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310 S. Lee Street Alexandria, VA 22314

> Kharkov, Ukraine Soviet Union

2 Corinthians 9:8-9-10-11-12-13-14-15.

I heartily thank the Lord for turning your hearts to this charity which you are doing, namely in helping where there is such a need. This is all done by the Lord for our good, for it is the Lord Who touches the hearts of His children to do good things. Eph.2:10. Such is written about the one to whom you are addressing and I have already experienced. *Psalm 89:10. I listen to your programs before dawn. If all that I receive comes from you then I am getting it. If it is from some other radio transmission, then you would probably be able to find out which one and pass on my gratitude. In any case, I would like to know where this gift comes from, from which church. My gratitude is great and grateful is the one who has received with joy. Heb. 10:34. May the Lord bless you. 1 Cor. 15:58.

3 March 1984

Translator's note:

I. In Russia, the Psalms are calculated differently, and this reference is probably Psalm 90:10.

2. There is no signature, only the name and address on the envelope. Though it is sent from the Ukraine, it is written in Russian.

Chile's Children Confront Injustice

FOURTEEN-YEAR-OLD Viviana lives in one of Santiago's many impoverished neighborhoods. Last spring she began attending meetings for youth leaders of the neighborhood day camp, a program organized by the parish for the community's children. In the meetings, she learns songs, activities and games in cooperation with others; and she learns how to help the younger children enjoy being together.

This church-sponsored program is unique in the neighborhood. Most of the parents and older brothers and sisters of Viviana's friends are without work. Because there is no unemployment insurance in Chile, no work means no money to go to school, to buy clothes, to pay for water and, often, to purchase food. When there is food, it goes first to the youngest in the family, so many of Viviana's friends go for several days at a time without eating. The church program helps them to see that although they cannot yet do the things they would like to do with their lives, they do have a contribution to make to their community.

Beginning in May 1983, people in the neighborhood decided to begin working to bring about change. They joined the growing number of Chileans who observe a national day of protest each month. On those days, many people bang their pots and pans, dramatizing that they are always empty. Some people march, some conduct fasts, some pray; most of the children stay home from school, and stores remain closed. These are some of the nonviolent methods that people have devised to demand an end to the military dictatorship. They want democracy and jobs now.

The government has answered by breaking into their homes, beating them, arresting them, torturing and sending them into internal exile, and sometimes just shooting them. Yet they have continued to protest.

Several organizations in Viviana's neighborhood recently planned a march to express solidarity with miners who were on the 21st day of a hunger strike protesting illegal firings. The march also protested the continuing imprisonment of 40 people from the community who had broken into a supermarket to get food for their hungry families.

Young people working with the day-camp program had scheduled a workshop for the same day as the protest. They came in the morning as planned, but at lunchtime the workshop leaders announced a break because many of the participants wanted to go to the march. The leaders told Viviana and the others that they were welcome to remain at the meeting place. They warned that anyone who went needed to be prepared for the police's harsh treatment of demonstrators.

Viviana and her friend Monica decided not to go. Instead, they walked to the corner store to buy the bread that Monica was supposed to take home after the workshop. Just as they had paid for their purchase, marchers began to come into the intersection near the store. At the same time, a busload of special police and several paddy wagons arrived. While the police shot teargas bombs into the crowd, the store owner forced the customers—including Viviana and Monica—out into the street because he was afraid the police would come in and wreck his place of business.

The marchers began running in every direction, gasping for breath, tears rolling down their faces. Monica and Viviana also ran. A paddy wagon screeched to a stop immediately behind them and a policeman jumped off the back, grabbing them both. They were dragged, fighting, to the vehicle. As the policeman opened the door, Viviana managed to pull herself free and fled, but Monica, held by her long hair, couldn't get away.

Within half an hour, most of the young people had returned to the workshop. They wrote down the names of those they had seen shoved into the paddy wagons, and agreed to notify their families. Someone from the parish went to contact the Catholic Archdiocese's Human Rights Office. Since nothing more could be done then, lunch was served.

Viviana could not eat, so she drew a picture and wrote on it that "Today I lived this with Monica." Drawing



helped ease her rage, but she still wanted to ask the policeman what she had done-what any of them had done-to be treated so. Eventually one of the workshop leaders came and hugged her and insisted that she return to the games in the playground. Within half an hour, Viviana was again participating in the workshop, doing what she could do for herself and for her friends. The next day, Monica and six other young people who had been taken by the police and held overnight were released without charges.

Viviana represents the

millions of innocent children in Third World countries robbed of their childhoods and forced by circumstances to take a leading role in confronting injustice. Programs like the day camp help young people understand that they do have important contributions to make—the gift of themselves in service and love to others, and the courage to recognize evil and injustice for what they are and to risk their lives to demand a change. Viviana's path will not be easy, since conditions in Chile are continuing to worsen.

Evelyn Leith.

The Christian CENTURY

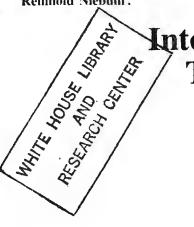


NOVEMBER 21, 1984

Niebuhr Versus Niebuhr: On Tragedy in History

JOHN D. BARBOUR

Reinhold Niebuhr.



Integration and Imperialism: / The Century 1953–1961

JAMES M. WALL

Chile's Children Confront Injustice

NCC Reshapes Its Future Notes on American Sacred Music

H. Richard Niebuhr,

Documentation

Human Rights Violations in Cuba

"Having designed a special program of obligatory political indoctrination, Cuban prison authorities have resorted to extraordinary brutality against those who refuse as a matter of conscience to submit to such so-called rehabilitation programs."

RICHARD SHIFTER

A MBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK has in recent years clearly expressed the position of the United States on the phenomenon of "selective indignation," so common in United Nations pronouncements on the subject of human rights. What she has pointed out is that resolutions are adopted which condemn certain human rights violations or alleged human rights violations in the strongest possible terms while totally ignoring far more serious violations which take place in countries with regard to which the United Nations is willing to look the other way. As Ambassador Kirkpatrick has had occasion to note, one entire region which has been singled out for selective indignation is Latin America.

But even within Latin America, we have not applied a uniform standard. While criticism has been directed at certain chosen countries, some of it justified and some unjustified, one Latin American country, the country which is the most serious human rights violator of them all, has succeeded in escaping scrutiny in United Nations forums. It is, interestingly, one of the countries which comes closest to all the nations in the world in resembling the nightmare state described by George Orwell in his novel, 1984. The country to which I am referring is, of course, Cuba.

Selective indignation is, as we see it, not always the result of a particular political bias. It is often the consequence of our playing back, in this and similar forums, the themes which we have picked up from the media. Information in the media, though sometimes reflective of a particular political bias, is often influenced by the relative ease of accessibility to reporters of the site of a news event. We thus are furnished a great deal of information about human rights violations in countries which permit reporters, including unfriendly reporters, to enter freely and to file their dispatches without being subjected to censorship. We hear little or nothing about countries which severely restrict reporting generally and which will not allow any reporting that will be critical of the country involved and its government.

The observations which I have just made explain, for example, the difference in the discussion in this forum of Chile as distinct from Cuba. My country is indeed concerned about human rights conditions in Chile. We have said so repeatedly and will say so with the utmost clarity later in these proceedings. Nevertheless, as deeply troubled as we are about recent developments in Chile, we believe that it is important to stress that any person dedicated to the human rights cause who compares present-day conditions in Chile with present-day conditions in Cuba and who also projects future developments in both places must agree that Cuba presents by far the bleaker picture. Harsh condemnation of Chile paralleled by complete silence on the subject of Cuba necessarily gives rise to the question of whether we are not guilty of hypocrisy.

Ben-

Cuba is now and has been for more than twenty-five years one of the world's most repressive totalitarian police states. Totalitarian control in Cuba serves not only as a straightjacket for the potential dissident, who is deprived of his rights to free expression and free association, as set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Reaching beyond the dissenters, the repressive regime reaches through its elaborate neighborhood monitoring system into every single home, stirring fear in the most humble nonpolitical citizen, who will not utter a word or engage in an act of which Big Brother might disapprove, lest the wrath of the state descend upon him.

he mechanism through which the Cuban state apparatus reaches into every home is known as the Neighborhood Committee for the Defense of the Revolution. These committees constitute a network of block wardens, persons whose task is to watch the movement of people in their neighborhoods, to observe meetings, parties, to check whether citizens are listening to foreign radio and television broadcasts and see what these citizens read and say. An elaborate system has been created for reporting by neighborhood committees to the central police authorities.

Given Cuba's badly mismanaged economy, which has resulted in rationing of rice, beans, meat, clothing and shoes, as well as severe housing shortages; and given the state's total control over job opportunities and education, Cubans are understandably afraid that an adverse report from their block warden can severely interfere first with each family's day-to-day life, but beyond that, with the future opportunities which heads of families as well as their children might have, both as to educational training that they might desire or the kinds of jobs that might be available to them.

Further interfering with the daily lives of non-political families, the state makes every effort to discourage religious teaching and religious practices, including practices in the home. It insists that children participate in party indoctrination programs, where these children are also taught to spy on their parents and friends.

We are all well familiar with the fact that a good many governments maintain themselves in power by the use of force against political opposition. We also know that some governments seek to maintain themselves through totalitarian control of practically all institutions. But very few have, as I indicated before, come so close to reaching into every home, peering, as it were, through every window, as has Castro's Cuba.

Repressive measures against political dissenters are, as we know, commonplace throughout the world. But even in this context, Cuba's approach differs from that of most other countries. Sentences against political dissenters are longer and their treatment is harsher than is the case elsewhere. Moreover, once a person's sentence has been completed, he is often kept in jail, occasionally to be given away by Fidel Castro personally as an act of kindness to a foreign dignitary, almost in the style of medieval potentates. For example, of the twenty-six political prisoners allowed to leave for the United States earlier this year, a total of twenty-one had been kept in jail more than one year beyond the expiration of their sentences.

As a recent report by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights notes, political prisoners in Cuba include not only political activists but also journalists, writers and artists, as well as priests, clergymen and active members of religious congregations. Having designed a special program of obligatory political indoctrination, Cuban prison authorities have resorted to extraordinary brutality against those who refuse as a matter of conscience to submit to such so-called rehabilitation programs. These courageous persons, who have come to be known as "Plantados," intransigent prisoners, have experienced treatment which also reminds us of the Middle Ages. Dressed only in their underwear, prisoners have been squeezed into small cells which also serve as their toilet. The Inter-American Human Rights Commission reports the following as to the conditions under which Plantados were forced to live:

> There is a pattern to treatment: interruption of mail and visits, in some cases for years; deficient medical attention, especially since many of the prisoners were weakened by frequent hunger strikes and became chronically ill or invalids . . . poor ventilation and crowded cells; or alternatively, long term incommunicado detention, at

times in rat-infested places; the deprivation of food as punishment and the withholding of medicine.

The Commission continues: "Women Plantadas also complained of harsh treatment including coercion, incommunicado detention and deficient medical attention. Attention is drawn to the 'tapiadas,' locked in hermetically sealed cells with welded doors with a slat at the bottom to pass through food; hard labor on farms, threats and beatings."

Let me amplify these conclusions of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission by reading from a personal account of one of the former prisoners who came to this country recently. Speaking of only one segment of the time he spent as a political prisoner, this man, Eugenio de Soso, a former newspaperman, reports the following on his experiences:

In 1977, I was a political prisoner kept at Combinado del Este Prison in the province of Havana. I had been in prison for more than 17 years already. One day, I was suddenly called out of Combinado and taken to the State Security Headquarters in Villa Marista without being given a reason for the move. Little did I know that I was about to undergo one of the most macabre and inhumane episodes of the long list of mistreatments and tortures imposed upon me by the communist government of Cuba.

At Villa Marista, I was interrogated repeatedly regarding some information I was supposed to have passed on to the "counter-



revolutionary" exiles back in 1963. Their techniques to make me confess included: (1) constant threats that I was about to be shot; (2) totally false assertions regarding incriminating testimony supposedly given by other prisoners, friends of mine, against me; (3) isolation in a totally dark cell, naked, for days, where I was supposed to lose track of the day and night cycle; (4) involuntary administration of hallucinogenic drugs in the food (finally, when I found a semi-dissolved capsule in the food, I stopped eating); (5) being kept in an anechoic chamber (a "quiet" room with no echoes, where one could hear the sound of one's own bloodstream rushing and where the slightest sound produced is multiplied many times in intensity) for prolonged periods of time, subjected to extremely loud sounds at irregular intervals.

After my continued refusal to admit any sort of guilt and to incriminate my friends, they changed their tactics. I was then interviewed by a Captain who, in a rather civilized style, informed me that one of my daughters who lived in Texas had been allowed to come to Cuba to visit me with my granddaughters whom I had not yet met. This unusual move was granted, he told me, as a gesture of mercy of the Castro government before my execution for sending secret information to the enemies of the revolution a long time ago. My family, he told me, would come to Cuba by private jet.

After a few days, I was taken to the barber and given clean clothes in preparation for the first visit with my daughter in more than 15 years. When I entered the room, instead of my daughter I found the same Captain who, in a profound and grave tone, informed me that there had been a terrible accident with the plane in which my family was coming and that my daughter and my granddaughters were all dead. Months later I was to find out that the accident, as well as the visit arrangement, had all been fabrications of the torturers; but at that precise moment in Security Headquarters when I was told of the "tragedy," I did believe it. My reaction was swift: I jumped and punched the Captain as hard as I could. I wanted to die. Needless to say that I was mercilessly beaten by the guards immediately. I was told that I would be shot next day in La Cabana fortress.

That night, I was taken out of Security Headquarters and driven through Havana in an easterly direction. At one point, I was forced to lie down on the floor of the car. Soon we arrived at our real destination: the National Psychiatric Hospital.

The Psychiatric Hospital is one of the

"jewels" of the revolution. It is a required stop for all foreign delegations who visit Cuba. The foreigners, of course, are not taken to the Chamber of Horrors in which they put me, known officially as the Carbo-Serbia Ward. There is another ward, called the Castellanos Ward, which is just as bad.

There were about 80 men in this ward, all violently disturbed. The smell of urine and excrement was sickening. There would be brawls among the patients every so often, and beaten, bloody bodies had to be carted out. During my stay there, five patients were killed in brawls among themselves.

My first encounter with group electro-shock treatments occurred one night when I saw a team of four men, directed by one man called Mederos who was dressed as a nurse, enter the ward. Six patients were grabbed and six rubber pieces were stuffed into their mouths. They were thrown to the floor in a row side by side to each other. Right there, on the floor, the electrodes were applied to both sides of their heads, and shocks were given. Six bodies started to contort one by one. The next six were then captured by the orderlies, forced to lie down and the procedure repeated. By then, the floor was already running with urine, excrement and vomit. The shocks were applied to the temples of the patients, but to me, they applied most of the shocks to the testicles instead. I received about 14 electroshocks this, way.

One day, some very young boys were brought into the ward. The oldest did not look older than 16. They had been caught writing anti-government graffiti on some building walls, and a "Judge of the People" declared that to do such a thing they must be insane and in need of psychiatric treatment. Before the day was over, all the boys were systematically gang-raped by more than 30 patients in the ward. To this day, I can hear their cries for help and see their bloody bodies as I stood by in impotent rage. Not a single staff member intervened.

This nightmare, this terrible episode, lasted for five months. It took place, I repeat, in 1977, not at the beginning, but in the 18th year of the revolutionary government of Cuba.

Dut even the worst kind of repression cannot totally extinguish the human quest for freedom. Even after decades of totalitarian rule, there are individuals who have the courage at least to attempt to exercise human rights of which the Castro government has sought to deprive them. Among them were five men who a few years ago tried to

Catholicism in Crisis/March 1985

organize an independent labor union. They were, of course, quickly arrested, were tried and then sentenced to death. Their death sentences were subsequently committed to thirty years imprisonment. According to reports, not only were the defendants sentenced to long prison terms, but their defense lawyers suffered a similar fate. So did one of the judges who reportedly objected to the manner in which the case was being handled. Cuba's Minister of Justice, Oswaldo Dorticos, who had once served, by designation of Fidel Castro, as President of Cuba, committed suicide shortly thereafter.

I have offered these examples in support of the point I made at the outset. Cubs is not just another country governed without the consent of the governed. It is not just an ordinary dictatorship. It is not even a totalitarian state on some East European model. It stands, as a violator of human rights, all by itself, guilty of degrading treatment of human beings which, as I said earlier, indeed approaches the nightmare depicted in the novel 1984.

The United Nations system has expressed a special interest in human rights in Latin America. We urge this body to focus on the worst violations in this hemisphere, which take place in Fidel Castro's Cuba.

Richard Shifter is Alternate United States Representative to the 39th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, to which these remarks were made, December 7, 1984. He is currently serving also as U.S. Representative to the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva. A practicing attorney in Washington, D.C., Mr. Shifter has long been active in the Democratic party in Maryland.

Oversight

In printing Father Oswald von Nell-Breuning's account of his role in the drafting of the encyclical Quadragesimo Anno, in the "Documentation" section of our February 1985 issue, we failed to mention that the article, which originally appeared in German, was translated by John Doebele of Chicago. We regret the oversight. "Mark Falcoff is a very thoughtful and competent observer of Latin America. He has written a first-rate series of essays that present new and provocative ideas...."

> Ambassador Robert S. Strauss, member, Kissinger Commission on Central America

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VOLUME 3; NO. 4

"Distinguish in order to unite"

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Robert Royal

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Human Rights Violations in Cuba

Ambassador Richard Shifter

Saul Alinsky's Radical Vision Joan Frawley Edward Lawry on James Agee Are Human Rights Universal? James Finn



Fred Schi

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVES -++++

PSI-Ligh

FACT SHEET: TRENDS IN CHARITABLE GIVING

Giving Reaches Record Peaks

- Total giving in 1983 was \$64.9 billion, a number greater than the national budgets of two thirds of the world's countries.
- Between 1980 and 1983 giving increased by almost \$17 billion - and this does not include the donation of in-kind contributions.
- 1983 marked the third consecutive year that the increase in giving was higher than the inflation rate.
- Real growth of contributions is much greater because of lower inflation.
- Contributions out performed forecasts made for charitable contributions in Chemical Bank's 1981 Giving and Getting study.
- Corporate contributions have been increasing even when corporate profits were done in 1982.
- The 1983 United Way Campaign, was not only a record year, but the best in 27 years. President Reagan helped to kick it off on national television.
- Sources of Charitable Giving 1983
 - 83% from individuals
 - 7% bequests
 - 5.3% foundations
 - 4.8% corporations
 - very often contributions are absorbed by corporate budgets other than the corporate contributions budgets and is not reflected in these figures.
- Recipients of Charitable Giving 1983
 - religious giving at almost half at (47.8%) (up 1.4% from 1982)

 - health 14.1% (up .2% from 1983) education 13.9% (down .3% from 1983)
 - social services 10.7% (up .2% from 1983)
 - arts and humanities 6.3%
- Education, health and social services were the major recipient areas from non-individual givers
- Business is more carefully placing priority on true areas of need for their contributions.

- The Chamber of Commerce found in a 1983 survey that substantial increases in private sector initiatives were seen in 1981-1982. Most notable were programs in the areas of economic development, education, and employment/training
 the three focus areas of the President's Advisory Council on PSI.
- Better management, improved focus and accountability has become important goals for many non-profit organizations.
- As corporations get more involved in analyzing the inner workings of non-profit organizations they are finding more opportunities for in-kind contributions - such as management, marketing, materials, resources and technical expertise.

