 SOVIET UNION
SHMIDT Boris Yakovlevich Born: Feb 25, 1920 8 children Arrested: Aug 11, 1982 Sentence: 4 years Release: Aug 11, 1986 First term	Camp address: uchr. UN 1612/40, 12-122 g. Kemerovo 652000 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Agnesaa P. Shmidt ul. Stroitelei 25 g. Anzhero-Sudzhensk Kemerovskaya obl. 652090 SOVIET UNION
SHOSHIN Mikhail Nikolaevich Born: Jun 3, 1929 3 children Arrested: Dec 21, 1984 Sentence: 3 years Release: Dec 21, 1987 First term		Home address (wife): Evgenia I. Shoshina Uzky perulok 16 g. Arzamas Gorkovskaya obl. 607220 SOVIET UNION

SHTEFFEN Ivan Petrovich Born: May 11, 1927 5 children Arrested: May 14, 1985 Sentence: 5 years str Release: May 14, 1990 Third term	Camp address: uchr. UT 174/1, 15-151 g. Arkalyk Turgaiskaya obl. 459810 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Elfrida G. Shteffan ul. Severnaya 11 g. Issyk-2 Alma-Atinskaya obl. 483360 SOVIET UNION
SHVETSOVA Dina Vladimirovna Born: Feb 17, 1961 Arrested: Aug 24, 1983 Sentence: 3 years Release: Aug 24, 1986 First term	Camp address: komend. 1, obsch. 1, kom. 18 pos. Kalinina Maikopsky raion Krasnodarsky kraj 372562 SOVIET UNION	Home address (mother): Antonina V. Shvetsova ul. Bliznyukovskogo 1a g. Mozdok 363700 SOVIET UNION
SKORNIAKOV Yakov Grigorievich Born: Aug 8, 1928 9 children Arrested: Jul 19, 1978 Sentence: 5 yrs str + 3 yrs str* Release: Jul 19, 1986 Third term (*Resentenced)	Camp address: uchr. GM 172/5 "Z" g. Novy Uzen Mangyshlaksкая obl. 466207 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Nina S. Skorniyakova per. 3-i Trudovoi 19 g. Dzhambul Kazakhskaya SSR 484002 SOVIET UNION
SLIUSAR Vasily Leontevich Born: Jan 1, 1930 6 children Arrested: Oct 19, 1984 Sentence: 3 years Release: Oct 19, 1987 First term	Camp address: uchr. IV 301/59, 2-22 s. Trudovoye Peschansky raion Vinnitskaya obl. 288171 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Nadezhda I. Sliusar ul. Kosmonatov 65 g. Kivertsy Volynskaya obl. 264220 SOVIET UNION
TARASOVA Zinaida Petrovna Born: 1942 Arrested: Oct 17, 1985 Sentence: 3 years Release: Oct 17, 1988 Second term		Home address (mother): Anastasia Ye. Tarasova Voroschilevsky s/s d. Rassylyra Kurskaya obl. SOVIET UNION