TRENDS IN SMALL BUSINESS COMMITMENT TO PSI*

- There are approximately 14 million small businesses in the nation (with 11-200 employees). This represents 98% of the total businesses and 50% of the nations work force, and recently two-thirds of the countries new jobs. Over 600,000 new firms are created each year.
- A majority (79%) of small businesses feel corporations have some obligation to meet the needs of their communities rather than leave such support exclusively to government or non-profit organizations.
- A majority (89%) of top executives volunteer in their communities. The example, set by senior management, sets the tone for employees.
- Over half of companies see benefits such as increased visibility and image, improved employee morale, and ease in hiring new employees. Over 75% agree that voluntarism is good for the bottom line.
- Small businesses are a major potential resource to work closely with non-profit organizations since they can quickly respond to a commitment from the top.
- Small businesses, like their larger counterparts, often view community support primarily in the more traditional terms of philanthropy, as opposed to the more innovative sharing of company resources and expertise.

(*from Mutual Benefit Life Survey)

i

It was an hour before dawn, and, except for the sentries, only two men in the company were awake: Corporal Abe Geller, bent over his prayer book, and Captain George O'Connor, who was looking over the field of battle and trying to figure out the best places to position his troops for the coming battle.

When Abe was finished praying, the captain said, "Go to the chow truck and get a cup of coffee."

"Thanks, Captain," said Abe, "but today is Yom Kippur. It is our holiest day and a fast day, and I won't eat until sundown."

"You mean to say you're going to fast the day we break into Seoul?" asked the captain.

The lad from the Lower East Side grinned. "I figure I've got enough calories packed away for at least twenty-four hours, and I won't miss it," he said.

Unfortunately, the Marines ran into a lot of trouble during the battle of that first day, trying to drive into Seoul. Along about sundown, Captain O'Connor's men were inching their way across a field with dead North Koreans all around. However, one of the enemy, though badly wounded, was only playing dead. As the officer came within firing range, he rolled over on his side and aimed his pistol.

Abe was standing a few feet from Captain O'Connor and saw the action of the North Korean soldier. He jerked his bayonet out of his belt and made a dive for the enemy soldier, but as he killed him, he was hit with three bullets intended for O'Connor.

The captain did the best he could for Abe, but at this point the situation on the field was very tense, and he had to remain in charge of the fighting. It was almost three hours before the corporal received a shot of pencillin and was carried to a hospital tent.

There he was operated on, the operation lasting over an hour, and when the surgeon finally came out, Captain O'Connor was waiting for him.

"How does it look?" asked the concerned captain.

"The kid's doing fine," said the surgeon.

"I was afraid he wouldn't make it," said O'Connor.

"So was I," said the surgeon. "The bullets went through his stomach and several loops of intestine. Wounds like that are usually fatal if penicillin isn't given almost immediately."

"I don't quite understand everything you are saying," said the captain, "but his pulling through seems something of a miracle."

"You could say that," said the surgeon, "for in a manner of speaking it is. Geller owes his life to the fact that when he was shot, there was hardly any food in his stomach."

In faraway Korea, on the front lines of battle, a life was saved because that young man fasted on Yom Kippur.

----B.St.



Samaritan Passover: Ancient Rites on Mount Gerizim

Though their official status as Jews has at times been denied, though their name has been made legendary by the Christian parable of the Good Samaritan, the Samaritans regard themselves as the truest of Israelites, and their Passover service is indeed the closest approximation to the priestly sacrifice of ancient times.

Today the Samaritan community is divided between Israel and Jordan.* Known as the Shomronim, they number some four hundred and fifty souls, of whom two thirds live in Jordan in their ancient center of Shechem [Nablus] on the slopes of Mount Gerizim, their rival to Mount Zion in Jerusalem. The Jordanian Shomronim eke out a frugal existence, with the help of the Joint Distribution Committee, as shopkeepers, tailors, and tradesmen; and quite a few of the younger generation are schoolteachers. The remaining Samaritans live on the outskirts of Tel Aviv in a community established under the sponsorship of the late President Ben-Zvi, who, as a student of ethnology, made fast friends among the Samaritans.

Once a year, at Passover, the Samaritans from Israel travel en masse to Jordan to take part in the ancient rites on Mount Gerizim, known not as *a Seder* but as the *hurban*, the sacrifice. The Samaritans reenact the Exodus from Egypt in a stirring nightlong ceremony that follows the biblical description to the letter.

During the entire Passover holiday the Samaritans live in tents and booths on Mount Gerizim, which they claim is the sacred Mount Moriah, where Abraham set Isaac upon the sacrificial altar. They also identify Gerizim as the site of the blessing of the Israelites under Moses, as the site of Jacob's dream, as the gate of heaven, as the navel of the earth and abiding place of the Lord.

It is this ancient claim of Gerizim against Zion that was a basic element in the separation of the Samaritans from the remainder of the Jewish establishment. They declare that this dwelling place of the Lord was known of old, before the passage into Egypt, and was reestablished immediately after the return from Egypt and that it was an error of King David to remove the site of worship to Jerusalem.

This theological dispute actually has political origins. The Samaritans' forebears were of the northern kingdom, Israel, which did not recognize the sanctity of Mount Zion and Jerusalem, Judah's capital, but established their own religious centers and holy mountains, one of which was probably Mount Gerizim. Here the Samaritans built a temple, in the fourth century before the Common Era, which was subsequently destroyed. But they have continuously maintained their Passover on the mountain.

This year, as every year, preparations for the *hurban* began, in accordance with Scripture, two weeks before the service, when the elders went out to select the sacrificial sheep: "Your lamb shall be without blemish, a male of the first year."

A dozen or more of such animals were chosen, "according to the number of souls, every man according to his eating shall make your count for the lamb." Thus the cost of the sheep was scrupulously divided among the family clans by head count, except for the *Cohanim*, the priests, who were the guests of the other four families—Marhiv, Altif, Surani, and Tzadaka.

The sheep were brought to Shechem, washed, and placed in a special pen, and a watch was put over them. The day before the *hurban* the contingent from Israel arrived. Their movements during their stay in Jordan were strictly limited by the authorities; for instance, they were not even allowed to enter the ancient synagogue that the Samaritans of Jordan use throughout the year. Indeed they were not even allowed to stay in the town, but had to proceed up the hillside to the campsite. This was an open field near the top of Mount Gerizim.

Some of the families built small cabins or booths to supplement their tents. In high spirits, the Jordan and Israel sides of the five families reunited while tents

* Written in 1964. Now the Israeli-occupied West Bank.

were pitched and mats were spread. Family news was exchanged and the matchmakers got busy.

Marriages outside the congregation are rare. When a match is made between the Israel side and the Jordan side, it is unlikely for the couple to elect to remain in Jordan, although one notable romance has gone on for several years with the engaged couple unable to agree as to which country to live in.

Well before dawn, at about 2:00 A.M., the men rose and put on their prayer robes. Some of them wore the loose white gowns used regularly in their synagogue, but the elders wore voluminous oriental trousers, narrow at the ankles, and jerseys or jackets, the whole in white, with white caps.

They gathered around the altar, a large flat stone, quite low, and the prayers began. The Cohen *Hagadol*, the high priest, led the chanting in the ancient Hebrew. The text of many of the prayers, in praise of God, calling on God to rise and confound the enemy, were quite close in their content to familiar prayers in the Hebrew liturgy, and there was the constantly interjected choral cry, equivalent to the Shema, "Ayn Ela Ela Ahad!"—"There is no God but the One God." Its sound is strangely reechoed in the Mohammedan chant, "La Allah il Allah."

Until about eight in the morning the men prayed. Then the women arrived, bringing food. After family feasts and celebrations in the field, the groups returned to their tents and booths to continue their visiting. Meanwhile selected members of the congregation took upon themselves the various preparations for the *hurban*.

In each family someone prepared dough for *matzoth*. The Samaritans do not use a dry, ready-baked *matzoh*; theirs is a matzoh-cake, similar to the Arab bread, or *pitta*, baked with salt. Each family's portions of dough were brought to a central fire, consisting of a sheet of iron over stones, upon which the *matzoth* were to be freshly baked every day.

Meanwhile, in a pit by the altar, the sacrificial fire was started, and stones were heated under the eye of an expert. The pit was over two yards deep—a trench with a rounded bulge at one end. The heat was judged by the expert's practiced eye, for the perfect preparation would depend upon the exact degree of temperature in the stones. First the stones became black, but afterwards they became white hot; then the fire was ready.

In the meantime, barrels of water had been heated over the fire for use in the ritual.

Shortly before sundown the entire congregation assembled on the open site, forming a procession to the tent of the Cohen *Hagadol*, to invite him and all the priestly family to the feast. The Cohen *Hagadol*, a round-bearded patriarch named Amram Isaac Cohen, took his place at the head of the procession, carrying the ceremonial Torah.

With chant and jubilation, the procession followed the Cohen Hagadol to the altar. The elders grouped around the stone, singing the prayers, while the younger men proceeded to their appointed tasks. Some fetched the hot water barrels and placed them on the stone. Others brought the sacrificial sheep.

All five designated ritual slaughterers, *shochtim*, then formed a row to one side of the altar. At their feet, the helpers placed the bound sheep, two or three for each man. The chanted prayers continued, and portions of Exodus were read, copied from the Samaritan scroll, which differs slightly from the Masoretic text. (The key difference for the Samaritans is in the line that occurs twenty-one times, directing that the altar shall be set up in "the place which the Lord has chosen" hence, Gerizim, whereas the Masoretic text reads "in the place which the Lord shall choose"—hence, Jerusalem.)

As their recitation proceeded, there was little resemblance to the Haggadah as it is recited in the accepted family Seder, for the traditional "four questions" were not asked, nor were the symbolic objects displayed—the shankbone, the *charoses*, the bitter herb. Still, there were many familiar high points, such as, "With a strong hand He brought us out!"

What proceeded here was a kind of mass celebration of the beginning of the Exodus, rather than an explanation of it. The Cohen *Hagadol* mounted on a stone, so as to be seen by the whole congregation as he led the recitation from chapter 12 of Exodus:

And the Lord spoke unto Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt, saying: "In the tenth day of this month they shall take unto them every man a lamb, according to the house of their fathers, a lamb for a household. Your lamb shall be without blemish... and the whole assembly of the congregation of the house of Israel shall kill it in the evening!"

At these words the five *shochtim* raised their arms, then swiftly brought them down in the ritual act of slaughter. The assembled congregation cried out, "There is no God but the one God!"

This was the high point of the ritual. Behind the priests and the circle of whiterobed elders stood the white-gowned men, and behind them the women and the children, and in a more distant circle stood thousands of spectators, Arabs who gather each year to behold the event.

"And they shall take of the blood and strike it on the two side posts and on the upper door post of the house," the recitation continued, and the congregation cried again and again:

"There is no God but the one God!"

The chief shochet meanwhile made the rounds of the sacrificial animals, examining each one to be certain it was unblemished in slaughter. Had a stranger touched a sacrifice, it would have become *tref* and hence rejected.

The accepted sheep were now handed over to a special group of older boys, assisted by a few women, and the skins were scraped clean of hair. Finally, each carcass was hung from a pole and lifted on the shoulders of two men. The *shochtim* removed the innards, which were carefully placed on the altar to be completely burned, according to Mosaic law. The sheep, again washed, were carried on the poles to the specially appointed seasoners, who salted the meat. Now the sheep were ready for the pit.

When the oven-watcher declared the moment had come, the poles with the sheep were set vertically into the pit. Another group had prepared a loam of grass, earth and water; a large wire mesh was placed over the pit, and this mesh was covered completely with loam, so as to seal the oven. No wisp of smoke was allowed to appear, for had there been smoke, the sacrificial meal would have burned.

It was now about 8:00 P.M. The worshipers returned to their family tents, where they sang, prayed, and nibbled on Passover dainties until the approach of midnight. When the pit-watchers declared the time had come, one of the Cohanim marched about the encampment, blowing the *shofar*. The celebrants emerged from their tents and again went up to the altar. Each family brought a large serving basket or a huge copper dish. The pit was opened; the baked sheep were taken out and appointed among the clans. To the Cohanim, according to Scripture, went the right forepart of each animal, the cheeks, and the stomach.

The meat was carried back in the servers to the tents. Now the celebrants gathered around, bringing their *matžoth* and their bitter herbs, and the Passover

feast took place. Everything was eaten from the central server, so that no crumb or scrap might go astray, for the Samaritans strictly follow the rule, "Ye shall let nothing of it remain until morning and that which remaineth of it until morning ye shall burn with fire."

Far into the night the feasting continued, with storytelling and festivities. Many of the men stayed up all night at the altar to see that every scrap of remaining meat was burned to ashes.

Throughout the whole of the Passover the encampment continued, not only as a way of making certain that there should be no danger of contamination with leaven, or *chometz*, in the lower town, but also as a springtime holiday.

On the last day there was a procession to a still higher place on Mount Gerizim, or Mount Moriah as they believe it to be, to the altar of Abraham and Isaac. Here the final prayers were recited. The congregation then turned homeward, and the annual separation between the Samaritans of Jordan and those of Israel took place.

Contact between the two groups would be difficult during the year. As usual, radio programs on both sides will carry personal announcements, in this way sending greetings back and forth for anniversaries, weddings, births, holidays.

Since the entire priestly family lives on the Jordan side, a member of the Tzadaka family, Yefet Avraham Tzadaka, who has been appointed by the Cohen *Hagadol*, will continue to carry on services in Israel. These are held in a neat, new synagogue built at the entrance to the settlement, on the edge of the industrial area of Tel Aviv.

A good deal of literature exists on the Samaritans. The heart of the conflict over their status goes back to the building of the Second Temple, when, for political reasons, it appears, they were barred from taking part in the rebuilding of Jerusalem.

Through the centuries they, too, suffered destruction and dispersion, beginning with the Assyrian conquest, when nearly 27,000 were removed into captivity. Three hundred years ago the Samaritan community had dwindled to only forty males, and some say that not a single member of the Cohanim remained, but others say that the priestly line has never been broken. Today, even though divided between Israel and Jordan, the Samaritan population is again on the increase.

-M.L



Holy Days in Faraway Places

"Time for *Slihot*, Avram," "Time for *Slihot*, Yosef," the town crier called out as he walked down Jewtown Road, in Cochin, India, at 3:00 A.M. on the first of the month of Elul. He continued calling each man individually that night and for all of the forty nights through the Days of Repentance up to Yom Kippur.

Even the young boys, wishing to be in style with the grown-ups, slipped the town crier some pennies so that he would call their names, too, when it was "Time for *Slihot.*"

This *Slihot* period for forty days, when penitential prayers and supplications for God's mercy are recited, is observed by many Sephardi communities. Its origin is believed to be in Moses' reference (Deuteronomy 9:16-19):

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THE JEWISH PEOPLE'S ALMANAC

David C. Gross



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EASTER, the principal Christian feast day, celebrates the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. Most Christian churches in the West observe Easter on the first Sunday after the full moon that comes on or after the vernal equinox (March 21). Thus, Easter falls within a 35-day period between March 22 and April 25, inclusive. The date of Easter in some Eastern churches may vary from the Western date.

Origin of the Name. The origin of the English word "Easter" is uncertain. In the 8th century, the Venerable Bede proposed that it was derived from the name of an Anglo-Saxon goddess of spring, Eostre. This view has long been popular, but another explanation has been offered. In the early church, Easter week was called *hebdomada alba* ("white week"), because of the white garments worn by those baptized at Easter. The plural of white was later misunderstood as the plural of dawn and so translated into Old High German as *eostarum*, from which the English word "Easter" was derived.

In the Romance and some other languages, the word for Easter is derived from the Hebrew *Pesach* (Passover) through its Greek transliteration *Pascha*. Recent Biblical and liturgical usage has employed the noun "Pasch" and the adjective "Paschal" in sneaking of the Christian celebration.

"Paschal" in speaking of the Christian celebration. History and Date. The history of Easter, as well as its theological and liturgical significance, is rooted in the Old Testament. In the Book of Exodus, "Passover" refers not only to the Angel of Death "passing over" the houses of the Jews in Egypt but also to Israel's deliverance from servitude—the exodus from Egypt and the entrance into the Promised Land. The Jewish Passover feast joined the theme of gratitude for divine deliverance with a spring harvest feast in which the first produce of the year was offered to God. Since Christ was crucified during Passover, the Christian commemoration of His death not only coincided with Passover, but also incorporated elements of the Jewish feast. Thus Easter is the Christian Passover.

Passover, which was celebrated on the 14th day of Nisan in the Jewish lunar calendar, could fall on any day of the week. Some early Christians, called Quartodecimans, observed Easter on the 14th Nisan. However, most Christians felt that Easter should always be observed on a Sunday, the weekly celebration of the Resurrection. The attempt to impose the Sunday observance on the Quartodecimans led to heated controversies in the 2d century. Eventually, it was decided at the Council of Nicaea (325) that Easter be observed on the Sunday after both the 14th Nisan and the vernal equinox.

While the date of Passover (and Easter) was calculated according to a fixed date in a lunar calendar, it had to be expressed as a variable date in the imperial or Julian solar calendar, which most Christians followed in daily life. It was obviously desirable to devise a long-range list of future dates according to a predetermined pattern or cycle in the solar calendar. Devising such a cycle proved extremely complicated for the methods then available. Various cycles (of 16, 19, 84, even of 532 years) were constructed in various places and resulted in further controversies, lasting until the 9th century, about the date of Easter began in 1582 with the introduction of the Gregorian calendar, which some countries were slow in adopting.

Easter is now uniformly observed by Western churches; however, Easter may still fall on a different date in those Eastern churches that us a different method of calculation. The proposal of a perpetual calendar, in which each date fall, on the same day of the week every year and u, which Easter would fall on a fixed Sunday, presents no theological difficulty.

Theological-Liturgical Significance. The central theme of Easter is the celebration of the death Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ, and the sending of the Holy Spirit to the church. The richness of this theme was gradually expander into a protracted period of liturgical celebration. Thus the weeks immediately preceding and immediately following Easter were times of special devotion. Eventually, Easter was preceded by an extended period of preparation (Lent) and followed by a 50-day period of celebration (East tertide or Paschaltide) that lasted until Pentecost

Easter is envisioned not merely as a commemoration of a past event but also as a manifestation of Christ's death and Resurrection to new life shared by those believing in Him. Hence Easter was an appropriate time for the admir. istration of baptism, which symbolizes the baptized person's deliverance from evil and rising to a new life in Christ. Because prospective converts or catechumens needed to receive instruction prior to their baptism, the Lenten season was devoted to catechetical instruction. Lent was also associated with Christ's 40-day fast and His Passion and was observed as a penitential period.

In the early church, every Sunday began with a vigil service consisting of scriptural readings and responses, but the vigil of Easter attained a special solemnity that it still retains in Catholic and Orthodox liturgies. In the modern Roman liturgy, for example, the Easter vigil begins at the church entrance with the blessing of a newly kindled fire. This serves to light the Paschal candle and the candles carried in procession into the darkened church. The symbolism of light reminds the worshipers that the risen Christ is the light of the world overcoming death and the darkness of evil. Then the deacon chants the *Exsultet*, which recalls God's deliverance of His people in times past; a similar theme is found in the Scripture readings that follow. Next comes the blessing of the baptismal font, followed by the baptism of catechumens and the renewal of baptismal vows by those present. Finally, at midnight there is the celebration of the Easter Eucharist. In the early church the newly baptized were clothed in white garments to symbolize their deliverance from the darkness of sin through the light of the risen Christ.