TIMCHUK Ivan Vasilievich Born: May 18, 1919 5 children Arrested: Sep 18, 1984 Sentence: 3 years str Release: Sep 18, 1987 Second term	Camp address: uchr. YuYe 312/87, 2-23 g. Gorlovka Donetskaya obl. 338035 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Regina I. Timchuk p. Lenina "V" d. 72 g. Makeyevka-3 Donetskaya obl. 339003 SOVIET UNION
TKACH Vasily Ivanovich Born: May 31, 1946 3 children Arrested: Feb 5, 1984 Sentence: 3.5 years Release: Aug 5, 1987 First term	Camp address: uchr. YuZh 313/17-180 pos. Oktyabrsky Balskileysky raion Kharkovskaya obl. 313810 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Maria A. Tkach 1 per. Chapayeva 10 g. Novograd-Volynsky Zhitomirskaya obl. 260500 SOVIET UNION
TKACHENKO Ivan Ivanovich Born: Jun 5, 1959 Arrested: Jul 12, 1984 Sentence: 2 years Release: Jul 12, 1986 First term	Camp address: uchr. UAP 162/7, 12-122 g. Pavlodar Kazakhskaya SSR SOVIET UNION	Home address (mother): Aleksandra I. Tkachenko ul. Chkalova 36, Rudnik Bestyube Seltinsky raion Tselinogradskaya obl. 474150 SOVIET UNION
TKACHENKO Nikolai Sergeevich Born: Jun 1, 1932 3 children Arrested: Jun 11, 1985 Sentence: 5 years Release: Jun 11, 1990 First term		Home address (wife): Polina Ye. Tkachenko ul. Timiryazeva 43 g. Shibekino Belgorodskaya obl. 309250 SOVIET UNION
TOLSTOPYATOV Ivan Alekseevich Born: Jun 26, 1936 9 children Arrested: Apr 10, 1985 Sentence: 2.5 years Release: Oct 10, 1987 First term	Camp address: uchr. YaT 30/7 "V" pos. Polevoy Kirsanovskiy raion Tambovskaya obl. 393354 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Lydia A. Tolstopyatova ul. Tregulaevskaya 86 g. Tambov 392002 SOVIET UNION
TSITSYN Boris Andreevich Born: Oct 12, 1926 8 children Arrested: May 13, 1983 Sentence: 3 years Release: May 13, 1986 First term	Camp address: uchr. 288/28, 19-119 p/o Khairuzovka Ilaneky raion Krasnodarsky kraj 663850 SOVIET UNION	Home address (wife): Maria V. Tsitsyna ul. Gastello 14 g. Krasnoyarsk 660070 SOVIET UNION
TULIUPA Vladimir Fedorovich Born: Jan 2, 1940 7 children Arrested: Jul 10, 1985 Sentence: 3 years Release: Jul 10, 1988 First term	Camp address: ul. Zavodskaya 15, kom. 10 pos. Turynino g. Kaluga-20 249120 SOVIET UNION	Home address: Olga I. Tuliupa Ofitersky prospekt 69 "B", kv.2 g. Donetsk 340096 SOVIET UNION