The Protestant observance of Easter has varied through the centuries. Some churches have always given a special place to Easter. Other denominations, particularly those influenced by Puritanism, once tended to reject any special observance. In the United States the observance of Easter became more prominent during the Civil War, when Easter Sunday was set aside as a day of remembrance for those who had died in that war.

In the 20th century, Easter has received considerable emphasis in American Protestant churches as a commemoration of Christ's Resurrection, a confirmation of Christian faith, and an expression of the joyous character of Christian belief. In many churches Easter is the culmination of a series of services held during Lent and specially services a nemoratic services r hold an oenactment ery of Ch apty sym awakening the Holy denomina **Popula**

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received Protestant 's Resurh, and an Christian culmina-Lent and especially during Holy Week, when Communion services are held on Maundy Thursday in commemoration of the Last Supper and Good Friday services recall the Crucifixion. Many churches hold an outdoor service at dawn on Easter in reenactment of the Gospel narrative of the discovery of Christ's Resurrection. This sunrise service apthy symbolizes the end of darkness and the awakening of hope among Christians. Frequently, the Holy Week and Easter services are interdenominational.

Popular Customs. Many customs have become associated with Easter at different times and places. Some customs are popular dramatizations of the Gospel accounts of Christ's Passion and Resurrection. A Palm Sunday procession reenacting Christ's entry into Jerusalem is common and is a part of some official liturgies. In some places it is customary to reenact other events, such as the Crucifixion, the burial, and the visitation of the tomb. During the Middle Ages such dramatizations evolved into complete plays, some of which are still performed today.

The origins of some customs and their association with Easter are not always easily deter-mined. Some customs may be adaptations of practices originally associated with pagan spring festivals or with local folklore. However, such practices can prevail without any explicit connection being recognized. Eggs, for example, are central to a variety of Easter customs. A number of explanations have been suggested. Formerly, eggs were forbidden during the Lenten fast but could again be eaten at Easter. Thus, decorated eggs could symbolize the end of the penitential season and the beginning of joyful celebration. Also, eggs, as traditional symbols of life and crea-tion, suggest the Resurrection. Likewise, eggs, colored like the rays of the returning sun or the northern lights, symbolize the return of spring. In any case, it has become customary in many places to decorate and exchange eggs at Easter; ^{sometimes}, eggs are blessed in church. Also egg rolling and egg hunting have become traditional in some places, such as at the White House in Washington, D. C. The most elaborate custom developed in imperial Russia, where the nobility exchanged egg-shaped curios made of precious materials and decorated with jewels.

Associated with Easter in popular lore are flowers, particularly the lily, and also animals. The rabbit, an ancient symbol of fertility, and the chicken are popularly portrayed as laying eggs in nests prepared for them or hiding eggs for children to find. In some places, it is customary to prepare butter or baked goods shaped like lambs. The lamb signifies the natural fecundity of spring while also symbolizing the "Lamb of God," the crucified and risen Christ.

Thus, throughout the customs associated with Easter, there is a blending or interplay of symbols of spring with the religious significance of the Resurrection. Such a blending is found more generally in Easter itself. It is both an occasion marking the beginning of spring by preparing special foods and wearing new or distinctive apparel and also the feast when the Christian reaffirms his basic faith in Christ.

JOHN T. FORD, C. S. C. Catholic University of America

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EASTER ISLAND is a small, barren, isolated island in the Pacific Ocean, situated at latitude $27^{\circ}08'37''S$ and longitude $109^{\circ}26'10''W$. The easternmost outpost of Polynesia, it lies 1,100 miles (1,750 km) east of lonely Pitcaim Island and 2,200 miles (3,500 km) off the coast of Chile, of which it is a dependency. In 1968 the native population was about 1,000, in addition to a few Chilean officials.

Of volcanic origin without coral reef, the roughly triangular island measures about 14 by 7 miles (23 by 11 km), with an extinct volcano near each corner, the highest rising about 1,800 feet (550 meters) above sea level. The rough lava coast is predominantly high and precipitous, without any harbor but with a sandy beach at Anakena Bay on the north shore. There are no streams, but some prehistoric wells with brackish water are located near the coast, and there are also three partly overgrown freshwater crater lakes, the largest of which, in the deep caldron of Rano Kao, measures nearly 1 mile (1.6 km) in diameter,

The climate is subtropical, with dry and steady southeasterly trade winds in the summer, and heavy rainfall averaging nearly 50 inches (1.3 meters) in the winter. At the time of European discovery, seabirds were the only fauna apart from the chickens, rats, and lizards introduced by the aboriginal natives. Today there are numerous flies and cockroaches, as well as semiwild cats and a species of hawk; the domesticated animals include horses, sheep, pigs, and some cattle. The flora, too, was poor; the island was mainly covered by native grasses, which have in modern times been replaced by European species. With the exception of a small forest of toro-miro trees (Sophora toromiro) surviving in the Rano Kao crater until recently, the early Europeans found only small clusters of such shrubs as Triumfetta semitriloba, Thespesia populnea, Santalum, and Sapindus saponaria. Aboriginal culture was above all based on sweet potatoes (*Ipomoea batatas*); other cul-tivated plants included sugarcane (*Saccharum* officinarum), gourd (Lagenaria siceraria), banana (Musa sapientum), totora (Scirpus riparius), and paper mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera). Today eucalyptus and coconut palms have been planted in several places.

Modern History. Easter Island remained unknown to Europeans until accidentally hit upon in 1722 by the Dutch admiral Jakob Roggeveen, who named it after his day of discovery, Easter Sunday. The native names for the island are Rapa Nui and Te-Pito-o-te-Henua, the latter meaning "the navel of the world." A rediscovery was made in 1770 by the Spanish captain Felipe González, who named the island San Carlos. Subsequent visitors were James Cook in 1774 and the Comte de La Pérouse in 1786.

During the following century a number of vessels made brief calls without much affecting the native culture, but in 1862 a flotilla of Peruvian slave raiders carried away some 1,000 natives, about one third of the population, including the last king and the *tangata rongo-rongo* (learned men), to work on the guano islands off Peru. Nearly all died within a year; the 15 who survived the return voyage brought back to Easter Island a smallpox epidemic that killed all but 111 of the total island population. In 1864 the first missionaries settled on the island, and they brought the entire population together in Hangaroa village on the west coast. Apart from the

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The landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock in 1620 is imaginatively depicted in this 19th century engraving.

PILGRIM. In American history, the Pilgrims were Separatists from the Church of England who founded Plymouth Colony, in the present state of Massachusetts, in 1620.

state of Massachusetts, in 1620. Separatists practiced congregational self-government in religious matters. Some of these dissenters first sought toleration in the Netherlands, where they settled at Leiden (Leyden) in 1609. In 1619, elements of the Leiden group, with people at home who were attracted by the idea of founding a Congregational Church in the American wilderness, procured through the English parliamentary leader Sir Edwin Sandys a land patent from the Virginia Company of London. English merchants invested in their undertaking, and on Sept. 6 (Sept. 16, New Style), 1620, with William Brewster as their elder, the Pilgrims sailed from Plymouth, England, on the *Mayflower*. Among the 101 passengers-men, women, and children-were non-Separatists, some of whom had been hired by the financial backers.

After an arduous voyage the Mayflower dropped anchor on November 11/21 at the tip of Cape Cod. There the leaders drafted the Mayflower Compact, which bound the 41 signatoriesmost of the adult male passengers—in a civil body politic. Deacon John Carver was chosen as the colony's first governor. New England lay outside the jurisdiction of the Virginia Company, but the Pilgrims deliberately abandoned their patent to remain in the area. After surveying the shore of Cape Cod Bay, an exploratory party landed on December 11/21 at the site of Plymouth, Mass., which was selected for settlement. Five days later the Mayflower anchored in Plymouth Harbor. The winter was mild, but the first few months

The winter was mild, but the first tew months were grim for the inexperienced colonists, half of whom died by April 1621. After Carver's death that month, the group chose William Bradford as governor. Friendly Indians taught the settlers to catch fish and plant corn. The harvest was good, and sometime in the autumn the Pilgrims observed the first Thanksgiving, with Indians as guests. In November the ship Fortune brought the colony new settlers and a valid patent issued by the Council for New England.

For the next ten years, only the settlers' fortitude enabled them to overcome hardships so severe that the population remained below 300. The daring idealism of the Pilgrims is symbolized in Plymouth Rock. See also MAYFLOWER; MAY-FLOWER COMPACT; PLYMOUTH COLONY.

THOMAS H. JOHNSON Coeditor, "The Puritans"

PILGRIMAGE, an institutionalized journey by individuals or groups to a holy place. Pilgrimages have played an important role in most religions since ancient times. Pilgrims hope to obtain material and spiritual benefits ranging from bodily cures, prosperity, and progeny to peace of mind and salvation. They may go in a spirit of penance for some sin or of gratitude and devotion. Mixed with these religious motives may be a desire for novelty and companionship.

Pilgrimages are based on the belief that a deity or saint can best be approached in a locality with which he was physically associated. Thus pilgrims travel long distances, and they often meet hardship and danger, to reach a shrine housing the body or relics of a holy person or some other holy object. Or their goal may be a place sanctified by its connection with events in the life of a holy person or with miracles. Some sites may be held sacred by two religions, as, for example, shrines in North Africa by Judaism and Islam and in India by Hinduism and Buddhism. Many pilgrimages are timed to coincide with festivals, such as journeys to Jerusalem at Passover or Easter or to Eleusis, Greece, for the autumn mysteries. They may also be occasions for games, fairs, and merrymaking.

Pilgrims have tended to travel in groups, both for safety and economy, especially when travel was difficult, and for moral support. Often they have worn distinctive garments indicating their pilgrim status and the shrine they have visited, such as the medieval Christian's broad-brimmed hat and hat badge and the Japanese Buddhist's white garments stamped with a seal. They may abstain from certain foods or actions to prepare themselves for a spiritual experience. At the

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ssover, pas'o-vər, the Jewish festival celeholiday lasts eight days, beginning at sun-n on the eve before the 15th day of the with of Nisan, which falls in March or April. anginally the holiday comprised seven days: the and seventh days were full holidays (on ach work is forbidden), and the intervening days were designated half holidays. Later wish tradition added one day and made full hdays of the first two and last two days, reducto four the number of half holidays.

The name Passover, or in Hebrew, Pesach hich means "passing over"), is taken from the blical story according to which, on the night preding the Exodus from Egypt, God passed are the home of the Children of Israel when he more the firstborn of the Egyptians. This was last of the 10 plagues that God inflicted on te Egyptians to induce the pharaoh to let the has go.

Significance of Passover. Passover has a double milicance. First, it commemorates the Exos-the redemption from Egyptian slaverythich is considered the initial and crucial event early Jewish history. It is in memory of the taste of the Exodus that the cakes of unleavened a during the eight-day festival. The matzah is wied the "bread of affliction" in memory of the Affering in Egypt. For these reasons, Passover. * diso known as the Season of Our Freedom (Ze-Herutenu) and the Festival of the Unleavmed Bread (Hag ha-Matzoth).

Second, Passover commemorates a nature that of the first fruits of the field (Leviticus 10) offered up at the Temple in Jerusalem in pilgrimage at which all the men were commaded to gather in Jerusalem.

In preparation for the holiday, the home is woughly cleaned and scoured. Orthodox and Conservative Jews remove all foods considered "aven" and replace all dishes, tableware, and "asils with others reserved for holiday use.

The Seder. Taking place on the eve of Passr is the seder ceremony. The Hebrew word means "order" and signifies the prescribed mence of rituals to be followed during the Central to the seder is the Haggadah, a containing the Exodus story with benedic-

Psalms of Praise (Hallel), songs, and com-'4ries on the theme of liberation-mostly in . the er to the Four Questions asked by the ingest child on why this night is different all other nights. Reform Jews and Jews in hold one seder. Traditional Jews outside usually hold a seder on each of the first nights.

Laid out on a platter are five symbolic foods: roasted lamb bone (zeroah), for the paschal sacrificed on the eve of the Exodus; (2) a egg (betzah), for the Temple sacrifice red on all holidays; (3) bitter herbs (maror), the bitterness of slavery in Egypt; (4) a mixof ground apples and nuts with wine (harofor the mortar out of which the slaves made the mortar out of which the same sign of A dish of saltwater is provided for dipand to symbolize the tears of the oppressed. maror, haroset, and karpas are to be eaten; reroah and betzah are not, as they are merely and betzah are not, as they are here matzoth is set. Half the middle matzah, called the Afikomon

The Passover seder features symbolic foods commemorating the liberation of Jews from slavery in Egypt.

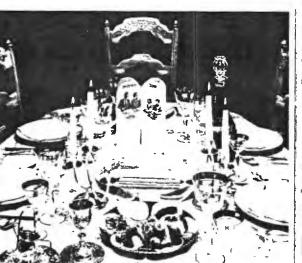
(Greek for "dessert") is hidden at the start and ransomed for a gift from the child who finds it. During the seder reading each person drinks

four cups of wine at specified times. A cup of wine is set aside for the prophet Elijah, the legendary guest. A traditional meal of several courses follows the reading.

RAPHAEL PATAI, Editor of "Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel

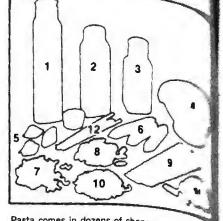
PASSPORT, a document issued by the competent officer of a national state, permitting the person named to travel. It is usually a formal document establishing the holder's identity and citizenship, permitting that individual to leave and reenter the state, and requesting protection for him or her abroad. A U.S. passport, for instance, requests, in the name of the secretary of state, that the holder be permitted "safely and freely to pass," and in case of need be given "all lawful aid and protection." Although a passport usually is issued for travel abroad, some countries-such as the USSR-require their citizens to carry one for identification and internal travel.

Passports have been used for centuries as a means of identification and protection of persons traveling in foreign countries, but the universal adoption of the passport as an essential requirement for foreign travel is a development of relatively modern times. In the United States, passports were issued by local authorities and notaries as well as by the secretary of state until 1856, when, because of the refusal of foreign governments to recognize passports issued by local authorities, their issuance was confined to the secretary of state. Except for the Civil War period, however, passports did not become compulsory for foreigners traveling in the United States until 1918. Similarly, Britain did not require pass-ports for aliens until shortly after World War I. Along with the adoption of the compulsory passport, there also developed the mandatory visa, or endorsement of a passport by an official of a foreign state as a prerequisite for foreigners to travel in that state. Some countries also require an exit permit.



RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE





Pasta comes in dozens of shapes and some few of which are shown here. The down shapes are functional as well as attract shapes are functional as well as attractions Sauces adhere well to complex shapes tubes can be stuffed, and sheets can be ered. 1. Spaghettini; 2. Mafaldi; 3 5-Rigatoni; 5. Jumbo shells; 6. Manicot; 7 i twists; 8. Cavatelli; 9.Lasagna; 10 i macaroni; 11. Spiralli; 12. Spiralli & matad

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SLIDEMAKER:

After World War II a growing realization of the cultural, social, and economic importance of international travel, especially tourism, led to widespread efforts among the nations to relax or simplify passport, visa, and other travel regula-tions. As a result, many countries, especially in western Europe, made arrangements with other countries to permit tourists to enter without visas and, in some cases, without passports. In many countries, a simple tourist card is accepted instead of a passport.

U.S. Passports. Applications for U.S. passports may be made at the passport office of the Department of State in Washington, D.C., or to passport agents in 12 other cities; to clerks of federal courts and of certain state courts; to certain state judges; and at designated post offices. A person applying for a passport for the first time must execute an application in person before the passport agent. A person who previously has been issued a passport may obtain a new one by mailing an application and supporting documents to the nearest agency.

Native-born citizens must show proof of citizenship in the form of a birth or baptismal certificate or through other documents. A naturalized citizen must present a naturalization certificate. Persons claiming citizenship through relation to a native or naturalized citizen must submit evidence of that person's citizenship. A previously issued passport is accepted as evidence of citizenship. Two duplicate full-faced photographs, both signed by the applicant and taken within the previous two years, must accompany any application.

United States passports are valid for a five-year period for children, and 10 years for adults. After the expiration of the passport, the holder must apply for a new one.

PASTA, päs'tə, a food product made from a paste (or dough) of wheat flour. The best-known types of pasta in the United States are spaghetti, macaroni, ravioli, and noodles. In Italy and in some specialized food stores elsewhere several dozens of different shapes and sizes of pasta-each with its own name-are available. Pastas are cooked in boiling water and served with a sauce or cra bined with other ingredients and cooked in ther

There are two basic types of pasta: dry and fresh. Most dry pasta is factory-made. It may sists of a paste of flour and water that is former into various shapes by extruding it through sp cially shaped nozzles or by rolling it into shand cutting it into strips. The finished produis dried until brittle and keeps indefinitely.

Fresh pasta is made shortly before it is un-The flour is made into a stiff dough with free eggs instead of water. About three quarters at cup of flour is used for each large egg. Some times' a 'small amount of olive oil is added alread with the egg. After kneading, the dough rolled and stretched into sheets and cut me strips or other shapes. The finished product # more porous and tender than factory-made de Making pasta at home is facilitated by pasta. small machines that extrude or roll and cut the stiff dough into various shapes. The pr denser and firmer than handmade pasta. The product #

To cook pasta, use four quarts of water wre one or two tablespoons of salt for each pour. Bring the water to a rolling boil, add the parts and boil vigorously until it reaches the desure degree of doneness. In Italy pasta is cooler only until it is al dente ("to the tooth"): chem and no longer brittle but not soft and mush-Fresh pasta is cooked for a much shorter time than dry pasta.

The origins of pasta are uncertain. Learner has it that pasta was first introduced to the West when Marco Polo brought noodles on his return from China early in the 14th century. However, one of the few things known for certain is the pasta was well established in Italy by the time the Roman Empire. The Roman statesman C* ero was fond of a flat ribbonlike pasta called lar anum and known in modern Italy as tagliately By the late 13th century the wide ribbons of pata known as lasagne were well known, as wr* ravioli. About the same time the tubular parts known as macaroni appeared in Sicily. By the 16th century all the basic shapes of pasta has been developed.

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VOLUME 21

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GROLIER INCORPORATED

International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816

(Elliott) April 3, 1985 11:30 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: EASTER

SATURDAY, APRIL 6, 1985

My fellow Americans, this weekend, Jews the world over begin celebrating the festival of Passover, which each Spring commemorates the miraculous delivery -- the Exodus -- of their people from slavery. The message of Passover speaks to Jew and non-Jew alike. It resounds with bitter cries of slaves suffering inhumanity. And it rings forth with joyful cheers of a people set free, courageously undertaking the long journey to freedom and independence.

Tomorrow is Easter, a deeply holy day when Christians celebrate the victory of faith in a triumph of hope over despair and life over death. Through one magnificent act of pure and perfect love, Jesus left the promise sought since the beginning of time -- that there will never be a dark night that does not end. As it is said in John 3:16, "For God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him shall not perish but have everlasting life."

America was born and grew from a faith that has bound us in a communion of spirit, ever since our ancestors crossed the Atlantic, not to find soil for their ploughs, but liberty for their souls. When Daniel Webster visited the site at Plymouth Rock in 1820, he said, "...let us not forget the religious character of our origin. Our fathers brought hither their high veneration for religion. They journeyed by its light and labored Page 2

\$150.m?

by its hope. They sought to...diffuse its influence through all their institutions, civil, political, and literary."

When we speak of faith and its importance today, it is not to impose our beliefs on others, but to ensure freedom of worship for all, so that America may remain one Nation under God, and in our institutions and daily lives, we may be the vessels of His wisdom, truth, and love.

All we have been and hope to be, all our power for good to make this world better, begin in the miracles of freedom and faith that God has placed in the human mind and heart. But these great gifts are not ours to enjoy in splendid isolation; they are the birthright of all His children.

We can be heartened by the great outpouring of generosity across our land from citizens sharing the bread of life with others in great need at home and in faraway lands. Charitable giving has surpassed \$65 billion, an all-time high and a sum greater than the national budgets of two-thirds of the world's There has also been a sharp upsurge in contributions countries. we the the world and voluntary activities in the last 4 years.

The response of our people to the crisis in Ethiopia has been miraculous. Almost \$75 million has been sent in donations for food by private individuals, with thousands of church groups donating time and resources. But millions of people remain desperately hungry, and they need our continued support.

I have spoken about our responsibility to help others' material needs. But can we commemorate Passover and Easter, can we celebrate this message of freedom and hope, and not remember,

as well, the great spiritual needs of God's children who have no freedom and little hope?

There are over 100 million Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Soviet Empire. But they are forbidden to give religious instruction to their children, forbidden to study the bible, or the Torah, or to worship Allah, or even to wear crosses on their necks. In Lenin's words, "Religion and communism are incompatible in theory and in practice. We must fight religion." And fight it they do with persecution ranging from intolerance, to ostracism, to imprisonment and torture in their infamous labor and prison camps and so-called psychiatric hospitals.

Dr. Ernest Gordon, President of an organization named CREED, Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents, noted that on a recent trip to Eastern Europe, he spoke with a priest who had spent 10 years in prison. The priest asked him to deliver a message to the West: There is a war going on. It is not nuclear, but spiritual. The fall-out of the atheistic explosion is everywhere. But Dr. Gordon added, "Although the fall-out may be everywhere, God, too, is everywhere and not even tyrannies can keep Him out."

My friends, the cause of freedom is the cause of God. The United States will do everything humanly possible to work with the Soviets for a safer world. But to betray our deepest values is to betray ourselves; to ignore the prophet Isaiah's words, "bind up the broken-hearted...proclaim liberty to the captives of the world," is to make our own freedom a sham. Page 4

It is time for believers of all faiths to unite in a crusade to help our brothers and sisters who cry out for freedom -- from the Mujhadin under fire in Afghanistan, to brave heroes like Scharansky, Sakarahov, and Father Yakunin inside the U.S.S.R., to embattled churches from Poland to Nicaragua. Let us join hands, lift up our voices, and ask for God's help, remembering always that where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.

Until next week, thanks for listening and God bless you.

** _____

Passover in Israel: No Dust Overlooked

By Diana Lerner Special to Religious News Service -

TEL AVIV—Israel's ultrareligious community, Bnai Brak, on the outskirts of this metropolis, resembled a cleaning factory in these few days before Passover.

Housewives attacked their domestic chores as if driven by demons. There was a fever of buying. brushing, scrubbing and disinfecting everywhere. Floors, tiles and walls were washed down vigorously. Balconies were laid out with objects in need of airing. Two weeks before the onset of the Festival of Freedom (observed only seven days in Israel) rugs were vacuumed and/or washed in vinegar and rolled up, ready to be laid down on the last day before Pesach so that not a speck of dust or a crumb of chomet (leavened bread) would be trapped.

The freshly laundered draperies had pleats pinned or sewn into place, the pins or stitches to be removed just minutes before setting the table for the seder. Households were painted, walls papered, winter mold cleared from walks and cabinets. Even pictures, clocks and telephones (one does not find television sets here) were sanitized.

Keeping kosher is probably simpler in Israel than elsewhere during the Passover week of culinary changeover. For one thing, many food products are prepared with ingredients that will render them permissible during this festival. The non-Passover section is cordoned off and covered. A kashrut (kosher) certificate hangs over the entire section of meat, dairy and grocery products as well as sweets.

One is eminently aware that this is the holiday of matzo (unleavened bread) in remembrance of what the Israelites baked in haste as they fled oppression in Egypt. Many ultra-Orthodox Jews make their own round bread (especially supervised from the time it was wheat in the field to its baking).

Households have had utensils kashered—dropped in boiling water to make them kosher. However, not all ethnic groups agree on what is and what is not permissible. Ahkenazim (Jews of European origin) do not eat rice or legumes; Sephardim (North African and Balkan Jews) do, as do Jews from Afro-Asian countries such as Yemen.

The symbolism of the Passover foods is very much the same, but the <u>seder plate</u> may vary. Almost all serve horseradish to signify the bitterness suffered under the yoke of Pharaoh. Haroset, made of chopped fruit and wine and spices, is served bland in Western homes, while Middle Eastern groups enhance it with dates and other fruits. In both cases, haroset represents the mortar made by the Israelites as slaves in Egypt.

Karpas may be lettuce, parsley, potato or celery, and signifies the harvest: it is dipped in salt water signifying tears shed by the Israelites during their toil. The grilled chicken wing or lamb chop called xoreah (wing) symbolizes the sheep's blood spread on doors of Jewish homes when Egyptian first-born males were snatched away by the Angel of Death. It also denotes the sacrificial lamb offered by the Israelites on the altar of the Holy Temple.

French Jews serve egg soup heated in salty liquid; Italians a soup called dayenu based on the hymn of thanksgiving in the Passover Haggadah (liturgy). When it is sung, the housewife has her cue to drop the traditional knaidlach (dumplings filled with meat) into the soup and for the meal to start,

For 10,000 newly arrived Ethiopian Jews this will be their first seder they will celebrate in their new home. The chanting of the Haggadah in the age-old tunes will add a new variation in Israel to the story of freedom.

Religion & Democracy

A Newsletter of the Institute on Religion and Democracy

June/July 1983

Religious Freedom and the WCC

Thousands of delegates and participants will gather on July 24th in Vancouver, British Columbia, for the Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches. Will these Christians find a place in their prayers and their program for the millions of their fellow believers who bear the cross of totalitarian persecution in countries which the mincing language of diplomacy -- as though they were victims of mere geography -describes as the "Eastern bloc"?

A search through the many publications prepared for the WCC Assembly gives much cause for concern: none of the eight issue papers presented to the delegates discusses religious persecution in the Communist world, and the newly published history of the WCC by Leon Howell is in good part an apology for the ringing silence of recent times.

The advance program for the two-week-long Assembly includes discussions of threats to the beauty of nature, sessions on "Is God Male?" and "The New Economic Order," and relentless agitation against the attraction some believe our democratic nations feel for nuclear war. The liturgical locus of the Assembly -- Heaven forfend -- is even this (we quote directly):

> Native wood carvers from the Aggassiz Mountain Penitentiary will be carving a 42 foot long native totem pole on Campus throughout the Assembly. At the conclusion of the Assembly it will be presented to the W.C.C. and transported to Geneva to be erected on the lawn of the Ecumenical Center there.

But from all evidence scarcely a word will be said in the course of this spectacle on behalf of Baptists who have been transported to the deadly wastes of Siberia, about priests in the Lithuanian SSR "accidentally" run over by trucks, for Orthodox believers locked in Soviet psychiatric wards, or in defense of young Lutheran peace demonstrators in East Germany, glimpsed through the barbed wire while being hustled into unmarked trucks.

As concern has mounted about this omission we have been assured that a 90 page "dossier" on Eastern Europe will be available to the delegates as the Assembly opens. One must always have hope. But if this publication follows the spirit that has ruled the WCC in recent years, it will only add the insults of self-justification to the present injuries of silence.

The WCC once did take sound and balanced positions on issues of religious freedom. At its founding Assembly in Amsterdam in 1948 the WCC declared that Christians

> ...are concerned that religious freedom be everywhere secured.... The rights which Christian discipleship demands are such as are good for all men, and no nation has suffered by reason of granting such liberties.

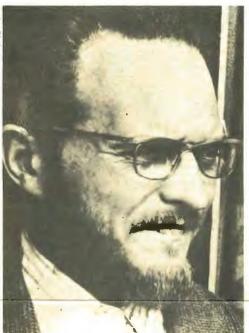
This basic position was strengthened by the WCC Central Committee a year later in Chichester, England. That statement employed the now-taboo word "totalitarian," and declared that:

> We appeal to the Churches to interpret and apply God's will to all realms of life. We warn the Churches in all lands against the danger of being exploited for worldly ends. In countries where the state is antagonistic to Christian religion or

> > Continued on page 2



After their small church was confiscated by Soviet authorities, this Baptist congregation from the Moscow suburb of Dedovsk began holding services in the forest nearby.



Father Gleb Yakunin is currently serving a fiveyear sentence in a Soviet prison camp, having been charged with "anti-Soviet agitation."

Continued from page 1

indeed wherever full religious freedom is denied...we urge the Churches to bear clear corporate witness to the truth in Christ...."

This wholesome spirit continued through the early 1960's. The New Delhi Assembly (1961) set forward an ambitious program for what was called the WCC Secretariat on Religious Liberty, and included a welcome stress on "freedom to proselytize." But by the end of that wayward decade the temper of the WCC had also begun to change.

In 1967 the Secretariat for Religious Liberty fell vacant, and was left simply to wither away. At the 1974 consultation on "Human Rights and Christian Responsibility" in St. Polten, Austria, this ambiguous proposition was set forth:

> The right to religious liberty exists in order to serve the community according to the demands of the Gospel.

In brief, the WCC moved away from the conviction that religious freedom is a fundamental right which man exercises in serving God. It has moved toward the view that religious freedom is an instrument with which Christians may "serve the community." It is not far from this to the position that, at times and places, religious freedom may be an inconvenience.

And so, the WCC record shows, it has in fact become -- for the WCC bureaucracy, although perhaps not for all its constituents. At the last WCC Assembly (Nairobi - 1975) delegates did respond warmly to an appeal from a dissident Russian Orthodox priest, Gleb Yakunin. Father Yakunin chided the WCC for its silence about religious repression in the Communist world, and called upon the ecumenical movement to take up this cause. Although the delegates did adopt a strongly-worded resolution in support of Father Yakunin, pressure from WCC officials forced the withdrawal of the resolution <u>after</u> it had been passed. In its place, the delegates were promised a committee to study religious persecution by countries which had signed the Helsinki Accords.

This committee submitted its report to the August 1976 Central Committee meeting of the WCC. Since then the WCC staff has conducted many meetings with representatives of the official churches of the "socialist" states, and the government ministries which seek to supervise them. But the most visible evidence of concern the WCC has shown for authentic Christian communities of the Communist world is its steady stream of explanations about why the Council remains silent toward the persecutions suffered by its brothers and sisters. This failing has produced such mortification even in Europe that a Zurich-based religious rights organization, Christian Solidarity International, will sponsor unofficial hearings on religious persecution in both Communist and non-Communist societies during the opening days of the Vancouver Assembly. Appropriately enough, these will be titled the "Yakunin Hearings."

The WCC's justifications for its silence are dutifully repeated in Leon Howell's official history, published for Vancouver. Howell makes sweeping claims about the intensity of the WCC's behind-the-scenes campaigns for the victims of Communist persecution -- claims which, of course, he is never permitted to document. (Howell even lapses into the idiom of The East to denounce one critic of the WCC's silent diplomacy -- <u>The New Republic</u> magazine, edited by Jimmy Carter's chief speechwriter -- as "cold warrior.")

There are, in Howell's portrayal, three reasons why the WCC cannot openly bear witness for the victims of the totalitarian state:

- Public criticism of Communist governments will provoke them to greater wrath.
- 2. Criticism of religious persecution by Communist governments weakens detente, and increases the danger of nuclear war.
- 3. The positions the WCC takes cannot conflict with the positions of the official churches of the Communist world which are WCC members.

Two of these arguments were commonplace in world affairs debates a decade or so ago. Now they survive only in the impenetrable bureaucracies of the ecumenical movement. There has been no dissident group inside the "socialist" bloc which does not plead for public support from free

Continued on page 3

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peoples -- the more forthright, the better. And Soviet strategic theory quite openly acknowledges that its military policy -- its decisions about whether to be aggressive or restrained -- is geared to the political and moral vigor of its adversaries: the so-called "correlation of forces." It follows that those who are not afraid to speak out about Communist abuses of human rights are also more likely to be spared Communist military provocations. Peace -- a true detente -- is therefore not served by our moral silence.

Howell's third argument -- the privileges of WCC membership -- reveals how profoundly the WCC today is ruled by the ethos of bureaucratic ecumenism, at no small cost to the spirit of Christian solidarity. The official churches of the Communist world, with few exceptions, are being further and further transformed into instruments of totalitarian politics. Their representatives to the WCC speak less and less for Christian communities behind the barbed wire frontiers, and more and more for a narrowly undemocratic, repressive, and atheistic state. The Soviet Union, in particular, is not content with mere religious repression, and tirelessly works at religious subversion.

A true ecumenism will not seek to curry favor with the persecutors of the children of Christ. It will scorn them, and embrace their victims. No one has said it better than Pope John Paul II:

I would prefer a persecuted church a thousand times more than a church of compromises.

Will this spirit arise among the delegates at Vancouver? We pray that it will.

Photo by International Representation for the C.E.B.C. of the S.U. Inc., Georgi P. Vins



"For unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake..." Philippians 1:29.



There are encouraging signs that responsible church leaders are beginning to listen to the growing army of outraged church members who question the direction of their church's social action agenda. The United Methodist Council of Bishops, responding to the request of the Southeastern Jurisdiction's district superintendents, has named a nine-member study panel to conduct a "thorough review of recently made allegations" about the WCC, the NCC, and, significantly, related United Methodist agencies. The committee, which reports at the next council meeting in November, was even instructed to "include a statement of the process established to implement the final decisions of the council." Α minority of bishops strongly opposed the esta-blishment of the committee, although the final resolution includes an affirmation of the ecumenical bodies and their continued financial support.

At its June General Assembly the new Presbyterian Church U.S.A. also formed a seven person Special Committee to "study the causes of the questions, misunderstandings, and suspicions" which have "arisen about the work" of the NCC and WCC. The Moderator was instructed to appoint and convene the committee which is to include clergy and laity "representing the diversity of viewpoints" in the Presbyterian Church.

Responses to the media flare-up earlier this year regarding the mainline churches and the Left have not been limited to church bodies. Writing in the June 13 issue of <u>The New</u> <u>Republic</u>, Joshua Muravchik commends CBS "60 Minutes" for breaking the taboo, against critical discussion of extremism on the Left--a taboo which may be the most important of the several harmful legacies of the McCarthy era. Others aren't so soft on CBS. The Soviet news agency Tass railed against the "unbridled campaign of persecution against religious organizations" represented by CBS-TV-"acting upon orders from the White House." Morley Safer in the pocket of Ronald Reagan?

According to the report by Religious News Service, the 1,400 evangelical Christians who gathered in Pasadena over Memorial Day weekend for a conference on nuclear disarmament gave only one of their many speakers a standing ovation: "Jim Wallis, a so-called 'radical evangelical' who had been temporarily released from a Washington, DC jail just long enough to attend the conference." Mr. Wallis urged civil disobedience to protest U.S. nuclear arms strategies.

Now comes a Gallup poll, commissioned by the National Association of Evangelicals, which shows that evangelical Christians are more wary of the Soviet Union than the general public, are more fearful that a Soviet advantage in nuclear

Continued on page 4

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weapons will increase the chances of nuclear war, and are less disposed to favor the nuclear "freeze" movement. Like so many others, the organizers of the Pasadena Conference have discovered how hard it is to keep the activist Left from dominating these kinds of events.

The Western press often refers to the Ayatollah Khomeini as an "Islamic fundamentalist." It's another of the confusions of secular society. The man is simply a maniac. There is, our Muslim friends tell us, no writ whatsoever in the Koran for such atrocities as the Ayatollah's terror campaign against Iran's 350,000 Bahai.

The Bahai's world headquarters is in Haifa, Israel, which in the Ayatollah's eyes make them Zionists. The Bahai believe that men and women are equal, which leads the Ayatollah to the view that the Bahai marriages are a form of prostitution. The President of the United States has spoken out against the executions of Bahai, so that makes them CIA agents.

As the horrors in Iran continue, world opinion is bound to become more open to the proposition that some "responsible" power should step in to end the outrages. Given the impotence of the West, one wonders who that could be. Remember Cambodia?

A recent Action Guide, circulated through the United Methodist Women's network, offers dozens of suggestions to influence U.S. policy in Central America -- from organizing an interfaith service "to commemorate the martyrs of Central America" to offering one's church as sanctuary for Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees. Education and witness suggestions include a "Bible study...around Central American concerns," and signing a "Peoples' Peace Treaty." And if your Sunday morning service still seems a bit irrelevant, the guide goes on to "suggest that an 'offering of letters' be taken up during worship."

RESOURCES

IRD Board members have been writing books. Michael Novak's latest, <u>Confessions of a</u> Catholic: Reflections on the Nicene Creed, has been praised by Notre Dame's distinguished Professor Gerhart Niemeyer for being "...grounded in sound theology, and yet alive with his personality and experiences....It is likely to be read and cherished by Christians far beyond the Roman Catholic obedience."

Ira Gallaway's book on the United Methodist Church has been "selling very well," says an editor at Abingdon Press. The book, <u>Drifted</u> <u>Astray</u>, combines recollections from Dr. Gallaway's impressive ministry with a sensitive yet powerful critique of his denomination's drift away from a balanced commitment to personal salvation and social witness.

George Weigel has written a most useful book for the IRD itself: <u>Peace & Freedom:</u> Christian Faith, <u>Democracy and the Problem of War</u>. As Richard John Neuhaus says, "George Weigel's excellent pamphlet gets the nuclear arms debate back to a theological basis--where it belongs." Weigel's book is especially designed for use by church study groups and university classes, where Christian history and theology are used to examine the current debate.

George Weigel's book is available from the IRD for \$6.00. We will be glad to forward requests for Ira Gallaway's and Michael Novak's books.

If you don't have your copy of <u>A Time for</u> <u>Candor</u>, IRD's documentary study of mainline church involvement with the extreme Left, now is the time to place your order. The 100-page booklet includes 126 footnotes and 10 orginal source documents -- so you can see the context of controversial statements. Order a copy for your pastor, too. **\$5.00 each**.

Religion and Democracy 1000 16th Street N.W. Suite LL 50 Washington, DC 20036

SOCIETY - Mar June 1984 Vol. 21 No.4

Civil Religion vs. State Power in Poland

Ewa Morawska

Since the appearance in 1967 of Robert Bellah's essay on civil religion, the meaning and significance of this concept have become increasingly obscure. In an interpretation of the historical case of Poland, I would like to shift the discussion of civil religion from the focus on western countries and emerging nation-states.

Thrice partitioned between 1772 and 1795 by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, Poland as a political entity disappeared from the map of Europe for six generations. In 1918, it briefly regained sovereignty, only to lose it again twenty years later under the German and Soviet occupations. In 1945, Poland found itself with the rest of eastern Europe under Soviet domination. The fall of the ancient Polish Commonwealth from political grandeur came as a shock to its citizens, and was to reverberate in the national consciousness for generations. After 1795 the prepartition image of the Polish nation-state became inadequate. The republic of nobles enjoying their "golden freedoms" had been based on the principle of govemment by consent and a political covenant with the elected monarch. One generation after the last partition, drawing upon current European philosophical, religious, and literary trends, there developed in Poland a powerful new national-religious ideology.