<p>VLASENKO Vladimir Mefodievich Born: Dec 14, 1954 2 children Arrested: Feb 3, 1982 Sentence: 4 yrs + 2 yrs exile + conf Release: Feb 3, 1988 First term</p>		<p>Home address (wife): Ludmila P. Vlasenko ul. Kotsyubinskogo 42/2 g. Nikolaev 327037 SOVIET UNION</p>
<p>WOLF Andrei Korneevich Born: May 7, 1958 3 children Arrested: Nov 25, 1984 Sentence: 5 years Release: Nov 25, 1989 First term</p>	<p>Camp address: uchr. LA 155/2 "g" pos. Zarechny, Iliisky raion Alma-Atinskaya obl. Kazakhskaya SSR 483333 SOVIET UNION</p>	<p>Home address (wife): Ekaterina Ya. Wolf ul. M. Gorkogo 190 g. Issyk Alma-Atinskaya obl. 483360 SOVIET UNION</p>
<p>WOLF Egor Korneevich Born: May 31, 1955 5 children Arrested: Nov 24, 1984 Sentence: 5 years Release: Nov 24, 1989 First term</p>	<p>Camp address: uchr. UK 161/2, 4-43 g. Kustanai-12 458012 SOVIET UNION</p>	<p>Home address (wife): Elena B. Wolf ul. Urozhainaya 26a g. Issyk Alma-Atinskaya obl. 483360 SOVIET UNION</p>
<p>YANUSHEVSKAYA Anna Rikhardovna Born: Feb 26, 1954 Arrested: Oct 17, 1985 Sentence: 3 years Release: Oct 17, 1988 First term</p>		<p>Home address (mother): Susana P. Yanushevskaya ul. Michurina 37 s. Pokrovka, Iliisky raion Alma-Atinskaya obl. 483330 SOVIET UNION</p>
<p>YANUSHEVSKAYA Elena Rikhardovna Born: Dec 13, 1956 Arrested: Oct 17, 1985 Sentence: 3 years Release: Oct 17, 1988 First term</p>		<p>Home address (mother): Susana P. Yanushevskaya ul. Michurina 37 s. Pokrovka, Iliisky raion Alma-Atinskaya obl. 483330 SOVIET UNION</p>
<p>YEFREMOV Veniamin Sergeyevich Born: Apr 9, 1958 Arrested: Dec 13, 1985 Sentence: 2.5 years Release Jun 13, 1988 First term</p>		<p>Home address (wife): Tatiana N. Yefremova Novolismallovsky prospekt 3 kv. 276 g. Leningrad 196128 SOVIET UNION</p>
<p>YUDINTSEV Vasily Ivanovich Born: Feb 1, 1931 13 children Arrested: Feb 21, 1986 Sentence: Release: Second term</p>		<p>Home address (son): Aleksandr V. Yuditsev ul. Lermontova 63 g. Khartaysk Donetskaya obl. 343700 SOVIET UNION</p>
<p>YUDINTSEVA Serafima Anatolevna Born: Jan 12, 1938 13 children Arrested: Mar 1, 1985 Sentence: 2 years to begin Mar 1, 1987 Release: Mar 1, 1989 First term</p>		<p>Home address (son): Aleksandr V. Yuditsev ul. Lermontova 63 g. Khartaysk Donetskaya obl. 343700 SOVIET UNION</p>
<p>ZHUKOVSKAYA Evelina Stepanovna Born: Jul 2, 1940 Arrested: May 13, 1983 Sentence: 5 years Release: May 13, 1988 First term</p>	<p>Camp address: uchr. YuL 34/5-25 g. Kozlovka Chuvashskaya ASSR 429430 SOVIET UNION</p>	<p>Home address (mother): Serafima V. Lyakhova ul. Lenina 120, kv. 25 g. Stavropol 355012 SOVIET UNION</p>
<p>ZIMENS Pyotr Yakovlevich Born: Aug 18, 1950 Arrested: Dec 25, 1985 Sentence: 3 years str Release: Dec 25, 1988 Second term</p>	<p>Camp address: uchr. OK 160/5, 4-43 s. Novoukrainka Volodarsky raion Kokchetavskaya obl. 476210 SOVIET UNION</p>	<p>Home address (wife): Frida E. Zimens ul. Lermontova 117 g. Schuchinsk Kokchetavskaya obl. 476410 SOVIET UNION</p>
<p>ZINCHENKO Pavel Petrovich Born: Jun 18, 1958 1 child Arrested: Jun 19, 1983 Sentence: 5 years Release: Jun 19, 1988 First term</p>	<p>Camp address: uchr. YuYe 312/2 "A" 5 g. Dzerzhinsk-2 Donetskaya obl. 343550 SOVIET UNION</p>	<p>Home address (wife): Ludmila A. Zinchenko per. Glazunova 16a g. Kharkov 310137 SOVIET UNION</p>
<p>ZINCHENKO Vladimir Petrovich Born: Jun 13, 1950 2 children Arrested: Feb 27, 1984 Sentence: 3 years str Release: Feb 27, 1987 Second term</p>	<p>Camp address: uchr. ZhKh 385/7-11 st. Potma, pos. Eshnovka Zubovo-Polyanski raion Mordovskaya ASSR 431120 SOVIET UNION</p>	<p>Home address (wife): Vera G. Zinchenko ul. P. Rumenova 2, kor. 2, kv. 119 g. Moscow 109193 SOVIET UNION</p>