In western Europe, the revolutionary Springtime of the Nations in 1848 marked the end of Romanticism in literature, philosophy, and politics. The second half of the century witnessed the triumph of realism and practical pursuits. By 1880, via political maneuvers and diplomatic alliances, most national movements in Europe had already achieved their goals. The cause of Poland-opposed to the vital interests of expansive, powerful neighbors-remained an exception. Confronted with alien states determined to keep the country partitioned, root out local institutions, and denationalize Polish culture, the Poles had at their disposal neither the legal rights nor peaceful means to assert their demands. They searched for answers to questions of the meaning and purpose of their collective and individual existence in the Romantic national poetry, philosophy, and religion. (In my discussion of nineteenth-century Poland, those of the urban stratum are identified as Poles while Polish society refers to the noble class. The peasantry did not become nationally conscious until later in the century.)

The language and symbolism of Romanticism became the basic, shared code of cultural communication for the majority of Poles. With legal and state institutions dismantled and replaced by imposed alien authority, "Poland" became for its "invisible citizens" an idea—a memory of the past and an aspiration for the future. Deprived of political reality, it became the reality of spirit and imagination, the "second Israel" that revitalized the ancient Judaic version of mystical nationalism. The old "If I forget Thee, oh Jerusalem" echoed in the words of the Polish national anthem (created a few years after the last partition): "Poland is not yet lost... as long as we live." Nearly every generation launched another unsuccessful struggle to reestablish the Polish sovereign state.

The Polish Romantic faith is a civil religion, constituted and reconstituted through sustained conflict between the obstinately renascent civil society and imposed alien rule. This proposition could be generalized to include the historical experience of other eastern European nations (with the exception of Russia and possibly Hungary). It specifies a different set of "crisis conditions" for the emergence of civil religion than those suggested in 1982 by Markoff and Regan in "The Rise and Fall of Civil Religion: Comparative Perspectives'' in Sociological Analysis. Asking why civil religions emerge at certain historical junctures, Markoff and Regan relate them to the crises engendered by the emergent states' assaults on their citizens' particularistic political identities. In Poland, the emergence of a new civil religion in the nineteenth century and its stubborn persistence into the 1980s has been the nation's response to the fundamental crisis resulting from the loss of political sovereignty. Its major function has been not to legitimate, but to delegitimate this state of affairs by rallying Polish society around a counterview of a past and future free, independent Poland.

Specialists define civil religion as a set of religiopolitical symbols and rituals regarding a nation's history and destiny. They address issues of political ethos and legitimacy that are not fused with either state or church

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but differentiated from both. The separation of postpartition Polish civil religion from the state is self-evident. Statelessness, or alien-stateness, has been the condition of Poland for most of its modern history. The opposition between the ideals of citizenship and the state became characteristic of the Polish national-religious ideology. After partition, good citizenship for patriotic Poles became synonymous with dissidence and protest against the established political order. With the exception of national insurrections, open defiance of the authorities was a prerogative of a small minority of dissidents. Civil opposition was asserted privately in the widely shared moral consensus that defined Poland's political status as hostile to its national interests and accorded respect and admiration to the heroic national avant-garde.

The relationship between Polish civil religion and the Catholic church has been more complex and ambivalent. Throughout the nineteenth century the Vatican lent open support to the existing political order in Europe. Its attitude toward national movements was indifferent, if not negative. The situation of the local Polish Catholic church vis-à-vis the partitioning powers was less difficult in Austria, where, in spite of restrictive laws, it enjoyed relative security. In both Czarist Russia and Bismarckian Germany, church-state relations were much more precarious. In all three partitions the Polish Catholic Church was confronted with a similar dilemma. Open defiance of the authorities would have resulted in swift reprisals and further limitations on the performance of its essential. extrapolitical functions. Refusal to lend support to Poland's national cause would have meant the betrayal of the moral values upheld by the majority of Poles. Restrained on all sides, the Polish Catholic church tried to steer a middle course. While it neither generated nor controlled nor even openly endorsed romantic civil religion. tradition as well as political circumstance turned the church into its sponsor and "carrier." With freedom of organizations severely curtailed, education and publications controlled, and the Polish language banned from public usage (it was reinstituted in the Austrian part after 1867), religious practices provided the only peaceful occasion for Poles to publicly relive and reassert their national community and its social bonds.

Created in its classical version by poets and philosophers in the first third of the last century, the Polish Romantic creed represents a peculiar, original blend of several European intellectual trends, modified and adjusted to fit the particular Polish situation. The creed combines the German philosophical idealism of Fichte and Schelling, the conservative Romanticism of Müller and Baader; Herderian historicism; French revolutionary ideals; the Christian socialism of Michelet, Fourier, St. Simon, and Leroux: and the politicized messianic Catholicism of Lammena:s, Ballanche, de Maistre, and Vico. The Polish Romantic faith establishes a relationship between God and the individual through a chain of mediating fusions that occur horizontally in time and space, and vertically between the Deity and individuals in the nation, humanity, and history. This realizes a dialectic of universal and global versus particular and national purposes, and of societal versus individual ones. The main tenets of the Polish Romantic faith in its ideal form can be summarized as follows.

First, God reveals himself in universal history that unfolds through the repetition of the Christian course of

After partition, good citizenship for patriotic Poles became synonymous with dissidence and protest against the established order.

sacrifice and redemption. Second, Poland, through her defeat and innocent suffering under tyranny, has been selected as the primary agent of God in universal history; as a collective body it renews and replicates the Passion, death, and resurrection of Christ. This is expressed by Kazimierz Brodzinski, "Hail, o Christ, Thou Lord of men!/Poland, in Thy footsteps treading/Like Thee suffers, at Thy bidding/Like Thee, too, shall rise again!" Polish Romantic mysticism has an inner-worldly orientation: fulfilling the providential design of history, Poland's cosuffering with Christ, her "crucifixion" and "descent into the tomb," will bring the defeat of her oppressors and her resurrection as a politically sovereign and socially just nation of equal citizens. Her sacrifice will result in the Christian Kingdom on earth and the realization of universal charity, freedom, and justice among spiritually transformed mankind.

Imbued with such transcendent purpose, "Poland" becomes a commanding divine force-a moral ideal and obligation, at the same time universal and national. "No more are you a land for me/A place-or home-or custom/Or the defunct state/Or a phantom/But the Faith!/The Law!" wrote Zygmunt Krasinski. In the Polish Romantic creed, "citizenship" ceases to function as it did in the prepartition Commonwealth, as a covenant-a retractable and modifiable arrangement between the individual and the nation-state. It becomes a notion of an absolute, total, and indivisible divine idea/Poland and her universal mission. This view is embedded in a highly moralistic, dualistic perception of history as the scene of combatant collective forces: the ethical-embodied in the innocently suffering (Poland)-and the unethical-represented by the oppressors (partitioners)between which there must be no accommodation and no acceptance of partial solutions.

The divine scheme in the purposeful unfolding of uni-

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versal history in which Poland, cosuffering with Christ, plays a leading role, presupposes that individual selfrealization is dependent upon the unfolding of the collective pattern. The concept of "freedom" in the prepartition republic of nobles referred to the personal liberties and civil rights that were to protect citizens against the despotic attempts of the monarch and the government. It now connotes the collective freedom of a nation to be reestablished after the defeat of its oppressor-partitioner(s). In the Polish Romantic creed, the present yoke and martyrdom of Poland and, through it, the fulfillment of its universal liberationist calling, require that the individual become totally absorbed into and identified with the nation. The private and public spheres are to be fused and inseparable, individual autonomy given up to the collective national identity.

Radical deindividuation, as the highest moral commandment and civil virtue of a patriotic Pole, finds forceful expression in Adam Mickiewicz's Forefathers' Eve, the most important Romantic classic of the epoch: "I am one with my Nation/My name is a Million/ Because for Millions I love and I suffer." There is a specifically Pelish conversion, replicated in all major Romantic works: the hero abandons his private identity and individualistic pursuits and interests. He assumes an ethically superior attitude of ascetic collectivism-a selfless and absolute service to the national idea. To fulfill God's plans and, by the same token, Poland's fate, the offering-as in the poem by Juliusz Slowacki-must be complete: "Woe to him/Who offers to his country only half of his soul/And another keeps for his happiness." The transformation in Forefathers' Eve of Gustaw-"lover of a woman," a Romantic individualist

Catholic practices served as a powerful vehicle of the national creed.

preoccupied with his private emotional affairs and spiritual turmoils—into Konrad—"lover of the Country." a Romantic ascetic collectivist always on patriotic duty—is the main symbolic figure in the Polish Romantic ideology. It assumes two equivalent forms: Tyreteian—activist, conspirator and insurrectionist symbolized in the image of *héro luttant*/Polish nation in armed confrontation with the oppressors; and Sacrificial, represented by *héro funèbre*/Poland suffering and overcome, accepting the Cross.

For most of the nineteenth century, the lengthy mystical improvisations of poets and the dense philosophical treatises containing the Polish Romantic creed were banned by the partitioners. They were scarcely known to the Polish public. The ideas were replicated for everyday use in endless popularized imitations, in legends of heroes and martyrs, and in emotional images and representations of crucial themes. Constant repetition of the symbols on innumerable ritual occasions made the national Romantic faith personally and intensely familiar to generations of Poles.

Home, church, and informal social gatherings were the main institutional "carriers" of popular civil religion in partitioned Poland. In the nineteenth century, a patriotic pattern of home decoration developed in all three partitioned areas. On the walls, there usually hung popular lithographs representing scenes from the nation's battles and portraits of national heroes or relatives memorialized in the glorious moment of giving their lives for Poland. There was usually a piano on which, in the afternoons and during holidays, patriotic melodies were played, mindful of Poland's past glories and present fate. There were often a few half-hidden works by the nationally acclaimed-and banned-dissident poets. Families gathered regularly with friends and neighbors for patriotic singing and the reading aloud of patriotic tales. Generations of Polish women taught their children kindergarten verses which commanded them to imitate patriots, such as Thaddeus Kosciuszko and Prince Jozef Poniatowski, who "lived for their Country and died for her Glory."

Catholic practices served as a powerful vehicle for the popularization of the national creed. The Romantic ideal, representing the Polish nation as a cosufferer with Christ, sharing his Passion, facilitated the fusion of religious rituals with civil national celebrations. Every Sunday, in churches in all three partitions, Mass ended with the singing of Boze Cos Polske, a patriotic hymn composed in 1816: "o God, who through the ages/Has girded Poland with power and fame/Whose shield hath kept Her in Thy care/From evils that would cause her harm/Before Thy alters, we bring our entreaty/Restore, o Lord, our free country." Every Easter, the traditional celebration of the death and resurrection of Christ provided an occasion for the commemoration of Poland's "crucifixion" and her "descent into the tomb," and for public prayers for her redemption. Every Christmas, in churches around the country, crèches displayed the main themes of the national romantic faith: the Polish eagle (the ancient national symbol) wearing a crown of thorns; Kosciuszko, Poniatowski, and the insurrectionists from successive uprisings; blood, chains, and patriotic duty; heroic death; and trust in God.

The Virgin Mary figured prominently in the nineteenth-century popular rituals of the Romantic faith. Since the seventeenth century, her cult had become one of national devotion. In 1656, King John Casimir declared the Virgin the Queen of Poland in thanksgiving for her protection in the defense of the Jasna Gora Monastery. For the next hundred years, the Virgin Mary was the patroness of the avenging wars that Poland led with

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her neighbors. After the partition, she became the Dolorosa, the Sufferer, equated with Poland under the Cross. During the nineteenth century, the image of Poland as the Virgin Mother suffering at Calvary was replicated in innumerable popular poems and paintings. She was also seen as a comforter of the "crucified nation." To her, Mother of Christ and Protectoress of Poland, went daily prayers during the special patriotic Marian litanies, rosaries, adorations, chaplets, and pilgrimages for which Poles gathered in all seasons.

Just as the national and political condition of Polish s ciety at the closing of the nineteenth century differed from that of western Europe, so did its civil religion. By sanctifying history and elevating Poland as innocent martyr to the role of Christ's collective cosufferer in bringing earthly redemption to mankind, the Polish Romantic faith responded to the needs of Poles who rejected the subjugation of their country as inhumane and immoral. They desperately searched for the meaning of their humiliating experience. In the transformation of politically annihilated Poland into an ideal and a commanding moral community, the Romantic faith made possible the survival of Polish society. Dispossessed by the partitioners of its public civil institutions-the natural "carriers" of societal bonds-it was now bound together by the collective memory of the past and the hope for the future. By deprivatizing the individual and assigning the highest moral value to the collectivist ascetic conversion,

The majority of Poles see Poland's postwar condition as the continuation of her historical subjection to foreign domination.

the Polish Romantic faith erected a strong ethical-religious dam against the disintegration of society and the social and political disorientation of its members. Absent were the routine civil rituals through which the citizens of a sovereign nation-state could daily reconfirm their allegiance. The moralistic counterposing of the satanic (oppressive partitioning states) and angelic (suffering Polan-1) forces in history served to sustain moral commitment to the divine national cause and resistance to evil, oppressive rule.

The twenty-year period of Poland's political independence between the two world wars was apparently too short and turbulent to significantly alter the Polish civil religion inherited from the partition era. Reestablished after World War II under the imposed protectorate of the Soviet Union as part of a Communist empire, Poland has again been managed in accordance with foreign interests and alien ideology. The majority of Poles see Poland's postwar condition as the continuation of her historical subjection to foreign domination. The perception by Polish civil society of the party controlled, atheistic Communist regime as an alien imposition perpetuates and reasserts traditional alienation from the state. In the eyes of a great many Poles, several attempts since 1956 to achieve emancipation from a totalistic, atheistic state and from an alien power, represent the continuation of earlier efforts beginning in the eighteenth century.

Many nineteenth-century elements of the old Polish civil religion have retained their meaning and vitality as ideological rallying points of Polish civil society. The home, informal social gatherings, and various unofficial political and cultural activities, remain the important "carriers" of Polish civil religion. Paradoxically, so are state controlled educational and cultural programs. In trying to enmesh itself into national history and be perceived as its legitimate heir, the Polish Communist regime caters to the widespread historical interests of Polish society. The classical works of the nineteenthcentury Polish Romantic writers figure prominently, for example, in the standard school programs in Polish literature and history, in many publications, in theaters, and radio and television programs. Most of the state's attempts at self-legitimization have been counterproductive. The old symbols and images of the defiant nation resisting the partitioners in the nineteenth century are perceived by Poles as "masks" for problems and attitudes of present-day Polish society, saddled again with imposed political authority.

Under Communist rule the Polish Catholic church, through its parishes and rituals, continues to function as the traditional "carrier" of Polish civil religion. With its position and principles strengthened over the years by confrontation with the Marxist totalistic state, the Polish Catholic church has become the major public spokesman for Polish civil society. Traditionally it keeps to the middle ground, avoiding open support for radical dissident activities in order not to provoke the reprisals of hostile local authorities or of Soviet intervention. A public opinion poll conducted unofficially in Poland by a French agency shortly before John Paul II's visit in the summer of 1983 revealed that over 60 percent of respondents perceived the Polish Catholic church and/or the Pope as "the best representatives of the interests of Polish society" (another 24 percent pointed to Solidarity, and 3 percent to the Communist party and the government).

Generated and sustained by subjugation to an alien ideology and political order, "carried" in institutions traditionally opposed to the state, the contemporary civil religion in Poland is not simply a replica of the nineteenth century Romantic faith. It is a familiar but transformed

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and changing symbolic code, a framework in which the old themes and patterns coexist with new and renovated elements.

During the sixteen months of the Solidarity movement's legal existence, the traditional themes of Polish civil religion were conveyed more openly and forcefully than ever since Poland has been under Communist rule. The idea of national death and resurrection was pronounced in the huge crosses, decorated with the Polish national colors and Solidarity's emblems. These were erected in Poznan, Gdansk, and Gdynia to commemorate the victims of the "People's Republic." Despite the protests of party officials, similar images representing Poland as the follower of Christ's Passion were replicated in other Polish cities, during the workers' strikes and mass demonstrations, in the union's regional and local headquarters, in churches, and even in state controlled schools. Even more ubiquitous is the symbol of the Virgin Mary, the Patroness of Poland. It has been strongly promoted by the Catholic church, particularly by the late Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski and the former Archbishop of Krakow, Pope John Paul II-both devoted Marian mystics. Millions of Poles have participated in church sponsored solemn vows offering the whole nation to the Mother of God "in the bondage of love." The symbolism of these acts clearly echoes the distorical idea of "Polonia Revivificanda" and Romantic Messianism. By a collective offering to the Virgin Mary, the suffering nation wishes to secure in her hands the preservation of its national identity and civil rights. These are threatened by the imposed totalistic, atheistic order. The participants also wish to contribute to the universal freedom of the church and all humanity.

Forty years of confrontations with a totalistic political order and an atheistic ideology have sustained and reinforced the moralistic dualistic world view contained in the Polish civil religion. What the Poles perceive as the "global project" of Soviet Marxism-Leninism universalizes the image of polarized combatant forces-moral/human/God-loving versus immoral/inhuman/Godless-beyond the boundaries of Poland and eastern Europe to the whole world. By opposing the atheistic Communist order, defined as aggressive "evil incarnated," the Polish nation collectively serves threatened humanity as the proclaimer of Christianity and freedom. Necessitated by the ongoing conflict with similarly Manichean but inimical ideology and politics, these perceptions reinforce the confrontational, all-or-nothing tendencies of the Polish world view.

The civil religion of present-day Polish society continues to define freedom as the collective freedom of the nation. In the Romantic tradition it fuses the private and public attitudes and behavior of the individual and assigns the highest moral value to a collectivist virtue rendered through sacrificial service in the cause of national salvation. (Bitter defeats have diminished the appeal of the insurrectionist model of a patriotic hero.) The Communist totalistic state threatens not only national identity and the integrity of the social bonds of a subjugated society, but also the individual and his or her rights. Parallel to the traditional collectivist orientation focusing on national salvation, Polish civil religion today contains a moral commandment of individual freedom related to political democracy. It has drawn from three major sources: the old native tradition of civil liberties in the prepartition Polish Commonwealth, the philosophical

The idea of national death and resurrection was pronounced in the huge crosses, decorated with the Polish national colors and Solidarity's emblems.



and political foundations of modern liberal democracies in the West, and contemporary Christian teachings. Perceived in the West as staunchly conservative, Polish Catholicism has changed significantly since the beginning of the century. From the pulpits as well as in the publications and activities of organized groups of lay Catholic intelligentsia, the church espouses and teaches Christian social doctrine, Catholic humanism, and personalism. These stress the sanctity of the human person and inalienable rights, the dignity of work and social justice, the freedom of individual conscience, civil liberties, and the right to the truth and participation in government. The two orientations, collectivist and individualist, are each related to a different civil sphere threatened by the imposed political order. They coexist in the Polish civil religion, rather than being systematically reconciled and incorporated into one embracing interpretation in public debates or in scholarly works.

Without their civil religion, the Poles as a nation-society might not have survived the partitions. There might be no Poland today. The strengths of this national creed have also been its weaknesses. Created with a perfectionist impulse to serve simultaneously God and man, universal and particular purposes, society and the individual, Polish civil religion has been cleaved and punctured by unresolved tensions and contradictions. In each successive generation, these have been lamented, ridiculed, taunted, and derided by some of the Polish Romantics and, with the greatest passion, by a vocal minority of anti-Romantic rebels, blasphemers, and jesters. These are the rationalists, positivists, modernists, and liberals.