APPENDIX 2

**PREPARED STATEMENT OF LEONID RUDNYTZKY, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY,
ST. SOPHIA RELIGIOUS RESEARCH INSTITUTE, ST. SOPHIA RELIGIOUS
ASSOCIATION OF UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS, INC., U.S.A.**

In spite of the liberal image projected by Gorbachev in the media, persecution of believers in the Soviet Union continues unabated under his regime. As a matter of fact, it has been intensified in the Ukrainian SSR, with members of the outlawed Ukrainian Catholic Church being its prime victims. In recent times, Soviet repression of religion in Ukraine has taken on a new and more insidious form. The following information supplied by Kateryna Horbatsch, published in the St. Sophia Newsletter Religious Rights, sheds some light on the new methods of oppression.

In the eastern Ukrainian village of Leliukhivtsi, not far from the city of Poltava, community life has changed noticeably in the recent past: community nights, sports activities, exhibits, and children's contests have enlivened the clubhouse and village school.

These new cultural events, however, in the rather quiet Soviet province are not exclusively for the entertainment of the community members - they belong to the newest, widespread campaign of "Scientific atheism." This campaign begins in kindergartens and grade schools where "our generation of tomorrow is being raised as scientific atheists," as described by one appropriate commentary.

These well-organized events are designed to impress the parents, and especially the grandmothers, of these future atheists with the pleasant and at the same time enabling character of these state exhibitions: "for grandmothers often attend church for services and take the youngsters with them" - and instead of this, the government strongly implies, they should bring their grandchildren to the club for a concert of national songs. This new community life is only a small part of a strengthening anti-religious campaign in the USSR which began in 1985. Another example of this campaign is the promoting of school contests throughout the republic on the theme of "the longest anti-religious poem" or else "the best atheistic anecdote."

The very amount of space and the all-encompassing hatred devoted in the Soviet Ukrainian press to this anti-religious, and mainly anti-Catholic, campaign bears witness to the strengthened religious life in Ukraine. At the same time however, this religious revival is expressed also in the samvyday (self-published) literature, in published facts and lists of Ukrainian Catholics, Baptists, Jehovah's Witnesses and Pentacostals imprisoned for their beliefs.

Ten issues of the clandestinely published Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine have reached the West. Since its publication, two of the Chronicle's publishers, Iosyf Terelia and Vasyl Kobryn, co-founders of the Initiative Group for the Protection of Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine have been arrested. Still, the activities of believing Christians continue, as is indicated by recent data: Believers return their passports as a means of renouncing the Soviet state; Liturgies are conducted in secret in apartments and on park benches; priests are schooled in underground seminaries and ordained by secret bishops; male and female groups form monastic cells in communal apartments, while their members continue their profession activities in official life and care for the sick, evangelize, and live their faith, after work.

Numerically, the strongest group of believers is the Ukrainian Catholic Church which has been persecuted since 1946, and to which the Vatican attributes more than four million faithful in Western Ukraine. After the Second World War they, as Soviet historiography

calls it, "freely and unanimously returned to their mother's womb - the Russian Orthodox Church, which has since daily nurtured its child with its care and guidance.

However, because more and more of the ungrateful flock are rejecting the state-tolerated Russian Orthodox Church and returning to their ancestral faith, Ukrainian Catholics are increasingly portrayed by the Soviet press as "agents of foreign powers," "fascist collaborators," "bourgeois nationalist and deceivers of the people."

Various "historical analyses," written by the doctors of philosophy in the Academy of Sciences conjure up black conspiracy theories between Ukrainian Catholic priests, Hitlerism, American intelligence and "Zionists, other sects and various sordid types."

All this is evidence of the desperate attempt by responsible persons in the appropriate departments of the KGB to halt the forceful resurgence of the religious underground.

But this religious oppression is not confined to ideology: In 1984 thirty churches disappeared; they were turned into funeral parlors, into museums of atheism, or else simply destroyed by bulldozers because their flocks refused to accept a Russian pastor.

Even is the majority of Ukrainian Catholics had accepted the Orthodoxy forced upon them, their acceptance would have been simply an external manifestation of religious and national self-preservation. This is substantiated by the fact that these "converts," while attending Orthodox church on Sundays, receive their last Rites from underground Catholic priests whenever possible.

The Russian Orthodox Church in Ukraine is not only a religious institution - it has always served and still serves the regime in Moscow as an important tool in the Russification of non-Russian people, which in the nationally-conscious Western Ukraine is meeting with increased resistance.

The readiness of true Christians to renounce the Soviet way of life through active membership in religious groups, which do not collaborate with the state, as does the Russian Orthodox Church, is growing noticeably. The state does not provide its citizens with any spiritual sustenance other than a petty materialism. It has raised the acquisition of a pair of Adidas sneakers and other similar capitalistic products to rank among the highest goals in life.