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One trap which Polish civil religion has slipped into again and again since its inception, has been the particularization of universal Christian concerns. In high Romantic theodicy, Poland takes on the Cross, joining God in His Passion. In its contemporary version, Poland suffers under it with Mary, the Patroness. Through sacntice and love, the nation—the particular and concrete—serves the divine, transcendent, and universal

Perceived in the West as staunchly conservative, Polish Catholicism has changed since the beginning of the century.

purpose, the redemption of mankind. The banners of Polish insurrectionists in the nineteenth century carried the slogan "For Your Freedom and Ours"; in the national solemn vows taken in Czestochowa Monastery in 1966, the Poles offered themselves to Mary "for the Freedom of the Universal Church and Humanity." The sustained historical condition of alien oppression and the need to constantly defend "what is ours" against the unrelenting attempts of hostile "others," has unavoidably pushed Polish society toward the antinomic experience of the categories of particular and universal. That same historical circumstance has put the Christian ideal of universal love and charity in conflict with values calling for the resentful distance from and the loathing of the oppressors.

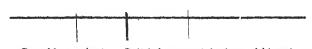
The situation of continuing subjugation and struggle and the need to keep Polish society morally integrated to endure confrontation, has pushed toward the polarization of humanity into opposite segments: we/innocent sufferers and others/evil oppressors. Today, this dichotomy runs within Polish society, between the minority representatives of state power and the rest of the nation. Exclusively appropriated by only part of humanity, the cosuffering with God, the goodness, and ultimately God himself, tend to become particularized. Their universal Christian dimension is radically shortened or totally disappears. Since 1978, the greatly admired Polish Pope has counteracted this tendency. His message, heard in most Polish homes, reextends the horizon of Polish civil religion to universal applicability.

Hiding within the trap of particularization there inheres another, deeper trap: the idolatrous deification of Poland and, by implication, of the individual Pole fused and identified with it through the Romantic collectivist

conversion. In the high civil-religious creed, Poland cosuffers with God, fulfilling His will to redeem herself and humanity. This idea has also been represented in the image of the Virgin Mary as Poland-humble and acquiescing under the Cross, offering herself to God. The repeated vows offering the Polish nation and each of its members to Mary "in the bondage of love" are to uphold this fundamental dependence. The situation in which suffering Poland, conquered by the oppressors, needs the committed devotion of all her "children," has made it difficult to sustain this true Christian relation of service linking individual, nation, and God. Imperceptibly, Christ becomes the Polish eagle in a crown of thorns; the Cross becomes persecuted Solidarity; the defeated nation becomes the sanctified object of adoration; God the Redeemer becomes Poland itself. This tendency toward the sacralization of the world by Polish civil religion leads to what Stanislaw Brzozowski, one of the most passionate anti-Romantic critics writing at the beginning of the century, called the "Polish Oberammergau": Poland and her national-political freedom become religion and are idolized as a sacred reliquary. Not for the infinite and unattainable God, but for Poland and her national-political cause one now lives and offers one's services, redeeming and gaining redemption. God/Mary/ Poland become fused in one. Martyred Christ/Poland is seen on the Cross, and, under it, the Dolorosa/Poland is watching her own Passion and Death.□

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The British Right to Discriminate

Eileen Barker

espite the enormous constitutional differences between the two countries. Great Britain and the United States of America share a remarkably similar range of beliefs about the place of religion in society. The styles are different, of course, but the leaders of both nations make-and are expected to make-frequent and fervent references to a God who is assumed to be on their side and whose natural law lies at the foundation of their respective constitutional arrangements. The citizens of both nations insist that theirs is a country of religious freedom and toleration. Both countries play host to and tolerate a wide variety of religious, political, and other kinds of beliefs and nonbeliefs. Successive waves of immigration and the enormous increase in international communication, facilitated by travel and the media, have resulted in both countries acquiring pluralistic natures.

What similarities there are have been derived from diametrical directions. The United States of America is a republic. Britain is a monarchy. The United States has a written Constitution of which the First Amendment reads:

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Britain has no First Amendment: she has no written constitution with provisions concerning fundamental rights and freedoms. Although there are certain laws which are termed *constitutional* (such as the 1707 Act of Union with Scotland), all laws passed by Parliament are of equal standing. There is no supreme law which takes precedence over ordinary laws: there are no fundamental rights (such as those enshrined in the United States Bill of Rights) by which standard all other laws must be tested. No law can be challenged directly on the ground that its enactment could violate a more basic constitutional right. Even the concept of rights is a thin one with respect to justice in England, where it is more usual to talk of civil liberties. A right exists when there is a positive law on the subject, while a liberty exists when there is no law against it. Those human rights which do exist in Britain are protected by public opinion rather than by law.

There are some laws giving rights and protections to British citizens. Certain rights are provided by the 1944 Education Act; the 1970 Equal Pay Act obliges firms to pay men and women doing the same job the same wage; the 1976 Race Relations Act forbids discrimination on the grounds of race. There are no laws protecting the rights of religious minorities in Britain. It is one of the ironies of history that Northern Ireland is the only place within the United Kingdom in which discrimination on the basis of religion is unlawful.

Along with other nations, Britain accepts the legal significance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which includes:

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

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Following the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms came into force in 1953. This included Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, with the additional rider:

> Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs shall be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of public safety, for the protection of public order, health or morals, or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

But although the United Kingdom is a party to the European Convention, its laws are sometimes not in conformity with some of the Convention's provisions, and there is a strong difference of opinion about the desirability of incorporating the European Convention into domestic law in Britain.

Although cases may not be brought into British courts under the Convention's provisions, the United Kingdom does permit individual petitioners to take cases to the European Commission at Strasbourg where they are tested by reference to Britain's international obligations under the Convention. Not only are there more cases brought against the United Kingdom than against any other member nation, but the number of cases decided against her is more than twice as great as that of her closest rival in such matters. Austria. Those who advocate the incorporation of the European Convention into British law interpret the large number of such judgments as a clear indication of how, by not accepting the principle of the Convention being part of domestic law, Britain is unnecessarily exposed at the international level regarding matters that are remedied within the national system in other Convention countries.

Those human rights which do exist in Britain are protected by public opinion rather than by law.

Britain not only has no constitution protecting all religious groups, it has an established church. Although the split from Rome resulted from Henry VIII's desire to marry Anne Boleyn, it was during the reign of Elizabeth I, with the Second Act of Supremacy in 1559, that the Church of England was "by law established": the

Church and the realm thereby being deemed to be not complementary but identical. Attendance at church became compulsory by statute; nonattendance was punishable by fine and imprisonment. After the Restoration, the Declarations of Indulgence (1662-1688) suspended the use of the penal laws against dissenters from the Church of England. Today the Church of England is the established church in England, but not in the rest of Britain. The Presbyterian Church of Scotland has been the established church in Scotland since the Act of Union in 1707; the Church in Wales was disestablished in Wales in 1920. The sovereign, who must be a member of the Church of England, is known as the "defender of the faith." The Church is also linked with the legislature through the House of Lords in which the two archbishops (of Canterbury and York) and twenty-four senior diocesan bishops have seats. Clergy of the Churches of England, Scotland and Iteland and the Roman Catholic

In Britain, the 1944 Education Act decreed that the one subject that must be taught in schools is religious instruction.

Church are legally disqualified from sitting in the House of Commons.

As the Pilgrim fathers bore witness, establishment has, historically, been a source of considerable discrimination. There was a period when to be a Roman Catholic was considered not a religious problem, but was defined as treason. During the reign of Elizabeth I, Catholic priests were not burned, but drawn and quartered, since they had committed the secular offense of acknowledging papal rather than royal supremacy. After the Restoration, it became accepted that Catholics and Nonconformists could not be totally eradicated, but their opportunities were severely curtailed, and their existence was made extremely unpleasant and difficult. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, herosy had ceased to be a civil offense (the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Act, 1677). Freedom of worship was granted to Protestant dissenters, but not to Catholics or Unitarians (the Toleration Act, 1689). During the 1820s, Nonconformists (Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, 1828) and Roman Catholics (the Roman Catholio Relief Act, 1829) were granted political emancipation. In 1858, Jews were able to become members of Parliament (the Jewish Relief Act), but it was not until 1871 (eighty years after the enactment of the First Amendment in the United States) that religious tests for admission to universities were finally abolished.

Today it is not in the universities, but in the lower schools that the difference between Britain and the United States is great. In the United States, the First Amendment has been interpreted as implying that no religion may be taught in the public schools. In Britain, the 1944 Education Act decreed that the one subject that must be taught in schools is religious instruction. There are some curiously paradoxical manifestations of this difference. For example, Dolbeare and Hammond and

It is one of the ironies of history that Northern Ireland is the only place within the United Kingdom in which discrimination on the basis of religion is unlawful.

others have shown that religion is still taught in certain areas of the United States, while complaints have been made that religion taught in British schools is frequently nothing more than a superficial overview of comparative ethics. The growth of the "creation science" movement in America has led to strong, and in several instances successful, lobbying for equal time to be given both to Genesis and to evolutionary accounts of creation. Such a thing is inconceivable in England. In 1977, when the local authority in Dallas was insisting that the historical story of Adam and Eye be taught to students, an English local authority was upholding the dismissal of a religious education teacher for doing that. Judge Overton's recent ruling in Arkansas that creationism is religion, not science, and that it is, therefore, unconstitutional for it to be taught in the schools, may have revoked Act 590, but, according to several surveys, there are still many Americans who believe that the Genesis account should be taught in the schools. I have been told that Oklahoma is one of the states that has not sought an "equal time" bill because if it were enacted their schools would have to introduce the teaching of evolution.

The special status of the Church of England is well illustrated by the treatment of blasphemy. Still cited in the courts is a case from 1838 in which the Reverend Michael Gathercole was charged with libeling the Roman Catnolic Church and the jury was directed that:

A person may, without being liable for prosecution for it, attack Judaism, or Mahomedanism, or even any sect of the Christian Religion (save the established religion of the country); and the only reason why the latter is in a different situation from the

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others is, because it is the form established by law, and is therefore a part of the constitution of the country. In like manner, and for the same reason, any general attack on Christianity is the subject of criminal prosecution, because Christianity is the established religion of the country. The defendant here has a right to entertain his opinions, to express them, and to discuss the subject of the Roman Catholic religion and its institutions... If it was merely an attack upon the Roman Catholic Church... then he is entitled to an acquittal....

Recently, Mary Whitehouse, a well-known British watchdog of public morality, successfully initiated a private prosecution of *Gay News* when it published a poem in which a Roman soldier expressed a homosexual love for Jesus. This ruling resulted in a government paper which proposed that the common law offenses of blasphemy and blasphemous libel should be abolished, partly on the grounds that the present blasphemy law does not extend beyond the Christian religion. Christian denominations are protected only to the extent that their fundamental beliefs are consistent with those of the established church. It is interesting that, in the *Gay News* case, Lord Scarman had, for the same reason, come to the opposite conclusion:

There is a case for legislation extending it [blasphemous libel] to protect the religious beliefs and feelings of non-Christians.... My criticism of the common law offence of blasphemy is not that it exists but that it is not sufficiently comprehensive.... It is shackled by the claims of history.

Advocates for both the abolition and the extension of the blaspherny laws have pointed to the unfairness in a plural society of making a special case for the Church of England "by law established." One is unlikely to hear public statements powadays that explicitly advocate a discriminatory approach to religion. The religious affairs correspondent of the London *Times* wrote:

> Neither the courts nor parliament are needed to enforce the neligious tolerance which is such a strong feature of the British way of life. Racial prejudice, and discrimination purely on grounds of faith, are not significant social evils in 1982 (5 August 1982).

Nonetheless, a deep-seated attitude assumes that there is one true faith and that although other faiths should be tolerated, adherents of such faiths must expect to be less equal than those who adhere to the majority religion. This may even be justified on the practical grounds of preventing discrimination. There was, for example, the case of a Muslim teacher who was told that he would be considered a part-time teacher, paid for only four days a

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week because he had to miss about three-quarters of an hour of his teaching duty every Friday when his religious duty demanded that he attend prayers at a mosque. The 1944 Education Act states that "No teacher in [a county or voluntary] school shall... receive any less emolument... by reason of ... his attending or omitting to attend religious worship." but the Muslim lost the case.

Christian denominations are protected only to the extent that their fundamental beliefs are consistent with those of the established church.

He appealed. Lord Scarman invoked the European Content. The as an interpretive aid to uphold the appeal, but the two other lords dismissed it. Lord Denning ruled that "The Convention is not part of our English law," and that although we would always have regard for it, "it is drawn in such vague terms that it can be used for all sorts of unreasonable claims." Lord Denning argued that if a minority group were allowed not to fit in with the practices of the majority, this would lead to resentment and "so the cause of racial integration would suffer."

Lord Denning may well be correct in his assessment of possible reactions to the outcome of such cases, but one might ask whether an outbreak of anti-Semitism was averted when, in 1961, Jewish shopkeepers were not exempted from Pennsylvania's Sunday closing law *Braumfield* v. *Brown*: or whether, in 1963, there was an outbreak of resentment against Seventh-Day Adventists when it was ruled unconstitutional that South Carolina denied a member of that faith unemployment compensation after she had been discharged by her employer for not working on Saturday (Sherbert v. Verner).

Religious discrimination does occur in England. What is less obvious is the way in which the courts discriminate not just in favor of the established religion, but in favor of more traditional, socially accepted religions as opposed to the new religious movements. People whose religious beliefs and/or observances clash with a secular timetable that is, nonetheless, in accordance with the established religion are expected to either abandon those belief vobservances or accept whatever consequences follow. This is more of a "we-were-here-first-and-ifyou-don't-like-it-you-can-lump-it" attitude, than one of positive discrimination. People can worship on Saturday or Friday, but the (Anglican) British cannot be expected to be inconvenienced as a result.

There are exceptions, and it is interesting to note the pattern these exceptions take. Since 1950, it has, for example, been possible for Jewish shopkeepers to close on Saturdays and to open on Sunday mornings in England and Wales. But there are limits to the extent that the British can "reasonably" be repected to accommodate Jewish citizens. A Mr. and Mrs. Ostreicher lodged an objection when the secretary of state for the environment decided to hold a public inquiry on a matter that concerned them (the compulsory purchase of houses they owned) on the seventh day of Passover. Lord Denning ruled that 'the men at the department acted perfectly reasonably' when they arranged the date for April 21carefully avoiding Good Friday and Easter Mondaywhich, he said, would "seem to all ordinary people to be a quite suitable date."

Ordinary people have even more influence on the opinions of what is reasonable, or right and proper, regarding the new religious movements. There have, during the past few years, been several cases in Britain (and the rest of Europe) involving cults. Although there are not as many of these cases as in the United States, they are significant. The first such case to attract attention in Britain concerned the Church of Scientology. In 1968 the then minister of health, Kenneth Robinson, stated in the House of Commons that:

> Scientology is a pseudo-philosophical cult.... Since the Anderson report on Scientology (published in 1965 in the State of Victoria, Australia), coupled with the evidence already available in this country, sufficiently established the general undesirability and potential dangers of the cult, we took the view that there was little point in holding another enquiry.

> The Government are satisfied, having reviewed all the available evidence, that Scientology is socially harmful. It alienates members of families from each other and attributes squalid and disgraceful motives to all who oppose it; its authoritarian principles and practices are a potential menace to the personality and well-being of those so deluded as to become its followers; above all, its methods can be a danger to the health of those who submit to them. There is evidence that children are now being indoctrinated (25 July 1968).

Although there was no power under existing law to prohibit the practice of Scientology, the government had "concluded that it is so objectionable that it would be right to take all steps within their power to curb its growth." Accordingly, foreign nationals would no longer be eligible for admission as students at the Hubbard College at East Grinstead, or any other Scientology establishment, and work permits would not be granted to toreigners for employment at a Scientology establishment,

Richard Crossman, Kenneth Robinson's successor at the Ministry of Health, makes several references in the third volume of The Crossman Diaries to the embarrassment experienced by the government as a result of imposing the ban before a proper inquiry had been concluded. Sir John Foster was asked to look into Scientology. His report (presented in 1971) concluded that, although he was not prepared to say that Scientology establishments could communder the description of "bona fide educational establishments," it seemed wrong not to allow visitors entry because they were proposing to do something that was legal for Britons to do. Scientologists should be granted or refused work permits according to the same criteria as everyone else. That they or their proposed employers are Scientologists should be regarded as irrelevant.

In 1974 a Dutch woman, Yvonne Van Duyn, who had been offered employment as a secretary at Hubbard College, was refused entry to the United Kingdom on the grounds that the secretary of state considered it "undesirable to give anyone leave to enter the United Kingdom on the business of or in the employment of that organization." The case was taken to the European Court of Justice which pronounced that the United Kingdom was entitied, for reasons of public policy, to refuse the right of entry to a national of another member state. The ban on

People can worship on Saturday or Friday, but the (Anglican) British cannot be expected to be inconvenienced as a result.

foreign Scientologists was in force for twelve years before it was officially lifted. Three main reasons were given: 1) the ban was unenforceable as Scientologists did not need to disclose themselves as such at ports of entry. 2) the ban might be difficult to defend before the European Court of Human Rights at Strasbourg: and (3) it was unfair, since Scientology was the only movement for which Britain's general religious tolerance was thus suspended.

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Legal concern over the new religions in Britain first focused on Scientology, and although other movements have had problems in the courts, the Unification Church is the one that has been publicized most frequently and most spectacularly during the past ten years. There have been several minor cases (concerning peddlers' licenses, or charges of obstruction), but the one that was to make history as the longest civil action in Britain, was that against Associated Newspapers. A popular tabloid, the *Daily Mail*, had published an article accusing the Unification Church of brainwashing its members and of breaking up families. The Moonies lost their libel suit

There was a period when to be a Roman Catholic was considered not a religious problem, but was defined as treason.

and the subsequent appeal, and were refused permission to take the matter further to the House of Lords. During the litigation, each side was allowed two expert witnesses, and each produced one on brainwashing and one on theology. For the Daily Mail, the Reverend Dr. Iain Torrance, a minister of the Church of Scotland, testified that "true Christianity" could be distinguished from what was not. It was, he said, a matter of degree: at a first level, Luther had protested against certain indulgences and transubstantiation, but "now Christianity has absorbed his protests"; at a second level, there were certain fundamental heresies in Christology, but "for fifteen hundred years Christianity has turned its face from those." At the third level, Dr. Torrance testified, the Unification Church went even further: "There is an old-fashioned word for what they do and that is, I think, blasphemy." When asked by the Moonies' counsel whether it might not be a lesson of history that it is unwise to make an assertion about what is true doctrine, and to disqualify people who do not subscribe to it as unchristian, Dr. Torrance replied that "at times it is our responsibility to do so."

It was clear that Dr. Torrance was not the only person in the court who believed it his duty to point out that Unification beliefs are not true. It was constantly suggested that the theology is unbelievable and that the Unification Church is, therefore, a bogus religion; The following is from the judge's summing up for the jury:

> Members of the jury, about those beliefs, [the appellant, Mr. Orme] has uncompromisingly stated that he believes Mr. Moon to be the Messiah. One is perfectly entitled to believe that anyone is the Messiah, the Lord of the Second Advent, and, as I have said many times, we must respect people's religious views. But Mr. Orme is a highly intelli-

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gent man. You have heard the structure of Mr. Moon's lifestyle and foundation. You ask yourselves whether a *reasonable* man could believe that Mr. Moon is in fact the Messiah and the Lord of the Second Advent. *Is he a dupe*? Was he a dupe originally and then became converted? Or is he a *fraud*? [emphasis added]

The court of appeal allowed that the jury was improperly invited to test the quality of the plaintiff's beliefs by their reasonableness, but this was, in the opinion of the appeal judges, a "minor deviation from relevancy [which] was not likely to have confused the jury." Throughout both the trial and the appeal it was clear that Britain has no First Amendment, and reference was continually made to the strangeness, bizarreness, unorthodoxy, and incomprehensibility of Unification beliefs.