In such a society, more and more people are seeking religion, in their search they turn to a persecuted and reviled Church for spiritual identity and a true meaning in life.

In this way, persecution contributes to the strengthening of convert religious life, and to the solidarity among persecuted groups: human rights activists, Catholics, Jehovah's Witnesses, Pentecostals, Zionists, Baptists, and others marked down as "social parasites."

In connection with this, the Soviet press, not given to present statistical data, estimated the amount of damage to the socialist economy caused by such pious enemies of the people: a Baptist, for example, who should pray for an hour each day "in order to realize his egoistical desire for the personal salvation of his soul" during the course of a fifty year life wastes 50,000 work hours - a crime for which, 350 condemned Ukrainian believers are doing penance in Soviet labor camps.

In addition to the forms of oppression mentioned above, the Soviet authorities have in recent years made greater use of the teacher to check the spread of religion among young people. On various religious holy days the teacher in Ukraine is, as a rule, required, to make sure that his charges do not attend religious services. He/she is often asked, or rather ordered, to be in front of the church on a given holy day to prevent the children from entering the church building or to take down their names and to deal with them and their parents later. Once again, this is done primarily in Ukraine, where any kind of religious activity is strongly discouraged, and Ukrainian brand of Catholicism forbidden by the law.

The names of persecuted Ukrainian believers are truly legion, and this testimony cannot possibly include them all. In addition, the line of demarcation between religious and secular activity is not as finely drawn in the East as it is in the West. As a result, many people, who are allegedly oppressed for various "crimes" of political or other nature, are indeed suffering because they happen to be believers.

A good example of this is the poet VASYL STUS who died in the Perm Kuchino concentration camp 36-1 in September 1985. His arrest and internment (he was sentenced to a total of 23 years of imprisonment and exile, of which he served 13 years), was not

so much the result of his "anti-Soviet" activities, as of the religious nature of his poetry.

Also persecuted for his religious poetry is OLES BERDNYK whose fate is currently unknown. According to Soviet sources he has "recanted," and should be out of prison at this time, but this cannot be ascertained.

Still serving a long sentence is the poet MYKOLA RUDENKO, an invalid-veteran of World War II, who is the author of religious poetry, including the long narrative poem entitled "The Cross." Rudenko's case is especially cruel, because he was a "sound" party member for many years, fought bravely for the "Socialist homeland", and wrote literary works which were printed in the Soviet Union. After his conversion to Christianity, Rudenko was fiercely persecuted, his works were banned from publication, and he was finally interned and remains imprisoned until today.

Particularly tragic is the case of PETRO RUBAN and his invalid son, who has been, in effect sentenced to death.

According to the Ukrainian Press Service (Rome), dissident Petro Ruban, 46, a woodcarver, was sentenced by Soviet authorities for the fourth time on November 26-28, 1985. He has been imprisoned for a total of 22 years: 1965-1973 for anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation; from October 1976 to October 1985 for carving a statue dedicated to the bicentennial of the United States.

A few weeks before the end of his exile, Petro Ruban was re-arrested.

The accusation this time was based on Petro Ruban's letters to his wife concerning his imprisonment, on correspondence he maintained with citizens abroad from his place of exile, and on testimonies of prisoners, to camp workers.

Thus, Petro Ruban was charged under article 62 of the C.P. of the Ukrainian SSR- "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

The accused was granted the right to defend himself.

At the time of the trial, he was accused of critical remarks concerning the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the dubious sovereignty of the Ukrainian Republic and the kolkhoz system. But his worst "crime" was the fact the Petro Ruban tried to obtain the right for his sick son to be treated in the USA. His son, 11, was paralyzed by an accident; his medical care is poor and he does not even have a wheelchair. The Ruban family, relying on certain diagnoses, is hoping that treatment abroad will considerably improve the boy's condition.

During the hearing, Petro Ruban presented a letter to the Party's Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev, accusing the KGB in the city of Chernihiv of illegal acts. The answer came directly from the office of the Chernihiv KGB itself: "You can write wherever you like, but we will always receive the mail."

In his closing statement, Petro Ruban pleaded not guilty. He asked the court not to oppose his son's trip to the United States, and declared that he would carry on a hunger strike until his request would be met.

The verdict was not announced at the end of the trial as usual, but was transmitted to the participants by a secretary - nine years of strict incarceration and four years of exile. For Petro Ruban, who is seriously ill, this verdict is, in fact, a death sentence.

In addition to Ukrainian Catholics, such as JOSYF TERELIA, believers of other denominations are also persecuted in Ukraine. Second to the Catholics in number of victims are the Baptists, but other believers suffer as well.

The Baltimore-based journal Smoloskyp (Summer 1986), published a brief list of recent victims of Soviet anti-religious terror. This list includes the following believers who have been sentenced or otherwise punished for their faith:

ANDRIYETS, ANATOLIY. Born June 1, 1960. Evangelical Baptist from Donetsk Region; sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

ANDRIYETS, OLEKSANDER. Born January 20, 1959; Evangelical Baptist from Donetsk Region; sentenced to 3 years imprisonment for religious activity.

BOYECHKO, VASYL. Born 1941; bishop of the Evangelical Pentecostal Church; arrested in Lviv in August 1983; sentenced to 3 years' imprisonments for religious activities.

KYSS, ROMAN. Born May 9, 1949; Evangelical Baptist from Lviv; sentenced to one year of imprisonment for religious activity.

STETSENKO, HRYHORIIY. Born 1961; forcibly sent to a psychiatric hospital in Dnipropetrovsk for desiring to emigrate from the U.S.S.R.

STRILTSIV, KONSTANTYN. Member of the Hare Krishna movement; forcibly sent to a psychiatric hospital in Kiev in late 1985 or early 1986.

SUSHCHEVSKA, OLHA. Member of the Hare Krishna movement; sentenced in Kiev to 3 years' imprisonment (sentence commuted to 2 years by the court) for religious activity.

Imminent death is threatening SEMEN SKALYCH who has been imprisoned in the aforementioned Perm Kuchino camp for six years. His health is rapidly deteriorating. He was sentenced for his membership in the Ukrainian Catholic sect of "Repentants", and for his 700 religious poems written during 10 years of imprisonment and five years of exile. From the age of 16 on he has suffered from bone tuberculosis and needs crutches. Because of the difficult conditions of his detention, he is suffering from stomach ulcers as well as heart and liver problems.

However, the most prominent Ukrainian Catholic religious dissident today is JOSYF TERELIA who, according to recent Soviet reports, has "recanted." However, regardless of what he has done recently ("recantations" are really meaningless, because everyone has a breaking point and various documents can be forged), Terelia is the hero of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Soviet Union. Born in 1943 Terelia is one of the best known Christian activists in the USSR, thanks to his strong convictions. He has already served four sentences in prison and in psychiatric asylums for his struggles on behalf of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Nevertheless, in 1982, he managed to co-found the "Initiative Group for the Rights of Believers and of the Church in Ukraine," of which he was also director, and began to publish The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine. On several occasions, Terelia was asked to "negotiate" with the KGB, but his consistent refusals to do so have only led to a re-arrest in February 1985, while he was convalescing in a sanatorium in Lviv; six months later, in August, he was sentenced to seven years of imprisonment and five years of exile. Josyf Terelia is married and the father of three children. He is currently in the Perm Kuchino camp 36-1. His name and that of Vasyi Kobryn appear under the following document which summarizes the tragic situation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine.

To the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Moscow
The Kremlin

Appeal of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics in the Catacombs of the Ukraine

Three years ago the representatives of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics in the Catacombs of the Ukraine, on behalf of the Initiative Group for Protecting the Rights of

Believers and the Church in Ukraine, and on behalf of millions of Ukrainian Catholics, with the personal signature of the chairman of the Initiative Group for Protecting the Rights of Believers and the Church in the Ukraine, Vasyly Kobryn, and the secretary of this group, the priest Hryhori Budzynsky, appealed to the Government of the USSR to restore the legal status of the Ukrainian Church in the Ukraine within the USSR and to restore the rights that were forcibly suppressed in 1946-1949.