The present state of British law on discrimination permits a curiously effective way of insuring that discrimination can exert its greatest effect on new religious movements, and yet assume some protection for older, more traditional religions. Such a state is the unintended consequence of the present law which makes racial, but not religious, discrimination illegal.

A series of cases which tested the laws concerning discrimination in Britain concerned the wearing of turbans in the Sikh community. There was the case of the turbaned bus conductor who, it was ruled, did not have to wear a uniform hat. The passing of the Motor-Cycle Crash Helmets (religious exemption) Act in 1976 allowed motorcycling Sikhs not to wear crash helmets; and then followed a five-year legal battle concerning a Sikh schoolboy who had been told by the headmaster of the school he wished to attend that he had to remove his tur-

Britain not only has no constitution protecting all religious groups, it has an established church.

[The Act] did not include religion or politics or

culture. One could discriminate as much as one liked against Roman Catholics or communists or "hippies" without being in breach of the law....

However, he continued, the one distinguishing characteristic of Jews was a racial characteristic. Consequently:

There must be no discrimination against the Jews in England. Anti-semitism, which had produced great evils elsewhere must not be allowed here....

"Sikh" came from the Sanskrit word for "disciple". Sikhs were the disciples or followers of Guru Nanak who was born in 1469....

There was no difference in language or blood which distinguished the Sikhs from the other people in India who were largely the product of successive invasions which had swept into the country....

Professor Bowles of Syracuse University, New York, had said that the difference between Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus was mainly cultural, not biological.

No doubt (Sikhs) were a distinct community, just as other religious and cultural communities. But that was not enough.

The Sikhs were a fine community upholding the highest standards but they were not a "racial group". It was not unlawful to discriminate against them.

The headmaster had not discriminated against the Sikhs at all.

It is clear that the Jews, largely integrated and respected members of the British community, are protected by the law from discrimination. But the Sikhs, too, have now become generally respected members of the British community. There followed an uproar. The British Council of Churches added its voice to the protests, its community and race relations unit writing to the home secretary to ask for the law to be changed to clarify that discrimination against Sikhs was in the same category as discrimination against Jews. It was pointed out that during its committee stage in the House of Commons, an amendment had been proposed that the Race Relations Act include discrimination on grounds of religion. The amendment was withdrawn when a minister of state at the Home Office pointed out that the Bill, by introducing the concept of indirect discrimination, did "a great deal to protect those who are discriminated against by reason of their religious observance." The minister had even given a hypothetical example that it would be indirect discrimination for an employer to insist that a Sikh working as a chauffeur wear a peaked cap.

Nine months after the court of appeal said that Sikhs

ban and cut his hair before he could be admitted. The initial judgment at the county court dismissed the Sikh's claim that the headmaster had committed an unlawful act of discrimination, and the court of appeal upheld this decision on the ground that Sikhs did not constitute a racial group within the meaning of the Race Relations Act of 1976. Lord Denning declared that

were a religious group, not a race, the House of Lords allowed an appeal against the decision on the grounds that the Sikhs *could* be defined as an ethnic group. It was, they ruled

> possible for a person to fall into a particular racial group either by birth or by adherence, and it made no difference, so far as the 1976 Act was concerned, by which route he found his way into the group.

It is possible for those who would by any accepted enteria be classified as members of a religion, to be redefined as an ethnic minority so long as they have adhered together over a sufficiently long test period. That the Hebrew faith is passed through the mother only, and gentiles can convert to Judaism, or that "the difference between Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus is mainly cultural, not biological" can, by what might seem to be a

The concept of rights is a thin one with respect to justice in England, where it is more usual to talk of civil liberties.

taxonomic sleight of hand, be seen as irrelevant in making the distinction between race and religion. So long as *ethnucity* can be defined with reference to adherence over time, the longer a religious movement has been around, the greater the chance it has of being protected by the law (other things being equal). The Sikhs have just managed to pass through this fine filter of British justice. It is unlikely that such a filter could operate so overtly in the United States of America.

I do not wish to suggest that religious minorities in Britain are the victims of far more intolerance or discrimination than they are in the United States or in any of the European countries in which there is no established church and religious discrimination is forbidden by law. Were I to be a member of some strange new cult, I would be unlikely to flee the shores of my native land in a modern-day Mayflower, for I could by no means be certain of landing in a country in which my rights would not be at least as well protected as they are *de facto*, if not *de jure*, in Britain.

Why is there so little difference between the American and British treatment of religions when their legal status in the two countries is so vastly different? Establishment means that other faiths have no hope of being viewed equally in the sight of the law. The absence of constitutional protection (or, indeed, legal protection of any kind) against religious discrimination means that members of minority faiths have little hope of redress should they suffer on account of their faith-unless they are able to take their case to the European Court at Strasbourg. Pronouncements made in the British courts reveal, on occasion, what must seem to those conversant with the niceties of First Amendment implications, an extraordinarily blatant parochialism. There is ignorance, one might almost say innocence, of such concepts as epistemological or social relativism. It is not argued that the British brand of Protestantism is the real truth. It is merely taken for granted that it is the truest, and that it is the sort of religion that any right-thinking citizen would want to guide his spiritual and, if necessary, his secular life. But this is not a forcefully held belief, high in the consciousness of any but a tiny minority of Britons. It is, rather, an absent-mindedly taken-for-granted acceptance of what is right and proper.

Religion is rarely questioned-either positively or negatively---it is just there as part of the background to British life. Were it to become too obviously intrusive, this would be as disturbing as its disappearance. The established church is neither fundamentalist nor totalitarian, nor is it particularly evangelical. Most of its members (including its officials) are perfectly happy to let others believe whatever they wish to believe, but they will start to raise an eyebrow and, if necessary, react in some measure if their established way of life is threatened. Outsiders may be tolerated, but it is felt that they can hardly expect to claim the privileges of establishment. This is not to say that the secular establishment is coterminous with the religious establishment. The former has opened its doors to those outside the Episcopalian fold; not a few judges, including those holding high office, are Catholics. One has even been able to find the odd Buddhist (convert, of course) sitting on the bench.

It is possible that the very existence of establishment means that those who are accepted as part of the secular establishment do not feel as threatened as those in the (relatively speaking) nonestablished establishment of the United States. Such a suggestion pays no attention to the rapidly changing situation in both societies, and it can give us no more than a tentative clue as to how the recent boundary testing that the newer religions have instigated within the legislature may be resolved.

Eileen Barker is a member of the Department of Sociology and dean of undergraduate studies at the London School of Economics. She has published over fifty articles and books. Her two-volume study of the Unification Church is forthcoming from Basil Blackwell, Oxford, the first volume is tentatively titled The Making of a Moonie. KUMAN RIGHTS UPD

CZECH CHRISTIANS AWAIT TRIAL

Inside

On October 12, 1984 three Czech Christians of the Brethren Church were arrested in the town of Vranov, near the Russian border of Czechoslovakia, for distributing Christian literature.

A carload of Russian language Bibles was discovered in the possession of Rudolf Sabanos and Jan Uhuahic at a roadblock where police were checking for "hoarders" the day new price increases went into effect.

The following morning the houses of both men were searched and additional Christian literature was found at the home of Jan Uhuahic. His father, Jan Uhuahic, Sr., was then also arrested and all the literature confiscated.

Eastern Slovakian Christians, like Rudolf Sabanos and the Jan Uhuahics, have been experiencing a revival of their faith for the past several years. They have had an increasing desire to share the Gospel not only with other Czechs but with the Russian people so near their border.

It is virtually impossible to obtain Christian literature in Czechoslovakia (even more so, of course, in the Soviet Union); the "official" church publications are tightly controlled by the government and underground Christian presses vigorously searched out and destroyed. Christian literature of any value comes from the West and is greatly prized.

bran bunderson

The interrogation which followed the arrest of these three men led to the arrest of 28 year old Czech Baptist Vladislav Rakay. Rakay originally gave the Bibles to the other men and a search of his house uncovered numerous other Bibles and Christian books.

Vladislav Rakay had been under surveillance by the secret police since his arrest when he was 19 for attempting to leave the country. For this crime he was imprisoned for six months. Because of his prison sentence he was barred from attending any university, yet over the next eight years he taught himself seven languages. He served as a translator for the local churches whenever a foreign visitor came to the area.

The secret police demanded that the men show them where they had crossed the border into the Soviet Union. In fact the men had not themselves crossed the border but were throwing the Bibles off a cliff where Russian farmers could retrieve them.

At this point the KGB became involved in the case, ostensibly because the "drop" for the Bibles was in an area of "military sensitivity." The men were then moved to a Czech prison in the city of Kosice and brutally interrogated by the KGB. Three of the four men were hospitalized as a result of the interrogation.

The four men have not yet been brought to trial, although the investigation has well exceeded the three months allowed by law.

CREED, 117 Prince Street, Alexandria VA 22314 / 703-549-004

CZECH CHRISTIANS (cont.)

Numerous Members of Congress have written to the Czech government requesting an explanation of the case of these four Christians. In a very unusual move, the Czech Embassy invited these Members to a meeting with Czech officials, during which the officials said that the Christians were accused only of smuggling, that the government didn't care what they were smuggling, that it was not, therefore, a religious or human rights case, but merely a criminal one.

In a subsequent conversation with a Congressional staff representative, Czech Embassy officials indicated that the men were charged with "customs violations." If true, this represents a considerable reduction of charges, and underscores the Czech government's sensitivity to publicity about this case in the West.

CREED urges Members of Congress to continue to voice their concern over the fate of these four men. The case represents a clear violation of the Helsinki Final Act which guarantees freedom of thought, conscience and religion, and to which Czechoslovakia is a signatory.

Please send letters to:

The Hon. Gustav Hudak President Haricacy Prague, Czechoslovakia 11000

His Excellency Stanislaw Suja Embassy of Czechoslovakia 3900 Linnean Avenue, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20008

Please contact Barbara Denluck at the CREED office if you have any questions

RUSSIAN CHRISTIAN WRITER ARRESTED

Fifty-seven year old writer and Orthodox Christian, Felix Svetov, was arrested January 23, 1985 and charged with "anti-Soviet slander." Svetov's wife, Zoya Krakhmalnikova, was sentenced in March 1983 to <u>one year in prison camp and five</u> years internal exile for editing a religious journal called "Nadezhda" ("Hope").

Both Svetov and his wife were members of the Soviet literary establishment before they became active believers in the 70s. Svetov lost his membership in the Writers' Union for defending Andrei Sakharov when he was exiled to Gorky in 1980. When the Soviet authorities refused to publish Svetov's work, he began to publish it in the West. Perhaps the most notable of his works to appear in the West was the autobiographical novel of his conversion, entitled Otverzi Mi Dveri ("Open the Doors for Me").

Keston College, a research center which monitors religious freedom around the world, believes that Svetov's arrest is part of a "fresh crack-down" on the Russian Orthodox Church.

On the same day Svetov was arrested, his wife's quarters in exile in Ust-Kan were searched. Numerous other searches took place on or near that day of other Orthodox believers who had signed <u>samizdat</u> (underground) petitions protesting the arrest of Svetov's wife, Zoya.

UNDERGROUND JOURNAL ON UKRAINIAN CHURCH REACHES WEST

A new Soviet <u>samizdat</u> (underground) journal on religious dissent entitled <u>Chronicle of</u> <u>the Catholic Church of Ukraine</u> recently reached the West. The journal focuses primarily on the outlawed Ukrainian (Uniate) Catholic Church in Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church was involuntarily incorporated by the State into the Russian Orthodox Church in 1946, in an effort to silence nationalist sentiment in Ukraine. Virtually the entire hierarchy and clergy were arrested and killed by the Soviets. The five million member Ukrainian Catholic Church functions entirely today as an underground church.

Eight issues of the Journal have appeared thus far in the West, offering encouraging evidence that the persecution of the Church may have had an effect contrary to its intent. Courage, Faith and the Creative Spirit

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Presented by: CREED, the Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents

Courage, Faith and the Creative Spirit

an exhibition of Soviet unofficial art

January 29, 1984 - February 17, 1984

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Grateful Thanks

CREED wishes to thank Dr. Norton Dodge and the Cremona Foundation, Mechanicsville, Maryland for generously loaning the art work in this exhibition.

CREED also wishes to thank Sally Engelhard Pingree whose generosity enabled us to print this catalogue.

Courage, Faith and the Creative Spirit

INTRODUCTION — "Since coming to the West, I am often asked, 'Why do Soviet authorities repress unofficial (dissident) art?' or, 'What could be dangerous to the regime in either expressionist, conceptualist, abstract or surrealist paintings?' To understand the answer is to understand that it is not a question of this or that painting, but rather one of principle: the USSR is a religious state in its own way. Its sole, intolerant, false religion is Marxism-Leninism. In art and literature such 'religion' is expressed as 'Socialist Realism.' Consequently, any deviation from Socialist Realism must be cut off.

"Americans understand that they possess an inalienable right to make their own decisions, to rule themselves and to discard outworn institutions. The totalitarian mentality, prevalent in Soviet government, cannot permit such freedom or rights."

—Alexander Glezer, General Director, C.A.S.E. Museum of Soviet Unofficial Art in Exile "25 Years of Soviet Unofficial Art"

BACKGROUND¹ — Unofficial or "dissident" art had its beginnings 28 years ago when Stalin's excesses were denounced by Kruschev who initiated a process of change in Soviet society and culture which has been expressed in the arts. Each of the arts has been in a struggle between the ideology of the party and the creative freedom of the artist. In the West we watched with fascination as evidence of a creative underground in the arts began to emerge from the Soviet Union in the 1960's and 1970's.

As the thaw in literature occurred in the 1950's and 1960's, short stories, books, poetry and plays found their way to the West, many becoming best sellers. The names of Pasternak, Solzhenitsyn and others, all of whom struggled for an independent and creative voice for the writer, became familiar to a wide audience. However, this was not true of rebellious painters, sculptors or graphic artists. How much more difficult it was to spirit oil paintings rather than manuscripts out of the country; how much more difficult to reproduce these paintings and distribute them in any meaningful way.

¹This background material draws heavily on an article by Norton Dodge in "New Art from the Soviet Union" (Washington, D.C. Acropolis Books, 1977).

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poetry and rnak, the for the painters, ther than gs and Today, art in the Soviet Empire is directed to the task of educating the people in the spirit of Communism. A 1934 decree on the art of Socialist Realism (i.e. "the truthful depiction of reality in its revolutionary development") defined it as the only permissible form of artistic expression. Three organizations control the life of the artist: the Ministry of Culture, the Academy of Arts and the Union of Artists.

The Ministry of Culture controls major art institutions and publishing houses, sponsors international exhibitions, purchases works of art and has authority to award special prizes and titles.

The Academy of Arts exerts direct control over the professional lives of the artists. It regulates their behavior, their means of practicing professionally and their access to working materials and potential purchasers. Finally, the Union controls the selection of works which can be shown to the Soviet public.

The majority of artists whose works appear in this exhibition, "Courage, Faith and the Creative Spirit," have deliberately stepped outside the control of the Socialist Realism; they refuse to give their main allegiance to the Soviet political system. Also included are some artists who can more accurately be called non-conformists rather than unofficial.

The sacrifice required for dedication to the creative spirit rather than to the goals of socialist society are serious. Many artists express their spiritual isolation and spiritual commitment in the works and statements. A number of these artists have fled to the West. Some who remain in the USSR are forced underground or are imprisoned in psychiatric institutions. The remainder try to express themselves under adverse circumstances.

The rejection of Soviet values may take the form of nostalgic subjects; religious themes or motifs from traditional religious art; or satirical or grotesquely realistic treatment of everyday objects.

Religious motifs are especially threatening to the authorities in the USSR. French philosopher Bernard-Henri Levy was once asked if the concept of religion could play a role of salvation in totalitarian dictatorships: "Religion—definitely. Human rights lose all meaning without transcendental horizons; protests and demonstrations would be meaningless if spirituality were not an underlying basis. The great writings of the Old and New Testaments become bibles of hope for the spirit of resistance."

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Igor Tiulpanov

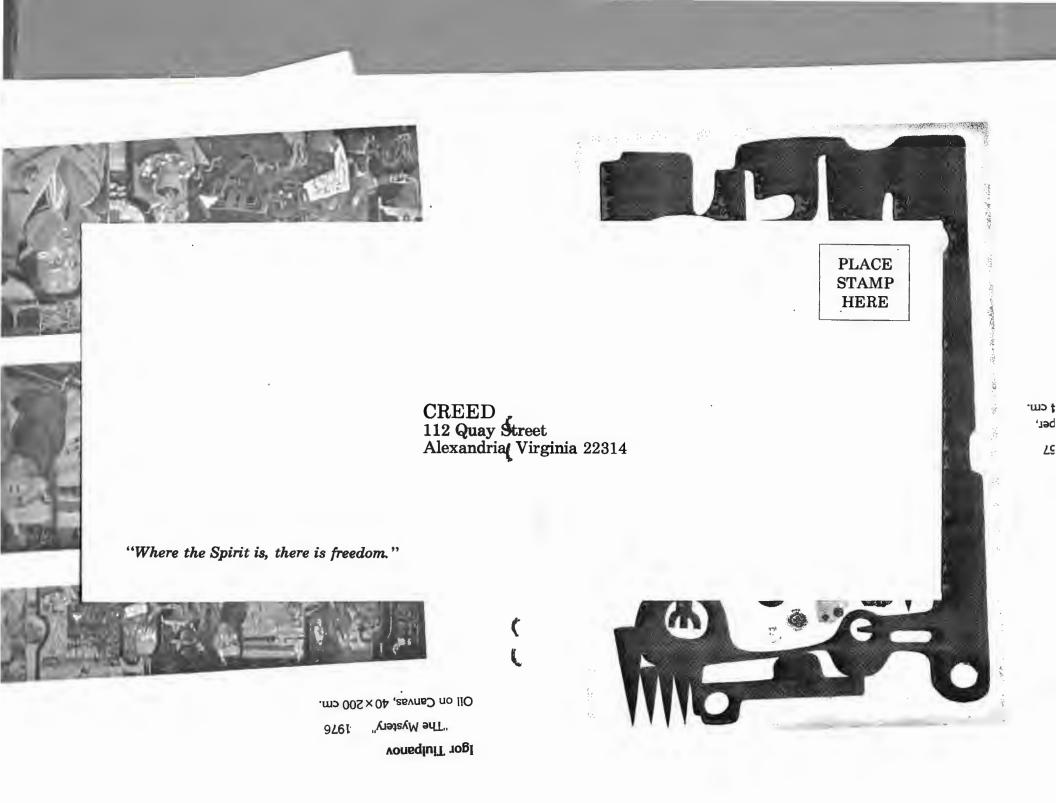
"The Myster Oil on Canvas, 4



Vladas Zilius

"Target" 1967 Mixed Media on Paper, Series 105 x 74 cm.





Igor Tiulpanov

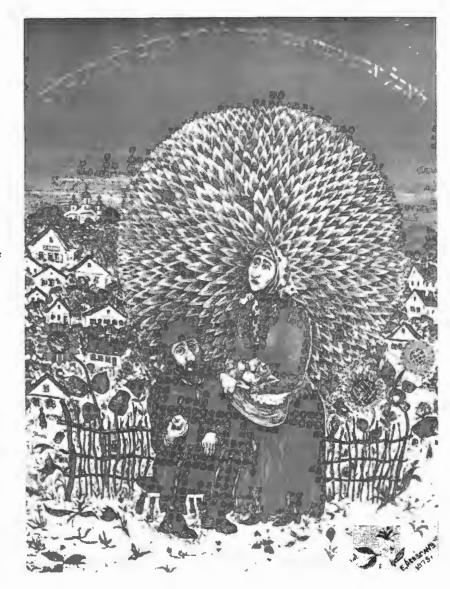
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 "The Mystery" 1976 Oil on Canvas, 40 × 200 cm.









Dmitry Play

"Church in a Villa Etching, 64 ×



Evgeny Abezgauz

"Adam Ate and Ate of the Fruit that Eve Gave Him but Knew Nothing" 1975

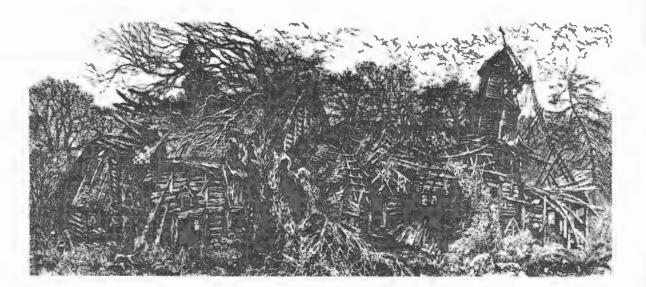
Oil on Pasteboard, 53 x 40 cm.

Dmitry Plavinsky

"Church of the Annunciation in a Village Near Zagorsk" 1975

Etching, 64 x 146 cm.

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Viacheslav Kalinin

"Motif from the Story of Hoffman" 1972

Etching, 65×49 cm.



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About CREED

CREED, the Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents, is a community of concerned people engaged in the mission of freedom. CREED serves as a link between private citizens and congressional and governmental leaders in order to intercede in behalf of those who are imprisoned, refused emigration or suffer other forms of persecution for their faith.

Millions of Christians live within the Soviet Empire and must suffer day to day oppression because they are believers. In the free Western world, little has been known of these persecuted people and less has been done to help them.

CREED's goals are:

- To educate people in the Biblical doctrine of freedom and its implications for moral responsibility.
- To obtain the liberation of imprisoned and oppressed believers.
- To communicate directly with the persecuted, thus affirming our unity in the Body of Christ.

Dr. Ernest Gordon, Dean Emeritus of the Chapel at Princeton University, serves as CREED's president. During World War II he was with the 93rd Highlanders of Scotland. After action in Malaysia, he was captured by the Japanese and worked on the infamous Railroad of Death. Near death, he experienced his freedom in Christ and developed his theology of freedom. His books include *Miracle on the River Kwai* and *Me, Myself and Who.* "Courage, Faith and the Creative Spirit"

EVGENY ABEZGUAZ "Adam Ate and Ate of the Fruit Eve Gave Him but Knew Nothing" 1975 Oil on pasteboard 53 x 40 cm. "Moshe Walked Across All of Russia Because He Wanted to be Happy in America" 1976 Oil on pasteboard 38 x 53 cm. PETR BELENOK Untitled 1975 Mixed technique on paper 94 x 62 cm. VIACHESLAV KALININ "Motif from the Story of Hoffman" 1972 Etching 65 x 49 cm. OTARI KANDAUROV Untitled n.d. Water color 51 x 42 cm. ALEXANDER KHARITONOV "Nocturne" 1965 Oil on canvas 71 x 66 cm. "Lamentation" n.d. Oil on canvas 79 x 56 cm. "Queen with Prayerbook" 1970-1972 Oil on pasteboard 39 x 39 cm. CONCORDIA KLAR "Playing" 1974 Lithograph 48 x 64 cm. "Outside of the Blizzard" 1978 Etching 39 x 65 cm. MALLE LEIS "Apples" 1975 Serigraph 106 x 59 cm. "Flowers XL" 1975 Serigraph Diameter 49 cm. "Flowers XLI" 1975 Serigraph Diameter 49 cm.

IGOR MAKAREVICH "Stratigraphic Structures" n.d., A photo-collage series 20 x 20 cm. ALBINA MAKUNAITE "Legend from the Sea" 1975 Woodcut, stencils, watercolor on paper 61 x 44 cm. LYDIA MASTERKOVA "Composition" 1965 Oil and brocade on canvas 72 x 69 cm. "Composition" 1969 Oil on canvas 110 x 100 cm. VLADIMIR NEMUKHIN "Poker on the Beach" 1974 Oil on canvas 68 x 79 cm. "Card Series I" 1975 Watercolor on paper 50 x 30 cm. "Card Series II" 1975 Watercolor on paper 50 x 30 cm. VLADIMIR OVCHINNIKOV "The Cemetary" 1977 Oil on canvas Diameter 96 cm. "The Angels" 1975 Oil on pasteboard 100 x 130 cm. DMITRY PLAVINSKY "Church of the Annunciation in a Village Near Zagorsk" 1975 Etching 64 x 146 cm. "Abandoned Forge" n.d. Etching 64×48 cm. "Tablet n.d. Etching 62 x 31 cm. ANATOLI PUTILIN Untitled 1978 Oil on canvas 69 x 61 cm. Untitled 1978 Oil on canvas 69 x 61 cm. OSKAR RABIN "Spring" 1968 Oil on canvas 80 x 110 cm. "The House at Priluki" 1966 Oil on canvas 74 x 94 cm.

CREED EXHIBIT (cont.)

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CREED EXHIBIT (cont.) ALEK RAPOPORT "The Elder" 1976 Ink drawing 56 x 42 cm. "Church" n.d. Lithograph 58 x 67 cm. SAMUIL RUBASHHIN "Passover" 1973 Oil on canvas 100 x 80 cm. EVGENY RUKHIN Untitled n.d. Mixed technique 94 x 74 cm. "Stop! Dangerous to Life" 1975 Synthetic polymer, varnish, collage 100 x 97 cm. EVI TIHEMTS "World of Games I" 1977 Lithograph 34 x 38 "World of Games IV" 1978-1979 Lithograph 34 x 38 cm. IGOR TIULPANOV "Memory Chests" "Mystery" 1975 011 on canvas 110 x 150 cm. 1976 Oil on canvas 40 x 200 cm. "The Card Players" 1981 Oil on canvas 60 x 78 cm. PETER ULAS "Evening" 1974 Embossing and aquatint 37 x 29 cm. AVTANDIL VARAZI Untitled n.d. Collage 55 x 44 cm. EDWARD ZELENIN "The Apple" 1973 Oil on pasteboard 80 x 49 cm. "Moth" n.d. Oil on pasteboard 55 x 50 cm. YURI ZHARKIKH "Consecration" 1976 Mixed technique 95 x 80 cm. "Two Virgins in the Window"

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1977 Mixed technique 73 x 72 cm.

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CREED EXHIBIT (cont.)

VLADAS ZILIUS "Target" 1967 Mixed technique 105 x 74 cm. \$

"Figure of God" 1967 Collage 105 x 74 cm.

CREED

Guide for Mission of Freedom Activities

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"I am the bread of life: whoever comes to me shall never be hungry."

—John 6:35

"For we being many are one bread (or loaf), and one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread."

—I Corinthians 10:17

"You will bear witness for me in Jerusalem and all over Judea, and Samaria and away to the ends of the earth."

-Acts 1:8

Introduction

CREED, the Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents, is a community of concerned people engaged in the mission of freedom. CREED serves as a link between private citizens and congressional and governmental leaders in order to intercede in behalf of those who are imprisoned, refused emigration or suffer other forms of persecution.

CREED participates in the world mission not only by its witness to our brethren of the Persecuted Church, but also by personal teaching missions which strengthen the labors of those who witness for Christ within hostile societies.

CREED strives to encourage as many people as possible to participate personally in the worldwide mission of the Church, initiated at Pentecost, with its unique message of our freedom in Christ.

As Christ's community we are His Body with many members in every part of the world. "If one member suffers, all suffer together; if one member is honored, all rejoice together."

This booklet contains suggested ways of interceding in behalf of suffering members of the Body of Christ.

"By my deeds I will prove to you my faith."

—James 2:18

"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

-Matthew 25:40

Participate through your Church

- 1. Tell your pastor of your interest in the plight of oppressed Christians who live under tyrannical governments.
- 2. Request Special Sundays of prayer for imprisoned believers. Pray for them by name. Many churches pray every Sunday for particular prisoners.
- Form small prayer groups to pray for imprisoned believers; write letters of Christian concern and support to the imprisoned believers and their families; learn about conditions in oppressive regimes.
- 4. Publish in your church newsletter the names and addresses, along with brief biographical material, of imprisoned believers (listed in CREED's "Priority Case List") and ask members of the congregation to write to them.
- 5. Set up a display table during coffee hour after Sunday services and hand out CREED brochures, prayer cards for individual prisoners, names and addresses of prisoners and other appropriate materials.
- 6. Include in your adult Christian Education program a three to six week session on the Persecuted Church.
- 7. Enlist different groups within the Church, e.g. Women's Associations, Youth Groups, Single Adults, the Choir, etc. to "adopt" certain prisoners to pray for and to write to.
- 8. Invite Christian emigres who have fled repressive regimes to speak of their first hand experiences.
- 9. Plan gatherings during the Christmas and Easter seasons at which Christian holiday greeting cards are addressed to prisoners with an appropriate Bible citation included.
- 10. Put the cause of the Persecuted Church and freedom for believers on the national agenda at your denomination's annual meeting. (CREED will serve as a clearinghouse in order to put those of you in the same denomination in touch with one another for the purpose of coordinating strategy.)

"Think constantly of those in prisons as if you were prisoners at their side. Think too of all who suffer as if you shared their pain."

-Hebrews 13:3

Participate as an Individual

- 1. Remember the prisoners in your prayers. Carry a CREED prayer card in your wallet as a personal commitment to the individual prisoner whose picture and biographical information appear on that card.
- 2. Write to:
 - A. Government officials of the prisoner's country, expressing courteous concern about the health and well-being of the prisoner. (Guidelines follow.)
 - B. Prisoners and their families, expressing Christian comfort and support. (Guidelines follow.)
- 3. Form small prayer groups to pray for imprisoned believers as suggested on the preceding page in #3 of activities to engage in "Through your Church."
- 4. Tell your friends about CREED and its world-wide mission of freedom for Christians. Send us their names and addresses so we can tell them more about CREED.

"Not only my own prayer helped me, but even more the prayer of many other faithful Christians. I felt it continually, working from a distance, lifting me up as though on wings, giving me living water and the bread of life, peace of soul, rest and love."

-prisoner Anatoli Levitin

Guidelines for Befriending Prisoners and Their Families through Letter Writing

Writing letters to imprisoned Christian brothers and sisters and their families does two important things: you befriend lonely outcasts; and you serve as a shield for them against new and additional repression. Believers who live within Communism's tyrannical reign are the principal missionaries of our time.

- 1. Express your caring concern and encouragement.
- 2. Write LEGIBLY in English unless you know the native language. Many people now study English so translators probably will be available.
- 3. Speak of your own faith. Tell them about your church or prayer group, and that you are praying for them. If you have a picture of your church or group, include it.
- 4. Include a Biblical text and its reference, as the reader may not own a Bible and will value a Scriptural quotation.
- 5. Avoid discussing politics or the Soviet government.
- 6. ADDRESS THE ENVELOPE BY HAND and print carefully. Typewritten items are perceived as official documents in the Soviet Empire. (Typewriters are registered in Communist countries as a means of controlling dissident expression.)
- 7. Artistic cards with Scriptural quotations are especially valued.
- 8. Send your letters air mail ($\frac{1}{2}$ oz. = 40¢ (ISA, 65¢ Canada).
- 9. Keep writing even if you don't receive a response. Many letters do reach their destination, but responding is very difficult. If you do receive a response, please let us know so we can share the good news. If your letter is returned, please send it, or a copy to us, as we are monitoring the Soviet interference with international mail for a congressional committee.
- 10. A word about addresses: Soviet addresses are written in the reverse order from ours, for example:

Country Republic (State) Postal code/Smaller administrative units City, town or village Street, house number Surname, first name, father's name

The U.S. Postal Service asks that we also spell out "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" on the bottom line. You need only copy the address form from CREED's "Priority Case List." Frequently used words:

oblast (obl.)	=	region
krai (kr.)	=	territory
otryad (ot.)	=	detachment
raion (ra.)	=	region, district, area
gorod (gor.)	=	town, city
selo (se.)	=	village
ulitsa (ul.)	=	street

"May he strengthen you, in His glorious might, with ample Power to meet whatever comes with fortitude, patience, and joy; and give thanks to the Father who has made you fit to share the heritage of God's people in the realm of light."

-Colossians 1:11-2

Guidelines for Letter Writing to Government Officials

The importance of your personal letters to Communist representatives in the West—diplomats, journalists and delegations of every kind—cannot be overemphasized. Communist officials want persecuted believers to be forgotten, to be without names and personal circumstances, to become non-persons. You can change that.

- 1. Write a brief, courteous letter to the official representative of the prisoner's country, expressing your concern about the health and well-being of the prisoner.
- 2. Indicate that many others share your concern.
- 3. State the prisoner's name and prison address (if known). Also refer to any other specific details you may know about the prisoner's current health or circumstances.
- 4. In emigration cases, include the family's address.

OFFICIAL ADDRESSES

Constantin Chernenko President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet USSR Moscow The Kremlin

His Excellency Anatoly Dobrynin Embassy of the USSR 1125 16th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

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His Excellency Stanislav Suja Embassy of Czechoslovakia 3900 Linnean Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20008 His Excellency Ashraf Ghorbal Embassy of Egypt 2300 Decatur Place, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20008

His Excellency Zdzislaw Ludwiczak Embassy of Poland 2640 16th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009

His Excellency Mircea Malitza Embassy of Romania 1607 23rd Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20008

Also write to the President of the United States.

The President The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Biblical Citations

We hope the following Biblical citations will be useful to you when you start a prayer group, write to prisoners and their families and in your own meditations.

United in the Body of Christ: I Corinthians 12:12-13 Ephesians 4:4-6 Luke 13:29 Philippians 2:1-4 Romans 12

God's Transcending Power: Il Corinthians 4:8-9 Matthew 5:10-12 Matthew 18:20 Romans 12:12

Freedom:

Isaiah 42:6-7 Isaiah 58:6 II Corinthians 3:17-18 Galatians 5 John 8:31-36 Luke 4:16-21

Across America – How the Spirit is Using The Mission of Freedom

It is a blessing to see how creative and committed people use the gifts of the Spirit in their own lives and communities. Here are a few examples we know about.

First Baptist Church Taylors, SC Ernest L. Carswell, Jr., Pastor

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This congregation unanimously decided to adopt the Medias Baptist Church of Medias, Romania as a sister church. The pastor of the Medias Baptist Church, Beni Cocar, had his state license (clergy must get state permits in order to perform their pastoral duties) revoked. In early 1984 the congregation was given an eviction notice which it refuses to obey. The reason for this government harassment is their successful evangelism, particularly among the youth of the area.

In the Spring of 1984, CREED's President, Dr. Ernest Gordon, and CREED's Chairman of the Board, John Crossley, visited this church and interceded with Romanian officials in support of Pastor Beni Cocar.

Episcopal Churchwomen, Diocese of Virginia Christian Social Relations Mrs. Virginia Scott Watson, Chairman 1982-1984

> During the two years that Mrs. Watson headed the Christian Social Relations program for the Episcopal women in the State of Virginia, the theme was, "Go forth into the world caring for those who suffer religious persecution and oppression." Information packets on the Persecuted Church and oppressed believers were sent to every Episcopal Church in Virginia. Each churchwoman was asked to intercede daily in behalf of a specific imprisoned Christian, to ask their priests to lead their congregations in corporate prayer for the persecuted and to become informed and inform others.

First Presbyterian Church Wellington, Kansas James Rodda, Pastor

After studying materials received from CREED, the Session (governing body) of the First Presbyterian Church of Wellington voted to expand their Missions programs to include intercession in behalf of persecuted Christians. Rev. Rodda is planning sermons on persecution, members of the congregation are invited to pray for specific prisoners and to write letters of encouragement. Articles about prisoners will also appear throughout the year in the church newsletter.

Resources – Books

First Korean Baptist Church Washington, D.C. Senior High School Sunday School Class Michael Virts, Teacher

Looking for an outreach project for the lively group of teenagers in his Sunday School class, Mr. Virts thought of the many prisoners of faith he knew about through his association with CREED. The group decided to select names from CREED's "Priority Case List" and write letters to the prisoners and their families. As the class gathered on Sunday mornings, each teenager wrote a personal letter and included a Bible verse. This activity inspired many questions from the students and is leading them into a broader understanding of their faith.

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Michael Boyce Taxidermist Reno, Nevada

Dr. Ernest Gordon spoke about CREED at a taxidermal convention (there are Christians everywhere!) in Atlanta. Mr. Boyce was there, heard Dr. Gordon's message on personal responsibility for our persecuted Christian brothers and sisters, and decided to take the message back to Reno. Mr. Boyce is personally speaking to churches around the Reno area about CREED and its mission of world-wide intercession for oppressed believers. He recently forwarded a sizable check to CREED which reflects an aggregate sum of contributions received from the various congregations with whom he spoke.

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- Yakunin, Father Gleb and Regelson, Lev. Letters from Moscow. Religion and Human Rights in the USSR. Edited by Jane Ellis. Keston, England, and San Francisco: Keston College and H.S. Dakin Co., 1978.

Resources – Newsletters

- Chronicle of the Catholic Church In Lithuania: samizdat, i.e. underground, publication written by believers in Lithuania and smuggled to this country, reporting about persecution of Catholic Church in Lithuania; erratic (3-5 times yearly); free
 - Published by: Lithuanian Catholic Religious Aid 351 Highland Blvd. Brooklyn, New York 11207
- CREED News: Published by CREED, reporting about persecution of believers and acts of intercession in their behalf; published quarterly; free
- CREED Priority Case List: Compiled by CREED, listing names, prison addresses and circumstances of arrest and confinement of Christian prisoners behind the Iron Curtain. Also listed are names and addresses of prisoners' families, when available; free

CREED News and Priority Case List published by:

CREED 117 Prince Street Alexandria, VA 22314

- CSCE Digest: Published by Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, also known as Helsinki Commission, reporting on compliance with Helsinki Accord and reviewing news of human rights violations from major newspapers around the world; published monthly; free
 - Published by: Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe House Annex #2, Rm. 237 Washington, D.C. 20515
- Keston News Service: Published by Keston College in England, primary source materials about religious persecution throughout the world; published monthly; subscription charge
 - Published by: Keston College Heathfield Road Keston, Kent BR2 6BA England
- Orthodox Monitor: Published by the Committee for the Defense of Persecuted Orthodox Christians, reporting news about persecution of Russian Orthodox Christians; published biannually; subscription charge
 - Published by: Committee for the Defense of Persecuted Orthodox Christians Box 9669 Washington, D.C. 20016
- Prisoner Directory: Published by the International Representation for the Council of Evangelical Baptist Churches of the Soviet Union, reporting news about persecution of Russian Baptists; published quarterly; free
 - Published by: International Representation for the Council of Evangelical Baptist Churches of the Soviet Union, Inc. Box 1188 Elkhart, IN 46515

CREED

Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents 117 Prince Street, Alexandria, Virginia 22314, (703) 549-0047

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PRAYER FOR FREEDOM

Grant us, O Father, such delight in the freedom given to us by Thy dear Son, that we may serve Thee with joy. Continue to deliver us from evil, from the captivity of sin, from the imprisonment of the self, from the control of pride, and from the bondage of fear. In the freedom of Thy love may we participate in the liberating action of Thy Gospel that imprisoned fellow believers may be released; and the broken victims of oppression be set free in every part of the world; through Him who in so brief a time achieved so much freedom for so many.