It would seem that these people have not done anything wrong, anything criminal. They have not spread any slander; they have only affirmed and defended a historical truth known to the entire world. And for this act these people, who love the truth more than their own lives, were condemned like criminals by a court. Vasyly Kobryn, the chairman of the Initiative Group for Protecting the Rights of Believers and the Church in the Ukraine, was sentenced to three years confinement in a corrective labor camp, and Josyf Terelia, chairman of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics in the Catacombs of the Ukraine, was sentenced to seven years' confinement in a strict-regime labor camp and to five years' exile.

As the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics in the Catacombs of the Ukraine, we now appeal once more to the Government of the USSR to restore the rights of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Ukraine within the USSR, and state that:

1. In 1946-1949 the rights of the Ukrainian Catholic Church were forcibly suppressed, but his Church was not destroyed, since faith in God and in God's Church cannot be destroyed by any assembly or by any law. Believers can be physically destroyed individually or en masse. But inasmuch as total physical destruction did not take place in 1946-1949, the Ukrainian Catholic Church has survived, is flourishing, and growing stronger by the day in the Catacombs to which it was forcibly driven. Every new wave of repression strengthens even more the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Catacombs of Ukraine. In looking at the past 40 years, it is clear that the prophetic words of the divine founder of the Ecumenical, i.e., the Catholic Church, Jesus Christ, have come true: "And the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it." And today we say joyfully, in the words of the glorious prophet of our people, Taras Shevchenko: "Our soul is not dying, our will is not dying..." and repeat his call: "Fight and you shall win. God is helping you."

The Church is the living presence and the living union of living believers. We know and bear witness to the entire world that today, as in days of old, there are millions of such Ukrainian Catholic believers. All the bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, together with their Lviv Metropolitan, the overwhelming majority of priests, and million of believers have remained faithful to the Universal Catholic Church. Some of the believers, where there is no foreign language Catholic church, attend former Ukrainian Catholic churches which were forced to give up the Catholic ritual, but this is not a criterion for affiliation with a non-Catholic faith.

A vivid example for this are the Greek Catholic believers in the Preshov region in Czechoslovakia, where following the restoration of the rights of the Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite, all the believers immediately began attending Catholic churches, having previously attended non-Catholic churches, which were the only ones available to them and which had been transferred forcibly to non-Catholics.

2. The Universal Catholic Church, including the Ukrainian Catholic Church, has never opposed and does not now oppose the state. On the contrary, history shows that different states have unfortunately opposed and still are opposing the Church in different ways. For example, in 1914, as soon as the Russian tsarist army entered the western Ukraine, which was under Austria at that time, Ukrainian Catholic bishops and the Metropolitan of Lviv were immediately arrested, and the clergy were pressured to renounce Catholicism. But neither the clergy nor the believers renounced their faith. They remained faithful to Catholicism, to their native rite, to their native language, and to their national traditions.

3. The Universal Catholic Church, and thus the Ukrainian Catholic Church, has never recognized and does not now recognize any chauvinist nationalism, whatever its source may be. Over the centuries the Ukrainian people have often been persecuted by exponents of rabid chauvinism on the part of its brethren neighbors. The Catholic Church, according to its principle, has always supported and does now support friendship between nations and social justice, and opposes the gallows, bullets, the axe and the knout used against those who champion religious and national freedom.

Is it not a crying outrage to label the Ukrainian Catholic Church "bourgeois nationalistic" and "clerically nationalistic" only because Ukrainian Catholics, through centuries of oppression, have maintained their religion, national identity, and aspiration for social justice? All this is known to the entire world and to every fair-minded person.

Only rabid enemies of the people can characterize such fruitful activity on the part of the Church as hostile, or claim that the persecuted collaborated with the [Nazi] invaders

4. The Ukrainian Catholic Church does not demand special treatment; it only seeks the rights proclaimed and guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution, particularly in Article 52. But the Constitution itself can guarantee nothing if the rights it proclaims are not guaranteed by those who are responsible for this. Therefore, the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Catholics in the Catacombs of the Ukraine demands an end to all discrimination against the Ukrainian Catholic Church; the release, in the first place, of prisoners of conscience TERELYA, KOBYRN, BAT'YO POLIANA, and the priests VINNYTSKY, FATHER ROMAN and the others; and permission for the Ukrainian Catholic Church to conduct legal activity (as other Catholic groups in the USSR are permitted to do), and for the Metropolitan of Lviv and the Ukrainian Catholic bishops to take their historical places.

In this regard the Central Committee advises the Government of the USSR to get in touch with the Office of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Vatican.

When there is freedom of conscience and freedom of religion, the Catholic Church always tries to be loyal to the state. The Catholic Church does not strive for political power. Catholic clergy are forbidden to engage in political activity. The Church pursues spiritual goals and gives priority to man's spiritual values and his eternal other worldly goal; it looks upon earthly temporal life as a gift from God, for on it depends man's eternal fate.

We are to live in honest labor and love, with respect for every individual and his right to dignity and freedom of choice. Honest labor and love are a pledge of wordly happiness and joy, a pledge of preservation and growth of spiritual values for eternal happiness and joy.

When confronted with opposing views, the Church preaches equitable, peaceful coexistence and condemns enemies of human dignity who infringe on legitimate rights and freedom of choice.

The Second Vatican Council issued the "Decree on Religious Freedom," in which the Catholic Church proclaimed the freedom to the apostolate and the freedom of conviction, and thereby condemned the imposition of any sort of views of a totalitarian or authoritarian nature. Most unfortunately, at present there are systems that regard spiritually inclined people as enemies, that impose their views on youngsters, and that consider any talk of freedom of choice to be ideological sabotage.

5. At the present time, too, the entire world can see that the activity of the Catholic Church, particularly the activity of Pope John Paul II, his travels in foreign countries, do not constitute a state within a state but are directed toward the benefit of mankind, toward friendship and brotherhood between peoples and nations, and against violence and terrorism, against incitement of religious, racial, and national conflict and hatred, in behalf of conscientious labor and just distribution. Such activity is not a hindrance to the state, but a major benefit.

6. By restoring the rights of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Soviet State and Soviet Government would win the respect of the whole Universal Catholic Church and the respect of Catholics throughout the world: they constitute nearly a fourth of the world's population. The respect of all honest people of good will would grow, confidence would be considerably increased, and the authority of the Soviet state and government would be enhanced immeasurably. It is honorable to correct a mistake of the past.

In the Catacombs of the Ukraine
February 8, 1986

Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics
in the Catacombs of the Ukraine

While the Ukrainian Catholics and other believers are being persecuted, the Russian Orthodox Church is actually receiving financial aid from the Soviet government. It seems that the Soviet regime is worried that the upcoming Millennium of Christianity of Rus'-Ukraine in 1986 might once again re-invigorate Ukrainian Catholicism and re-kindle authentic

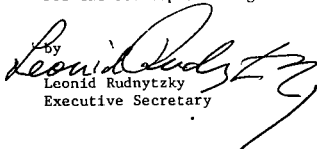
Ukrainian spiritual life. Thus the government is currently favoring the Russian Orthodox Church - always a willing tool of the atheist regime - hoping to present the Ukrainian Millennium as an all-Russian cultural and historical event. This anomalous alliance between an atheistic government and a Christian Church is but a ploy in the Soviet government's unrelenting persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine.

Despite all the persecutions, however, the Ukrainian Catholic Church refuses to die. Significantly enough, since 1982 its leadership is in the hands of the laity and its membership is comprised of all social classes. It has a broad base. The Initiative Group has succeeded in galvanizing Ukrainian Catholicism into a spiritually formidable Church that enjoys great popularity among the people not only in Western Ukraine, its traditional stronghold, but also in other parts of the Soviet Union.

The plight of the Ukrainian Catholic faithful and of other Christians in Soviet Ukraine needs to be known in the West. It is incumbent upon us who are free to praise and to worship God to help those who are being denied that freedom and who are being persecuted for their faith.

Submitted

For the St. Sophia Religious Research Institute

by

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